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Herman Mueller

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_MuellerH@csl.edu

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THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

**A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Church History**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity**

**by
Herman Mueller
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Approved by:

Thos. Hoyer.

Richard W. Casper

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INTRODUCTION

By way of introduction to this Thesis I would like to retell the story of the funeral services for Charles V in Brussels. On December 29, 1558 the procession of three thousand monks, priests, nobles, and bishops passed through the streets of Brussels. There were banners, flags, and floats representing the emperor's achievements. Also the quiet symbol of departed power, twenty-four riderless horses bearing the arms of a kingdom or a duchy over which the dead man had reigned. "The next day, the same procession wound its way to the Cathedral where before the altar stood a coffin decorated with the dead man's arms. Splendidly apparelled ladies and gentlemen thronged the huge building to hear William of Orange, who carried the Imperial sword, cry loudly as he struck the coffin with that weapon: 'He is dead.' There was a great hush in the crowded nave as he paused struck again and intoned: 'He shall remain dead.' A third time the sword rapped hollowly upon the empty coffin and a third time the voice ranged out: 'He is dead and there is another risen up in his place greater than he was.' With his free hand, William flung back the cowl covering the face of a sombre, shrouded figure beside him and revealed King Philip." *

*Philip 11 of Spain, by David Loth, page 120.

Yes, Charles V was dead and a greater risen in his place. Charles had had the misfortune to have to fight the greatest religious leader, since the time of St. Paul. His son, who was to be the greater, had the misfortune to have to fight a small nation of merchants led by a penniless prince. That day in Brussels all thought that Philip would be the greater who would arise, but history has shown us that the Prince of Orange, who paid this homage to Philip, was the greater who was to arise. Emperor Maximilian had built the great Hapsburg Empire, Emperor Charles V had consolidated it, but Philip started it on the road down, which ended when the last Hapsburg lost his throne in 1918. The descendents of William of Orange still rule over his adopted land, and have even ruled over the land of Philip's greatest enemy, Elizabeth. Two worlds met in conflict in the fertile flat delta country of the Rhine. The dying Medieval World was trying to fight the rising new Commerical Capitalistic World. Yet the men who fought, built differently than they had thought. William of Orange and his fellow nobles fought for the feudal rights of their order but built a modern state. Philip fought for the rights of an absolute king and built a Spain which fell into the hands of the medieval inquisition. Spain with its lack of industry made

the error of trying to fight the most highly industrialized area of her vast empire. Roman Catholic Spain made the error of trying to uphold the Church of Rome with the sword; only to learn the truth of Christ's words: "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Philip sent his general Alva into the Netherlands with the intention of making the king absolute and the Church of Rome supreme. However, the physical sword yielded by Philip was turned against him; so completely that the United Netherlands arose as an independant country and protestantism became the dominant religion.

The Netherlands up until the time of the revolt was a union of a number of provinces under a single king as were most of the kingdoms of that day except England. At the time of the Reformation Charles V ruled the Netherlands because he was the Duke of Burgandy, originally a part of France. Thus the French up until the time of Napoleon continually asserted their claim upon the Netherlands. The various cities had separate agreements with the Duke (Charles V) as to their rule. The various provinces met in the Estates General, when they dealt with their ruler, Charles. (He called them together fifty times).*

*The Historians History of the World, Volume XIII, page 371, quoting Armstrong, Edward.

There was the connection by marriage with most of the noble houses of Western Germany, particularly since Charles was the Emperor of the Empire. Up until the time of Charles many of the greater nobles had been practically independent of any over-authority, in particular the house of Egmont. Even William of Orange was king upon paper, even though he had never ruled over the tiny principality.

The economic situation in the Netherlands at the time of Charles V was of the best. The country was prosperous, the merchants were wealthy, and the looms were busy weaving English wool into cloth. The Netherlands had paid to the treasury of Charles 1,200,000 crowns a year regularly. They had paid in a five year period an extraordinary subsidy of eight million ducats.* The towns were prosperous, especially Antwerp where the foreign business houses were located. It was just a "Stock Market or an Exchange" with no ships of its own. Almost all its trade was carried in foreign ships or in ships belonging to the northern states, especially to Holland and Zealand.* The Hollanders were the sailors of the Netherlands. The manufacturing center had the usual number of fluctuating unemployed, who were ready to listen to any cry for freedom and bread. The Gild System did not apply to the

*Davies, The Golden Century of Spain. P. 156.

weavers who had little chance of protecting themselves from the capitalists. Besides the merchants and the workers there was present that great class, the nobles. They, naturally, did no work beyond a little speculation in merchandise--if they had the money. Most of the nobles were in debt, they lived high, they drank hard, and they were out of job at the time of Philip, who had replaced them by Spaniards in his army and by Spanish officials who could over rule them in the affairs of the government.

Charles V had attached the Netherlands to the Crown of Spain in order to surround France by Spanish territory. However, the possessors of the Netherlands had to maintain a close alliance with England, who had always wanted a friendly power to control the coast on the opposite side of the channel. This policy was to lead the strange situation that England was willing to help Spain to keep the French out of the Netherlands, but she was also willing to help France keep the Spanish out. No matter what might happen in the rest of the world the Spanish crown had to hold the eastern coast line of the Channel in order to rule the waves. As we might note they finally left Spain in possession of the southern Netherlands ports, even though without her knowledge, the rule of the waves had passed to England. Spain spent her strength attempting to keep the Netherlands and trying to force an alliance

upon the English by fair means or foul.

Throughout all this period there is that strange new political lineup caused not by desires of great princes or the policies of the great states of Europe. There was the unheard of lineup of the towns of Netherlands with her penniless princes--the very alliance for which Ulrich von Hutten had worked so hard for during the knights war in Germany.* There was the unheard of lineup of the proletariat with the rich merchants and the princes. There were English ships which were kept busy running guns into the port of Antwerp.* Why did these men put their necks into the lion's mouth? Why did the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire wink at the recruiting of soldiers to be used to fight his fellow Hapsburger Philip? There was a new spirit which had invaded the territory for which the Spanish kings were to spend so much money and blood. In the year 1500 Philip II of Spain could have put over his political ideas in the Netherlands without any trouble whatever. But in the year 1560 the Reformation had so taken hold of the people that political freedom became allied with religious freedom. While no one can accuse the Dutch of failing to make an honest dollar by trading with the enemy, when they could, the spark plug for their revolt was furnished by those who were persecuted for their

*1. Hoyer, Lutheran Reformation Notes, 1946,

*2. William, the Silent, Wedgwood, p. 115.

faith. The refusal of Philip to come to terms was always based on the fact that the Netherlanders wished to have freedom of conscience and worship. This one motive religion made honest men willing to unite with the thieves who could help them, made workers willing to unite with merchants, made townspeople willing to unite with princes, and made all willing to die for their faith, and they did die by the thousands. This was aided by the stupidity of a king who persecuted his loyal Catholic subjects and drove them into the arms of the revolters and the waiting Reformed Ministers.

Beginning of the Reformation.

In the year 1517 Erasmus came to Louvain in order to bring about the triumph of "good letters" and "pure piety."* While Erasmus was trying to bring about his slow reform, another monk was busy nailing his Ninety-five Theses to the Castle Church door. The position of the Netherlands on the Rhine river and the fact that the North Europe commerce flowed through her ports made her the logical catch-all for all new innovations religious and other wise. The Netherlands as a commercial center had welcomed the new art of printing with open arms. These new printing shops welcomed Luther's new books as only a publisher can. The Papal Legate Aleander, while on his way to Worms, found it necessary to burn Luther's books at Ghent.

The reformation found a fertile soil in the Netherlands, where the clergy was corrupt as in most of Christendom. Blok describes them thus: "There were many who 'Fought like knights instead of teaching the gospel like clergy.' They cared for themselves and their steeds, but tossed their books aside and did not shame to load their fingers with rings. Dice, gaming, and revelling till late

*1. Geyl, the Revolt of the Netherlands, p. 52.

*2. History of the Netherlands, Blok, Volum 11, p. 300, quoting Cornelius Aurelius, in Burmannus, Harianus IV p. 282.

In the monastic chronicles of Friesland it was clear that the secular clergy and the monks were experts at the art of loose living. The extortions, the ignorance, intoxication, unchasteness, and the covetousness of the clergy had become habitual not exceptional.* "Spiritual instruction in the form of preaching and catechizing, was woefully neglected, and the sacraments very carelessly dispensed. In some places the places the young people grew up in a state of utter neglect."*

The first seed of the reformation were sown in the Netherlands by the merchants, who often had extra territorial religious rights.* The German and Swiss troops of Charles at times were even accompanied by their own pastors, Lutheran, and Reformed. Many of the Netherlanders studied at the universities of Geneva and Wittenberg. The Lutheran doctrine was spread by the Prbr of the Antwerp Augustinian Monastery, Jacobus Praepositus, and the prior of Dordrecht, Henry of Zutphen. The monks of the of the Antwerp Monastery were the first to suffer. The monastery was razed and three of the monks died, one in prison and two at the stake, Henry Voes and John Esch. In 1521 there came the first placard from Charles, in part: "That the aforesaid Martin is not a man, but a devil under the form of a man -- therefore all his disciples and converts

*1. History of the Netherlands, Blok, Volume 11,
p. 300.

*2. History of the Popes Pastor, Volume XLV.

are to be punished with death and forfeiture of all their goods."* (This at the pope's request). The government of Holland like most of the governments was not opposed to the "reform" of the Church but only to Luther, etc. In 1522 Francois van Der Hulst was appointed the head of the secular inquisition, in 1523 Adrian VI made him papal inquisitor. In 1524 he was replaced by three papal inquisitors, ecclesiastics, but they found the same lack of support upon the part of the population, the clergy and the officials. The Bishops complained about these interferences to their power but in 1525 Clement VII confirmed their power. The problem for the inquisitors was to overcome the opposition of local governments, which were even at the best opposed to the inquisition and at the worst pro-Protestant. But in spite of their efforts the reformation spread, and in 1526 came the famous execution of John Pistorius. "His last moments were illumiated by hymns sung to him by his comrades before the grating of the prison to which he responded with the Thirty-first Psalm until an iron band was put around his throat and the bag of powder was lighted on his breast, which deprived him of life before he was burnt to ashes, 'So that no memory more of him could

*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, p. 67.

linger."*

By 1530 the work of the Inquisition could be considered as accomplished, the obdurate had been put to death, many had recanted, and a censorship had been established. Yes, all the leaders and teachers had vanished but spirit of reform was alive. In spite of the ban there were four editions of the whole Bible and twenty-five of the New Testament in eight years.* The outward signs of reform were gone but the movement had gone underground, while the leaders had fled to England and to Emden from whence their teaching went back to their homeland. For to stop the movement of the new doctrines it would have been necessary to close the Low Countries to trade, that would never be. The public executions had had their usual result of arousing universal sympathy for the victims. The frequent renewal of the edicts, nine different times in thirty years, is a sure indication ^{of the} sluggish and negligent manner of enforcement. In certain provinces, as Luxembour and Groningen the inquisition was never introduced. In Brabant the inquisition was rejected, by right of the ancient privileges.

The only concrete result was to push many people into the arms of the Anabaptists, who were ever ready to

*1 Blok, History of Netherlands, p. 311.

*2 Blok, History of Netherlands, p. 312

preach to any and to all at any time, in any place. These Anabaptists furnished the majority of the martyrs under Charles V.* Although it is highly possible that the Inquisitors charged their victims with being Anabaptists, when they were unable to find another charge. The Anabaptist movement was the cause for the reluctance of the people to renounce Catholicism and turn to Lutheranism for that act would have left them open to charge of Anabaptism. The nobles were willing to protect their Catholic subjects from the Inquisition but all were against the Anabaptists. This probably explains why men like William of Orange were willing to be considered Catholic even though at heart they were not.

The grand result of the persecution was that from 30,000 to 100,000 persons were killed for their faith. High figures may be justified if we include the Anabaptist victims in the number. While we must admit that the writers of those days were just as free with propaganda as those of today, it is also true that masses of people were killed in the migrations of the Anabaptists. It is also true that if ^{the} figure of Grotius is true (50,000), that would require the death of about 1,500 persons per

* Blok, History of the Netherlands, p. 317.

year. That figure would not be too impossible, when we consider the mass killings of the Anabatists, those who died in prison and those who were killed secretly. On the other hand Alva reached only an average of 3000 killed per year in a period when the reformation was at its height and a corrupt council of judges was trying to make money out of the dying. My opinion is that the figures are stretched unless they included some of the persecutions under Philip. Von Ranke quotes the Venetian Archives "For I am told by eminent persons of those countries that more than 36.000 men and women have suffered death at the hands of justice in little more than seven years" (1562).* The last of the placards of Charles appeared in September 1550, in which it was stated that all convicted should suffer death, "By fire, by the pit or by the sword."* They should be burned alive, be buried alive or be beheaded. This was for all who bought heretical books, copied them, or dealt in them, those who attended conventicles, and all who disputed on the Scriptures. The result of thirty years of persecution was nil; except that Calvinism was replacing Lutheranism with its doctrine of "Obedience to the Powers that Be."

Calvinism came in slowly but surely from northern France and England. Its principle of resistance was willingly welcomed by a people who were tired of persecution and martyrdom. Belgium, as today, spoke French and the

*1 Von Ranke, History of the Popes, p. 12

*2 Prescott, Philip II, p. 342

Psalms of the French Professor Marot were welcomed by the people. The meter was in the style of the popular ballads and the melodies were "Catchy."* The people of the Netherlands liked music and singing and these psalms were the part of the opening wedge, which was to let in a flood of Calvinistic preaching. Charles and Philip made the fatal error of conquering France and thus opening the border to trade and the exchange of ideas, Calvinism to the Netherlands. Then too the spirit of Calvinism with its lack of religious holidays appealed to the hard working merchants of the Netherlands. They were businessmen, not farmers who could take a day off without it hurting their business. They wished to give 300 days a year to work, not two hundred as the Catholic.

* Griffis, Story of the Walloons, P. 67

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THE STAGE OF FORCE.

A. Under Margaret of Parma

In the year 1555 the change began for the Netherlands, for in that year Charles V abdicated in favor of his son, Philip. Whatever the sins of Charles might have been, his people of the Netherlands loved him in spite of them. He spent their money, persecuted their fellow citizens, and ruined their trade, but they took it and liked it; for Charles was one of them. Charles could drink his beer with the best of them and still walk home, He used his loyal Netherlanders as his court officials, and trusted them. Charles had been raised in the Netherlands and understood that strange Northern love for great show but yet at the same time practical results. The merchants had been asked to lend (give) their money while others did the dying to win the laurels for the Emperor. They knew that the merchants could go wherever they pleased under the protection of Charles, while on the other hand the good Catholic emperor would wink at trade with heretics.

But in 1555 another sat upon the throne of Spain and he did not walk in all the ways of his father. While his father was a man of the world, a man, who could speak all the languages of his great empire, Philip could only speak Spanish with ease. He could not understand the the cheerful and sometimes coarse merriment of his Flemish

subjects. He had, no doubt, no desire to offend the Flemings at first, but for him there was but one possible way to govern, and if the Flemings were blind enough to dislike it, that was their misfortune. That he or his system could be wrong was out of the question.* That, I feel, characterizes Philip better than all the other reasons that have ever been given. The greatest fault of Philip was that he was the "Prudent King" He spent too much time doing things that he did not trust other to do. While he was worrying about details, others acted, at times contrary to the will of their kings, but to the disadvantage of Philip, the Prudent King. Another bit of knowledge which reacted to his disfavor in the Netherlands, "was the knowledge, which gossip had carried before him, that in religion, then a burning issue in the north, Philip was already an uncompromising Catholic."* "The universal sovereignty of Spain and the supremacy of the Catholic Church these were the two ideas for which he had lived, uniting the two in his spirit to one coherent maxim."* When Philip reached Spain on his return trip, "He is reported to have knelt down on the shore and thanked Providence aloud for having spared him

*1 Spain, Hume P. 109

*2 Philip II, Walsh, P. 105

*3 History of Netherlands, Blok, Vol III, P. 265

'To the sole end of exterminating the Lutherans.'*

Philip had the misfortune to have to fight to preserve and consolidate the great empire which his father had built up. He, in connection with his father, had made the fatal error of choosing a council of advisors so equally balanced that they were unable to agree to any course of action. To this condition must be added the natural slowness of Philip.

The great opponent of Philip was William of Orange, one of the favorites of Charles V. William had been born a Lutheran and had been raised in that faith until he was eleven years old. Upon the death of his Uncle Rene, he became his heir and William the Ninth of Orange. In order to get this inheritance it was necessary that he turn Catholic, which change he freely and willingly made. He became a favorite councilor of Charles, and the general-in-chief of the army on the French frontier. He, together with the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, made up the trio who really ran the country, in so far the policy of the native Netherlanders was concerned. He had been sent upon many diplomatic missions by Charles (the expenses for which came out of his own pocket). It was probably upon these missions that he built up his system of secret

*Philip II, Mariejol, p. 91, quoting Regnier de la Planche, De L'Etat de la France sous Francois II, Pantheon Litteraire, p. 219.

agents in Spain and Paris. For William had means of learning not only what went on at the court of Philip, but in his very cabinet and extracts, at times full copies, of the correspondence of Philip were transmitted to him.* His religious policy was one of tolerance, due no doubt in part to his own personal change. He was hopelessly in debt as were most of the nobles of the Netherlands. Since there was nothing to be gained from Philip, who mistrusted all who were popular, since he did not agree with the principles of persecution laid down by Philip, since he could hope for no financial gain from Philip, since Philip considered him the cause of the trouble in the Netherlands, therefore William of Orange, the idol of the people, was the logical man to lead the revolt for freedom of life, and freedom of conscience. There was one more point William was related to the princes of Germany by birth, by his second marriage, and in spirit. His greatest hope and greatest disappointment was to get troops and aid from them.

It did not take Philip long to seize up the situation in the Netherlands for the inroads of Calvinism were all too evident to those who had eyes to see. In August 20, 1556 he gave the Jesuits permission to form settlements, even though this was opposed by Viglius, the president of the Council and always loyal to Philip.* Thinking that this latent effort at reform could not alone save Catholic

*1 Prescott, Philip II, Volume II, p. 75
 *2 History of the Popes, Pastor Volume XIV, p.

Church from the rapid advance of the Gospel, Philip decided to reorganize the church of the Netherlands. At that time there were only two real Bishops in the country, those of Tournay, and Arras. The remainder of the territory belonged to the neighboring bishops in Germany or France, thus Bishoprics were in no sense of the word subject to the Ecclesiastical Domination of the King. In Spain at this time the King had complete control of the church, appointed the bishops and priests, and used the Inquisition as a means of strengthening the royal power as well as quieting heresy.* This factor and the supreme secrecy of its procedure was too well known to the Netherlanders, who were not willing to give up their freedom without a fight. For unlike the people of Spain, they had a source of power in their fleets and commercial relations with all of North and Protestant Europe. So now when Philip repeated his father's request for fourteen new Bishops to the Pope, the people did not like it. The Pope, being under the thumb of Philip and wanting to put down the Lutheran Heresy, granted his request. In doing this the Pope made important concessions to the Philip. The King received the right to propose candidates for the fourteen new dioceses, The King was to pay the Bishops from his own treasury, until a fixed income was allotted to them. Included in

*Philip II, Mariejol, p. 73

the Bull was: "Each Bishops should appoint nine additional prebendaries, who were to assist him in the matter of the matter of the inquisition throughout his bishopric, two of whom were themselves to be inquisitors."* The new bishoprics were later to get their income from the monasteries and other religious foundations. The abbots, who were under the influence of the nobles, as well as the influence of Erasmus, were not willing to give up their independence and income.

To add more fuel to the religious difficulties there was the presence of Spanish soldiers in the Netherlands against the wishes of the populace, who had to suffer from their looting, etc. Before the Estates-general would vote the money requested by Philip in the meeting held before he left for Spain, they demanded that the Spanish troops be withdrawn from the country. In theory, the government during the absence of Philip, was to be governed by three councils, state, privy, and finance. But in actuality the government was in the hands of the Regent Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V, and Antoine Perrenot, later Cardinal Granvelle. Margaret had had Loyola as her confessor and spiritual guide,* which explains her attitude towards heretics. Granvelle was considered by the people and the nobles as the instigator

*1 Motely, Rise of the Dutch Republic, p. 22

*2 Motely, Rise of the Dutch Republic, p. 197, Volume 1

of all of the new bishoprics and the promoter of the plans of despotism. In reality, however, both Margaret and Granvelle were nothing more than "Rubber stamps" for Philip, who decided everything in Madrid via letter. This caused almost endless political controversy between the nobles on one hand and Philip's representatives on the other, a factor which was to shape up the forthcoming revolt. Most of the nobles were nominal Catholics, but they were opposed^{to} giving up the privileges of the provinces and the use of sword and fire to preserve the church. They had no interest in ruining in any way the trade which brought in their taxes just to oblige a foreign king.

While these political arguments were going on in the councils, the inquisitors were active, above all Peter Titelmann. Motley gives this summary of Brand's description of him:

"Contemporary chronicles give a picture of him as of some grotesque yet terrible goblin---smiting the trembling peasants on the head with a great club, spreading dismay far and wide, dragging suspected persons from their firesides, or their beds, and thrusting them into dungeons, arresting, torturing, strangling, burning, with hardly the shadow of a warrant, information, or process."*

Of course, it can not be denied that some of the more radical Calvinists almost asked for persecution, as in

*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol 1, p. 283, quoting Brandt.

the case of Bertrand Le Blas, who went into the church during mass and told the people not worship the host, which he then proceeded to dash to the ground. But the punishment was such that it aroused the hatred of the people against the church it was supposed to protect. For he was first tortured three times. His right hand and foot were burned and twisted off between two red-hot irons, his tongue was torn out, and an iron gag was put into his mouth. He was then slowly roasted over a fire while swinging over it on a hook through the middle of his body.* For deeds of this sort committed by Le Blas one could possibly concede that Inquisitors had a theoretical right to punish the doers of such deeds. But what were the crimes that many of the victims were accused: reading the Bible, private worship at home, praying at home, copying hymns, and refusing to adore the host.**These persecutions had the natural result of spreading the teachings of Calvin and arousing sympathy among the Catholics, particularly among the nobles, who were compelled to enforce these laws. Force naturally breeds force, so also in the Netherlands. In Valenciennes the first counter violence broke out, when two Ministers, Faveau and Mallart, were to be burnt. A mob broke into

*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, P 286, Vol I,

'Hist. Des Martyrs, 356 cxcv.

**Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, P 284-286

the place of execution and rescued the ministers. They paraded through the streets singing hymns until the guard recaptured the ministers and put them back into prison. The prison was then the scene of another rescue, which was permanent. Naturally the government (Margaret) took vengeance with the trial and punishment (death) of the leaders. Philip's advice was "Rigorous and severe measures are the only ones to be employed in matters of religion. It is by fear only that the rabble can be made to do their duty, and not always then."*

To the great disgust of Philip and his councilors the fight between Granvelle and the nobles became worse instead of better. The situation as far as the Calvinists were concerned became better and better, since the nobles often refused to persecute just to spite Granvelle. So in 1561 Guy De Bray drew up a confession of faith for the Netherlands Church, in which confession he warned the king. "That 'his people' can no longer endure the religious persecution."**At the same time there arose secret Calvinistic organizations in the provinces. The nobles sent Montigny to Spain to complain to the king in 1562 about the activities of Granvelle but he was not removed until March 1564, when he asked for leave to visit his mother (at the suggestion of Philip). The nobles and Margaret

*Prescott, Philip II, Vol I, P. 476, Papiers d'Etat de Granvell, tom VI, p 421

**Ceyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 32

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then took over the control of the country. The nobles kept up their resistance to the plans of Philip both religious and political. At Antwerp when a converted monk, Fabricius, was to be burnt. The people encouraged him while he went to the stake and failed to rescue him because they started their charge a minute too late. Their minute of delay gave the executioner time to stab Fabricius, before the mob could get to him. Philip immediately demanded revenge, but it was like chasing the whirlwind, even though they were able to catch and hang one of the rioters. The entire population both Protestant and Catholic looked upon the riot as justified, and an attempt was made by the senate of the City of Burges (all Catholics) to petition Philip to remove the Inquisition.

In August 1564 Philip made the final step, when he decided to proclaim the decrees of the Council of Trent in the Netherlands. Among the provisions as proclaimed in the Netherlands:

"Inns were to receive not guests, schools no children, alms-houses no paupers, graveyards no dead bodies, unless guests; children, paupers and dead bodies were furnished with the most satisfactory proofs of orthodoxy."

The heretic was excluded, so far as ecclesiastical dogma could exclude him, from the pale of Humanity.*

*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol I P. 384

At a joint meeting of the Privy Council and the Council of State, it was agreed upon the instigation of William of Orange to send a petition to Philip asking him not to proclaim the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Count Egmont carried the petition to Spain, where he was received by Philip with the greatest hospitality. While he was there, the king called a conclave of learned theologians to consult them upon the religious position in the Netherlands. They said that the king might grant liberty of worship to prevent revolt. Philip replied, "He had not called them to learn whether he might grant this to the Flemings, but whether he must do so. When they answered no, he fell before a crucifix and prayed: "I implore thy divine majesty, Ruler of all things, that thou keep me in the mind that I am in, never to allow myself either to become or to be called the lord of those who reject thee for their Lord."* Egmont was so deceived that he thought that the letter he was carrying back to the Netherlands was a revocation of Philip's former instructions. But this sentence of the letter shows Philip's attitude: "I would rather lose a hundred thousand lives, if I had so many, than allow a single change in matters of religion."** The only concession was that the executions were to be secret. The

*Prescott, Philip II, Vol I, P. 533, quoting Strada, De Belo Belgico, tom 1, p. 185
**Prescott, Philip II, Vol I, P. 538, quoting, Correspondence de Philippe II tom. 1, p. 347

proclamation was made and the lid was off. Discontent and indignation was aroused among the people. Orange, Berghen and the magistrates refused to carry out the edict. The inferior clergy also complained against the decrees of Trent, because they assailed their ignorance and corruption. During this time the Jesuits were organized into a special Belgian or Flemish province on September 24, 1564, by their General Francis Borgia.*

The lead of the resistance now passed into the hands of the lower nobles, when it became apparent that legal means via the councilors were without result. That on the very day that Alexander of Parma was married in Brussels, twenty nobles met in the home of Count Culemburg, to listen to the Reformed Pastor Francois Du Jon, (Franciscus Junius), who was in touch with Louis of Nassau, the brother of William. The natural result was an agreement to unite which was done in the famous document "The Compromise."

Not all of the two thousand signers were Protestants; for many were Catholics, who were opposed to the persecutions of Philip. Among that number was the Count of Mansfeld who later deserted the confederates, when his daughter eloped during a visit to Brederode, who was the leader of the nobles.**The great nobles did not join but everyone took for granted that William was supporting his brother Louis. In April 1566 there appeared in Brussels four

*Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol XI, P 22

**Wedgwood, William the Silent, P 89

hundred nobles from almost every province of the Netherlands to present a petition. It was presented by Brederode, a Catholic*and asked that the Duchess send an envoy to the King asking him to abolish the Inquisition and Placards; and that she in the meanwhile suspend the Inquisition and the Placards until the reaction of the King be known.** At this presentation Berlaymont in order to reassure the regent made his famous remark: "What Madam, is it possible that your Highness can entertain fears of these beggars (Gueux)?" The derisive remark was willingly transformed into a battle cry: "Vivent les gueux" or in Dutch: "Vive le Geus" There was at the same time a scarcity of bread,*** on which the price had risen. The work of Philip had worked out fine, the nobles were united, the people discontented, the clergy opposed to his decrees, the Calvinist preachers working overtime, the league ignored provincial boundaries, and now a popular battle cry came forth.

The regent then issued the so-called "Moderation" supposedly in compliance with the request of the Beggars. Schiller*quotes and summarizes it as follows:

"Sectarian Writers, the heads and teachers of sects, as also those who conceal heretical meetings, or cause any other public scandal shall be punished with the gallows, and their

*Cambridge Modern History, Vol III, P. 202

**Ibid 203

***Prescott, Philip II, P. 556

estates, where the laws of the province permit it, confiscated; but if they abjure their errors, their punishment shall be commuted into decapitation with the sword and their effects shall be preserved to their families! Less grievous heretics, it was further enacted, shall, if penitent shall be pardoned; and if impenitent shall be compelled to leave the country, without, forfeiting their estates, unless by continuing to lead others astray they deprive themselves of the benefit of this provision. The Anabaptists were expressly excluded from benefiting this clause.*

The greater regard for the rights of life and property were not a gift from government but had been forced by the opposition of the nobles. That no one was deceived can be seen by the nickname given to the "Moderatie" by the people, "Moorderation."

Much against the will of the Regent there was to be found no one who would undertake the persecution of the Protestants. The people therefore acted as if the edicts had been abolished. The headquarters of the Calvinists at this time were in Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and the provinces next to France. From thence went out the preachers into all the land, but what was worse for the plans of Rome, the printing press was busy. It turned out vindications of the faith, polemical tracts, and satires, which were distributed by peddlers and traveling workmen to the distant sections of the country. The preachers, streaming out Geneva, France, Germany, and England, where

* Schiller, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 171

They had found refuge, at first preached to small secret gatherings in homes and in the secrecy of the forests at night. As the congregations grew larger and bolder they slowly moved out into the plains. Then they became so bold that they reached the suburbs of the larger cities. They met together by the thousands. The arrangement was usually this that the women and children were placed in the center of the crowd near to the pulpit. Around them stood the men, armed and ready for action. Armed horsemen scouted the territory for the roops of the government. Barricades of wagons were placed across the roads leading to the meeting place in order to prevent a sudden attack. The guards would invite and direct people to the meeting place. The preachers were converted priests or monks, educated laymen, or missionaries from Geneva. The preaching was done in the home tongue. Marriages and baptisms were performed. The meetings in general were orderly in spite of the verbal attacks against the abuses and idoltry of the Roman church. The Regent ordered the magistrates of Antwerp to put down the meetings by using the guild-militia; but what could they do when fifteen to twenty and even to thirty thousand people attended the meetings at Antwerp.* The situation had changed for the time being. The

*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 41
quoting Letter of Clough, In Burgon ii, 135

confederates no longer requested; they demanded. [†]They were now planning to hire four thousand horse and forty companies of infantry in Germany, where Louis of Nassau had connections. The Reformed now talked of absolute toleration instead of mitigation of penalties. The political revolution and religious reform joined hands, when the confederates agreed to get freedom of worship for the Reformed. Margaret was not idle but she had received only money from Philip not orders.

Then there occurred two events at almost the same time; Philips instructions to Margaret, which revealed his intentions on July 31 and the Bilderstuermer struck in the Netherlands on August 14 before his instructions could arrive. Some of the Historians in their accounts place the Bilderstuermer first (Motley and the Catholic historians), while others place Philip's instructions first (Prescott). I think that the instructions should be placed first because they show what Philip wished to do before there was any violence. If the instructions are placed last, they seem to be the result of the Bilderstuermer riots.

Philip was all too willing to follow the wishes of Pius V, a determined foe of heresy, who wrote to Philip (according to Prescott's summary):

"Conjuring him not to falter in the good cause and to allow no harm to the Catholic faith, but

to march against his rebellious vassals at the head of his army and wash out the stain of heresy in the blood of the heretic."*

Philip was ready to follow the advice of his advisor and agent for the Low Countries, Fray Lorenzo, who urged more rigorous measures:

"Since your majesty holds the sword which God had given to you with the divine power over our lives, let it be drawn from the scabbard, and plunged in the blood of the heretics, if you do not wish that the blood of Jesus Christ, shed by these barbarians, and the blood of innocent Catholics whom they have oppressed, should cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance on the sacred head of your majesty.' --- That the ravings of this hard-hearted bigot were not distasteful to Philip may be inferred from the fact that he ordered a copy of his memorial to be placed in the hands of Alva, on his departure for the Low Countries."**

Philip agreed to postpone the institution of the Spanish or Papal Inquisition but to substitute in its place the Episcopal Inquisition. He suggested that the Moderation be deferred until he would visit the Netherlands. A general pardon should not be granted unless it would exclude those persons guilty of Reformed practices. The Moderation was classified as too mild. Philip considered this action as too much of a concession (Why I can not see) and made the following statement before Alva and two jurists:

"He therefore did not feel bound by it, but reserved to himself the right to punish the guilty.

* Prescott, Philip II, Vol II, p. 40, quoting Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom i, p. 236

** Prescott, Philip II, Vol II, note on P. 43

and especially the authors and abettors of sedition in the Low Countries." *

Philip's conscience bothered him so much that he wrote to the Pope and explained his actions. He had acted thus because of the emergency. The pardon, he assured the Pope, would not extend to the offenders against the Church. Prescott's summary of this letter is as follows:

"In fine the Pope might rest assured that the King would consent to nothing that would prejudice the service of God or the interests of religion. He deprecated force, as that would involve the ruin of the country. Still, he would march in person and employ force though it should cost the ruin of the provinces but he would bring his vassals to submission. For he would sooner lose a hundred lives, and every rod of empire, than reign a lord over heretics." **

So here we have the strange situation of a king writing to the Head of Christ's Church (?) and apologizing because he was showing mercy to some of his subjects; a mercy which was nothing more than a lie. Philip was not ashamed of his lie, but he was ashamed that it contained "Mercy." The Pope would not^{ter} have worry that his faithful son, Philip, would commit the sin of loving his enemies.

While Philip was busy easing his conscience in Spain, the pressure grew higher in the Netherlands. The preaching of the ministers and the natural hatred of the Protestants

* Prescott, Philip II, Vol II, P. 40

** Prescott, Philip II, Vol II, P. 43, quoting Correspondance de Philippe II, tom 1, p 445

against the idolatry of the Catholics combined with the resentment against the persecutions to cause the Iconoclastic outbreak. Strada describes the set-up as follows:

"The people partly corrupted with heresie, partly dreading the Inquisition, exceedingly favoured the hereticks that fought to overthrow that judicature."*

In a period of two weeks every church and monastery, which could be attacked in safety, was plundered and ruined by small groups of rioters. In four or five days four hundred cloisters were plundered in Brabant and Flanders. **

Just what that little country could do with four hundred monasteries besides the numerous churches needs to be explained. If the monasteries were anything like their Spanish counterparts, they indulged in trade. If that was the case, we can rest assured that the merchants would have no interest in preventing the destruction of their tax-free competitors. The odd thing about the whole riot is that the numbers involved were small -- very small. Only one hundred men desecrated the Antwerp churches!*** Who put them up to it? That is one of the mysteries of history. The men behind it have never been discovered. The radical Reformed leaders looked upon the movement with favor; but if they were directly involved, they took their secret with

* Historians History of the World, P. 402, Vol XIII

** Schiller, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 196

*** Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 28

them to the grave, where many of them were soon to go. Another odd thing about the riot is that all seemed either to be terror-stricken or to be in favor of the actions of the rioters. The Catholic officials, who were in charge of certain towns, were too frightened to take action. The Calvinists, of course, did not interfere with the rioters. The regent made the error of becoming frightened and calling her councilors to her instead of sending them out to put down the riot.

The Bilderstuermer riot had two results: 1. It obtained temporary toleration for the Calvinists, 2. The moderate Catholics turned against the Calvinists and the Confederates. The first was immediately apparent. The Regent was forced into signing a decree, "The Accord". The Accord promised that the Reformed should have liberty to worship in the places where such worship had already taken place and that the members of the Compromise were to be held blameless for their deeds.* The inquisition was to be abolished. In return the League of the Nobles was dissolved. In compliance with the Accord the nobles went out and restored order throughout the Netherlands. William of Orange restored the churches in Antwerp to the Catholics and his presence there gave the magistrates the courage to hang three of the

* Edmundson, Cambridge Modern History, Vol III, P 209

of the Bilderstuermer. To the Protestants he gave the right to have three places to be used as places of worship, either houses or churches (to be built by the Reformed). They were allowed to hold services on Sundays and holidays. There were some catches in this toleration. The preachers were not to attack the ruling religion. No religious party was to maintain more than two clergymen, native Netherlanders. At the elections a government official was to attend and to send in a report.

The second result was not apparent until December, 1566, when **Margaret** in spite of the Accord declared the Town of Valenciennes to be in a state of rebellion and sent troops against it. The Catholics were no longer interested in fighting for freedom and gave support to the government. By this time **Margaret** had received money with which she was able to recruit German and Walloon troops (loyal to Charles of Egmont). The various bands which sprung to arms in defence of their newly won rights were quickly put down by the trained soldiers. **Marnix** of Tholouse led the attack against Antwerp hoping, no doubt, that **William** would open the gates to him. This army (?) was attacked by **Philip de Lannoy**, half of whose troops came from Egmont,* and was utterly defeated. **William of Orange** kept the Calvinistic

* Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 125

mob from aiding the invading army, or as he said from being killed by the victors. In April the town of Valenciennes surrendered. Thirty-six of the leaders were hung and the Reformed religion banished. There was no more hope. After vainly trying to persuade Egmont to join him, Orange fled to his ancestral home at Dillenburg. Schiller gives the reasons why the others also fled:

"The town (Antwerp) bound itself to prohibit the Calvinistic form of worship. --- All those who being dubious of obtaining a pardon, preferred banishment, were to be allowed a month to place themselves in safety. --- Immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty all Calvinist and Lutheran preachers in Antwerp, and the adjoining territory, were warned by the herald to quit the country in twenty-four hours. --- All children were rebaptized by Roman Catholic Priests." *

"From the beams of the roofless churches gibbets were erected for those who had profaned the sanctuaries of the Roman Catholics. The places of executions were filled with corpses, the prisons with condemned victims, the highroads with fugitives. --- Innumerable were the victims of this year of murder; in the smallest towns fifty at least." **

The people streamed out of Holland into North Germany, Sweden, and England. While they were not always able to take out much of their worldly goods, they were able to take with them their technical knowledge. Before this time English wool had been sent to Flanders to be made into cloth, but now the Flemish workmen came to England bringing with

* Schiller, The Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 264

** Ibid

them the industrial know-how. The English welcomed them with open arms and before long the ships were carrying English cloth instead of English wool to the Continent. The merchants who had operated in the Walloon provinces set up shop, first in Holland and then when things became too hot, they moved to Emden and London. Naturally at the moment these things were not apparent either to Philip or to William. Everything looked as if the Counter-Reformation and Philip's despotism had conquered. Everything seemed to have worked out according to plan. The Bishops could now rule without any opposition upon the part of the Reformed. The Inquisition could open up shop without having to worry about being shot in the back. All Philip had to do was to welcome back into the fold of Church and State the Catholic populace of the Netherlands. This populace, which a few months before had been turning Calvinist, now was doing its best to show that it was made up of loyal children of the Church of Rome.

The Use of Force
Under The Duke of Alva

Philip, however, was not willing to forgive and forget. The people not only fled the reinforced power of the Church and Margaret of Parma but the advancing army of the Duke of Alva. For Philip was not content with his victory. He wished to make doubly sure the victory won by his nobles of the Netherlands, so now he sent ten thousand Spanish veterans under the command of his most able commander. The people in Southeran Belgium had no choice but to flee. Resistance was impossible. Lest we forget, Belgium has no great natural frontiers as had been demonstrated by the last two great wars. Philip now aimed to treat the Netherlands as he treated his Italian provinces, but he forgot that he owed his rule of Italy to his alliance with Genoa as well as his army. He also forgot that Spain ruled the outlet of the Mediterranean but England and Holland ruled the North Alantic. Philip also forgot that Holland, which is well protected by rivers, (an obstacle even today) can control the harbors of Belgium easier than Belgium can control the harbors of Holland. Philip was yet to learn that the strength of the country lay in the North where the ships were concentrated. These ships transshipped his grain from the Baltic to Spain

Philip had made up his mind and so sent Alva and his men to crush the defeated Netherlands. His first act was to arrest the most suspected of the nobles, the very men who had just crushed the Protestant movement, the chief of whom were Counts Horne and Egmont. William had warned Egmont to flee the country, but he trusted in the good will of Philip, whom he had served faithfully. The two nobles were subjected to an imprisonment of several months during which time they were cut off from all records and legal advice. Their trial was in direct defiance of the laws of the Netherlands, which demanded trial by one's peers (that is for nobles). The trial was a farce and the two were condemned and sentenced to death. The charge was that they had aided the "Beggars" in their traitorous actions. The result of this action was that the two became martyrs and the hatred for the Spaniards grew.

The next steps were to put the Decrees of Trent back into force, abolish the "Moderatio" (already a dead letter), and promulgate new edicts against the heretics. The Inquisition in Spain had declared the whole nation guilty of treason, both Catholics and heretics. The loyal Catholics were considered guilty because they had not stopped the overt acts of the Rebels or of the Calvinists. They might be punished, if they merely knew about the Calvinistic

meetings and did not report them. Guilty of death if they did not report meetings, which were known to all.* Alva immediately set up his "Council of Troubles" (Council of Blood". Its function was to prepare the sentences of those whom the government (Alva) had decided to punish. It was above all courts. The Council of Blood commenced operations. The great sin was to be rich. Trials were mere farces. Many were summoned before the court; but those who could get away had the good sense to do so. Those who were of a belligerent nature took either to the woods or to the sea. There they could be reasonably safe from pursuit. Those who were suspected often received warnings from the local magistrates.** As always the blood of the martyrs turned out to be the seed of the Church. As cruel as the tortures were, they were met with a courage, which was just as bold as the tortures were cruel. The executioners were forced to seal the mouths of the condemned with hot iron plates to keep them from preaching at the stake.

While these acts were going on in the Netherlands, William and his friends were busy in Germany attempting to raise troops. They suffered from the lack of money and lack of sympathy on the part of the Lutheran Princes.

* Schiller, Revolt of the Netherlands, P.290.

** Prescott, Philip II, Vol II, p. 211

The Lutherans saw no reason to help the Calvinists to become powerful in the Netherlands. The mercenary troops of Germany, on the other hand, were ready and willing to serve, if there was cash on the line. While I could not find it anywhere, it is highly probable that the German Princes had a source of information in their mercenary chiefs who had served under Alva in Italy. It is known that the German princes warned William that he could not accomplish anything against Alva.* It can not be denied that these Princes did not want to fight against the best army in the world. Who were they to die in a lost cause, which was not of their making? The Emperor, who had no objections to hurting Philip, did not want to cause his cousin to suffer any permanent loss. It must not be forgotten that these princes had very little money, they were all living as William had lived in such a fashion so as to eat up their capital. The attempts to collect money from the Calvinists did not meet with any more success than did the requests to the Lutheran Princes.

Time after time invasions were attempted but all to no avail. If battles were fought, the veteran well-trained troops of Alva always won (except once at Heiligerlee). If no battles were fought, the armies of William and the

* Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 278

the other patriot leaders degenerated into undisciplined mobs. The same mistake was made each time. The army would invade Flanders, where the bulk of the Calvinist population lay. The patriots hoped that the populace would revolt, but there was no natural cover for an army. While Belgium is open to invasion, there are no natural barriers where an invading army can stop to catch its breath. The invasion should have been made via Holland. There behind the protection of the rivers, the army would have a chance to catch its second wind before receiving the counter attack. It was simple to transport troops through Germany, where the Princes were friendly and where the Emperor requested William not to take action against Philip but never took the trouble to stop him. It must be remembered that William mustered all the armies of these invasions on German soil.

It was a lost cause for which William was fighting. The man who was to give the greatest boost to save that cause was not William but Philip. Philip remembered that in the days of his father the Netherlands had been an asset not a debt on the books of the Spanish Empire. He did not wish to be dependent upon the Estates-General for his money. His aim was that grand aim of all dictators the collecting of taxes directly from the people. In March 1569

Alva demanded and got from the Estates-General a ten percent sales tax, on wholesale as well as retail transactions. He also obtained a tax of five percent upon every transfer of real estate. There was also to be a tax of one percent upon all property both real estate and personal property. The Netherlands was a commercial nation and immediately recognized the dangers in such a sales tax. It meant that they could be undersold in every market in Europe. It meant that Antwerp could no longer be the exchange capital of the world. Who would buy and sell in Antwerp, when they could buy and sell for less in London or Emden? They were hard-headed business men. They would do anything but allow such a foolish sales tax. The fact of the matter is that after some preliminary quarrels they voted the same amount in taxes but not in a sales tax. At the same time Alva, who had no scruples about confiscating goods on which money was owed to English merchants had the tables reversed. The five Spanish treasure ships, which were bringing 450,000 Ducats to pay his troops, were forced into Plymouth by the Dutch Sea-Beggars. Queen Elizabeth, who was short of money herself and desiring revenge, peacefully confiscated both the ships and the gold. Alva had to have money so the Estates-General voted him 2,000,000 Florins to be paid in two years.

In order to keep the record straight we must mention the pardon issued by Philip in 1570. He sent four pardons to Alva, who was to pick the one which would best fit the situation. The exceptions in this so-called pardon embraced practically all of those who had not been perfect Catholics or exceptionally loyal subjects of the King.* To say the least the pardon accomplished nothing but to cause the Calvinists to hate more and the Catholics to distrust a man who promised on thing and gave another.

While the merchants and the politicians were arguing with Alva in a vain effort to get him to forget about the proposed Sales Tax, other men took action. When the people of Southern Netherlands had to flee, they fled either overland to Holland where they took ships to Emden or they took ships directly to England. Laws were passed against the shipmasters, who were giving passage to the fugitives.** While I have not found it in print, it is logical that after the coming of Alva the carrying of fugitives was carried on by the same class of men, who later turned pirate. These rough and ready characters of the waterfront kept not records or books. Individuals who are flirting with death do not leave incriminating evidence where it can be found. Some of the refugees would get jobs as sailors on these smuggler craft.

* Cambridge Modern History, Vol III, P. 225.

** Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 194.

In those days it was but one step from being a merchant engaged in a little smuggling to being a privateer or pirate. The Dutch merchants and sailors, who were ruined by Alva's persecution, learned a great deal from the English merchant-pirate princes.* Drake, Hawkins, and the like set an example which the Dutch were soon to follow. They hated the Spanish, who had robbed them. They had connections in the Netherlands, from whom they could get information. There existed at that time a situation, which looks queer to me, certain of the Dutch ships could trade with Spain without any trouble from the privateers. I am not suggesting that these good servants of the King of Spain had agreements with the Sea-Beggars, but many of these men had traded with each other for years. All of the Dutch merchants had had connections with England.* When these captains left home, they took their ships with them. All the merchant ships of North Europe were capable of being transformed into warships. All, that was needed, was cannon on the deck and a crew. The cannon were supplied by the English and the crew came from the mob of exiles, whose friends were being killed and robbed by the Duke of Alva. William issued Letters of Marque to these men and England honored

* Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, P. 294.

** Ibid, Quoting Blik, De Watergeusen in England.

them as belligerents.

While Alva was crushing all opposition on land, the "Gueux de Mer" on their ex-merchantmen, with patched sails, armed with second-hand cannon, and manned by thieves and patriots, made the channel unsafe for Spanish ships. The government (Spanish) of the Netherlands had no naval power of importance.* Those of the merchants who were loyal to the king began to receive letters, telling them that their ships were overdue. This did not increase love towards a man, who wanted their taxes but could not protect them. Although no one realized it at that time, Spain could conquer land and the quiet Mediterranean, but only the fast all-weather ships of North Europe could control the Atlantic. Such ships were owned by England, Holland, and Zealand. By February 1570 three hundred ships had been taken by the Sea-Beggars. By April the number of ships engaged in this trade(?) had risen to eighty-four. William attempted to control them but the control had only this effect that a certain amount of the loot reached William. He appointed William von der Mark, Lord of Lumey (Count de La Marck) to be Lord Admiral of the Sea-Beggars. La Marck not only failed to reform the evil habits of the Sea-Beggars but joined full-heartily in their worst practices. Beyond this attempt no control was ever

* Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 114.

exercised nor could be as long as they were based in foreign ports.

While the forces of vengeance were arising, the Duke was meeting with resistance from another quarter. While the Holy Father looked with approval at the judicial murder of thousands of Protestants, he did not like it that Alva showed an antipathy for the Society of Jesus. In 1570 the Jesuits took over the University of Louvain, even though Alva, who favored Cesaropapalism, did not give them any aid.* During this period (from 1570-1576) Bellarmine taught theology at Louvain.

Alva thought he had the situation under control except for a little piracy, which could be put down later, when the main battle fleet would move up to conquer England. Alva had no imagination, because he saw no organized revolt, he thought all was well. "Deaf, or ignorant of the language, he would walk through the market place at Brussels, oblivious of the loud offensive asides of the stallholders." ** He was even so rash as to land troops to Catherine de Medici who persecuting Protestants in France. Thus Alva earned the hatred of the Huguenots, who opened up their port of La Rochelle to the "Gueux de Mer." At the same time Philip

* Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol XX, P. 22

**Wedgwood, William, the Silent, P. 117

began to think that Alva was too powerful. The English didn't trust ~~the~~ Spain in any case. William of Orange was busy building up an underground organization, which was waiting for the call to arms.

Alva was so self-confident and penniless, that he decided to push his "Ten Percent Sales Tax". These taxes did not seem exaggerated to Spanish eyes, but the commercialized and industrialized Netherlands took a different view. Spain could cut her own throat in the commercial world, but the Netherlanders were determined that she was not to cut theirs. Spain had become an importing nation instead of an exporting nation. Spain had but one commodity, which she could sell cheaper than anyone else, that was gold. This was a losing proposition. The spice trade had moved out Spain. The wholesale spice trade was concentrated in Antwerp in order to escape the high taxes in Spain. Spain's ports were used merely as transmission points, where the goods were reloaded for shipment to the Exchange at Antwerp. Spanish manufactures were no longer wanted, when their prices were from one-half to twice as much higher than the corresponding English product. The Kings of Spain had killed one goose that had laid the golden eggs and now Alva wanted to kill the other. It should also be remembered that taxes in those

days were considered as gifts to the monarch not as his due. Kings and governments were expected to live on their private revenues, with only emergency help from the people in the form of gifts. Not only that but the people of the Netherlands did not want to support a foreign army and courts of justice staffed by foreigners and thieves.

When the period of grace had expired, Alva refused to prolong it and forced his "Sales Tax" upon the people. Then the trouble began. Businessmen refused to sell and the people refused to buy all but necessities, if they could be had. The merchants now staged an economic migration from the country. Contracts were cancelled right and left. The textile industry shut down so completely, that Alva was unable to get enough blue cloth in both Brussels and Antwerp to renew the furnishings of his household.* The roles of unemployed increased and the blame was laid upon the shoulders of Alva. Alva was determined to force the people to trade and thus to pay the tax. He went so far as to sentence eighteen leading businessmen to death.** These sentences were never to be carried out, because the "Gueux de Mer" took the town of Brill. No Alva had greater problems than taxes.

Oddly enough the jam, in which he found himself, was

* Merriman, The Rise of The Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P 286

** Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P 369, quoting Bor, vi, p 261

once again of his own making. For with a combination of threats and promises Alva had forced Queen Elizabeth to expell the Dutch "Gueux de Mer" from England. Elizabeth issued an order forbidding trade with the Sea-Beggars, who were then forced to leave. Merriman makes this statement about that order:

"Precisely how far the government of Elizabeth was implicated in the events that followed the expulsion of La Marck will probably never be known; but the available documents make possible the hypothesis that she so timed her official compliance with Alva's request as to convert it into the first effective blow against his government in the Netherlands."*

Not only were the Sea-Beggars able to take the town but they were aided by the underground. A ferryman of the place spread false rumors of their strength. He told the magistrates that the Sea-Beggars were five thousand strong instead of their real strength of five hundred men.** The capture of Brill acted as a signal for the forces of revolt. During the next ten days four other seaport towns rose in revolt. The most important of which was Flushing, which commands the mouth of the Scheldt and was the key to Antwerp. The towns of Holland and Zeeland were soon under the Prince of Orange, except for Middleburg, where there was a Spanish garrison, and Amsterdam where the magistrates

* Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 295, using Froude, X, pp. 371 - 373.

** Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol II, P. 373, quoting Hoofd, VI, p. 218

were pro-Catholic. Up till this time Amsterdam had not known a Spanish garrison and so had no knowledge of the Spanish rule as had their contemporaries in Antwerp etc. Troops poured in from France and England. The Walloon exiles came back to fight for their home land and to spread their Calvinistic doctrine. The French troops were supplied by the Huguenots. English troops came over with the secret approval of their government.* William gathered troops in Germany.

Louis of Nassau with German, Walloon, and French troops (furnished by the French King and the Huguenots**) captured the town of Mons. William invaded from Germany almost sure of victory, even though his troops were discontented and demanding pay. Then came that dark night of St. Bartholomew, when Charles IX changed sides by killing Coligny and his Huguenot supporters. Without French aid the plans could not be carried out. William was defeated, had to disband his army, and fled to Holland. Louis had to capitulate and turn Mons over to Alva; but this one time Alva let an army march out with the honors of war. He did kill all the prisoners which he had taken out of the Huguenot army which had tried to relieve Louis. Alva had promised that

* Geyl, Revolt in the Netherlands, P. 122.

** Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol III, P. 5.

the citizens, who had borne arms, would not be harmed, if they should remain. Needless to say, he didn't keep that promise. The commercial life of the town was ruined. This was Alva's advance publicity, as he set out on his march to reconquer Holland from William. The Sea-Beggars had hung twenty priests, when they captured Flushing; but Alva was willing to kill both Catholic and Calvinist. By Alva's action in killing Catholics he gave another blow to the Counter-Reformation. The Calvinists, on the other hand, were protected by the Sea-Beggars and William. Thus Alva cut off all support for the King except from the nobles and the bishops. For the Sea-Beggars were the spiritual successors to the Bilderstürmer, if not the same men. They had suffered for their faith. They hated not only the Spaniards but also the Church of Rome. What they would do to a priest, no doubt, caused many a priest on the rack to regret that the Church of Rome had ever considered it to be Christ-like to burn heretics. The people, who welcomed the Sea-Beggars, were good Catholics; but they did not want to lose their wealth, businesses, and their lives through the persecutions of Alva.

William was interested chiefly in the national side of the Revolt. When the States of Holland and Zealand accepted William they resolved:

"That freedom of religions shall be observed, as well of the Reformed as of the Roman religion, and that everyone in his house or in public, in churches or chapels (such as shall be ordained to be most convenient by the local authority) shall enjoy free exercise of his faith, and that the ecclesiastics shall be left in their state and unmolested. Unless they proved to be hostile."^{*}

Of course, many of the staunch Calvinists saw to it that "They proved hostile." In the spring of 1575 the exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited on the pretext of public order.^{*} The excesses of the Calvinists were opposed by Orange, whose actions stood in sharp counter-distinction to Alva's. Pastor says of Alva:

"The hatred which his oppressive rule had aroused not only weakened the authority of the King of Spain, but also of the Catholic church. Later on the Bishop of Namur was of the opinion that Alva, in seven or eight years, had done more harm to the cause of religion than had been done by Luther, Calvin, and all their supporters together."^{**}

Alva helped to destroy the world's strongest Catholic country, Spain. When Brill was captured, the Reformed constituted a minority and at that a small minority of the people of Holland. As late as 1587 they were estimated at one tenth of the population of that province.^{***}

Alva's army moved northward and lived up to its advance publicity. After the destruction of Haarden, where

^{*} Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 130

^{**} Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol IX, P. 2

^{***} Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 133

the populace was deliberately butchered in spite of a promise of mercy, Alva came to Haarlem. Haarlem lay only ten miles from Amsterdam and was the refuge for the Calvinists who had fled from Amsterdam. The battle and seige was long and cost the lives of 12,000 Spanish soldiers. The Spaniards won one of their few naval victories on the waters of the Zuyder Zee. The hatred for the Spanish became greater during the seige and the Dutch showed the Spanish soldiers that they too could kill in cold blood. The terms were moderate (coming from Alva). The town was not plundered but had to pay a ransom of 250,000 guilders. The garrison except for the Germans was put to death along with four hundred of the leading citizens. During the seige in April, 1573, William joined the Reformed Church. He had learned that his chief support was to come from within, from the exiles and the Reformed, who had been driven out. The Reformed were interested in this fight. They had something to gain or to lose in it whereas the German Lutheran Princes had no personal gain from it in any sense of the word. It even appears likely that by this time the Germans would have grown tired of sending soldiers into the Netherlands to die, but they weren't.

The Spanish troops moved on to attack the town of Alkmaar, expecting it to fall in short order, but the

example of Haarlem had put new courage into the hearts of the Hollanders. Then began the series of mutinies of the Spanish troops. The first mutiny gave the Dutch time to prepare. The Spanish attacked three times and then the patriot commander, Sonoy, had the sluices of the dikes opened. The Spanish were willing to fight men but not the sea. The natural defences of Holland were beginning to help her people, who would now be able to sit behind their defences and build up their church and their commerce. The pirate fleets of the Sea-Beggars defeated the Spanish fleet on the Zuider Zee making it impossible for the Spaniards to reinforce their garrison on Middleburg. Now that it seemed that war would not crush the revolt, Philip began to consider a change in men and policy. Merriman sums up the rule of Alva as follows:

"He carried with him, needless to add, the execrations of the entire population which he had so outrageously misruled. The chief result of his term of office had been to identify the government of Spain which he represented with the most intolerable of tyrannies in the Netherlandish mind; indeed, he had made ultimately inevitable the ruin of the Spanish Empire in Northern Europe."*

Philip had made the mistakes not Alva. Alva was a soldier and a good one as a conquerer. Philip had failed to send the money needed to pay the soldiers. This laid the foundation for the mutinies which were to reach such

* Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 300

heights under Requesens. The policy of making the Netherlands pay for their own oppression led to the great outbreak and enabled the exiles to re-establish themselves in the Netherlands. The Sea-Beggars were given a base. The Merchants were given a place from which to trade. William of Orange was also given a base. The Calvinists were made the heroes of the Netherlands and the rulers of Holland. But this can be said; Alva drove the Calvinists out the Southern Netherlands, or what is now northern France. Merriman had this to say: "The primary cause of it, (the revolt) in other words, ~~was~~ was economic though it was to need the additional impetus of Calvinism to give it victory in the Northeast."* The alcabala (Sales Tax) was to wreck the Spanish Empire, but the business men of that Empire were just smart enough to step out before the crash. The businessmen were the Netherlands, who had found an ally in Calvinism which understood that a businessman must be able to undersell his competitors and that a businessman must trade with all. They saw that the center of the world had shifted from Rome to North Europe, where it is still today unless it has moved to Washington but that is a question.

* Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 301

The Beginning of The Use of Compromise

Alva was replaced by Don Louis Requesens, who in the second month of his governorship defeated the army which Louis of Nassau had led into the Netherlands from Germany. The time had come for mercy to the vanquished foe, even the Pope said that they must not be afraid of treating with Orange, himself.* Philip picked Requesens because he considered him a "reliable man, who would tolerate no diminution of the authority of the Crown."** He wished to proclaim a general pardon and to rescind the "Alcabala" or "Sales Tax". Alva, however, influenced Philip against such a pardon. Philip had already before the capture of Haarlem turned toward mercy not to people but to property. He saw that his army was conquering; but when they were finished, the king had nothing but a mess of ruined houses and churches. It was this economic consideration which changed in part the policy of pillage.***

Requesens proclaimed a general pardon at Brussels on June 5, 1575, and followed it with an offer to abolish the "Sales Tax". To his great surprise no one cared. Instead of being considered as mercy on the part of the King, the people looked upon these acts as the confession

*Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol XX, P.3

**Herriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 301

***Mariejol, Philip II, P. 195

of weakness that they were. Then came the seige of Leyden, where once again the sea came to the rescue of the patriots. Negotiations were carried out with the Hollanders; but the crux was that the King would not withdraw his troops until order and the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church had been restored. This the Calvinists, who ruled Holland, would never grant. Requesens borrowed enough money to raise a new army (a difficult task since the credit of Spain was nile). He invaded Holland but the only result was that some of the Catholic peasants suffered horrible tortures at the hands of Sonoy on the charges of helping the enemy. This reign of terror ended at the command of William. The bishops were given a boost by the Jesuits, who were supported by Requesens. The bishops had not pushed the Decrees of Trent for a number of reasons, not the least of which was hatred of the Spanish. The Jesuits, however, were bound to no country. The fine efforts of Rewuesens came to naught at his death on March 5, 1576. In June the Spanish troops took Zierikzee, but soon afterward they broke out into mutiny and lost the result of their nine months of work. The great defeat of Spain was not due to the force of arms; but it resulted from the financial state into which the obstinate resistance of the Netherlands had plunged the entire Spanish Empire. When Philip declared in autumn of 1575 that the Spanish treasury

was bankrupt, he gave the final push on the road down to his army in the Netherlands. Philip also ruined the men, who had been his faithful supporters. The great Fugger Banking House of Augsburg, which had been his faithful supporter in times of crisis, was ruined by this bankruptcy. The wealth, which had been at the disposal of Philip, had passed out of his hands. The forces of Spain were never to invade the soil of Holland and Zealand again. The financial exhaustion of the Spanish Empire marked in essentials the limits of Spanish power and of the power of the Church of Rome.

We must remember that the ships that transported the goods from Antwerp to Spain belonged to Hollanders and Zealanders, who claimed to be loyal to Philip. However, these same men found no difficulty in coming over to William, now that his men had taken over Holland and Zealand, nor did they have any strong objections to supporting with money the plans of William. The very money they refused to give to the King of Spain.

Upon the death of Requesens the Council of State took over the rule of the Netherlands (Southern Netherlands, that is). The Spanish member of the Council, De Roda, called all the Spanish soldiers to Antwerp, where his men held the citadel. He now claimed all power. The Council

of State called in troops, chiefly German and Walloon under the leadership of Aerschot, a rival of William. Negotiations were opened with William, who had the only group of organized troops in the land besides the Spaniards. The conditions were that the organization in the South was to be on a Catholic and conservative basis.* The Calvinists of the South had now been in exile for at least fifteen years, and many were content to stay where they were. The ordinary individual would have been content with a mere treaty of peace with nothing said about religion in the Spanish provinces. That was the attitude of William. However, then occurred another of the Spanish blunders, the Sack of Antwerp by the Spanish troops. After that act the Netherlands belonged to William in reality, if not on paper. The treaty of peace was ratified at once with the following conditions:

"It was a treaty of peace between the provinces of the States-General on the one side and Holland and Zealand on the other, and at the same time an alliance for the repulsion of the Spanish soldiery and other foreign oppressors. The Prince of Orange was recognized in his Stadtholderships dating from before Alva's time; the towns belonging to them which had not yet accepted his authority were to do so after having received "Satisfaction" from him on points in dispute. An extraordinary assembly of the States-General was to be called together in order to settle everything, the religious question included, and this in Holland and Zealand no less than elsewhere. Until then the Edicts

* Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 149

against heresy were everywhere to be suspended. The States of Holland and Zealand promised not to undertake anything against the Catholic religion outside their provinces. The exclusive rule of Calvinism in the two provinces was, for the time being at any rate, recognized implicitly; in a clause about secularized Church lands almost explicitly." *

Philip then sent his half-brother, Don Juan, to govern the Netherlands. The policy had now changed. The goal of the governor was to maintain true religion and the authority of the crown. Philip was willing to grant all the requests of the Netherlanders, to remove the troops, to remove the taxes, and to place the government into the hands of the Netherlanders. Don Juan found to his surprise that the rule had already passed into the hands of the Estates-General. There would be no negotiations until the troops were sent away. William kept the provinces from giving way before Don Juan. Matters came to such a pass that in February, 1577, the so-called "Perpetual Edict" was issued. In this "Don John undertook that the foreign soldiery should depart at once by land, never to return, and that all the charters and liberties of the Provinces should be maintained; while the states agreed to receive the King's brother, as Governor-General and to uphold the Catholic faith." The last clause contained the seed of trouble. Don Juan was not satisfied with his powers and made the

* Geyl, *Revolt in the Netherlands*, P. 150

** *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol III, P. 247

last of the Spanish mistakes, when he captured Namur. this put the Netherlands once more into the hands of William. William became "Ruwart" of Brabant, which in theory made him the governor of the Netherlands.

While the events in the Netherlands were going in favor of William, it was selfevident that this would not continue. The combination of William, the Reformed, and the popular or democratic elements attempted to make things sure. They engineered revolts in towns, e.g. Ghent, they put enemies of William into prison, e.g. Aerschot, the Stadtholder of Flanders, and they tried to use force to install the Reformed Church. In an effort to forestall force they made the mistake of using force and so gave the almost defeated Counter-Reformation the chance to come back. With the aid of William revolts broke out in Ghent and other cities in which the Reformed took a prominent part. There was an attempt by Archduke Matthias of Austria to install himself, as governor on the invitation of the Catholic party, but it was of very little lasting value.

The Reformed had become the core of the patriot organization. The cause of the nation had become bound up with that of the Church. The Reformed, who had returned to Flanders and Brabant, attempted to give to the people still living there the blessings of religious liberty, as practiced in Holland. In Ghent in 1578 the exercise of

of the Catholic religion was prohibited by the revolutionary party, which was given secret aid by William. At Antwerp William attempted to introduce a religious peace, under which both churches could exist, but as in the rest of the country neither the Catholics nor the Reformed were willing to grant the right of existence to the other. In the mean while the Spanish troops returned and Don Juan's general, Alexander of Parma, defeated the Walloon troops of the States (of the south) at Gembloux. These troops, whose pay was withheld by the Estates-General, mutinied in August, 1578, and claimed that they were fighting for the Catholic religion and Pacification. In the mean while John Casimir, a strong Calvinist and Elector Palatine, moved into Ghent, where he supported the popular Calvinistic movement. The country was divided into numerous parties with interlocking directorates, so that one could not separate them. No one quite understood who was who. Such was the setup when Don Juan did Philip the favor of dying, thus allowing the capable Alexander of Parma to take over the rule of the Netherlands.

Conquest by Compromise

Up until the reign of Don Juan the only use of brains seems to have been on the part of William, who used the mistakes of Philip to his own advantage. William had been willing to bargain -- in fact had to -- whereas Philip and his governors were too stubborn. Alexander of Parma was a true grandson of Charles V. His mother, Margaret of Parma, was an illegitimate daughter of Charles V. He was a soldier and a smart one. He was a general, not a grandstand hero. He knew when to fight, when to bribe, and when to negotiate. He never underestimated the powers of his enemies. He knew who could make Catholicism secure, now that the cause of Catholicism and Spain had become one. That was his job to make Catholicism and Spain one and the same. He was quick to import the Jesuits. Friendship for the Jesuits had been a family tradition with the Farnese (his father's family).* As fast as the towns were conquered, the Jesuits moved in and consolidated the gains made by war. In 1583 Parma established a Jesuit College at Mons. It was through his intervention that in 1584 the society received the right to acquire and hold property under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as the right of making free use of the

* Pastor, History of the Popes, Vol XX, P. 23

privileges granted to it by the Holy See.* He considered the Jesuits to be the most efficient instrument for restoring Belgium to the Church of Rome. The Jesuits were installed and many of the parish priests, formerly exiles from Calvinistic-inspired revolts, willingly and gladly joined their order. The Prince of Parma assigned a pension from the Royal treasury to them. Von Ranke quotes, Sacchinus as follows:

"It was the opinion of Alexander and his advisers that the society should be instantly settled in every city recovered from the heretics, as a means to secure the public tranquillity, and at the same time, to promote the piety of individuals. According to the *Imago Primi Seculi*, this was also the will of the king, who had recently laid his commands on the general of the order to fill all the chief cities of Belgium with the members." **

The Capuchin Order arrived in the Netherlands in 1585. They helped in recovering the territory which Parma won back. These two orders did the work of re-educating the people after Parma had driven out the Calvinist preachers and congregations. Where Parma's arms could not protect the Jesuits, the Reformed saw to it that they left or else. They recognized in the Jesuits their greatest enemies.

With a willing heart and an intelligent mind Parma plunged into the mess which confronted him. Neither the Protestants nor the Catholics would support any policy of

* Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Vol XX, P. 25

** Von Ranke, *History of the Popes*, Vol II, P. 76, quoting Sacchinus, pars v. lib. iv. n. 58

toleration. The Reformed had made the mistake of thinking that all the South needed was a push and it would fall like a ripe apple. Then the North and Protestant section of the Netherlands met and started to draw up an alliance to meet the attacks of Parma. The South and Catholic Netherlands met and started to draw up an alliance, which while it was against the King, was also against the Reformed. Alexander got in contact with the meeting of the South and soon changed the alliance from one against the King and the Reformed to one against the Reformed alone. These two meetings were played off against each other. The old trick (if you don't move first, he will) was used by both sides.

- Alexander, who had to deal only with nobles, finished his treaty first, "The Union of Arras." William had to deal with the representatives of the cities, who while not necessarily democratic were given to a great deal of talk. On January 6, 1579, the Union of Arras was arranged between the Estates of Artois and Hainault and the city of Douai, where the Jesuit College had been located. The Union demanded that all the autonomous privileges of the Netherlands be restored. The foreigners were to depart. On the credit side of Philip's ledger stood this condition that the Catholic faith was to be maintained in the provinces which accepted the Union. This last clause threw these

Provinces into the hands of Philip who due to that act became their champion, who would keep their faith for them. The Union was aided by bribes. "The great lords of those provinces made excellent terms for themselves."*

The Reformed had fled from the Walloon provinces and there remained a scanty population of peasants who had little or nothing to say about the actions of their political and ecclesiastical superiors. The Walloons were more French than the Dutch, who had German influences working upon them. There was a difference of language, not between the nobles but between the common people of the Walloon provinces and the people of Holland. The intrigues of Alexander were aided by the fact that in the Walloon provinces the new bishops, men of practical ability, had been peaceably installed. The see of Artois was in the charge of Francois de Richardot, who had absorbed the principles of the Counter-Reformation at the Council of Trent. The other bishops were men of the same stripe and had their flocks is under such good control that these provinces were not exposed to the wild turbulence of the iconoclastic riots. Both the bishops and the clergy had been prompt to accept the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Von Ranke claims that these provinces were not treated as harsh as the others during the

* Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 173

the rule of Alva:

"According to Viglii Commentarius Rerum Actarum super impositione Decimi Denarii in Papendrecht Analecta i, l. 292, the tenth penny was imposed on them with the assurance that it should not be rigidly exacted." *

While that may be true, it also true that the great trading and industrial centers did not join the Union of Arras but stuck with the Reformed.

As the negotiations were progressing the South, the same action was taken in the North but for a different purpose. When the Reformed had realized that the Pacification had failed, they decided to form a union, which would be able to protect them. The Estates-General wasted too much time in talk and the Estates of Holland and the other Reformed territories realized that fast and united action was needed against the wiles of Alexander of Parma. It was necessary to bind the province of Gelderland, the province first in the line of invasion, tightly to the provinces of Holland Zealand, who were to supply the troops. The Catholics in Gelderland could not agree to any policy and the Calvinistic generals with their mercenary troops were able to impose their will upon them. "The Union of Utrecht" bound the Northeast provinces into a tight union

* Von Ranke, History of the Popes, Vol II, P. 66

(so it said on paper) for the defence of their rights and liberties. They took into their service troops commanded by the German leader, Count of Hohenlohe. These troops were under the Estates of Holland not under the Estates-General of the Netherlands. In theory there was to be complete freedom of Religion in these provinces but the result was that in Holland and Zealand the Reformed took over. William, while supporting the Union of Utrecht on one hand, was still hoping for an alliance with Catholic France. With that in mind he did not want to frighten off the French Catholics, who did not wish to help the spread of Calvinism. The Union of Utrecht drew the line of demarkation between the Catholic South and the Protestant North. From this time forth military strength was to prove the controlling factor. The Catholic Spanish armies could go up to the rivers, which separated the two sections, but no further. The maritime provinces of Holland and Zealand were ^{to} rule supreme behind the protection of those rivers, Meuse and the branches of the Rhine.

With his armies of German Mercenaries, the Spaniards had been sent back to conquer Portugal, Parma began his campaign of conquest. He took the city of Maestricht and plundered it. Then he was forced to send the mercenaries home and to build an army out of the Walloon Catholics.

In the meanwhile Orange made an alliance with the Duke of Anjou, who by this alliance was to become the King of the Netherlands. Anjou went to court Queen Elizabeth. During his absence Parma took Tournai aided by the Dominican Friar, Father Grey, who did fifth column work in the city.* The terms of surrender were the Protestants could remain "if they would live 'without scandal', which doubtless meant without openly professing their faith, and those who would not submit to these conditions were permitted to sell their property and depart". **

Anjou was unable to stop Parma. Henry III of France, his brother, remained neutral. His troops were so poor that Parma took town after town. Then Anjou attempted a "Coup d'etat" but failed miserably in his attempt to seize Antwerp and had ^{to} retreat to Dunkirk, where he remained out of the way of friend and foe. Parma kept taking town after town. Always on the same terms there was to be no toleration of Protestantism, the Catholic Church was to be supreme, the Inquisition was not to return, the Reformed were to leave. True, many ministers and their followers left, but the mass of the people conformed to the new change. The Catholic bishops had changed. They now kept a strong hand on

* Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol IV, P. 258

** Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 496

ecclesiastical discipline among their clergy. Unchastity, venality, injustice were suppressed. The leading man in this was Sasbout Vomeer, who reconquered the archbishopric of Utrecht. There was no longer any reason to complain against the clergy; the gross abuses had been removed. The Archbishop of Cologne, a pro-Lutheran, had been replaced by a strong Catholic; thus cutting off aid for the Calvinists from that quarter. Thus Parma removed the disturbing leaven of the Calvinists, both people and leaders, leaving a free field for the incoming priests.

The spirit of resistance was still high, but then within on month the Duke of Anjou, the titular head of the Patriots died and William, the actual head, was assassinated. Then much time was spent in useless arguing, while Parma acted. While the Patriots negotiated with Elizabeth, Parma took Brussels and Mechlin. Certain Catholic towns revolted and went over to Parma. Before the treaty was signed with Elizabeth, the city of Antwerp fell into his hands. The terms were the same. Catholicism was re-established but the Reformed were granted four years before they had to depart. After that Elizabeth took a greater interest in the war in the Netherlands, because she knew that England was next on the Spanish timetable of conquest. She sent over the Earl of Leicester with English, Scotch, and Irish

troops. He kept Parma from advancing too far, but in general, the Earl of Leicester was a poor soldier. Elizabeth as usual gave poor support. In 1587 the results of his poor generalship became evident, when two of his men sold Deventer and its entrenchments to the Spaniards. Deventer was one of the bridge-head towns along the river defense line. Parma by 1588 had won a position of attack. This was to be the last chance which Spain was to have to conquer the Netherlands and the last chance to force the Counter-Reformation upon the People of Holland. The Counter-Reformation was still to make great progress but not with the aid of the arm of the State (Spain). But why did Parma not take advantage of this great opportunity and take over the Netherlands? The answer is two fold. A great and amazing economic development took place in the North-western territory, Holland and Zealand. Then Philip exhausted his resources in a mad attempt to conquer England and forced Parma to intervene in the French Civil War.

Philip's Military Mistakes

While the Reformed Church and the forces of independence were making themselves strong in Holland, Philip returned to the policy of his father. He remembered the purpose behind his marriage to Bloody Mary, the control of the English Channel. This is not an effort to retell the story of the Armada, but to show its effect upon the war in the Netherlands. The armies of Parma had to be withdrawn to the South, where they were to be picked up by the ships of the Armada and convoyed from Dunkirk to England. Thus the troops were withdrawn from the front and Maurice was able to rebuild the patriot army, which had become disorganized after the withdrawal of the English. Philip had to rule the Channel in order to rule the Netherlands, but the fleet was not able to make contact with Parma. The Dutch fleet effectively blockaded the port of Dunkirk, thus tying up the few fighting ships in Parma's invasion fleet. The English with their all-weather fast-sailing ships shot the main fleet full of holes. The Dutch fleet came to join the fight and the two with their more modern cannon were able to beat off the Spanish fleet. Philip's fleet would have been able to put up a good fight in the Mediterranean where sea battles were still decided by hand to hand fights instead of cannon. The fleet which the Dutch had built because of Philip's lust

for power and the cruelties of Rome became part of the instrument, which marked the end of the Spanish advance and the high point of the Spanish Counter-Reformation. The battle ground was now to shift to Germany.

The blow to Philip was a financial one as well as a military one. The cost of the Armada was figured at 3,801,288 Ducats.* While I can not quote any author on this point, it is self-evident from a slight perusal of the financial condition of Spain, that this money was borrowed money. The credit of Spain was destroyed forever, even though the fact was not evident at that time. The bankers who financed the Armada went bankrupt sooner or later. The kingdom of Spain had to be heavily taxed to build the ships necessary to replace the vanquished Armada. The taxes of Spain were raised so high that the industry of the country was crushed. When this fleet went beneath the waves, part of the paymaster's stores went down with it. The ships, which were carrying the gold needed to pay the troops of Parma, never made contact with the penniless army. The Pope had promised to support the Armada, but most of the money was not to be paid over until the soldiers had landed on the soil of England. The Spanish coast and the Caribbean were laid open to attack by the English and Dutch navies and pirates. The money of Spain

* Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 519

had to be spent to protect her coasts against the attacks of the despised merchants of Holland. The greatest attack by the Dutch took place in 1607, when Jacob Van Heemskerck destroyed the Spanish fleet at Gibraltar and under the batteries of the fort. The gold and silver which should have gone to pay the Spanish soldiers was wasted on the Armada. Many of the later mutinies might have been prevented, if Philip had had enough money to pay his soldiers.

The army of Parma had been diverted to the attack on England. When that attack failed, instead of attacking Holland with these troops, Philip attacked France. This attack was not a direct one but it consisted of small detachments of troops. At first it was mere token aid to the cause of the Duke of Guise, who was attempting to rule France. Henry III was king but the two powers were the Duke of Guise (Catholic) and Henry of Navarre (Huguenot). After the death of both the Duke of Guise and Henry III thousands of the best troops of Parma's army were sent into France in an attempt to have Isabella, Philip's daughter, elected to the throne of France. She was the daughter by his first wife, who had been a French princess. This plan backfired because the Dutch profited by the absence of the Spanish troops. When the Dutch advanced, Parma was forced into turning his attention northward. When he went north, the army of Henry IV (of Navarre) prospered.

While Philip was wasting his money and his armies, Holland was building up her strength. The rule of her army had passed into the hands of Maurice, the famous son of William of Orange. His father had been a great statesman, but his son was to be a great soldier. His military genius was to secure the gains made by his father's statesmanship. Maurice trained the army which the Estates created. The great regularity in finance and the small size of their well-trained army, which was kept small in order to be kept well-paid, gave the leaders the power to accomplish their aims. So in 1590 the armies of Maurice began to move South and East. He even went so far as to campaign during the winter and to use the canals for transport. The unfavorable condition of the Spaniards was intensified by the death of Parma and by mutinies on the part of the unpaid troops. The Archduke Ernest of Austria was made the ruler of the Netherlands. After his death Archduke Albert of Austria was persuaded to give up his position as Cardinal and marry Isabella, the daughter of Philip. The two were given the provinces of the Netherlands on the condition that if there were no children from the marriage, the rule would return to Spain. The grand result of the campaigns of Maurice against Archduke Ernest and Archduke Albert was that the port of Ostend was lost and the territory necessary to protect the river defence line was taken. The trade (the result of sixteen years of war)

was the best that the Netherlanders could have made. The Spanish were unable to advance beyond the rivers and the armies of Maurice were unable to advance into Belgium.

The final result of all that expenditure of Spanish gold and blood was the "Twelve Year Truce". This truce gave everything to the United Netherlands and nothing to the Spanish, except the abandonment of the East Indies trade by the Netherlanders. The 'status quo' of territory was maintained, and no promises were made by either side for toleration in matters of religion. In the South the Reformed had left. In the North, the victors, toleration would not be granted because they considered the Reformed religion and opposition to Spain as one and the same thing. Protected by the armies of Holland the Reformed Church was to prosper except in Utrecht. Protected by the Spanish armies the Counter-Reformation was to crush all opposition in the South and to make certain inroads into the United Netherlands. The North or Holland was left in control of Scheldt, which meant that they could control the commercial life of Antwerp. The party which controlled the life of Antwerp would also control the whole economic life of Belgium.

The Economic Development

While the Earl of Leicester busied himself in the quarrels between the Calvinists and the States, the businessmen of Holland became more and more powerful. The Dutch Sea-Beggars, who now were organized into a more or less formal navy, and the forts on the Scheldt cut off Antwerp from the sea. All the commercial traffic to north Europe went through Holland. Those, who attempted to reach Antwerp, either paid tribute to the Hollanders or lost their lives and their ships. The advantages of this control of the sea was known to the Spanish, but Spain was too poor in marine equipment to stop the Dutch. Philip preferred to purchase or hire his ships in foreign lands. He disliked sea-fighting and did not understand the economic possibilities of a strong navy. There was a deficiency of sailors and sea-captains in Spain, whose empire spread across the seas.*

The Netherlanders did not copy the errors of Philip, when the subject of sea-power was involved. Even in the midst of war and persecution Dutch ships sailed for Spanish ports. The profits, which they made, were then used to hire troops to fight the Spain, which had supplied the money. When the Spanish forced them out, they moved to Portugal, where they received special privileges.** In 1585 Philip seized all

*Merriman, Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol IV, P. 477

** Blok, People of the Netherlands, Vol III, P 186.

the Dutch ships in Spanish and Portuguese ports. That gives us an indication that the trade with Spain was very extensive. In spite of such attempts Philip could not do without the grain from the Baltic regions. If he refused to trade, his people would starve. So the trade went on in spite of the decrees of Philip and of the Estates of Holland (forced by Leichesther). The Dutch would bring manufactured goods and wheat to Spain and would bring back a cargo of spices and gold. The profits in these deals went to the Dutch merchants, who at the same time had their money invested in privateers. These privateers kept the Spanish and Portuguese from trading with the rest of Europe. Due to Spain's lack of sea-power the Dutch in connection with the the English ruled the sea lanes to north Europe, although neither Spain nor the Netherlands realized it.

Thanks to the the Counter-Reformation the merchants had left Antwerp and moved up to Holland. They had capital and invested it in voyages to the Indies. The Exiles had everything to gain and little to lose, so they were willing to take chances. When Spain cut off the trade with Portugal, the Dutch started to sail directly to the East and thus began to build up their great empire in the East Indies.

In 1586 Leicester attempted to stop the trade with Flanders. He worked according to the military theory, that it should be possible to starve the enemy. The merchants of

Holland protested and claimed that the only people to prosper would be their foreign competitors, while if the trade were to be cut off, the revenues of the provinces would drop. Out of the revenues of these licences came the money, which paid the expenses of the naval forces, which commanded the rivers and the coastal waters. Parma had turned the port of Dunkrik into a base for his privateers. It was therefore necessary for the Dutch to guard against them. The Dutch Navy (?) maintained a permanent blockade of the port, but it naturally could not be too effective, since the ships of those days could not ride out storms, during which the blockaded force could slip out. In order to protect themselves the Dutch ships carried cannon and the States issued Letters of Marque. This force, unlike the naval force of Spain, was made up of natives. The leading positions were always occupied by Netherlanders generally promoted from the ranks.* Thus every merchant ship was a naval vessel and every mercant seaman was a sailor. Unlike the navy of Spain, the navy of Holland was always ready because any ship could leave her ports and be ready to fight. Needless to say, Leicester's attempt to stop the trade with the enemy failed.

Holland occupied a place at that time similar to the United States today. She was engaged in war but the
* Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P 235

invading armies never set foot upon her soil. Holland and Zealand being the river defence line and the protection of the privateers enjoyed an absolute immunity from the ravages of war. The mercenaries were garrisoned in the frontier towns or at the mouths of the rivers. Thus unlike the Spanish garrisons they had less temptation to mutiny and plunder the prosperous towns under their care. Trade consisted chiefly in an exchange between the Baltic countries and France, Spain, and Portugal. In 1590 Holland merchantmen began to enter the Mediterranean. With this influx of Spanish gold came activity and prosperity. Towns were enlarged, new harbors built, and the lakes reclaimed. Thousands began to find work in the shipyards. Harlem and Leyden took over the linen and woollen industries, which had fled from Flanders. How could even the Jesuits convince these Hollanders, that life was better under Rome? These sensible businessmen knew how to count and were counting the gold which went through their hands. They were willing to support the Reformed as long as they were opposed to the king of Spain. Then too the religious men gave the new religion the credit for the new prosperity of the nation.

Those men, who had had to flee from Flanders, were now so prosperous that they did not want to return either to Flanders or to the Church of Rome. They could see that

Antwerp had become a deserted town. Blok calls it: "A decayed country town." * Instead of the forty Genoese banking houses, the number had fallen to two. The numerous German, Portuguese, and English firms had moved away and had settled in Amsterdam. To the merchants the Church of Rome had come to mean Spanish taxes and economic ruin. To the common man prosperity meant a job. The common man also gave the credit for this prosperity to the Church, which had helped him resist the crushing taxes of the Spaniards. Shipyard workers in all times draw high wages and have little interest in supporting any movement which would cause them to lose that high pay. The merchant seamen hated the Spanish and the Church of Rome. The farmers were a bit slower to join the Reformed Church; but there was pressure from all sides from the Reformed Ministers as well as from the cities which purchased their products. All, who prospered, felt that the Catholic Church put a blight upon the commercial life of a country.

* Blok, People of the Netherlands, Vol II, P.317

The Work of The Rivals .

Priests vs Ministers

While the war was going on, the two religions were fighting it out behind the protecting guns of their respective armies. While this factor can be overstressed (e.g. Geyl, who I think, plays this up a little too much), on the other hand the military situation must not be left out of the picture. There is always present that great mass of indifferent people, who sit and watch until the victor becomes known and then jump in on his side. They, of course, were the ones who were influenced by the tide of war, and their conversion or lack of it would give the appearance of victory.

The Catholic Church was in the midst of its campaign to reconquer Europe. The old tools were no longer the good tools. The foundation of the Jesuits, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the organization of the bishoprics; all these were so many attempts to introduce a reformation from within in order to oppose the reformation from without. The opposition of the Netherlanders to the new Bishops and the cruel methods of Alva had slowed the progress of the Counter-Reformation. On the other hand Alva caused the Reformed to leave the territory which later became Catholic. The great strides of the Counter-Reformation were made after the conquests by Alexander of Parma.

He forced out all the Protestants who remained in spite of the former persecutions. He and his successors, the Archdukes of Austria found the Catholic Church in poor shape, materially and spiritually. In spite of the fact that the country was poverty-stricken, the Church of Rome spent a great deal of money (the people's money) in rebuilding churches and on works of art. That was a good piece of strategy to use against the Reformed who were and still are the opponents of art and beauty in church life and buildings. The architects, artists, sculptors, and builders were kept busy thus giving the country a false air of prosperity at times and in the localities, where the new churches were being built.

The greatest progress was in the persons of the clergy. The old type of drunken ignorant priest was gone. The new men were capable and devoted. Strict supervision was given to the fitness and conduct of priests. The University of Louvain with its theologians carefully watched the orthodoxy of the priests. Nowhere else in Europe were the clergy as zealous in their work as in the Netherlands.* The work was well done. The Catholic Church won a complete victory in the South. At Artois, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainaut, where the Reformed had started their work had been

* Blok, History of the People of the Netherlands, Vol II, P 319

reconquered so thoroughly that not a trace of heresy could be found. The Reformed had been forced out and the nothing but the ignorant peasants, who did not care or could not care, were left. The nobles and the clergy ran things to suit themselves. With the fall of Ostend the forces of the Counter-Reformation moved in and in a short time those who had remained became good Catholics once again. The policy of fire and sword was no longer used as the means of conversion; the sly methods of the Jesuits had replaced them. However as late as 1597, the "heretic" Anna van den Hove was buried alive.*

As mentioned earlier the Jesuits had been welcomed in by Alexander of Parma. Naturally, they could only work in the territory, which the Spanish had conquered. The patriot forces considered them to be spies and traitors. This definition was a true one, since they owed allegiance only to the Pope, who was definitely against the Reformed. As mentioned before the Catholic monks did "Fifth Column" work for the armies of Spain.* This circumstance hindered the work of the Counter-Reformation in the territories still controlled by the Reformed and the United States of the Netherlands. The Jesuits established themselves in the chief towns and worked themselves into a position of great influence among the well-to-do middle class. They

* Blok, History of the People of the Netherlands, Vol III, P.264

* Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol IV, P. 258

used the same system, which had worked so well in the rest of Europe. They became the confessors and teachers of the rich and the nobles. They had the University of Douay and their seminary at St. Omver to help them.

The court at Brussels under the rule of a former Cardinal (Archduke Albert) applied force in his efforts to influence the people to remain or to turn Catholic. There were thousands who had remained because of worldly considerations. They were tired after years of distress and war. The population had been weakened by the departure of its vigorous members, who had gone to the North. The best of the leading personages had fled to the North seeking either or both, freedom of religion or wealth. Those who remained wanted peace and were willing, if necessary to give up their faith in return for peace. They were glad to find rest and comfort under the combined rule of the Roman Church and the Archduke. The Inquisition and the Stake were abandoned, but the more subtle methods of persuasion by force were applied to the unreconverted portions of the populace. The Archdukes had become popular in the South, in spite of the fact that their independence was only nominal. In the North the Catholic clergy felt no aversion to considering them the real rulers of the country.

The Catholic clergy in the North worked under a definite handicap. The greatest progress was made under the leadership of Sasbout Vosmeer. He was in order, Vivar of Utrecht, (1583), Apostolic Vicar (1592), and Archbishop in 'partibus infidelium' (1602). The spirit of the Netherlands was opposed to persecution for the sake of religion. The Catholic priests, even though looked upon as enemies of the States, were allowed to move about freely, if they took precautions. The work was very difficult. The work consisted chiefly in inspiring the small band of faithful with new courage. Vosmeer and his men were able to keep a small nucleus of faithful. They could not, however, prevent the majority from slipping out of the control of Rome and into the ranks of the active Reformed organization. In the country especially the priests were very carefully watched, so that they were not able to accomplish much.

There was another difficulty the bad relations between the regular and secular clergy. The former were hated by the Officials of the States, as before mentioned. The Jesuits had influenced the people of

Groningen to resist the army of the States.* Vosmeer's work was hindered, when in 1602 the States: "got hold of evidence showing that he had been received by the Archdukes, and had appealed to them for support in order to have the Archbishopric of Utrecht restored." This was looked upon as heresy and his principal helper, Elbertus Eggius was imprisoned at the Hague for a few years. Vosmeer was forced to lead his Counter-Reformatory work from Cologne.*

The Counter-Reformation had conquered in the South but at a high price. The strongest catholic country of the world, Spain, was destroyed in the course of the fight and the great commercial region of the southern section of the Netherlands was crushed for a long period. Southern Netherlands was not to regain its greatness until the rule of Spain was no longer to cast its blight over the land. The result of the Counter-Reformation was a victory for the church of Rome in part of the Netherlands. There were two other results; the building of a Calvinistic Holland and the freeing of the Church and the country of England from the yoke of Rome. It would have been better for the Church of Rome to have reformed its clergy first instead of relying on force. If they had permitted the Calvinists to exist

* Geyl, Revolt of the Netherlands, P. 228

* Ibid

alongside of the Catholics, the great gains in industry and commerce would have helped the Church of Rome as well as the strong Calvinist organization in Holland. By the use of force they forced many a Netherlander who had been a nominal Catholic to become an active Calvinist.

After the hostilities had ceased, the forces of the Counter-Reformation proceeded to make great gains. This time, however, they used peaceful means. The Jesuits used the same tactics, which they had used in the South and profited by the Arminian controversy. Von Ranke gives the following figures for the year, 1622:

"In the year 1622 there were 220 secular priests employed in the provinces; that number not by any means sufficing to the necessities of the time. According to the report in question, the number of Catholics in the diocese of Utrecht amounted to 150,000; in the diocese of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, it was 100,000; Leuwarden had 15,000; Groningen, 20,000; and Deventer, 60,000 Catholics"*

Now let us consider the other group, the Calvinists, who were operating in the North. The Reformed, who had fled to the North, were strong zealous believers. They were loyal to their church with that fanatic loyalty of the exile. The government of the United Netherlands supported the Reformed Ministers as loyally as the Spaniards supported the Church of Rome. The Catholic Church was looked upon as an

*Von Ranke, History of the Popes, Vol II, P. 328, quoting 'Relatione delle provincie ubbidienti, parte ii, c. ii.'

enemy of the State. All knew that the Pope was opposed to the United States of the Netherlands. Only Protestants were considered to be loyal to the state. The lesson taught by the Irish Catholic troops (English hired), who had sold out to the Spanish, was well learned. In all the towns which fell into the hands of the United States of the Netherlands, the exercise of the Catholic religion was immediately suppressed. The churches were taken over for the Reformed and the images and pictures removed. In places opposition was to be found. The greatest difficulty was to be found in the conversion of the country districts. There the clergy had not been given over to the sins of the flesh as in the great cities. The slow progress was also due to the danger of enemy raids and the shortage of ministers. The first could only be removed with the coming of peace. Efforts were made to use the old priests as ministers, but the result was poor due to ignorance of Reformed doctrine, prejudice against marriage and other Reformed customs, and obstinacy.

The Reformed Synods continually petitioned the state to correct and improve conditions. For the Reformed had no scruples about asking the state to use force upon the people. However, by this I do not mean the Inquisition or anything like it. The cases of persecution during the violent portion of the revolt were acts of individuals or were motived by Catholic aid to the Spanish. The

powerful force, which the Reformed used, was the school. The Synods never tired of urging the authorities to make better provision for education. The Reformed pastor was often the school teacher. They produced a people who were able to follow sermons and read the Bible intelligently. For the common man there was a higher intellectual and moral standard than in Belgium, where the Jesuits centered their efforts upon the high and mighty.

When viewed from a strictly human standpoint, the Reformed survived in the North only because they were protected by the armies of Maurice. Protestantism lived because of the protection of the armies, the rivers, and the sea. Combined with these factors was the economic development, which was aided by the doctrines of Calvinism. Calvinism does not make a virtue of poverty as the Catholic Church does. The Protestant teachings direct men in their conduct with their fellows and do not direct them to monasteries and convents, which shield one from the world.

It would have been just too much to ask of the merchants who had had their businesses ruined by Catholic oppression, that they should return to the fold. Holland protected by her water barriers had built up a merchant marine, based upon the "Sea-Beggars" who would never be able to make peace with the Roman Church. The workmen in the North prospered, while those in the South starved. The Reformed put the

blame on the Church of Rome, which in connection with Philip II had caused the condition. No one in the North was willing to live in the South. Calvinists were willing to leave the South and go to the North, but most of the Catholics preferred to risk living in the prosperous North.

The cruelties of Philip had created a hatred in the hearts of the soldiers and in the hearts of the Reformed radicals, which caused them to oppose any peace which smacked of compromise.

Northern Netherlands was too bound up with the commercial interests in England, North Germany, and the Baltic to give in to any appeals to return to the Church of Rome. The very power, which had been built up during the struggle against Spain and Rome, prevented the Calvinists from returning to Rome. The return to Rome would have required more than a sacrifice of religion (which the majority were not willing to make) but also a sacrifice of country and wealth. The Church of Rome had confiscated the wealth of heretics, if they would not recant. In this case the wealth would be lost, if the heretics returned to the Church of Rome. Rome's weapons had been placed into the hands of her enemies. The faith of the Calvinists was defended and backed up by the economic power of the new state.

Spain had opened the fight in an effort to crush the liberties and the heresy of her Netherland's provinces. She

was able with her army to crush the liberties of the Southern provinces. Safe behind the protection of her ships and her rivers Holland was able to use her commercial and industrial know-how to out-build and to out-trade Spain. By out-trading and out-building Spain the Netherlands was able to get and hold political and religious liberty. The gold and silver, which was spent by Spain in the effort to crush the Netherlands, went through the commercial channels and enriched the Netherlands. The great armies and fleets of Spain drained the wealth, manpower, and energy of that Catholic country. The Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands was based upon the power of Spain, which was destroyed in the struggle. When the little country of the Netherlands fought the Spaniards to exhaustion (on the part of Spain), the Counter-Reformation also reached the end of its advance towards England. The Spanish power was so crushed that her aid in the Thirty Year War was not sufficient to crush the power of the Protestants in Germany. The victory of the Netherlands saved the Americas for the Protestant Church. If Spain had won, all the Americas would have become Catholic. In this fight a despised commercial nation defeated a nation of warriors and made the world safe from the persecutions of the Church, that considers it God-pleasing to burn heretics.

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