

of Granvelle's last seven years of ministry and of life as he alone is capable of telling it. No period of history, perhaps, is so rich as this in documents of value, written by the moving hands of history. Granvelle's papers are almost a library in themselves; Simancas, London, Paris, Rome, and Brussels abound in *pièces justificatives* of the time, and the difficulty is rather one of selection and condensation than want of material. Herr Philippson has naturally availed himself to the full of all known sources of information, and displays a profoundness of learning, a reticence, and a sound judgment in the choice of material which it is impossible too highly to praise. His conclusions with regard to Mary Stuart's intrigues during the first planning of the armada, and the close connexion between the Scottish catholic nobles and Philip at the time, will be the most interesting as well as the newest point of his book to English readers. I have the best personal reason for entirely agreeing with him on these points, because much of the material upon which he depends is now passing through my hands, and will be printed for the first time in English in my forthcoming third volume of the 'Spanish State Papers of Elizabeth.'

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

Die Katastrophe der spanischen Armada, 31. Juli — 8. August 1588. Von WILLIAM FREDERIC TILTON.¹ (Freiburg i. B.: Wagner. 1894.)

THIS essay, written for his degree of Doctor by a young American student at Freiburg, embodies the result of original research in the British Museum and Public Record Office. The Spanish papers are referred to at second hand, either from the printed versions given by Captain Fernandez Duro in 'La Armada Invencible' or from the transcripts made for the late Professor Froude, now in the British Museum. So far as his purpose went and his limits of space have allowed, Dr. Tilton has worked up his materials into a clear and connected account of the two fleets and of the several battles. The comparison between the English and Spanish narratives is extremely interesting, and more especially of that sent by Medina-Sidonia to the king of Spain with that which Dr. Tilton refers to as that of the *Engländer*, now known to be Howard's. Between the two the discrepancies are not many and are capable of easy explanation; the details, described from a different point of view, are naturally different, but they are in perfect agreement as to the hard fighting and the utter defeat of the Spaniards at Gravelines, and leave us to wonder as to the origin of the astounding falsehood implied in the motto, *Flavit Deus et dissipati sunt*, and its still persistent reproduction in many books which are called historical.

Into the commercial, political, and religious causes of the war Dr. Tilton does not enter, and he refers but slightly to the lack of victuals and ammunition which cut short the fighting. It would have been easy to join in the stock abuse of Queen Elizabeth's parsimony; but the author probably felt that it would be unjust and unscientific to do so

¹ It should be stated that Dr. Tilton's work was published before the appearance of Professor Laughton's collection of 'State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada,' which is reviewed *supra*, pp. 365-369.—Ed. E.H.R.

without examining the subject for himself, which the time at his disposal did not permit him to do. Another point on which, having been unable to work it out for himself, he expresses himself doubtfully, is the part taken by the Dutch. He rightly thinks that Howard's expression, 'There is not one Flushing nor Hollander at the seas,' does not carry any great weight; it is simply that Howard had not seen any, nor—writing on the evening of 29 July—had he heard of any. Dr. Tilton refers, at second hand, to letters of Burnham from Flushing and Kylligrew from the Hague, as stating that the Dutch ships did not leave the Scheldt till after the battle. In fact, these letters do not say anything of the kind. Burnham's was written four days before the battle, and clearly could not; Kylligrew's, though written two days after the battle, makes no mention of it, as if the news had not then reached the Hague; but it does say, 'I understand the admiral Justinus is gone out already with thirty sail from Flushing,' which, so far as it has any definite meaning, is the very opposite of what has been alleged. The states of Zealand, however, writing to the queen on 6 August, were definite and positive. 'Our fleet, under the charge of Count Justinus, being happily arrived and riding off of Dunkirk at the very time of the discovery of the Armada of Spain, the forces of the Prince of Parma, then ready to put to sea, were by the same closely locked in and stayed within the said Dunkirk.' This ought to settle the question; but a comparison with other letters, and notably one from Borlas to Walsingham, dated 3 August, seems to leave it still doubtful, and to suggest that the Dutch ships had actually drawn back into the Scheldt to avoid the strong west wind, which made Dunkirk a very unsafe place to lie off, and effectually prevented Parma's boats putting to sea—if they had wanted to do so. But, in the presence of the English fleet, it is extremely improbable that they did.

The care and excellent judgment displayed in Dr. Tilton's 'inaugural dissertation' give a lively promise of more and more complete work in the future, and make us look forward with pleasant anticipations to the time when, with fuller leisure and more exhaustive research, he will publish the results of his labours in his mother tongue. J. K. LAUGHTON.

Uittreksel uit Francisci Dusseldorpii Annales, 1566-1616. Uitgegeven door R. FRUIN. ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1894.)

THE 'Annals' of his own time written by Frans van Dusseldorp possess a real interest, and thanks are due to the Utrecht Historical Society for commissioning Professor Fruin to edit them, and to the able editor himself for the care he has bestowed upon his task, and especially for the admirable introduction, which for completeness leaves nothing to be desired. The irony of circumstances has decreed that a manuscript confided to the care of the authorities of the church of Rome¹ should at last be published by a protestant, after being lost for upwards of two centuries. The interest of these 'Annals' to us lies in the fact that Dusseldorp was an out-and-out adherent of Rome and of Spain, and that the

¹ Dusseldorp writes as to this, *Omnia penitus subiticio et submitto censuras Sanctas Romanas Ecclesiae. Privatus vero manum abstinet* (p. 479).