

WALTER MORGAN'S ILLUSTRATED CHRONICLE OF THE
WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1572-74

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Among the manuscripts in the library of All Souls College is a large thin volume, 15 by 12½ in., bound in white vellum, but with an insertion on its front and rear covers of an oval leather medallion, bearing the arms of Cecil, as blazoned for the great Lord Burleigh. It consists of about 100 leaves of thick white paper, of which the last 50 are blank. The other leaves contain first a long, beautifully written preface, of which a photographic copy is given among our illustrations, and secondly, 25 pages of elaborate pen-and-ink drawings, each of which is faced by a page of text containing an explanation of the drawing opposite. In some cases the explanation covers the whole sheet down to the bottom, in others it is much shorter, and occupies only half the page, or a trifle more.

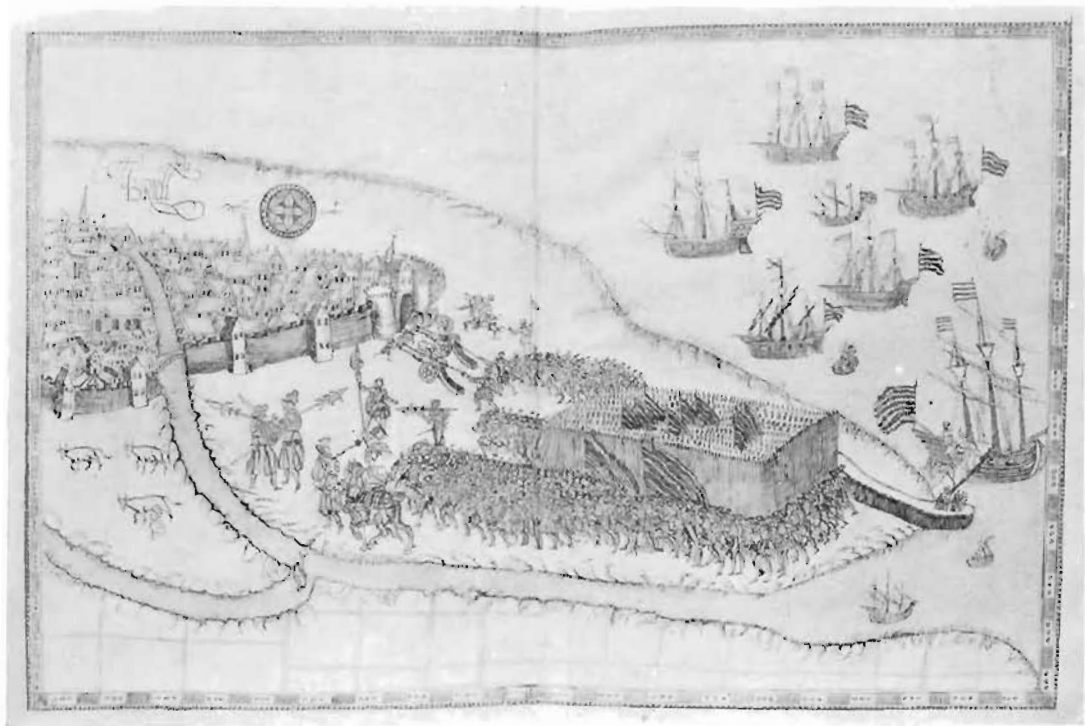
This book contains a narrative of the experiences in the Low Countries of one Walter Morgan, a soldier of whom—as will be seen—there is very little to be discovered.

Morgans abounded in the Elizabethan bands which went to assist the revolted Netherlanders in the early years of their great revolt. It is unnecessary to lay stress on the large proportion of Welsh who came to the front in Tudor annals—all the sovereigns favoured the countrymen of their ancestor Henry VII. Our Morgan is not one of the more famous ones—he is neither Thomas, nor Sir William, though both were serving at the same time as the author of this chronicle. Thomas was at Flushing in 1572, Sir William at the siege of Mons in the August of the same year. But of Walter I can find but little mention in all the file of State Papers, domestic and foreign, for the years 1572-74. Undoubtedly he was some relative or dependant of the more famous captains I have just mentioned.

We gather from the preface to his work, which is herewith reproduced in full, for it is not over-long, that he was a professional soldier, who had been 'employing his time in the discipline of martial affairs, in the which I conceived, in all my youth, the greatest felicity, through the great desire that I have to do my country service.' And that he was by this time a person of some little status in his chosen manner of life is indicated by the fact that almost the only mention of him in the Calendar of State Papers is to the effect that in April, 1574—three months after the latest date to be found in his book—he had just been advanced 1,000 crowns to transport 500 soldiers from the Thames to Holland or Zealand, for the reinforcement of the army of the Prince of Orange. He was probably, therefore, a captain at the time when he wrote his record of what he had seen. And he was just about to return to the Low Countries when he presented his book to Lord Burleigh, for at the end of his preface he says that he hopes to finish an account of the acts of the Prince of Orange, and has left many pages void at the end of his volume, in which he hopes to insert the chronicle of 1574, 'which I mean to recount unto Your Honour on my return.'

The last date in his chronicle is January 28th, 1574: we know that he was in London in April of that year, and that he was expected to return to Holland within six weeks from April 16th, i.e. by the 1st of June. The book, therefore, must have been compiled between February and May, 1574, when Morgan was evidently on long leave, and expecting to be recalled to the service of the Prince, when the reinforcement of 500 men which he was to bring over had been collected. Evidently he had plenty of spare time in February—March—April—May, as he was able in those four months to draw the 25 pictures which form the staple of the book, and to prepare from his diary the elaborate explanations which the pictures needed.

I should imagine that his illustrations had their origins in some pocket-sketch-book which he had been carrying about with him for the last two years; since



THE TAKING OF BRILL

they show local knowledge of churches, walls, waterways, etc., in Holland, which are obviously not mere imaginary things, but attempts to reproduce actual buildings and pieces of topography.

Unfortunately, Morgan's strong point was figure drawing, and his weak point perspective, so that while his soldiers, peasants, burghers and dairymaids are lively little people, he got into dreadful trouble when he tried to draw a square or market place surrounded by houses of varying sizes. His buildings—as can be seen from the photographic plates, topple in strange ways, or show more of themselves than could be really seen by a spectator watching from a single point of view. He wants to display the whole town, which is really impossible, and so produces a diagram-picture which sometimes reminds us, in a fantastic way, of a modern air-photograph taken from an aeroplane. And his absolute weakness in perspective comes out most of all in his incapacity to get the proper proportion between figures of people near at hand, and figures of people 200 yards away, so that the latter are almost as large and quite as distinct as the people near the point where the artist is standing. This gives a quaintly mediaeval effect to many of his scenes. It was exactly this same fault into which fourteenth or fifteenth-century artists, drawing battles or processions, were wont to fall. Occasionally there is another slip very frequent in chronicle-illustrations of the Middle Ages—viz. the tendency to draw persons of importance, like the Duke of Alva or the Prince of Orange, of a larger size than their soldiers and staff, so as to emphasise the fact that they are the centres of interest.

Another trick of Walter Morgan as artist is delightful but absurd: when he wants to show that a countryside, near a battlefield or a beleaguered town, is open grazing ground, he places at regular intervals upon it cows walking or grazing, or occasionally a milkmaid milking a cow. This explains the topography, but is suggestive of a ridiculous apathy on the part of the maids or the cattle, when cannon are being fired off at a distance that looks like 100 yards away, or even a

whole combat, horse, foot and artillery, is raging in the next field but one. Similarly to enliven moats or canals, Morgan is prone to put a swan, or a procession of swans, perhaps, swimming in stately fashion on the waterway, and quite undisturbed by events in their immediate proximity. We may note specimens of these self-centred birds swimming in orderly line in the moat while the massacre of Haarlem is in progress.

The drawings are specially valuable for military tactics, showing very clearly the common formation in which both infantry and cavalry were wont to charge in this period. The cavalry squadrons all carry small square banners, 'cornets' as they were called, whence came originally the name of 'cornet' for the junior cavalry officer in a squadron, as he was the one who carried the flag. You may note also that this was the period when cavalry, forgetting that their real value lies in swiftness and charging 'home,' were accustomed to discharge, rank by rank, pistols against the enemy whom they were engaging—each rank firing and then swerving aside to allow the next rank to follow their example. We note this in the plate representing the battle in front of Mons, in August, 1572. This misplaced use of horsemen continued for many years—it was only in the next century that Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, and Oliver Cromwell, prohibited this continuous preliminary 'squibbing' with pistols and carbines, and taught their cuirassiers to charge in straight and rapidly.

In infantry tactics you will see that we are still in the period when every regiment (a name that was only just coming into use) was composed of pikemen and musketeers in about equal numbers. A unit in battle order consists of a square clump of pikemen, among whom rise the standards, one for each company, with a fringe of musketeers who skirmish outside the regimental square till the enemy closes, and then abscond to the side, or take shelter behind the pikemen. In the Mons fight we may note routed musketeers streaming to the rear, while the pikemen are still standing firm and engaging the hostile cavalry with their long weapons. The musket, being a very heavy

and cumbrous thing, useless in close combat, and a burden in flight, the fugitives are represented casting them away when they turn to the rear in rout. On the other hand, the pikemen, until matters come to close quarters, had to stand still and be shot at, having no power to retaliate. As some one observed, it was an absurd order of battle when one half of the infantry unit could do nothing effective till actual hand-to-hand fighting should begin, while the other half opened the battle, but had to clear away as fast as they could, when hand-to-hand fighting should begin. It is a pity that Morgan never saw a first-class 'pitched battle' in his service in 1578. But there is nothing bigger than Orange's defeated attempt to relieve Mons.

There are two naval combats in the series, of which I have chosen one, that of April 3rd, 1573, for reproduction. Neither of them were big formal battles in the open sea, with fleets in regular formation, both being small affairs in the narrow waters between the islands of the Scheldt mouth. We may notice in these the difference between the upstanding line of battle-ships, with three masts and high forecastles and sterns, and the small galleys, worked by oars, and with guns only in the bows. The latter, traditional in Mediterranean war, were going out by the time of Elizabeth for operations on the high seas. They were both too light for the rollers of the Atlantic and the North Sea in rough weather, and also easily to be sunk by the much heavier guns which a three-masted ocean-going man-of-war could carry. By the time of the Armada they had been almost discarded. But we have some of them still used by the Spaniards in 1572-73, and no doubt they were at a less disadvantage in fighting in very narrow waters, like the complicated channels of the lower Maas, Rhine, and Scheldt, than they would have been on the high seas. Fire-ships were frequently used, and I think that the spectacular explosions which form the centre of the picture of this fight of April 3rd, 1573, has been caused by one. It is difficult to differentiate the opposing squadrons; this, indeed, can only be done by noting the small flags of the ships, with the St. Andrew's Cross 'raguly'

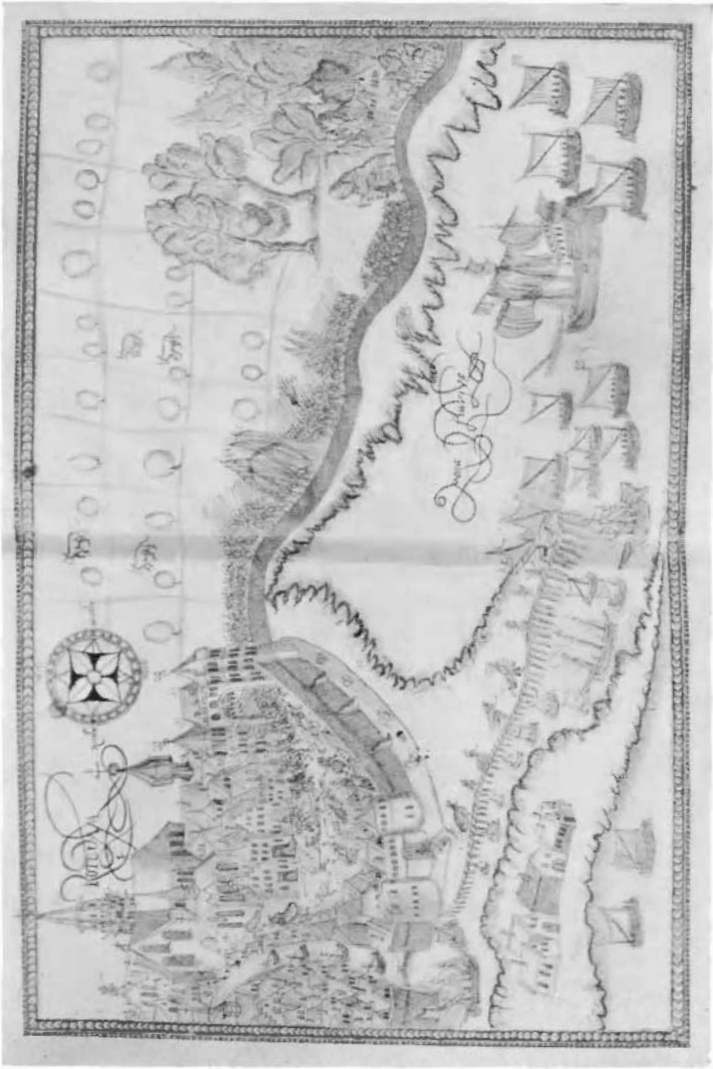
for the Spaniards, and the red, white and blue stripes of the Dutch.

Undoubtedly Walter Morgan went back to Holland by June 1st, 1574, as he was intending to do when he wrote his preface to his volume and presented it to Lord Burleigh. But the last notice of him that I have is not a very pleasant one—though it may imply no slur on his honour. It is in British Museum Additional MS. 26,156, dated 1574, April 16th.

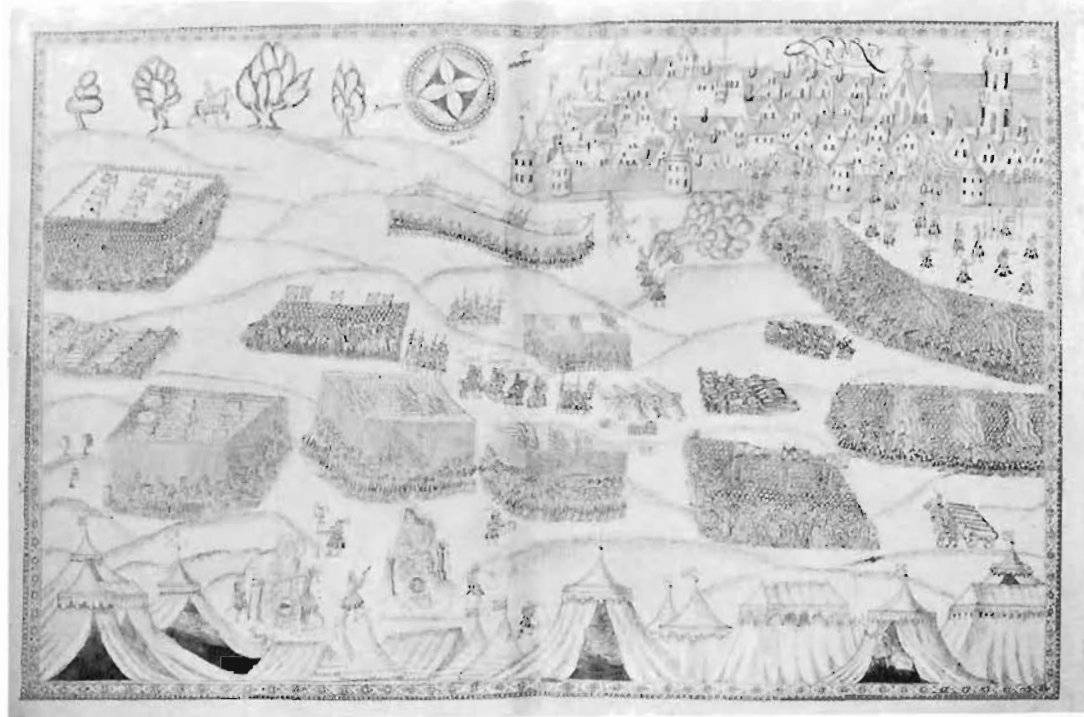
It consists of an anonymous letter from a Spanish spy in England, which was intercepted and fell into Lord Burleigh's hands. It is to the effect that Bingham, a treacherous officer in the Dutch army, who is a crypto-Catholic and in secret communication with the Spanish generals, will try to gain over Walter Morgan, who has just been paid 1,000 crowns for the transport of 500 soldiers to Holland or Zeeland, and who, it is believed, will sail with them in six weeks or thereabouts.

I trust Bingham found his overtures rejected with scorn, as I should judge would have been the case from the very genuine soldierly tone of all Walter Morgan's narrative, his repeated laudation of the 'Gentlemen of the Religion' in the service of the Prince of Orange, and his strong hatred for Spaniards betrayed in his lurid accounts of the massacres they perpetuated. But there remains a horrid doubt. Why did Bingham think it worth while to sound Walter? Was he reckoned a mere soldier of fortune, accessible to corruption?

But Walter Morgan never returned to fill up the 25 blank spaces for pictures in the book which he had presented to Lord Burleigh. He may have fallen in action in 1574, or he may simply never have had the time to resume his artistic efforts. Certainly the pages remain blank. Lord Burleigh evidently kept the book—from his library it somehow passed to the hands of Narcissus Luttrell. The latter, a great benefactor to All Souls' Library, gave it, along with many other Elizabethan and Jacobean MSS., to his old college in the year 1690. And there it has been, undisturbed, till to-day.



THE CAPTURE OF ROTTERDAM, APRIL 9, 1572



THE PRINCE OF ORANGE STORMS BREMONDE, JULY 31, 1572

The Preface runs as follows :—

‘Unto the Right Honourable and my Most Reverend Lord William Cecil, Baron of Burleigh, Master of the Queen’s Wards and Liveries, one of Her Majesty’s Privy Council, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter, Walter Morgan wisheth health and long life, in increase of honour to the latter day.

‘Passing my time, Right Honourable, in the employ wherein I conceived most felicity, in all my youth, to the contentation of mind in the discipline of martial affairs, through the great desire I had to do my country service in that profession, if it may please God through His gifts of grace to make me so sure an instrument for the same in proof, as my desire hath made me willing in mine endeavour therefor, Wherein of late days, dispending my time in the service of that excellent, virtuous and prudent lord, the Prince of Orange, among them of the Religion in the Low Country, now being returned in the dead of this late winter to my native soil, freighted with desire to utter my willing mind to do your Lordship honour and service, if there were anything of value acceptable in account of the same, I apply my pen to work in this vacation, and recount unto your Honour such acts as passed on both sides indifferently, as well of the exploits of the Duke of Alva, Viceroy of the new appointment of the King of Spain, as of such acts done by the Prince of Orange and his assistants of the Religion, from the beginning of the time that it took effect by the entry of the Count Marke of Lumée into Holland taking the Brille, unto the removing of the siege of Allcemeer which was the last exploit that the Duke attempted before his discharge. I flattered myself with a sure hope that your Lordship in consideration of my good will in this enterprise bent to my uttermost in this respect at your service, according to my small value, would be nothing offended with my presumption herein, in setting out worke of such importance with the device of so base a capacity. Wherein I have left void room in my book there I would wish it should suffice to finish the Prince his acts, which I mean, if God lend me life, to recount unto your Honour on my return. Hence come these same empty leaves which make my book grosser in handling than in largeness of matter therein contained: Your Honour his humble to command Walter Morgan.’ [Plate 1].

The series of pictures opens with one which describes, in the words of Morgan :—

(2) ‘How Count Marke of Lumée accompanied with divers gentlemen of the Low Countries that were fugitives by sea, took the Brille.’

‘This Count Marke of Lumée, a noble gentleman of courage accounted, landed in such sort as these gentlemen had prepared for their sea affairs, in which army he had as many ensigns drums and trumpets as corporals’ squads, if they had been truly mustered. Presenting himself before the gate in order of battle, as in my figure

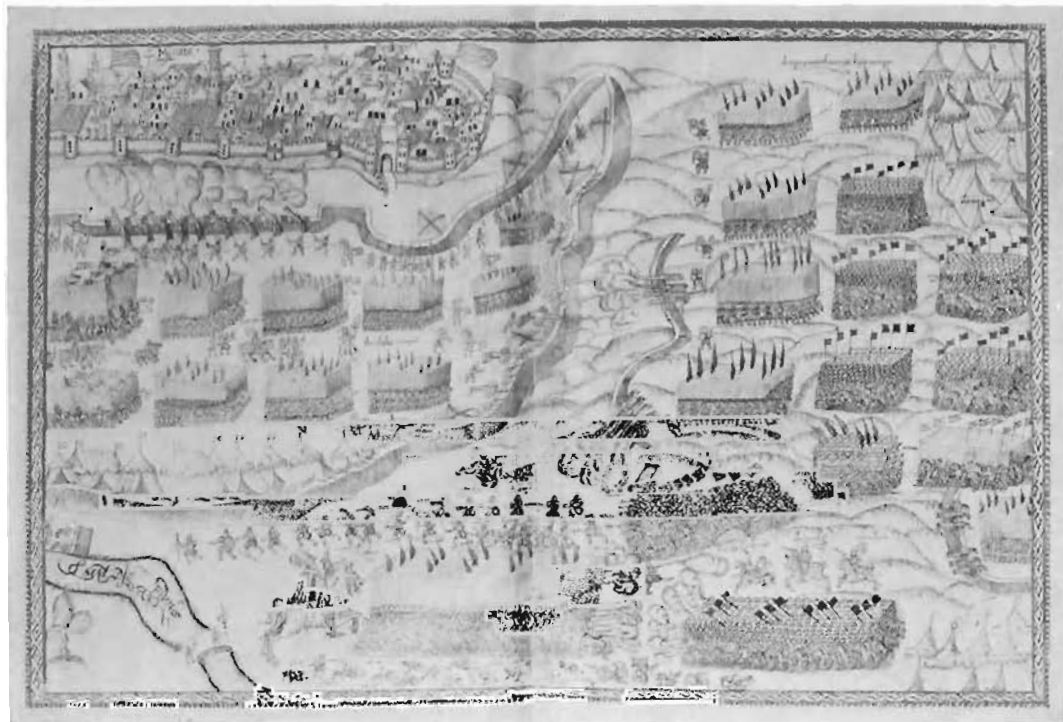
is described, he summoned the town in the name of them of the Religion and of the Prince of Orange. In answer to the which, though there were divers of the best sort of the calling in hate of the Spanish Government, willing that he should come in, yet the most part of the burgesses rose up in arms to defend their entry. Before the Count had scarcely placed his battery which was two robinetts of brass on wheels like field pieces, the burgesses mounting up upon their wall and seeing so many ensigns without, environed with men whom they took to be soldiers by reason of their drums and trumpets (though in truth the few armed men that they had were in front of the battle the rest being but mariners) waxed in heart cold. Nevertheless the answer that the bailiff gave in the name of the inhabitants was that they should not come in to the town. Count Marke called on his gunners to give fire with an uncertain number of terrible oaths, shaking his sword upon them and threatening that they should have no more mercy at his hands than a dog. In which fury he commanded his soldier to set the gate afire with turf and straw, the which gave such a smoke and flame that the poor burgesses thought that the world had been at an end, in which fear they yielded themselves and their town into his hands; which was the first of April 1572.'

(3) How the Count Bossue took the town of Rotterdam, April 9th, 1572 :—

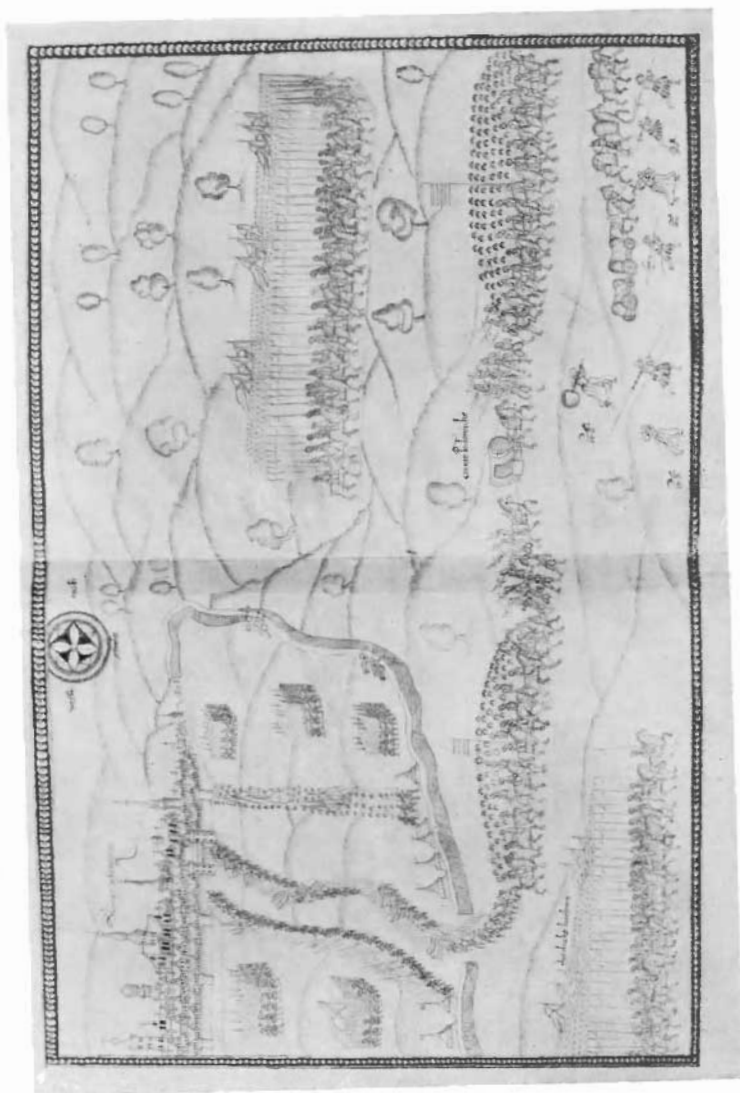
'This Count Bossue drawing near the town with his soldiers marched towards the gate to have it opened, the which the burgesses took upon themselves to refuse, and suffered him to knock for a great while before they would answer. In the end they opened a wicket with much ado and told him that he should not come in nor none of his, until the burgomasters had made consideration. And while they talked outside the wicket he got a troop of Harquibussiers stealing in by one and one behind him, who thrust their harquibusses covertly among them that stood talking with the Count, and gave their bullets to the warders, who forgot altogether to make fast the gate, when they saw themselves saluted after this fashion, but ran away incontinent, abandoning the passage, through which the Count and his men entering slew till they were weary, cutting down of the burgesses of Rotterdam to the number of five hundred.'

(4) 'How the Prince of Orange, in coming down with his armie to the succourse of Mounts, passing by Ruermonde in Geldderlande, took the towne by escale the last of July, 1572.'

William, marching with his army from Germany to endeavour to relieve Mons ('Mounts') endeavoured to persuade the burgesses of Ruremonde to receive him within their walls. He made their deputies an 'oracion' on the illegality of Philip's government in



FIGHT IN FRONT OF MONS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1572



SURRENDER OF MONS, SEPTEMBER 21, 1572

all the old estates of the duchy of Gelders, as in other parts of the Low Countries; and enlarged much on the atrocities of Alva. At the end of this 'tragical discourse' the deputies replied that 'they found great reason in the enterprise of the prince in bearing arms against the king in defence of the liberties of the country, but would not accept his proposal that they should receive him into Ruremonde, through fear of the king, his great furies and tyranny, doubting the efficiency of the prince and the revolvers to adventure themselves against the mighty power of the king.'

'Whereupon the prince commanded force to be used, and the colonels of his regiments of foot prepared ladders and other things necessary for this sort of service, and field pieces being placed ("as in my figure described"), there was a cry of "all hands to the walls"; and when the ladders were brought up, the poor burgesses, being unacquainted with the might of lead and powder, abandoned their walls, having no soldiers of discipline to direct them. So the place was won without much bloodshed. There were only 24 of the burgesses slain in the taking of the town, and no general plunder.' But Morgan omits the fact that some priests were mobbed and murdered by fanatical Netherlanders of the Iconoclast faction, though the Prince had ordered that both life and property were to be held sacred after the storming of the place.

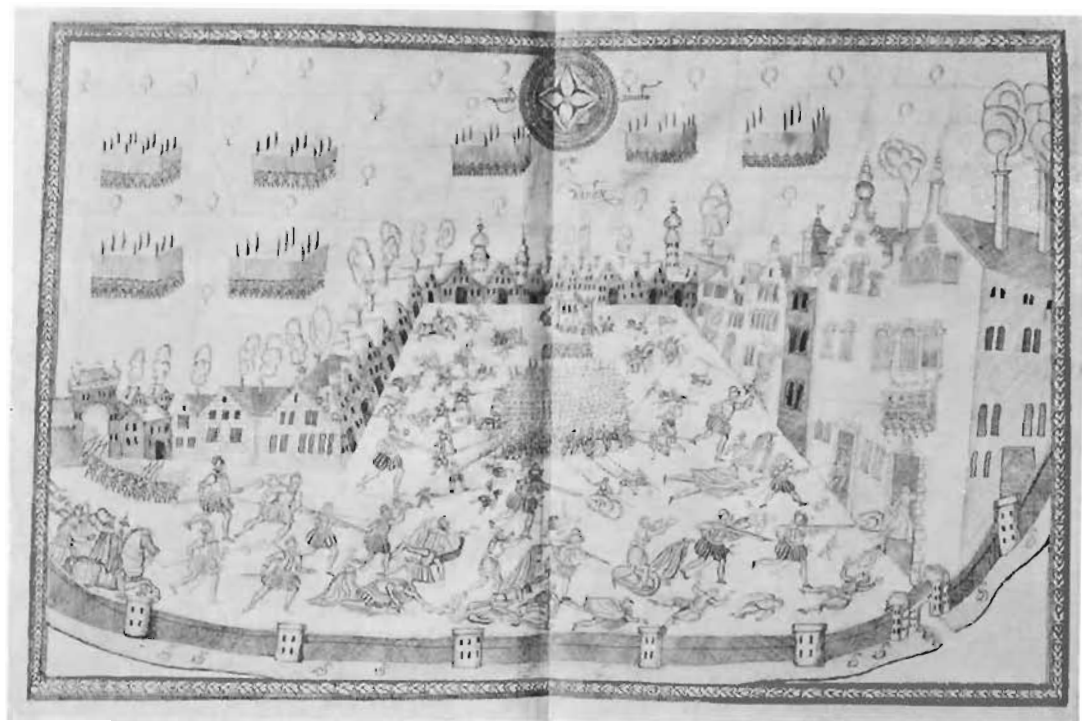
(5) The fifth and sixth scenes from Morgan's series, which come next, illustrate the celebrated siege of Mons, alias 'Mounts in Hennegow,' which occupied the months of July, August and September, 1573. The first shows the most interesting day's work in the great siege, the attempt of William the Silent to raise Alva's blockade of the place on September 11th-12th-13th, 1573, for the unlucky operations of the relieving army lasted no more than three days before the prince gave up the game as hopeless.

When the sporadic insurrection burst out all over the Netherlands in April-May, 1572, the southern focus of revolt had been in Mons, which Louis of Nassau, the brother of William, had seized by surprise on May 23rd, at the head of an irregular force, largely

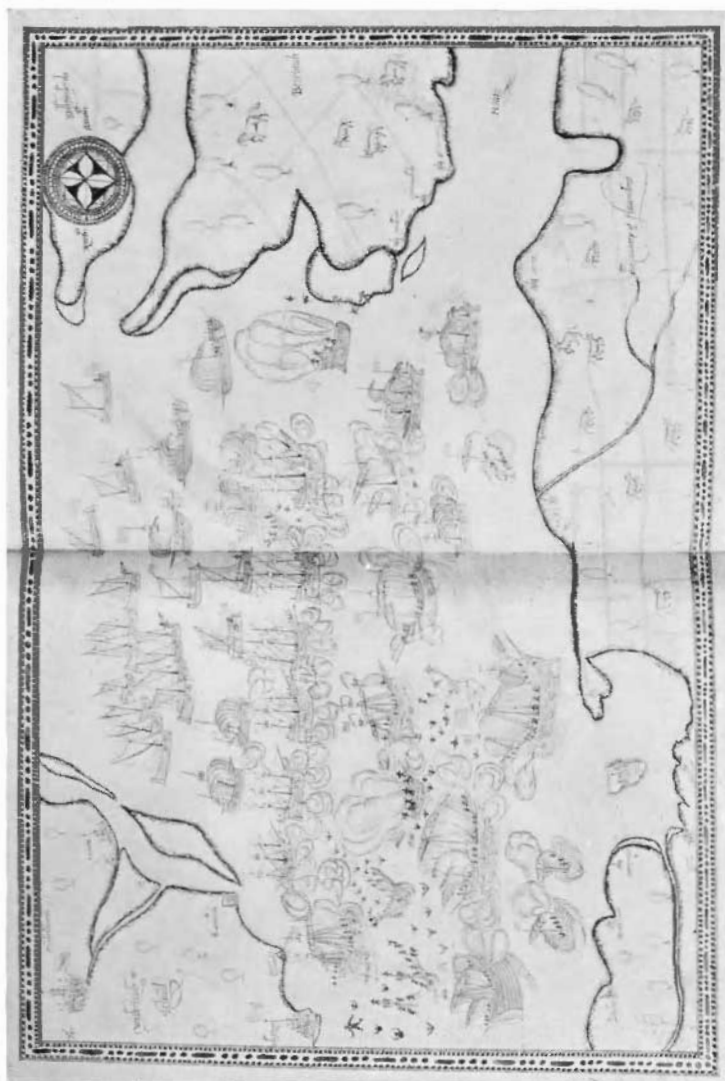
composed of French Huguenot sympathisers from over the border. Many Protestants from Flanders and Hainault joined him, but not enough to take the field against Alva, who previously sent his son Don Federigo de Toledo, with a competent force to blockade the place. It was not, however, till the Viceroy himself came up with the reserves in July that it was found possible to surround Mons. And meanwhile William of Orange had been gathering a considerable mercenary army on the German border, and marched to his brother's relief—it was with this force of 7,000 horse and 15,000 foot that he had taken Ruremonde, as shown in our last illustration. Alva had fortified his position round Mons into the shape of a great entrenched camp, furnished with much artillery, which commanded all the possible road-lines by which the relieving army could operate. He entirely refused to offer battle in the open, alleging that he was too weak in cavalry to face the prince's 7,000 German *reiters*. Orange, on the other hand, having inspected the front of the Spanish camp, came to the conclusion that he was not strong enough to force it, and only demonstrated in front, in the hopes of attracting the duke out of his entrenchments.

This, in the main, is the scene represented in our fifth picture, the Spaniards being on the defensive in their lines, the Protestants drawn up opposite them, and doing no more than exchange a distant cannonade with the enemy.

But Morgan has chosen to introduce into his picture the one episode of actual fighting which occurred, during the operations of this abortive relief. On September 12th a single Spanish regiment, under Don Julian Romero, executed at dawn a daring raid into the Prince's camp—which they surprised, cutting down the sentinels and penetrating as far as William's own tent, from which the Prince escaped in haste—his master-of-the-horse and secretary were actually killed. Romero then turned back to re-enter the Spanish lines, but had to cut his way through the enemy's cavalry, who were hastily getting under arms. This he did, with some loss, but much less than he had



THE MASSACRE AT NAARDEN, NOVEMBER 13, 1572



SEA-FIGHT OFF RAMEKINS, APRIL 3, 1573

inflicted on the Prince's army in his daring exploit. And, as Morgan confesses, he lured the pursuing cavalry into gunfire from the Spanish trenches, by which they lost 300 men.

The moment selected by Morgan for his picture is chosen in a rather 'tendencious' fashion, since it portrays, not Romero's daring sally into the Prince's camp, but the dangerous retreat of his column towards the Spanish lines, during which some of his skirmishing musketeers are being cut up by Protestant cavalry. He, himself, appears as an isolated figure riding home.

(6) The sixth picture gives the act of surrender of Mons to the Spaniards. The defenders are marching in orderly array between two long lines of Alva's pikemen, who give them the 'honours of war.' Count Louis is borne in a horse-litter at the head of his troops, on account of his grievous infirmity. Observe the civilian followers of the garrison flying in its company—women with warming-pans and such-like gear, and small dogs, among them.

(7) Of the Horrible Murder at Naarden, done by the Duke of Alva, 13 Nov. 1572.

'At the Duke's great army coming near at hand, the burgomasters of the town went out to meet him with three or four barrels of Rhenish wine and the best victuals they had—poor silly men drowned in a vain conceit to think that drink should appease the wrath of that Spaniard, who thirsted so much for blood. For the which in the field he gave them thanks, in words both for their wine as for their fidelity, and commanding thereupon to assemble all the inhabitants of the town together into the market place to hear what he had to say unto them, they came together, thinking it done to no other end than for instruction of obedience, or at the most for the dispensing of a sum of money, but they repented full sore after the soldiers entered the town, for they put all the inhabitants therefore men women and children to the sword, to the number of 3,000, besides sacking the place of such spoil as they thought for themselves most convenient.'

(8) How the King's Shippes were overthrown that came from Spain and from Sluys, as they lay under the castle of Ramekins, after they had passed by Flushing, on the 3rd of April, 1573.

'In my discourse of these exploits done by both parties indifferently, though I was partial, serving with the Prince myself, yet have

I declared the truth of my knowledge as well of our side as of the other, as I could learn of men chiefest of credit that were at action, proceeding in my delineation by their report. Whereupon I give this noble piece of service done by Captain Woorste, admiral for the prince his fleet in Zealand.' The Spanish fleet of 32 sail in all was attacked as it lay at anchor between Flushing and Ramekins. 'You shall know that our Flushingers esteemed more a spoonfull of Spanish blood than a bagge full of dollars,' so all the Spaniards who swam ashore on to the coast of Watcheren, were knocked on the head. The Spanish and Dutch vessels may be distinguished by their flags—the former bearing the cross of Burgundy, the St. Andrew's cross 'raguly,' the latter a flag with stripes of red, white and blue horizontally, with many more stripes than are to be found on the modern flag of the kingdom of Holland.'

(9) Three pictures are devoted by Morgan to the six months' siege of Haarlem, February–July, 1573, of which I omit the first two, as they are rather topographical sketches of skirmishes in the neighbourhood of the devoted city than panoramic pictures, the class of drawing in which our artist is at his best.

One represents a scuffle between two flotillas of small boats, when the Prince of Orange was trying to send help to Haarlem across the now-drained Haarlem Meer. The second shows the Spaniards building strategic forts on the roads outside the city, by which help might have come by land. These fruitless attempts to relieve the besieged in face of a superior Spanish army terminated in a disastrous fight on the Delft road, of which Morgan does not give a picture, though he has a full description, which is worth giving in shortened form. This was, as our author explains, rather a desperate response to the appeals of the Haarlem garrison, who were at the last pitch of starvation, than a venture in which the Prince had any confidence of success. It was made with too small a force—800 horse and 5,000 foot (mainly local militia and volunteers), who had small hope of breaking through, for the Spanish lines blocked all the roads, and there was no chance of winning through, save by the desperate expedient of a night surprise. This force was headed by the Count of Battenberg, one of the Prince's most trusted captains. Unfortunately, it

arrived near to Haarlem after daylight, and was at once detected. According to Morgan's narrative :—

' The scourers of the Spanish horsemen, discovering their coming, gave advertisement to their camp, from whence they issued out and charged the Prince's men, whom they found altogether out of order saving the horsemen, which Colonel Carleton, commander thereof, had divided into three squadrons, to whom went the Grave van Batenboorgs, giving no direction in the world to his footmen, who were tired in travelling all night. These remaining in a confusion scattered out of order, still expecting their chief, who was slain at the first charge given by the horsemen, and Carleton also which was the chief cause of their overthrow. As to the footmen, they used no better resistance than to make trial of their footmanship which could run the fastest. In which conflict there were slain 2,000 soldiers of the Prince's and all their victuals and munition taken. The town within a few days afterwards surrendered on July 12th, wherein was put to the sword of men of credit Monsur Ripperdame Governor of the town, Monsur Boordett the Marshal, who shot himself through the head with his pistol,¹ Monsur de Rossyny and Monsur Deira, with other captains and soldiers and citizens to the number of 1,800.'

Hooft, the Dutch narrator of the tragedy, gives the larger figure of 2,300 soldiers and burgesses put to death.

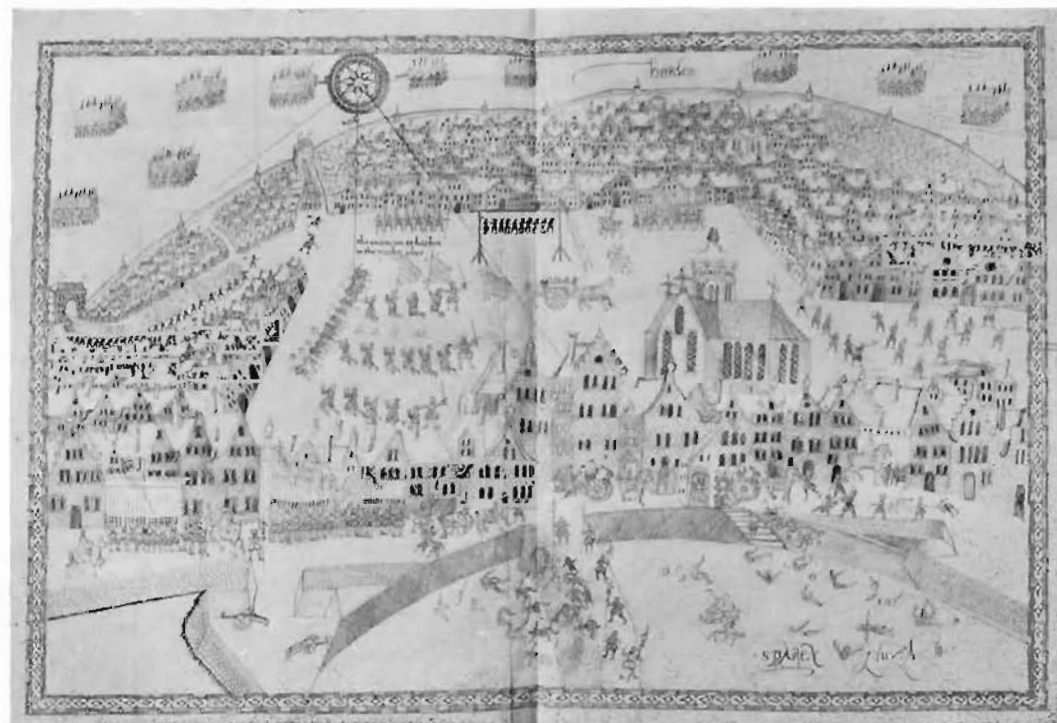
The very elaborate drawing of the executions represents two separate scenes of death going on simultaneously. The gentlemen and captains are being beheaded as they kneel in rows,—observe the very moderate allowance of headsmen, only one to each row. Meanwhile the burgesses and common soldiers are being hung in batches on a long gallows, capable of providing room for six victims at a time. The corpses are then packed in carts, are drawn down to the quay on the Haarlem Meer, and cast into the water, where they sink or float. It may be noted that those who have been hanged are being dragged to the water's edge by the ropes which have strangled them. But such traction being impossible with headless bodies, the more important victims have to be hurled into the lake, by lifting and casting them by the arms and legs.

¹ According to Hooft, he fell upon his own sword. Another narrative says that he shot himself with an arquebus—which is nearer to Morgan's story.

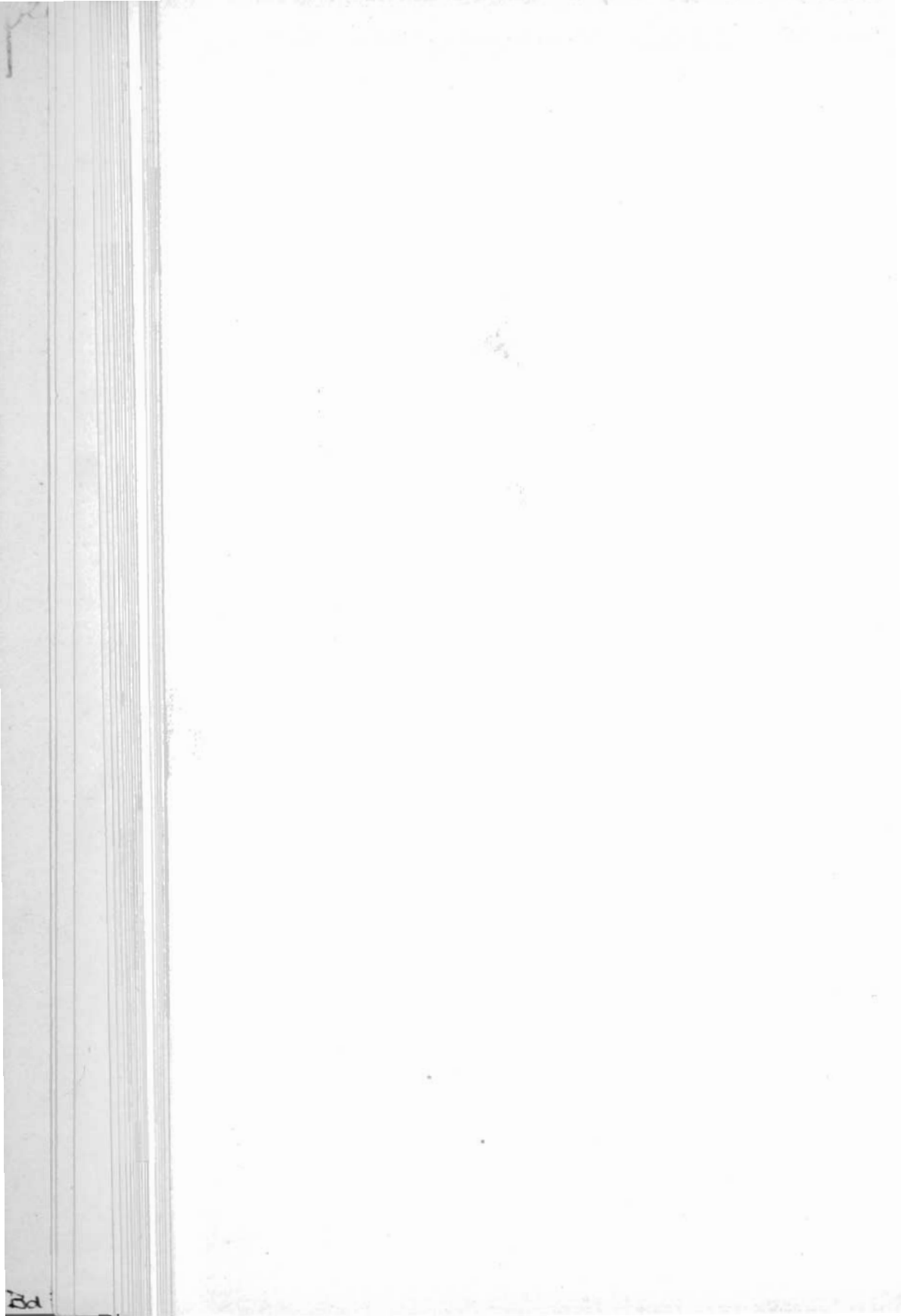
With this melancholy picture of atrocities I conclude my selection of Morgan's little gallery, omitting the last drawing of all, which is one of a small naval success won by the Dutch on October 11th. The Spanish fleet on the Zuider Zee was attacked by the rebel squadron of North Holland, while lying off the towns of Hoorn and Enkhuisen. Five ships were taken, including that of the Count Bossue, the captor of Rotterdam in the second scene of the war which is exhibited. He made a desperate defence, being surrounded and boarded simultaneously by four Dutch ships before he would surrender. As he was one of Alva's most distinguished and trusted officers, he was a valuable hostage, and was finally exchanged for St. Aldegonde, Orange's confidential friend and lieutenant, who would undoubtedly have been executed but for the fact that the Dutch promised that Bossue's death should follow as immediate retaliation.

This is the last of Morgan's drawings. I have omitted it as being very similar to the naval engagement off Flushing, which I have already shown—one set of ships in action is very similar to another. There was nothing more of importance to record during the winter of 1573-4, and Morgan (as we have seen) returned to London in February, and was still there in April, 1574, so that he did not record the opening events of the governorship of Alva's successor, Requesens, Duke of Terra Nova, Orange's capture of Middleburg in Walcheren, after a long siege, on February 18th, and the disastrous battle of Mookerheyde on April 13th, when Louis of Nassau, the defender of Mons, was slain in action with the greater part of his army, and his younger brother Henry. Also we have no pictorial record of the famous siege of Leyden, which was beleaguered all through the winter by the Spaniards, and delivered, by the desperate expedient of breaking the dykes, and letting in the sea upon the Spaniards, on March 24th. These operations would have been most fitting subjects for Morgan's pencil, had he still been in Holland.

Indeed, he might have sketched them after the event, if he had ever finished the empty pages in his



EXECUTIONS AFTER THE FALL OF HAARLEM. JULY 13, 1573



book, as he had promised Lord Burleigh that he would do 'if God lend me life.' But black darkness closes down upon Walter's record after May, 1574, and whether he survived to serve his silent general for many years, or whether he perished in some forgotten action of 1574, I am unable to tell you.

THE PLATES

- (1) FACSIMILE OF PREFACE.
- (2) HOW THE COUNT MARK OF LUMÉE TOOK THE BRILLE, April 1st, 1572.
- (3) HOW THE COUNT BOSSUE SACKED ROTTERDAM, April 9th, 1572.
- (4) HOW THE PRINCE OF ORANGE ESCALADED RUREMONDE, July 31st, 1572.
- (5) HOW THE PRINCE OF ORANGE STROVE TO DELIVER THE TOWN OF MONS, BUT IN VAIN, September 11th-12th, 1572.
- (6) THE SURRENDER OF MONS, September 21st, 1572.
- (7) MASSACRE OF NAARDEN, November 1st, 1572.
- (8) FIGHT ON THE NARROW WATERS BY RAMEKINS, April 3rd, 1573.
- (9) SURRENDER OF HAARLEM AFTER A SIEGE OF SIX MONTHS, July, 1573, AND EXECUTION OF THE CHIEF PRISONERS.