

444 *A Proscription of the King of Spain.*

ment, and in the Places and Bounds of his or their Jurisdiction, where they are accustom'd to make Cries and Proclamations, to the end that none may pretend any cause of the Ignorance thereof. And moreover, that they keep, observe, and maintain, and cause inviolably to be kept, observ'd, and maintain'd, all the Points and Articles therein contain'd, according to their Form and Tenor, proceeding, and causing to be proceeded therein respectively, to the Recompence, Reward, Pain and Punishment of the Persons above-mention'd, without any Favour, Love or Dissimulation: and for this purpose, and all things appertaining thereto, we give them, and every one of them, full Power, Authority, and special Commandment: and we charge and command all, that they obey them commanding the same, and that they understand it diligently. And nevertheless, seeing that at this present the said Publications cannot be made in the Towns, Countries and Territories occupy'd by the Rebellion of the said *Orange*; we will that the Publications which shall be made in the Towns nearest thereunto, being under our Obedience, shall be wholly and altogether of such force and effect, as if they had been utterly done in the Circuits and Places accustom'd: And for such we have authoriz'd, and by these Presents do authorise them; yea, we will and command, that immediately they be printed in two sundry Languages, by the sworn Printers of our Univerlities of *Louvain* or *Douay*, to the end that it may more easily come to all mens knowledg; and this is our Pleasure, Appointment, and Good Will. In witness whereof we have caus'd our Great Seal to be put to these Presents, which were made in our Town of *Maestricht*, the 25th Day of the Month of *March*, and in the Year of Grace 1580. and of our Kingdoms, to wit, of *Spain*, *Sicilia*, &c. the 25th; and of *Naples* the 27th.

By the express Appointment of his Majesty.

Verreiken.

And the said Letters are seal'd with the Great Seal of his Majesty in Red Wax, and a double Lace hanging thereat.

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The Letter of the Prince of Parma to the Governors and Counsellors of the Provinces, commanding the publishing of this Proclamation.

*Alexander, Prince of Parma and of Plaisance, &c.
Governour and Captain General.*

MY Cousin, most Dear and Well-beloved Friends: Seeing the King my Lord hath by two several Letters of his, very plainly commanded us to cause forthwith to be publish'd in these his Countries, the Proscription and Proclamation annex'd hereto against *William of Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, for the Causes contain'd in the said Proclamation; we could not cease to obey his Majesty's Commandment, and to send the same unto you; requiring you, and nevertheless, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, appointing you, that immediately after ye have seen the same, you publish it, and cause it to be publish'd throughout all the Towns and Places of your Government and Jurisdiction, after the accustom'd manner, to the end that none may pretend any cause of the Ignorance thereof; and fail ye not herein. And thus my Cousin, most Dear and Well-beloved Friends, our Lord have you in his keeping. From *Mons*, the 15th Day of *June*, 1580.

Underneath was written, ALEXANDER.

And sign'd over-against it, VERREIKEN.

This was the Supercription of it,

To the Governors and Counsellors of the Provinces.

*A Declaration made by my Lord the Prince of Orange
to my Lords the Estates General of the Low
Countries.*

My Lords,

YE have heretofore seen a certain Sentence, in the Form of a Proscription, which was sent by the King of *Spain*, and afterwards publish'd by the Appointment and Order of the Prince of *Parma*: and how by the means thereof, mine Enemies have against all Right and Reason, attempted grievously to touch and to taint mine Honour, and to cause my former Actions to be thought evil and wicked; wherein I have been very willing and desirous to take the Advice and Counsel of sundry notable Personages, and Men of great Name and Calling, yea of the principal Counsellors and Wise Men of this Country. But by reason of the Quality and Form of the said Proscription, and the heinous and grievous Crimes wherewith I am charg'd, altho indeed wrongfully, I have hitherto fraid; notwithstanding I have been advis'd and counsel'd by sundry my Friends, that I cannot otherwise defend my Honour, but to shew by publick Writing, how unjustly I have been accused and charged with many Faults; and also how I have been openly injur'd, and maliciously slander'd. According to which Advice and Counsel (my Lords) seeing that in this world I acknowledg you only for my Superiors, I offer unto you this my Defence, written against the Reprehensions of my Adversaries; by which, I hope, that I have not only discover'd all their Deceits and Slanders, but also lawfully justify'd all my Actions past. And because that their principal mark and purpose is, to seek out all the means they can, to take away my Life, or else to cause me to be banish'd out of these Countries, or at the least to diminish the Authority which it hath pleas'd you to give me, as if obtaining that thing once, all should fall out as they would wish it: and on the other side, because they slander me, that by unlawful means I keep and hold my Authority, I beseech you my Lords to believe, that albeit I be content to live amongst you so long as it shall please God, and to continue towards you my faithful Service; yet notwithstanding that, my own Life, which I have dedicated to your Service, and my Presence in the midst of you, are not so dear unto me, but that I can most willingly abandon
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and forgo my Life, or else withdraw my self out of the Country, when you shall think or know, that either the one or the other may any manner of way serve your turn, to purchase unto you a more assured Liberty. And as concerning the Authority which it hath pleas'd you to give me, you know, my Lords, how many times I have besought you to content your selves with my Service, and to unburden me thereof, if you should think that it would stand well with the good Estate of your Affairs; which thing even as yet I do demand of you, offering notwithstanding (as I have always done) in all that wherein it hath pleas'd you to command me, still to continue to employ my self in the Service of the Country; in regard of which, I esteem nothing of all that is in the world, as I do more largely declare the same unto you in this my Defence. Which if you shall judg it convenient, I beseech you to think it good, and to take care that it may be brought to light and publish'd; to the end that not only you (my Lords) but also the whole World may judg of the Equity of my Cause, and of the unjust Dealing of my Adversaries.

Presented by my Lord the Prince of Orange, to my Lords the Deputies of the Estates General, and of the Provinces united together, being assembled in the Town of Delft, the 13th of December, 1580.

Underneath was written,

I J. Houfflin being present.

The Answer of my Lords the Estates General, made to the former Declaration.

THE Estates General having, not many days since, seen and read a certain Proscription, publish'd by the Enemies against your Excellency's Person, by which they charge the same with heinous Crimes, endeavouring to make it odious (as tho by unlawful means, and indirect ways, it had usurp'd the Place and Degree wherein it is set and establish'd) and to deliver your said Excellency's Person over for a Pary, and to take from it the Honour thereof: Having in like sort seen and view'd a Defence set out by your Excellency against the said Proscription, we find by the truth of that which hath pass'd in these Countries, and which is known and manifest
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also to every one of them, in respect of themselves, that the said Crimes, Faults, and Reproaches, have unjustly been laid upon the same. And as concerning the Offices, as well of Lieutenant General as of the particular Governments, they affirm that his Excellency, yea even when he was lawfully elected and chosen, did not accept them, but at our instant Request, in which also he hath continued at our Intreaties, and that with the sound Contentment and Satisfaction of the whole Country. And the said Estates do yet again beseech him, that it would please him to continue therein, promising him all Aid and Assistance, without sparing any of the means they have, and also to yield unto him ready and willing Obedience. And because they know the faithful Services that your Excellency hath yielded to these Countries, and those also which they hope, in time to come, you will perform; they offer unto him, for the assurance of his Person, to maintain a Company of Horsemen for the Safeguard thereof, beseeching him to accept it on the behalf, and at the offer of those Persons, which think themselves much bound to the Preservation thereof. And so much as toucheth the said Estates (who think themselves also charg'd by the said Proscription) they mind shortly in like sort to justify themselves, so far forth as they shall think convenient. So concluded in the Assembly of my Lords the Estates General, in the Town of *Delft*, the 17th Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord 1580.

By the express Determination of the said Estates.

Signed *J. Houfflin.*

An APOLOGY or DEFENCE of my Lord the Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, of Catzenellenboghden, Dietz, Vianden, &c. Burgrave of Antwerp, and Viscount of Belanson, Baron of Breda, Diest, Grimbergh, Arlay, Nozeroy, &c. Lord of Chastelbellin, &c. Lieutenant General in the Low Countries, and Governour of Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Utrecht, and Frise, and Admiral, &c. against the Proclamation and Edict publish'd by the King of Spain; by which he proscribeth the said Lord. Whereby shall appear the Slanders and false Accusations contain'd in the said Proscription.

THIS is the thing which I have always pray'd unto God for (my Lords) and desir'd with all my heart, that he would grant it me, from the time that I vow'd my Person, and all the means that I have in the World, for the recovering of your Liberty, and the safety of your Persons, Goods and Consciences: If, I say, I should at any time have prefer'd that which respecteth my self particularly, before your Health and Wealth generally, that I might in this behalf, bear an eternal Punishment, which I should have drawn upon my self, by mine own Good-will and Accord. But on the other side, if that which I have done heretofore, hath been by me attempted and taken in hand, only for the preservation of your Estate; and that I have born a great part of the burthen of this present War only for the common safeguard of the Country; and that the hatred conceiv'd by certain wicked persons, against the Country, against godly People and honourable Personages, having been for a certain time dissembl'd and cover'd in their hearts, cometh wholly, and that at once, to vomit and cast up it self upon me only, rather than upon so many good people, and especially upon the general Estate of the Commonwealth: Then, I say, this hath been the thing that I have greatly desir'd, that if my Good-will had been such towards you (my Lords) your Children, your Towns and Com-

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monalties, as indeed it hath been, I might one day carry away a solemn Testimony thereof, as well for the Peace of my own Conscience, as for the Defence of my own Honour, before all the People of the Earth, and before all Posterity. And now I do greatly rejoice my self, and yield immortal thanks unto our good God, and I have great occasion of Contentment and Quietness, seeing that he suffereth me to be made so rare, and so noble, and so excellent a Mark thereof, by this cruel and barbarous Proscription; yea such a one, as the like hath not been heard in these Countries, commended amongst all People and Nations for their singular and incredible Courtesy. For albeit that nothing be more to be wish'd of a Man, than the Race and Course of his Life to be sound, blessed, prosperous, and upright, without any dash, blow, stumbling, or any wicked incountring: notwithstanding if all things had fallen unto me as I would have wish'd, and that I had not encounter'd with the Hatred of the *Spanish* Nation and its Adherents, I should have lost the gain of this Testimony, which my very Enemies have yielded me, and which I take to be the most excellent Flower of Glory, that I had been able to have desir'd to have been crown'd with, before my death. For what in this world can be more acceptable, and that especially to him, who hath enterpris'd so great and excellent a Work, as is the Liberty of so good a People, oppress'd by so wicked People, than to be deadly hated of his Enemies; yea, such Enemies as are withal the Enemies of the Country; and by their own very mouth and confession to receive a sure Testimony of his Faithfulness towards his own People, and of Constancy against Tyrants and Disturbers of common Peace? Inasmuch that the *Spaniards* and their Adherents, thinking indeed to do me displeasure, have done me many pleasures; as by this infamous Proscription they have thought to hurt me more than before, and yet they have made me more rejoice, and given me more Contentedness of mind. For I have not only thereby receiv'd that profit, but they have open'd unto me a more large field to defend my self, than I durst ever be bold to desire; that so I might cause all the world to know the Equity and Justice of my Enterprises, and by it leave unto my Posterity an Example of Virtue, meet to be follow'd by all those that would not dishonour the Nobility of their Ancestors, from whence we are descended, and of whom not so much as one only hath at any time favour'd Tyranny; but they have all loved the Liberty of the People, amongst whom they have born Office and had Authority.

I have no occasion to complain, that I had not had heretofore matter large enough to speak of my self, and to reprove
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the foul and heinous Faults of my Enemies; but neither would Shamefacedness suffer me my self to sing and set out my own Praises, which surely is a hard matter not to do, whatsoever Modesty a man pretend in such a matter: neither would publick Honesty permit me to enlarge my self to rehearse the Faults of mine Enemies, liking much better to bury some part of their grievous Enterprises under silence, than in publishing them (albeit in truth) to cast my self into danger, to incur the Suspicion to be a Slanderer.

Seeing then (my Lords) that in this Proscription, the Question is not only to tax my Person, and barbarously to make it a Prey; but also it is known to every one, that by my wounds they mind to wound the Commonwealth, and the State of all these Countries: As also this is no more now perform'd by small defamatory Libels, made by People of no account, and whose Injuries done against me, should no more move me, than the Tongue of some little Serpent, which a man must rather break in pieces with his foot, than endeavour to fight against it with Weapons. But that men of so great countenance, should so far and so vilely debase their Greatness, as to busy themselves falsely to backbite and to slander; it hath seem'd unto me altogether necessary to speak, to the end that our common Country (for which I am ready to give up my Life, as I have already lost my Goods) may not feel herself damnify'd or hurt by my silence; and that on the other side, these famous Titles of so many Countries and Kingdoms, stretching themselves so far as over *Africa* and *Asia*, may not dazle the eyes of many, who judg the Affairs and Matters of this world rather by Shadows, Appearances, and outward Shows, than by Strength and Soundness of Reason. I know notwithstanding all this, that those who persecute me, have in many points advantage against me, and principally in two points: the one is, that they make a shew and boasting of their great Qualities and Estates, which do infinitely exceed my Condition: the other (which is also a natural thing to all men) willingly to open their ears to evil Speeches and Slanders. For I have oftentimes heard the most elegant of all the Poets to have very well said, that there is not in any Feast any Sauce so sweet to the Palate of the Mouth, as evil Speech and Backbiting is to the Ear: And on the other side, that nothing is heard so much against the heart, and with so great grief, as the Speech of him that praiseth himself. Of these two points, that which bringeth pleasure is given to my Enemy, and I have for my share that which is hard and unpleasant almost to the whole world. But I hope, that by means of your Favour and usual Good Will,

452 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

Will, neither the one or the other shall bring me any loss or hurt; seeing so it is, that this long time since you have try'd that these great and famous States, if they be spotted and tainted with Tyranny, cannot gain much of free Hearts and noble Courages. And on the other side, knowing the ordinary trade and course of my Life, who love not more to blame another man, than to praise my self; yet if it so fall out that I do either the one or the other, as it is a very hard thing not to do so (albeit that it shall be with the greatest modesty that I can) and if there be any thing that may seem not very seemly, it shall belong to you (my Lords) to attribute the same rather to the Necessity so to do (which mine Enemies have laid upon me) than to my Nature; and by that means to unburden me, and to lay the fault wholly upon their own Shamefulness and Importunity. And I will pray you (my Lords) to remember, that I am falsely accused to be *unthankful, unfaithful, an Heretick, an Hypocrite, like unto Judas and Cain, the Disturber of the Country, Rebellious, a Stranger, an Enemy of Mankind, the publick Plague of the Christian Commonwealth, a Traitor, and a wicked Person, that I am set out to be slain as a Beast, with reward to all Murderers, and to all Poisoners which will attempt the same*; leaving you to judg (my Lords) whether it be possible to purge my self from such Slanders, without ripping up in some matters the ordinary course of my Life, and without exceeding my Custom, in speaking of my self and other men.

In the mean while, I am so assur'd of the Justice of my Cause, and of my Soundness and Faithfulness towards you; and on the other side, of your Equity and Roundness, and of the knowledg that you have, how and after what sort all things have pass'd; that I demand no other thing of you, but only that you would judg and take notice of this matter, and determine thereof for your own Good, Health, and Preservation, that which the Laws, Freedoms, Liberties, and Privileges of the Country command you, according to the Hope that the People have of your Wisdom and Uprightness: which thing also I pray you to do, yea I earnestly beseech you, by all Holy and Sacred Things, and that by the Oath and Band which you bear to the Country; certainly assuring my self that as in many other matters I am less than mine Enemies so I shall be in this behalf so much the more their Superior as that by all means and crafts they have purposed to violate break, and suppress your Laws, your Privileges, and Liberties: whereas on the other side, I have with a good Heart and all Faithfulness, imploy'd my self to maintain and preserve the same. And albeit (my Lords) that I am not i

such sort an Enemy to my Renown and own good Name, but that I take delight and pleasure (as also I hope my Actions and Deeds deserve the same) to be in good account among all the Princes, Potentates, and Commonwealths of the world (excepting only amongst the *Spaniards* and their Adherents, who persevering in the pursuit of their Tyranny, I desire not either Grace or Favour, or any Friendship at their hands) notwithstanding seeing that you are the Men only in this matter, to whom I have taken an Oath, to whom alone I count my self bound, who alone also have power to approve or improve my Acts and Deeds: I shall hold my self very well satisfy'd, when on your part I shall have receiv'd a Testimony conformable and agreeable to my intents and purposes, which have always been join'd with your Good, Profit, and Service; and I shall patiently suffer other People and Nations to judge thereof according to their Passions and Affections, or rather (which thing also I most desire) according to Equity, Right, and Justice; having first put off all Prejudice, and freed their own Understandings from the thick Clouds of these Greatnesses and Glory, which might heretofore have somewhat dazled them.

Now if mine Enemies (my Lords) had come directly to the point and matter of the Proscription, setting out the Reasons upon which this barbarous Sentence is grounded (which Sentence indeed doth overmuch declare their mind very base, and much degenerating from the Virtue and Courage of their Ancestors) I had not used likewise any Circuits or Compassings of words, but had at the very Entry declar'd both what my own Innocence is, and how weak and ruinous their Foundations and Groundworks are. But seeing that to make me odious, they have better liked to set, even at the entrance, before the eyes of all the world, a heap of Injuries, and in the course of this Speech, without purpose to interlace them, speaking so shamelessly of me; I suppose it is necessary, yea indeed most just, that I answer to such Slanders, to the end that some being mov'd or persuaded by such words, may not yet receive this my Defence with a Heart more estranged from me, than the Law allow'd amongst People, and Justice it self requireth.

As concerning then this heap of Injuries, by which I am so shamelessly rent in pieces, and which being taken out of this Proscription, nothing shall remain therein but a Smoke. You see, my Lords, how plain and without painting Colours the Defence is that I use. If you know me to be such a one as my Enemies publish me to be; if I carry either in my Body or in my Soul, such Colours as the Forger of this Writing
saith,

saith, that he hath painted me out withal (for, my Lords, ye have known me from my Youth, and I have not spent my Age elsewhere, but with you) shut immediately your ears, and refuse to hear or understand, so much as one word coming out of my mouth. But if, on the other side, I have all my Life through been more honest, more sound, more continent, and less covetous, than the Authors of this slanderous Writing, and than he who hath publish'd the same, to wit, the Prince of *Parma*, and his Predecessors, whose Facts are over-well known by Histories: If, I say, you have known me and mine Ancestors more virtuous People than these (for I speak not as yet of the King) and their Ancestors; then believe, that as they falsely slander at the very entrance, so they shall be no more meet to be believ'd in all the rest of their shameless Accusations. For to what end, I pray you, serveth this Recital of so many Injuries, but only to shew unto the world, that my Enemies are skilful to slander and backbite, and that he whom yet thro God's Goodness they have not been able to murder, neither by Poison nor Sword, nor yet to deceive by Promises, nor yet busy him with vain and uncertain Hopes; they do at least assay to wound him with the Venom of their Tongue, accustom'd even from their youth to so infamous an Occupation?

Of the good turns which some say the Ld Prince hath receiv'd of the Emperor Charles.

Accusation of Ingratitude.

Accusation of Unfaithfulness.

They at the beginning make a Recital of many good Turns which I have receiv'd from the Emperor, in respect of the Succession of my late Lord the Prince of Orange, my Cousin, that the King made me of his Order, Lieutenant General in the Government of Holland, Zeland, Utrecht, and Burgundy, and one of the Council of State. To what end are these things alledg'd? To declare that I am greatly bound to the House of *Spain*, and that I cannot shun this, but I must be condemn'd of Ingratitude; And moreover, that by reason of the Oath that I had taken, and of the Lands and Lordships that I hold in homage of the said Lord, I am bound to procure the Profit and Advancement of his Affairs and Matters, thinking to make me likewise culpable and faulty of Unfaithfulness. Verily I confess and agree with the King, and the whole House of *Spain*, that nothing is so much to be condemn'd in this world, as a Man defil'd with these two Spots and Stains, to wit, Unthankfulness and Unfaithfulness; and he that hath spoken these two Injuries to a Man, hath said as much to him and against him, as if he had charg'd him with all the Accusations and Slanders,

ders, that wise People and Fools, discreet and indiscreet, could make together: and specially look, by how much a Lord is of a more noble and famous House, by so much the more shall he be dishonour'd, if he can be convinc'd of these or such Faults. And I refuse not to be hated of all the world, to be rooted out of the earth, and that the Memory of me and mine should be wither'd for ever, if I may be found such a one. But that shall be with this condition also, That if I declare, that there is no Prince in the world, more ungrateful and unkind towards a poor Lord, than he that accus'd me, and would condemn me, is against me and mine: That the Unfaithfulness also which he hath used in respect of me (for I will not yet speak of the open violating of his Faith towards the Country) is incredible, that then (I say) he also may be subject to the like Condition and State, and may be held for such a one as he is, amongst all living People, and all Posterity to come: And I shall think the Punishment greater in his behalf, than he thinketh any in mine, as may appear by that which he maketh shew to seek for by this tragical Proscription, which thro God's Grace and Goodness doth no more astonish me, than a vain Vision or Dream. First, my Lords, I protest, that the Remembrance and Memory of the Emperor *Charles*, shall always be in an honourable account with me, as well because of his Acts, as that it pleas'd him to shew me so much Honour, as to have nourish'd me in his Chamber, by the space of nine years; to whom also I yielded and perform'd most faithful and most willing Service. But if he, who by reason is most bound of all Men to maintain his Renown, come to accuse me of Ingratitude and Unthankfulness, as that I have not acknowledg'd the good Turns, which he saith that I have receiv'd of the Emperor: I beseech you to hold me excus'd, if being constrain'd for the Defence of my Innocence, I declare, in respect of good Turns alledg'd, that I have not receiv'd any at all from him, but that in doing him service, I have receiv'd most great Losses, as you shall plainly understand, if it please you to hear me patiently.

Now then he saith, that in respect of the Succession of the late Lord, the Prince Rene my Cousin, the Emperor handled me favourably. But wherein? First, there was never any Lord as yet found so evil-advis'd, that would pretend Right against me for Succession; insomuch that if the Emperor hath not hinder'd me in that, what hath he done for me, that a Judg, the greatest Enemy I could have, would not have done likewise? Was there yet any Party found so rash, that durst

456 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

offer himself to speak against it? And tho I had had adverse Parties, if my Right were so clear and so well grounded, that nothing was ever yet hitherto able to be alledg'd against it, which was able to darken or to shake it: And that hereupon the Emperor had given forth a Decree for my Profit; what hath he done for me, but administer'd me Justice, and would not take from me that, which the Laws, Reason, and very Nature it self did give me? But if it please you (my Lords) to consider the Nature and Quality of this Succession, you shall find my Right and Title to have been such, that the Emperor could not have depriv'd me of it, or taken it from me, without an extreme Injury, and a most manifest wrong.

The Succession of Nassau and Chaalons. There were in the Succession two principal Members or Branches: The first was that which came by our House of *Nassau*, which my Lords my Predecessors, the Grandfather and Great Grandfathers, Uncles by the Father's side, and Cousin German by the Father's side, enjoy'd; that is to say, the Goods which at this day belong unto me in *Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Luxemburgh*: The other was, the Succession of the House of *Chaalons*. As concerning the Succession of *Nassau*, which Men commonly call *Breda*, because it was the principal Place of my Lordships, and where I and my Predecessors had held our Chambers of Accounts, Council, and principal Instructions pertaining to us and ours; who was he that might molest me in that, unless it were my Lord my Father, who was the Uncle, and I the Cousin German, of my Lord the Prince *Rene*, the only Son of my Lord *Henry*, Count of *Nassau*, my Uncle, and the Brother of my Lord my Father? But so far off is it that I was hinder'd in that Succession by my said Lord and Father, that he himself took pains to come and sollicite the matter, that I might be put in possession thereof: Neither was there ever found Man so shameless, that would set himself against it, but *Schone* the President or Judg, who in the Council said, that the Son of an Heretick ought not to succeed, because that my Lord my Father following the Examples of good Kings, as of *David, Josias*, and others, had reform'd the Churches of his Countries, which he held and had in *Germany*, and had purg'd them from Abuses, according to the Word of God, and that by the Permission and Sufferance of the Emperor. And notwithstanding all this, the Council ceaseth not to give Advice, and to determine the matter according to Reason and Equity, as indeed it could not otherwise do, seeing that they had maintain'd my Lord
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the Count of *Kingstain* my Uncle in the Succession of the County of *Rochefort*, altho that he himself were a Protestant. Seeing then that this was in question (if that may be called a Question, which was in our own House, as whether the Succession aforesaid were adjudg'd to the Father or to the Son, pronounc'd notwithstanding always according to the Laws) none beside could justly pretend any Right thereto.

As concerning the House of *Chaalons*, first *The Baronies of* it cannot be said in respect of the Baronies, *Burgundy and* which I peaceably hold and possess in the *of Dauphine.* *Dutchy of Burgundy*, and in *Dauphine*, of *Vien-*
na, that I am therefore bound to the Emperor, for he had not any more power therein, than I; all being under the power of the *French King*, who alike seiz'd the County of *Charolois*, appertaining to the Emperor, and my Baronies, when War was moved between them two; insomuch that I cannot otherwise be bound unto him therefore, but in this, that I was contain'd in the Treaty of Peace made at *Seffons*, which was the last Duty that he could yield to the Memory of my Lord my Cousin, who but a little while before died in the same Expedition, and that on Foot at the Siege of *Saint Disier*, after so many Deeds of Arms done for his Service. And less hath he been able to favour me in my *Princedom of Orange*, where he had nothing *Princedom of* to see to, nor to do; no, neither he, nor any *Orange.* Prince whatsoever; I my self holding the same in a naked, bare, and absolute Sovereignty: which thing few other Lords are able to say. And there is no Prince, in respect of my said Princedom, whose Amity and good Grace I stand in need of, but the *French King's*, who I hope will not touch that which belongeth to a poor Prince, who is his most humble Servant; because Reason suffereth not that, beyond which Reason he will not go, and also because of the loyal and faithful Services that my Predecessors have done to the Crown of *France*, and the *Dutchy of Britany* (whereof he is descended, and is the Heir) with great Dangers of their Lives, great Expences, and infinite Travels.

There remaineth then that which belongeth unto me in the County of *Burgundy*, and whereof I have been so long time so unjustly and tyrannously spoil'd and dispossest'd; which by means of lene and borrowing, yieldeth unto me, even to this present time, two Millions at the least of loss. But I would in the first place, that they should remember, wherefore the
Count

*Possessions in the
frank or free
County.*

County of *Burgundy* is call'd *frank* or *free*; to wit, amongst other Reasons, because that the Freedom and Liberty of the Lords, and such as hold Possessions in the said Country, is, That they have Power by Will to bequeathe and to dispose of their Goods, how and to whom they shall think good, without being either for their Wives or their Children, or other Heirs whatsoever, inforc'd otherwise to dispose of their Goods, but in such sort as shall be agreeable to their own Will and Pleasure. Seeing then that so it is, that my Lord the Prince *Rene*, mov'd of his own Good-will, did (without any other respect that he had to me, who was at that time a young Child, living in *Germany*, under the Power and Discipline of my Masters and Governors, and he having no other respect but that I was his Cousin-German) did, I say, appoint me his general Heir; which thing also he did, according to the Power that he had, even by the Laws and Customs of the Country: I say, that if I ought to yield Thanks to any, it is to the Memory of the said Lord Prince, who being the eldest of our House, meant also, that as I should succeed him in the Order of Age, so I should come in like sort to succeed him in his Goods and Possessions. I perceive not then as yet, even to this present time, that I am any thing at all bound for this Succession to the House of *Spain*; neither is there any Man in the World that can say it with Truth.

The Grant. But the Emperor gave a Grant unto the said Lord Prince, by Will to bequeath it to whom he should think good; and by the Power of that Grant the Prince chose me for his Heir. This (my Lords) maketh very much for me, and can at no hand serve my Enemy's turn. For when the Emperor yielded to the Grant, he knew not who should be nominated Heir by the Prince; neither was it known of any Man, until the day of the opening the Will; which was done in the Presence of *Mary* the Queen, after the Death of the said Lord Prince: Insomuch that the Emperor consenting to the Grant, seeing that his Purpose was not to advance me, I do not think my self to be bound unto him, because the favour which was shew'd unto the Prince (which notwithstanding every mean person whatsoever may easily obtain, by ordinary Letters out of the Chancery) was not shew'd on my behalf, or in respect of me. Besides, to judg of the Grant by that which afterwards ensu'd thereupon, should be to judg against the Rules, which so oftentimes I have heard the Emperor repeat, who said, That Councils ought to be examin'd, lik'd or dislik'd, by the Causes, and not by the Effects. But let us put the Case, that he had not had the

the Grant, yet nothing was appointed by the Will of my Lord the Prince *Rene*, but according to the Laws, as hath been before said.

But what will they answer, when, besides all these Reasons, I shall say unto them, That the Testament or Will of my Lord my Cousin is a Military Testament (which thing also they cannot gainsay nor darken) yea, and that made with very great Solemnity, ripe Judgment, and in good Season? Made, I say, and grounded by expresse Terms and Words upon this, That the said Lord Prince (who had before felt what were the Dangers of War, in so many Expeditions taken in hand for the Emperor's Service) was now on the way to go to a War so dangerous, and that with so great a Prince as King *Francis* was. And tho I be not a great Doctor in the Laws, yet so it is, that I do very well remember, that I have heard sundry learned Persons disputing of this matter in the Presence of my Lord my Father, who affirm'd, not only Military Testaments or Wills, but also little Scrips or Scrolls, to be of such value and force, according to the Laws of the Empire; that if a Man of War, or a Soldier, had before his Death made or given the least mark of his Will, yea the least sign that a Man can imagine or think of: As if he had but trac'd or drawn with his Blood upon his Target, his Name, whom he will institute, ordain and appoint to be his Heir; or with the print of his Halberd, or of his Sword, had written the same on the ground; that that Decree of his last Will is inviolable, and to be prefer'd before all other Ordinance, according to the antient Privileges of those who are honour'd with the War-like Chain or Collar. How much more then was this Privilege due to so valiant a Prince, and to so noble a Knight? For the Question is not here of some one simple Mark or other: but here is a Testament or Will well and advisedly made, and that not in haste, or by a simple Soldier wounded, and being ready to die, but by a vertuous Prince, and one worthy of immortal Honour, assisted by his Council, and somewhat forward in his way towards the Expedition; and the things bequeath'd not to a Stranger, but to his Cousin-German; and not to an importunate Flatterer, but to a young Child, being very far off from the Emperor's Army, which went to besiege *St. Disier*, and purpos'd to do the same even to *Paris*. But here is an Ordinance, I say, made not without the knowledg of the Emperor, but by his own Grant; yea, an Ordinance according to the Laws and Customs us'd in all places. This then being so strong, it was not in Man's power to reason against it, and much less to make it void, unless by some one way or other,
which

which should have been over-tyrannous, and which (it may be) might have brought more hurt than profit, to the Renown and Credit of the Emperor, especially if he had meant to offer any other thing than Reason. And as there have been amongst my Predecessors some, who have indeed found means and ways to cause unjust and ungrateful persons, who kept their Goods and Possessions from them, to yield them the same: So I hope, that God will yet shew me this Grace, to have a blessed Issue against him, who hath unjustly spoil'd me of my Goods, and would barbarously take from me my Life also. But seeing that I am inforc'd yet to speak of the Succession, I would fain have some tell me, whether the Emperor, suffering me to enjoy the Succession, hath given it me of his own or no: For if I have receiv'd nothing from him, but that which before appertain'd to my Lord the Prince *Rene*, I perceive not how the King can in any manner upbraid me, that either he, or the Emperor his Father, have given me any thing, unless it be Liberality to give largely of another man's Goods.

But on the other side, albeit that at this present time, I say nothing of the Wrongs that have been done me in the said County, in which I have such Rights and Preheminences, and whereof they have spoil'd me, and whereof I speak nothing at this time, leaving the Debate and Reason thereof, till Arms and Weapons shall have yielded me more Reason, than the Injustice of him that keepeth all from me. This I must needs speak; I had no sooner taken hold of the Succession of the Seigniory or Lordship of *Chastell-bellin*, but I *The Lordship of Chastel-bellin.* was even as soon spoil'd thereof, which is of so small value, that at this present there are due unto me Three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds of Arrearage by reason thereof. And this is the heap of Injustice that they charge me with, if I have done any. The Emperor was requested by my Lord my Father, that at the least I might, according to the Laws, be first restor'd unto the Possession, in which my Predecessor had been, but he would not suffer it: only he suffer'd me (being notwithstanding spoil'd) to follow my Right by Justice and Law, wherein he left me at the least some gap, because he did not let me from debating my Right against him, when the Cause was call'd forth to the Parliament of *Malines*. But the Son (who notwithstanding dares upbraid me with his good Turns) seeing the Cause ready to receive Judgment, the very self-same Day that the Procces and Controversy should have been clear'd, and the Advice of the President and Counsellors was already register'd; and I had Advertisement given me, to seek and provide

provide for Silver for the Judges Fees : He, I say, forbid his Court to proceed any further, and left the Proceſs hanging upon the Hook or File, where it remaineth yet to this preſent. You ſee (my Lords) that Juſtice was well miniſter'd by him who had ſworn the ſame to me, and to the Barons of this Country. And theſe be the great Advantages and Profits that I have receiv'd from the Houſe of *Spain* : This is the Foundation and Ground-work of all their Reproaches ; and upon this is this infamous Frame or Building of Proſcription ſtay'd and ſettl'd.

But if, on the other ſide, I ſhould come largely to lay out, how much the Houſe of *Spain* is bound to my Predeceſſors, (for concerning my ſelf I will as yet ſay nothing) I am afraid to enter into ſo great a Sea, which I cannot paſs over in many Months : Wherefore I will touch only the principal Matters, leaving unto you, my Lords, and to the Readers, the particular ſearching and finding out of the ſaid Bounds, in the Hiſtories and antient Records of this Country.

He that of the Houſe of *Austria*, firſt came into the *Low-Countries*, and that a long time after that my Predeceſſors held therein both Counties and Baronies, was the Emperor *Maximilian*, then Archduke of *Austria*. Now who knoweth not, that the Count *Engelbert*, my Great Uncle, was he who maintain'd and upheld the ſaid Emperor, imploying his Goods, his Life, and his Wit, for the Preſervation of him ? Was it not the Count *Engelbert*, together with my Lord of *Romont*, that obtain'd the Victory of *Guinegaſte*, having by his Courage kept the Foot-men together, whenas the Horſemen had broken the Rank and Order (by means whereof, the great Conqueſt of King *Lewis* the Eleventh was ſtay'd and let, which thing dy'd afterwards) that aſſur'd *Maximilian's* ſtate and condition ? Was it not he, who upon his return out of Priſon in *France*, found *Maximilian* wonderfully troubl'd in *Flanders*, againſt my Lord of *Raveſtain*, and thoſe of *Bruges*, who alſo prevail'd ſo much by Arms and by Counſel, that a Truce and Concluſion was made ? who was once again the Cauſe to uphold and maintain the ſaid Archduke, and who in like ſort cauſ'd the Accord made with the Inhabitants of *Bruges* to be maintain'd ; whereof even yet at this day, there do remain notable Marks and Tokens, both of his Fidelity, and of the Thankfulneſs of the Inhabitants of *Bruges*. It is the very ſame *Engelbert* that ſubdu'd thoſe that rebel'd againſt him, about the Borders of the *Rhine*, and eſtabliſh'd the ſaid Emperor quiet in his Countries of *Oultremeuze*. That I may ſpeak no more of the dangerous Voyages attempted for the ſaid Empe-

462 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

Emperor, as that Voyage into *Britain* for the Treaty of Marriage between the said Lord Archduke, and the Lady *Anne*, Heir of the Dutchy, and afterwards twice Queen of *France*: which matter he so well follow'd, that all was agreed, and further proceeding should have been made therein, saving that my Lord *John*, Prince of *Orange*, Father of my Lord *Philibert*,

The said Count dash'd all, and procur'd the Marriage of the said Lady's Cousin-German with *Charles* the French King. And the Merits and Values of the said Lord Count, were in those Countries so great, that he was made Lieutenant-General throughout the *Low-Country*.

The Successor and Heir of the said Lord Count *Engelbert*, and of his Goods which he had in these Countries, was my Lord the Count *John* of *Nassau*, his Brother, and my Great Uncle; and after his Death,

there succeeded him my Lord the Count *Henry* my Uncle, the eldest Son of the said Lord Count *John*, and his Heir, in the Goods and Possessions he had here in *Brabant*, *Luxenburg*, *Holland*

and *Flanders*: and my Lord the Count *William* my Father, was his Heir, in the Goods and Possessions which he had in *Germany*.

No Man can deny, that in his time there was any Lord in all these Countries, who labour'd more in the Service of the Emperor *Charles*, than he. And to the end I be not overlong in reciting that which is so well known, I will only in a word tell you, that it was he that put the Imperial Crown upon the Emperor's Head, having so earnestly follow'd this matter, even then, when the Emperor, in respect of his young Age, and by reason of his Absence (for he was in *Spain*) was not able to pursue the same, that he persuaded the Princes Electors to prefer the Emperor before the French King, who earnestly labour'd to obtain the said Election. And as every one knoweth, that this Imperial Crown was the Bridg, which afterwards made a passage to the Emperor to obtain so many Conquests; so none can deny, but that the acknowledgment thereof ought to be given to the said Lord Count.

But can any Man shew me at this present, so much as one Mark or Note of Recompence, or one only good Turn, that our Stock hath receiv'd from the House of *Spain*? Men may see in sundry places of these Countries, Pieces of Ordnance, with the Arms of *Hungary* upon them, which the King of *Hungary* gave to my Predecessors, in testimony and remembrance of that their vertue and strength, which they had imploy'd and shew'd in their Service against the *Turks*; certain of
which

which Pieces were violently taken from me, and carried away by the Duke of *Alva*, out of my House of *Breda*, when he play'd the Tyrant in this Country, and yet some of them remain there to this day. Which thing I put down to declare, that so long as these Pieces shall last, so long also shall the Notes and Marks of my Ancestor's Vertue endure; and there shall remain also a notable Testimony, which the King of *Hungary* hath given them. But as my Predecessors have been so noble, and by the Grace of God, and the good Government of their things, were never yet poor; so they never yet demanded any thing of the Princes of these Countries, neither yet receiv'd any thing as a Free Gift: and yet I am sure, that the Imperial Crown at the least, deserv'd some one Recompence or other. I confess, that the Succession of *Chaxlon*, and of the Princedom of *Orange*, was a great increase unto our House: but if we be bound to any for that, truly it is to the great King *Francis*, who gave in Marriage to the Lord mine Uncle, the Sister of my Lord the Prince *Philibert*, the Daughter of my Lord the Prince *John*, who was nourish'd and brought up with Queen *Anne*, the Grandmother of the said Lord King, and whose Cousin the said Princess was.

And thus you here see (my Lords) the Honesty and Good Behaviour of this Monarch of *France*. The Emperot got and receiv'd his Crown by the Pains and Travels of my Uncle: *Francis* the King (who knew all that the said Lord had done for his Competitor, that is, for him that fought to be Emperor as well as he) ceas'd not for all that to give him this Princess in Marriage, who was not the suppos'd Heir only, but the very Heir indeed of my Lord the Prince *Philibert*; the said King confessing, that he ought not to be displeas'd with him, who had constantly follow'd that part which he took upon him to follow: Infomuch that I may say of him, as the Historiographers of his time said, That it was an assur'd Testimony of a noble and liberal Heart in the Prince. And albeit, the Emperor had granted something to the Memory of my Lord the Prince *Rene*, and that (according to the last Appointment) he had granted some extraordinary Privilege and Benefit unto his Will: Should this, I beseech you, be a sufficient Recompence, yielded to so faithful and so excellent Services as he had perform'd, who was so valiant and so couragious a Prince, and had done for him so many Duties; having by Force of Arms, not only recover'd for the Emperor the Damage of a Battel lost, but also having again conquer'd for him the Dutchy of *Gelderland*, and, in fine, he himself yielded up his Spirit at the Emperor's Feet, and that for his Service?

What

464 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

What shall I need to speak of Prince *Philibert*, who alone obtain'd for him *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, and with my Lord the Duke of *Bourbon*, assur'd him of the State of *Rome*, and took the Pope for him as a Prisoner; and, to be short, hath given him a heap of all Excellency and Blessedness? And yet now his Son will come, reproaching the Remembrance of such Princes, and will say, That the Emperor hath executed Justice to their Successor and Cousin. Now if they of *Nassau* had not liv'd heretofore; if they of *Orange* had not done so many Deeds of Arms, before that the King was born, he would not have put so many Titles in the beginning of this Proscription, by which he doth falsely and slanderously pronounce me a traitorous and wicked person, which as yet never hath fallen out, and I hope never shall fall out in any of my Race. But let them answer me, by whose Commandment the Cardinal of *Grandvelle* impositon'd the last *Maximilian* the Emperor, whilst he was the King of the *Romans*: I know what he told me concerning that matter; and that afterwards he was so afraid of the King and the *Spaniards*, that he was altogether fearful, to make profession of that Religion, which he knew notwithstanding to be the best.

He proceedeth and saith, *That he hath as it were in Order of Succession, continu'd and increas'd more and more my State and Countenance, having made me of his Order, afterwards Lieutenant-General in the Government of Holland, Zeland, Utrecht and Burgundy, of his Council of State; and that he hath bestow'd on me sundry good Turns and Honours.* As concerning Benefits, I cannot at any hand confess it, unless a Man will call the great Expences that I have been at, as well for the Service of the Emperor, as of the King, Benefits. For they who liv'd at that time, and especially in the King's time, may well remember, how the Court always was greatly accompanied with the Nobility of sundry and divers Nations, and for the most part with the Nobility of *Germany*. Now, every one knoweth, that my House lay always open, and that ordinarily I was to make the discharge and defraying of all Charges, bearing the Expences of the Court with a very little Allowance and Order, that was made on the King's behalf. Every one knoweth also, the great and excessive Expences, that I was of necessity to be at in the Voyage, in which both against my Will, and likewise against sundry Protestations made to the Emperor, and also to the Queen of *Hungary*, I was constrain'd to carry the Crown of the Empire to *Ferdinando* the Emperor: and hereunto I was the more unwilling, because it seem'd not reasonable

honorable unto me; that I should carry from my Master's Head the Crown, which in times past had been set thereupon by my Predecessors. After this I made the Voyage into France, wherein I was sent for one of the Pledges, appointed for the establishment and execution of the Peace made at *Chasteau* in *Cambresis*, which brought unto me also great Expences and extreme Charge; insomuch that I can in these three Points (unto which add also the Charges that I was at in the last Wars, and especially those at the Town *Philippe* and *Charlemont*, where I was General) verily assure you, that I spent more than Fifteen hundred thousand Florins: and yet notwithstanding, the Chamber of Account or Exchequer, may easily assure Men of this, that I never had so much as one farthing in recompence for these Services; yea, that being Lieutenant-General of the Army, I did not receive for all Charges, but Three hundred Florins a month, which was not sufficient to pay the Servants that pitch'd my Tents: Yea also, if the Queen of *Hungary* were yet alive, she could yet remember, that which she spake unto me, when the Emperor (perceiving himself to be in the greatest extremity that ever he was, partly by the Power of Duke *Maurice*, and of *William* the Landgrave, and partly by the Power of the French King) made the Peace of *Passau*, with as great loss to our House, which serv'd him with our great Loss and Charges, to preserve the Empire for him, as it had before obtain'd the same for him. For, albeit in an open Assembly of the Empire, the Emperor being, by the Advice of the Electors, set in his Throne and Imperial Seat, had judg'd, and that by a definitive Sentence, that we should have the County or Earldom of *Catzenellenbogh*, with more than two Millions of Florins for Arrearage; he made notwithstanding his Peace with our loss, putting by the Agreement of *Passau*, our adverse Parties in the possession thereof, without any recompence given to us. Which thing I propound not at this present, to stir up again any Contention, seeing that our House hath since that time agreed with the most famous House of the Landgraves of *Hesse*, whose good Kinsmen and Servants we are; that to the end we may make the whole World to understand the great Benefits that we have receiv'd from the House of *Spain*, and that every one may know who it is that, by good right, is to be tax'd for Ingratitude and Unkindness. And this (my Lords) is not the like first part that they have shew'd us: For my Lord the Prince *Rene*, being at that time the eldest of our House, pursuing so courageously the War of *Cleveland*, the Emperor promis'd him, that he would never conclude Peace with the Duke of *Cleveland*, but upon condi-

Peace made with my Lord the Duke of Cleve.

tion, that he should leave unto us peaceably the third part of the Dutchy of *Fuliers*, which appertain'd unto us by the Succession of my Lord, the Count *John of Nassau*, my Great Uncle, and *Margaret* the Countess of *Fuliers* and *Mark*: notwithstanding, perceiving himself to be the Conqueror, he made Peace with him as pleas'd him, forgetting that this Victory was obtain'd to his hands, by the Travel and Valiantness of my said Lord and Cousin.

The Honours. As concerning the Honours, which he saith he hath done me, I will never deny, as I have said heretofore, but that the Emperor did greatly honour me, whilst he nourish'd me and made me of his Chamber, by the space of nine years, and afterwards in my two first Wars, having appointed me and given me charge over all his Ordnance in these Countries.

And albeit, that I was not then one and twenty years old, yea, tho I were absent from the Court, at my Lordship of *Buereu*, notwithstanding (the Duke of *Savoy* attempting a Voyage)

My Lord the Prince made General of the Army at the Age of 21 years.

the Emperor himself chose me for General of the Army; albeit, that the Lords of the Council, yea and the Queen her self, did present thereto sundry other persons, whose Capacity and Understanding was very great, as my Lords the Counts of *Bossu*, of *Lalaing*, *Martin van Rossem*, old Knights and Soldiers, and the Counts of *Arenbergh*, *Meghem*, and *Egmont*, who was twelve years elder than I.

All this notwithstanding, albeit that no Man nam'd me (as afterwards they affirm'd to the Emperor) by reason of my Youth; yet so it was, that it pleas'd the Emperor to chuse me, for the Reasons which then he declar'd, and which the Queen of *Hungary*, inforcing me to take the Charge upon me, caus'd me afterwards to understand; which also I like better for this present time to conceal, than to declare, lest I might seem over-much to praise, prize, and esteem my self. I say yet more, that it pleas'd the Emperor (my Lords) then to cause me to come from the Camp, when he declar'd unto you the Will and purpose that he had to make over his Kingdoms into the hands of his Son the King: and it pleas'd him yet further so much to honour me, that he would not perform this solemn Act in my absence; yea, he presented himself amongst you in your Assembly, leaning upon me by reason of his infirmity; which thing sundry at that time thought was a very great honour unto me. But be it so, that since that time the King had bestow'd upon me some Honours, yet

cannot see, how after any sort he can prevail or get any thing
whereby, seeing that contrary to all Right and Reason, yea
contrary to his own Oath, he hath gone about to take them
from me.

As concerning the Order, if the Emperor and the College
or Company of the Knights thereof, have given me their
Voice, I am no more bound to him therefore, than to other
Knights, seeing it was necessary for him to allow of that which
the College approv'd; even as he himself knoweth, that we,
in the last Assembly of the Order held in these Countries,
and by Plurality of Voices, without his Advice, and against
his Will, chuse sundry Knights of the Order, and caus'd them
to be receiv'd and accepted. But he it, that I were in-
debted to him therefore; yet so far off is it that he may re-
proach or upbraid me therewith, that on the other side, he
himself is to be therefore greatly charg'd. He hath sworn,
and it is also contain'd in the Points that con-
cern the Order, that the Knights of the Or- *The Privileges*
should be judg'd by their Brethren; that is, *of the Order.*
men of the same Order. Verily, it was ne-

er in the Power of Duke *Philip*, fir-nam'd *the Good*, to inforce
by Lord *John of Luxemburg* to forsake the Oath which he had
made to the King of *England*, the said Lord of *Luxenburg* com-
mitting the Determination of the Matter in Controversy be-
tween them, to the College and Company of the Knights of
the Orders. But the Brethren, which the King hath appointed
my Lords, the Counts of *Egmont* and of *Horn*, to the Marquis
of *Bergues* and *Montigny* for their Tryal, were Porters, Pett-
inglers, and People of no account; by which also he hath
caus'd me to be condemn'd against all Order and Course of
Law, even as I have heretofore protested, and have alledg'd
the Insufficiencys thereof in the Presence of all *Europe*. In-
much that he himself having done against his own Oath,
and against the Orders and Articles of the College or Com-
pany, he is at no hand to be heard in such Reproaches as these
are, wherein there are found the ingrav'd Marks of his own
Oath being violated and broken. And beside, if I ought to
give Thanks to any of the Order, for the Governments and
Dignities that I have, it must be to the Emperor, whose
Command it was, and who had so decreed the same, before he
should depart out of this Country, having before known the
Services that I had perform'd, and my Faithfulness, namely, in
the Government and Guiding of his Army, wherein I have for witness my Lord of
Chastillon, Admiral of *France*; and the late my Lord of *Chastillon*, Admiral of *France*; and indeed made us afterwards to know, that he was our ad-

468 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

verse Party: All which notwithstanding they gain'd nothing (thanks be to God) upon me; but I builded, in despite of their Beards, the Towns *Philippe* and *Charlemont*, albeit that the Plague did very strongly afflict our Army.

As concerning the Government of *Burgundy*
The Government I can certainly assure all Men, that I have
of *Burgundy*. not receiv'd any thing, but that which my Pre-
decessors have at all times maintain'd, as ap-
pertaining unto them by Inheritance; and indeed my Lady
Philibert of *Luxenburg* (my Lord the Prince *Philibert* her Son
being in *Italy*) caus'd the States of *Burgundy* to assemble and
meet in the Town of *Nozeroy*. And because that some thought
it not meet and convenient, because my said Town was upon
one of the Frontiers of the County of *Burgundy*, she answer'd
That she meant to maintain the Possession of the Lords of the
House of *Chaalon*, who were by Inheritance Governors of the
County of *Burgundy*. But be it whatsoever it be, the Beha-
vior of the King towards me do's sufficiently declare, that I
cannot object unto me these Honours, which against all Rule
of Honour he goeth about to take from me, together with
my Life and Goods, having by Violence taken from me mine
own Son, against all Law either of God or Man; yea, against
the Privileges of the Country, which he sware to observe
his joyful entrance into it.

As concerning the Charge and Office
Counsellor of the Counsellor of Estate, I have sufficiently enough
Estate. declar'd in my Defence made heretofore, in the

Year sixty-seven, that the Cardinal and others
practis'd this matter, that I might be call'd thereto, thinking
thereby to cloak and cover themselves only with my Authority
before the People; and therefore I ought not to think myself
bound unto them for this, because, that in doing this they
sought not so much mine advantage, as their own profit. But
if they be deceiv'd of their hope, they must attribute it, either
to their own want of capacity, as not being able wisely enough
to order and direct their Enterprizes, or else (which indeed
is more true, for they did not want Wit and Understanding)
that their Wickedness was grown so great, so apparent
and so palpable, that no Man was able to endure them, so
that they were cast out of the Country as Venom or Poyson
yea as a publick Plague.

Now, forasmuch as they have not only directed themselves
against my Person, accusing me of Unthankfulness and Un-
faithfulness, but even as Rage and Madness doth equally befall
the whole World, as well the innocent as he, whom Men judge
culpable; so their Petulancy and Disorder hath been so great

as that they have desir'd to touch and taint the Honour of my Wife, by the blame which they suppose to lay upon my last Marriage. I know not whether I may judg them more to be condemn'd in Impudence, or in Beastliness, whilst that these skilful Men, who boast themselves to be so good Painters, know not as yet to practise that Lesson, which is so often said and repeated by the meanest Scholars that be; that is, he that prepareth himself to speak Evil of another Man, ought to be exempted from all Crime and Fault. For this argueth great Impudence and Rashness, if Men know their notable Faults, and yet will notwithstanding pass over their own Thorns and Thistles, as if they were Roses: or if they know them not, what Beastliness and Blockishness doth this argue, not to perceive and see that, which every hour of a day offereth it self to their Eyes and Sight? They see every day before them an incestuous King, which is one only half degree, nigh unto *Jupiter*, the Husband of *Juno*, his own Sister; and yet they dare reproach me with a holy, an honest, and a lawful Marriage, made according to God's Word, and celebrated according to the Ordinances of the Church of God. And again, I am here inforc'd to beseech you (my Lords) not to think of me that, which as yet you have never seen in me; to wit, that by their wicked Speeches I am mov'd to lay open these abominable Boils, and to set before the Eyes of all the World, the benumbedness and hardness of such Consciencés as these Men carry, but rather that it would please you to impute it to this Rage and desperate Madness of the Enemies of God, of the Enemies of all Christendom, and your Enemies particularly, who are inflam'd and set on fire against me, for no other reason but for this, That they know the great Care, Diligence and Faithfulness, that I have had for your Preservation. He then, that hath married his Niece, dare reproach unto me my Marriage; a Marriage, I say, very lawful, and according to God's Order.

He, I say, dare upbraid me with my Marriage, who (to the end he might obtain such a Marriage) hath cruelly murder'd his own Wife, the Daughter and Sister of the Kings of *France*, (as I understand they have Informations and Instructions concerning that matter) yea, his lawful Wife, the Mother of two Daughters, the true Heirs of *Spain*, as I doubt not, but that the Crown of *France* (the which heretofore hath given the Crown of *Castile* to a Bastard, of whom *Philip* is descended, dispossessing a Tyrant thereof, tho' he were lawfully born thereto) shall have no less Power to

Of the last Marriage of the said Lord Prince.

The Murder of the Queen of Spain.

maintain and keep it for the true Heirs, if God, who is a just Judg, and never suffereth such Wickednesses unpunish'd do not take Vengeance of it in his Life-time, depriving him of his Estate; which thing he hath most rightly deserv'd, altho he had not committed any other fault but this Incest, accompanied with so abominable a Murder. But you will say he had a Dispensation for it. From whom? From the Pope of Rome, who is a God in Earth. Verily I believe that, for the God of Heaven would never have consented thereto. But what was the Ground-work and Foundation of this earthly heavenly Dispensation? Forsooth this, that he must not leave so goodly a Kingdom without an Heir: and mark wherefore there was added to the former horrible Faults, a most cruel

The Murder of the Prince of Spain. Murder, the Father unnaturally murdering his own Child and Heir, to the end that by that means the Pope might have a gap open to give a Dispensation for so execrable an

Incest, abominable to God and Men. If therefore we say that we do reject the Government of such an incestuous King, slayer of his Son, and the murderer of his Wife, who can justly accuse us therefore? How many Kings have there been who have been banish'd and driven out of their Kingdoms who had not committed such horrible Crimes? For as concerning *Don Charles* his Son, was he not to be, in all likelihood our Lord and Master? And tho the Father could alledg against his Son a just Cause of Death, did not this Matter belong unto us, who had so great Interest therein, rather to judg thereof than to three or four Friars and Inquisitors of *Spain*? But it may be, that he made Conscience to leave him for his Heir whom he knew to be born in unlawful Marriage; because that at the time that he seem'd to marry the Daughter of *Portugal*,

The Marriage of the K. of Spain with the Lady Isabella Osorius. *g.al*, the Mother of *Don Charles*, he was married to the Lady *Isabella Osorius*, by whom also he had two or three Children; whereof the first was nam'd *Don Pedro*, and the second Son was nam'd *Don Bernardino*: of which Marriage *Rigomes*, the Prince of *Yuoli*, if he were living could give a good and sufficient Testimony

for he was the procurer thereof; whereby also he obtain'd that great Credit, and so much Goodness in *Spain*, the which they do at this present unkindly suck and draw from his Widow, as it were with a Sponge. Now, if he have so well behav'd himself in that suppos'd Marriage, that Marriage also which he hath made with the Daughter of *France* hath not as yet been more happy. For beside the Murder of the Queen his Wife, it was also made noble by an Adultery excellen

calling all other Adulteries, that is, that he kept ordinary and common Household with the Lady *Eufrafia*, who being become great with child by him, he inforc'd the Prince of *Ascoli* to marry her; and at the end of a certain time, the poor Prince (as the Ministers of the King's Tyranny say) died for grief, because that having too strong an Enemy, he was not able to remedy this, but that another man's Bastard should be his Heir. But they that speak more certainly of this matter, affirm, that he receiv'd a Morsel more easy to swallow down than to digest. And yet he, who is deck'd with a Crown of three such Marriages, being, I say, himself three times such a Husband, dare upbraid and reproach me with my Marriage.

*The Adultery
with the Lady
Eufrafia.*

But suppose that he were not so defiled, and that we might count him for a guiltless Person, yet for all that I fear him not, as tho he were able to reproach me with any fault; and thanks be to God, I have not done any thing, but very advisedly, and that by the Counsel of sundry honourable, wise, and discreet Persons. Neither is it needful, that he should travail much in that matter, wherein he hath no Interest, but to behold and see, and of which also I am not bound to yield him any account or reason. For as concerning my Wife that is dead, she was ally'd to Princes of very great Credit, to wise and honourable Princes, who, I doubt not, but they are fully satisfy'd in that behalf; and if I would enter further into that Discourse, I could easily make it appear unto him, that the most skilful of his Doctors condemn the same. As concerning the Marriage, by which I am ally'd at this present, albeit that they make the Zeal they would seem to have to the Traditions of the *Romish* Church, a Buckler and Defence for their Doings; yet so it is, that they shall never make any man in the world believe, that they are more zealous for that Church, than my Lord of *Montpensier*, my Lord my Father in Law, who maketh not profession of his Religion, as the Cardinal of *Grandville*, and such as he are, do; but as he thinketh, that his Conscience commandeth him. And notwithstanding, having well weigh'd that which is already past, and having heard the Advice of sundry principal Persons of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, assembled at *Poitiers* for great and weighty Causes; having also heard the Advice of Bishops and Doctors, he hath found out at the last (as such is the truth indeed) that not only albeit there had been a Promise made on my Wife's behalf, yet it was none by Law, because it was made in the time under years, against the Canons and the Ordinances of *France*, and

the Decrees of the High Courts, yea against the Canons of the Council *Trent*, to which my Enemy giveth and yieldeth so great Credit: but also that there was never any such Promise made, but sundry Protestations rather to the contrary, which is apparent by good Informations and Instructions made, even in the absence of my Wife. And altho this were not so, yet so it is, that I am not so little conversant in good and holy Doctrine, but that I know that all these Bonds of Conscience, laid upon us by men, cannot be any Bond at all before God. Neither can that hinder me which some say, that if such a thing were permitted to a Lord of my countenance, yet at the least the Pope ought to give a Dispensation for it. For it is long since (God be thank'd for it) that I know very well, of what value is this Traffick of the Dispensations from *Rome*: and so far off is it, that I will have recourse unto him (who even unto this present hath procur'd against me all the mischief he could) that I hope verily, that as this good Shepherd hath done to me and to all good People the worst he could; so God will give me Grace to promote the Destruction of that mystical Kingdom, which he hath set up in his Den of *Rome*, by means whereof he hath heretofore ruled over all the whole Earth, causing Princes and Kings to kiss his Pantofle or Shoo, yea treading under his feet the Emperor.

That the said Lord Prince is not a Stranger. They object unto me also, that I am a Stranger, as if the Prince of *Parma* were a great Country-man, who was not born in this Country, nor hath not a farthing-worth of Goods here, nor any Title; who yet notwithstanding doth with his White Staff command certain very evil-advised Persons, and who yield themselves obedient unto him, even as his poor Slaves. But what do they mean by the term *Stranger*? Verily such a one as is born out of the Country. Then if that be so, he himself shall be a Stranger as well as I; for he was born in *Spain*, a Country which is naturally the Enemy of the *Low Country*; and I was born in *Germany*, a Country which is naturally a Friend and Fellow to this Country. They will answer, that he is a King; but I say to the contrary, that this Name of King is not allow'd of by me. Let him be a King in *Castile*, in *Arragon*, at *Naples*, amongst the *Indians*, and in every place where he commandeth at his pleasure; yea, let him be a King if he will in *Jerusalem*, and a peaceable Governour in *Asia* and *Africa*, yet for all that I will not acknowledge him in this Country for any any more than a Duke and a Count, whose Power is limited according to our Privileges, which he sware to observe at his gladfom entrance. As concerning

cerning that which toucheth my self, it is plain and manifest, that I and my Predecessors, from whom I am descended in the right Male Line, have begun more than two hundred Years ago to possess Countys and Baronies in the Countrys of *Luxemburg, Brabant, Flanders, and Holland.* For about the Year one thousand three hundred and forty, my Lord the Count *Otho*, of whom I am descended in the seventh degree, and whose eldest Heir I am, marry'd the Countess of *Vianden*, and since that time the County of the said *Vianden* departed not from our House; but we have always peaceably enjoy'd the same, until such time as the King had unjustly dispossess'd me thereof. Afterwards, my Lord the Count *Englebert*, the first Son of the Son of the said Count *Otho*, marry'd the Lady of *Leck and Breda*; from whom also I am in the right Male Line descended, and that in the fifth degree. May I therefore by any good Right be call'd a Stranger? And that I may say nothing at this present time of the Goods which I have in *Burgundy*, where I have (thanks be to God) a very good Portion, may I justly be counted a Stranger? And I leave it to you (my Lords) to judg, who know better our Laws than any People of the World, how our Ancestors have used it time out of mind; and whether the Lords of *Ravestain, of Luxemburg, and of St. Paul, of Nevers, of Estampes*, and other Lords, holding Counties and Baronies in this Country, were accounted for Strangers; and whether yet at this day, you account not as Naturals of the Country, all those who possess such Lordships, so that they will take part with these Countrys: And have we not for that indeed an exprefs Law amongst us, as well in *Brabant* as in other places? For as concerning the Title of the Duke of *Brabant, Count of Flanders*, and others, which he beareth and braggeth of, albeit I confess these Dignities to be great, yet notwithstanding, if he and his *Spaniards* know it not, they must learn this, that the Barons of *Brabant*, with the good Towns and Cities of the Country, have indeed (when the Dukes of *Brabant* have so far forgotten themselves, that they have pass'd the bounds of Reason) very well taught them, what was the Power of the Barons, and generally of the Estates of the Country of *Brabant.* Now it is manifest, that I am descended from such Lords, as for sundry Ages together have possess'd the principal Baronies and Lordships of *Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Luxemburg.* But I hope, that my Lords the Estates have so well begun to declare unto him how much he hath fail'd in his Duty; and also that the said Lords will hereafter take him forth so good a lesson, that the poor People of *Sicilia, Calabria, Lombardy, Arragon, and Castile*, will learn

learn by our Example, that this Tyrant ought not to be suffer'd on the earth; yea that the poor People of *Granada* themselves will know how they ought to handle such a Tyrant, who in the time of the War with the *Moors*, caus'd to be imprison'd about an hundred Merchants, Inhabitants of *Granada*, all of them being Christians, of which the least was worth fifty thousand Ducats; and afterwards by a Hurly Burly amongst the People, caus'd them to be slain; putting into his Coffers all the Goods of those poor People. And to be short, my Lords the Estates (God aiding them) will teach them, how such must be handled, that will falsify their Oaths made and given to so good a People, at their joyful entrance.

But (my Lords) if I come to proceed further, and should begin largely to lay out before you the long time past, in which my Predecessors had not only their beginning here, but were also Lords, and possess'd great Goods, Titles, and Dignities in these Countries; I might say unto you, that at the time that his Predecessors were Counts of *Hapsburg*, and remain'd in *Switzerland*, mine were long time before Lords of the Country of *Gelderland*, whereof yet at this present there are remaining the Arms of our House of *Nassau*, for the Arms of the Duke of *Gelderland*: And we have not (as it were passing by it) kept the said Country in possession; but after that my Lord the Count *Otho* had marry'd the Daughter and

<p><i>The Counts of Nassau were the Counts and Dukes of Gelderland, from the Year 1039. to the Year 1350.</i></p>	<p>Heir of the <i>Voght</i> or Regent of <i>Gelderland</i> (for so did Men name at those days the Lords of <i>Gelderland</i>) which continu'd from the Year 1039. until the Year 1350. my Predecessors were the Lords, Counts, and Dukes of the Country of <i>Gelderland</i>, as yet even to this day men may behold the Monuments and Marks thereof. And I assure my self, that so far off is it, that he who calleth me a Stranger, can shew such Marks that he had his Original and</p>
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Beginning from these Countries; that, on the other side, his Race in the said time was altogether unknown in the said Country.

And because that he employeth himself to make a false, foolish, and ridiculous Declaration, containing, as he saith, the Progress and Proceedings of my Enterprize; because that many amongst you, when these matters were begun, were not of competent Age to understand the same, or else because you having not then intermeddled in the publick Affairs, could not well see how all things were directed and govern'd by the Craft of the Cardinal and his Favourers, and by the

Council

Council coming out of *Spain*, which always meant to command this Country, as it had done others; *Spain* it self being in their Opinion the Head of our Lordships, and we their Subjects and Slaves: I will for these causes recite unto you, how all things have been govern'd by these goodly Heads and wise Brains (who suppose that the rest of the World are as Beasts in respect of themselves) until they had brought us within two fingers breadth of our Destruction, and of a miserable Bondage, if God, by his Providence had not watch'd over us, and deliver'd us from their cruel Counsels and bloody Hands.

And as I have here need, I do once again beseech you (my Lords) of your patience to continue well and quietly to hear me, as you have already done: and I doubt not, but that as many among you have seen the whole, or else some part of my Acts and Behaviours, or else have understood it from their Fathers, and other good People, who have been Witnesses thereof; so having heard me, ye will as easily judge my words to be as true, as those of my Enemy are false and shameless. I will not (my Lords) recite unto you any thing of that, which I have seen in the Emperor's time, not because I did not perceive sundry matters set out and practis'd by the *Spaniards*, which I approv'd not as good, and of which I did not sufficiently conceive, that the Disease in process of time might grow so far, that in the end it should be very necessary to use a strong and powerful Medicine, and to purge the Country from these pernicious and hurtful *Spanish* Humours. But because I was not able then, by reason of my Age, and the little Experience I had, to know the deep Malice of the *Spaniards* and their Adherents; I could hardly persuade my self, that we should be inforc'd to bring a hot Iron to this Canker of *Spain*, or else to come so far as to root it out. But after that, together with my Age, I began to be of a more settled and sound Judgment, I had indeed a contrary Opinion, and deliver'd the same to sundry others, who never thought that the Rage and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* could proceed so far: for nothing fell out, by which I might have very particular knowledg of their cruel, covetous, and proud natural Disposition, but I certainly and assuredly look'd for the same long time before. I will therefore let pass that time, which cometh not alio at any hand to be

The Inhabitants of the Low Countries counted for the Spaniards Subjects and Slaves.

The natural Disposition of the Spaniards was always cruel, but yet kept under for a time by the Wisdom of Charles the Emperor.

476 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

compar'd, in any manner of Disorder and Tyranny, with that which hath since fallen out in the time of the King his Son: not that the *Spaniards* were then better than they are at this present; for amongst the *Indies*, and in other places, where they commanded absolutely, they yielded too evident a proof of their perverse natural Disposition, and tyrannous Affection and Will. But their Ambition and Pride was in some sort restrain'd by the good Affection that the Emperor bare to the Subjects of this Country; and because also that these Provinces were full of brave Lords, Wise and Valiant Men, favouring of their antient Nobility (and would to God they had Children like unto them) who serv'd in stead of a Bridle against their Insolence, and of a Countermure against their Pride and Rashness. I will then come to the time which ensu'd, because also that he who was the Heir of the Goods, tho' not of the Vertues of the Emperor, is he that cometh to assault me, after an Order more than barbarous and tyrannical.

The Emperor of most noble Memory, and the Queen *Mary*, seeing their Affairs and Businesses so impair'd by the means of a clean contrary Issue of the Wars of *Germany* (which fell out otherwise than the Pope and the *Spaniards* had promis'd to themselves) whilst the *French King* was join'd in League with some of the chief Princes of *Germany*; his Majesty, I say, was inforc'd to agree with his Enemy, his Affairs standing in such condition, that despairing of his Ability to keep his own Countries, he purpos'd to withdraw himself into *Spain*, and there to lead a private Life, after he had yielded up all his Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships, and had laid them upon the Person of his Son. And albeit that the King, because of the condition of his own Estate, had need to uphold his Subjects in good Will and Affection towards him (of which thing also he had most express Commandment from his Father) seeing that of the Means and Valour that they had, there did wholly depend the Safeguard of the Country, and the Maintenance of his own Honour: yet, whether it were by reason of the Nourishment which he had in *Spain*, or by the Counsel of those which then did, and even to this time have possess'd him, I know not, he hath always foster'd in his heart a mind to make you subject to a certain simple and absolute Bondage, which they call a full and intire Obedience, depriving you altogether of your antient Privileges and Liberties, that they may dispose of you, your Wives, and your Children; and handle you, as his Officers

cers have done the poor *Indians*, or at least as they do the People of *Calabria, Sicilia, Naples, and Milan*; whilst they remember not, that these Countries are not Countries achiev'd by Conquest, but come for the most part by the way of Patrimony, or else such as willingly gave up themselves unto his Predecessors under good and lawful Conditions. But it is likely that he did it by the Advice of such as serv'd the Emperor his Father, and the King his great Uncle; instead of a Foundation, the better to rear up the Building of the Kingdoms and Lordships, to which we see the House of *Austria* hath attain'd; it being at this day, without all controversy, the greatest and the mightiest of all *Christendom*.

And this Affection in him was but too much made manifest, immediately after the departure of the Emperor; as the Lords that then liv'd, did they yet remain amongst us, could yield you sufficient Testimony thereof. For even so soon as he was constrain'd to enter into War with the *French King*, considering the Power of his Enemy, and also the wise Advertisements of the Emperor, if he had had but one only Spark of good and sincere Affection towards these Countries, he should at the least have maintain'd his Subjects in good Devotion and Affection towards him. But in the midst of his great Affairs (so disorderly and unruly was the desire he had to play the Tyrant) he gave forth a most plain and most certain Demonstration of his evil Will. The Emperor, who (my Lords) knew better, than any Prince or Man in the World the arrogant and proud nature of the *Spaniards*, and it may be also the Inclination of the King his Son; and on the other side, the state of this Country, and whatsoever might destroy and preserve it; did seriously advertise his Son, that if he kept the Pride of *Spain*, he should diligently foresee that he would be the cause of the utter Ruin and Destruction of this Estate; which could not long suffer and endure this same proud Government, which the *Spaniards* exercise in every place where they can. And he gave him this Exhortation in the presence of the late my Lord the Count of *Bosnia*, the Father of him that last deceas'd, and in my presence also, and in the presence of sundry other Lords of his Chamber, of which some are yet at this day living. But neither the Authority and Commandment of his Father, nor the Profit of his own Affairs, nor Justice, nor his Oath (which yet notwithstanding doth keep in the most barbarous Nations) were able in any thing to moderate and restrain the natural

*The King's
Heart always
Enemy to these
Countries.*

*The Emperor's
Counsel given to
the King his
Son.*

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478 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

Disposition and Affection that he had, to tyrannise over us ; but on the other side, as tho he had been above all Laws, Privileges, and Liberties of the Country, yea and above Equity and Justice it self, he hath broken all Bonds, that he might outrage in all manner of irreconcilable Hatred and Cruelty.

The Aid call'd Novenale. At the same time, you (my Lords) granted unto him the Aid which was call'd *Novenale* ; by means of which Aid, and by the Valour and wise Government of the Lords and Nobles of this our Country, and of sundry brave Lords and Soldiers of *Germany*, his Affairs were so well and so blessedly guided, that after the winning of two Battels, the taking of Towns, and Prisoners of great Calling, and that in great number also, he inforc'd his Enemy to accept a Peace, as unprofitable for the *French King*, as it was honourable and profitable for the *King of Spain*.

And if it be lawful for me to speak any thing of my self, if he have but one drop or spark of Gratitude and Kindness in him, he cannot deny, but that I was one of the principal Instruments and Means to cause him to come to so excellent and to so profitable a Peace ; having privately treated thereof with my Lords the *Constable*, *Montmorency*, and the *Marshal of St. Andrew*, at the instant request of the *King*, who assur'd me, that the greatest Service I could perform unto him in this world, was to make a Peace ; and that he purposed to have it whatsoever it cost him, because he meant to go into *Spain*. But so far off was it, that either he or his Council, consisting of *Spaniards*, and of certain other Persons of this Country (who always continued in hatred against you, your Liberty, and the whole Land) did take in good part either this so good an Aid, or the happy Execution that insued thereof ; that on the other side, they judg'd this Succour and Aid to be a Fault of high Treason against his Majesty ; and for the

The late Lord of Lalaigue, and all the Estates appointed to death by the Spaniards.

which you (and above all other the late Lord of *Lalaigue*) had incur'd, by good right, the Sentence of Punishment. And why so ? Because you (my Lords) would not agree to any thing, without the Assembly of the *Estates General* ; and because you meant to cut the Talents of these *Harpies* and *Ravenors of Barlemontes*, and such-like, when you decreed that the *Mony* should be distributed by your Commissioners, according to the Conditions propounded unto them. Behold indeed two great Faults ! the one forsooth was, to demand a Meeting and an Assembly of the *Estates*.

For inasmuch as it serveth for a Bridle and a Bar unto Tyranny, it is a crime so much the more hated of Tyrants (who are the Devourers of the People, and Enemies of their Subjects, and of their own Crown) as this noble Assembly is lov'd, honour'd, and reverenc'd of true Kings, true Princes, and such as are the good Fathers of the People, because it is indeed the true Foundation of an Estate, the Assurance of the Commonwealth, and the only Peace and Quietness of Princes. The other Fault will never be pardon'd; for these Biters of the People, living on the Blood of poor People, have so long time made account of their Thieveries and Sackings, that they suppose their Spoils to be as good, and as an assur'd Revenue (yet much more fruitful) as their Fields and Gardens; and dissembling the true Cause of the Mischief, which they hide from their Princes, they seek Pretexts and Clokes in flattering them, and in lying unto them, to harden and to set on fire their Hearts against their Subjects. I have seen (my Lords) their doings, I have heard their words, I have been a witness of their Advice, by which they adjudg'd all you to death, making no more account of you than of Beasts, if they had power to have murder'd you, as they do in the *Indies*, where they have miserably put to death more than twenty millions of People, and have made desolate and waste thirty times as much Land in quantity and greatness, as the *Low Country* is; with such horrible Excesses and Riots, that all the Barbaritys, Crueltys, and Tyrannys which have ever been committed, are but sport in respect of that which hath fallen out upon the poor *Indians*; which thing, even by their own Bishops and Doctors, hath been left in writing; and, to make the King without excuse before God and Men, the History thereof was dedicated to him by one of his own Subjects, in whom there remain'd, as it should seem, some Spark of Justice.

From that time then (my Lords) I and other Lords, and sundry of the best and wisest Personages, both of the Nobility and of the common People, thought it good to cause (if we could) the *Spaniards* to depart out of the Country; thinking indeed, that albeit there were yet remaining some corrupt Blood amongst us, as verily we see, there is more remaining than were meet, which did proceed from this infected Race of the Contagion of the Fathers, who serv'd at that time the Ambition of the *Spaniards*, and follow'd the Cardinal's businesses; yet notwithstanding, that the better number, and all the Lords of the greatest Credit and Countenance, would be Enemies to this *Spanish* Tyranny. But partly thro other Businesses, and partly by reason of my
Voyage,

Voyage, and the going of some other Lords into *France*, whether we were sent for Hostages, as also to be present at the *French King's Daughter's Marriage*; the Business it self was interrupted, and the Performance thereof hinder'd. Now so far off is it (my Lords) that I will deny a great part of that which is set out against me, that I account it on the other side a great Praise for me, and will (it may so fall out) tell you more thereof than mine Enemies know; and the more that they shall write against me, and give a Testimony of their Fury and envious Heart against this Country, the more will I rejoice herein, that it hath pleas'd God to shew me this Grace, to be an Aider to cut off the course of this unmeasurable Tyranny, and by that means also to have been an Assistant to the Manifestation and opening of the true Religion.

They say, *That from the time that the King turn'd his foot from these Low Countries, I have by sinister Practices, Sights, and Subtilties, assay'd to get the Good Wills of the Malecontents, and of such Persons as have been greatly indebted, Haters of Justice, desirous of Novelties, and specially of those that were suspected to be of the Religion.* As concerning them that had the knowledg of the Re-

The Love that the Ld Prince hath always born to them of the Religion. ligion, I confess that I never hated them. For seeing that from the Cradle I was nourish'd therein, and that my Lord my Father had liv'd and died therein, having driven out of his Lordships the Abuses of the Church; who is he that will think it strange, that if this Doctrine were after such sort ingraven in my

Heart, and had taken such deep root therein, it should come in good time to bring forth her Fruits? For seeing that I was so long time brought up in the Emperor's Chamber, and being of the Age to bear Arms, I was even then presently inwrap'd with great Charges in Armies: for these Reasons I say (and considering the Scarcity of good Education that we had in respect of Religion) it was no marvel, tho I had then in my head the Feats of Chivalry, Hunting, and other Exercises which young Noblemen use, rather than those things which concern'd my Salvation. And yet notwithstanding I confess, that I have great occasion to praise God, that he hath not suffer'd this holy Seed to be choked, which he himself hath sown in me: And I say moreover, that I never liked of those cruel Executions of Fire, of Sword, of Drownings, &c. which were at that time very common against those of the Religion, as the Scrivener or Painter (for so he nameth himself) of this infamous Proscription calleth them. Wherein, albeit he flatter, lye, and slander altogether in other places;
he

he hath notwithstanding spoken very well in this behalf, saying, those whom he condemneth to be of the Religion, as indeed it only deserveth this Name by Excellency; which thing also the Truth it self hath wrung from his own mouth, so great is the Strength and Power of the same Truth. But whenas I being in *France*, had understood by King *Henry's* own mouth, that the Duke of *Alva* sought and spake of the means to root out all those who were suspected to be of the Religion in *France*, and in this Country, and throughout all *Christendom*; and that the said Lord King (who thought, that as I was one of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Peace, and had had Speech with him of such great matters, so I was also of that Religion) had declar'd unto me the ground of the Counsel of the King of *Spain*, and of the Duke of *Alva*; I, to the end I might not be of less estimation with his Majesty, as tho he would hide any thing from me, answer'd in such sort, that the said Lord King was not deceiv'd in his Judgment: which also gave him occasion sufficiently enough to discourse unto me so much, as that thereby I might understand the purpose of the Inquisitors. I confess, that I was at that time in such sort mov'd with Pity and Compassion towards so many good People as were appointed to slaughter, and generally towards this whole Country, to which I was so much bound, and into which they meant to bring in an Inquisition worse and more cruel than that of *Spain*; yea that there were Nets laid to catch even the very Noblemen and the Lords of the Country, as well as the common People: Insomuch that they whom the *Spaniards* and their Adherents were not able to supplant by any other way, might fall by this means into their hands, from whence it was impossible to escape; because that a Man could behold nothing else, but a very Labyrinth, whereby they might be condemn'd to the fire. I seeing, I these things, do confess, that from that time forward I earnestly attempt to help to drive out of the Country this Vermin of the *Spaniards*; and I do not repent me that I have done it, but judg rather, that I and my Lords my Companions, who favour'd this so admirable an Enterprize, have done a Deed worthy of immortal Praise; and which indeed had been altogether accomplish'd, and we by that means had atchiev'd the up-heap'd measure of Honour, if, after their gripes, we had as well

The Counsel of the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, to root out those of the Religion, communicated to the French King, and by the said King to the Lord Prince of Orange.

The Enterprize of the Lords, to cause the Spaniards to depart out of the Country.

shut the gate against them, so that they might never after have enter'd in again upon us, as we have since found out, and had the means to purge the Country of them. And I say yet somewhat more unto you (my Lords) and I wish that the whole Council of *Spain*, yea that the whole World should understand it, That if my Brethren and Companions of the Order, and of the Council of State, had liked rather to join their Counsels with mine, than to make so good and cheap a market of their own Lives, all of us would have employ'd our Bodies and Goods, that we might have hinder'd the Duke of *Alva* and the *Spaniards* from entring again into the Country. And I am yet even at this present content, that they should understand, that as already one part of the Country is scour'd from this Filth, insomuch that there is not therein any Remembrance thereof, except it be of their Bones: so I will not cease, by the power of God, and by the assistance of your Favour (which I hope will never fail me) to imploy all the Power that I have with you (my Lords) to purge the whole Country in general from this Vermine, and to cause them and all their Adherents to pass from hence over the Mountains, there to trouble their own Countries, if they will, and to suffer us to live here in peace and quiet possession of Bodies, Goods, and Conscience. Wherefore they are deceiv'd very much, when they think that I attempted this Work after their departure out of this Country. For I did it then when I was in *France*, even a hunting with the King, whilst they themselves were here; and I ceas'd not, till by the means of the late Lady of *Savoy*, of most noble Memory, I had obtain'd leave to come again into this Country, upon my Faith and Promise given to return again to *Rheims*, at the Coronation of King *Francis* the Second. And being come hither, I provok'd not Bankrupts, but good and honourable People and of the chief and most Noble Personages of the Country in the name of the Estates to demand that the *Spaniards* might be inforc'd to withdraw themselves: which thing was at the last executed. And the Enemies may remember (if they will) who were those good and honourable Personages who brought them that most unpleasant Message; who when they shall shew themselves, the Adversarys shall know and confess their Impudences and Slanders.

*The Request
presented by
the Nobility.*

But as concerning that which they say, that I was the principal Author of the Supplication presented and offer'd up, I will indeed tell you (my Lords) the whole matter; that is, That having once perceiv'd the Mischief was grown so far, that there was not now any more question of burning only the

poor People, who suffer'd themselves to be cast into the fire, but that fundry of the best Nobility, and of the principal Men among the People, murmur'd thereat: I fearing some dangerous Issue, as I had seen before my eyes *France* it self to have endur'd a dangerous access of Civil War for the like occasion; and doubting lest we should be assail'd in this Country with the like Disease, which commonly hath most dangerous Accidents and Effects, more hard to heal than the Disease it self, as alas we do over-much see it at this day. Seeing, I say, these things, in respect of the Bond wherewith I was bound by reason of my Oath, and in respect of my Duty towards the Country, I besought my Lords my Brethren and Companions, the Knights and principal Counsellors of the State, to assemble together at *Hoochstraten*, with purpose to declare unto them the apparent Danger wherein the Country was; to wit, of falling into Civil War: and that this was the true and only mean to hinder it, That we, who by reason of our Degrees and Offices, had Authority in the Country, should take the matter into our hands, and so to use that Remedy, which we should find most agreeable for the Country's Good, and only to bring to pass, that the Cardinal's Creatures (who sought nothing but Effusion of Blood, Banishment, Confiscation of Goods, and to be short, Wounds and Murders) should not deal therein, which had brought an assured Destruction to the Country; but rather that those who thought it not meet, that men should burn others according to their accustom'd order, should not want a Guide, who might let and hinder him in his Attempts. And albeit I shew'd them very many Reasons, to cause them to condescend to my Counsel, and that I had added thereto (beside the Good Will which was between us) the Advice also of my Lord the Count of *Schwartzenburg* my Brother in Law, and the Lord *George van Hol*, who had at that time very great credit with the Lords, for the evident and excellent Services which they had perform'd to these Countries: yet it was not in my power to obtain any thing; and this mutual fight one of another, did not profit me any whit at all, saving for a Testimony to all the world, that then seeing the Mischief afar off, which now we see present upon us, I did seek all the good means I could to prevent and turn away the same. But they of whom I have spoken, who thought these Persecutions hard, and who saw not, so long as they endur'd, any assured Rest in this Country (which thing always falleth out in such-like Affairs) began and labour'd to propound and broach new Enterprises; which by reason of the Offices I had, I found out a mean to discover: yet for all that, fearing

lest some most dangerous Event might ensue thereupon, and supposing that this way was the most mild, and very law-like or lawful, I confess I thought it not evil, that the Request was presented; which thing so far off is it that I mind to dissemble or colour over, that I count it a most great Profit both for my own Honour and Reputation, and also for the Service of the King and the Country. For if the wise Counsellors of the King had been so well advised as to yield thereunto, there had not ensued so many Miseries, by which there wanteth but a little that the whole Country had not been consum'd. But if they desire to know the true and the right cause of the said Request, and of that which follow'd thereupon, let them ascribe it to their insatiable Cruelty, which was not content with the intolerable Rigor of Placards and Licences; but following the Example of that Fool *Rehoboam*,

The Dutcheſs of Parma and the Card. Grandville, were the Cause of all the Miſchiefs in the Low Countries.

and believing the Counsel of an unwise Woman, of a Cardinal the Pope's Creature, and other such-like, they said, *The Father hath corrected you with Rods, but the Son will chastise you with Scorpions.* Whereupon there was set out a most earnest Pursuit, concerning the receiving of the new Bishops, (who were set up but a little while before) that is to say, so many Tormentors, to burn the poor Christians. Then were the Privileges trodden under feet, and by whom? Verily by a passionate Woman, who was yet notwithstanding arm'd with the Vizard of a King's Power, and with the Treason, Perjuries, and Subtilties of a Cardinal. Behold, I say, the Anvil (my Lords) upon which was forg'd all the Evil that ensued, to wit, because they yielded not (as requisite and necessary it was) to the Request presented by the Nobility: wherein I know, and I may protest it before God and before you (my Lords) that I did not therein commit any thing against my Honour and my Oath; but I advertis'd the Dutcheſs, and all the Lords of the Council, of the great Inconveniencies which afterwards fell out: insomuch that all the Mischief ensuing thereupon, must be imputed to themselves. For so far off is it, that they would hearken to me, that they thought on the other side they had found a matter or mean fit for to execute that which they had a long time purpos'd and set before them; that is to say, that after they had destroy'd those who were suspected to be of the Religion, they might afterwards the more easily bring the rest under a miserable and intolerable Bondage. And not only were they admonish'd by me (my Lords) but also sundry publick and particular Admonitions were given them by

divers others, both good People and Lovers of the Country, yea and Lovers of the King also more than he deserv'd; and they did in good time advertise him of the Danger to come, and what was the King's Duty by reason of his Oath, of his Obligations, or Bonds, and of the Conditions upon which he was receiv'd and admitted for Lord of these Countries, as also his Ancestors were before him.

My Lord the Count of *Egmont* himself was sent into *Spain*, to shew the said Advertisements unto the King's own Person; which notwithstanding, so far was it from profiting any thing, that the said Lord Count on the other side being deceiv'd, under the colour of the Word of a King (which afterwards cost him very dear) brought Letters altogether contrary to that, which the King from his own mouth had given him in charge to speak; insomuch that then he was forced to confess, that I did before his Journey well foresee what should come thereof. And yet these Scholars of *Macchiavel* would here blear our eyes with these goodly shews of Loyalty, Fidelity, natural Clemency, and such golden and glorious words; and yet notwithstanding they make no difficulty to play with the Oaths which they take, and with the Words they give to Men of such Quality and Countenance. Behold then the Authors, Promoters, and Framers of the Troubles, which have fallen out by reason of the first Request or Supplication; and you have understood (my Lords) that this was the Counsel which I have given therein.

As concerning that which they speak of the late Lord the Count *Lodowick* my Brother, they should do better to leave so good a Knight in Peace and unnamed, than to speak of him, seeing that he was much more honest than they, and without comparison a better Christian; and I make no more of this, that they call him *Heretick*, than our Lord Jesus Christ did, when as good People as our Enemies are, call'd him *Samaritan*.

*Touching my
Ld the Count
Lodowick of
Nassau.*

As concerning Publick Preaching, which after their manner they call *Heretical*, you your selves (my Lords) do sufficiently know, by whom and how they were brought in. And albeit that I had not at that time so much credit with them, as that they would demand my Advice therein, neither indeed did I ever counsel them; notwithstanding the matters being come to such terms, I confess I advised that the Dutchess of *Parma* should yield unto them: Wherein if I have given ill Counsel, then that which follow'd afterwards, doth at the least sufficiently declare, whether those

*Of the publick
Assemblies of
those of the
Religion.*

who suppos'd my Counsel to be naught, have very well handled their Master's Affairs and Buſineſſes; but rather God hath manifeſtly ſhew'd, that albeit he do for a time correct his own Children, yet he never leaveth a Perjury, ſo well qualify'd and notorious, as that of the King and the Dutcheſs of *Parma* was, without grievouſly puniſhing it, to the end that all the world may know he ſaith not without cauſe, That he *will not hold him guiltleſs, who ſhall take his Name in vain.*

Concerning Images beaten down and overthrown. As concerning the Beaters down of Images, and other Diſorders, I believe (my Lords) that there is none among you, but knoweth well enough, that ſuch Ways and Manners of doing pleaſe me not at all; and that many of them, who ſhould have aided and ſuſtain'd me, have on the other ſide with great injury torn me in pieces, becauſe I would never conſent that ſuch things ſhould be done, without ſome Ordinance and Decree of the Superiors and Governors.

Of the withdrawing of the Lord Prince into Germany. They have no better Foundation, than ſuch as you have heard before. For this that they ſay, *That the Providence and wiſe Government of the Dutcheſs of Parma was ſo great, that I was forc'd to depart out of the Country:* It may be that they ſhould ſay ſomewhat, if they would ſay, That the Deceits of the Dutcheſs and her Perjuries were the cauſe thereof; or if they would ſpeak of the ſmall Reſolution, and of the over-great Eaſineſs to believe that ſome had, who look'd continually for the Hangmen and Tormentors, and of the over-great Affection which I and other great Lords had towards the King, who perſuaded my Lord of *Berghes* and of *Montigny* to go into *Spain*; ſuppoſing that for their good Services, and the Nobility of their Race, the King himſelf would be content to underſtand by their mouths that which was neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Country, rather than to hear it by the *Spaniards*: But ſeeing that they were intreated in ſuch ſort as every one knoweth, thought I had juſt occaſion more nighly to take heed unto my ſelf than before. If they would ſay theſe things were the Cauſe, they ſhould ſpeak ſome piece of the Truth. But I was reſolv'd a year before to depart and give up my Office as appeareth by Letters written with the King's own hand and which I have alſo join'd to this preſent Writing; which doth ſufficiently ſet out the Falſhood of their Speech. And if any Man would know, why a year afterwards I withdrew my ſelf into *Germany*, my Defence publiſh'd in the Year Sixty Seven doth ſufficiently declare the Cauſes thereof; to wit

especially because I would not consent that the *Spanish Inquisition* should be receiv'd into my Governments. By reason whereof, I resign'd them before into the hands of the said *Dutchess*, with full purpose to live in Peace and Quietness with my *Kinsfolks* and *Friends*, looking when it would please God either to give the King better Counsel; or if he did yet wax worse and worse, when it would please God himself to open a gate to deliver this poor Country, which I saw plung'd into a bottomless Depth of *Mischiefs* and *Miseries*. For who can, without being wounded with wonderful grief, rehearse the *Banishments*, the taking away of *Goods*, the *Imprisonments*, the *Torments* endur'd, the sundry sorts of horrible and miserable *Deaths*, wherewith these bloody People (surmounting in *Cruelty Phalaris, Busyris, Nero, Dnimitian*, and all *Tyrants*) have persecuted the poor *Subjects* of this Country? And notwithstanding these things, I seeing no mean to comfort them over this *Misery*, did hold my self peaceable and quiet.

And because, in this *Proscription*, they say that I was at the least offer'd it, whilst that the last *Treaty* held at *Cologn* lasted; they ought to know, that they should be contented with my voluntary *Banishment*, and not to pursue me any farther: seeing indeed I gave them to understand, by a *Man of Countenance* and *Credit*, who yet is living, that if they attempted to touch my *Honour* and my *Goods*, they would constrain me to take such order for my *Affairs* as I might.

But, as mad People, after that they could not draw me by their honied and flattering words, the King also thinking to busy me by over-honest *Letters*, which yet notwithstanding I did plainly perceive to be full of *Deceit*; they directed themselves first to my young *Son*, a *Child* and a *Scholar*; and against the *Privileges* of the *Univerfity*, they took him violently from *Lovain*; yea, after the *Exhortation* and *Declaration* made by the *Univerfity*, that barbarous Fellow *Vergas* answer'd barbarously in false *Latin*: *Non curamus vestros Privilegios*, We regard not your *Privileges*. After this they carried him out of *Brabant*, against the *Privileges* of the *Country*, and against the *King's Oath*, and they sent him into *Spain*, that so they might remove him from me, who am his *Father*; and even unto this present, they keep this *Innocent* in hard and cruel *Prison*:

The King of Spain forced my Lord Prince, by all manner of Injustice, to take Arms.

The Count of Bueren taken in the Schools, and carried into Spain, against the Oath given and made at the King's joyful Entrance, and against the Privileges of Brabant.

488 *The Apology of the Prince of Orange.*

insomuch as if they had done me no other Injury, I should be unworthy not only of my Stock and the Name which I carry, but also of the Name of a Father, unless I did employ all the Wit and all the Means that God hath given me, to assay to deliver him out of this miserable Bondage, and to recover, if I could, such a Wrong. For I am

Not. 1.

not (my Lords) so unnatural, that I feel not the Affections of a Father; neither yet so wise, but that oftentimes the Grief of so long an Absence of my Son, doth present and offer it self to my Understanding.

And yet they were not content, but against all order of Justice, they apprehended my Brethren, and pursued me with Summonings, Seizements of Goods; and thrust me on, even as it were by force, to attempt sundry things,

The unjust Proceedings against the Honour, the Life, and the Goods of the Lord Prince.

whereof I my self never thought: they put the Process of me and my Companions (against the Articles of the Order, and against the Oath of the King, who was the chief thereof) into the hands of I know not what Porters and Pettifoggers, who were not meet to be Grooms or Pages to my Companions and me.

They do degrade me: They do deprive me of my Goods: They do condemn me to Death. And is this any other thing than to free me from my Oaths? and to set me at liberty to come out, to assault my Enemy, by all the means that God shall give me?

Behold then, how when I seek nothing but Quietness, they stir up Trouble; I seek Peace, and they provoke me to War. And what War? A War attempted to deliver my Child, to preserve my Life, to recover my Goods, and which is more dear than all, to defend my Honour. And yet I do not here propound unto you (my Lords) any thing of that which concerneth the common Cause, and belongeth unto the general State. This then (my Lords) is that which these Men slightly pass over, and under silence as it were, and which of set purpose they omit, as indeed not serving much for their purpose. If then, I not being the King's natural Subject (which thing also he himself saith) if I being absolv'd from mine Oaths by this unjust Proclamation and Sentence; if I having so just a Groundwork, by force to demand my Son and my Goods: If I say, I had driven him not only out of the Low Country, but also out of all his Lands and Lordships; yea and tho I did desire to make them mine own, seeing that against all Right and Equity, yea against his own Oath, he hath by force constrain'd me to attempt so necessary a War, even then when with all my power I did avoid it; and hath done m

all these Outrages, and that at the very self-same time, or a little after, when by his own Letters, written with his own hand, he yielded me so great and solemn a Testimony of Faithfulness, as no Man in the World could desire a greater, as appeareth by the Copy of the Letter hereafter inserted: who is he (the Premises being rightly consider'd) that can accuse me of any other fault than this, That I fram'd my self too much to the time, before that I would take Arms; and that I would not enjoy that which the Law of War, and of all Nations, yielded unto me; unto me, I say, who am born a free Lord, and who have this Honour to carry the Name and Title of an absolute Prince, albeit that my Princedom be not of any great length or largeness?

But seeing that the special Foundation and Ground work is this, That I have taken and born Arms against my Superior; I am likewise content to enter into this matter, where they shall find themselves to have as good Foundations as in other places. And in the first place, I would fain have them to tell me, by what Title King *Philip*, the Heir of the Bastard *Henry* of *Castile*, possesseth the Kingdom of *Castile*, and of *Leon*? For it is most manifest, that *Henry* his Predecessor was a Bastard, who rebell'd against the lawful Heir, who was his own Brother and Lord, whom also he slew with his own hand. What Right then or Title had this Bastard, being the King's great Grandfather? They answer, That *Don Pedro* was a Tyrant; and indeed I confess, that commonly they give him the Name of *Cruel*. But if by this Title *Philip* hold *Castile*, why doth he not perceive, that Men may by the same measure drive him out, that hath chased away others? And if there have never been any more cruel Tyrant, who hath more proudly, and with less consideration violated the Privileges of the Country, than *Philip* himself; shall not he be much more unworthy to bear, and to wear the Crown of *Castile*, than *Don Pedro*? For, at the least, *Don Pedro* was not an incestuous person, nor a slayer of his Son, nor a murderer of his Wife. And if some will say, that this concerneth me no whit at all, I am content to come yet somewhat more nigh, albeit that I have not purpos'd to stay my self upon that, which I shall presently speak unto you. But suppose that I did take up Arms against him, and that he were simply my Superior, and that I were born his Subject, (which yet is not so, even as he himself confesseth it) What should I do but that which his Predecessor had done, against the Emperor *Adolfus* of *Nassau*, his Superior? Every one that know-

*The justifying of
the taking of
Arms by my Lord
the Prince.*

Albert Duke of Austria took Arms against Adolfus of Nassau the Emperor.

knoweth ever so little in the Matters and Affairs of *Germany*, knoweth how *Albert* the first Duke of *Austria*, of that Name and Race (for before he bare the Title of the Count of *Hapsburg*) arm'd himself against the said Lord Emperor my Predecessor.

And albeit, it was God's Will that the said Emperor should die in the Battel; yet I know what the wisest Writers have judg'd thereof, albeit that *Gerrard*, then Bishop of *Maience*, the principal Author of that Conspiracy, meant to colour and darken the same. And verily, if a Man will somewhat more nighly look into the Story, he shall find, that this Faction was

Pope Boniface the 8th. set up by Pope *Boniface* (of whom it is said, he enter'd into his Popedom as a Fox, he reign'd as a Lion, and dy'd as a Dog) because the Emperor would not acknowledg

him for such a one as he said he was; and therefore he stir'd up against him *Albert*, who was already much displeas'd against him, because *Adolfus* was prefer'd before him in the Election to the Empire; and some Bishops also, over-much addicted to the Pope, did join themselves unto him, and aided him.

But who is he that would willingly reverence so wicked a Man, who in his Jubilee, caus'd to be carried before him, in the manner of a Triumph, two Swords, causing him that carried one of them to cry, *O Christ, behold thy Vicar on Earth!* and the other to say, *O Peter, behold thy Successor!* And verily, having committed so wicked a Feat against the Emperor, and having *Albert* at his Command, he was purpos'd, for the like Consideration, to do as much to the *French King*, call'd *Philip the Fair*, giving his Kingdom to the said *Albert*, and caus'd him to be nam'd King of the *Romans*, and of the *French-men*. But he found the Priests of *France* less ready to serve him, and less able to help him, and the whole Kingdom stir'd up, by the learned Orations of Mr. *Peter Coignieres*, and a resolute King,

King Philip the Fair beginneth his Letter with these words, Sciat factitas vestra; That is, let your folly or foolhood know.

who caus'd his Foolhood (for so the King call'd him in his Letters) to be taken at *Anania* by one of the Lords, and he the eldest of the noble House of *Colomes*, and by a Gentleman of *Languedoc* nam'd *Nogaret*, who brought him to *Rome*; where also they put him to death, as he had most justly deserv'd the same. But, as I have said, I will not stay my self upon these Foundations, but mind to come to the mutual Bonds, which are between him

and

and us. Let us then put the Case, that all this were neither so nor so. Doth not he very well know, that if he be Duke of *Brabant*, I, by reason of my Baronies, am one of the principal Members of *Brabant*? Doth he not know wherein he is bound to me, my Brethren and Companions, and the good Towns of the Country? Hath he forgotten upon what Conditions he keepeth this Estate? Doth he no longer remember his Oath? Or if he think upon it, doth he so little regard that which he hath promis'd to God and the Country, and that upon conditions tied to his Duke's Hat or Garland? It is not needful (my Lords) that I should here set out unto you that which he hath promis'd us, before that we took any Oath unto him, for sundry amongst you know the same. But because that others shall see this my Defence, I was very willing to call to your remembrance the sum of his Oath. You know (my Lords) whereunto he is bound, and that it is not in his disposition to do whatsoever he liketh of, as he doth in the *Indies*; for he cannot here amongst us, by Violence inforce one of his Subjects only to any thing whatsoever, unless that the Custom of the Bench of Justices, where they dwell, permit the same. He may not, by any Ordinance or Decree, alter or change, after any sort whatsoever, the Estate of the Country. He must content himself with his ordinary and common Revenues: he may not cause to be levied, nor yet exact any Impositions or Taxes, without the Good-will and express Consent of the Country, and according to the Privileges thereof: He cannot bring Soldiers into the Country, without the consent thereof: He may not touch nor deal with the decrying or imbasing of Money, without the consent of the Estates of the Country: He cannot cause any Subject to be apprehended, without Information made, and Knowledg first given, by the Magistrate of the place: Having any for a Prisoner, he cannot send him out of the Country. I beseech you (my Lords) do you not see, hearing only this Sum rehears'd, if the Barons and Nobles of the Country, who by reason of the Preheminiences, and the Charge of the Armies, do not oppose themselves; I say, not only when these Articles are violated, but when they are tyrannously trodden under foot; and when not one Article, but all, and that not once, but a thousand thousand times, are broken and corrupted; not by the Duke only, but by barbarous and savage People: Do you not see, I say, that if the Nobles, according to their Oath and Bond, do not

The justifying of the taking of Arms by the Estates against Philip Duke of Brabant, and Count of Flanders.

The sum of the Privileges of Brabant.

inforce the Duke to yield Equity and Justice to the Country, that they themselves should be condemn'd of Perjury, Unfaithfulness, and Rebellion against the Estates of the Country? And as concerning my self, I have indeed a particular Reason, and which toucheth me yet more nigh; that is, that contrary unto all the said Privileges, I was depriv'd of all my Goods, without observing any Form or Order of Justice therein. But that which fell out in the Person of my Son, the Count of *Bueren*, is so evident a Testimony of the Enemy's Disloyalty and Unfaithfulness, and of the Transgression or Breach of the Privileges, that no Man can, with any good reason, doubt why I have taken up Arms.

And in that I was not able, at the first time, to take fast footing in the Country, which he upbraideth me withal, what new thing hath happen'd unto me, which hath not fallen out unto the greatest Captains of the World? Yea, even unto him himself, who hath so oftentimes enter'd, and that with so great and mighty Armies, into *Holland* and *Zeland*; and yet, with a handful of People, and by the Aid of my Lords the Estates of the said Provinces, he hath been shamefully driven out of the said Country, and that great Captain the Duke of *Alva* and his Successors, without having at this day, in the said Countries, one Foot of Land under his Disposition and Government, as, by your good Aid, I hope that shortly he shall not have any in all the rest of the Country. To be short, by his Oath he meaneth, that in the case of gain-standing him, we should be no longer bound unto him, neither yield him any Service or Obedience, as appeareth by the last Article. If then I be not bound unto him: If I owe him not any more Service or Obedience, why is he so rash as to say, that I have taken up Arms against my Lord? Certainly between all Lords and Vassals there is a mutual Bond; and this Saying of a certain Senator to a Consul, shall be always prais'd: *If thou do'st not account me for a Senator, I will not account thee for a Consul.* But between Vassals there is very great difference, some remaining, without comparison, in far greater liberty than othersome, as we are in *Brabant*; having such large Privileges and Rights, that we may freely make and give Grants in our Lands; so that, excepting the Homage which we owe, we cannot have any thing more than we have. And amongst other Rights and Privileges we have this, to stand our Dukes in that stead, that the *Ephori* at *Sparta* did their Kings; that is to say, to keep the Kingdom sure, in the Power of a good Prince, and to cause him to yield Equity, which stood against his Oath.

But some will say, that there is a Condition annex'd; that is, that we shall be so long freed from our Oath, till he have amended the fault. *An Objection.*

But what if he will never amend it? If after the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Princes of the Empire entreat him, and make intercession for us, that it would please him to unburden the Country: For a full Answer, some would say unto them, That they should meddle with their own Matters; and that the King knoweth well enough how to govern his Subjects. If, after infinite Declarations, by the Message of very noble Lords of this Country, we do request him to do us Justice; he proudly rejects our Requests, and puts to Death the said Lords, and such as he can take, causeth them to pass thorow the Hangman's hands, and pursue the rest by all unworthy and cruel means: If he bring in upon us new Armies, utterly to destroy us; shall we tarry always looking for Mercy, until such time as the *Spanish Cruelty* shall have cut off from us all hope of respite? But he will now amend the fault, and hath sent means therefore by the Lord of *Selles*: also he hath disallow'd the Duke of *Alva*. We shall see all these things in their Order. For the present, I am contented to declare, that by good Reason I have taken up Arms against him: First, with the Estates of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and afterwards with you (my Lords) that he is forsworn against the whole Country, and in respect of me, against the Articles of the Rules of the Order, against the Privileges of *Brabant*, in taking away my Son, and carrying him into *Spain*, depriving me of my Goods and Dignities, having set me sufficiently free from mine Oath towards him, and declaring at this present his very base Heart, and yet notwithstanding tyrannous publishing this cruel and barbarous Proscription as the heap of all Injustice and Unworthiness. *Nota.*

Now (my Lords) since it hath pleas'd him to stretch out his Speech unto the Times which follow'd, I mind verily to enter thereinto also; and that the more willingly, because that I have done nothing of that, whereof hereafter he accuseth me: But first, by the Advice and Consent of the Estates of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and afterwards by your Consent in general; so that if there have been any fault committed, it ought not to be imputed to me, but rather I should be greatly prais'd, because I serv'd you so well and faithfully. I will then come to the Accusations that remain, but it shall be with this condition (my Lords) that I may, as heretofore I have done, largely rehearse, and plainly set out, that which he maliciously omitteth, to the end he might cover his wicked and
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