Transcript

Editorial comments:

BL MS Cotton Galba C IV f. 381r - 388v. William Herle's discourse on the Prince of Orange. The pages are badly burnt at the top and right hand sided edges throughout the document. Where the leaves of the volume have been bound, signature marks have been placed at the base of some of the pages; on fol. 381r is the signature 'Z'.

Address leaf:

[388v]

[Endorsement by Herle:] with the Prince of Orenge in Holland 1573

[Note:] The Prince of Orenge his discourse with william Herle, A^o^ 1573. Lowe Contreys.

Letter text:

[fol. 381r] [Be]lgi[a] - 13 iiij xi^th^

1573. The princ of Orange his discourse [of the] state of the Low countryes. 1573 in master Herles owne hand master s[...]

Certain discowrses which the Prince of Orenge had with me att sondry [times towching] the State of the Lowe Contreys, & of the trobles that dyd impend to all those [of the] Religion, unles they provyded for the same in tyme: wherin he wolde perswade he[r how necessary] & charitable it were for her majestie. (as the most Soveraigne & mightyest [monarche] that now mayntaynes the generall cawse of God) to assiste & deffend them that be affli[cted] for the same cawse & for their libertyes withall: which she might Justly & lawfully [do] as a good Prynce, without prejudice to ani, & therin to prevent the mischeeff [that is] most assuredly intended against herself & her whole kingdom, & layd by a long [hande] before, by the king of Spayne & his Cowncell, to be masters on daye of the Crown [of] England, which was never so nere as nowe, if she wolde suffer those of the [Religion] [...] Lowe Contreys to be oppressed, by withdrawing her releeff & cowntenance from therin [and in] giveng it to th'enmye of God & of her own Estate. Which arguments I [have observed] so nere as I cowd, & do most humbly present them to your L. bothe for that [my] dutye so comands me (the suggestyon & matter being so weightye) as for that it [towcheth] her majestie so nere, th'effect wherof followith.

1573.

That it was verey certain that the king of Spayne had determined long since [to make] warres with England, wayteng only th'opportunity of tyme, to se those trobles [of] frawnce & of the Lowe Contreys ones cessed, the easelyer then & with more ad[vantage] to acheve his purpose.

Like as it doth manifestly appere by the sondry alliances, so often renewed [tending] in generall to the utter ruyne & rootyng up of all those of the refformed Religion ([amongest] whom the English natyon kepe the first place) & in partyculer to invade E[ngland] provoked therunto by a nomber of sufficyent resons, which may give th'occasion & [pretence] to their desired executyon./

And to prove that the same is so, it hath bin mani wayes discoverd & expressed, [not only] by a nomber of speches & particular discowrses, hard & observed even from th[e K.] of Spaynes own mowth, & from other grett personaiges of his Cowrt: also [that which] is more) by lres & writengs full of apparent tokens & demonstratyons of [this resolutyon] agreed uppon against England; besyde the ordinary speches & devyses, [that passeth] among the spainish sowdyers, bothe presumpteously threttinyng the sayd Reallm & State, & noles detracting the honor & majestie of the Q. her self.

Butt also it is confirmed by mani synister drifftes, practises & other actes o[f] hostility, even comitted & disclosed in the face of her majestie & of her whole Reallme, by the Popes Bulle & by other declaratyons fastned in open places & dispersed abr[ode] aswell without England as within, by the sayd king of Spayne & his adheren[ts] to the blemishing of her majesties honor & grettnes, & to the sturring up of her subje[cts] [fol. 381v] & people against her by sedicyon, treson, & tumults, & lastly in exposing her for a praye to those that by invensyon or practys cowd first sease of it, therfore grett & dangerows these procedyngs have bin; all those may well judge that [have] had ani knowlege of the affayres of christendom for som aiges paste, which [yet to] this daye do holde their awthority & weight, more than ever before in Spay[ne] the obeyng & executyng of ani of the Popes decrees inviolably.

Withall it is evydent, that these Bulles & declaratyons were really & immediately acc[om]panied with sondry Conspiracyes, uprowrs, & wicked platts, proceding from very principa[ll] personaiges in England, suborned & sturred up therunto by suche ministers as had the handling of them, & handled with suche vehemencye, as there is non butt may easely beholde whatt was & is pretended, & from whence the originalls growed [&] proceded./

Allso that the Cawses, which might move this the rather in the King of Spayne, were so apparent & of suche moment, as might perswade ani of sownde judgement to se that the sayd King cowd nott be removed from them. for if he pretended (as it was inded his whole pretence) to make an absolute conqueste of those whom he estemes to be his subjects in the Lowe Contreys, & yett be nott (which may the more declare how ambycyously he wold usurpe) he most of necessity bring England to his obeyence allso; without which the fowndacyon, wheruppon he wold settell his grettnes & securitye were most weke & of no contynuance./

Being nedeles to alledge whatt good grownd or speciall colowr he had therunto, seing that the Religion only of those in England, was more than a sufficyent cawse to make a titell to whatt soever he wolde, whom he pursueth (as he doth the rest of the proffession) with an immortall hatred never to be reconsiled, esteming them worse than ether Turqwes, Marranes, Jewes, or Infideles, the Blasphemers of Gods holy name & of his son Jesus Christe.

And herwith the injuryes & wronges that he presumes to have receved of the nglish nation & Reallm (being knowen to be the vindicativest of all other Princes in nature & malice) ar of noles force than the qwarell of Religion to his purpose: specially whyle those of the Lowe Contreys (whom he hath condempned as his sworne & dedlye enmyes, whose memory he wolde abolishe from the verey erthe) have fownd nott only pittifull reffuge & hospitality in England, ^but allso ar^ mayntayned & protected there with all humanity & fredom, & in the fre excercise of their Religion & libertyes s[o] muche hated of the Spaniards./

[marginalia by Herle: also have had open [...] rtacyon & ayde bothe [...m]en & municyons in [...] warres that have bin [...] extremely made [...] against them for their [...] tes & libertyes.]

By which christian disposityon, their blooddy purposes colowred with the pretence of restor[ing] Religion into the Lowe Contreys (which they mene by placing of the Spanish inqwisi[tion] there) have bin made frustrate & vayne, having thought att on instant, [to] have spoyled so noble a Contrey of her richesse, prosperity, liberty, & privyleges with the blood of somani of Gods Creatures, to have qwenched their cruel [fol. 382r] thurst & with their goods to have satisfyed their gredy hands, butt [whiles Eng]land remaynes ether unsubdued to their power, or unallured to their desires [they] se no apparence att all. /

And therfore do they make it an open qwarrell, that England hath bin allwayes the principall roote of all the heresyes (as they terme them) that have spred threwe [them sel]ves abrode into the Lowe Contreys, & norished them att home, which concludes that the[ir] malyce is even whetted against the sayd State, as occasyons sufficyent to stur[re] them up to ani revenge.

Butt laying a parte bothe the respecte of Religion, & of ani other offencs that m[ay] be conseved; the grett & singuler comodityes, which the Kingdom of England [remem]bring unto the Spaniards, ar cawses of them selves to sturre up ani attempt for [the] subduing of it, namely when as they shalbe hable from thence with grett eas[e &] expedicyon, to kepe under the Lowe Contreys under as a slave to Spayne, furnish[ing] uppon every occasion from so nere & so abowndant a place bothe shippes or m[u]nityon, & all other necessaryes besyde, for the keping of them in perpetuall du[tie &] servitude. And besyde this in having England, the proffitt wolde be grett & [incre]dible that wolde rise to their traffickes & intercowrses, which att on instant wold make them bothe qwyett masters of the whole occean, & of the grettest welthe [in] the worlde./

Butt contrariwise if the Realm of England, shold ether be an enmye to t[hem] or remayne butt halfe suspecde therof, it apperes presently into how many & inconveniences they fall into of necessity, the passayge first of spayne [into the] Lowe Contreys being therby cutt of, & consequently the mene taken a waye in a state that hath his members so far devyded from the bodye is sill sene [to com]passe their desired purposes. Lastly the warehowse that they hope to mak[e of] Spayne with the spoylles of the Lowe Contreys, shold have butt a shorte rec[kning] & they misse of their intent in the verey begyneng.

So as if all other respects (which ar verey grett) colde nott move the span[ish] against England) yett this latter sheweth that it is impossible, butt that [they] (who in kynde of all other ar most ambycyows) have decreed to suborne [Eng]land, to establish theruppon their grettnes & securitye, who otherwise sho[lde] wante bothe coraige & judgement, if this platt were nott throwlye att[emp]ted.

And herewith beholding that there is no issue of her majesties bodye, to succeade in the Reallme, after her, butt the matter like to falle among mani Competitors, the sa[me] doth serve allso as a new firebrand to kyndell up the coveyteous desire of [the] Spainish king, who taking parte with on syde there, might the better oppress[e] [fol. 382v] the reste, & then by som new allyance with the next of the blood, to assure [him] self of the whole State for ever./

Who having this disposityon (as certainly he hathe) ye rather forced & [constray]ned to have it, if he will mayntayne hym self saffely in his own state & [with] whatt better comodity might he

wishe for? having subdued the Lowe Contreys [to his] will, & there qwiettly established his Tiranye, than to bring over his power & armye (yett blooddy & terrible of the murder & oppression of that people) into England./

To the which, albeit that he hym self had ether small or no desire att all, yett the Pope & other Princes confetherats, aswell in Italye as elles where, wolde certainly constrayne hym to this enterprise, even for his own promis made in that behalf unto them: partly to be revenged of th'english natyon, of whom they thincke them selves grettly & mani wayes injuryed, & partly to entertayne the king of Spayne still in warres in the remotest partes from Italye, for that it canott be chosen butt that his grettnes (if he sholde be qwyett & nere them) wode growe sucpicyows & dangerows unto them./

And to further this, bothe the frenche king & the howse of Gwise wolde give a[ll] the assistance they might, aswell for those comune resons, before remembred, wherin they be Joyned with the Princes Confetherats, as for som pertyculer resons, that do conserne the Crowne of frawnce it self. Butt specially the hatred that the howse of Gwise beres to her majestie (as she that hath bin & is the sole disturber of their wicked enterprises intended against Scottland & other places) wolde sett furthe an[i] mischeef against England as malycyously as might be, & the rather that by the same mene, they might torne from the Reallm of frawnce (now so wasted & wekened by these inward warres, & by the murther of suche a nomber of valiante subjects) the puissante furye of the King of Spayne to som other place, a neighber noles dredfull than suspected./

Wherunto may be added that if the Spainish King shold com ones to effecte his purpose over the Lowe Contreys (which God deffend) he wold be so puffed up with prowd overwenyng & with the oppinion of his own grettnes, as nothing wold be harde thought hard to his exploytes, nor once hable to resiste his only name, so as the same name shold serve as a terror to astony natyons from the boldnes ones to resiste hym in any thing, that ether he might attempt or wolde prescribe unto them./

And having the Lowe Contreys this att Comandment, he sholde fynde him selfe straig straight possessed of suche a strengthe by sea, suche a nomber of good shippes, well furnished with skilfull maryners & with plenty of all munityon & artillerye; as also with well trayned & resolved sowdyers, suche as boyleng in heate to converte [fol. 383r] their wepons (allredy bathed in Civill blood & made blonte with the destruc[tion] spoyled & ravished) against a Contrey entyer, bothe a stranger to them [wealthy] riche, & abowndant of all necessary thinges to sturre up their coraigs the m[ore]

Which partly the devisyon that is there, aswell for Religion as for private humors [and offen]ces norished by sondry; as for the qwarrel of Scottland, which is stomacked by [mightie] persons bothe att home & abrode, with the uncertaintye of Succession before [mencyo]ned, might serve to enkyndle the myndes of a nomber, to desire innovatyon, & [con]spire with the Spaniards: wherunto their gred successe in the Lowe Contreys w[oulde] give coraige to the English papists (which ar nott a few in nomber) to desire [and hope] for a like alteracyon att home, who allso shold be holpen by those that now l[ye] as Newters (a sorte most dangerows of all other) till th'occasion were [presen]ted to discover them selves att full. And herewith consydring the long ease & qwiettnes that England hath enjoyed, & the peple enured with plesure & de[licacy] far from the hardnes & experyence of warre, it bothe provokes the enterprise & makes it the easier &

of lesse danger.

The facility then wherof, according to all apparance, is sufficient to enf[orce the] Spainish natyon to enterprise this warre, whose naturall & highe am[bityon] accompanyed with vayinglory & speciall hatred towards England, doth make [me] thinck the tyme verey long, which is not employed therin allredy: which und[oubtedly] concludes that the warres of the Lowe Contreys ones finished, the Sp[ainish] have nothing in more certayn determinatyon than to prove their fo[rce] against England./

Which verey easely & without grett chargs might be mett with by her majestie [In case she] wolde prevent the harme in tyme, & cutt of the blowe before hand, in ayd [...] of the Lowe Contreys now, to resiste the power of the Spaniards, who be in this Cowrse, were the assured mene to entertayne her majesties qwyett, with the qw[yett] allso of whole christendom therby: A matter that reqwires butt a small p[ower &] lesse coste for brydlyng of them, as eche man may perceve that hath butt [small] knowledge of the state of the sayd Lowe Contreys. And in effecte, whan every [thing] is ripely wayed, it shalbe fownd that there is no mene so fitt & so expedite [to] turne the warres from England as this is, which otherwise is most certain[e to] follow, if the Spaniards obtayne their purpose qwiettly over the sayd Lo[we] Contreys./

Butt if their affayres of the Lowe Contreys be strengthend & cowntenanced [to] holde owtt, then is it a thing assured that the Spanyards shall not only [loose] their longyng for making of ani invasyon in England, butt also be exclud[ed] from the menes how to disqwyett them in any degre./

[fol. 383v] Wherwith som of the propper actyons & procedings that the Spaniards have them se[lves] shewed to the worlds wold be consydred of, how since the tyme that those inwarde w[arres] have begon in the Lowe Contreys, they have contrary to their accustomed ha[rtie manner] of deling with the Q. majestie used suche forced & hippocriticall humblenes, & su[che neg]ligent menes to wyn her favor, as lastly whatt by grett intreaty, & what [im]portunate soliciteng, they have obtayned an agreement for the intercowrse of [Marchants] & a confirmatyon of the allyance betwen her & the Howse of Burgondye, thoughe with grett disavantaige & prejudice to their syde, which as it is open dissimulatyon apparent to all men, so ar they compelled therunto for the tyme sake, lest that the affayres of Holland & Zeland succeding well, her majestie might Joyne with them allso to their utter destructyon, which occasioned the Duke of Alba so spedily to take up the matter, with whatt condicyons soever he might; An acte that is accompted to hym in wisdom & industry, the grettest that ever he did, having preserved therby his cawses (which certaynly were redy to falle) & wyneng the comoditye withall to compasse hys secrett practises in the same, whose fayth towards heretyckes (for so reckens he of her majestie & of all those of her proffession) is to be kept with them, as may serve his ever[y] turne & the tyme herafter./

Thus is it easely perceved, whatt mynds the Spaniards have, & wherunto they presently aspire, in that they fere nothyng somuche, as that her majestie sholde declare her self of their syde that be thus afflicted in the Lowe Contreys, & so were their whole platte of mischeffs overthrowen att ones by her majesties good resolutyon, which deppended entyerly of her good will or ille wille, so sclender was their power without her./

Concluding therfore, that all their practises & humble sutes for the obtayning of this accord, tended to playn mischeff & Deceytt./

And other wise to thinck, ones, that they ment sincerely towards England (the Lowe Contreys subdued) were far from reson & from ani good grownd, bothe for the waight of those former arguments rehersed, as in respecte of their owne nature, which hath in their prosperity shewed all wayes an arrogant & prowd behavyor towards England, a matter not lightly to be forgotten, the memory of it is so fresshe & of that gravitye./

Only they wolde temporize, till the sayd Lowe Contreys (as forsaken of her majestys ayd ayde) were suppressed, & then to invade England att their most ease./

Preparing in the mene season their platts & Intelligences, with suche of the sayd lan[de] as they knowe to be favorable to their syde, & desirows of novelltyes, to th'end the their turne may be served of them, as the opportunity of the tyme & cawse wolde suffer./

Which might be avoyded with verey small chargs, if her majestie att this tyme, wolde only [fol. 384r] declare her self against the Spainish King in open manner, & [this were the waie] (the sayd Prince of Orenge alledged) to entertayne the Lowe Contreys in suche [a ballaunce] as nether the Spanyard sholde devowre it, nor she her self be molested, though [all] his force were att ones employed against her, which was of small consequen[ce] the same being so devyded as it is, & so wekened & shaken otherwise, butt ra[ther] it sholde be an evydent undoing to all his State, the more he strove therin. And [to] saye in on worde the Q. only cowntenance without further power, declaring her s[elfe] openly favorable to those of the Lowe Contreys, wold make all the rest of the places th[ere] to revolte, so generally do they abhorre the Spainish governement, & so grett is he[r] awthority, if she dyd butt ones discover her self this far; by which goodnes she m[ighte] preserve the whole Contrey to her immortall comendacyon & suretye, & the king him s[elf] wolde thinck it most happi to receve whatt composityon her majestie wold give, seing on[es] this assured resolutyon in her./

For whye, those of the Religion do besyde other Ports that they have, kepe the 3 [prin]cipall keyes of all the Lowe Contreys in their hands, flusshing, the Brylle, Inckhusen, who do master & shutt in all those seas therabowtt: And then [howe] the King of Spayne be furnisshed of a sufficient navye, ether to offend or deffe[nd] without the fryndship of England? having neither comoditye of havens nor s[hipping] nor yett of skilfull maryners to attempt things withall, which hath well appered in [these] incownters of late in Zeland, & is a notable mayme unto hym.

Beside, that he is nott hable to supplye hym self with that nomber of Sowdyers, which the [dainger] of his state, & of the exploytt that he sholde do, doth importe, Butt it may be that he may retayne som Allmaynes to his service, which helpes nothing att all; fo[r the] Allmayne footeman is nott only unproffitable uppon the sea, butt is nott fytt to [handle] the harkebuze, a wepon att this instant wellnye sole & propper for the mary[ners af]fayres./

Then of frenchemen he canott be furnished, whyles these warres in fraw[nce] contynew, for that the Contrey it self hath want of them.

For Burgonions & Italyens, there are not mani in nober to be had./

Yett lett it be admitted that he had of these natyons, suche a nomber as he might [desier] how cowd he employe them against England, or against ani place by sea, whyles [he] is deprived bothe

of havens, shipping, & maryners./

Which want of shipping, canott be supplyed from the Coste of Spayne, for that all the p[itche] tarre, cables, mastes, & other apparaill for a navye, most com cheffly by their mea[nes] of the Lowe Contreys thither, which being now impeched, doth take awaye the mene, how [either] to furnissh further a navye thence, or to mayntayne the same that they have allredy [there] unles it be by England now./

[fol. 384v] Then is it further knowen, that Spayne canot make owtt ani grett nomber of their owne, ether by sea or land, especially now that the Turke threttens them [so neare] & so puissantly as he doth. Besyde that it is nether easye nor possible, to sett f[urth] shippes appoynted with vyttayles, & necessaryes from thence, lyke as it is fro[m other] places./

For when there is qwestion or necessity to have ani armed shippes furthe to conduct or waffte only a fleett of merchants, it axeth alwayes to the respyte of vij or vii moneths to do it. /

Which proveth then by all degrees, that there is no cawse att all to fere ani danger or [in]vasion from that whole syde./

Butt then lett their welth be examyned, which to a nomber apperes bothe huge & ferefu[ll] & may supplye mani deffecds: Butt th'experience of things passed & present, hath well discoverd that it is nether of bothe: for in respecte of the grett chargs they have b[ene] & be att, & of these long inwarde trobles, consumyng & takyng awaye the whole revenew withall, they ar unprovyded ether of welthe in their purse, or of Credite with merchants, having undon the best merchants & Cownters throwghowtt christendom by breking with them. And though merchants wolde give credit, yett can they not do it for ani rownd some, so long as the affayres of the Lowe Contreys contynew in this trayne they ar in, the traffick decaying therby every where bothe in generall & particuler./

Which hath tawght the King of Spayne, that the wekenes of his estate is suche, & the difficulty & derthe of vittailles so grett, the want withall of traffick, the nomber of Banckeruptes, & the lack of that mene how to employe artifficers, wherof the Lowe Contreys stands most by with a thowsand other inconveniences incomodityes, which the Civil warres have Joyned unto it: thatt all his Stats together canott bere owtt longer the necessary chargs of these warres, nor suffer hym to stand as a king, if present remedy be nott fownde. But howmuche more sholde he be pressed indede & driven to the verey walle, if her majestie of England, dyd Joyne with those of the Lowe Contreys in so Juste & lawfull a cawse as now is deffended./

As for example, if on only Towne of Ffusshing, which is nether riche nor puissant nor hath bin assisted in all this tyme by ani Prince or foreyn ayde, hath yett byn hable to make suche sharpe warres uppon the king of Spayne, shutting up the whole passaige against hym, & so often stopping the releeff that sholde have com to Myddelburgh: howe muche more were it impossible for the Spaniards, if the Q majestie wolde declare her self against them, ether to mayntayne ani warres in the Lowe Contreys, or to advance it against England, butt rather consequently to be overthrowen for ever./

[fol. 385r] But it may be objected that the Towne of Myddelburgh, The Ramkins & A[rmoy not] withstanding all this do holde owtt still: which objectyon is of small waight. For in assisting those

of the Religion, with som money, a few sowdyors & Canons, [to beseige] myddelburgh in good ernest, it cowd nott endure xij dayes att the uttermost against [them] which is a matter so well knowen, as canott be denyed, & the same a place nott on[lye weak] & subject to the Canon, butt to be easely famished, which had bin don er now their forces of Flusshing & Holland had bin somwhatt gretter & nott applyed [in other] places./

Butt be it as may be, whyle those of the Religion be masters of the seas, as hith[erto] Gods grace they ar, bothe in nomber of shippes, in vertue & experience of mary[ners] the Spanyards though they kept nott only that they have in Zeland, butt had ten [townes] more as good as myddelburgh, yett sholde they never be hable to sett furthe ani [navye] sufficyent to invade or anoye England withall: which is utterly impossible for them [to do] whyle these men kepe their own, or to passe ones owtt of Zeland to the sea warde [but] to their apparent destructyon, so far be they within the danger & subjectyon of [those] of the Religion./

Wherby her majestie might with grett facility delyver her Contrey & subjects att [ones] bothe of all dangers of warres, & of all sucpicyons that might growe theru[nto] which a small eharge ayde of men & money, wolde performe, making her hi[ghnes] give whatt condycons of peace & agreement she wolde to the Spainish King as humbly obeyed in the same by hym./

Butt of the contrary syde, if she staye till those of the Lowe Contreys (which go[d defend] be once subdued, then retornes the warre furyowsly, uppon her own state & [people] which will coste whole Millyons of Golde, before it be ended, besyde the danger to [lose] all, according to the uncertain events of warre; England being a Contrey of strong holdes to staye the enmye by the waye ani whyle by the waye, which th[en will] ether drive it to a generall hasarde att the firste, or elles to a longer war [by] temporizeng: which every good Prince for preservatyon of his state & subjects [is] dutye bownd to prevent, whattsoever leage or amitye therbe, which with ambicyo[ws neigh]bowrs & malycyows, serves butt to cloke their secrett projects till they com to th[eir] full ripenes, & so to wyn the advantaige they seke for; uppon which poynt I had ofte[n] repeted to me, that the plenty of England & the delicacye of the people, dyd give grett & mani advantaiges to th'enmye; which ij if they be sholde be accopanyed [with] the intelligence & ayde of Conspirators within land, & with the Scottish factyon bothe within land & withoute, wolde make wellnye all things open for a Conqweste./

[fol. 385v] Wherfore the sayd Prince of Orenge concluded: that on of her majesties wisdom & [mag]nanimitye, wolde provyde in tyme for the tranqwillitye of her subjects & he[r self] (knowing with whom she had to dele) by the beste & aptest menes that God doth [presente] (which were nott presented in vayne) & with the lest spoyle of her Contrey & [burthen] to her State, which were easely don, if ever her majestie were butt resolute, which [he hum]bly comended to that singuler prudencye & grace, that God had wonderfully endue[d] her with, for the staye of whole christendom./

Now uppon these often conferences, which it plesed the Prince to have with me, for som speciall likeng that he had of mi procedings there in mi frynds behalfe, he att laste did enter into som nerer & more secrett declaratyon of the State of that Contrey with me, & of his huble devotyon borne allwayes to the Q majestie of England, whose grettnes & prosperity he sayd, that he singulerly desired, having made her privey of his procedings from tyme to tyme, bothe in frawnce by his brother, & by master wallsingham her Ambassador there; & since by on Casembrod, by Boyzott,

& lastly by 4 that were sent into England to her majestie in the name & behalfe of the Stats of Holland, who att severall tymes had presented to her majestie the whole Contrey of Holland & Zeland, with their bodyes & goods to be entyerly att her disposityon, intreatyng for christianitye & Justice sake (which were the ij thinges that they wolde be Justeffied by) that her majestie wolde take them into her protectyon, & deffend their comune Cawse of Religion & liberty, against the Tiranye of Spayne, & the blooddy devises of Rome; comitteng to her majesties hands, as pledged of their humble truste & devotyon 4 principall townes, even the verey keyes of Zeland & Holland, & those which dyd master & brydell all the attempts ether of Spayne or of the Lowe Contreys. Butt her majestie in rejecting bothe them, their cawses, & the offers, had bred an incredible greeff in the myndes of the better sorte, to se them selves this forsaken of so christian a Prynce, & specially her majestie termyng them bothe hym & the Stats of Holland no better than Rebelles to their King, with whom she concluded that she wolde have nothing to do, & yett they had bin intertayned he sayd from Casembrods first comyng over, till this laste answer with som better hope. Protesting for his parte before the allmighty majestie of God, that these warres which he made, were not for Ambycion nor gayne (having enough in Germany & elles where to content him withall to the delyte & gwyettnes of his mynde & to the comforte of his frynds: which kynde of life he dyd prefferre to all other) butt for the deffence of Religion & of his Contrey, & for the lyves & libertyes of the people of the same, (who were all to be rooted owtt) for the which he wolde reffuse no travayll nor danger, [fol. 386r] till the laste drop of his blood were spent, in which resolutyon he wolde be found [bothe] Constant, alyve & dead, comending hym self & the Cawse to God, who with his p[rovidence] might mayntayne it, & take uppon hym the deffence of his Churche & people to his will. Declarying that to avoyd this note of ambycyon, how he had ever esch[ewed the] place of Soveraintye, as subject to grett envye & more charge, permitting a[lso] of Holland the government of their own things by their own Stats, though intre[ated] importuned by them all, to take it absolutely uppon hym, & to comande in whatt [manner] he wolde be obeyed: which might modestly shew how far his mynde was from asp[iration] & how lyttel he regarded those degrees, which other men so grettly desired: yett if t[hings] were negligently & slacked slackly handeled, by those that that had the Charge, he [was] sure the whole fawtt wold be imputed to hym as on that were ether irresolute, [or wan]ted coraige & skill. Butt towching that they were Rebelles, he verey well knew that judgement so clere therin, & so satisfyed mani wayes, as small excuse neded [and les] declaratyon of their Innocencye, in that they cowd Justeffye all their actyons & the [taking] of armes uppon them for their Juste deffence, to be lawfull bothe by devyne & [humaine] lawe; which hath bin sufficyently tryed & allowed in the Chamber of Th'empi[re] Spires he sayd, which place is their soveraigne Tribunall & resorte, as well to [judge] with indiffrencye & without respect of persons the Dukes of Brabant or the [earle] of Holland as the lest subject of Th'empire, owing nether dutye nor homaige to the King of Spayne, as King of Spayne, nor yett to the Lords of Brabant, longer than they maintayned unto them their awncyent rightes & libertyes with [no in]novatyon or breche in the lest jote: wherin they ar to reffuse no judge nor la[we] indifferent, for decisyon of their right & qwarrel: sufficeng that as Phillip of Mary he knew that the Q. majestie in termyng hym & them Rebelles had som f[urther] respect inwardly, than was convenient for som mene men to understand, being [meete] perhaps that it shold be so known to the world, that she had used them somwhatt [sharplie] which contented hym verey well; yett humbly beseching her majestie to interprete gracio[usly] those that ar nott only Joyned in on & self Religion with her; that had comended [them] selves this entyerly to her fayth & grace, butt allso that desire to do her fayth[full] service with body, lyfe, & goods for ever. Which they are the more bownd to do he s[aide] her majestie dyd take verey ille that som

Cowncellor of hers, shold perswade the reste [to accepte] those 4 townes offered by the Stats of Holland, & then to deliver them up [agayne] to the King of Spayne as Rebelles, which were the waye as the sayd Cowncellor thoug[ht] to wyn an everlastyng trust & fryndship with the sayd king: But her modestye & [greatnes] of mynde, dyd well expresse themselves att ones in this (as they had all wayes do [ne to] all other things) with a true prooff of her naturall goodnes, which made hym the [bolder] [marginalia by Herle: X] having conseved verey deeply of me, he sayd, to imparte with me thus faithfully & sec[rettly] the state of things as he did, & to desire me even even uppon mi allegiance to de[liver] unto her majestie & your L. whatt I had harde & sene of hym, who comended by mi mo[uth] into her majesties hands ones more, the entyer possession of Holland & Zeland, which w[as the] ernest desire desire of the Stats of the land, so to present her withall, if she wold [fol. 386v] as willingly receve their good willes, as they might lawfully performe whatt [they offerid] & haply her majestie might be now induced 'the rather' for the preservatyon of generall peace, which dep[pends] muche uppon their holding owtt, & for the respect of Gods cawse, which was deffended h[erein to] take uppon her the rather their protectyon, & to save that which otherwise was utterly l[ost] Butt rather then they wolde falle into the Spanyards hands (if her majestic reffused [them] they wold not only dye with their Contrey, but before they dyed, intangle the same withs [tanding] a Devylle, as sholde roote owtt the name of the Spanyards for ever from thence, which [they] sholde be compelled to do, reserving only their Conscyens & libertyes to lyke withall. Wher[in] I might beste serve to sollicyte this matter with her majestie he sayd without sucpicyon to the cawse & with gretter trust of that I sholde dele in, being her subjects & a private partye, & the[n] to answer hym again with spede, whatt she wolde resolve to do, having to late found he sayd that these often & publick messengers sent owtt of Holland, dyd bewraye before hand th'effect of their negociatyons by the conjecture of the places whence they cam, & might have withdrawen som good parte of her majesties disposityon to dele therin, where the matter was handled so openly. Again he sawe that they had perswaded suche such a necessity, wherby her majestie owght for the sayd necessity & for her own saffetye to helpe theme, that the comendacyon of her bowntifull worke, ye their thanks & obligacyon for the same was taken away, though she wolde have holpen them; Butt he besowght her to beleve that it was only grace that they sought, 'for' att her hands as the Princesse that dyd favor Religion & Justyce above all other, & to whom for the temperancye of her mynde & government, they had only recowrse unto, which wold bynde them for ever to remayne her most humble & faythfull servants, & to acknowlege her for their Soveraigne helper under God. And incase that she dyd accepte their offer & sett in foote in Holland, she sholde presently have Flusshing, the Brylle, Rotterdam, & Inckhusen, in posession, with whatt other places she wolde desire. They also wold yerely contribute unto her the som of 8 or 900000 [crowns] & all her charge sholde nott rise to 400000 [crowns] which wold be given without grudge of ani, or difficultye in the gathering of it; for then their traffick by sea & their husbondry att home, sholde to their grett benefitte & by her majesties only mene, florish, & be well hable to yelde a gretter recknyng than this. For the hering fare wold yerely give a notable some. The morgentake (which is a rate sett uppon every mesure of land) muche more. The confiscation of Abbey lands & of their lands that ar fled to the Duke wolde be a grett revenew. Their customes, impostes, excise, tolle for horses, & for their Turves, is also muche. And Lastlye [1 word expunged] their Dicaige (of all which & the rest, I have partyculer rate & observatyon) is a matter of no small valew. Besyde loanes & Benevolences (in which only kynde the Duke of Alba had in 3 yere of them 1800000 [crowns] besyde thordynary revenewes of his Prince. Butt if her majestie wolde accept this offer, her only cowntenance in the Cawse, wold procure the rest of the Lowe Contrey to revolte, & to com to her devotyon also, to

her infinite benefite, with whom they have secrett intelligence allredy, & specially with som frontyer townes, aswell towards frawnce as uppon the Ryne & the Mose, who [fol. 387r] only attend an occasion to discover them selves to ani effecte attempte. I[f] her majestie sholde have there & in Zeland 32 grett walled townes, bothe new[lie forti] fied & planted with garrison (for they have mayntayned by land & sea this whole [yeare] 34000 persons, whatt pyoners, maryners, & sowdyors, & have att this [instant] above 200 shippes in servyce) & withall she sholde be mistresse of the puissante[st] navye in christendom, & of the aptest havens for th'entertaynment of theme [and of] her own traffick with all natyons, wherby if she wolde restore this again [in the] end, she might make (though yett King Phillip hath loste all his right therof for ever, & of all the Lowe Contreys besyde, by those resons that he disclose[d to] me) the honorablest composityon & the proffitablest that ever Prince made. And [to] conclude, he wolde procure he sayd, of hym self that the Germaynes sholde [seeke] unto her majestie (as to the Soverayne hed of the Religion) to have an assured leage [con]firmed bettwen her & them; wherin they sholde every on for his degre contr[ibute] good somes to mayntayne the sayd leage, & so her majestie might be assured of ij grettest strengthes in christendom, without grett charge to her self, & yett [with] eqwall contributyon to the Cawse from mani parts: Besyde that Holland & Zela[nd] were hable to sustayne th'expences of that qwarrel & leage alone. For whatt en[emye] were there ones to provoke her majestie if she were this settled in those Contreys, [and so] knitt with Germani, ether were the Bayon leage to prevayll, nor yett the l[eague] of Lansberg, who wold decaye of them selves by this mene, as grett & h[able] bodyes do ar wont to do, that want norishment for their members: And he dyd devyse of 3 men, who for [their] calling & wisdom, were mete to [deale] with her majestie in this leage, bothe according to the weightynes of the Cawse & [the] dignitye of her majestie & the Germain Prynces, whom it conserned. The first was an Erlle of wittenstein a singuler man in Hessia, The second Zow[leger] a Cowncellor of the Pallsgraves, & the third Berlips a noble man Cown[cellor] to the Elector of Saxoni & verey dere unto hym: by whose industry thinges take the better & spedyer effect. And to th'end that nothing sholde be omitted, [her] majestie, he sayd, had sondry menes to reconsile the frenche king with his subjec[ts which] were a noble & godly acte, bothe to their saffetye & her strengthe) wherby [shee] might nott only recover Calice again with good handling, butt sett hym uppon [the] king of Spaynes toppe, bettwen whom the gelowsye was grett, & the occasyons weightye, that shold move the frenche king vehemently therunto, & thus every parte of Gods adversaryes, sholde be entertayned with theyr own harmes, & qwi[et]nes to be restored to the pore afflicted Churche, by her majesties only mene under God./ Butt if all this cowd nott move her majestie to dele openly in the cawse, yett that it might plese her to ayde them secrettly & spedily with 40 or 50000 li in loane, with the [fol. **387v**] which they wolde so intertayne ther affayres bothe in Germany & in other p[laces and] have therby tyme with all to brethe att home, till their revenewes were [ready] that the Duke of Alba shold have more cause to deffend hym self elles where [then] hable to anove Holland or those consignes, & haply might lese att [one tyme] (as his cawse wer now, which hanged he sayd, uppon a verey twyne thread [bothe] reputacyon & government. For the which some in preste, they wold bynde unto [her] majesties use, sufficyent revenewes & places in Holland, that sholld within on yere satisfye the same again, with infinite obligatyon of their syde for her majesties good & as secrettly to be kept, as they helde dere to enjoye their Conscyens & libertyes [free] And if nede be for further assurance, her majestie sholld have a garrison in which place she wolld chuse, mayntayned att the charge of the Contrey, which may 'might' be comitted to som trusty man, as though he served there with the other englishmen for wayges & thus in secresye & suretye her majestie shold be bothe wayes answerd. Beseching her majestie (even for Gods cawse & for the

Comune cawse of all good men) & ayde by on of these ij wayes to use her favor & ayde towardes them; without which as they stood uppon extreme termes (using this proverb to me to expresse their necess[ity] [marginalia by Herle: as it was,] *Nulli violentum perpetuum*) so most they be forced to sett all uppon vj & vij, [and] to comend them selves to that resolutyon which they wold be lothe to do, & which were half a mischeeff inded bothe to them & their ne neighbors allso yett beseching her majestie first to make them som present answer to so weighty a sute that according[ly] they might provyde for their affayres in tyme, hoping that she had the more cawse to thinck well of them, that so entyerly & ernestly dyd comend them selves & all their[s] unto her without condicyon.

which was th'effect of that, which he comitted to me by mowthe with grett secresye & charge. to be opened to your L. & mi L. of Lecester, & so consequently to the Q. majestie like as his lres to yow bothe doth imparte do importe, wherin he refferres the relatyon & trust of things to mi speche, & will performe noles (he avowes) then I have sayd in his name & theirs; which for the weightynes therof, I have putt in wryteng, craving pardon yf I have made it the more tedyows, in that I thought good to adde the maner & the circumstancs of his procedings with me, assuryng your L. that if this be not accepted by her majestie that the frenche king will ayde them bothe with men & money, & be master of the whole; which was a parte of Lombres comission (if he receved no Cowntenance here) to negociate with the frenche king whatt was convenient, who had wrytten 3 lres to the Prince in Holland for that matter, & hath his secrett ministers bothe there & with Cownt Lodovick allso, which have wrought verey far therin; promiseng paciffication to his subjects, excusing the murther uppon the King of Spayne & the howse of Gwise, as though uppon the sodeynesse of the things [fol. 388r] he were constrayned therunto, & that he wolde wholly therfore converte the [warres] where he might most indamaige so malycyows an enmye that had so weke [ned] in Credite & strengthe; Alledging that if he dyd laye hands ones uppon the Churche goods in frawnce, he hath a sufficyent tresure to mayntayne ani qwarell for [many] yeres; & that the Turke had promised hym 3 millyons yerely of Crownes to in[da]maige the said K. of Spayne. Lastly he wolde be in hand to have som fro[ntyer] townes to make an entry again into the Lowe Contreyes, to kepe the Spaniards [also] occupy of that [side as the] Turke shold do in other partes. I[n] which busynes Lombres (who is a v[ain babling] felloe [...] holly frenche) has byn a gre[at] travailer with the Prince to enclyne hym to that syde, butt never cowd obtayne good hering or Cowntenance in ani thing (as on in dede that was owtt of all favor si[nce] mi comyng to that Contry) till the publicatyon of the accorde for the intercowrse, was certeffied to the Prince, to have byn byn made with grett Joye att London, Andwarpe, & Amsterdam, which so moved them then, as they thought it to be the utter undoing, & the verey waye to discoraige their people att home, & their [freends] abrode, which I thought mi humble dutye to certeffye your L. of. & so humbly I take mi leve att London the xj^th^ of June 1573 your L most Bownde[n] W. Herlleli.