

soldiers, they would no longer act as such. Albert, soured with his ill success, was equally alarmed and provoked at this behaviour: and in order to prevent the infection of their example from spreading through the rest of his army, he instantly caused between forty and fifty of the most seditious to be executed, and sent a hundred and fifty to the galleys. By this prompt severity he quelled the mutiny; but, finding it necessary to relinquish his design of renewing the assault, he now bent his whole attention to the blocking up of the canal.

BOOK
I.

1602.

DURING the course of these transactions the court of Spain, notwithstanding their inability to furnish the archduke either with the troops or money necessary to insure success in his contest with the United States, was engaged in other expensive enterprizes. By their order the count de Fuentes, governor of Millan, had some time before made such numerous levies of troops, as excited in the minds of the Italian states and princes an apprehension, which at the present period seems to have been without foundation, that some ambitious design had been conceived of reducing Italy under the Spanish yoke. Of these troops a part was sent to the archduke Ferdinand, to assist him in his operations

Spanish levies in Italy excite jealousies.

BOOK

I,

1602.

operations at Caniffa against the Turks; another part of them to the Netherlands; and the rest were intended for an expedition against Algiers, which was still the principal seat of those numerous pirates, by whom the coast and the ships of Spain continued to be no less molested than in the former reign. About ten thousand troops were employed in seventy galleys, partly Genoese and partly Spanish, commanded by the celebrated Doria, and they had a prosperous voyage till they were within a few days sailing of the destined port. Had they immediately landed, it is probable they would have succeeded in their enterprize, as the greater part of the pirates, agreeably to information which Doria had received, were absent, and such of them as had been left behind were unprepared for their defence: but unfortunately, one of the capital ships had been separated from the rest of the fleet, on which account the debarkation was delayed till next day; and in the intervening night a dreadful storm arose, which not only rendered all attempts to land impracticable, but obliged the fleet to leave the coast and return to Sicily *.

Invasion of
Ireland.

THE court of Spain was not discouraged by the failure of their attempt against Algiers,

* Thuanus, lib. cxxvi. Placcii Chronica, an. 1601.
from

from engaging in another enterprize, which was still more difficult to be carried into execution. The war with England had not for several years been vigorously prosecuted by either of the two contending powers; and no event happened which deserves to be recorded: but Philip, or more properly the duke of Lerma, had, about this time, conceived the hopes of being able to give a mortal wound to the power of Elizabeth, by an invasion of Ireland, where a great number of the natives were in open rebellion against her, under the earl of Tyrone.

PHILIP the Second, by various intrigues carried on by ecclesiastics, had fomented the discontents of the Irish, and on different occasions had sent them supplies of arms and military stores. Many of them had been engaged, by the kind treatment which he ordered to be given them, to enter into his service in the Netherlands: and of these, many having returned to their native country, had, through the knowledge which they had acquired, in some measure contributed to teach their country the rules of military discipline, thereby rendering them a much more formidable enemy than they had hitherto been to the English troops.

TYRONE,

TYRONE, whose affections Elizabeth had in vain endeavoured to conciliate, though noted for his treachery and cruelty, vices which generally attend on barbarous manners, yet, being brave and active, had persuaded many of his countrymen to enlist themselves under his banners, by flatteringly inspiring them with the hopes of deliverance from the English yoke. He had applied for assistance to the court of Spain, and being seconded in his application by several seminaries of English priests and Jesuits, solicitors the most likely to succeed with Philip and his minister, he had obtained a promise both of arms and troops.

A BULL of excommunication having been published by three succeeding popes * against Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and inviting all catholic princes to take possession of her dominions, the superstitious mind of Philip was easily impressed with a persuasion that, by supporting the rebels, and abolishing Elizabeth's authority in Ireland, he would act the meritorious part of a faithful son of the church, and serve the cause of God and of the catholic religion. And, although he had too much indolence to be capable of being principally actuated by ambition, yet

* Pius V. Gregory XIII. Clement VIII. the present pope.

he could not but desire to add Ireland to his dominions, as, besides the great extent and fertility of that island, its commodious harbours would occasionally afford a retreat and shelter to his ships, and better enable him to dispute the empire of the sea with England and the United Provinces.

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I.

1601.

DETERMINED by these considerations, he gave orders for the equipment of a fleet of transports and ships of war, sufficient for carrying six thousand troops; and so confident was he and his minister of the success of their intended enterprize, that, besides the troops, a great number of families, including women and children, were put on board, with the design of establishing a Spanish colony in the kingdom which they expected to subdue. They had lent too easy faith to the exaggerated accounts which Tyrone had given them of his strength; and they were not sufficiently acquainted with the character and abilities of lord Mountjoy, whom Elizabeth had appointed viceroy and commander in chief of the English forces.

THE command of the Spanish troops, and the conduct of the expedition, were committed to Don John D'Aguilar, who had learnt the rudiments

ments of war under the duke of Alva, and had afterwards acquired some military reputation from a successful enterprize, in which he had the chief command, against the town of Blavet in Bretagne.

He set sail from Spain in the end of August, accompanied by some ships of war, under Don John Guevara, and arrived at Kinsale, in the south of Ireland, on 8th of October: but a part of his transports having been separated from the rest of the fleet, he found, on his arrival at Kinsale, that he could muster only four thousand men. With this little army, he applied himself to strengthen the fortifications of the place, resolving to remain there, till he should be joined by Tyrone, or till the rest of his forces should arrive. The ships of war under Guevara returned immediately after the troops were landed; and, soon after, the harbour of Kinsale was blocked up by a squadron of English men of war, commanded by sir Richard Levison. Agreeably to his instructions from the court of Spain, D'Aguilar dispersed a manifesto over the adjacent country, in which he assumed the title of general in the holy war, undertaken for the preservation of the catholic faith in Ireland; and whilst he
invited

Invited people to come into his assistance, he declared, that he was sent by his master the king of Spain, with no other intention but to deliver them from the dominion of the devil, and the heretical queen of England.

THE Irish had formerly, on different occasions, received the justest grounds of complaint against the English government; and at this time they were highly incensed on account of the introduction of what the English, with good reason, regard as one of their most valuable privileges, the institution of trials by jury; they were therefore generally animated with a spirit of discontent against their ancient masters. The greater part of them were likewise strongly attached to the popish faith; and their priests, who were wholly in the interest of Spain, possessed an entire ascendant over them, having persuaded them that their ancestors had originally sprung from Spain, and thereby created in their minds a strong predilection in favour of the Spaniards.

THEY were discouraged, however, from complying with D'Aguilar's invitation to have recourse to arms, by considering the small number of troops which he had brought to their assistance; and they resolved to remain

quiet till the arrival of the rest, which he had assured them would quickly follow.

THE viceroy was at this time engaged in the prosecution of the war against Tyrone, in the northern parts of the island. His arms had been attended with great success; he had defeated several parties of the rebels, and had made prisoners of many of their leaders, some of whom he had sent to England. Tyrone himself, with his adherents, had fled before him, and taken shelter in those fastnesses in the northern Provinces, where the marshy ground rendered it difficult for the English general to advance. Here, however, the rebel chief was in a manner besieged, and as the country was but little cultivated, he must ere long have been obliged, through the want of subsistence, to submit to the conqueror. In this critical situation were the affairs of the insurgents when the Spanish troops arrived. Upon receiving information of their arrival, the viceroy, justly dreading that the insurrection would soon become more general, resolved, without delay, to exert his utmost vigour against the invaders. With this intention, having left a part of his cavalry to watch the motions of Tyrone, he set out for Kinsale, and having marched with great rapidity, he soon arrived before the place, and began the siege with

between eight and nine thousand men: But before he had time to make any considerable progress, he received notice that the Spanish transports above mentioned, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet, had arrived at Baltimore, with two thousand soldiers on board, under the command of an officer named Ocampo; and soon after he was informed, that the frost having set in with great violence in the marshy country where he had left Tyrone, that leader and his followers had made their escape over the ice, had joined Ocampo with upwards of four thousand men; who, together with the Spaniards, were on their march to raise the siege of Kinsale. This alarming intelligence he procured by intercepted letters from Ocampo and Tyrone to Aguilar: and from these letters too he understood their plan of operations, the time of their approach, and the route which they intended to pursue. He therefore prepared himself for his defence; and having drawn off the greater part of his army to an advantageous situation, at some distance from the town, he left no more forces than were sufficient to restrain the eruption of the Spaniards under Aguilar.

~~When~~ Tyrone saw the English army so advantageously posted, and prepared for his attack,

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I.

1602.

tack, his courage failed ; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Ocampo, who reproached him with cowardice, he gave orders to his men to change the direction of their march, hoping to reach a marsh which lay near, and thus to avoid the necessity of fighting. But the viceroy, perceiving his intention, hastened forward with all his forces, and attacked him in the rear. Finding then that an engagement was unavoidable, he resumed his courage, and faced about to the enemy. But the rebels were no match in the open field for the English forces. They were quickly thrown into confusion, and put to flight. The Spaniards, who fought desperately for some time, being forsaken by their dastardly associates, were overpowered by numbers, and Ocampo himself, with several officers, made prisoners. In this battle, above twelve hundred men were killed upon the spot, a great proportion of whom were Spaniards. The rest of that nation fled to Baltimore and other places on the coast, in which they had left garrisons. Such of the Irish as were taken, were hanged as rebels ; the greater part of them, among whom was Tyrone, escaped through their knowledge of the country ; but were totally dispersed.

It was easy for D'Aguilar, when he received intelligence of this defeat, and the cowardly behaviour

behaviour of the Irish, to perceive how much the court of Spain had been mistaken in their judgment of the facility of establishing their authority in Ireland. There could be no secure dependence, he saw, on assistance from the natives: and no army, which in the present state of the finances could be sent from Spain, could be able to contend alone with the English forces. He resolved, therefore, to employ all his influence to dissuade the king from persisting in so desperate an attempt: and being at the same time conscious, that with so small a number of troops as were under his command in Kinsale, he could not justly expect to be able, above a few weeks, to defend the town against a general of so much skill and vigour as the viceroy, he resolved to save the lives of his soldiers, and to deliver the place into the hands of the English, provided he could obtain from them such terms as his honour would permit him to accept.

IN a few days after the battle, he gave the viceroy notice of his intention, and explained to him the motives of his conduct, and the sentiments which he had come to entertain of the Irish rebels, and of the folly of the enterprise, into which the court of Spain, through misinformation, had been betrayed.

BUT he accompanied his offer with a declaration expressed in the strongest terms, that, in case the viceroy should refuse to grant him the conditions which he required, the honours of war to his troops, with a promise of transporting them and their cannon and ammunition to Spain, in English ships; and an act of indemnity to the inhabitants of Kinfale, by whom he had been so kindly received and entertained, he and his soldiers were unalterably determined to defend the town to the last extremity.

LORD Mountjoy could not but respect the spirit by which this declaration was dictated. He was prompted by the native generosity of his disposition to comply with the terms proposed, and he thought himself justifiable in point of prudence for complying with them, when he considered how much his army was likely to suffer in the operations of a siege, carried on in the middle of winter, against so brave and so determined an enemy.

WITHOUT hesitation, therefore, he agreed to D'Aguilar's demand. Kinfale, Baltimore, and some other forts, in the possession of the Spaniards, were delivered into the hands of the viceroy: and D'Aguilar with his troops, cannon,

cannon and ammunition, were soon after transported to Spain in an English fleet.

BOOK
I.

1602.

PHILIP, after hearing of the issue of the battle, having despaired of their preservation, greatly rejoiced at their arrival. He highly approved of the capitulation, and, with the advice of his counsellors, resolved, in consequence of the information which he received from D'Aguilar, to abandon the Irish rebels to their fate; and henceforth to apply himself with more undivided attention to his affairs in the Netherlands*.

* Van Meteren, lib. xxiii. Carte's Hist of England, book xix. Thuanus, &c.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE REIGN OF
PHILIP THE THIRD,
KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK II.

THE archduke, after the repulse of his army, as above related, by the garrison of Ostend, was advised by some of his principal officers to raise the siege. He was himself extremely reluctant to comply with this advice, but thought it necessary, before rejecting it, to know the sentiments of the court of Spain. Philip's ministers could judge of the propriety of his persisting in his enterprize, only by the information which he transmitted to them; and there is ground to believe that, having conceived an opinion that it would be inconsistent with his honour to relinquish it, his representation was calculated to make them think too lightly of the obstacles which it was

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II.

1602.

B O O K
II.

1602.

necessary to surmount, and too highly of the importance of the place. They believed it to be impossible for the garrison to defend it much longer against so great a force, and they imagined that by the reduction of it they might ruin the trade of the United Provinces, and thus insure success in the future operations of the war. It was therefore determined that the archduke should continue the siege, and that no assistance should be withheld which could enable him to bring it to the desired conclusion.

Siege of
Ostend con-
tinued.

THEIR assistance on the present occasion was the more necessary, as his own finances were almost entirely exhausted, and he had little prospect of receiving any considerable support from the assembly of the states. He convened this assembly, however, and urged them, on account of the necessity of his affairs, to grant him an immediate supply. The deputies were liberal in their professions of loyalty; but, in return to his application, they represented that, in their present circumstances, it was impossible for them to comply with his request, as the province of Brabant had, almost every season, been obliged to pay the most exorbitant contributions to the enemy, and not only that province but several others had long
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been cruelly robbed and plundered by the mutineers.

B O O K
II.

1002.

CONSCIOUS of the truth of this representation, he could not persist in his demand, but was obliged to rest satisfied with what he received from the states of Flanders, who, being more deeply interested than the rest in the conquest of Ostend, contributed to the utmost of their power to assist him in carrying on the siege.

HAVING, since the failure of his late attempt, despaired of being able to reduce the garrison by storm, his principal object now was to intercept the communication with the United Provinces, by blocking up the entrance of the canal. For this purpose he brought engineers from Italy and others places, and, by their direction, various work were undertaken at an immense expence. But at the mouth of the canal their labour was rendered fruitless by the fury of the waves; and when they attempted to raise a dyke and batteries on the banks of the canal, somewhat nearer to the town, they were not only exposed to the enemy's artillery, but were often interrupted by the garrison, who on different occasions sallied out upon them, destroyed their works,

B O O K
II.

1602.

works, and put great numbers to the sword, In order to avoid the farther repetition of these disasters, they began at a distance from the canal, and out of the reach of the besieged, to construct huge machines, formed of beams strongly bound together, which, when finished, they intended to push forward to the banks of the canal, and on these, after covering them with turf, straw, and other materials, to erect their batteries. But the finishing of this, and other works which they attempted, required a considerable length of time; a great part of the present year was spent in preparing them, and all the other operations of the siege were thus relaxed. In the mean time abundant supplies of stores and provisions were introduced into the town. The garrison, many of whom were sickly and wounded, was entirely changed. By the new garrison, consisting of select troops, partly British and partly French and Dutch, all the damage which the fortifications had sustained were repaired; and so little dread was entertained of the success of the besiegers, that general Vere, with the consent of the states, went over to England, devolving the command, during his absence, upon the sieur Frederick de Dorp.

THE defence of Ostend had cost the United Provinces about a hundred thousand florins each

each month, besides the pay of between six and eight thousand troops; yet, from the great increase of their commerce, joined to the frugality of their manners, they were not only able to bear the burthen of this expence, but to maintain a considerable fleet, and at the same time to make so great an augmentation of their land forces, that prince Maurice began his operations this campaign with twenty-four thousand foot and six thousand horse; a more powerful army than any former one which he had commanded since the commencement of the war.

BOOK
II.

1602.

IN raising this army they were secretly favoured by Henry IV. who permitted the sieur de Bethune, of the house of Melun, to levy troops for them in France; and in Germany, where they were befriended by some princes of the Protestant religion, they raised a body of two thousand four hundred horse. But their most useful ally was the queen of England, who furnished them with three thousand men to fill up the vacancies in the English regiments already in their service, and soon after sent them three thousand more. The obtaining of this reinforcement had been Sir F. Vere's principal object in going over to England, and he now returned from thence,
and

The United
States as-
sisted by
Henry IV.
of France.
and the
queen of
England.

and was appointed to the command of all the English forces.

THE Spanish army, on the other hand, had not for many years been so much reduced in number as at the present period. Many had been killed, or had died of a pestilential disease, and of the hardships they had undergone before Ostend; and the Italian and Spanish mutineers amounted to a considerable number; notwithstanding which, the court of Spain and the archduke were as obstinately as ever resolved to prosecute the siege. The United States rejoiced at their obstinacy, and hoped it might ere long prove fatal to their power in the Netherlands. They considered the present juncture as the most favourable for action which could occur and therefore had resolved strenuously to exert themselves in attempting to make some important conquest in the southern provinces, which, in case the garrison of Ostend should be obliged to capitulate, might fully compensate for the loss.

THEY had conceived an expectation at this time that the people in the southern provinces, who had lately suffered great oppression from the rapacity of the mutineers, might be induced to shake off the Spanish yoke; and in
this

this expectation they published a memorial addressed to the states of these provinces, enumerating the grievances which they must be conscious of having so long suffered; representing how much they had been abused in the late king's transference of the sovereignty over them to the archdukes, notwithstanding which they were still as much as ever subject to the tyranny of Spain; and calling upon them, in remembrance of their first engagements, to return into their former connection and alliance with their kinsmen in the United Provinces. In order to procure attention to this memorial, they resolved that their army should march into the heart of Brabant, to be ready to afford support to such of the inhabitants as should be willing to vindicate their liberty: and this measure, it is said, received the approbation both of the French monarch and the queen of England.

B O O K
II.
16C2.

BUT prince Maurice could not be satisfied that it was either expedient or practicable. The people, he thought, were too much enured to the Spanish government, and too much over-awed by citadels and garrisons, to listen to the invitation of the states; and he dreaded the difficulty of being able to support so numerous an army in an enemy's country for so long a time as would be necessary for
the

the end in view. The Spanish army, indeed, could not at present contend with him in the open field; but they could harass him in his march, and interrupt his convoys of provisions; besides that the archduke was in daily expectations of receiving a reinforcement of troops from Spain and Italy*.

MOVED by these considerations, the states consented that, till it should appear whether their memorial was likely to produce the desired effect, he should lead his army along the east side of Brabant; that by keeping it near the Maese, he might more easily receive supplies from the neutral powers in that neighbourhood. Having assembled his army at Nimeguen, he passed the Maese near Marck, and towards the end of June he had advanced as far as Masryc, when he was obliged to stop for several days, through an unjustifiable action of his English troops, who having on their march sold a great part of the bread with which he had furnished them, could not procure any in the country where they now were, and were obliged to bring it from a considerable distance. This delay was, in the issue, attended with important consequences.

* Siri says, that Maurice intended marching through Brabant, to lay siege to Nieuport or some other sea-coast town. Vide vol. i. p. 126. Mem. reconditæ.

THE archduke, having heard with much anxiety that Maurice had begun his march, had dispatched Mendoza, admiral of Arragon, who had lately been set at liberty, with six thousand foot and four thousand horse, to watch his motions, and, if possible, to obstruct his progress. Mendoza was come as far as Tienen, a fortified town in the center of Brabant, and was there employed in casting up entrenchments to secure his troops. Could prince Maurice have immediately advanced, he might have attacked him with the highest probability of success. But through the delay occasioned by the improvident conduct of the English troops, Mendoza had not only full leisure to complete his entrenchments, but received a reinforcement of eight thousand men, under the marquis of Spinola, who at this time arrived from Italy, and, if the prince could have hastened forward, might easily have been intercepted before he reached the Spanish camp. Maurice still however continued to advance, till he arrived within a little distance of the enemy, and once and again offered battle; but, finding that Mendoza was unalterably resolved to decline it, and was now too strong to be compelled, and considering how dangerous it must be, in the face of so great a force, to remain much longer in a country where it was so difficult to procure provisions,

B O O K
II.
1602.

B O O K

II.

1602.

he returned hastily towards the Maese; and, about the middle of July, began to put in execution the only part of the general plan of his operations which he himself had judged practicable, by laying siege to the town of Grave.

*Siege of
Grave.*

THIS place, one of the strongest in the Netherlands, and deemed of great importance, on account of its situation on the banks of the Maese, and its neighbourhood to the dominions of the states, had remained in the hands of the Spaniards since the year 1586, when, as above related, the young baron de Har-
mont involved himself in ruin and infamy, by surrendering it, without necessity, to the duke of Parma. It was defended, at this time, by Antonio Gonfalez, a Spanish officer of distinguished merit; and, as the archduke had before hand dreaded the danger which impended over this important place, he had sent a body of select troops to reinforce the garrison, which, after their arrival, amounted to fifteen hundred men. From such a governor and garrison prince Maurice expected to meet with the most vigorous resistance; and he could not doubt that Mendoza would quickly follow him, and attempt to compel him to raise the siege. But he did not despair of bringing his enterprize to a happy issue before the approach of winter, provided he could prevent the entrance into the town of any farther reinforce-

ment and supply. With this view, he drew lines of circumvallation round his camp, extending from that part of the river which is above the town, to that other part of it which is below. These lines were more than half a German league in length, of an extraordinary height and depth, and strengthened by a great number of redoubts planted with cannon. While this laborious work was going on, he reduced a fort belonging to the garrison, on the other side of the river, directly opposite to the town; and having stationed a part of his troops there, he next threw two temporary bridges over the Maese, one above, and the other below the town. When these works were finished, the town was completely invested on every side, and the garrison must, ere long, have found it necessary to capitulate: but, as he knew not what quantity of stores they possessed, and consequently was ignorant how long they might be able to sustain the blockade, he resolved, in order to save time, to carry on the siege in the usual form, and immediately began by opening trenches in different quarters, to make regular approaches to the town.

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II.

1602.

A COTEMPORARY historian *, who upon the spot examined the various works which prince

* Van Meteren.

B O O K

II.

1602.

Maurice executed on this occasion, speaks of them as the most masterly which had ever been exhibited in any siege. In order the more effectually to save his men from the enemy's fire, the trenches were made of a greater depth than usual; both the workmen and soldiers were, at every approach, secured against the sallies of the garrison, by mounds and batteries; and when the trenches were advanced within a certain distance of the fortifications, spacious covered ways, of sufficient breadth to admit of carriages, were formed, which led from the trenches to the ditch. The garrison made frequent sallies, in which they displayed the most unquestionable bravery; but, through the precautions mentioned, they were as often repulsed with loss, while few of the besiegers were killed either in these sallies, or by the artillery of the place.

MENDOZA had, in the mean time, advanced from Tienen as far as Venlo, which stands on the banks of the Maese, about twelve German miles higher than Grave, and there deliberated with his council of war, whether it was practicable to compel prince Maurice to raise the siege. But he quickly perceived how vain and ruinous it must prove to attack a numerous enemy in such strong entrenchments, for whom
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he was not an equal match in the open field ; and therefore he resolved to rest satisfied with introducing a reinforcement of select troops into the place. Had this measure been attended with success, it must have rather served to hasten than to retard the surrender, as the stock of provisions in the town must thereby have been sooner consumed. It was adopted, however, by Mendoza, who was probably more influenced by the dread of the reproach which he would incur if he made no attempt, than by the prospect of any advantage that could accrue from it.

THE execution of this enterprize was committed to an Italian general of the name of Spina ; who was ordered, with a thousand chosen troops, to attack the enemy's entrenchments in the night, at a place where they appeared to be the weakest, and to attempt to force his way across their camp into the town.

ANOTHER party, equal in number, was appointed to support him, and, in case of a repulse, to secure his retreat ; while a third detachment was sent to make a feigned attack in another quarter, in the hopes of dividing the attention of the besiegers, and thereby rendering it easier for Spina to execute his design.

B O O K

II.

1602.

But prince Maurice was every where upon his guard. The Spaniards were repulsed; and, leaving behind them their carriages, with their scaling-ladders, and other apparatus, they fled precipitately to their camp.

Sept. 20.

MENDOZA, now despairing of success, retired with his whole army towards Maestricht; and, a few days after, the garrison capitulated upon honourable terms*.

Naval affairs.

DURING the course of these transactions, the contending parties exerted themselves at sea with somewhat greater vigour than for several years preceding. The court of Spain had, before the present period, sent a squadron of galleys to cruise on the coast of Flanders, under the command of Frederick Spinola, a Genoese nobleman, who had served under the duke of Parma, and given some distinguished proofs of vigour and abilities. From this squadron the Dutch trade had sustained considerable prejudice; and Spinola, encouraged by this success, having gone himself to Madrid to solicit an augmentation of his fleet, had obtained six galleys more, which he had conducted in safety into the harbour of

* Van Meteren, lib. xxiv. Bentivoglio, part. iii. lib. vii. Grotius, lib. ix. Heroic Acts of prince Maurice, &c.

Sluys. This harbour afforded him the most commodious shelter and retreat. His gallies lying at anchor in the canal which leads to it, issued forth against the enemy when they were least prepared to oppose them, and either took or sunk a great number of their trading vessels. With a more numerous squadron, and a greater number of soldiers on board, he would have ventured to a greater distance from the coast, and thus have in some measure intercepted the communication of Ostend with Holland and Zealand. He could likewise have sometimes ventured to make a descent upon their coasts, or have entered their harbours and canals, and seized or burnt their shipping.

B O O K
II.
1602.

IMPRESSED with a conviction, that from such spirited naval enterprizes the enemy must suffer more essentially than from the siege of their towns, or the operations of the Spanish army in the field, he this year made a second journey into Spain, after having communicated his intention to his elder brother Ambrose, the celebrated marquis of Spinola. This nobleman, so justly renowned on account of the military talents which he afterwards displayed, had not yet entered into public life, though he was at this time about thirty years of age. But his ambition was now roused by his brother's success; and being conscious of great abilities,

he resolved henceforth to avail himself of his fortune, which was one of the greatest in Genoa, in order to render himself illustrious.

HAVING, from the information communicated to him by his brother, conceived an opinion that the war in the Netherlands might be successfully carried on at sea, he empowered his brother to propose to the court of Spain, that, in case they would grant an augmentation of the number of their gallies at Sluys, he would raise at his own expence a body of eight thousand troops, to be commanded by himself, and to serve occasionally on board his brother's fleet.

THE Spanish minister readily consented to this proposal, and gave the marquis a commission for levying the troops, while orders were at the same time issued for the equipment of the gallies. The marquis, with the assistance of his numerous friends, and of the count de Fuentes, governor of Millan, punctually fulfilled his part of the agreement, and, as above related, arrived with his troops in the Netherlands at a fortunate juncture, when, without his aid, the admiral of Arragon must have abandoned the province of Brabant to the army of the United Provinces.

His brother was not so fortunate in conducting from Spain the gallies with which the king had furnished him. They were eight in number, with above a thousand soldiers on board, and fifteen hundred slaves, who served as rowers. But two of these gallies were, before their departure, burnt by some English ships of war on the coast of Portugal; and other three, having been intercepted by an English and Dutch squadron, which lay in wait for them in the narrow seas, and either taken or destroyed, Frederick arrived in Flanders only with the remaining three.

B O O K
11.
1622.

HE was deeply affected by this disaster. His force, which he had been at so great pains in soliciting, was still too small for carrying the designs which he had formed into execution, and for several months he could not engage in any memorable enterprize. But having become impatient under this inactivity, which necessity imposed on him, he ventured with eight gallies, having a great number of soldiers on board, and some frigates, to attack a squadron of Dutch ships of war, which had for some time been stationed on the coast. The contest was bloody and obstinate on both sides; but as the Dutch were favoured by the wind, and could navigate their ships with greater
dex-

BOOK

I.

1603.

dexterity, they were enabled to avoid grappling with the Spaniards, and had thus a much smaller number killed. At length Frederick himself received a mortal wound, of which he died soon after, and his fleet, disheartened by this calamity, and perceiving that their utmost efforts to come to close fighting were ineffectual, retired into the canal of Sluys*.

THE marquis of Spinola was at this time employed in raising troops in Italy, and still entertained the hopes of being able to carry his first design into execution; but his brother's death, joined to the weakness of the Spanish fleet at Sluys, obliged him to abandon it; he now resolved to turn his attention from the sea to the land service, and with this intention he returned to the Netherlands, where the archduke was disposed to give him every mark of esteem and confidence.

THIS prince had never before stood so much in need of the counsel and assistance of his friends. The promises of money made him by the court of Spain had been only in part fulfilled; and the mutinous spirit of his troops, occasioned by his inability to pay their arrears, had risen to the greatest height.

* Meteren, Bentivoglio, &c.

THEY had no sooner retreated, after their repulse in attempting to raise the siege of Grave, than almost all the Italians, except those who were commanded by the marquis of Spinola, refused to obey the order which the admiral of Arragon had issued for their marching towards Maestricht, and withdrew themselves in a body from the camp. They were accompanied by several officers of experience and abilities, and by these men were conducted towards Hochstrate, a fortified town in Brabant, of which, as they came upon the garrison by surprise, they easily acquired possession. Their number having been augmented by other mutineers, who flocked to them from every quarter, soon amounted to three thousand foot and two thousand horse, and almost the whole of them were veteran soldiers, distinguished for their knowledge of military discipline. Having chosen an elect, or leader, and filled up from among themselves the places of all such officers as had not joined in the mutiny, they established, with general consent, a system of regulations which they judged necessary for their safety and preservation; after which they applied themselves to strengthen the fortification of the town, and then sent out parties to lay the inhabitants of the adjacent country under contributions.

Em-

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Emboldened by their numbers, they made incursions into the interior and more distant parts of the province, and when the people refused to comply with their exorbitant demands, they laid waste the country, and indulged themselves in every species of injury and outrage. This populous and fertile province had long been exposed to the inroads of the troops of the United States ; but they had never been treated with so great cruelty by the enemy as, on this occasion, by the troops which had been hired for their defence.

THE archduke having convened the states to deliberate concerning a proper remedy for these disorders, he was urged by that assembly to employ whatever money could be raised to give the soldiers immediate satisfaction with regard to their arrears, because without this they represented that the country must be involved in utter ruin.

BUT Albert, conscious that he had not fund sufficient at once to satisfy the mutineers, and to pay the arrears due to his other troops ; and judging, from past experience, that unless he could satisfy them all, the example of those who had mutinied would be quickly followed by their companions ; for this reason he entertained

tained some doubt of the prudence of the advice which the states had given him, and declined complying with it, till he should know the sentiments of the court of Spain.

THAT court ought to have been sensible of the folly of expecting that discipline could be maintained among troops, especially foreign troops, uninterested in the issue of the war, when their pay was withheld from them. They ought, long before this time, to have perceived the absurdity of keeping an army on foot, which they were unable to support. They ought, on the present occasion, to have resolved to reduce the number of their troops, and to rest satisfied with a defensive war, or, by greater œconomy at home, to enable themselves to make more liberal remittances to the archduke, or to have put an end to the war, by empowering him to grant to the United States such terms of peace as they were willing to accept. But, instead of adopting any of these measures, which prudence and necessity required, they resolved that, for an example to the rest of the army, the mutineers ought to be reduced to obedience by force, and for this end they gave orders for levying several new regiments with the utmost possible expedition. It does not appear that the archduke

Misconduct
of the Spaniards.

BOOK

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duke was dissatisfied with this resolution of the Spanish council, and he instantly applied himself to carry it into execution. More than half a year was spent in raising the troops, and making the other necessary preparations; and during all that time, the people of Brabant were exposed to the violence and depredations of the mutineers. In order to intimidate them, Albert published an edict of proscription, in which he declared, if they did not return to their duty in three days after receiving the copy of the edict which he sent them, they should be considered as rebels to his government, and be all put to the sword without mercy. To this edict the mutineers published an answer, expressed in the most contemptuous terms. They were more than ever exasperated; and they resolved that, rather than submit to a prince, by whom they thought their services were so ungratefully requited, they would enter into the service of the United States, and make him feel the weight of their resentment.

January 2.
1604.

AGREEABLY to this resolution, they sent a deputation of their number to prince Maurice, to enquire whether, in case they were attacked by the archduke's forces, he would afford them his protection. Maurice, conformably to his conduct

conduct on a former occasion, gave them the most gracious reception; and agreed that, in case they should be obliged to abandon Hochstrate, they might retire with safety under the walls of Breda, Bergen op Zoom, or Swenberg. He likewise permitted them to purchase provisions in these towns, and left them ground to hope that, if Albert should not be induced to treat them with greater lenity, he would exert himself to the utmost in their behalf.

B O O K
II.

1654.
Spanish
mutineers
protected
by Maurice.

THE United States considered this mutiny as the most fortunate event that could have happened, because it would greatly retard the archduke's operations in the siege of Ostend, and prevent him from engaging in any new enterprize during the present campaign. They highly approved therefore of the prince's conduct with regard to the mutineers, and empowered him to enter into a formal treaty with them, of which the following were the principal conditions; that, in return for his assistance against the Spaniards, they would serve in his army for the rest of the campaign; and farther, that in the case of an accommodation with the archduke, they would not carry arms for four months against the United Provinces. The states believed that this treaty could not
expose

B O O K
II.
1604.

expose them to the imputation of acting ungenerously towards an enemy, whose whole conduct in the war they regarded as tyrannical and unjust; and they thought themselves justified for fomenting the mutiny, by the practice of most nations, and particularly of the Spaniards themselves, who on all occasions encouraged desertion from the armies of their enemy.

THE archduke was greatly alarmed when he received intelligence of this transaction, and, being at the same time more than ever incensed against the mutineers, he collected his troops with the greatest expedition which the state of his affairs would permit, and sent them, under the command of Frederick, count of Berg, to lay siege to Hochstrate. These troops amounted to seven thousand foot and three thousand horse: and, as Hochstrate was but indifferently fortified, he must have soon compelled the mutineers to lay down their arms: but prince Maurice, already prepared to fulfil his agreement with the mutineers, advanced towards him with a superior army, which he had assembled at Gertrudenberg, and before the count had time to make any progress in the siege, obliged him to retire into the interior parts of the province.

July 10.

MAURICE

MAURICE followed him for some time, but finding it impossible to overtake him, without entering too far into the enemy's country, he suddenly returned and laid siege to Bois le Duc. He had lately given the mutineers a proof of the trust which he reposed in them, by entering their camp with only seven or eight of his attendants; and, on the present occasion, he gave them a farther proof of confidence, by employing them equally with his own troops in the operations of the siege.

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1603.

THE archduke, extremely anxious for the preservation of Bois le Duc, which he considered as one of the most important frontier towns, sent a reinforcement of troops to the count of Berg, and ordered him to march without delay to its relief. The count's army was now nearly equal to that of the enemy, and he arrived in time to seize an important station adjacent to the town, which prince Maurice had not found leisure to secure. From this station he could easily introduce whatever reinforcements or supplies were necessary. But the inhabitants, having hitherto successfully defended the place, without the assistance of the Spaniards, were utterly averse to the admission of regular forces. The count laboured to persuade them that their prefer-

Bois le Duc
besieged by
prince
Maurice.

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vation entirely depended on admitting them ; but they refused to listen to his request ; and prince Maurice still entertained the hopes of being able to bring the siege to the desired conclusion.

AT length the archduke, having come himself to Bois le Duc, endeavoured, but in vain, to overcome the obstinacy of the citizens, till having obtained their permission to suffer a body of Walloons to pass through the town, under the pretext of their being necessary to oppose the enemy on the other side, he called them together while the Walloons were within the walls, and once more represented to them the necessity of yielding to his desire, if they meant to preserve their religion and their liberty. They remained still as averse as ever to his proposal ; but believing that, while so great a number of his troops were within the town, it would be in vain to refuse their consent, they agreed with much reluctance to admit a garrison of three thousand regular forces : and at the same time a large supply of stores and provisions were introduced.

THE two armies continued for some time longer in sight of each other, and several skirmishes past between them with various success. At length prince Maurice despairing,

on account of the approach of winter, to bring the siege to the desired issue, abandoned his entrenchments, and retired in good order to some distance from the town. There he remained a whole day, in expectation that the enemy might now be induced to risk a battle; but being informed, that so far from intending this, they had, as soon as he left his entrenchments, directed their march towards the interior parts of the province, he broke up his camp, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

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1603.

To the mutineers, who represented to him that Hochstrate was too small for their accommodation, he assigned the town of Grave, of which he himself was lord paramount, retaining the citadel in his own hands, and requiring that Hochstrate should be put into his possession. He likewise entered on this occasion into a new agreement with them; the conditions of which they continued religiously to fulfil till the following year, when the archduke, standing much in need of their assistance, and dreading that many of his other troops were about to join them, found it necessary to grant them an act of indemnity for all past offences, together with full and immediate payment of their arrears*.

* Van Meteren, lib. xxv. xxvi. Bentivoglio, part iii. lib. vii. Pisaceni Chronica, ann. 1663.

BOOK
II.

1603.
Death and
character of
Elizabeth
queen of
England.

IN the course of the transactions related in this book, an important event happened, in which both the contending powers were equally interested; the death of Elizabeth, queen of England. This great princess, whose reign was so long and prosperous, had through her whole life enjoyed uninterrupted health, which she had been careful to preserve by regular exercise, and the strictest temperance. But towards the end of the preceding year, having been seized with a cold, which confined her for several days, she found her strength considerably impaired; and, in the hopes of deriving benefit from a change of air, she removed from Westminster to Richmond; but there she grew daily worse, could neither sleep nor eat as usual; and though her pulse was regular, she complained of a burning heat in her stomach, and a perpetual thirst. Both her looks and spirits had from the beginning been greatly affected: business of every kind had become an intolerable burthen to her; and at length she sunk into a deep melancholy, expressing the anguish of her mind by tears and groans, and obstinately refusing nourishment, as well as all the medicines which the physicians prescribed for her recovery. This melancholy might have entirely proceeded from her bodily indisposition, although, from some late

late discoveries, there is ground to believe that it was greatly heightened, if not principally occasioned, by remorse and grief, conceived on account of her having ordered the execution of her favourite, the earl of Essex. But to whatever cause her dejection of mind was owing, it preyed upon her exhausted frame, and in a few weeks put a period to her life, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

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It is not surprising that we meet with such contradictory descriptions of the character of this princess in the cotemporary historians, whose passions were too much inflamed to suffer them to judge impartially of her character: but it would seem impossible for any person, who is not blinded by prejudice, to refuse her a place among the most illustrious princes of whom we read, either in ancient or in modern times.

SHE was not indeed exempt from the imperfections that are incident to humanity, and she was subject to several of those weaknesses which characterise her sex. She cannot be vindicated from the imputation of female vanity, and the love of admiration, on account of her exterior accomplishments. We should

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1603.

have loved her more, if she had been more gentle and indulgent, less imperious and violent, and more candid and sincere. From natural temper, her passions of every kind were strong and vehement, and, among her courtiers, they sometimes betrayed her into improprieties; but they were almost never permitted to influence her public conduct, which was uniformly regulated by the principles of prudence, and a regard for the public good: even her ambition was controuled and governed by these principles, of which she gave a rare and signal proof, when she refused to accept of the sovereignty of the United Provinces. Her penetration and sagacity, her prudence and foresight, her intrepidity in the midst of danger, her activity and vigour, her steadiness and perseverance, and her wise œconomy, which prompted her to save every unnecessary expence, however small, while it permitted and enabled her to undergo the greatest, when necessity required: these qualities in her character, which are acknowledged by her enemies as well as her admirers, no prince of whom we read in history appears to have possessed in a more eminent degree.

Few princes have been placed in so difficult circumstances, or have had so many and such formidable

formidable enemies to oppose ; yet almost no prince ever enjoyed a reign so long and prosperous. While the neighbouring nations were almost continually involved in the calamities of war, she was able, notwithstanding the unremitted attempts of her foreign enemies and her popish subjects, to preserve her dominions in almost uninterrupted peace. Nor did her own subjects only reap the fruits of her great abilities, but her friends were every where supported and protected by her power ; while her enemies, though possessed of much greater resources, were either checked and restrained, or humbled and overcome. Without her judicious interposition, the Reformation in Scotland must have been extinguished ; a race of popish princes must have inherited the crown of that kingdom ; and the difference of religion there, and in England, joined to the hereditary right of the Scottish princes to the English throne, whilst it must have proved a copious source of discord, would long have prevented the union of two nations, which must have often been unhappy while they remained divided, and were, by nature, destined to be one. Nor were the benefits which mankind derived from her wife and active reign confined to Britain ; but it is likewise probable, that without her aid and her exertions,

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1603.

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1633.

the protestants in France must have been extirpated; the best and greatest of the French monarchs must have been excluded from the throne; France itself must have sunk under the Spanish yoke; the republic of the United Provinces must have been crushed in its infancy; and an overgrown and enormous power established, which must have overwhelmed the liberties of Europe, and prolonged the reign of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition.

HER death gave equal sorrow to the Dutch, as it afforded joy to the archdukes and the court of Spain. The former were thereby deprived of a powerful friend, who had often supported them in the time of their distress; whereas the latter were delivered from a determined enemy, by whom they had been long controuled in all their enterprizes.

THE affliction of the former was the more sincere, because they had ground to suspect that Elizabeth's successor had not the same favourable sentiments of their cause, nor the same affection for their republic as the queen had entertained. James, though of a gentle and indulgent temper, averse to the exercise of despotic power, had conceived the most extravagant notions of the measure of obedience due from subjects to their prince; and, being naturally open and unreserved, had, on some occasions,

con-

James I.
king of
England.

condemned the conduct of the United States, and given them the name of rebels to their rightful sovereign. The court of Spain, desirous to conciliate his favour, had, before the death of Elizabeth, made him an offer of their assistance to vindicate his right to the English crown, in case he should meet with opposition. Intelligence of the queen's death had no sooner reached the Netherlands than the archduke, considering the war with England as at an end, had issued a proclamation, forbidding all hostilities against the subjects of the king of England, and ordering all the Scotch and English prisoners to be set at liberty *. The like orders were issued by the court of Spain. And, in return to these advances, James, by proclamation, recalled the letters of marque which had been granted against the Spaniards by Elizabeth,

FROM these concurring circumstances, the states perceived how little ground they had to hope for the friendship of the English monarch. They resolved, however, that nothing should be wanting on their part, which might induce him to change his sentiments, and, for this end, they sent a solemn embassy, at the head of which were the celebrated Barnevelt,

* See Gonzalez Davila.

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Lord of Tempel, and prince Henry Frederick, brother to prince Maurice, to congratulate him on his accession, and to solicit his renewing the alliance which had subsisted between them and Elizabeth.

Ambassadors from Holland, France, and Spain, to the king of Great Britain.

THESE ambassadors, on their arrival in London, found that the suspicions which the states had entertained of the king's prejudice against them, were but too well founded. James still continued to employ the same disrespectful language, when he spoke of their republic, as formerly; nor could they at first obtain an audience. After some delay, they were at length admitted into his presence, through the persuasion of his English counsellors. But though Barnevelt exerted all his eloquence, which he possessed in so eminent a degree, to make him sensible of the danger to which Britain would be exposed, if, by withholding his assistance, he should suffer the United Provinces to fall back again under the dominion of Spain, he could only draw from him a general and vague reply: "That he had not, at present, leisure to consider fully of the subject which had been proposed to his consideration, and would not, therefore, now declare what resolution he should form; but he was himself desirous to live at peace with them, and all his
neigh-

neighbours; and, in case they would imitate his example, he would chearfully employ his good offices to procure them peace with Spain, upon reasonable terms."

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II.

1663.

It sufficiently appeared from this reply, that the plan of conduct which the king had formed was extremely different from that which had been pursued by his predecessor; and the ambassadors would have immediately returned home, in despair of being able to interest him in their behalf, had not they been in daily expectation of the arrival of the French ambassador; through whose intercession they hoped that James might be induced to lend a more favourable ear to their request.

HENRY had appointed for his ambassador to England, on this occasion, the marquis of Rosni *, whom, on account of his superior talents and fidelity, he esteemed the most of all his ministers. No subject had ever performed more important services to his prince; and Henry could not, without great inconvenience, spare a minister so necessary to him in the administration of his kingdom. But, from various reports, which were propagated at this

* Afterwards duke of Sully.

time,

time, he had conceived a suspicion that James might be persuaded to enter into an alliance with the court of Spain; and no person he believed was more likely to engage him to alter his intention than Rosni, whom he highly respected, on account of his inviolable attachment to the protestant religion, and used to celebrate as the greatest statesman in Europe.

JAMES was highly pleased with Henry's choice of his ambassador, and received him with more than ordinary marks of distinction and regard. It had been reported to him by some of the partizans of Spain, that Henry, and even Rosni himself, had spoken disrespectfully of his character †; and James so far descended from his dignity as to mention what he had heard to the marquis; but the impression which it had made upon him was easily effaced; and Rosni, from his first audience, conceived the hopes of being able to accomplish the object of his embassy..

A PARTY among the English ministers were, not without reason, suspected to be attached to the interests of Spain; and others, dreading the difficulties which they must encounter in

† It was reported to him, that Henry had called him captain of arts, and clerk of arms.

providing funds for carrying on the war, were averſe to all engagements either to France or the ſtates-general. From theſe men, the propoſals of the French monarch met with conſiderable oppoſition. But the ambaffador, having been admitted by the king to a private audience, and having explained to him at full length his maſter's views, which he ſhewed were all calculated to promote the general intereſt of Europe, and the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, whereas the court of Spain were daily giving freſh proofs of the moſt inordinate and turbulent ambition; he had the addreſs to convince him, that a regard to the ſafety of his dominions, as well as the intereſt of his religion, required that he ſhould join himſelf with France, and reſolve to ſupport the United Provinces. A treaty of alliance to this purpoſe was accordingly drawn up, and ſoon after ſigned and ratified; of which the following were the principal articles :

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1603.

THAT the two kings ſhould mutually contribute their aſſiſtance to prevent the Dutch from being overpowered by the Spaniards; that, for this purpoſe, a ſufficient number of troops ſhould be levied within the dominions of the king of England, and ſent from thence to the Netherlands as ſoon as poſſible; that