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ANNALS
 OF THE
 REFORMATION OF RELIGION,
 UNDER
 QUEEN ELIZABETH.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The plunder and massacre at Antwerp by the Spaniard. The damage sustained by the English merchants there; and the barbarous usage of them. Other cruelties exercised in the Low Countries. Which causeth the queen to interpose in their behalf; and of her own subjects; by embassies to the States; and to the king of Spain. Jealousy of the French's coming into the Low Countries to aid them. The French protestants prepare to fly into England. News out of France. Order for intercepting letters to the Scottish queen. The bishop of Chichester visits his diocese. The disaffected to religion there. Account of his proceedings with them. His letters to the lords of the council. Many of the queen's subjects at mass in the Portugal ambassador's house, at the Charterhouse. The recorder of London gives account to the court of what was done there. Names of popish fugitives; certified into the exchequer.

IN the month of November, the next year, viz. 1576, the king of Spain's soldiers sacked and spoiled the famous city of Antwerp; wherein they committed most cruel massacres, The sacking of Antwerp.

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BOOK II. and many barbarous violences and oppressions, not only at the first heats, when they entered and took it, but many days after; killing in cool blood any Walloons they met with, and seizing upon the wealth, treasure, goods, and merchandise of all in the place, the English merchants not excepted, notwithstanding the king's privilege of peaceable living and trade granted them. Which insolences I shall here the rather give some brief account of, because of several earnest embassies the queen despatched on this occasion soon after. Which I take from an English gentleman, that was at that very time at Antwerp, and was an eyewitness of what was done, and escaped thence after imminent danger of his life, and faithfully reported when he came home. He seemed to be some public person and agent of the queen's, and (as I am apt to believe) was Dr. Thomas Wylson, who was sent over but the month before. Which account was soon after published by him.

Account thereof by an English gentleman present. Spoil of Antwerp.

396 “ That there lay seventeen thousand dead bodies of men, women, and children, in the town, slain at that time by the Spaniards. That they neither spared age nor sex, time nor place, person nor country, profession nor religion, young nor old, rich nor poor, strong nor feeble; but without any mercy did tyrannously triumph, when there was neither man nor means to resist them. For age and sex, young and old, they slew great numbers of young children, but many more women, more than four-score years of age. For time and place, their fury was as great ten days after their victory, as at the time of their entry. And as great respect they had to the church and churchyard (for all their hypocritical boasting of the catholic church) as the butcher hath to his shambles or slaughterhouse. For person and country, they spared neither friend nor foe, Portugal nor Turk. For profession and religion, the Jesuits must give their ready coin; and all other religious houses, both coin and plate, with all other things that were good and portable in the church, were spoiled, because they had; and the poor was hanged, because they had nothing. Neither strength

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“ could prevail to make resistance, nor weakness move pity CHAP.
 “ to refrain their horrible cruelty. And this was not done I.
 “ when the chase was hot, but when the blood was cold, Anno 1576.
 “ and they now victors without resistance.

“ I refrain to rehearse the heaps of dead carcasses which
 “ lay at every trench they entered: the thickness whereof
 “ did in many places exceed the height of a man. I for-
 “ bear also to relate the huge numbers drowned in the new
 “ town. I list not to reckon the infinite number of poor
 “ Almaines who lay burnt in their armour. Some, their
 “ entrails scorched out, and all the rest of the body free.
 “ Some, their heads and shoulders burnt off; so that you
 “ might look down into the bulk and breast, and take
 “ there an anatomy of the secrets of nature. Some, stand-
 “ ing upon their wastes, being burnt off by the thighs; and
 “ some, no more but the very top of the brain taken off
 “ with fire, while the rest of the body did abide unspeak-
 “ able torments. I set not down the ugly and filthy pol-
 “ luting of every street with gore, and carcasses of men and
 “ horses, &c. I may not pass over with silence the wilful
 “ burning and destroying of the stately townhouse, and all
 “ the monuments and records of the city; neither can I
 “ refrain to tell their shameful rapes and outrageous forces
 “ presented unto sundry honest dames and virgins. It is a
 “ thing too horrible to rehearse, that the father and mother
 “ were forced to fetch their young daughter out of a cloi-
 “ ster, (who had fled thither as unto a sanctuary, to keep
 “ her body undefiled,) and to bestow her in bed between
 “ two Spaniards, to work their wicked and detestable will
 “ with her.”

And now to come to their dealing with the English there. The Eng-
 “ A poor English merchant, having redeemed his master's lish mer-
 “ goods for three hundred crowns, was yet hanged until chants in-
 “ he was half dead, because he had not two hundred more humanly
 “ to give them: and the halter being cut down, and he dealt
 “ coming to himself again, besought them upon his knees withal. 397
 “ with bitter tears to give him leave to seek and try his
 “ credit and friends in the town for the rest of their unrea-

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BOOK II. “sonable demand. At his return, because he sped not, (as indeed no money was then to be had,) they hung him again outright; and afterward, of exceeding courtesy, procured the friars minors to bury him. And of the seventeen thousand carcasses found, when the view of the slain was taken, I think in my conscience, that five thousand, or few less, were massacred after their victory, because they had not ready money to ransom their goods at such prices as they pleased to set on them.”

Anno 1576.

As for the injuries done by them on this nation, he thus described the same. “We were quiet in the house appointed for the mansion of the English merchants under safe conduct, protection, and placard of their king: having neither meddled any way in these actions, nor by any ways assisted the estates of the country with money, munition, or any kind of aid. Yea, the [English] governor and merchants (foreseeing the danger of the time) had often demanded passport of the king’s governors and officers to depart. And all these, with sundry other allegations, we propounded and protested unto them before they entered the English house, desiring to be there protected, according to our privileges and grants from the king their master; and that they would suffer us there to remain free from all outrage, spoil, or ransom; until we might make our estate known unto the castellane, and other head-officers, which served there for the said king. All which notwithstanding, they threatened to fire the house, unless we would open the door. And being once suffered to enter, they demanded presently the ransom of twelve thousand crowns of the governor. Which sum being not indeed in the house, neither yet one third part of the same, they spared not, with naked swords and daggers, to menace the said governor, and violently to present him death, because he had not wherewith to content their greedy minds. But in the end, all eloquence notwithstanding, the governor being a comely, aged man, and a person whose hoary hairs might move pity and procure reverence in any good mind, (especially the uprightness

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“ of his dealing considered,) they forced him with great CHAP.
 “ danger to bring forth all the money, plate, and jewels 1.
 “ which was in the house; and to prepare the remnant of Anno 1576.
 “ twelve thousand crowns at such days and times as they
 “ pleased to appoint.

“ And of the rest of our nation, which had their goods
 “ remaining in their several packhouses and lodgings else-
 “ where in the town, they took such pity, that four they
 “ slew, and divers others they most cruelly and dangerously
 “ hurt; spoiling and ransoming them to the utmost value,
 “ that might be made or esteemed of all their goods. Yea,
 “ some they forced to ransom his goods twice, yea thrice:
 “ and all that notwithstanding, took the said goods vio-
 “ lently from them at the last. And all these injuries being
 “ opened unto their chief governors in time convenient, and
 “ while yet the whole sum set for several ransoms of our
 “ countrymen, and the English house in general, were not
 “ half paid; so that justice and good order might partly 398
 “ have qualified the former rigours proffered by the soldiers;
 “ the said governors were as slow and deaf, as the others
 “ were quick and light of hearing to find the bottom of
 “ every bag in the town.

“ So that it seems they are fully agreed in all things. Or
 “ if any contention were, the same was by strife who or
 “ which of them might do greatest wrongs: keeping the
 “ said governor and merchants there still, (without grant of
 “ passport or safe conduct,) when there is scarcely any vic-
 “ tuals to be had for any money in the town, nor yet the
 “ said merchants have any money to buy it where it is.
 “ And as for credit, neither credit nor pawn can now find
 “ coin in Antwerp.

“ In these distresses,” said this writer, “ I left them the
 “ 12th of this instant November, 1576, when I parted from
 “ them; not as one who was hasty to leave and abandon
 “ them in such misery, but to solicit their rueful cases
 “ here: and to deliver the same unto her majesty and coun-
 “ cil, in such sort as I beheld it there.”

So that within three days, Antwerp, which was one of

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BOOK II. the richest towns in Europe, had now no money nor treasure to be found therein, as the said English gentleman reported, but only in the hands of murderers and strumpets. For every dom Diego must walk strutting up and down the streets, with his harlot by him in her chain and bracelets of gold. And the notable burse, which was wont to be a safe assembly for merchants, and men of all honest trades, had now none other merchandise therein, but as many dicing tables as might be placed round about it, all the day long.

The miseries of the Low Countries by a cruel government.

General history of the Netherlands. Translated by E. Grimst.

And here we may take a view of bloody duke d'Alva, in the Low Countries, where he set up the inquisition. Under whose government infinite were the numbers and horrible the executions of all people falling under his hands; whose main crime was their profession of the gospel. Whereof take this brief account from the relation thereof given in at a great and solemn assembly of the princes of the empire at Wormes, anno 1578. Where the lord Aldegond made an oration before them, shewing them the miserable state of the Netherlands, and the tyranny of duke d'Alva and don John, and the danger the empire was in thereby. And how that duke, at a banquet made before his departure, boasted, that within the time of his government in those Netherlands, being about six years, he had caused about eighteen thousand six hundred men to be put to death by the common minister of justice, the hangman; besides an innumerable number that were consumed and murdered by the uproars, mutinies, tumults, and cruelties of the soldiers in many places of the same: accounting them also that were killed in the wars, &c. Besides the spoil by the oppression and insolence of the soldiers in all places where they came. And shewing also, by common account, that they had spent in making war against the two provinces of Holland and Zealand, and in building castles, &c. above thirty-six millions of guilders. And that they sought to conquer the kingdom of England, under pretence of aiding the imprisoned queen of Scotland; and thereby to obtain the dominion of the sea, and therewith the rule of the whole world.

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For these causes, and upon these considerations, the queen despatched three embassies; all of them chiefly, that she might keep fair with Philip king of Spain, and withal be a seasonable mediator for the suffering Low Countries, as well as for the indignities offered her own subjects. In the month of October, she sent Dr. Wylson, master of the requests, to the States of the Low Countries, to know the cause of the alteration, and what the States purposed; and whether her majesty might do a good office, to pacify their troubles: and what safety and assurance our merchants might have for their traffick there in these troubles: to discover whether the French would enter that country, and to dissuade it. The instructions bore date the 22d of October; the substance whereof was, “to know of them the true cause of the arrest and committing to prison of those that were of the king of Spain’s council in those Low Countries; and of the besieging of Gaunt castle, kept by a garrison of Spaniards.

CHAP.
I.

Anno 1576.

Embassies.
Dr. Wylson
sent to the
Low Coun-
tries.Cott. Libr.
Titus, B. 2.

“To let them understand the continuance of desire her majesty always hath had, and yet hath, to help pacify the troubles of that country: if from them she might be advertised which way she might best deal herein.

“To understand of them what safety and assurance our merchants have, during these troubles, for their traffick.

“To procure access unto Rhoda: the better, by talk with him, to discover, whether the said State mind to renounce their obedience to the king his master, and to cast themselves into the protection of any foreign prince.

“To signify to the same Rhoda, that her majesty cannot suffer the States to put themselves under the protection of any foreign prince: and that she would do her best to compound the differences between the king and them.

“To discover what foreign forces either the Spaniard or the States look and hope for: namely, whether they look for any aid of the French.”

The next month, viz. November, sir John Smith was sent ambassador to the king of Spain. The cause of sending him was, that he might discover the mind of the king of Spain.

Sir John
Smith sent
to the
king of
Spain.

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BOOK II. ing him was, “to declare to that king the cause of her ma-
 Anno 1576. “jesty’s sending Dr. Wylson into the Low Countries. And
 “that in her opinion, no way was so good to pacify and re-
 “tain those countries under his government, as to remove
 “his garrisons, and restore their privileges. And likewise
 “to present to him the supplication and request of the
 “States exhibited to that end to her majesty by monsieur
 “d’Obignie. Likewise to certify, that nothing was per-
 “formed that was promised sir Henry Cobham at his being
 “last in Spain. To excuse the going over of Englishmen
 “to serve the prince of Orange. That her majesty would
 “not suffer these Low Countries to be reduced to a martial
 “government. And finally, to crave a general redress of
 “all wrongs done to her subjects.”

His instruc- For thus more at large the instructions given to her said
 tions. ambassador, ran, dated the of November, 1576. “That
 Titus, B. 2. “notwithstanding heretofore she had often, and all in vain,
 “persuaded him to an honourable composition with his
 400 “subjects in the Low Countries; yet, now at the request
 “of his States, who of late sent the baron d’Obignie to her,
 “she becometh a mediator to him in that behalf.

“That there were two chief means to the said composi-
 “tion. First, to remove all his garrisons and soldiers of
 “foreign countries from thence, the country being willing
 “to satisfy them touching their pays. Secondly, to restore
 “them to their ancient liberties in as ample manner as they
 “enjoyed them in Charles the Fifth’s time.

“That the cause of her sending Dr. Wylson to the
 “States, was to discover the entrance of foreign powers, of
 “which there was great number brought. And whether
 “they minded to swerve from his obedience: minding to
 “do all her best offices to keep those countries in dutiful
 “subjection to him.

“That the keeping of his garrisons there, which of late
 “had, in Antwerp and Maestricht, committed great out-
 “rages, was the way to bring the people and states to such
 “desperation, that of force they must all combine them-
 “selves to shake off his government.

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“ That if there were any offence in them, yet that it was CHAP.
 “ more profitable and more honourable for a prince, as he I.
 “ was, to recover them rather by pardon than by sword. Anno 1576.

“ That there was no part of that performed, that the
 “ duke of Alva, and secretary Saiaes, by their handwriting,
 “ in his name, promised.

“ That he [the ambassador] deal earnestly with the king
 “ for the release of the English imprisoned there, and their
 “ goods: requiring the continuance of intercourse, without
 “ such usage hereafter towards her subjects. Whereunto
 “ if he yielded, to have it assured under the signature of
 “ his own hand.

“ To excuse the going over of some Englishmen that
 “ served the prince in Holland. Which were such as had
 “ served in Ireland, and could not work at home; and
 “ went over by stealth against her commandment. That
 “ their chief captain had been punished for conveying of
 “ them. And that they could not find in their hearts to
 “ serve the king there; hearing how ill their countrymen
 “ were used in Spain by the inquisitors.

“ That the denying sir Henry Cobham’s request, made
 “ in her majesty’s name, to have an ambassador resident in
 “ each other’s dominions, with freedom for exercise of
 “ prayer in their own families, ministered just cause of sus-
 “ picion that he made no estimation of her friendship.

“ That if he purposed to make a conquest of the Low
 “ Countries, and to plant a martial government there, that
 “ was so prejudicial to her state, she neither could nor
 “ would endure it.

“ Lastly, to crave redress generally of all injuries done
 “ to her subjects by them of his dominions: and namely,
 “ for the late outrageous spoil committed upon them and
 “ their goods in Antwerp.”

The next month, viz. December, she despatched sir Ed- And Horsey
 ward Horsey to don John of Austria, that became this to don
 year governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The cause of John of
 sending him was, to declare the reason of Dr. Wylson’s go- Austria.
 ing into Flanders; and of D’Obignie’s coming hither: as

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BOOK II. also of sending sir John Smith into Spain. To wish him to grow to some peaceable end with the States, rather than to put in peril the loss of all those countries. And that her majesty would not suffer them, through desperation, to cast themselves into the hands of the French. And lastly, to crave restitution of her merchants' goods, and liberties for them to depart from Antwerp.

Anno 1576.

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His instructions.
Titus, B. 2.
p. 459.

This was in short Horsey's message; as appears by the instructions more at large given him, bearing date the 14th of December; viz. "That the cause of sending Dr. Wylson to the States was to discover, whether they had any purpose to withdraw themselves clean from the obedience of the king of Spain or no. If he should understand that they had no such purpose, but that they stood only upon enjoying of their privileges, to tell them, that she would be glad, if she knew how to be a mean between the king and them, for a good end of these troubles. But if they had any intention to renounce the said king's authority, which he had over them, in the right of his inheritance of the dukedom of Burgundy, that she would, as a confederate of the said king, aid him and his true servants, to compel them to their ancient obedience.

"That the States had sent monsieur d'Obignie to her majesty, to assure her, that they meant nothing less than to withdraw themselves from the king's obedience; that their taking arms, and doing as now they did, was to defend themselves against the great spoils and intolerable outrages of the Spaniard; and that they desired nothing more than that her majesty would be a mean to the king, that these present calamities there might be appeased otherwise than by arms. To which effect they had a supplication, which they desired to be presented to the king on their behalf by her majesty.

"That thereupon her majesty sent sir John Smith to present the said supplication unto the king in Spain; and the said Mr. Horsey now to don John. Following that course which she had always taken, by good mediation between the king and his ministers in those Low Coun-