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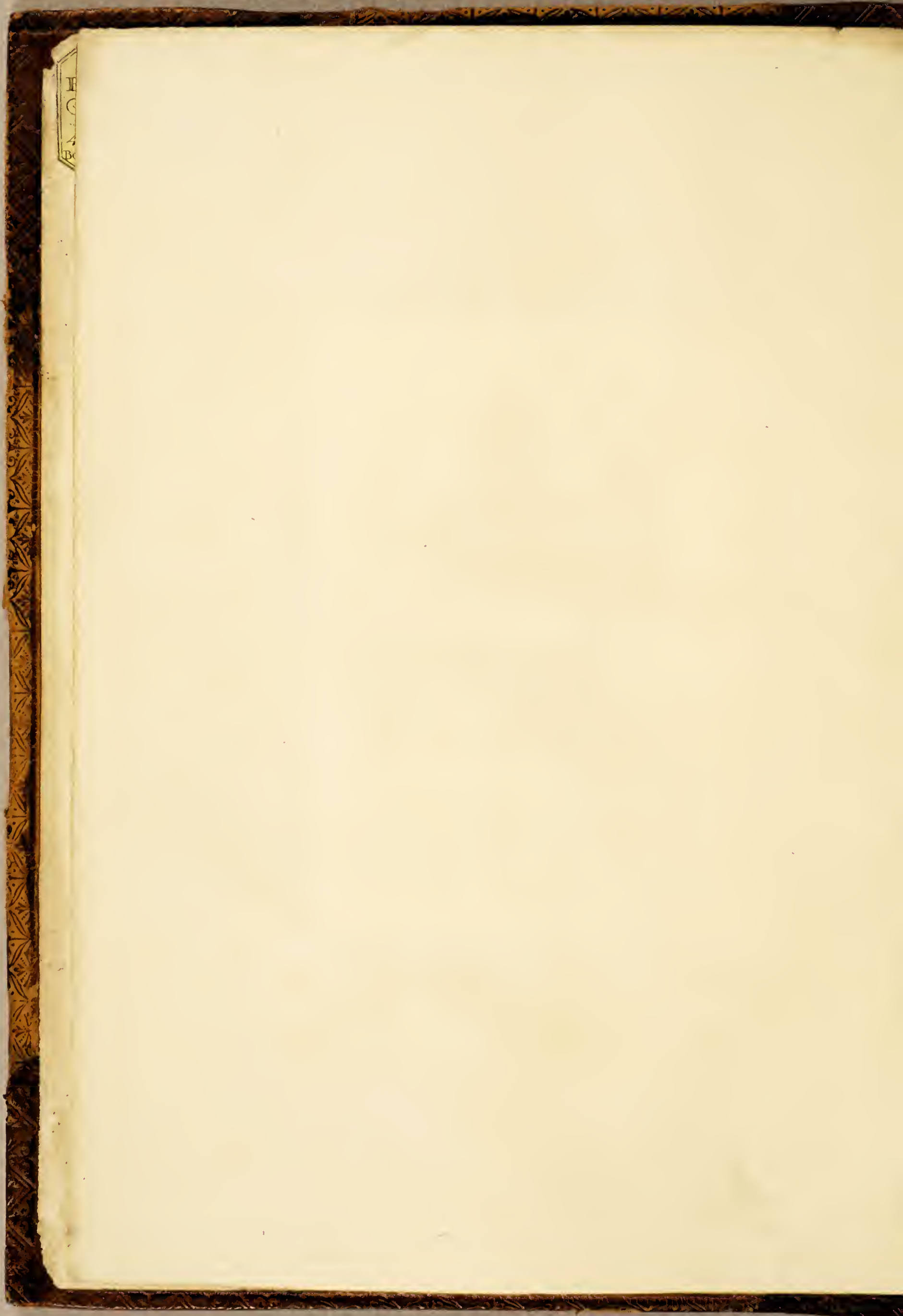
*Henry Grainger. M. Phillipps.*

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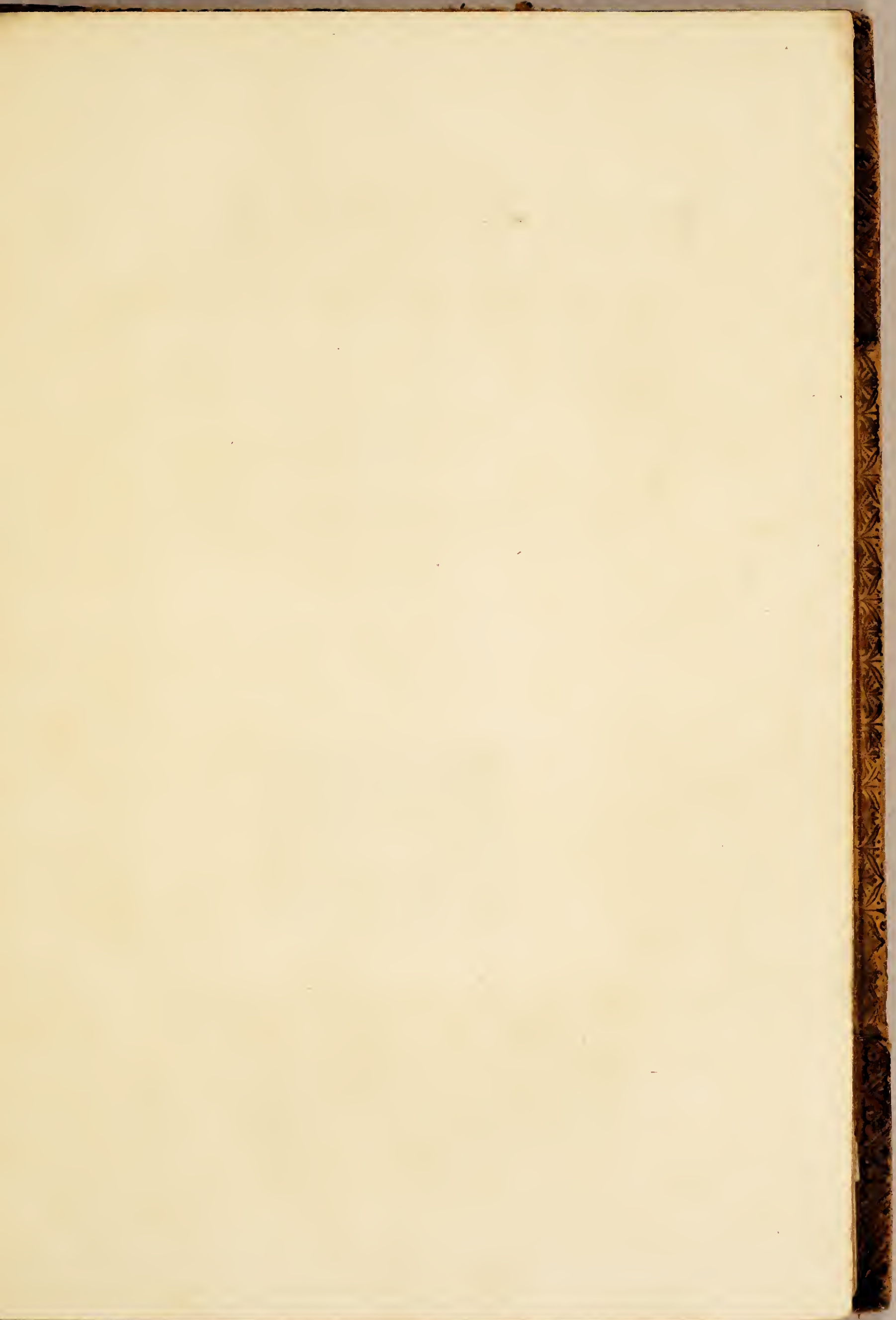


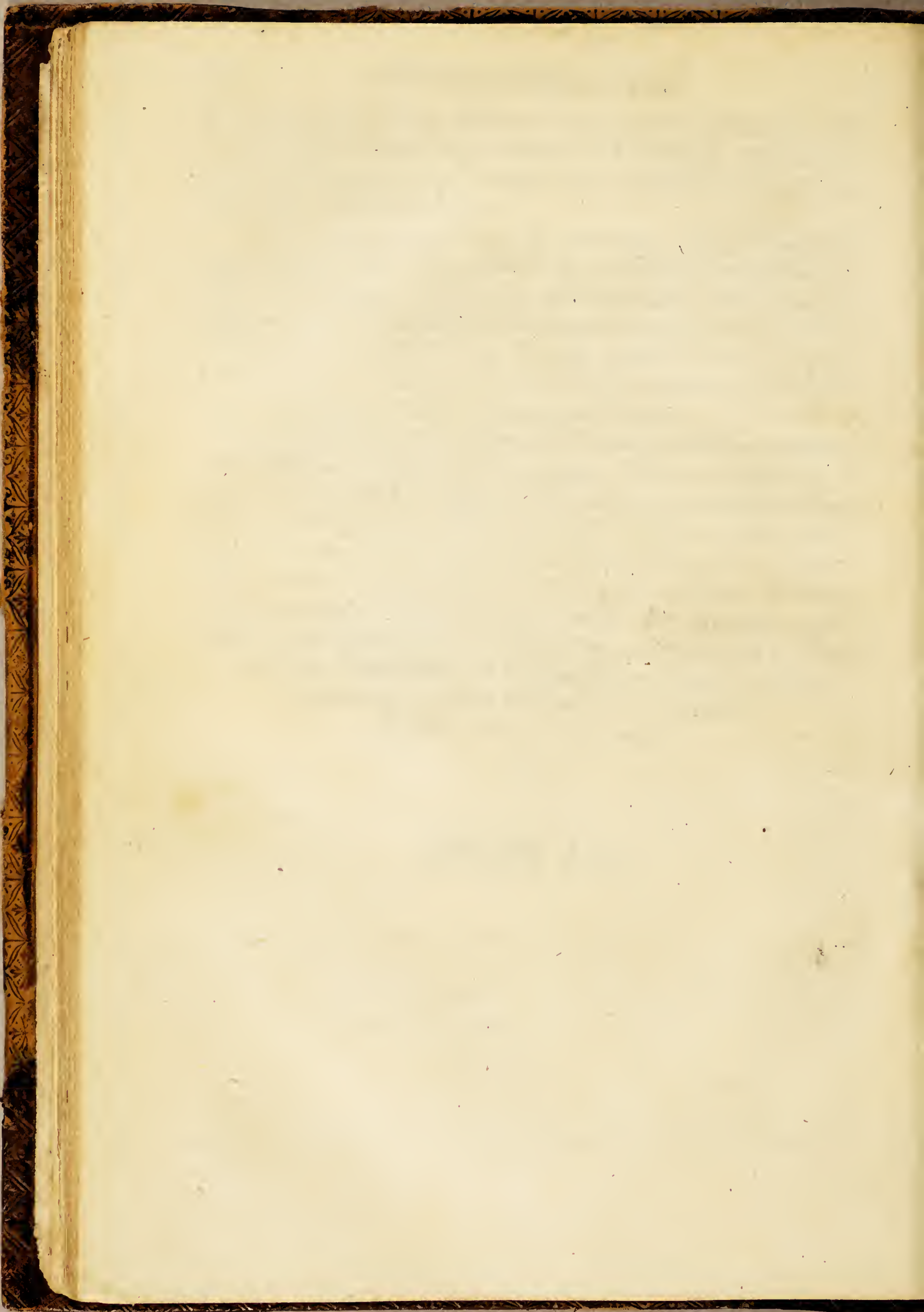
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# A TREATISE

PARÆNETICAL,

*That is to say:*

AN EXHORTATION.

Wherein is shewed by good and euident reasons, infallible arguments, most true and certaine histories, and notable examples; the right way & true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian king: to breake the course of his desseignes: to beat downe his pride, and to ruinate his puissance.

*Dedicated to the Kings, Princes, Potentates and Commonweales of Christendome: and particularly to the most Christian King:*

By a Pilgrim Spaniard, beaten by time, and persecuted by fortune.

*Translated out of the Castilian tongue into the French, by I. D. Dralymont Lord of Yarlème.*

And now Englished.



LONDON,  
Printed for William Ponsonby.

1598.

THE FIRST PART

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND PART

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE THIRD PART

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

RPJCB





TO THE RIGHT  
VVORTHY OF ALL HONOR,

MAISTER FVLKE GREVIL, GEN-  
tleman of her Maiesties most Honorable

*Prinie chamber.*

**S**ir, this Treatise being of late  
imparted & commended vn-  
to mee by a Gentleman my  
friend, who (having read it in  
the French) thought it would  
be neither vnfit nor vnplea-  
sing in these times, if it were made knowne in  
our English tongue. I was incouraged vpon his  
iudgement (which I do hold of good esteeme)  
to cause the same to be translated, & now since  
to be imprinted in our owne language. And be-  
thinking with my selfe, to whose protection I  
might offer it, I thought I could not giue it to a-  
nie man better then to your selfe, whose iudge-  
ment, knowledge & experience, is wel knowne  
to be such, as I do fullie assure my selfe, that if  
you shall be pleased to yeeld your good coun-  
tenance, the world will receiue it as a worke of

worth : and they will hold it neither vnworthie  
of my charge in imprinting it, nor of their pains  
in reading the same. My desire therefore is, that  
ye would accept it with as courteous regard as  
I do offer it willingly , in token of my good af-  
fection. The which, together with this worke,  
being as it is , I do commend to your accusto-  
med good fauour. And euen so I hum-  
blie take my leaue.

*Your VVorships in all good  
affection, W. P.*

THE





THE AVTHOR VNTO  
THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING,

TO THE PRINCES, POTENTATES

and Common weales of Europe, most humbly

wisheth health, &c.



IR, there was an auncient custome  
vsed amongst the nations of Eu-  
rope, especially those which are to  
the East and Northward, which cu-  
stome (if we may giue credit vnto  
*Crommer*) doth continue in Poland  
euen to this day: and that is, that  
when any straungers did passe

through their countrey, their fashion was to go to meet  
them, and to draw & conduct them to their houses, there  
to entertaine thē with all shewes of kindnes & curtesie  
that they could possibly. In so much that oftentimes  
they were at great difference amongst themselues, who  
should lodge and entertaine them, because they held it  
a great honour vnto them: and they esteemed those that  
did so, to haue great aduantage of their other country-  
men: a custome no doubt, worthy of all commendatiō,  
& of immortall memory. And now seeing your Maiesty  
(most Christian king) & the other Princes of Christen-  
dome, are for the most part descended of those nations.  
I do most humbly beseech you, that according to their

*The Authors Epistle Dedicatorie.*

example you would bee pleased, to looke vpon this poore straunger with a good and gracious regard, and to receiue him with your singular curtesie, as also to defend him against all dangers, to the intent he may haue so much the more cause to pray to God.

Sir, for the prosperitie and conseruation of your most Christian Maiestie, and of al the other Princes & Lords of Europe:

*The most humble and most affectionate seruitour of your Maiestie: The Pilgrim Spaniard, persecuted by time and fortune.*

THE





# THE EPISTLE OF THE FRENCH TRANSLATOR.

To the most Christian King.



*I R, after the late revolt of Arragon (of the which Raphaell the Pilgrim maketh mention in his entituled Pedacos de historias, &c.) it was my hap to contract amitie with certaine Gentlemen of Arragon and other Spaniards (not Castilians, for to them I wot not how to cary any affection, which should exceed the prescript rule of the Gospell) of whom I understood many things touching matters of state, which were to me strange and unknowne: by reason that there were amongst them some personages exceedingly well learned, and most conuersant and expert in all histories, and notably well seene and practised in the affaires of the world. There was one aboue the rest in their cōpanie, a man of great spirit, iudgement & experience, who had seene a great part of Europe, and (having bene for a long time in Portugall) had dealt and conuersed with the Portugals, whose language he spake naturally, and had read all the histories of that realme, and was so well acquainted with all their affaires, & knew the all so particularly, that I did greatly wonder at it. For, in things that were to come, I found him in maner of a Prophet: in so much that assoone as the brute ran here of the voyage of Captaine Drake into the West Indies, he did then shew vnto me what would*

## The Epistle

be the successe thereof, euen to the death of Drake him self. The like did he touching that iourney of my Lord the Earle of Essex, which he made the last yeare to Caliz: in somuch that for the viuacitie and quicknesse of his spirit, and the long experience which hee hath had, he seemeth to me to haue as great knowledge in things to come, as if he saw them present before his eyes. Your Maiestie doth know the man full well, and he is a most auncient and faithfull seruitour of this Crowne and kingdome: he made prooffe vnto me by many reasons ( which did not only plainely conuince my opinion, but did as it were bind me hand and foote ) that these voyages, and others of like kind, would neuer draw with them any other profit, nor serue to any other purpose, then to waken the sleeping dogge, and to reenforce the common enemy. Now considering that Don Philip king of Castile hath a Couñcel, the most choise and excellent, such as neuer Prince in this world had a better, his seruitours most loyall and faithfull, great forces, and abundance of treasure, vpon the which all other things do depend: and yet notwithstanding all this, he doth not leaue dayly to cause diuerse bookes to be imprinted in his fauour and defence, I do therefore desire to haue drawne from this learned and wor-thie person some thing written with his owne hand, which I might present vnto your Maiestie: and to this end did I diuerse times make request vnto him, but I could neuer get him to yeelde or condescend thereunto. VVherefore be-thinking with my selfe, that as pouerty, grieffe, and melan-choly, doth burie, and ( as it were ) kill the spirits of a man, so the commodities of this life, contentment and cheereful-nesse, doth riuine and quicken them, I determined because I saw him sad, pensue, and melancholicke, by reason of his exile and misfortunes out of his owne Countrey, to procure his pleasure and contentment, knowing that by this meanes

of the French Translator.

I might obtaine the accomplishmēt of my desire, I did therefore set open my gates and my house vnto him, I presented him vwith my purse, and made him partner of my coyne; I cherished and entertained him for many dayes, and (for loue of him) some other of his companie. And by this curtesy I made him so beholding to me, that afterwards hauing many times held dispute and conference together, I caused him in the ende to take his pen in hand. Thereupon did he compose in the Castilian tongue, this Discourse, vvhich he entituled Trattado paranætico: and he presented it vnto me. The vvhich when I had read, a most strange admiration or astonishment did rauish me: for that I neuer saw (I will not say in so little a volume) but not euen in great bookes, so many curiosities reported, so many and diuerse histories, things so secret and particular, admonishments so necessary to be embraced, nor counsels so iust to be followed. And knowing perfectly the excellencie of this worke, and how greatly important it would be to be seene of your Maiestie, and by the Kings, Princes, Potentates and Commonweales of Europe, I did dispose my selfe to draw it into our owne language. And albeit I know my style to be rude and barbarous, yet such was my ambition (I confesse mine own infirmitie) that I vvas not willing that any other should haue the pleasure in doing it. In some places I haue augmented it: holding it so to be needfull, for the better and more cleere vnderstanding of the historie. Touching the originall, I thought it reason not to abridge or cut off anie part thereof, notwithstanding that vpon the end of the impression thereof, we heard good and happie newes of the reconquest of Amiens: of the which we know that the most principall and chiefeſt cause is your most Christian Maiestie: whom I most humbly beseech, to receiue it with that good affection, which a Prince oweth to one of his subiects: who

A

The Epistle of the French Translator.

for his seruice, vwill not esteeme to hazard the losse of all that he possesseth: much lesse to make himselfe vncapable for the obtaining of that vvhich of right is due vnto him, and who for the good and honour of his countrey, will spend his life most freely and vwillingly. God preserue and blesse the most Christian person of your Maiestie, vwith so great abundance of spirituall graces, and assist you and make you to prosper vwith so many riches of temporall blessings, as is possible to his diuine Maiestie. Amen.

From your towne of Pau, the first of October 1597.

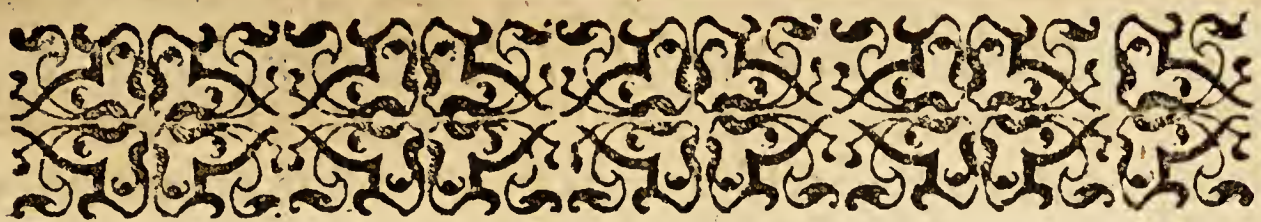
The most faithfull subiect & most humble  
seruitor of your most Christian Maiestie,

I. D. Dralymont.



The





## The French Translator to the Reader.



Friendly reader, thou hast in this little pamphlet an incomparable treasure, a rich storehouse and magazin full of precious speeches, true histories, rare examples, liuely reasons, and wholesome counsels: the which if his most Christian Maiestie, and the Kings, Princes, Potentates, and Common weales of Christendome would embrace, follow, and put in execution, without doubt they should soone obtaine and find a medicine for so many mischiefes, a remedie for so great and continuall afflictions and intollerable trauels, wherewith their subiects haue for so many yeares wraffled and contended. And I dare assure them, that by obseruing the aduise here giuen them, they shall preserue their Estates in time to come from all daunger: for euen as the great fishes do persecute and deuour the small and litle ones; so in like maner those neighbors which are most mightie and puissant, do despoile and consume the others who are of lesse puissance. Now we know that there are two especiall reasons for which the Author hath prolonged and drawne out at length this his Discourse, enriching it with histories so singular, and beautifying it with such rare authorities and examples. The former is: for that, as he hath endeuored liuely to depaint vnto vs our enemye, & to make vs know the naturall disposition of those nations, of whom we haue great cause to take good heed; seeing that all that which he hath spoken, doth set forward this his intent and purpose, he saw it would not be any inconuenience, to vse therein some prolixitie. If a man by compact, as bound thereto by another, or of his owne proper motion and free will, and vpon curiositie, wold vndertake a voyage of some three or foure leagues, not hauing any time prefixed nor limited for dispatch thereof, what harme would it be vnto him, if in his passage he do find some gardens where he may recreate and refresh himselfe, from the trauell and wearisomnesse of the way? So do you my

*The French Translator to the Reader.*

maisters reade this Treatise at your pleasure, vse it for your recreation, and take your delight in the sweete odour of her floures and pleasant posies. You need make no great hast, there is no man that doth vrge you thereto. A second reason of the prolixitie of this Treatise, is, for that as the Author is driuen of necessitie to handle the vertues and the vices of diuerse persons and sundry nations: so his will was, that each of them should haue his due desert: the good and those that haue done well, praise and honour; but the euill and vitious, blame and reprehension. In the end of this Treatise you shal find the explication which he promiseth fol. 143; in the which there are many things both of great curiositie, and also as necessary to the matter in hand as any of the rest. And now I for my part am most instantly to intreate you, that you wil not condemne my augmentations, albeit that they do in some sort trouble the course of the work: for I protest vnto you, I haue not done it to any other end, then for the better declaration of the text of the Author: who, if I had giuen him time and leasure enough (it may be) would haue said as much himselfe, for that in knowledge, vnderstanding and experience, he doth farre exceed me, as his worke doth shew apparantly. Touching the which briefly, I dare not affirme any thing, but this, that each word of his is a sentence, and that each sentence containeth manie. I must confesse, that to some persons in particular, his Treatise will be ill accepted: but what remedie? he hath spoken but the truth, and what he affirmeth he proueth, and he alledgeth nothing without his author to iustifie it. And truly I for my part am of this opinion: that it is not against reason, to publish the wickednesse and vices of some one particular person, which being true, may be made knowne to euerie man, especially when the knowledge thereof may redound to the great good and benefite of the weale publike. But to come to an end, let me intreate you to take in good part that which I haue said, and so as it may be no preiudice to the iudgement, authoritie and credit of the Author. Farewell. From Paw this first of October 1597.

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A TREATISE PARÆ-  
NETICAL, THAT IS TO SAY,  
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*Wherein is shewed by good and euident reasons, infallible arguments, most true and certaine histories and notable examples, the right way and true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian king, to breake the course of his desseignes, to abate his pride, and to ruinate his puissance.*

**M**OST EXCELLENT PRINCES,  
they which do make profession of  
wrastring or of fencing, do princi-  
pallie studie howe to discouer the  
trickes and deuises vsed by their  
aduersaries in these kinds of exerci-  
ses; for that hauing once marked &  
taken notice of the same, they do  
enter into the lists, and present themselves in place, &  
do combat with so much the more hardinesse and assu-  
rance, as hauing conceiued thereby a full and assured  
hope to ouercome their enemies, and by giuing them  
the foyle, to gaine the prize propounded for the victory.  
In like maner ought we in all affaires diligētly to search  
out the originall of euery thing, that we may foresee  
and preuent all the inconueniences which may growe  
therein, to the intent, they may not endamage vs in the  
time to come afterwards. Now that which we in this  
treatise ought most curiously to put in practise, is to

B

know and discover the reasons which haue moued *Philip* king of Castile to make war in Fraunce, with so great expence and charge of his treasure, with so great losse of his people, and with so great decrease and diminution of his dominions, especially in the low Countries. If the most christiā king *Henry* the third were liuing, he could say as much as a certaine stranger his seruant coming from Spaine, in the yeare 1583 in the moneth of May, did giue him to vnderstand: and that was, that the sayd king *Philip* seing how his most christian Maiesty had permitted *Monsieur de Stroz*, the *County du Brissac*, & other Lords and Gentlemen, to go with an army by sea to giue aide and succour to *Don Anthony* the true & rightfull K. of the Realmes of Portugall, who had bin elected king according to the custome of the Portugals, by al the cities and townes of the sayd Realme, and by many prouinces and signiories out of Europe, being dependants of the same Realme and kingdome. The said *Philip* did deliberate in a solemne set Councel to stirre vp and procure a ciuil warre in Fraunce: saying, that the French nation is at this day of such a nature, that they neuer thinke vpon the time to come, nor care for any thing: but for the present, & that which they haue in hand, as being more desirous to gain day by day three or foure Crowns then to keepe three or foure thousand already gotten: so farre are they changed from their old and naturall dispositiō. For in former times they had a desire to go abroad out of their owne Countrey for the succouring of kings and Princes afflicted and despoiled of their Realmes and dominions: and to make war vpon the Infidels, and to chastise tirats, whereas now their thoughts are quite & cleane altered, & they do set their minds altogether to the getting of mony vpon any cōditiōs whatsoever, & they are now grown to be no les in loue with the laciuioufnes, & delights

The reasons  
that moued  
*Philip* king of  
Castile to stir  
vp warres in  
Fraunce, and  
what opiniō he  
hath of the  
French nation.



delights of their own countrey, the they are in dislike with  
 the sterility & extreame heat of Spaine, and other discō-  
 modities of this countrey: and for this cause we shall the  
 more easily perswade & induce them to make war within  
 their owne countries, even against their owne brethren,  
 cofins, parents, & countriemen, rather then abroad a-  
 gainst their enemies. And for this cause I will and am re-  
 solued to spend one million of gold the more yearely, to  
 the intent I may keepe and entertaine them alwayes in  
 domestical & ciuil wars. So that being held occupied; &  
 hauing their hands full in their owne countrey, they shall  
 not be able to resolue to passe into the Realms & domi-  
 niōs of any other. And so by meanes hereof shal I be able  
 easily to preferue the Realme of Portugall to my selfe  
 with al that doth depend vpon it. And whatsoeuer it shall  
 cost me the keeping, yet the profit will be greater then  
 the expence, for that each yeare I do leaue therof neare  
 three millions of gold, & continuing in the possession of  
 the same. It may be that in time I shal be able to gaine  
 the affectiōs & good wils of the Portugals, howbeit that  
 I know they be now at this day very contrary against me.  
 But hereafter, if I get them once to be my friends, & ha-  
 uing with them their strong ships, gallions, & other ves-  
 sels of war, besides the good counsell & conduct of all  
 their sage & experienced mariners, I shal make my selfe  
 sole & absolute Lord of all the Ocean sea, & I shall cause  
 my selfe to be redoubted & obeied throughout the whole  
 world, & so wil I retaine & keepe in my hāds this realme,  
 which of al the kingdōs of Spain is of most importance,  
 to the intēt I may leaue it sure & peacable to my succes-  
 sors. This is the sum of the speech which *Philip* had, & of  
 the cōclusiōs which he tooke with his counsell in the city  
 of Tisō in Nouēber 1582 after the arriual thither of the  
*Marquisse de Santa Cruce*, at such time as he returned vi-

The league of  
Fraunce made  
in imitation of  
that in the  
yeare 1463.  
Stephen Gari-  
bay. lib. 17.  
cap. 10. 11. 12.

Alcade is the  
graund Pro-  
uost of the  
kings house.

Historious from the Iland of *S. Michaell*. In the same  
Coūcel was by him also laid the first & principal stone,  
wherupō the late League of Fraunce was founded. And  
there was it first by him ordained, concluded and bapti-  
zed, in imitation of that which was so named, and made  
by the rebels in Castile against king *Henrie* the fourth,  
and which afterwards was againe reuiued in fauour of  
*Isabell & Ferdinand* his great grand parents. This great  
desseigne and resolution of his was faithfully reported  
vnto the said king (as hath bin said) by this stranger his  
seruāt with many particularities: & amongst others, that  
the Castilian had sent into Fraunce 9. sundry mē, of pur-  
pose to corrupt with mony & fair promises, the Princes,  
Lords & gentlemen of Fraunce, of whō many were par-  
ticularly named, who frō thence forward held the party  
of *Philip*, & many which were ready to do the like, as the  
euēt did afterwards make manifest. And the said *Philip*  
to gaine likewise the Captain *Landreau*, had once resol-  
ued to send into Fraunce the Captaine *Anthony*, a Por-  
tugall, who being married at *Rochell*, was at that time pri-  
soner in the castle of *Lisbon*; & for this effect had grāted  
him his life, with offer of his good fauor by the meanes  
& procurement of the *Alcade Tayade*, who did oftētimes  
repaire to the castle of purpose to see & visit him, & had  
conferēce with him for a long time together. Notwith-  
standing *Philip* fearing least he should discover the pra-  
ctise, caused him afterwards to be hanged, notwithstanding  
the promise he had made him. This Captaine *An-  
thony* discovered the whole matter vnto a certain perso-  
nage in whom he had great trust and affiance, and  
requested him to keepe it very secret till such time as he  
should be gotten into Fraunce, to aduertise the most  
Christian king thereof, and the king of Portugall: vnto  
whom

whom the said Captaine *Anthonie* had prayed him to communicate it, as he did. And as touching the Captaine *Landreau*, he was enforced to take part with the Castilian, and to accept the money that was offered him for the safetie of his own life: whereof also he aduertised the king of Portugall, who was then at Beauvais on the sea: and hauing giuen him to vnderstand to what intent he had done it; he prayed him to looke to the safegard of his person, for that he was in exceeding great danger. The which the said Prince *Don Anthonio* did within few daies after, proue to be most true, and had bene taken, if he had not saued himself with great speed, as there was then taken one of his sonnes, with many gentlemen Portugales of his traine, by the people of the Duke *de Mercœur*: who did ransacke and make spoile of all that did appertain both to him & his traine, of whom some held themselues happie, that they could get away in safetie. Of these nine men (of whom I haue spoken) certaine were apprehended, who discovered the whole intention of the enimie. Notwithstanding as litle & small reckening was made therof at that time, as there is now at this daie of any thing, be it held neuer so necessarie and needefull to free vs from vtter ruine and destruction. Moreouer, the same stranger (of whom we haue made mention) did at the same time of his comming, aduertise the most Christian king, that it was reported throughout all Spaine among all persons of any good sort and qualitie, that his Catholique maiestie had resolved to enter into league, and to confederate himselfe (Sir) with your maiestie, and to make you great proffers, to your exceeding great benefit and advantage, so that you would make warre vpon the said late king your predecessor. Besides, it was reported,

Philip by vn-  
lawfull trea-  
ties laboreth to  
stir vp warre  
against the  
French king.

The practise  
of a good Ca-  
tholike.

that he promised to giue vnto your Maiestie a pension of two hundreth thousand crownes a yeare. Howbeit, some say, that this was only to be for an earnest & assurance of his promises: and they do affirme this for most certaine; that the two hundreth thousand crownes were all in a readinesse within a castel named *Oxagani* appertaining to the Lord of Luxes not farre from Rounceual. And it was further reported at the same time, that the said *Philip*, to be the better assured of the amitie of your Maiestie, did demaund to haue in mariage the lady your sister, with this condition, that the childrē which should be borne of this mariage (were they sonnes or daughters) should be inheritors to the realme of Nauarre: and that he would giue vnto your maiestie in recompence the Isles of *Sardinia* & *Maiorque* or *Minorque*, & would moreouer bind himselfe to establish your maiestie, at his owne proper costs & charges, king of Guyene: and that he did also desire to giue you in mariage, the Ladie *Isabell Clare Eugenia*, the infant of Spaine his eldest daughter, together with the Duchie of Mylan: promising to that effect, to get a dispensation frō the Pope, & all such declarations as should be needefull thereunto. Your Maiestie should know these things here alleaged better then any other: and whether the report which ran therof at that time (when he did hold treatie with you) were true or no. Surely this was a great tentation: but the loue, which your Maiestie bare to your countrey, & the obligation of loyaltie which you ought vnto your king, had more force & interest in you, then all the promises of an ambitious tirant. The bruite which ran therof throughout all France: & also the certaine report of the ill entertainment giuen by your Maiestie to a gentleman, who had the managing of this businesse, and had

had made an ouerture thereof vnto you, did gaine you the affections of all good Frenchmen: who did thereupon imprint you in their hearts, and much more, when it was known, that your Maiesty had aduertised the most Christian king of the same, in the yeare 1583. In somuch that his Maiestie did permit you the yeare following 1584. to make an assembly of the chiefe Heads and Lords of the religion at Mountaban: where it was well knowne, that your Maiestie did sharply reprove those which had plotted these troublesome practises, and others which were seene afterwards to be set abroach by the enemy, in the yeare 1585. And that your Maiestie did then make an accord reciprocally, neither to enterprize, nor to deliberate vpon any thing, the one against the other. And it was reported, that all the pretended reformed Churches in this assembly, did require your Maiestie for their Chiefe: and secondly, the late *Monsieur* the Prince of Conde: and that all this was done by the permission of the said most Christian king: who did greatly repent himselfe, that he had let passe the oportunitie, to giue aide and succours to the late King of Portugall, for the recouerie of his realme, as himselfe declared to that stranger aboue mentioned, being at Bloys, in the yeare 1589. At which time he complained of the tyrannie and irreligion of *Philip*, and sent him into England, there to entreat vpon his affaires with the Queene and the king of Portugall: vnto whom he promised, that the first thing which he would do, after he had recouered Paris, should be, to send an armie into Portugall, & to make warre vpon the enemy within his own countrey, & to constrain him to demaünd peace, as the English with the aid of the Portugals had at other times cōstrained his predecessors to do the like.

The desire that  
the French K.  
Henrie the  
third had, to re-  
store Portugal  
to her libertie.

And in case, that the said king of Portugall did and should vndertake the voyage, as it was giuen him to vnderstand that he was so resolued: he prayed him that so soone as he should be arriued thither, he would aduertise him thereof; to the intent that immediatly vpon his comming into Portugall, or any other part of Spaine, if he had but two thousand men, yet he would send them away with all speede, because he knew full well, and was most assured, that if the enemy were once entangled in Spaine, and kept busied at home, he should soone be ridde of him in Fraunce, as the euent did make it manifest. For as soone as the newes came, that the king of Portugall was at Lisbon, the most Christian king, for the accomplishing of his promise, commaunded the late *Monsieur* the Marshall *de Biron*, that he should put himselfe in a readinesse to passe into Portugall, with as great speede and diligence as was possible, for to succour the Portugals, and to giue aide to their rightfull king *Don Antonio*, to reestablish him in his kingdome.

*But God, which with a iust & equall ballance doth weigh and examine all things, did displaie his wondrous workes, where and when it pleased him.*

Portugall the  
gaine of the  
war in France

Hereof then we do gather two things: the first, that the enemy to keepe Portugall, hath brought and caused the ciuill warre in Fraunce: the second, that our deliuerance & his ruine do depend vpon this; that there be sent a good army into Spaine, whereof he is exceedingly afraide.

Wherefore, most excellent Princes, to deliuer your estates from the daunger that threatneth them, and to set them in assurance; you ought to vndertake, & to enterprise this voyage, so importune, and so necessarie for

*Paraneticall.*

all Christendome, without hauing any regard to the charge thereof, be it neuer so great, considering that in not doing it, and that presently, you shall euery day more and more in time to come, bring your selues into hazard and extreame daunger. Take example by the times forepast, and looke vpon the instructions contained in histories, written by men no lesse curious then vigilant and well affectioned to the weale publike, and in reading and vnderstanding them, make your own profit and benefit of them.

*Agathocles*, after he had bene about seuen yeres king of Sicily, being enuironed both by land & by sea, within the citie of *Siracusa*, by the Carthaginians, and finding himselfe in great trouble & perplexitie: as being lately forsaken of many peoples of his own realm, who had at the first bene partakers with him: and perceiuing also that he wanted both victuals, money, & other necessarie munitions for the warre: and that it was not possible for him to escape out of the hands of the Carthaginians, if he did not vse some draught or deuise, which had not erst bene put in practise. He did at the last leaue within the town a brother of his own, to whom he committed the commaund and charge thereof, and left with him for the defence thereof, a certaine number of men, whom he knew to be well affected vnto him: and taking with himselfe certaine other troopes, he embarked them, vnknowne to any whither he went, and setting saile to Affrique, he there landed, where he warred so couragiously vpon the Carthaginians, as if they had bene but his equals. And hauing at the first beginning defeated certaine of their Captaines that came against him, he ouer-ran, harried, and wasted all their countrey, he burnt and ransacked all their townes, villages, and houses of pleasure round about Carthage.

*How important a thing it is to make war vpon an enemy in his own countrey.*

After which victorie and good fortune, with a certaine number of souldiers, Bandoliers, & aduenturers which came and ioyned themselues with him, ( a thing vsuall & ordinarie in such tumultuous & troublesome times) he encamped within a league of Carthage. By this stratageme his affaires did not only prosper in Affrike, but throughout all Sicily also: for *Antander* (so was his brother named) being certified of the good successe of *Agathocles*, tooke courage vnto him, and falling out of *Syracusa* vpon the Carthaginians that besieged him, he wanne their trenches, and hauing slaine a great number of them, he made such hauocke amongst them, that this their ouerthrow, and the victories of Affrike, being spread abroad and reported; from thenceforth all the strong holds and places of Sicily (that before held with the Carthaginians) did then reuolt from them, and did altogether abandon them: which was the occasion also, that *Agathocles* returning victorious into Sicily, did all the rest of his life time afterwards enioy it quietly and peaceably.

This was about 314 yeres before the birth of Christ.

After the death of *Agathocles* and his partizans, the seignorie of Carthage continued the warre for the conquest of *Sicilia*, in such sort, that in the end they caried it, and held the whole Island in their possession, which was about 277 yeares before the birth of Christ. Whereupon the Romanes considering of all these their exploits, and perceiuing that the puissance of the Carthaginians was verie great, and that they held not onely the greatest and best part of Affrike, which they had subdued by force of armes, but also manie peoples of Spaine, with sundrie Isles in the sea, round about *Sardinia* and *Italie*: they did verie wisely  
 imagine



imagine, that this neighbourhood of theirs, would proue verie dangerous and perillous vnto them, if they should finith and go through with the conquest of all Sicilie. For this cause they tooke such good order in providing for their affaires, as they brought the Carthaginians to this extremitie, that they had no more in their possession, saue the towne of Erix: the which *Amilcar Barcyn*, the father of *Hanniball* did defend against them most valiantly for a long time, and did therein maruellous deedes of armes. Notwithstanding, the Carthaginians, seeing that they could not withstand nor resist the force and puissance of the Romanes, they sent a messenger vnto *Amilcar*, commanding him to render and deliuer vp the towne immediately, and to make peace with them, to the greatest honour, profit & aduantage that he could possibly, for the state of Carthage.

*This was about 240.yeres before the birth of Christ.*

*Amilcar* (doing as the Seignorie had commaunded him) gaue vp the towne to the Consull *Lucretius*, and within few daies after, following the course of his affaires, returned into Affrike, where he had many victories against certaine seditious persons: and so he settled the estate of Carthage in rest and quietnesse. This done, he made a voyage into Spaine, taking with him his sonne *Hanniball*, who was not then aboue eight or nine yeares of age, together with his mother, (who was a Spaniard,) and three other of his yonger sonnes, *Asdruball*, *Mago*, and *Hanno*: of whome *Amilcar* their father was wont to saye: That he nourished foure fierce Lyons whelps, who were resolute to worke the destruction of the estate of Rome. *Amilcar* then being in Spaine, by his prudence and liberality, did gaine the hearts and good affections of the

*In the yeare 237.*

*A saying of Amilcar touching Hanniball and his other sonnes.*

In the yeare  
228.

In the yeare  
223

In the yeare  
217

In the yeare  
216

Hanniball  
passeth into  
Italy.

Scipio goeth a-  
gainst Car-  
thage.

Spaniards; that he knew well he should be able by their meanes to haue about againe with the Romanes, to recover from them both *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, (which they had also in their puissance, and that so in the end he might passe from thence into Italy, & there to procure their vtter ruine & destruction. But being preuented by death, he charged his sonne *Hanniball*, (whom he had coniured, to be during his life, an vtter & vnreconcilable enemy to the Romanes) to put this his enterprize in execution. *Hanniball*, after the death of *Asdruball* his brother in law (who succeeded his father in law *Amilcar* in that gouernement) being then made gouernor of Spaine, tooke the citie of *Saguntum* (which is now called *Monvedre*) after he had held it besieged the space of eight moneths. After the taking wherof, he began to dispose & prepare him self to the voyage of Italy: & hauing with great trauels & many difficulties passed the Alpes, he obtained in proces of time so many notable victories against the Romanes, and did put them in such feare and terror, that they did in a manner hold themselues vtterly vndone & forlorne. And so had they bene in deed, if they had not bene aduised to send *Scipio* into *Affrike*: who made such cruell warre so forcibly, and so violently vpon the Carthaginians, that he constrained them to call home *Hanniball* out of Italy: who within short time after, with the whole estate of Carthage, was ouerthrowne & brought to nought, as is well knowne vnto all men. And so by this meanes were the Romanes eased and deliuered, enjoying peace & quietnesse, and the Carthaginians vndone, defeated & subdued: and their estate (which had bene so famous and renowned) was vtterly ruinated & brought vnder the power and puissance of their enemies.

*Xerxes* king of Persia, seeing himselfe in a miserable estate, and bethinking how he might deliuer and raise himselfe vp againe: he made choise of certaine of his seruants, fit for the execution of his intended purpose, and them he sent into Europe with store of money, to corrupt the Orators of the townes & common-wealths of Greece: and hauing corrupted them of Athens and of Thebes, he made them to rise in armes, and to make warre vpon the Spartans. By this meanes Greece being set in trouble & dissention, sent for *Agessilaus* (who hauing at that time subdued a great part of the Empire of Persia) and being willed to come home, was enforced to quit and abandon the same for the relieuing of his countrey from those troubles wherewith it was intangled. And because the money of Persia had an Archer engrauen on the one side thereof, the same *Agessilaus* had a saying: That ten thousand Archers had driuen him out of Asia, & had bene the cause to make him loose a most statelie and puissant Empire. By this pollicie then did *Xerxes* rid himself from the trouble and extremitie wherein he was, driuing out his enemy from his countrey, and recouering his estate, that was neare ruine and confusion.

*Plutarke in  
the life of A-  
gessilaus.*

By these examples (most Christian king) and others of like kind, was *Achaius* king of Scotland, the sonne of *Elfinis*, a singular good Prince, and of excellent vertue, induced in the yeare of Christ 791 to make a perpetuall and irreuocable peace and league of amity with *Charlemaigne* king of Fraunce: at such time as he saw himselfe hardly bestead by the Saxons & English, who then possessed the better part of great Brittain, which within a few yeares after was called by one only name England. The other kings (your Maiesties predecessors) the suc-

*Achaius king  
of Scotland.*

*Money giuen  
to the Scots by  
French,*

cessours of *Charlemaine* considering that this peace and amity was more necessary for them, as being more to their profit and aduantage, then it was to the Scots themselves who sought it, they haue continued the same euē till this day: and by meanes thereof haue oftentimes constrained the Englishmen when they haue bin in wars and enimity with them, to retire and withdraw themselves out of Fraunce, and many times also they haue kept themselves busied in their owne countrey, that they haue had enough to do to defend themselves: and they haue taken from them both the desire and the meanes to passe into strange and foreine nations: yea there haue bin some of the French kings, who haue giuen to the Scot, to this end and purpose, more then 500 thousand Crownes: which was as much in those dayes then, (hauing regard to the change and difference of the times) as two millions are at this day.

*The meanes to  
ruinate the  
enemy.*

I will omit many other Histories, which make notable to this our purpose, because I know well that these are sufficient to shew how greatly (Sir) it concerneth & importeth you, to free your selfe from the encombrance of this burthen now layed vpon you, and to send a good army into Spaine: for as much as by such a voyage well handled and to good purpose, dependeth both the safety of your selfe and the ruine of your enemy. If you make war vpon your enemy within Spaine, he shall be compelled to call home all his forces, not only from Fraunce and the low countries, but al those also which he hath in Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, & other countries: we had good prooffe & experience hereof euen of late: For as soone as the Castilian saw the English possessed of Caliz, hee did incontinently send for all his gallies of Naples, Sicily, and Genes: He sent to intreate the  
ground

graund maister of *Maltha* to send him the Galleys appertayning to the knights of the Religion. Which had bene done if the French Gentlemen, which were of the order, had not opposed themselves against it. He caused in all haste the Forces which he had in Brittain to passe into Spaine: and there is no doubt but he had likewise called home all those which he had in other countries, if the English had remayned there any longer time. You seethen (most excellent Princes) that by passing into Spaine, you may withdrawe from ouer your heads the sword of the Castilian, and deliuer your countrie from his proud yoke and tyrannie. But you will say: the Enemie hath great and puissant forces, & a great number of olde and expert souldiers; by whose means, albeit they be farre off, yet being called backe into Spaine, he will greatly endamage and annoy you, and consequentlie, your voyage may proue vnprofitable, and perhaps verie daungerous: and so you may bee enforced to retire and returne home againe not onelie with shame and confusion, but (which is more) in great trouble and extreame perill. But vnto this I answer.

First, if you do all things with prudence & good aduise, you reap therby incredible profit and commoditie, and the danger will be small, or none at all.

Secondly, that in Spaine there are many places vpon the sea coast which you may easily take and command, and whose situation is so strong by nature, that if they be fortified by arte and the industrie of man, you shall defend and keepe them with a verie small charge, and much more easily then the enemie doth keepe *Blauet* in Brittain: and those will serue you for sure places of retreat.

Good & sound  
counsell.

1

2

Thirdly, in Spaine there are many nations which do hate the Castilian extreamly: for that they haue bene tyrannized either by himselfe or by his predecessors: & these (when they shall see themselues ayded and assisted in good earnest, & to purpose, for the great desire which they haue to be at libertie, will soone take armes against the enemye.

Fourthly, those Souldiers which are out of Spaine, being called backe by their Lord and maister, cannot arriue there within foure moneths at the soonest, and within two moneths may you arme and furnish fit and readie for the warres, all those of the countrie which will take your partie. For this is most certaine, that the verie Climate of the countrie doth helpe and aide to make them able and actiue. I my selfe and many others in Portugall haue sometimes scene a company of new souldiers at their first entring into garrison, to seeme rather a troupe of beggers, and poore rascals, rather the souldiers, all of them being so poore, naked and miserable, as we had pitie to see them; and yet within foure or five dayes after that, they haue bene new apparelled, and well appointed: if you had scene them settled in the garrison, you would haue said, that they had bene great Gentlemen, & they did carie themselues with so good a grace and countenance, as if they had bene braue and old trained souldiers. I do assure you, that two moneths will suffice to them of the countrie to make them souldiers. The greatest difficultie is to make them to abide, and not to feare the fire of the Harquebuse. Moreouer the prouinces of Spaine are rich, as all the world knoweth, and the inhabitants make not any account nor reckening of their wealth, when there is any question for the recouering of their libertie. For in this case they will

*The nature of  
the naturall  
Spaniard.*

will not spare to spend it liberallie, as was to be seene by the offer which they made to king *Philip*, after that the Englishmen were retired from *Caliz*: and therefore by sending of money into these quarters, they will gather together fiftie thousand men of warre to passe into Spaine for their succour, defence, and preservation, sooner then the enemy shall be able to cause five thousand to come thither from anie forraine parties.

If any man shall say, that seeing two moneths are sufficient to make the naturall Spaniards good souldiers, the enemy may therefore much sooner assemble and arme a greater number of men then we shal get for our succour. I answer: I would agree thereto, if there were in Spaine armes sufficient wherewith to arme and furnish them: but they are so rare and daintie there to be had, that there be many great townes notablie well peopled, within the which a man can not find fiftie Harquebuses. And if there were any store of armes to be had, yet the Spaniards in Spaine would take armes sooner, and much more chearfullie for their libertie, then for the seruice of one that tyrannizeth ouer them. Especiallie the Princes and great Lords, who do desire nothing so much as that there were some realme or prouince within Spaine in full and free libertie: and which might be gouerned by it selfe, to the intent it might serue them for a place of refuge and sanctuarie, as they had the like in times past. For Spaine being in maner as an Iland, at this day the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of marke cannot easilie withdrawe themselves from thence; by meanes whereof they are held in great slauerie and subiection. When there were seuerall kings in Nauarre, Arragon and Portugall, if

*Armes verie  
rare in Spaine.*

*Spaine in ma-  
ner of an Iland*

the Castilians were at any difference with their king, or the Nauarrois, the Arragonois, or the Portugals with theirs, they would haue retired themselues the one to the other; by whose liberality they were euer prouided of all things needefull and necessary for the life of man, and sometimes with greater ease and commodity then in their owne country: as it happened in the time of *Fernand* king of Portugall, and of *Henry* the second king of Castile, who slue his owne naturall and lawfull brother; which was the cause that *County Don Fernand de Castre*, and *Don Aluar peres de Castre* his brother: *Mex Suares*, Graundmaister of *Alcantara*: *Suer Iuan de Parada* Gouvernor of the Realme of Galitia: *Petro Giron*, Grandfather of *Calatrava*, *Alonso Giron* his Nephew, and many others great Lords and Gentlemen, with a great number of Cities and Townes holding the party of the king deceassed, did conuey themselues into Portugall, where they were receiued by the king *Fernand*, and had most honourable entertainment, with most notable fauours, rich presents, and incredible gifts, which he gaue vnto them most bountifully. In so much that from thencefoorth the *Castres* did continue still and inhabit in Portugall, from whom are descended those which are there of that name now at this day. The like happened to *Diego Lopez Pacheco* a Portugall (albeit not for so iust and honourable a cause) who going from Portugall into Castile for being charged with the death of the Queene *Dame Iues de Castro*, in the time of the king *Don Peter* of Portugall, he was then created Lord of *Bejar*, and his children also made Lords of other peoples, of whom the *Marquesse of Villana*, the *Dukes of Escalon*, and many other great Lords haue their descent and originall. In like manner, in the time of king

Hierome Gu-  
diel Cap. 23.  
Fol. 81. Pag. 2.



king *Iuan* of Portugall of happie memorie, the *Acu-* alias Iohn.  
*gnas* and *Pimentels* went into Castile: and of them are  
 descended directly in the line masculine, the Dukes of  
*Ossuna* and Counties of *Benauent*, and in a maner all the  
 Princes and Lordes of Castile, and Dame *Iulian de*  
*Lancastre* Duchesse of *Auero* in Portugall. Now at this  
 day the Nobilitie of Spaine doth greatly want such  
 places of refuge and Sanctuarie, and now the least  
 Prouost or Marshall is sufficient to arrest the greatest  
 Lord of the countrey, yea though it were the brother  
 of the King himselfe: in so much that the Princes  
 and Lords of Spaine do as hartelie desire to see some  
 realme or prouince set at libertie, as they do their  
 owne safetie. None can tell how great an affliction  
 and notable a miserie famine is, but hee that wan-

*The Nobilitie  
 of Spain want  
 places of re-  
 fuge & san-  
 ctuary at this  
 day.*

teth bread to eate: and the Nobilitie of Spaine doth  
 at this day with great grieffe finde that to bee true,  
 which they most of all feared in the time of *Charles*  
 the fift, whose greatnesse they had euen then suspe-  
 cted: and for this cause they did shewe themselues  
 mightilie aggriued at such time as King *Philip* did en-  
 terprise the vsurpation of Portugall.

*The sorrowe  
 & grieffe of  
 the Princes &  
 Lords of Spain  
 to see the inua-  
 sion & vsurpa-  
 tion of Portu-  
 gal: & the de-  
 sire they haue  
 to see it at li-  
 berty.*

*Conestagio* a Geneuois in the booke which hee  
 hath written in fauour of the sayd *Philip*, and which  
 is entituled, The vnion of the realme of Portugall  
 with the Crowne of Castile, doth tell vs both the one  
 and the other of these matters. And although in that  
 worke of his there be many true reports, yet wee do  
 knowe him for a great and notable lyer: and euen the ve-  
 rie first word of that booke is an vntueth; in that  
 hee hath entituled it, The vnion of Portugall  
 with the Crowne of Castile: for king *Philip* in the

The oath of K.  
Philip.

assembly of estate which he held at Tomar in the yeare 1581: where the Portugals against their willes, and by force did receiue him for their king, promised and sware with a solemne oath, neuer to intermingle the matters and affaires of Portugall with those of Castile, but to keepe for euer the monarchie of Portugall entire in the same estate, and in the same maner, as the kings his predecessours had alwayes preserued and maintained it: paying all the pensions, fees and wages to all the officers of the kings house, both Spirituall and Temporal, in like sort as they were payd in the times of the true and good kings forepassed. Somewhat of this matter a man may see in the end of the booke of the Explication of the Genealogie of his most Christian maiestie, where it is spoken of the first kings of Castile.

The Explication of the Genealogie of the French K. now reigning: The author wherof was Frier Ioseph Texere.

3. fol. 62.

Moreouer, the said *Conestagio*, as a man of a maligne and peruerse spirit, is a most vngratefull enemy of that nation, which hath both aduanced and honoured him. For we knew him at Lisbon when he serued *Antonio Caulo*, and afterwards with *Stephen Lercaro*, a marchant of Genoa. He hath in his booke these words:

*In Castile this succession gaue great matter wherof both to muse and to talke, both in private and in publike: for that the king caused the Estate of Portugall to be united to his other realmes and dominions, not caring how, nor in what fashion it vvere done, so it vvere effected. The vvhich the Nobilitie tooke verie ill: in so much as it seemeth that all the great men of Spaine, since the time of Charles the fist to this day, could not away nor like of the greatnesse of the king: because thereof it hath proceeded; that he maketh lesse reckening of them, then did the ancient kings of Castile, and he constraineth them to be equall to their inferiours, as well in iustice as otherwise.*

If *Don Antonio* king of Portugall were liuing, he could witnesse, how after that the enemy was entred into Portugall with a huge armie, and had taken *Lisbon*, he being then in the towne of *Badaios*, many Lords of Castile did offer him to haue entrance into the said towne, and did promise him all their best aide and assistance to seaze vpon the enemy himselfe. The which the said Prince could not effect nor put in execution, for that within few daies after he was dispossessed of all the realme in the citie of *Puerto* of Portugall. He could also certifie vs, how that seeing in these parts, manie great Lords of Castile did send vnto him, offering him their seruice and assistance, in case that he would set foot in Portugall: the which matter he communicated (if I be not deceiued) to the king and principall Lords of Fraunce, and principally to the Queene and certaine Lords of England. Notwithstanding, touching this desire of libertie: it is a matter which doeth principally touch the Princes, great Lords, & *Hijos de Algo* of Spaine. For, as concerning those maisters of the long robe, and the rascall sort of Castillians: they take a pleasure in this their slauerie and seruitude vnder their king, because they alone do commaund and rule all, & triumphing ouer others, haue the principall and chiefe managing of all the affaires of the realme: yea, and euen the gouernemēt of the king himself, in their own hands. And although they do hate him most extremely, and do wish ill enough to his person: yet notwithstanding they do wish so well to their own countrey, and do so delight to see themselues to haue the commandouer all others; that if they know any thing, either in publique or in priuat, which might hinder & endamage his tyrannie, they will not faile, onely in regard thereof, to aduertise him

Josephus de  
bello Iudaeo  
lib. 1. Cap. 3.

Good & sound  
counsell.

The malicious  
nature of the  
Castilian na-  
tion.

Math. 22.

of it: such is the naturall disposition of the Castilians, who being issued and sprong frō the race of the Iewes, cannot but follow the tracke of their predecessors. To day they would follow & honour *Antigonus*, to morow they would accuse his bountie, as a crime of high treason, and iudge it to be little lesse then pride and vanitie, and as traitors they abandon and forsake him, accusing him before *Aristobulus*, & so be the causers of his death & destruction. And therefore (sir) most humbly I beseech your Maiestie & all Christian Princes, to keep your selues frō the Castilians, & not to trust them, how soeuer they shew themselues mortall & deadly enemies to their kings, & do make neuer so faire semblance, that they are well and heartily affected to do you seruice.

The common sort of Castilians (Sir) are so maligne & peruerse, so full of pride, arrogancie, ambition, tyrannie, & infidelitie; that *Fernand* king of Portugall, being the right & lawfull heire to the realmes of Castile and Leon, & being called vpon by the people of the same kingdoms, who offred to receiue him for their Lord & king, the Portugals would in no wise consent thereunto, saying: that they would not haue any thing to doe, nor meddle with them, no not though it were to commaund ouer them. It was my hap one day, to deuise vpon this matter with a noble man of your Maiesties Councell, who seeming much astonished at the report thereof, did make me this answere: Certainly, this that you tell me, doth make me not so much to maruell, as that which I haue heard reported of a Fryer Preacher, who in the yeare of our Lord 1576. preaching vpon this part of the Gospel: *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, &c. and thy neighbour as thy selfe*: said, that by this precept, God commaunded vs, not onely to loue our father and mother,

mother, brothers, kinsfolke, friends, and countrey men: but euen heretikes also and strangers, Iewes, Paynims, Moores, Turkes, yea, & the Castilians themselves. This happened (as it was told him) & this Preacher was a religious person of the order of *S. Dominick*, and he did preach in a parish Church of Lisbon, called *S. Magdalens*, being one of the principall churches within the citie, and there were present at it, the most part of the Governours of the towne, with manie Presidents of the Parliament, Counsellors, Gentlemen, and rich marchants. The said noble man, shewing himself greatly abashed at this report, did demaund of me; how it could be tollerated, that this should be spoken openly in the Pulpit, and the religious person not punished for it. Whereunto I aunswered: that there wanted not any accusers, to call him in question for it: but the number of them (that did beare with him & faouored him for the franknesse and libertie of this his speech, was so great, that those which did accuse him, could not be heard. Moreouer, it is an ordinarie & vsuall thing with the Portugals, to saie: *That the Castilians are worse then the Infidels themselves.* But let them speake the worst of them they can, yet wil they beare and endure it, because they reape great benefite and aduauntage by it. The which the said nobleman seeing, in sort to make doubt of, he did thus replie vnto me: Albeit, I do beleue some part of this you saie; yet there resteth one thing, which is as a scruple in my minde: and that is, in that (as I haue read) the Portugals and the Castilians, are both of one and the same prouince, and are borne in a manner of one stocke, and issued of one roote, and do speake one and the selfe same language: that is the opinion of *Conestagio*, of whome we haue before spoken.

*An example  
worthie the  
marking.*

*Portugals  
hold the Casti-  
lians to be worse  
then Infidels.*

*Conestagio, lib. 2.  
fol. 4. pa. 2.*

But he saith, he knoweth not what: for the Portugals are descended of the Gaules, the Celtes, and the Braccates, and their language is almost the same with the Latine tongue. But as touching the Castellians, we cannot certainly saie, from whence they are descended: nevertheless, the best iudgement and coniecture thereof that can be made by circumstances and evident proofes is: that they are descended of the Vandals, of the Iewes, and of the Moores; and their language is in a manner all one with that of the Moores, and their pronounciation is all one, or much alike. Thereof it commeth, that the Castellians being in the countrey of the Sarracens, or of the Turks, they do soone and verie easily denie the Christian faith, and do turne altogether Turke and Infidell. True it is, that the Princes, great Lords and *Hijos de Algo*, are extracted either from the Gothes or from the auncient Spaniards, which inhabited the mountains and the countries of Leon, and of Ouiedo, and the province of Galitia, within which is enclosed the auncient Portugall. *Conestagio* in the same place last before recited, saith, that these two Nations do hate eche other most extremely: and he setteth downe one notable vntueth, to wit: that the hatred of the Portugall doeth farre exceede that of the Castellians, which is altogether false & vntue. The Portugals do not hate the Castellians, but they abhorre their actions, as most wicked, and full of crueltie and tyrannie. The Castellians on the contrarie, because they cannot with any reason hate the actions of the Portugals, for that they are good and iust, they do therefore hate their persons, who haue so often ouercome, vanquished, and ill handled them, and so much the more, for that their numbers were alwaies (as a man may saie) infinite, & the Portugals were verie fewe,

*The vntueth  
of Conestagio.*

fewe , and in comparison of them as nothing . The hatred of the Castellians is so certaine against the Portugals, that it is vsually spoken in manner of a prouerbe: That since the battell of *Alybarto*, the Castellians would neuer suffer any to preach vpon the Fryday, in the first weeke of Lent: on which day the Church vseth to sing that parte of the Gospell, where it is said: *Loue your* Math. 5. *enemies*, and therefore they iudge the Portugals to be like themselues, and they esteeme them to be of the same nature and disposition as they are . Both the one and the others hatred may well be seene by that which *Charles* the fift said one day to the Coronell *Ferras* a Portugall: who in the warres betweene the said Emperour and *Fraunces* the first king of Fraunce, did serue on the French partie against the Imperialistes . The warres being ended, and peace concluded betweene those two Princes, the Portugall retiring himselfe into his countrey, did passe by the way of Castile, where he went to visite the said *Charles* the fift, who knewe him verie well, and did loue him for his valour: and doing him great honour in his court, he stayed him there for certaine daies with him: during which time, as he was one day deuising with him verie familiarly, he vsed this speech vnto him: *Captaine Ferras*, I would gladly knowe, what should be the cause, that made you to follow the partie of the French against mee, seeing we are of one & the same Nation: for albeit you be a Portugall, and I a Castellian; yet are wee both Spaniards . The Coronell made him this aunswere: Sir, when the Portugals do trauell abroad out of their own countrey, whether they be rich or poore, their only end and scope is, to get them honour and reputation. ”

*Speech of  
Charles the .5.  
with Captaine  
Ferras a Por-  
tugall.*

For mine own part, I had the meanes to liue honestly  
 in my countrey, like a Gentleman: neuerthelesse, being  
 resolved to see the world, I began to cast my account  
 with my selfe, what course I were best to take. Hauing  
 made my reckening, I conceiued with my selfe, that  
 I should purchase me more honour by bearing Armes  
 against the greatest Captaine of the world, then in ta-  
 king of his part to serue against any other; and for  
 this cause I tooke Armes against your Maiestie. The  
 Emperour smyling said: I belecue, that this is not the  
 cause, but rather the old rancour and hatred which  
 the Portugals beare to the Castillians. The Portugall  
 aunswered him againe in great choller: Sir, I sweare  
 vnto your Maiestie; that neither for good, nor for bad,  
 I trouble not my minde with the Castillians, not so  
 much as to thinke of them. The Emperour making  
 semblance, as though this aunswere did content him,  
 did embrace him manie times and often: but he iud-  
 ged of the Portugall, as his affection led him: for he  
 had enough of the bloud of a Castillian by his mothers  
 side, to make him to hate him: *A little leauen &c.*  
 And thus may you see the vntueth of *Conestagio*: his  
 historie is well written, & in a good style, but most false  
 and full of passion; for he both reprehendeth and iniu-  
 rieth all those of whom he speaketh: yea, euen king  
*Philip* himselfe in whose fauour he wrote it: and for  
 this cause principally, it was forbidden in Portugall.  
 But leauing *Conestagio*, now that we haue shewed how  
 the Castillian Nation is much more maligne and per-  
 uerse then all the other people of Spaine, I will tell  
 you one thing worthie to be noted ere wee proceede,  
 which doth more nearely touch the Portugall Nation  
 then

An excellent  
 answere of a  
 Portugall to  
 Charles the  
 first.



then any of the rest: that is, that all those Nations generally are so desirous of libertie, that they do seeke by all meanes possible to obtaine it, being readie to receive euen the diuels themselves, if they would be readie to further and fauour them in the same. And yet, if any strange Nation should passe into Spaine to anie other end, they would vse the vttermost of their endeouours to stop their passage, & to hinder their entrance; making little or no reckening of their liues, and much lesse of their goods and substance. When I do speake of causing strange Nations to passe into Spaine, I must tell you thus much: that they shall be much more welcome, and finde better entertainment of the peoples of the countrey, when they shalbe mingled manie and diuers Nations together, then if one should go thither alone: for that this diuersitie will take from them all conceipt & suspition which they might otherwise haue, that their comming were to make a conquest of their countrey, & not to procure their libertie & freedom: and so they would vndoubtedly receive them ioyfully and with all assurance. In like manner, if the tyrant should commaund them to go to the warres out of their own countrey, especially, if it were for their religion, they would serue him more faithfully then did *Auila & Simancas* in Castile, or *Celorico* and the castell of *Coimbre* in Portugall. For prooffe hereof, you may remember, how in the yere 1588. the king of Castile in his Fleet & armie by sea, that came vpon the coast of France, sent two Regimēts of Portugals, ech of them consisting of 800. men or thereabouts. These forces (notwithstanding, that in regard of his vsurpatiō of the countrey they were enemies to him) yet hauing promised to serue him faithfully in this voiage, in the fight which they had

*The meaning hereof is expounded in the end of this Treatise. The loyalty of the Portugals.*

Portugall Colonels in the Armie of the yeare 1588.

against the Englishmen and Flemings, they did make such prooffe of their valour, that they did farre excell all the rest of the armie, in prowesse & deedes of armes: and they alone, did more for the seruice of the King of Castile, then all the residue of his allies; in so much, that there was none of them, (who had commaund and gouernement in the armie,) that were receiued with honour by the king Catholike, saue onely the Portugall Colonels: namely *Gasper de Sousa*, and *Antonie Perera*. The which *Perera*, before that time had serued and fought most valiantly for the defence of the libertie of his countrey, and for the seruice of his true and naturall king, against the said king of Castile, at such time as he entred into Portugal with a mightie armie to inuade it.

Marquise of Favare.

In the yeare 1582. when *Don Aluar de Bassana*, Marques *de Santa Cruce*, did encounter vpon the sea with the Lord *de Stroce*, those which fought best, & shewed themselues most valiant, was the Marques *de Favare*, a Portugall most true and faithfull to his countrey, and to his king: and by whose counsell and aduertisements, a certaine great and excellent seruitor of the estate, and of the king *Don Antonio*, had his life preferued, besides certaine other gentlemen his countrymen.

The taking of the Reuenge of England.

Who tooke the ship called the Reuenge, belonging to the Queene of England? euen *Don Lewes Coutigno*, a Lord of Portugall, who before time had bene most true and faithfull to his countrey: and for the defence of his king, fighting against the Duke *de Alua*, had receiued many mortall wounds in the battel of *Alcantara*, the same day that Lisbon was lost, which was in the yeare 1580. and the 26. of August.

And for the more distinct and cleare demonstration of

of the truth of this matter, I will recite vnto you a most true History. In the yeare 1589 *Don Anthony* king of Portugall accompanied with the Englishmen and Hollanders, made a voyage into Portugall, and casting anchor in the hauen of Penicha, they of the Castell began to play with their Ordinance vpon the army: but the Captaine of the Castell *Antonio de Aravio* a Portugall, being ascertained that the king *Don Antonio* was in that army, he forbad the Cannoniers to shoote any more, and caused a white ensigne to be put forth; vpon sight whereof *Don Antonio* commanded that euery man should go on shoare, and take their way towards the towne: the which they did, not without some resistance made by certaine companies of Castillians: who in the ende were forced to retire with the losse of some of their people. The first that arriued to the Towne, was the Countie of Essex, a Prince of the bloud Royall of England, & one that was adorned with many morall vertues. This Lord comming to speake with the Captaine of the Castell which was vpon the wall, one of his company sayd: My Lord the Earle of Essex is come hither by the commandement of the Queene of England, in whose name he commandeth to haue the Castell rendered vnto him. The Captaine answered him; *Philip* king of Castile hath committed the keeping of this Castell vnto me, and for the same I haue done him homage: in regard whereof I will defend it against all those that shall seeke to dispossesse me of it: and I will not yeeld it vp to any person faue to the king *Don Antonio*: because his it is, and I acknowledge him onely for my king and Lord: and if hee bee not in this army, as hath beene tolde me that hee is, I would aduise that euerie man doe retire himselfe, otherwise I shall cause you all to

The yeelding  
of the Castle of  
Peniche,

loose your liues. Vpon this word the County of Essex retired him selfe to the sea side, and there went to meete him the Lords *Scipio de Figueyredo Vascoucelles* late gouernour of the Terceras, and *Anthony de Brito Pimentell*, and other Gentlemen Portugals of the kings traine, who vnderstanding by the Count the speech of the Captaine, went on directly to the Castel, & assured the Captaine that the king *Don Anthonio* their Lord was come thither. Within a while after the King arriuing there, & calling the Captain, who knew him by his speech, he made him this answer: Sir, I come to open the gates vnto your Maiesty. The port being opened, he kneeled downe before the King and kissing his hands, deliuered him the keyes of the Castel. This is most true, that if he would haue held good, the English army had not bin able to haue taken that Castell, it was so well furnished and prouided of artillery, & all things necessary. For besides great store of Iron peeces, there were fourscore and fiue of brasse.

All these examples do shew euidently, how faithfull the Portugals are to them, to whom they haue once promised and plighted their faith and fidelity. And for as much as I know that your Maiesty hath conceiued an opinion of me, as of a person giuen to bee somewhat curious, & who is acquainted with the accidents which passed in this voyage: and that your Maiesty hath a desire to vnderstand what was the cause why *Don Anthonio* did not continue in Portugall, & what made him to render vp this Castel, and other places which were impregnable, & to returne into England with his army, without doing any other act of any worth, & with the losse of the greatest part of his company, with which he was embarked: I will ( Sir ) briefly recount vnto you the successe of  
this

this iourney, craving manie particularities: because to count them all, it wold require much more time then is requisite for the finishing of this Treatise. I say then that as God, when he chasteneth & humbleth great estates & monarchies, doth suffer and permit, for the sinnes of the peple, such as are like *Pharaos*, *Nabuchodonozors*, *Caligulaes*, *Neroes*, & *Dioclesians*, vsing thē as his executioners & hangmē (as *Attila* called himself the scourge of God, and *Tamerlan* the wrath of God:) so it seemeth he hath permitted, that king *Philip* shoud be his minister & the executioner of his wrath & anger: and that in his secret iudgement, beyond all apparance of humane reason, his will is not yet that Portugall should be deliuered & set at libertie: for it is not possible, that men should bee so blinded to their owne losse & destruction, as they were in this voyage, if the diuine puissance had not blinded them, by taking away the vse of their sence & vnderstanding. The greatest part of the Armie was embarked at *Douer* the 24 of March, and from thence went to *Plimouth*, from thence they departed all together the 29 of Aprill: at which time perceiuing their numbers to be greatly diminished, by the contagion that was amongst them, in stead of taking the direct way to Portugall, they set their course for the *Groine*, where the most part of the souldiers died, & all the best Canoniers: in so much that their forces were much abated, & they gaue thereby good leasure vnto the enemy, both to send fresh mē into *Lisbon*, & to draw out of Portugal those who were any way suspected: as they did indeed take from thence more thē 100 Lords & Gentlemē of marke, who were al of thē very cōtrary to him, & by their absēce wer greatly missed, both of their K. & cūtry. They came to the *Groin* the 6. of May, where they were till the 20, on which day

The declaratiō  
of the Portu-  
gall voyage in  
the yeare 1589

Noble men ta-  
ken out of  
Potugal by the  
Castilian.

they did againe take shipping, and set saile towards Portugall, where they tooke land at *Penicha* the 26. From thence (having left in the Castle certaine souldiers with *Anthonie de Brito Pimentell* aboue named ( who is the chiefe of the house of the *Pimentels* of Spaine) & about eight hundred sick men) they took their way (the Generall *Drake* by sea, and the Lord Generall *Norris* by land) with 35 or 40 horse, and some 6000. foot, so ill armed, that a good part of them wanted their swords, and there was not of them aboue fiftie Corislets: the cause whereof was, want of wagons and cariages, for to carie them ouer the land: and the souldiers themselues were constrained to carie their powder on their shoulders. Besides, manie of them at their departure out of their lodgings had left their pikes, and some their harquebuses, loading themselues with pots and bottels of wine, which they found there in great abouidance, the which in verie truth did the more hinder and endamage thē. For by meanes hereof they fell into diuerse diseases, & died in great numbers: the English nation not being accustomed to drinke wine alwayes, and their beere is not so strong a kind of drinke. The day following three leagues before their arriuall to a towne called *Loires Vedras*, the keyes of the Castle were brought to the king *Don Anthonio*: which Castle is so strong, that 20 men with necessary munitions may keep & defend it against a hūdred thousand. All the way along to Lisbon (which is threescore good miles) there was not one Castilian that durst appeare: and seuen horsmen English, did put to flight 60 Castilians. From thenceforth many Portugals came to kisse the hands of their king in great abundance: notwithstanding for that they came without armes, hauing bene before disarmed: and for that there

*Wine marreth  
all.*

was

was no body of whō they might get or haue any neither for loue nor money (howbeit that they brought with them good store of siluer purpofely to that effect) they did the most part of them returne againe to their owne houses: and there could not be armed of them aboue one thousand foot, and 120 horse with Launces & targets: notwithstanding that the number of them which came was in a maner infinite. Amongst whom there were many Gentlemen of good reckening, who (because they were not clothed in Veluet and Satin, but plainelie after the fashion of the countrey, were not knowne nor acknowledged by the strangers to bee of that qualitie. On the Friday the second of Iune, they came in the night time to Lisbon, and were lodged in the suburbs of Saint *Katherine*, which are so great, that there were aboue 12000 persons of the Armie lodged there all at large, and yet they held not the third part thereof. The Officers of the king *Don Anthonio* found, that the marchandize in this suburbs was worth more then foure millions, to wit, spices, drugs, sugars, wines, flesh, corne, Biskets, and other prouisions: as Sir *Roger Williams* an English Colonell (who was in this armie) did witnesse afterwards in the towne of Manthu, in the presence of many persons of good quality: affirming that hee had entred into most of the houses of the said suburbs, with an English marchant which was come forth of the citie, and that the Marchandizes which he saw there, were worth aboue fixe millions. This suburbe is toward the West of Lisbon: in the which they were lodged contrarie to the resolution which they had before set downe in a Counsell held the day before, about 2 leagues from the citie; which resolution was, that they should haue encamped on the East side of the

*The armie ar-  
risseth at Lis-  
bon.*

*A great sub-  
urbs.*

*4. Millions of  
marchadize in  
the suburbs of  
Lisbon.*

*6. Millions.*

citie for two reasons: one was to hinder the enemy, that they should not haue any succours by land: for that the armie by sea being on the West side, and the sea vpon the South side, and the mountaines of *Sintre* on the North side, they could not possiblie haue anie intelligence from anie part. The other reason was, for that being in that quarter, on the East side, they should cleare and free the way for the good people of Portugall to come and to haue recourse vnto their king. Now in that they tooke vp their lodging on the West part, was an occasion that the enemy might safelie and at pleasure fallie out of the towne with two hundred horse, who slew and tooke prisoners many Portugals, and a great quantitie of victualles which were sent by the townes that tooke part with the king: and they were an hindrance also to many others that they could not come to ioyne with him. The Saterdag following, the third of Iune, about two or three howers after midday, there issued out of the citie about two hundred horse & eight hundred foot; some of the which entring within the streets of the suburbs, and crying aloud, God saue the king *Don Anthonie*, they came euen vnto one of the courts of Guard, and there slue to the number of thirteene or fourteene, for that they were lodged in the street without any Baricados made for the fortifying of their lodgings. Notwithstanding the Portugals which followed the king, hauing discovered them to be Castilians and not Portugals, did giue the Alarme so hotlie, that a regiment of Englishmen with certaine Portugals making out towards the enemy, did charge him with that fury, that they made them betake themselues to plaine flight, and slue of thē vpon the place fixe score: besides that they tooke 40 or 50 of their horses; and the

A sally of the  
Castilians.

The great negligence of the  
officers of the  
armie.

The repulse &  
flight of the  
Castilians.

fight



flight of the Castilians was so hastie & headlong, that in their entrie into the citie, they left the gate of *S. Antan* wide open. In this encounter died an English Cavalier, Colonel of a regiment named *Bret*, a braue man, and of great experience in the arte Militarie. Now for that the Generall *Drake* did not enter within the port or hauen of the citie vntill the Sunday following (as was before resolued he should haue done:) and for that also the most part of the souldiers had neither match nor powder left, saue only for the discharge of some two or 3. volley of shot, the Lord Generall *Norris* was constrained to raise the siege, and to retire his forces the Monday morning, without anie other thing attempted against the citie: within the which the Portugals did expect to haue seene the ladders raised vp against the walles, for to haue made an assault vpon the Castilians. And for this verie cause the same day that the Campe did rise, *Don Rodrigo Lobo*, a Gentlemā issued of an honorable house, & brother to the Baron *de Aluito* (which is the only Baron in Portugal, & a great Lord) was made prisoner and lost his head. The same monday being the 5 of Iune, the armie came to *Cascais*, frō whēce they of the armie made certain sallies against the enemy, who were so terrified, that 50 Musquetiers English, and 7 horsmen Portugals made 200 horse Castiliās to dislodge frō a village within a league and a halfe of *Cascais*, & to flie to Lisbon in such post haste that they left behind them part of their Armes and baggage, and their dinner ready dressed. After that (the Castle of *Cascais* being rendred) the King and the Generals in a counsell held the twelue of the same moneth about noone (whereat were present the Count *de Essex* with manie other Lords and all the chiefe Commaunders of the Armie) they

The siege raised frō before Lisbon.

The hope of the Portugals.

Don Rodrigo de Lobo executed by the Castilians in Lisbon.

The Castell of Cascais rendred to the King.

A Councell  
held to returne  
to Lisbon.

The victorie  
at the Groine.

resolved to returne againe to the Citie of Lisbon the day following, which was the day of Saint *Anthonie*, a Portugall by birth, surnamed Saint *Anthonie* of *Padoa*: and their resolution was thus set downe; That the Lord Generall *Norris* with all such souldiers as were sound and lustie should march by land, and in his companie should be the king: and that the Generall *Drake* with the mariners, and all the hurt and sicke souldiers, and such Gentlemen as were not able to march by land, should go by sea: And to put the enemy in the greater disorder and confusion, they should cause to passe on the other side of the sea 300 Portugals and 100 English. Which if they had put in execution, without all doubt they had gained the Citie, notwithstanding that there were within it more then foure thousand Castilians: who had conceived a notable feare of the English and Portugals which were with the king, & they of the Citie likewise as knowing well that at the Groigne 800 English with 200 Hollāders & a few Portugals had defeated 10000 of their people amongst whom there were some thousand olde souldiers which lay there, and were the remainder of the Armie by sea, set forth the yeare before: besides the Countie *de Andrada*, the Countie *de Altamira*, & the Deane of *S. James de Cōpostella*, & many other Gentlemen: insomuch that they of the citie had resolved, that assoone as they should see the Fleet & sea forces of the English to passe the Tower of Bethleem, or the Armie by land to giue an assault vnto the Citie, the Cardinall of Austria would haue embarked himselfe with all his people to passe on the other side of the sea: and for this purpose they held all the Gallies, and many barkes in a readinesse to set saile. Amongst which there were many hired for 300 duckats for

for the passage of three leagues only. This counsell being ended, and *Drake* himselfe, being a borde the ship called the *Reuenge*, did set saile about three houres after noone, and tooke his course towards Lisbon. Some thought that he went to see the Channell of *Alcaccua*, which is an entrie into the Hauen, by which men do commonly vse to passe, which would auoid the danger of the Tower of *S. Iulian*, because in this counsell (where had bene called many old Pylots Portugals, who were verie expert and well acquainted in that sea) it was resolved, that the Fleet and sea forces should enter that waie for their more suretie: besides that at that time there was water enough for them, by reason of the conjunction of the Moone: and the winde also was verie fauourable vnto them. Notwithstanding *Drake*, when it grewe towards euening, turned the head of his ship to the Westward, by reason he was aduertised, that there passed by a Fleete of thirtie saile of Esterlings: of the which he tooke 25. or 26. But this hindered the resolution formerly taken; so as it sorted not to that effect which was purposed. And it constrained the Lorde Generall *Norris*, the King, and the Earle of *Essex*, to embarke themselues the daie following, and to take the Sea, where they met with *Drake* the Frydaie following.

Tower of S.  
Iulian.

*Drake* taketh  
the Sea, con-  
trarie to the  
resolution ta-  
ken in counsell.

The embar-  
king of the ar-  
mie for Eng-  
land.

I suppose that this short Discourse ( which I haue here set downe, without specifying of any other the particularities of this expedition ) will suffice to satisfie the desire of your Maiestie, and to shewe the cause, why there was nothing done in Portugall; and that Gods will was not as yet to re-establish her by the meanes of this voiage. And I saie more ouer, that the

The reason  
why so many  
faults were  
committed in  
the English  
Armie for  
Portugall.

principal cause, why so many faults and ouersights were committed, & that nothing was performed or put in execution (according as had bene resolved in councell, was, because this armie was leuied by merchants, whereas in matters of this kind, Princes only ought to employ themselves, & that with a settled & aduised deliberation: in such sort, that there ought not any name of an armie to be vsed, but by & from them onely: and they ought to haue more interest therein then any other, & ought to be at the whole & only costs & charges both of leuying & maintaining of al armed forces. And last of al, to them alone doth belong the choise and election both of the Heads & leaders, & of one Generall & chief commaunder: vnto whom, as to the Soueraigne, all the others should be subiect & obedient. See then the reason why the Lo. Generall *Drake* (being named & sent by merchants (who were most engaged in this voyage) did frame himselfe to do that which they would, & what came into his own braine & fancie, rather then that which the other Lo. Generall *Norris* did well & wisely aduise and counsell him, who was a man of singular experiēce, wisdom & vnderstanding, as well in politike gouernment, as in deeds of Armes, & all matters of warfare. For this worthie Lo. did striue & labor by all meanes conueniēt to haue made a longer abode in Portugall, both in the quarters of Lisbon & elsewhere: but after that the army had once set saile, the said Lo. Generall *Norris* could not frō thence forward by any intreaties perswade *Drake* to set foot on land againe in Portugall, & not so much as to take one citie, wher it was welknown that there was not any forces, nor any resistāce made: neither was there any meane for the enemy either to haue succored it, or after the taking thereof, to besiege it for one yere at the least.

Besides

Besides that, with the same it is most certaine that they might haue found in gold, siluer, silkes, & clothes, more thē a million of duckats. Moreouer the said place might easily haue bin fortified, & by that meanes might haue cōmanded many other places: & afterwards mony being sent into France, Englād, Hollād, & other parts, they might haue leuied & led thither aboue 50000 souldiers sooner, then the enemy could haue gotten together five thousand. And this I thinke will suffice for your Maiesty, to vnderstand that which you desire in this behalfe.

But now let vs returne to the purpose which we had in hand. We haue said that by this one example it may easily be perceiued, how faithfull and loyall the Portugall nation is to them, vnto whom they do once promise faith and loyalty: and therefore God graunt that they do not accord nor vnite thēselues to the Castilian: and that neither your Maiesty, nor the other Princes & Potē. tates of Europe do not cōsent nor permit them to do it, nor doe giue them occasion to loose the hopes which they yet haue of their liberty. And you ought not to attend or stay vpon the death of *Philip*: for it may bee that the Portugall will more easily accord with the son thē with the father. And further as the Monarchy of the Castilian is neither gouerned nor conserued with the sword, but by good and sage counsel: so albeit he should die, yet the same Counsell continueth & remaineth still. Besides, for these many yeares of late, it hath bin gouerned without his presence: & therefore there is litle or no hope for any great change or alteration by his death.

Now of what great waight & importāce this matter wil be, *Don Francisco de Iuara* (the father of *Don Diego de Iuara* lately Embassadour at Paris during the league) did confesse and make knowne vnto a Frēch Gentleman

at Madrill in the yeare 1579. The Gentleman is yet li-  
 uing, and can testifie the truth of that which I will now  
 tell you. The sayd *Frauncis* demaunding of that Gentle-  
 man (who was then newly come from Barbary, where  
 the late king had sent him for certaine of his affaires)  
 what newes hee brought out of that countrey; his aun-  
 swer was: That the Moores were in a notable feare by  
 reason they had intelligence that the king Catholike did  
 leaue a great army to passe into Barbary, to reuenge  
 the death of his nephew, the king *Don Sebastian*. Where-  
 unto the sayd *Frauncis* replied: It is not amisse that the  
 Moores should bee in feare: but it were more meete  
 that the king your maister did vnderstand to what ende  
 this Army is leuied: for in very deede it is for Portu-  
 gall. And if the king Catholike my Lord, do make him-  
 selfe maister of that Realme, as he verily hopeth (for  
 he holdeth it in a maner as already wrought and practi-  
 sed) he will bring to passe that not only the most Chri-  
 stian king shall bee inferiour and tributary vnto him,  
 but also all the other Princes of Europe shall be subiect  
 vnto him: and the Pope with all the Court of Rome,  
 shall doe nothing but what seemeth good vnto him.  
 Because hauing added vnto his Empire the Monarchy  
 of Portugall, who can be able to resist him? For this rea-  
 son it will concerne the most Christian king, and all o-  
 ther Christian Princes, to ioyne themselues together, as  
 in a common cause, for that otherwise the king my mai-  
 ster will make himselfe Lord and the vniuersall Mo-  
 narch of all the world, whereby they shall be his sub-  
 iects, and wee shall bee his slaues and vassalles per-  
 petually.

This that we haue here left recited, doth' proue that  
 which was before spoken: and therefore to returne to  
 the

The speech of  
 a Spanish  
 noble man to a  
 French gentle-  
 man.

The most Chri-  
 stian king and  
 all the Prin-  
 ces and Poten-  
 tates of Eu-  
 rope haue great  
 reason to hin-  
 der that the  
 Portugals doe  
 not accord  
 with the Casti-  
 lians, and that  
 they give them  
 no occasion to  
 lose the hope  
 of their liberty.

the matter in hand: I say in the fift and last place, that whensoever a great & puissant armie shall be raised to passe into Spaine, be the charge neuer so great, if it do nothing els then wast & spoile the couñtre, & take some fewe cities & townes; and if in regard thereof the Castilian be enforced to call home his forces (which he holdeth in these parts of Europe for his owne defence, though the comming of those his forces should cause our armie to retire, yet I should hold this for a verie great benefit; because that which cannot now be done with an hundred, will then be done with ten men, and the charge & expences wil be still lesse and lesse. But it may be, that some one of your Maiesties subiectes will say vnto me, that this is a matter of great difficultie, & at this time especially verie hard to be done: for that hauing the enemy here at hand, euen at our backes, there were small reason for vs to transport our forces into foraine parts. This is a good doubt, & may be some trouble to men of a shallow & small vnderstanding, and such as haue little iudgement to discourse vpon the state of matters: but to them which know the depth & ground of things, it will carrie no apparance of danger. But to the intent the trueth may the better appeare, let vs reason together ech with other by way of demaunding and answering, as is vsed in the Schooles. *The Subiect*. Be it so if you please, for I will heare you with a right good will. *The Pilgrim*. Saie then, what is it that you thinke will endamage you? *Subiect*: The enemy with his forces and with his intelligences. *Pilgrim*. But if you finde a meane to disneast him from hence, who then can hurt you afterwards? *Subiect*. No bodie. *Pilgrim*. Do then as I haue told you, and without doubt the enemy wil be gone from you. *Subiect*. That cannot be.

*A discourse of reasoning betweene the Authour & a Frenchman touching the passing of an Armie into Spaine.*

*Pilg.* Wherefore? *Sub.* Wherefore, say you? How would you, that we should go into a strange & foraine countrey to warre vpon others, & leaue our own countrey in the power & puifface of our enemies? If we send our forces into Spaine (as you would perswade vs) we should be vtterly vndone, as I haue giuen you to vnderstand. *Pilg.* Good God, how are you without iudgement & vnderstanding? Take that which I tel you, as I speake it, & not as you conceiue it, & answer me to one question categorically. If there were now an armie raised to go into Spaine, to the making whereof, let Fraunce spare some 4. or 5. thousand men: England, 3 or 4 thousand: the Estates of Holland, Zeland, Freezland, & all the rest of their Allies, 2. or 3. thousand, besides ships, of which they haue great store: and let some other Princes, Potētates, & Cōmon-weales, disburse some proportiō of money, for the aiding & furthering of this enterprife: & to these adde 3 or 4 thousand Swissers or launce-knights: & then tel me, shal Fraunce be vnprovidid? or shal England be dispeopled? or shal the Estates be vnfurnished of men & shipping, & without meanes to keepe the seas? or shall the other Princes & commonweales be reduced to such miserie, that they shalbe vnable to hold their ordinary course in their affaires & proceedings? *Sub.* No: I think not so. *Pilg.* Why then do you not that which concerneth you so neere, & wherof depēdeth the whole & onely remedie of your mischiefe & miserie, & wherein you for your part, haue a greater interest then any of the rest. *Subiect.* Mary sir: to make vp these 4 or 5 thousand men which you speak of; there must be had good store of money, which the king hath not, & shall as hardly get, as they which haue it, wil be loth to depart with it. *Pilg.* O how blind is this people! & how deuoid of counsell & prudēce is this natiō! O that they would be wise, & that they



they would vnderstand, & prouide for things to come. Our town, which the enemy may take to morrow next, doth it not import vs more then 300000 crowns, which is the most that we shall neede for the furnishing of 4 or 5. thousand men? If after the taking of Laon, & the reducing of so many good townes, there had bin employed 200000 crownes, which are demaunded for this enterprise, it may be, you should haue had by this time more then 3 millions in your purse, and you should not haue lost all these townes of so great import; Cambray, Dourlan, Calys, Ardes, Amiens, & many other places, with your great Admirall: & so many braue gentlemē & Captaines which are now dead, would stil haue liued to speak in French. Moreouer, do not excuse your selfe & saie for your discharge, that a man cannot deuine what will follow: for you haue bene too too much forewarned of matters as they haue fallen out, & they haue in a manner bene pointed out vnto you: and there is yet liuing a Lord, one of the Councell, who at Fountain Belleau in May 1595. did by all meanes he could possibly deuise, perswade the vndertaking of this enterprise; alleaging so manie reasons & so euident, that he plainly shewed, how greatly it did import Fraunce to make a voiage into Portugall: but you would not vnderstand, nor so much as giue eare vnto him: *Thy destruction is of thy selfe, O Israell.* Is not this true? answer me. *Sub.* I confesse it; there is nothing more true: and at Cambray, Calis, & Amiens we haue lost so much, as it is a mockerie to speak of 3 millions, for that the moucables of Calis only were worth more then a million, and those of Amiens much more. And if the enemy should hap- pento possesse those two places any long time, the game would soone cost vs more then 13. Millions. *Pilg.* Now then, if you confesse thus much, & do know

what the issue & effect of this matter will be, as you say: why do you not that which concerneth you so much, & is so necessarie for you? *Sub.* Seeing you do presse me so farre, I will tell you without hiding any of our thoughts from you. The cause is, for that we are unwilling to hazard & set vp the rest of our estates vpon the sayings, & vpon the opinions of a Nation that is passionate & in miserie: but we hold it better, to defend our owne aswel as we may, rather then to expose all to vtter ruine & destruction: for to what purpose will it be to send 12. or 15. thousand men into Spaine, where there is so great a multitude of people? We cannot beleue that there can come so great good of such a iourney, as you in the beginning of your Treatise would perswade vs: and all the world doth both think & speake no lesse; affirming, that it is only the desire of those (who are tyrannized & in bondage, and do long to see their countrey deliuered frō that tyrannicall seruitude) which doth make all things to seeme and appeare easie to be done. *Pil.* O that it would please God to open the eyes of your vnderstanding, that you might know your selues, & that you might be able to discerne the good from the ill, the sweet from the sower, and the black from white. It must needes be a great grieffe vnto the Phisitions, when they see that their patients are wilful & obstinate, because in the curing of them, there is neither reason nor counsell which wil seeme pleasing or agreeable vnto them. And in verie truth, I do assure you, that I hold it in a manner impossible for any man (be he neuer so sage, or quick & cleere sighted) to perceiue the thousandth part of the grieffe & sorrow which I endure to see you (my masters) euē you of Fraunce so obstinate, as that you wil neither conceiue, nor so much as vnderstand, that whereon your  
whole

*Notes.*

whole safetie and deliuerance doth depend: that you are so inclined to follow a track or by-path, which wil throw you downe headlong to a most miserable ruine, out of which there will be no recouerie. But seeing I haue gained so litle in speaking to you in particular, & that euery man doth talke of these matters in publike, I will now therefore turne my speech to the whole world.

First, I say, that it is very hard and difficult to put in execution anie matter of great waight and importance, without indangering of some things of like kind and nature; and a man cannot gaine or purchase anie thing without some great hazard and aduventure. If marchants should not aduventure their goods vpon the seas, and commit them to the mercie of tempests and pyrates or enemies, they would not make such great gaine and commoditie as we see them to do daylie: neither should kings and Princes haue need of so many officers, or of so many customers: and the excessiue profite which men make both for themselues, aswell as for their countrie wold soon cease: neither would they so prodigally spend & bestow their goods & their liues, in running into so many dāgers for the discovering of lands so far scattred & remoued frō thē. If all this be done for the gaining of 10, 15, or 20, for 100, how much more ought you to do it to redeem & deliuer your selues frō so great trouble & calamity, & frō so many dangers which do threaten and menace you? And if you cast your account wel, you shal find that you gaine more then 100 for one. Thus much concerning the first point of your speech. And whereas you spake of people passionate & in misery: I cannot forget it, but I must & will answer you to that point also. O how it would reioice me, if you would vnderstand, that this is but the malice of the diuell and his followers, to

*To gaine any  
thing there  
must be much  
hazarded.*

make mē beleue, that that which is told thē (howsoever it be founded vpon truth and reason, and those aduertisements which are giuē thē for their good and benefit (& which were needfull for thē to receiue and imbrace) do proceed only of passion: to the intent he may by meanes hereof hinder and withdraw them from all good actions, and bring them to vtter ruine and destruction.

*The condition of the assailant farre differeth from that of the defendant.*

*That it is necessarie to passe with an armie into Spaine.*

Secondly, it is most certaine, that the cōdition & estate of thē which are defendāts, is much more miserable thē that of the assailants, because for to defend themselves they shall need greater store of men and forces, then to assaile their enemies. The reason: for that those which stand vpon their defence, do not know vpon what side the enemy will assault them: and they which do assaile, do know well where the enemy holdeth his principall force and strength for his defence. For example; suppose that the enemy put within *Amiens* 100 horse only, and 4 or 5000 foot: now for you to defend your selfe from thē, it will be needfull that you do place good & strong garrisons in *Abbeville, Eu, Diep, Roan, Gisors, Gournay, Pontoise, Beaumont, Senlis, Compiègne, Han, S. Quintin, Peronne, Corbie, Bologne, Montreil, S. Esprit de Ru, Beauuoy, Clermont*, and many other places, if you would not see your selfe ruined: but assaile your enemy, and then shall you haue the aduantage. March therefore into Spaine, and you shall haue peace at your pleasure, otherwise you shall haue it with shame and dishonor, and you will in the end repent you, that euer you spake of peace. If you stand here at home vpon your owne defence, you seeke your owne ruine and perdition: if you go thither to assaile him, you shall ruinate and destroy him. Let the multitude of examples which are euery where in all histories learne you to be wise; consider wel I beseech you, that

that which *Scipio* (one of the most prudent and greatest Captains of the world) said vnto the Romanes: who had lost three great battailes against *Hanniball*: There is great difference and ods (said he) between spoyling and praying vpon the country of the enemy, and to see our owne flaming with fire, and spoyled, and ranfackt by our enemies. Moreouer, he which assaulteth is more courageous then he which is put to his defence: ad hereunto, that the feare and astonishment is much the more and greater, where it is not foreseene and preuented. Now as soone as a man entreteth within the enemies countrie, he shall soone take knowledge both of the good & euil that may befall him therein, and he shall quicklie discover the commodities or the discommodities of the countrey. Remember well that which *P. Sulpitius* said vnto the Romanes, and take it to your selues, as if he had spoken it vnto you, to wit: That they had had good experience by that which was past, how their warres were alwaies more happie and fortunate, & their armies much more puissant in the countrie of the enemy, then in their owne. Hearken to the counsell which *Hanniball* gaue vnto *Antiochus*, and make your profite thereof better then he did: Assure your selfe that the countrie of the enemy will yeeld you souldiers, who desire their libertie: and will furnish you with victualles, and all commodities for your armie. Let the faults and ouerfights of others make you wise: do not do as *Cyrus* did, who cast himselfe away by contemning the counsel of *Cræsus*, and by not making any reckening of *Tomyris* his enemy. Take heede that you do not incurre more blame in this behalfe then all others, & it may be more deseruedly; because you haue euer, and do dayly, vse too too much to contemne, and not to regard your enemy.

*Scipio.**The Romanes.**Hanniball.**Speech of Scipio.*

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*Liv. Dec 4.**lib. 1.**Saying of P.**Sulpitius to the**Romanes.*

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*Idem Decad. 4.**lib. 4.*

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*Herodot.**Halicar. lib. 1.*

Certainly this is the first & principall cause of the ruine of all estates, when they contemne and set not by their enemies: and when they will not hearken to any thing that shall be alleadged to the contrarie. For the question is not now of entering into a foraigne countrie, to subdue and conquer it, or to get to be Lord and maister of it: but only to restore vnto libertie so many peoples and nations, who do crie and call for aide vnder the yoke and burthen of this tyrannie: and to deliuer your owne subiects from the armes of the enemy, who hath gotten footing in the best & goodliest prouince of your realme and kingdome. If you do not as I aduise you, I feare me, least to morrow they will take yet some other of your townes, and the next day another, and so afterwards at one blowe will seaze vpon all the rest. Take heed therefore to that which I tell you: I wold not haue you for the assaying of your enemy, to leaue your selues vndefended; but that in doing of one thing, you do not let passe another: because 4 or 5 thousand men which you may drawe out of Guyen, Landguedock, Dauphine, and other prouinces, will not bring you to any such want of men, but that you may haue meanes enough to defend your selues both in Picardie and elsewhere.

Two things do  
soone deprime a  
Prince of his  
crowne and  
scepter: cru-  
eltye, & licen-  
cious lining.

Thirdlie, to depriue a king from his Crowne & scepter, and to dispossesse him of his realms and dominions, when he is a tyrant, cruell, or of a wicked, licencious and lewd life, there needeth no great forces.

Two thousand men which *Charles* the 8. K. of Fraunce gaue vnto *Henry* Earle of Richmond his cosin german remoued (for he was the grand child of *Katherine* sister of *Charles* the 7 his grandfather, who had to her first husband *Henric* the fift king of England) were sufficient  
for

for the said Earle in passing ouer into England to gather together men inough to bid battell to *Richard* the 3<sup>rd</sup> in the which *Richard* was defeated and slaine most shamefully, by reason of his cruelty and tyranny.

*The cronicles of England.*

*Peter* king of Castile the son of *Alphonse* the *Iusticier*, for his tyranny & many cruelties which he committed, got the surname of cruel, & was for the same cause slaine by his brother *Henry* the bastard.

*The histories of Spaine.*

The cruelty which *Christierne* (the second of that name, brother in law to *Charles* the fift) vsed towards the principall & chiefe Nobles of Swethland, made him loose the sayd Realme, and consequently also the kingdomes of Denmarke & Norwaie, of which he was rightfull king and Soueraigne.

*Many histories.*

The kingdome of Spaine was taken from the King *Roderike*, a most loose and licentious Prince, only by 12 thousand Moores, whom the Earle *Iulian*, Captaine of the towne of Septa, procured from *Alit* king of Barbary: who in the yeare 713, passing into Spaine in Marchants ships, had for their Chiefe and Generall *Tarif Aben Zarca*, who being blind of one eye, gaue the name vnto the Towne of *Tarifa*, which was before called *Carteia*: and hauing destroyed the Towne of *Seuill*, did take and ruinate many others, both in the prouince of *Betica*, and in *Portugall*, and did ouerthrow in set battell a cousin of the sayd king *Roderike*, which *Roderike* himselfe afterwards assembling his forces vpon the riuer of *Guadelethe* on the seuenth of Iuly (or according to others) on the seuenth of September, in the yeare 714, did giue battell vnto the Moores: in the which he was overcome and vanquished, and immediatly after he lost almost all Spaine. The wicked life of this king was the only cause of this losse, and of the ruine of that kingdome, and

*The common history of Spaine.*

especially because he had dishonoured *Cava* the daughter of the said Earle *Iulian*, who vpon this occasion finding himselfe greuously outraged, gaue free entry vnto the Moeres by that towne of *Septa*, which is (as it were) the key of Affrique and Europe. Besides, he did serue for a guide vnto them in that their inuasion. At which time the said Moeres had very good & happy successe in their affaires in Spaine, by reason that they found the people not vsed nor accustomed to the warres, as they are not now at this day likewise.

*Antiochus* the Great, for his dissolute and disordinate life, at such time as he should haue set Greece at liberty, & haue made war vpon the Romaines, for the assurāce & security of his own Empire, was reduced to such termes, that he saw himselfe constrained in the end to accept peace of them, vpon such conditions as pleased them. And retiring himselfe out of Europe and Asia, he was glad to withdraw himselfe into a corner, as their vassall and tributary.

The annuals of  
Fraunce.

*Childericke* for his voluptuous liuing, and for seeking nothing but for his owne pleasures, lost the Crowne & kingdome of Fraunce. By all which examples, sufficing as well as 6000 moe, may be seene how little strength and small forces there do neede to trouble and ruinate the enemy in Spaine, which hath not at any time induced, nor had any Prince so tyrannous and cruell, nor of such wicked and licentious liuing.

Fourthly touching your incredulity, and the opinion which you haue, that the loue of a mans countrey doth easily deceiue them, and make the remedy of their miseries and seruitude to seeme easie: surely we may with good reason call this incredulity a blind inueiglement and darkenesse of vnderstanding: and therefore I  
come



come once againe to say as I haue sayd, and I do againe and againe aduise you, that to send a good and well conducted Armie into Spaine, will be the onely meane to resist and withstand the enemy, to breake the course of his desseignes, to beate downe his pride, and to destroy his puissance. And albeit that this may well be graunted to follow by that which hath beene aboue spoken, yet I will proue it by one other example onely, which being most true, maketh very much to our intended purpose.

*Henry* Count of *Trastamara*, the bastard sonne of *Alphonfus* the *Iusticier* by the aide of the French, had slaine the king *Don Pedro* his lawfull brother. Of this *Peter* there remained two daughters: the youngest *Isabell*, espoused *Edmond de Langley*, the fourth sonne of *Edward* the third king of England. This *Edmond* hauing gotten sundry victories in fauour of the Portugals (who accompanied him against the Castillians in Spaine) did manage those affaires with such prudence & wisdom, that he constrained the sayd *Henry* king of Castile to accept and receiue of *Fernand* king of Portugall (who was in a maner brought to vtter destruction, both he and his whole Realme) such conditions of peace as were most ignominious and dishonourable, and very preiudicial both to himselfe, his vassals and subiects. In regard of which his notable deedes and deserts, the sayd *Edmond* was afterwards made Duke of Yorke, by *Richard* the second king of England his nephew, the sonne of *Edward* the Blacke Prince his eldest brother, in a Parliament holden at Westminster in the yeare of Christ 1386. Of these two *Edmond* and *Isabell*, descended the Queene of England likewise named *Isabell*. The

The histories  
of Castile,  
Portugall,  
England,  
&c.

other daughter being the eldest of King *Peter*, & called *Constance*, espoused *John* of *Gaunt* the third brother of the sayd *Edmond* both by father and mother, and Duke of Lancaster by his first wife *Blanche*, who had by him *Henry* the fourth, afterwards king of England, and two daughters, of which the eldest *Philip* was Queene of Portugall, the wife of *Iuan* the bastard. Of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Constance* was borne one only daughter called *Katherin*, of whom we shall hereafter make further mentiō.

*Guaribay lib.*  
*15. cap. 25.*

*The entry and  
invasion of the  
English, with  
the Portugals  
into Castile.*

*The amity of  
the French &  
English out of  
their owne  
Countreys.*

The sayd *John* of *Gaunt* in regard of his wife *Constance* did entitle himself king of Castile and Leon: and for the obtaining of his right to that kingdome, he passed from Gascoigne (which was then vnder the dominion of the English) into Spaine with 18 thousand footmen, and 2000 horse: where with the aide of the Portugals who were his good friends, he tooke the Groigne. From thence he went into Portugall, out of which he entred into Castile, marching euen to the city of Burgos, which was distant from the place of his departure more then 120 leagues. And from the time of his first arriual, hee tooke and made himselfe Lord of all the Cities, Townes, and Castles, which he found in his way: besides, such as being farther off, did come to render & yeeld themselves for very feare & terror. And he might easily haue passed on much further, if his people had not died, who by reason of their disorder which they kept, & by their ill rule and demeaning of themselves, were oppressed with extreame famine, whereof ensued this plague & pestilence amongst them. And they were reduced to such necessity of victuals, that they were constrained to haue recourse euen to the campe of their enemies (where then was in fauor of the king *John* of Castile, *Lewes* Duke of Burbō, accompanied with the French forces) of whom they demanded reliefe for the sustentation of their poore and wretched

wretched liues. The which being perceiued by *John* the bastard, then elected king of Portugall, he complained to the Duke of Lancaster, telling him, that he held it not good nor conuenient, that his souldiers shold go to entreate with the enemy, affirming that these might more endamage him then the others, & that therefore he shold immediatly recall thē, & forbid thē to haue any cōmunication, conference, or parley with any of the contrarie partie; otherwise, that he wold fight against thē altogether, & wold cause thē all to be put to the sword, the one for the loue of the other. *Thomas VValsingham*, an English Historiographer doth set it downe in these very words, & he sayth that the K. of Portugall had thē with him 4000 Portugals well armed.

*The valour  
of John the  
bastard king  
of Portugall.  
Thomas  
Walsingham.*

Some haue esteemed the saying of this Historiographer as very ridiculous, or as a meere *Exanado* only, but they are much deceiued: for these 4000 Portugals, ha- uing their K. for their Chiefetaine & leader, had bin sufficient to defeat 20000 Castiliās. The same K. with 5000, & so many Portugals, & 150 Englishmen, did defeat the sayd *John* K. of Castile, both of thē being present in person in the battel of *Aljibarot*, & put him to flight, hauing with him 34000 fighting men: of the which died vpon the place 12000, & there were of prisoners 10000 taken by 4000 and so many Portugals, & 1000 Englishmen, who remained maisters of the field: for there died in the fight about 1000 Portugals, & 500 English, who fought as if they had bin Lions.

*The valour of  
the Portugals.*

*An history  
worthy the  
marking.*

About the same time *Don Nunalvres Pereira* Cōstable of Portugall with 3000 footmen & 1000 horse defeated 25000 Castillians, and slue & tooke the principall and chiefe men of Castile.

*This historie  
is well worthy  
the marking,  
and the battell  
was called the  
battell of Val-  
verde.*

The same King before that he came to raigne, & after-

An honourable  
testimonie of  
the loyalty of  
the Portugals.

wards had many victories vpon his enemies, no lesse admirable thē that other, in so much that a certaine nobleman of Castile being in speech one day, & deuising with his king (which was the said *John*) he sayd vnto him, Sir: I cānot conceiue the cause why the king of Portugal with so few mē hath so often vanquished you, seeing that you haue alwayes had 5 or 6 against one of them. The K. answered him: the cause is, for that the K. of Portugall doth fight against me being accōpanied with his children, & I cōbat against him being accōpanied with my subiects: I am king & Lord of Castile, & he is king & Lord of the Portugals. Euen so did the valiant *Alphonsus Henriques* the first king of Portugall, begin to entitle himselfe king & Lord of the Portugals. This valor of the Portugals was not then at that time onely, but it hath still continued euen to this day: for wee our selues haue seene in the yeare 1580, how the king *Don Anthonio* with lesse then five thousand footmē Portugals, being but euen nouices in armes & yong soldiers, did defend himselfe for many dayes against more then 20000 old souldiers of the Duke *de Alva*.

In the yeare following on the twenty five of Iuly, being *S. James* his day, *Scipio de Figueiredo de Vasconcelles*, a Gentleman whose valour & fidelity is wel knowne, and of whom there is often mention made in histories, being Governour of the Iles of *Afflores*, he defended himselfe in plaine field with lesse then 400 Portugals, against more then a thousand Castillians, whom *Don Petro de Valdes* had made to take land in the Ile of *Terceiras*, neare to the city of *Angra*. The Portugals were no souldiers but merchanicall persons, handicrafts men, & labourers, and amongst them there were not ten Gentlemen: for the Governour had left them in the towne  
for

for the defence & gouvernement thereof. The Castilians were old soldiers, amongst whom (as is reported) there were two hundred men who had beene commanders in Armies of Castile: and they fought from foure houres after morning, till foure of the night: at which time they caused a great quantity of kine to be driuen downe from the mountaines, with the which they brake the rankes and order of the Castillians, to the intent they might come to hand strokes with them: and by this stratageme comming to the sworde they ouerthrew them. Some of the sayd Castillians saued themselues by swimming, manie were drowned, and there were buried by iust account 875. Of the Portugals were slaine by the hand of their enemies 15, and by the fall of a wall 6, and some hurt. The famous *Conestagio* doth recount this history otherwise, but falsely, howbeit that hee confesseth that there were slaine sixe hundred Castillians, and thirtie Portugals. But I haue heard what passed in this encounter, of many Gentlemen Spaniards, my countrymen, who were present at it, and especially of one that was borne in Valentia named *Don Gasper*, who saued himselfe by sea being sore hurt; and of a Drumme that was a Castillian, and of a Portugall borne in Villa Vicosa: the which two onely had their liues saued, being found vpon the sea shoare after the heate of the fight was past. There died one of the nephewes of the Duke *de Alva*, and one of the nephewes of the Marquis *de Santa Cruce*, and a nephew of the aboue named *Don Pedro de Valdes*, and that renowned *Philip Hartada* an Arragonnois, and seuentie more of such as were the eldest brethren of sundrie good houses, of whome a good parte were neere neighbours to *Salamanca*. To bee briefe there

A good stratageme.

A notable victory of the Portugals vpon the Castillians.

*Conestagio* 8. fol. 234. pag. 1.

there died all the flower of Castile: for that they seeing how Portugal was yeelded vnto the so easily, & hauing heard that the Isles were very rich, & that the East Indie flecte was like to fall into their hands: and being allured with the late sacke of the suburbs of Lisbon, which was valued at 3 Millions, they had embarked theselues for this seruice as cheerefully as if they had bin going to a wedding. This is a thing well knowne, that 4 or 5 yong Portugals from betweene 18 & 20 yeares of age, did at Lisbon with their swords and clokes only, make no account of a dozen of Castillians. By these reasons men may vnderstand, that that which *VValsingham* saith, is not a ridiculous thing, much lesse a *Brauado*. But returne we to that we had in hand.

Within a few daies after there came certaine Embassadors to the Duke of Lancaster, sent from the king of Castile, who in all humility did demaund to haue peace: but the Duke would not harken vnto them, notwithstanding hunger & the pestilence constraining him to retire into Portugall in the towne of Trancofo, they came againe to seeke him out, being sent thither vnto him the second time by the said *John K.* of Castile, with their former request: shewing vnto the Duke by many good reasons and arguments, the great profit which would ensue of a good peace made betweene them. Thereupon did the Duke giue them audience, & in the end did accord to their demaund, howbeit that it was full sore against his will. First because hee was giuen to vnderstand, that the king of Portugall was willing to haue it so. And secondly (which in effect was the thing that did most vrge him) because hee was aduertised, that the troubles and warres beganne afresh betweene the French and the English, and that there

*The Castillian  
demander  
peace of the  
Duke of Lan-  
caster in all  
humility.*

there were certaine seditions growen in England, by reason whereof he should not be able to haue any fresh succours from thence, whereof it seemed he had then great want: and the mortalitie which was in his armie did now threaten him, that hee should haue neede of a further supplie. The accord therefore was made betweene the king and the Duke in this sort: That *Henry* the eldest sonne of *John*, named Prince of Castile, should espouse *Katherin* the onely daughter of the said Duke & of *Constance* his wife: and that they two should succeed in the realmes of Castile & Leon, & other his seignories: that the king should endowe both the mother and the daughter (as he did) giuing to the mother the citie of *Guadalaiaara*, *Medina del Campo*, & *Ouiedo*: and afterwards being with her in the said towne of *Medina*, he gaue her *Huerta* also: and to the daughter for her dowrie he gaue the *Esturies*, making & naming her *Princesse*, and his sonne Prince of *Esturie*. And from that time forward, the eldest sonne of the *Castilliã* king hath alwaies borne and had the surname of this Principallitie, as of *Dauphine* in Fraunce the *Dolphine*. Besides it was covenanted, that he should giue vnto the Duke sixe hundred thousand franks of gold, for his returne into England, & fourtie thousand franks of yerely rent, during the liues of him and his wife. *John* of Castile accepted all these conditions, and that verie gladly: for albeit he had Fraunce, and the French men also on his side, & the king of *Aragon* likewise (with whose sister he had bene married, of whom was borne the said Prince *Don Henry* and *Fernand*, who was afterwards king of *Arragon*, against all right and equitie, and to the preiudice of the true and lawfull heires:) and had also *Charles* the third king of *Nauarre* to his friend: yet he knew neuerthelesse

The *Castilliã* constrained to receive conditions to his disadvantage.

All *Spaine* with the succors of *Fraunce* against *Portugall*, which gained notwithstanding.

The puissance  
of Portugall.

that hauing ciuill warres in his owne Realme, and Portugall his enemy: he should hazard the fortune of all his estates & dominions, of such power was the Realme of Portugall against all the rest of Spaine. This is most certaine and assured, that at all times and as often as Portugall shall haue the aide and fauour of France or of England, or of any other straunge Prince whatsoever, she will soone constrain the king of Castile (to whom it is as a bridle) to yeeld to reason, & to submit himselfe to the yoke, and to receiue such conditions as shall bee both dishonorable and preiudiciall. And those of the Duke had bene much more to his profit and aduantage in this accord, if the king of Portugall had bene willing thereunto: because hee hauing the sword in his owne hand, he might haue made partition of the countrey at his owne will and pleasure: he was the iudge, and did what seemed good in his owne sight. He that hath the sword may deuide the lands as he listeth. Therof it came to passe, that the Duke departed not very wel contented with the King, notwithstanding that hee had giuen him in mariage *Philip* his eldest daughter.

Plutarch in  
Apothege.

An exhorta-  
tion to the  
French King  
¶

Oh (Sir) that it would please your Maiesty to consider well this that I tell you, and to the which I would willingly perswade both your highnesse, and other the Princes and Potentates of Europe, and that you would once know your owne puissance: and being assisted by your neighbours, with their shipping, Gallions, & hardie mariners; with their artillery, munitions, and other furniture for the warres, and of which they haue great abundance, besides the ready forwardnesse, & willing desire which they haue to accompany you, as hath bene most apparant for these manie yeares: you shall finde  
that



that you alone haue men enough, and forces sufficient to make your selfe the iudge and arbitratour of these affaires : and holding the sworde fast and firmly in your hand, it will be in you, to make partition of the Realmes and Prouinces of Spaine : and you shall be able, not onely to take backe vnto your selfe, that which is belonging and appertaining vnto you, but you shall make them to render vnto euery man his owne. What greater honour? what greater felicitie can there be? Defend (Sir) your right, which for so manie ages you haue inherited from your predecessours. There wanteth not euen at this daie in your Realme, neither *Martelles*, nor *Pepins*, nor *Rowlands*, nor *Oliuers*, nor *Renaulds*. Insteede of the twelue Peeres of Fraunce, you are enriched with more then twelue hundred of the like. Your neighbours for one *Richard*, will furnish you with an hundreth : and their Allies will fit you with an *Ogier*, so fully adorned with all perfecti- ons, and so expert and well practized in the Art Militarie, and so followed with good and valiant Souldiers, that the Constables of Castile, the Counties *de Fuen- tes*, and the *Verdugos*, with all the residue of their companions, shall haue no oddes, nor aduantage of them.

This is the right & direct waie: this is the most certaine and most assured meane to haue a good and happy peace: euen by the strength of your own arme, without the vse & employment of any supporters. You shall giue lawes vnto your enemy, according to your owne will & desire : you shall force him to accept of such conditions as shall be profitable & comodious, not only to you & your own realm, but to your friends & allies also.

The qualitie  
of a good Ge-  
nerall.

What can the enemy do, if you should passe into Spaine with an armie well furnished of all necessaries? and being led & conducted by some Prince which may be chosen and named by your Maiestie for chiefe and Generall of the same, such a one as shalbe descended of some great and auncient house, and of noble bloud: and accompanied and adorned with such graces & rare giftes, as may easilie draw others without any difficultie or grudging, to submit themselves to his commaund; & one that shalbe able to gouerne with great prudence & wisdom? without doubt the enemy would hold himselfe vtterly forlorne and vndone, (as indeede he should be no lesse) and he would esteeme himselfe happie and well apaied, if we would suffer him to remaine Lorde of Castile: he would restore vnto your Maiestie, the realm of Nauarre & the surplus of that which he and his predecessors haue vsurped vpon Fraunce: vnto the most excellēt Duke of Loraine, he would restore the realmes of Naples, Sicily, Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, & such other seigniories as are dependants of the same: & the realme of Portugall, to whō of right it apertaineth. And he wold be brought to do reason vnto many other Princes, especially vnto the house of the Duke *de Nevers*, of the Duchie of Brabant, of Limbourg, of Lothier and of the towne of Antwerp.

If you should demaund of me, on what side it were most fit, commodious, and conuenient to enter into Spaine: I saie, that if you would enter by Nauarre (wherof his most Christian Maiestie, is the naturall and lawfull king) you should euen at this daie there finde the graund children of them which haue lost their liues & their goods for the seruice of his auncesters, and many others likewise who do loue and desire him, as their  
rightfull

rightfull king and Lord, and will incurre all worldly hazards and daungers for him, especially hee being turned true and perfect Catholike. If by Arragon, the wounds thereof are yet so fresh, that the bloud thereof doth yet euen now seeme newly to abound. If by Portugall, the sores are yet open in the quicke flesh, and remaine altogether vnhealed, and that with such grieffe and dolor, that euen those verie hands which shold offer to touch them (though it were to remedie them) would make the to quake and tremble: for,

*Horrent adnotas vulnera cruda manus.*

And as it is a verie difficult and hard matter for a sick man, being in captiuitie and seruitude, to recover his health: so it is impossible for any man (though he shold liue a hūdreth yeares) to see these two nations, the Portugall and Castilian, to agree and loue together: notwithstanding that the king of Castile doth at this day entreat the Portugals (in comparison of his ordinarie and naturall crueltie) with some gentlenesse, and doth maintaine them in their priuiledges and liberties. For prooffe whereof, leauing an infinite number of reasons that might be alleadged, one only shall suffice; and that is, because the Castilians are extreame proud and arrogant, and the Portugals too too impatient, when their honour is anie way touched or in question, for then they will sooner grow to blowes then to words.

*The Castilians  
proud and ar-  
rogant.  
The Portugals  
impatient.*

The French Translatour.

*This is a thing most certaine and assured, and the Portugals do so regard their honour, and they are so ambitious of the same, and it is so recommended vnto them from the father to the sonne: that if they should lose but one iote thereof, they would growe starke mad, as men that had lost all*

Fernand Ma-  
gellan his great  
impatency &  
folly.

The reason  
why Magellan  
did discover the  
enterprize of  
Peru to the  
king of Castile.

sense and vnderstanding. Fernand de Magellan a Gentle-  
man of Portugal, vpon an opinion that his king had done him  
much wrong, did conceiue such a despite thereof, that hee  
fled from Portugall, and retired himselfe to the King of Ca-  
stile, purposing to discover vnto him the enterprize of Peru.  
Now see the follie, or rather madnesse of the man; his dis-  
contentment proceeded of no other matter but of this: for  
that the King had denied to giue him a pension only of halfe  
a Duckat monethlie for his sonne: for the custome of Por-  
tugall is, that all the Gentlemen shall take a pension (vvhich  
they call Moradia) of the King, according to the degrees &  
qualities of their Nobilitie, (vvhich they do properly call  
Fuero:) and they are to be enrolled in the bookes of the  
Kings house, vvhich they call the Booke of the kitchen, or  
the Booke of Matriculation. The qualitie of Magellan  
vvas to bee one of the Knights Hidalgo (that is to say)  
Feal, or one that doth Fealtie: his pension vvas euery mo-  
neth three Duckats: and he had a petition to the king, that  
his sonne might be admitted into the same qualitie as him-  
selfe vvas, and that he might haue the like pension.  
Of these demaunds the king graunted the one, and refu-  
sed the other: for he accepted his son for one of his knights  
Feal: but he would not giue anie more then two duckats  
and a halfe for his pension, obseruing therein the custome  
of his predecessours, vvhich did not vse to giue to the chil-  
dren so great a pension as to the fathers, saue onlie vvhich  
by the death of their parents they came to succeed them in  
their inheritance. And for asmuch as in Portugall the  
maner is, that the Nobles haue their place and precedence  
according to the degree and qualitie of their Nobilitie:  
and they vvhich are of one like degree and qualitie, do  
take their place each of other according to the quantitie  
of the pension, more or lesse, vvhich they receiue. Magellan  
did

did take in so euill part this refusall of the king, made vnto his son of this halfe ducat, only because by means hereof he should lose his precedence, that he became most foolishly enraged, as a man that had lost all sense and vnderstanding: and to shew the extreame grieffe and sorrow which he tooke for the losse of so small an honour, he purchased to himselfe the name and estimation of a Traitor, and for such a one do all the histories recount him: because he did not perfourme that dutie and deuoire to his king vvhich he ought him, but did giue it vnto a straunger: and he vvas the occasion that things came to that passe, that the two realmes of Portugall and Castile, vvere vpon the point to haue fallen at variance each vwith other. So that it vvas the extreame and ambitious desire of honour vvhich made Magellan thus mad, and vwill vvorke the like effect with all true Portugals: and it was not the desire of getting a little peece of money, as some haue taken it, and haue not bene ashamed to set downe as much in vwriting, for the matter and subiect incident hereunto do shewe the contrarie. I speake not this vwithout cause, for that S. Goulart de Senlis in his translation imprinted at Paris by N. Bonfons in the yeare 1587, and in the 23 Discourse, doth affirme as much. The vvordes of Osorius touching this matter, are these: Notwithstanding the Portugalles, for that they are vnmeasurablie desirous of honour, and do thinke that their Nobilitie is greatlie increased and augmented by the adding of a little money vnto their liuing: they do oftentimes imagine, and are perswaded, that they ought stoutlie to fight and contend euen for such a small summe of money, as if their vvhole safetie, reputation and dignitie did depend thereupon.

Hier. Osorius  
of the deeds of  
Emanuell king  
of Portugall.  
lib. 11.

This being so: you will say perhaps, that it is

greatlie to be wondered at, how the Castilians should then be able so easilie to subdue & conquer the realme of Portugall as they haue done, the same being so great and so puissant a monarchie. Hereunto I answer: that it would be a long and tedious matter to recount all the reasons thereof: and in verie trueth it so happened, rather for want of resolution, then for anie defect of valour or courage: for the Castilians are not better souldiers then the Portugals, as we haue before shewed: and it did well appeare, how about five thousand foote, and some thousand horse did defend themselues for the space of foure moneths & twentie dayes, against more then twentie thousand olde souldiers vnder the Duke *de Alua*; the others being but new souldiers, and plaine countrie peasants: and if there had not bene such abundance and store of treasons, it may be that the Duke *de Alua* himselfe had found but bad entertainment, and would not haue passed any further. But Portugall was altogether vnprovided of Chiefetains and leaders: all of them being latelie slaine in Africa with their king, as *Conestagio* in the end of his first booke doth sufficiently set downe vnto vs, where he hath these words; *Sebastian went into Affrike, leauing his realme quite and cleane without money, without anie of the Nobilitie, without any to succeed or inherit it, and in the hands of such Governours as were but badly affected towards him.*

The reasons  
why the Casti-  
lians took Por-  
tugall so easily.

*Conestagio* lib.  
1. fol. 45. pag. 2

The Translatour.

*In this battell died the Duke de Aueyro, great graund-  
child of Don Iuan the second king of Portugall, two Prin-  
ces his cosin germans, one of the sonnes of Theodosius Duke  
of Braganca, and one other that was heire to the Marqui-  
sat of Ferrara, and foure Counties, as it is reported in the  
life*

life of the King Don Sebastian by a Jew named Duard Nonnes de Leon, vvhho, contrarieto the lawes of Portugall, vvhich excludeth all Iewes, and such as are descended of the Iewish nation, from all honours and dignities, yet vvas made one of the Councell of the realme of Portugall by the King Catholike, vvhho preferred him to that honour, onelie in recompence of a booke vvhich he made, called the booke of Censures; and is not onlie most infamous, but full of hereticall vnadvised propositions: it vvas vwritten against Frier Ioseph Texere, a Portugal, of the order of the Friers preachers; vvhho is at this day a personage greatlie renowned in all Europe, and knowne of all the Princes of Christendome both Ecclesiasticall and secular; and especiallie in Fraunce, vvhether the chiefest and greatest persons of the realme; and all men of honour do loue and gladlie entertaine him, for his honest conuersation, faire conditions, and singular doctrine: he being a man the most accomplished in the knowledge of histories, and in the genealogies of great personages, of any liuing at this day: as his vworkes and ordinarie communication do sufficientlie testifie. I do much wonder at the patience of this religious man, who being so exquisitely seene and practised in histories, so expert in matters of State, and so iealous of his honour, as we know him to be, that he doth not set hand to his pen, and vwrite, not only against the errors and vntruthes of this Iew, but euen against the Catholike Maiestie also: seeing it was his Maiestie that caused this false and infamous booke of Censures (whereof we speake) to be made against him: and he did auow the same by his priuiledge giuen thereunto in the yeare 1590, permitting the sayd Iew to imprint the said booke (intreating of the Genealogie of the Kings of Portugall) after he had translated it into the Castilian tongue, out of another vvhich he had formerly

Duard Nonnes de Leon, a Iew his booke of Censures, &c.

Frier Ioseph Texere a Portugal his commendatiō.

made in Latine by the commandement of the said King Catholike: in the which booke the Iew did of set purpose, forget to name and set downe, amongst them that died, Don Emanuell de Meneſes, otherwise de Almada, Bishop of Coimbre, and another Bishop Don Aires de Silua, Bishop of the Citie of Port, and cosin german to the Regedour of Portugall (which is a dignitie representing throughout all that kingdome the person of the king, in all causes of iustice, both ciuill and criminall) both which Bishops were issued of the royall house of Portugall: so were also the Baron of Portugall, and the Countie de Prado with his eldest sonne, besides some other Lordes and Princes, neare kinsmen vnto the Kings of Spaine.

The chief force  
of Portugall  
wherein it consisteth.

The negligence  
of the king Don  
Antonio and  
his counsell.

The residue of them which remained vnslaine in Barbarie, the Castilian with giftes and faire promises had so corrupted, that they desired nothing more then to deliuer vp the realme vnto him. The knights of the Launce (which are those whom we in Fraunce call Esquiers, and in whom consisteth the greatest force of Portugall,) did in a manner stand still looking on, not hauing anie other commādemēt; which was long of the negligence of the King *Antonio* and his Councell, who did alwayes shew themselues verie vnresolute and inconstant in the administration of their affaires: by meanes whereof the realme of Portugall is fallen into this so piteous and miserable estate, not knowing how to recouer her former libertie: there was none that had anie faithfull affection or desire to oppose themselues against the enemy, saue onelie the Ecclesiasticall and Regular persons, and some few of the Nobilitie. And though the people (who were  
both



both without experience , and without armies ) were likewise of the same affection , yet had the Castilian by his pollicie and fraudulent deuises drawne them into his power , by giuing out a false bruit and report, that the souldiers which did then leuie and assemble in Castile , were onelie to passe into Affrike against the infidels , for to reuenge the death of his Nephew *Don Sebastian* : which notwithstanding were in verie deed for Portugall , as the successe did make manifest: for he began to make those his preparations for that attempt as soone as the King *Don Sebastian* did beginne to make prouision for his voyage ; to whom he hauing promised fise thousand souldiers and fiftie Gallies , when it came to the issue that hee should haue had them , he vtterlie refused to giue him any, to the intent he might the sooner attaine to that hee desired. And besides, falling to an accord and agreemēt with *Muley Maluco* , he promised in the treatie made with him, that he would abandon the poore King of Portugall : and to that effect did the Moore promise him certaine townes in Barbarie , which he had before offered to the said *Sebastian*, vpon condition hee should not giue anie aide or succour to *Mahumet Xeriffe*. But that prince would not accept them , saying, that he had passed his word to the said *Xeriffe* to help him. Surely *Sebastian* was more true of his promise then his Vncle *Philip* , who to compasse his affaires the better , and to get that into his hands, which he had of a long time most ardentlie desired , did assure his owne doings by the breach of his conscience, his faith , and his promise , in refusing to giue those succours , vvhich hee had promised vnto *Sebastian*:

*Conestazio lib.  
1. fol. 18. pag. 1*

*The Castilian  
king accordeth  
with an infidel*

*The infidelity  
of the Castilian  
king.*

*Conestagio lib.  
2. fol 34 pag. 1*

and more then that, in commaunding by a publike edict or proclamation, that none of his subiects should follow him, nor serue vnder him in that voyage. And this doth *Conestagio* giue vs euidentlie to vnderstand in his second booke, where he saith: *At that time there arriued in the Campe the Captaine Francisco de Aldana, who had promised the king Sebastian to serue him in that iourney: who to that effect had gotten leaue and licence of the king Catholike, which no other could obtaine of him.*

The Translatour.

*Idem lib. 1.  
fol. 14 pag. 2.*

*Conestagio writeth, that Philip meeting with Sebastian at our Lady de Guadelupe, did not dissuade him from the enterprise of Barbarie, but only that he should not go thither in person: for Philip knowing the generositie of this yong Prince, saw verie vwell, that if he did once undertake this voyage, there would nothing hinder him, but that himselfe would goe in proper person: and therefore to the intent hee might conceale his ill intent, and so excuse himselfe to the vworld, he did in shew discoursell him from going, but not from undertaking of the enterprise.*

*The Castilian  
so keep Portugall  
to himselfe,  
doth work many  
mischiefs  
so all Christen-  
dome.*

It seemeth that his Sorcerers by the meanes of the Deuill (who is verie skilfull in coniectures) had prognosticated vnto him the losse and ouerthrowe of the Christians. Thus you may see how euen before the departure of this poore Prince, he did then prepare himselfe to swallowe vp and deuoure that morsell which hee so much esteemeth and loueth: and for preservation whereof he is at great costs and expences, and feareth not to worke exceeding great mischiefs vnto all Christendome, and to make peace with the Infidels, to the intent hee may the more commodiousely  
make

make warre vpon the Christians: in so much, that he doth euen now triumph in the good successe which the Turke hath against them. His reason is; because, seeing how the Popes holinesse hath embraced and receiued to fauour the most Christian King (whose ruine he desired more then his owne proper safetie,) and that the Princes of Italy do seeke his friendship & amitie (which I hope they will do continually, in regard of the publike good that may ensue thereby: he iudgeth, & not amisse, that it may turne to his damage and detriment, and that it may be an occasion, to breake off the course of his great desseignes and enterprises. For this cause doth he reioyce at the losses and misaduentures of the Christians: notwithstanding that the mischiefe do light vpon his own flesh and bloud: in so much, that the prosperitie of the Infidels maketh him the more proud & haughty. And this is it, that hath made him so hardie, as to giue ill entreatie to the Embassador of Venice, if it be true that is reported; if he be not hindred, ere long he will giue worse entertainment to all other, without any exception of persons. He thinketh that Almaigne and Italie especially, in their afflictions and troubles, will haue neede of his help and assistance: by reason whereof, he is perswaded, that they wil not resolue themselves to follow and fauour the partie of the most Christian king: by meanes whereof he shall be well able to effect his affaires in Fraunce. If he had bene disposed to hinder the Turke from making warre in Europe, he might verie well haue done it, by molesting and disquieting him in the East Indyas, as the true and lawfull kings of Portugall haue done. He needed haue done no more but haue ioyned with *Xatama* the great king of Persia, the friend of the Portugals, for to keepe the Turke in

*Viz: the house of Austria, which is endangered by the Turke.*

*The Embassador of Venice ill intreated by the Castilians.*

awe, and within compasse.

The victorie  
of Stephen de  
Gama against  
the Turkes.

Gama made  
manie knights  
at the foote of  
Mount Sinay.

The victorie  
of Don Iohn  
de Castre.

Don Lewes de  
Altaida.

Infinite are the praises, wherewith Historiographers haue celebrated the victorie which *D. Stephen de Gama* a Portugall, Gouvernor of the East Indies, did obtaine against the Turke, vpon whom he made warre for that effect & purpose. This battell was foughten at the foote of Mount Synay: after which the said *Gama* made many Portugals knights, for bearing themselues valiantly in that battell: amongst the which there were two of speciall marke; who being issued of noble parents, did leaue behind them an immortall memorie of their honour and glorie. The one of them was called *Don Iuan de Castre*, who afterwards being Viceroy of the said East Indies, did get that famous victorie, which you may read of in the life of the king *Don Emanuell*: in the which with lesse then foure thousand Portugals, he defeated an infinite number of enemies, and put to flight *Moiecatan* Constable of *Cambaia*; who being sent by the king *Mamud* his Lord and maister with 14. thousand men, to succour the citie of *Diu*, which held the Portugals besieged within the Castell: he was constrained to leaue 300 of his men dead vpon the place: hauing lost the *Guydon* royall, with all their baggage. *Iuzarcan* the yonger (a great Lord in those partes) was taken prisoner, and *Raman* the Gouvernor of the said citie, (which was great, goodly & populous) was there slaine: and the Portugals made themselues absolute Lords of the citie. Of this valorous Captaine, *Don Iuan de Castre*, who is now at this present in Fraunce, is the graundchild: and he also hath bene as faithfull to his king and countrey, as the said *Don Iuan* his grandfather. The other of those two knights was called *Don Lewes de Altaida*, afterwards Countie of *Atouguia*, who being in Almaine

at

at the battel which the Imperialists gaue to the Duke of Saxonie, and the Princes of his partie, *Charles* the fifth did him great honor, by reason he surmounted all the rest in that iourney, and recouered the imperiall Guydon, which the enemies had once gained: in so much, that the Emperour gaue him all the honour of this victorie, according as himself wrote vnto *Don Iuan* the third, king of Portugall, his brother in law, & cosin German, who had sent him thither for his Embassadour: and this noble man was twise Viceroy of the East Indies. First in the life time of *Don Sebastian*, at which time he defended it against all the forces of *Asia*: For all the Princes of *Asia*, both Moores and Paynims had made a league against the Portugals, who both by defending themselves, and assailing of their enemies, did purchase perpetuall and immortall glorie. Afterwardes being made Viceroy, the second time after the death of the King *Sebastian*, during the raigne of King *Henry*: and knowing that the people of Portugall had chosen and appointed certaine Gouvernours to gouerne and defend the realme after the death of the said *Henry*: and that they had named certaine Iudges also to decyde the cause, touching the difference vpon the succession of that kingdome: he said openly; I for my part will not yeeld vp the Indies to any other, then to whome the Realme of Portugall shall be adiudged. In so much (as some saie) that they (which followed the partie of the Castillian:) knowing well that the Iudge would neuer admit him to the succession of Portugall, and being drawen on by the counsell, perswasions, and faire promises of the Castillian him selfe, which were sent vnto them ouer land: ( adde herevnto the notable diligence

Anno Domin  
1548.24. Aprill.

Don Lewes de  
Alcida Go-  
uernor of the  
East Indies  
the first time.

Don Lewes,  
Viceroy the  
second time.

His saying,  
touching the  
possession of  
Portugall &  
the East In-  
dies.

Don Lewes de  
Alcáida poi-  
sone.

and industrie which he vseth in all his affaires . They caused the said *Lewes* to be made away with poison : so died that valiant and faithfull Portugall ; and there succeeded him in that gouernement a most vngratefull & notable Traitour , who presently after deliuered vp the Indies to the enemie . To the intent the happie memorie of *Don Stephan de Gama* might be preserued , there is an Epitaph set in a Pallace builded by *Gama* himselfe (after his returne from the Indies) neare to the towne of Setuval in Portugall, which in the Portugall language, though somewhat grossely, is thus written:

Stephan de  
Gama his E-  
pitaph.

*Quem Cavalleyros armou  
Opé do monte Sinay,  
Veio acabar aquy.*

That is to saie :

*He which made so many Knights,  
At the foote of Mount Sinay,  
Here (as you see) now doth he lye.*

But to our purpose: At this daie *Philip* hath more force, more puissance, and manie more commodities, to hinder the Turke on that side of the East Indies, from making warres in Europe, then all the other kings of Portugall haue had heretofore. Howbeit, as that is not the way to aduaunce his ambitious desires : so cannot he abide in any case to heare thereof. For, though it were a good deede and wel done : yet it will not be any helpe vnto him towards the preseruation of this his monarchie of Portugall, which he hath vsurped with so manie fraudulent deuises & vnlawfull meanes: and which he pretendeth to leaue vnto his heire, be it by right or by wrong : for he knoweth it to be of most great and notable puissance, and he esteemeth it as the most rich, precious, and important pearle of his crowne : and in  
deede

Portugall, the  
most rich and  
precious pearle  
of the crowne  
of Spaine.

deede so it is. And therefore I cannot but grieue at some that hold themselves to be wise, and of no small iudgement & vnderstanding; both French & English, who wil not in any case be perswaded, but that Portugall is a verie small and barren countrey, and no greater then Normandie. And some others (who shew their ignorance) affirme it to be as great as Brie only: neither wil they beleue nor agree, that Portugal is within Spaine; but that it is a countrey separated therefrom: and they will seeme (forsooth) to reason & discourse hereupon, breaking their own braines about it, to the trouble both of themselves, & those that heare them. These my masters do constrain me to become a Geographer in this discourse; howbeit, that I make no profession of that science: neuerthelesse, because it maketh to our purpose, it will be requisite, that wee make a generall description of that countrey, and recount some speciall particulars thereof, to the intent the greatnesse, riches, fertilitie, and puissance thereof, may be the better known and discerned.

Portugall is a part of Spaine, situated vpon the maine Ocean: and it extendeth to the Westward frō the East 115. leagues, & from the South to the Northward 25. leagues. On the North side thereof is the realme of *Galicia*: towards the East, it hath the Prouinces of *Taragon*, *Lusitania*, & *Betica*: and to the South, it is bounded with that part of the Ocean sea, which lieth towards the coast of Affrique. It containeth foure principall Prouinces: the first *la Transtagana*, which encloseth the realme of *Algarba*: the second, *la Cistagana*: the third, betweene *Duero* & *Migno*: and the fourth, *la Transmontana*. These 4 Prouinces containe part of the Prouince of *Taragon*, the greatest part of *Lusitania*, & a part

The descrip-  
tion of Por-  
tugall.

of Betica. It hath in length 5 degrees & a half frō North to South, & beginneth at *Cape S. Vincent*, in 37. degree, taking a little of the 36, & endeth in a manner in 42 & a halfe, not farre from *Bayonne de Vigo*: and it extendeth from the South South East, to the North North East, where euery degree containeth 19 leagues & a halfe: & it hath cōmonly in bredth 40 leagues, in some part lesse & some part more. The leagues are not reckened according to the leagues of Fraunce, but by the leagues of the degrees: ech of which hath from North to South 17 leagues &  $\frac{1}{2}$ , according to the accompt of Portugall: and so hauing regard what is ouerplus, & what is wanting, the countrey of Portugall is fully 40 leagues in bredth: so that making a Figure quadrant of 5 degrees &  $\frac{1}{2}$  in length, drawne from the North North East, to the South South East, & of 40 leagues in bredth from East to West, it will enclose within it all Normandie, a good part of Beaulce, the duchies of Maine & of Aniou, the greatest part of Tourayn, in a maner all Poicteau, & almost all Xantogne, & some part of Angolessme, with a part of Perigort. And this we shall see cleerly by demōstration, if we make the said Figure quadrant in Fraunce of 5 degrees &  $\frac{1}{2}$  in length, & 40 leagues in bredth: the forme thereof will be thus: Draw a line from the Angle on the East side of the quadrant, and where it hath the North at the head; & it will begin at Crotoy vpon the riuer of Somme (which is in 50 degrees of eleuation) euen to Lybourne in Perigort (which is 44 degrees & a halfe, passing neere by Roan, by Eureux, Dreux, & Amboise, nere by Chastellerauld, by Coue, & between Negre & Iarnac & Angolessme, & between Barbesieux & Courtras, til you come to the said town of Libourne: All that countrey which is in the West of this Figure, is as great as Portugall. And to the intent, that this which I

say,

Of the great-  
nesse of Por-  
tugall.



say may be the better perceiued, it shal not be amisse to describe the rest of the Figure. The quadrant which hath his head towards the North, & beginneth in the East at Crotoy, drawing toward the West, endeth in the Sea, about 6 legues off the sea coast of Cherebourg, & so passing by Constance & by Graundville neere the town of Dol by the villages of Becherel, Redon, & Arebon, and entring into the Sea between Guerrand & Croisic, euen to 44 degrees & a halfe, to the East of the said towne of Libourne 10 legues frō the land, which is to the South of Anchises: we shall come to haue our Figure perfect. Moreouer, because ther may be no doubt in this demonstration, we will aunswer to an obiection which may be made by those which will not that Portugall should be greater then Normandie, and that is, seeing the line frō the west side of our Figure passeth by Cherebourg, Constance &c. so as it cōmeth into the Sea betweene Guerrand and Croisic; what shal be done with the land which remaineth, which is a litle part of Normandy, & endeth nere the Isle of Alderney, & from thence alongst the greatest part of Brittain? wherunto I aunswer, that all this land, & al the countrey which remaineth there, may be put within the west angles of the Figure, which are void, because they end within the Sea. Now this demonstration being well made & vnderstood, & being compared with the greatnesse of Portugal, we shal find that her circuit is not only as great as all these Prouinces of Fraunce, which we haue spoken of, but euen as great as all that circuit which is comprehended in the Isle of great Brittain, which we call England.

Obiection.

Answer.

Portugall as  
great as Eng-  
land.

As touching the fertilitie of Portugall, a man may easily iudge thereof by that which *Strabo* writeth of it speaking of *Lusitania*, which is the greatest part of the said Realme, saying, *Lusitania* is a Region most fertile

Of the fertili-  
tie of Portu-  
gall.  
*Strabo: lib. 3.  
de situ orbis.*

in fruits, in cattell, in gold and siluer, and manie other like commodities. And the Prouinces and lands which the Portugals possesse in Spaine out of *Lusitania*, are held to be much more fertile, then those of *Lusitania* it selfe: as the lands which they hold in *Betica*, in the Prouince *Transmontana*, (which the common people call *Tras los montes*) and in the Prouince betweene *Duero* & *Migno*, which the Latines named *Interamnus*, & which (the said *Strabo*) against the common and true opinion, placeth within *Lusitania*. And he saith further: in *Lusitania* is the riuer *Lethé* which many call *Limeae*, & some others *Belion*: wherein he is deceiued; as also in saying that *Minus* surpasseth all the riuers of *Lusitania* in greatnes: for *Lyme* is shut in within the prouince that lieth betweene *Duero* and *Migno*: which Prouinces (following the true descriptiō, are enclosed in the prouince of *Taragon*: and *Migno* is much lesse then *Duero*, *Tago*, and *Guadiana*, which are in *Lusitania*.

Archbishops  
& Bishops of  
Portugall and  
their reuenues.

The dominion  
of the Duke of  
*Bragantia*.

There are in Portugall three Archbishops, & ten Bishops: all which, euen at this day do bring to their Prelates about 400 thousand Ducats of yerely rent. The countrey for the greatnesse thereof is well peopled: the Duke of *Bragantia* alone in one citie, and in the townes, castels and villages (of which he is Lord) hath 200000 vassals. Portugall sendeth into the East Indies, Barbary, *Cape de Verd*, the Isles of *Buan*, *Mina*, *S. Thomas*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Brasill*, and other places some 6000 men yearly, of whome, the third part neuer returneth home againe into their countrey. If *Philip* durst at this daie put any confidence and trust in the Portugals, he might draw out from Portugall, to send vnto his warres more then 100000 men from the age of 25. yeares to 40. who haue nothing to hinder them from going, nor haue any  
excuse

excuse not to obey him, if he should command them.

It is not vnknown to the whole world, that in the time of *Sebastian* king of Portugal, there were throughout all that realme 1200 companies of footmen, in the which there were none enrolled nor mustered, but onely the people of the countrie, Artizans, handicrafts-men, and such like mechanicall persons and laborers, and yet not all of thē: the Noblemen, Gentlemen, officers of iustice: the gouernors of cities & towns: the students & such as professed learning: in sum, all the Nobility, the Ecclesiasticall & regular persons, with their seruants, and many other sorts of men priuiledged were excused & exēpted & were not bound to enroll thēselues in the said companies: of which the most part cōsisted of 200 mē, some of 300 and of 400. Let vs allow to each of them 200 mē only, and they will amount to the number of 240000 men. Consider thē how great the nūber may be of thē, which were not bound to be enroled in those cōpanies. I do not here make any mention of the number of companies of horsmen, of which this realme hath a great quantitie, because it is not possible to know the certaintie and truth thereof.

*The number of  
mē fit for war  
in Portugall.*

Moreouer the kings of Portugall are so great in one respect, that therein they exceed all the kings & princes of Europe, & that is, that they are able in lesse then a quarter of an hower to giue vnto their vassals and subiects 10 15, or 20 millions in tickets, consisting in dispatches for Gouernorships, Captainships, receits & other charges and offices, and for licenses to make voyages by sea to Banda, Malucco, China, and other parts of the East Indies: by means of which dispatches, they which do obtain them, do recouer the said summes of mony immediatly.

*The greatnesse  
of the kings of  
Portugall.*

Hereby may a man easily iudge the greatnesse, the

riches, & the puissance of this realme, whereunto adding the feignories which it hath and possesseth in Affrike, Asia, & America, and in the Ilands which it holdeth in the Ocean sea, it maketh a most notable, great and puissant monarchie: and therefore I maruell not though the king of Castile doth commit such excesse, and is at so great costs and expēces for the keeping and preserving of the same: he knoweth fullwel how much it importeth him, and of what value & worth it is vnto him: he is not ignorāt, as one that knoweth not the estate of things, but on the contrarie rather he is wise, aduised, very politike, and well experienced in affaires and matters of state.

## The Translatour.

Anthony Perez.  
re 2. 2.

Don Iohn de Austria died  
of payson.

Philip much  
giuen to Cos-  
mographie.

*This thing* Anthony de Perez (Secretary of estate to the king Catholike Don Philip the 2. the mā here spokē of) doth shew vs in the second part of his aduertismēt, vpon the point of the processe made against him, where he entreateth of the dissimulations, deceits, & suttelties used by the said Philip toward Don Iohn de Austria his brother, vpon pretence of the realme of Tunes, & the intelligēces of England, at such time as he sent him into Flaunders: where (as the report is) in the end he caused him to be paysoned.

Besides, the said Philip is notably addicted to Cosmographie: for he hath in his pallace of Madril, a very great and goodly house, wherein are the descriptions of all the prouinces and realmes of the world, not only in generall maps, but euen in particular: there doth he spend the most part of the day, and contemplating and beholding those descriptiōs, he doth whet on and augment his ambition, and extendeth the bounds of his tyranny: there he seeth what is most fit & conueniēt for him, & most easie for him to conquer: there he seeth by what meanes

he

he may take Cambray, & how afterward he may obtaine Calis, and what reason he hath frō thence to leap ouer to Amiens: and thus doth he consider and deuise with himselfe what will be most for his profit and aduantage, in such sort that nothing can escape his hands, and that he may not be at charge, nor hazard his meanes in vaine and to no purpose. He is also well seene and much conuersant in histories; and by them hath he seene and discerned how much it doth import him (for the attaining to his desire) to haue the monarchy of Portugal, and the Portugals at his deuotion, to the intent he may haue the aide and succours from thence which both he and his predecessors haue heretofore had frō them: for during these 300 yeares past, the Castilians haue done nothing worthie of memorie without them.

*Philipwel seers  
in histories.*

*The Castilians  
for these 300  
yeares past  
haue done no-  
thing without  
the Portugals.*

The chiefe cause of that famous victory which they call *del Salado* (where were partly taken, and partly flaine 400 thousand Moores, and onley 20 Christians (as was reported frō the mouth of *Alboacem* himselfe K. of Marrecquo) was the king of Portugall *Alfonfus* the 4, called the Braue, & his Portugals, the which *Alfonfus*, at such time as the Moores besieged *Tariffa*, gaue succours to *Alfonfus* king of Castile, called the Iusticier his sonne in law, not because he deserued to be aided, but because the warre was against the Infidels.

*The warre of  
Salado.*

At such time as *Alfonfus de Aquilar* was flaine in *Granado*, & that the Moores remained victors, & pursued the victory, the Portugals did hinder thē frō passing forward: and keeping the field where the battell was foughten, did saue and preferue the rest of the Castilians.

*The warre of  
Granado in  
the year 1501.*

When the peoples of Castile did rise in armes vnder pretence of the common and publike good, and manie great Lords and Princes with thē against *Charles* the 5,

*The commualty  
of Castile in  
armes against  
Charles the 5.*

The true am-  
ity of Emanuel  
K. of Portugall  
to Charles the 5.

by reason of the great, excessiue and new exactions and imposts laid vpon thē: the Embassadors of the said princes, and of manie cities and townes of Castile came to the king of Portugall *Don Emanuell*, praying him that he would vouchsafe to take and acknowledge them for his vassals and subiects, for that they were desirous to haue him to their King and Lord: but he would not only not receiue their offer, but he gaue them good counsell, and admonition, shewing thē how they ought to conforme themselues in obedience to their king. And to other of the princes, cities and townes of Castile, which taking part with the said *Charles*, came vnto him likewise for his aide, he gaue them both mony, artillerie, powder, and other munition for the warre. Some say that the said King *Don Emanuell* did lend thē 500000 duc-kats, and many peeces of artillerie, which was an occasion that they which were risen in armes did fall to an accord and agreement with their prince: and thereof it ensued that *Charles* the fift did againe vsurpe the realme of Nauarre, which *Mounseur Andrew de Foix* had before restored and set at libertie: the king *Don Emanuell* neuer suspecting nor doubting of any such matter intēded by him. And *Philip* now likewise for his part hath rewarded Portugall with the like good turne, as hee hath done the like to Fraunce, and others, to whom he was not meanly bounden.

Anno 1522.

The taking of  
Goletta with  
22 other ships  
of warre.

When the said *Charles* the fift passed to Goletta in the yeare 1535, who tooke it? That did the Gallion *Caga-fuego* of Portugall, which the king *Don Iohn* the 3 had commanded to accompanie the infant *Don Lewes* his yonger brother.

The taking of  
Tunes.

How came it to passe that the same *Charles* the fift tooke the towne of *Tunes*, the capitall and chiefe citie of the

the realme of Lybia? was it not with the assistance and aide of the said Infant and his Portugals?

Who was it that tooke *Pignon de Belles* with the residue, not aboue 35 yeares since, for the king of Castile? euen *Francisco Bareto*, General of the Gallies of Portugall, and the Captaine *Diego Lopez de Sequeira* his Nephew, with the Portugals of his companie.

*The taking of  
Pignon de Bel-  
les by the Por-  
tugals.*

Who finished and gaue an end to the oppression of Castile, in the behalfe of the Granadians that were reuolted in Granada in the yeares 1566, 67, and 68? That did 7 or 8 thousand Portugals sent for a succour by the king *Don Sebastian*. *Philip* king of Castile knoweth all this full well: and that is the cause that he laboureth and paineth himselfe with so great care and diligence to keep this monarchie of Portugall, pretending not onely to vsurpe it, to tyrannize ouer it, and to plucke it by force and violence out at the hands of the Portugals, but to take from them also their honour, their glorie, and their valour: for he seeth well, that hauing the Portugals on his side, he shall be able by their meanes to satisfie his ambitious humour: and yet shall they not haue the honour due vnto them for their prowesse, but he attributeth all to the generositie of his Castilians. So hath hee tyrannized, and doth yet still tyrannize ouer the honour of the Arragonnois, the Catalans, the Valentians, the Nauarrois, and other the nations of Spaine: and onlie his Castilians (which carie the name of Spaniards, and are so called by those that are ignorant and knowe not the difference that is betweene the seuerall nations of Spaine,) they (I say) are those Lyons, those Tygers, and conquerours of the world. But we will come to the conclusion of this part of our Treatise touching Portugall, the most precious and chiefest pearle of his Crowne.

*The warre of  
Granada fini-  
shed by the  
Portugals.*

*A question  
moued by a Gentleman  
to the  
K. of Castile.*

*The answer of  
the K. of Castile*

It was my chaunce to be one day in companie with a personage of great estate, who is dayly at great charges, and doth spend good store of duckats to haue notice and intelligence of that which passeth abroad in the world, and he did assure me for a certaine and vndoubted trueth: that one of the greatest fauorites of the king of Castile did demand of him this question: What should be the cause that he suffered Freezland, and many townes of other prouinces of no small importance to be lost, and to fall into the hands, and into the power and subiection of heretikes; by means wherof they were constrained to forsake the true religiō, (a thing worthy to be lamented) onlie to succor the Princes and townes of the League, and to entertaine the warre a foot still in Fraunce? Whereunto the king smiling, answered: Let them alone: let them take Freezland and all the rest: that which most toucheth me is the keeping of Portugall: which if I do, as I hope I shall, I will cut the out so much worke, and giue them so much to do in their own countrie, that they shall not easily come neare mine, and I doubt not at length but to haue the rest also: for know this; that if I keep and possesse Portugall in peace and quietnesse, they shall not only not be able to liue without me, but I shall make them in the end to bee my subiects, and to become tributaries vnto me: and therefore let it not grieue you to see what is lost, for all will be recouered well enough in time, and leaue the care thereof to me alone.

The French Translatour.

*Philip seeing himself Lord of so great a Monarchie doth  
aspire by all meanes he may to the realmes of Fraunce and of  
Eng-*



England, and of other Prouinces: and he doth reape so great contentment in his ambitious thoughts and purposes, that he cannot but discover his conceit in that behalfe: insomuch that not onely they of his Councell, but his particular private souldiers do know it. After the taking of the Ile of Terceras, the Captaines which accompanied the Marquisse de Santa Cruce in that iourney, said openly: Now that we haue all Portugall, England is ours, and by little and little we shall gaine Fraunce also. For prooffe whereof we haue need of no other vvitnesse, then that which his owne vwriter Conestagio saith in continuing his historie before the taking of the said Terceras, where he hath these words: But the king hauing so lately gotten the possession of Portugall, and seeing the Portugals not yet verie quiet, he thought it best to pacifie that realme, before he intended anie other enterprife. And he said, that by keeping his men in armes in those quarters, he should bridle not only Portugall, but all Spaine and Fraunce it selfe also, and it may be he would not otherwise haue fayled to haue sent a good part of those forces euen for England, at the least for Ireland.

By those last words aboue vsed by the king, & the former recited examples, may be easily discouered, not onely the ingratitude of this peruerse and vnpleasing Catholike, but we may also collect & gather, that Portugall is the principal cause of so manie warres, so manie murthers & mischaunces: and that if the same were wrung out of the hands and power of this tyraunt, the most Christian King, and the other Princes of Christendome should dwell in peace, the Potentates and common wealths of Europe should be in rest, the Cardinals at Rome should not bee at his direction, nor the elections of the Popes at his will and pleasure:

Conestagio lib.  
7 in fine.

Portugall the  
principal cause  
of all the warres.

How Philip  
doth gouern  
the electi-  
ons of the Car-  
dinals & popes.

ouer the which he doth so tyrannize, that in each of them he maketh himselfe the first person: and (as the saying is) preferreth himselfe before the holy Ghost. There is neuer anie election of a Pope, but he nameth some three, foure or fiue persons, to the end that the Conclauē of Cardinals should choose one of them: was there euer seene greater impudencie or presumpti- on, that a mortall man should dare vsurpe Gods office? Ha, most Christian king, it is the part of your Maiestie, to defend & maintaine the soueraigne & chief Bishops: they are in their possessiō to be defended and preserued by the most Christian kings of Fraunce: and to that end haue they endowed them with so great priuiledges, liberties, and prerogatiues. Banish therefore and driue away (Sir) this monster, breake the head of this serpēt, tame this Lyon, and deliuer the Church from this so tyrannicall seruitude and hard captiuitie. Restore vnto your pupils their wonted peace and libertie, to the intent they may with hardinesse chastise the euill and vicious, and without feare reward the good and vertuous. How often haue the soueraigne Bishops desired to honour and do good to some persons, in recompence of their vertues and merits, and to correct others for their vices: and haue not bene able to perform either the one or the other? oftētimes against their wils haue the Popes permitted the wicked to triumph, and more often haue they consented that the good should endure afflictions. Who did better deserue to be made a Cardinall (if I may not say Pope) then that famous learned man, Doctor *Martin Aspilcueta* of Nauarre, whose memorie shall be eternall, both for his doctrine, and for his holinesse & vertue? Neuerthelesse only because *Philip* could not abide him, for defending against him the cause of that

*Martin Aspilcueta* a Nauarron.

that reuerend Prelat *Don Fra. Barthelmew Carrance* a religious person of the order of *S. Dominick* Archbishop of Toledo: and for maintaining also with many & strong reasons, that the Portugals ought of right to choose their king by election: and for prouing by most firme & infallible arguments, that his Catholike Maiestie, did possesse the realme of Portugall by vniust & tyrannicall title, was therefore thrust out of all, & died in the estate of a poore & simple Priest. Who did euer in all reason deserue better, or more worthily to be strangled & burnt then *N?* and yet because *Philip* would haue it so, he liueth stil & triumpheth. Wherefore, most humbly I beseech your Maiestie, euen for the honor of God (wherein your self haue more interest then any other) that you would vouchsafe to attend this matter of so great importance: & that you would vndertake to leuie & make readie a good armie to passe into Spaine: & to consider withal, how great is the prudence, the industrie, & subteltie of this cōmon enemy: that your Maiestie would regard his actions, his ambition & his tyrannie: that you would awaken & grow to a resolutiō, knowing that you haue so great a tyrant to your neighbor, as of himselfe alone is greater then all others that euer were, or which now are in the world, all of them set together: & who hath gotten (like his predecessors) all that which he possesseth, by pure & plaine tyrannie: which is in deede so proper & naturall vnto him, and doth belong vnto him as properly and vnseparably, as laughter doth to a man.

*Fra. Barthelmew Carrance Archbishop of Toledo.*

*Tyranny as naturall to Philip, as is laughter to a man.*

Giue mee leaue, I praie you, to proue that which I speak, by most cleare & certaine histories, to the intent I may take away all occasion from those ( who are addicted to ill speaking, and to deceitfull dealing ) to

thinke or take me for a lyer, for this that I say, may be verified by all the Historiographers of Spaine, both ancient and moderne, which are worthy to be credited, or haue any truth in thē: some of which do liue yet at this day: and it is no long time since they made their works, and imprinted them with the fauour, & at the costs and charges of the sayd *Philip*. And this I will endeuour to proue as briefly as I can, and I will shew how in all the Realmes and prouinces which the king Catholicke possesseth in Spaine ( whereof I my selfe being a Spaniard, do know somewhat ) he possesseth and holdeth them by tyranny, committed many times and often. And for as much as to proue that which I intend, it shall suffice to touch onely that which hath happened since the 380 years last past: I will not speake of any thing that hath befallne before the yeere of Christ 1217.

Castile tyrannized the first time.

Garibay. lib. 12 cap. 41.

*Henry* king of Castile the sonne of *Alphonsus* the noble dying, left his eldest sister *Blaunch* Queene of Fraunce, which was the mother of *S. Lewes*, who was then but two yeares old: and his father ( who was not yet king of Fraunce ) was occupied in the warres of England, whither he was called by them of that land against their king called king *Iohn*, who was reputed for a tyrant. *Henry* being dead ( as is sayd ) his youngest sister named *Berangera*, the wife of *Alphonsus* K. of Leon with her sonne *Fernand* encroched vpon the possessiō of the Realme of Castile, and vsurped it against the right of the sayd *Blaunch* her eldest sister, and consequently against the sayd *S. Lewes* her nephew.

*Fernand* being dead, *Alphonsus* his eldest sonne called Emperour of the West ( because some of the electors of the Empire had elected him, whereas the residue had chosen *Richard* the brother of *Henry* the third king of England

England) made an accord with the sayd *S. Lewes* the cosin german of his father, touching the succession of Castile in this maner: That *Fernand* the eldest son of *Alphonsus* should espouse *Blaunch* the daughter of the sayd *S. Lewes*, with condition, that the children borne of that mariage should inherit Castile. Of them twaine were issued *Alphonsus* and *Fernand*, who were deprived of their right by *Sancho* their Vncle, the yonger brother of their father *Fernand*, who died hauing the gouernement of the Realme of Castile and Leon, in the absence of his sayd father *Alphonsus*, which then was gone into Italy, there to sollicit his friends, and to make meanes for the Empire. Assoone as *Fernand* was dead, the said *Sancho* tooke vpon him the gouernement, getting the possession of many cities and townes in Castile, against the will of *Alphonsus* his father, who dying at Seuill, vpon a fryday the 2 of Aprill 1284, cursed his son *Sancho*, calling him disobedient, rebellious, vsurper, & a tyrant, and pronounced and named for the true and right heires of his realms, & seignories, his graund-children *Alphonsus* and *Fernand*: & in case they should die without children, then *Philip* the hardie, king of Fraunce, his cosin german remoued, the sonne of the sayd *S. Lewes* his Vncle. But neither the curses nor denuntiations of the father, nor the feare of God, could make *Sancho* to render or restore to the others their right, but hee still detained it, and left for his heire his sonne *Fernand* the fourth of that name.

*Alphonsus* surnamed the *Iusticier*, king of Castile, the son of the sayd *Fernand*, and the graund-child of *Sancho*, amongst many tyrānous acts by him exercised, is reported to haue cōmitted one act most vnworthy not onely of a king, but of a man euē of most vile & base cōdition:

*Castile tyrannized the 2. time: and Leon the first time.*

*Ierom Gudiel in the History of the Girons, Garib. lib. 13 cap. 16.*

Don Iuan le  
Tuerto Lord of  
Biscay mis-  
shered.

Gariba. lib 14  
cap. 4.

Biscay tyrann-  
ized.

The Countie  
de Trastama-  
res vsurped.  
The Countie  
thereof slaine.

Garib. lib. 14,  
cap. 5.

Castyle tyrann-  
ized the  
third time:  
and Leon the  
second time.

for that it was an action full of notable treason and infi-  
delitie. For hauing invited *Don Iuan le Tuerto*, (that is  
to saie, the squint eyed) Lord of Biscay, to dine  
with him, he caused him most cruelly to be murdered  
in the yeare 1327. And albeit, he had begun to dis-  
charge himselfe of this murther for a season, yet he  
could not disguise nor couer his tyrannie: for that after-  
wards he caused him to be condemned as a traitor, and  
confiscated his lands and seignories: and within a short  
time he seized vpon them all: namely, about a fourscore  
townes and castels.

The same *Alphonfus* caused *Don Aluar Nugnes Osorio*  
his gouernor to be slaine, who had before receiued of  
him many great honours and fauours; and afterwards  
being ascertained of his death (which was in the yeare  
1328) he seized vpon all his liuings, castels, and great  
treasures, and vpon the Countie *de Trastamara*: & with-  
in a few daies after, he caused him to be condemned at  
*Tordehumos* as a traitor: and hauing made him to be  
dugged vp out of his graue, he willed his bodie should  
be burned, and his goods confiscated.

*Henry* the 2. a bastard sonne of this *Alphonfus Counte*  
*de Trastamara* slue his brother *Peter* (of whom we haue  
formerly spoken) & possessed himselfe of the realmes of  
Castyle & Leon, disinheriting his Nieces *Constance* and  
*Isabell*, who with a solemne oth had bin acknowledged  
Princesses & heires of Castile, first by the estates assem-  
bled at Seuill to that end and purpose: & afterwards at  
Aluberca 1363. And if it had bin true, that these two  
sisters had no right in the said realmes, because he alled-  
ged thē to be bastards: by the same reason, had the said  
*Henry* much lesse right & interest in thē: for he was not  
onely a bastard, but murtherer also of his own brother.

And

And in such like case was *Fernand* king of Portugall the great graund child of *Sancho* aboue named, right inheritor to the said realmes; as was the king *Don Peter* his cosin german remoued, and cosin german also: for *Beatrix* the mother of *Peter*, was the sifter of *Peter* the father of *Fernand*. For this cause *Samora*, *Toco*, *Ciudad-Rodrigo*, and other cities and townes of the realmes of *Castile & Leon*, did call in the said *Fernand*, and offered to receiue him for their king: especially the realme of *Galitia*, which was wholly resolved to render it selfe vnto him. And for this reason did *Fernand* go in person to take possession of the *Groigne*: and he might aswell haue seized vpon the other places & holdes, if the Portugals would haue consented thereunto. For they did purposely oppose themselues against the desire and wil of their king, for two reasons: the first was, because they had good triall and experience, that there wanted much of that valour in *Fernand*, which was in the father and his auncesters: the second was, because the *Castillian* Nation is so maligne and peruerse (as the Portugals do hold it for a *maxime* amongst themselues) that it is dangerous to haue any thing to do with them, yea to haue any commaund ouer them, as hath bene before touched. And I saie yet once againe, that their nature is so maligne and peruerse, that the venim & poison thereof doth so spread it selfe abroad, that they which are their next neighbours and borderers do feelee the reuerberation of their malignitie and malicious disposition: in so much, that some of them, when they leaue and abandon their owne countrey, and do withdraw themselues into strange and foreigne lands, are more wicked and malicious, more dangerous, and more to be feared, then the verie *Castillians* themselues.

The History of  
the king *Fernand*  
of *Portugall*, anno  
1369.

The Portugals  
haue an ill opi-  
nion of the  
*Castilians*.

The malignity  
of the *Castili-  
ans*.

Castile tyrannized the 4<sup>th</sup> time, and Leon the third time, with the Seignories thereunto annexed.

In the yeare 1474, after the death of *Henry* the fourth king of Castile, *Isabell* the sister, the wife of *Fernand* king of Arragon, did most tyrannically get possession of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and of their other Seignories, excluding *Iane* the daughter of the sayd *Henry* her brother: who in the yeare 1461 had bin acknowledged Princesse and inheritrix of the sayd Realmes, for default of heires males, in a full assembly of the three estates, which were assembled to that end at Madrill, by the commaundement of her father. And the first persons which tooke the oath of fidelity, and did so acknowledge her, were the infant *Don Alphonsus*, and the sayd *Isabell*, the brother and sister of the sayd king: after whom all the residue did the like, euery one in order according to their degrees. And after that she was againe the second time acknowledged Princesse and heire of the sayd Realmes in *Val-de-Loçoia*, after diligent enquirie made vpon the legittimation of the sayd Princesse, which was done by the Cardinall *de Alby* a Frenchman, who to that effect was come into Castile by the commaundement of king *Lewes* the eleuenth of Fraunce: the which Cardinall in the presence of all the Princes and Lords of the Realme, hauing caused the mother to bee sworne and take her oath, demaunded of her, if the Princesse *Dame Iane* her daughter, were the daughter of the king her husband: whereunto she aunswered vpon her oath, that she was. Secondly the king (which tooke the same oath, and protested that hee did fully beleue and assure himselfe, that this infant *Dame Iane* was his daugther, and that in all certaintie hee had continually so taken and reputed her euer since she was borne: and therefore hee did will and commaund, that the oath of fidelity and obeifance,



obeisance, which was vsually accustomed to be taken in his Realmes and dominions, as due to the eldest of the kings children, should be made vnto her. These are the very words of *Steuens Guaribay: Hierome Surite* (who is yet liuing) doth rehearse this history very plainly and distinctly in his generall history of Spaine, and how *Henry* being ready to yeelde vp the Ghost, did euen then maintaine, that the sayd *Iane* was his daughter, and that he commanded his Confessor openly to reueale it. And the sayd *Guaribay* affirmeth that *Henry* did confesse himselfe the space of a good hower before his soule departed from his body, and that he being in good and perfect quietnesse of sence, and of a sound and good memory, after he had named the executours of his last will and testament, and declared them for the Governours of his Realme, and had giuen commandement, that his seruants should be payd out of his treasures and iewels, he named the sayd *Princesse Iane*, for the vniuersall heire of all his Realmes and dominions, calling her by the name of his daughter, & recommending her with all his affection to the sayd Governours.

*Guarib. lib. 17.  
cap. 24.*

*Hierome Surite in the generall history of Spaine.*

By that which hath bene sayd, it appeareth clearely, that the realme of Castile, in lesse then 258 yeares hath bene tyrannized foure times, and that of Leon thrice, and all the other Realmes & Seigniories likewise, which are dependants of the same: the which the king *Philip* possesseth euē at this present day by a most vniust, wrōgfull and tyrannicall title.

This also is one thing worthy to bee marked, and (which may be seene by the histories both of the same authors, and of diuerse others) namely, that when there hath happened any difference or disagreement vpon the sayd succession, they which haue bene in

possession, haue altogether preuailed, and made their title, euen by the right of those very parties whom they haue dispossessed: which is the greatest tyranny that can be. And that this may the better bee perceiued, I will alledge only two examples.

In the life of  
Iohn the first  
king of Castile.

The cunning  
of Iohn the  
first king of  
Castile.

The policy of  
Fernand the  
second king  
of Arragon,  
&c.

*Rodrigo Sanches* Bishop of Palance recounteth, how *Iohn* the first king of Castile and of Leon (of whom we haue before spoken) seeing that *Iohn* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, pretended the sayd Realmes of Castile and of Leon to appertaine vnto him, for the reason heretofore alledged; he sayd in defence of his claime, that the said Realmes did of right belong vnto him, as being the son of *Iane* and the Graund-child of *Don Iuan Emanuell* and of his wife, who was the daughter of *Fernand de la Cerda*, the lawfull heire of the said Realmes: because his brother *Alphonfus* was deceased without children, and that for this cause hee did hold them with a good conscience, and that he did not hold them from his father, whom himselfe confessed to be a bastard.

The other exāple is like vnto the former. For in a great assembly of Princes, Lords, and other principall personages, held in the towne of Trogillo, for the taking of the oath of fidelity to *Fernand* the second king of Arragon, and *Isabell* his wife Queene of Castile, the sayd *Fernand* pretended that he had more right of himselfe, then the sayd *Isabell*, and that he ought to be acknowledged as the true and principall heire of the sayd Realmes of Castile and Leon, not as husband to the said *Isabell*, but as descending in the right and lawfull line male of the kings his predecessors, because hee was the sonne of *Iohn* the Graund-child of *Fernand*, and the great Graund-child of *Iohn* the first: who on the side of his mother *Iane* the Graund-daughter of *Fernand de la Cerda*

*Cerda* (as hath beene sayd) was the true and rightfull heire of the sayd Realmes. *Isabell* knowing the intent and ambition of *Fernand* her husband, resolued to bend and employ all her force and puissance for the maintaining of her right: and for a reply to his speech she sayd: That that which he had spoken was to be granted, if women had not bene vsually admitted to the succession of those Realmes: but seeing the custome was to the contrary, therefore her sayd husband ought not to be preferred: and for prooffe of that which she sayd, she named certaine women which had succeeded to the sayd Crownes: amongst others *Katherin* the daughter of *Constance*, & of *Iohn of Gaunt* Duke of Lancaster aboue mentioned, where she did assure her selfe had bin admitted, and receiued to that inheritance as the graund-daughter of her graund-father *Peter*, and that *Henry* the husband of the sayd *Katherin*, her auncestours, had right thereunto only by meane of the sayd *Katherin* his wife. For these reasons *Isabell* was preferred before *Fernand*, and she was acknowledged as the true heire of the sayd Realmes of Castile and Leon, and hee reputed to haue right only as her husband and companion, and not otherwise. And this is it which *Marin Sicilian* speaketh of. In this assembly of estates (saith hee) *Fernand* seeing himselfe king and Lord of the most of two third parts of Spaine, partly in his owne right, and partly in his wiues, and hauing there present all the Lords and Deputies of cities & townes, which were their subiects, he did endeuour by all meanes, to cause himselfe to be entituled king of Spaine: but those of that assembly wold in no case yeelde their consent thereunto: but to the vttermost of their power, did oppose themselues against it, and did thereupon giue vnto the kings of Castile a

*Marin Sicilian.*

new title, which *Philip* holdeth & retaineth at this day, hauing augmented those Realmes and Seignories, which both the said *Fernand* and *Charles* the 5 his father did successiuelly vsurpe each after other.

The Translator.

*Philip* caried away with the ambition of his ancestors, causeth himselfe to be called king of Spaine.

*Philip* caried on with the same winde of ambition, as were his great graund father & his father, vpon an exceeding desire which he had to vsurpe this title of king of Spaine: and seeing that the Realmes of Spaine would not accord nor agree that he should so entitle himselfe: and that in the assembly of estates (which he held in Portugall in the yeare 1581, within the towne of Tomar) it was expressely defended him, and that himselfe had taken a solemne oath, neuer more from thenceforth to take it vpon him: neuertheless he caused for al that (like a notable tyrant) certaine monies (which he coyned in the Indies and in Flaunders) to be engrauen with this superscription: *Philippus Hispaniarum Rex*: wherein he imitated the sayd *Fernand* his great graund-father, who tooke so great paines, to gaine or rather to vsurpe this honourable title, that many strangers of foreigne nations did liberally giue it vnto him, who neither knew, nor wold vnderstand what aduantage the same would bring vnto the tyrant, and what detriment the nobility, peoples and prouinces of Spaine shold suffer, by allowing the same title vnto him.

So that herein may be seene most apparantly, the notable tyranny of the predecessors of the king Catholicke now raigning: who, after they had for a while suppressed the right of others, to the intent theselues might tyrannize ouer those Realmes: yet would afterwards seeke againe to reuiue, and to retaine that very right, and title which they had before most iniuriously vsurped. A thing

thing certainlie, which may induce vs rather to sigh and to lament, then to conceiue any pleasure and delight, to see the Princes of the earth, which beare the name and title of Catholickes, to bee neuerthelesse so bad Christians, and so insupportable tyrants, as is this *Philip* the king of Castile. Which is the cause that al the Ecclesiasticall and regular persons of Portugall do hate him so extreamelie, that when commandement was giuen them, that in certaine of their prayers, and in their Canonickall houres, they should expressely pronounce the name *Philip* (for the king knew well, that vnder the name of king vsed indeterminatly, they did in their harts vnderstand and pray for *Don Anthonio*.) They tooke his commandement in so ill parte, that they could not bee brought to doe it. But in the ende they seeing themselues pressed by the commaundement of the Bishops and Prelates, they did at length pronounce his name, but with such disdain and in dignitie, as I am ashamed to speake it: notwithstanding because these matters doe well concurre together, and it is not from our purpose; and besides, because hee that shall rehearse them, is not to bee blamed for the reciting, for that he is bound to represent them only in maner and forme as they were done, I haue determined to recount vnto you two examples concerning this matter, of the which we do now intreat.

The Archbishop of Lisbon hauing giuen out and published the kings commandement afore mentioned, throughout all the Churches of Lisbon, in the yeare 1582 the first of Ianuary: vpon the day of the three kinges next ensuing, a certaine Curat, as he was saying a solemne Masse in his parish Church, with great pompe and solemnitie, and the Church full of people,

when he came to the end of the prayer which is vsually sayd after *Gloria in excelsis*: in singing of these words, *Et Famulum tuum regem nostrum* (that is) thy seruant our king; he suddenly stopped, and turning himselfe towards the Deacon and Subdeacon, he spake vnto them with lowde voice. Tell me, tell me, how call you this diuell: And they answering him: *Philip*: he named *philip*, and so went on with his Masse.

At the same time it happened that a religious person of the order of *S. Dominicke* making mention of the king in a certaine prayer, without naming him by his name of *Philip*, & being commanded by his Prelat, vnder paine of contempt and disobedience, that he should name him by his proper name: he then repeated it, saying; *Et Famulum tuum regem nostrum Philippum, Ducem Albensem, Sanchum de Auila & Rodericum Sapata, ceterosque omnes diabolos, &c.* That is to say: And thy seruant our king *Philip*, the Duke *de Alua*, *Sancho de Auila*, and *Rodericke Sapata*, and all the other diuels. When I rehearsed this vnto a Nobleman of good account, with whom I communicated the greatest part of this discourse, hee wondered greatly, vsing this exclamation; Iesu, do the Priests and Religious persons of Portugall thus hate his Catholicke Maiestie? This is a strange thing, and I maruell much that they hating him so extreamely, and being of such strength and puiſſance in their countrey, (for the most part of them are Noblemen and Gentlemen, and some of them great Princes) that they do not cause the people to rise in armes against that tyrant. I answered him, the cause is, for that albeit they haue neuer so iust a cause to take armes, yet the Portugals are a people of great patience and sufferance towards their Prince: and they do also go to the wars with so ill a  
will

wil, (howbeit, that being once in the warres, they proue verie good souldiers) that they had rather go to hanging. Neuerthelesse, if they should once rise against the Castillian, they would defend themselves in such manner, that he should neuer more be able to suppress the.

The whole substance of the matter is: that they do once grow to a resolution, & that they set hand to the worke: which if they once do, I beleue that they will make as great a wall betweene Portugall and Castile, as they of China did in times past make betweene them & the Tartarians: and if it were but onely, to content the soule of their king *John* the second, named, *The man and king of peace*, who was the scourge & plague of the Castillians: and of him is yet spoken that old prouerbe: *If the chick had not come, the Cocke had bene taken*. This Prince knowing the manners, the life, and the tyrannical actions of the Castillian, was wont to saie: that he did greatly desire to see between Portugall and Castile, a wall reared vp so high, as might reach vp to heauen; protesting, that the thing that most grieued him in this world, was: for that the Sunne did first passe by Castile, before it came into Portugall: and that which made him quite and cleane out of all patience, was, because hee knew not how to remedie it.

The Nobleman, to whome I recounted all these things, giuing me great thanks, said vnto mee: Certainly I am verie glad, and do thank you heartily for acquainting me with these particulars, which are things worthie to be remembred, and such as I haue not at any time heard or seene written. But I do not vnderstand (quoth he) what should be meant by that prouerbe aboue mentioned: *If the chick had not come, the Cocke had bin taken*: as that also which you haue spoken

*John the 2.  
the scourge of  
the Castillians,  
named, The  
man & king  
of peace.*

*The grieffe &  
discontentment  
of king John  
the 2. of Por-  
tugall.*

of the loyaltie of *Avila* and *Simancas* in Castile: of *Celorigo* & of the castell of Coimbre in Portugall: and of the king of Castile and the Castillians: and of the cities and townes. *Monsieur* (quoth I againe) I would gladly declare the same vnto you, but I feare lest I be blamed for making such long digressions: for I am so well acquainted with the disposition of men, that I am not ignorant in how manie partes of this my discourse, they may accuse me in that behalfe: and therefore I pray you to suffer me first to make an end, and then after the conclusion of this Treatise, I will satisfie your desire particularly and at good leifure: for I do assure you, I would keepe silence concerning many things in this worke, were it not most requisite and needeful that they should be spoken of and published, for the better attaining to that which I intend and purpose; the which (I do perswade my selfe) that both you my maisters of Fraunce, and you also my maisters the Princes of Europe (who are all of you highly interested in the greatnesse of the Castillian) will embrace cheerefully, and with open armes, if you be not altogether without iudgement and vnderstanding. But it is now meete, that we pursue the prooffe and demonstration of the tyrannie of king *Philip*, which calleth himselfe the King Catholike.

We haue lately shewed, how king *Philip* by vsurpation and tyrannie, *non solum in modo, sed in genere*, (as the Ciuilians vse to speake) of his predecessors, doth possesse the Realmes of Castile, of Leon, of Galicia, of Toledo, of Siuill, of Cordona, of Murcia &c. with some other Prouinces contayned within the precincts and streights of his Realme. Let vs now come to the  
 Realmes



Realmes of Aragon, of Valentia, the counties of Barcelona of Cerdonia, and Rouffillon, and the Isles of Majorica, Minorica, and Sardinia.

*Fernand* the infant of Castile, the graund father of *Fernand* aboue named, vsurped all these realmes and feigniories, of the which he depriued *Isabell* Countesse of Vrgell his own Aunt, sister to his mother: which *Isabell* had also one daughter named *Isabell*, which married with *Don Peter* the infant of Portugall, the younger sonne of *John* the bastard king of the said Realme. Of *Peter* and *Isabell* was borne the Lord *Don Peter* Constable of Portugall: which *Don Peter*, by reason of his mothers right, and of her auncesters, was called and acknowledged by the Catalognians, for their King and Lord. And after he had reigned ouer them for the space of fiue yeares and more, he was poisoned by *John* the second of that name, sonne of the first *Ferdinand*, whom we named to be the successor of *Alphonsus* King of Aragon his elder brother.

This *John* was a notable tyrant, and he retained the kingdome of Nauarre tyrannously after the death of the Queene *Blaunch* his wife, the right heire of the said Realme, against the rightfull title of *Charles* his own sonne, vnto whome that realme ought to haue descended, by the death of his mother: as it did likewise fall vnto *Lewes Hutin* by the death of his mother *Iane*, who died eight yeares before her husband *Philip* the faire. For this cause the said *Charles* (being a most curteous and vertuous Prince) had great difference and suite with his father, who caused him to be poysoned by his stepmother *Iane* the daughter of *Don Federike*, the second, Admirall of Castile.

Aragon, Valentia &c. tyrannized.

The Lord Don Peter Constable of Portugall and King of Aragon poisoned by John.

Charles the 4. the rightfull King of Nauarre empoisoned by his stepmother.

## The Translator.

The graundmother of king Philip on Charles his fathers side, was the graund daughter of this Iohn and this Iane: from whome principally he hath learned and retained the art and science of poisoning so perfectly, that not onely to the said Iohn the graundfather of his graundmother & to the said Iane his wife, but euen to all his predecessors, hee may giue forty five and a fault at that game, and yet be no looser; were they neuer so cunning in that art and science.

Of Peter Constable of Portugall and king of Aragon there was no lawful issue remaining: for the line of Isabella his mother, was extinguished in Iohn the second, king of Portugall: by reason whereof, the right of that realme, and all the seignories depending thereupon, ought to descend, and do appertaine to the most excellent Dukes of Loraine, as the true and rightful heires of Yoland Duchesse of Aniou the wife of Lewes graundfather in the fift degree of the said excellent Duke of Loraine now liuing: the which Yoland was the lawfull daughter of Iohn king of Aragon (the eldest sonne of Peter the ceremonious king of that realme, who was also the father of Martin, which raigned after the said Iohn his elder brother,) and was the true heire of this crowne, and of all the demaines thereof, by the death of her elder sister, the wife of the Earle of Foix, of whom she had neither sonne nor daughter.

The Realme of Nauarre was vsurped (as is reported by diuers Historians, euen Spaniards themselues) vpon false informations by Fernand the great graundfather of king Philip, which Fernand was one of the maisters of

The Duke of Loraine, the right heire of the kingdom of Arragon.

Nauarre vsurped.

of Machianell (as Bartholmew Philip doth tell vs in that booke which hee caused to be imprinted in the yeare 1585, where he hath these words: *Those Princes which do fully resolue themselves to preuaile and grow great by force of armes, ought to imitate the Catholike Don Fernand the first of that name, king of Castile, vwho held himselfe apart, and gaue the looking on to the vvarres vwhich the Princes of Christendom made one vpon another, to see vwhat issue and what forces they should haue, to the intent he might aide and succour those which were weakest: and he would not suffer anie to grow great or puissant in Italy, vwho pretended to be Lords and Comaunders there, neither vwould he at any time enter into any leagues made by the Princes of Christendome, vnlesse he might make some profite and benefite thereby vnto himselfe. For this cause he would not make warre vpon Lewes king of Fraunce, when Pope Iulius, the Emperour, and the Swissers did warre against him, for that he thought hee should not aduantage himselfe by the diminution of that realme, if the aduersaries of the said Lewes should make themselves great by his losses: and yet being perswaded that the said French king wold augment his estate, by making warre vpon the realme of Naples, he entred into league against the K. of Fraunce with the Emperour and the king of England.*

The Booke (whereof I speake) was dedicated by the Author to *Albert* Cardinall of Austria, when he was Vice-roy of Portugall, who is the third Graundchild of the said *Fernand* both on the fathers and mothers side.

Now how *Philip* himselfe hath tyrannized and vsurped the realme of Portugall, and the Seigniories which are dependant thereupon, raising himselfe into a great and mightie monarchie, & yet ill considered, or knowne by straunge and forraigne Princes, all bookes in gene-

*Fernand the 5<sup>th</sup>*  
king of Castile  
one of the ma-  
sters of Ma-  
chianell.

In his booke of  
the Councils  
& counsellors  
of Princes.  
Dis. 14. par. 13

This was  
*Lewes the 12<sup>th</sup>*  
of that name.

Let the French  
King and the  
Princes and  
Potentates of  
Europe consider  
this well.

Portugall &  
her demaines  
tyrannized.

The sonnes of  
Katherin, Du-  
chesse of Bra-  
gancia.

1 The Duke

Theodosius.

2 Edward.

3 Alexander.

4 Philip.

neral do sound it forth: & the Vniuersities of Coimbre, of Bologna, and of Pifa, and many learned personages haue adiudged it to *Katherine* Duchesse of Bragancia in Portugal, the lawful daughter of the infant *Don Edward* brother to the mother of his Catholike Maiestie: which *Katherine* is at this day yet liuing, and hath 4 sons, good and sound Catholikes, learned, wise, goodly, and courageous Gentlemen, and 2 or 3 daughters. And the Vniuersitie of Paue hath adiudged it to *Raynuncio*, now at this present Duke of Parma, the son of *Marie* the eldest sister of the said *Katherine*, the said *Mary* being deceased a long time before her Vncle *Henry*. I suppose that I haue most clearly and sufficiently shewed the tyrannie which all Spaine hath endured and suffered vnder the predecessors of king *Philip* the Catholike: and as for that which the West Indies hath suffered vnder himselfe, as also all the rest whereof he doth write himself Lord, by what title and pretence they haue bene gotten, it is well knowne euen to the litle children, who do openly crie & speake of it in the streets: and both Naples, Sicily, Milan, Vtreich, Guelders, Zutphen, & other the prouinces of the Low Countries, & the cuntries of high Almaine (all which haue bene tyrannized by him and his Ancestors) do manifestlie proue & verifie it: so that it seemeth vnto me, that I haue made good and sufficient prooffe by these histories and examples, that tyranny is the first & principall heritage of his Catholike Maiestie, euen of *Don Philip* of Austria; and that it is as proper and natural vnto him, as laughter is vnto a man, and that it belongeth vnto him properly & inseparably. Wherefore now that we haue made knowne his tyrannie, me thinketh it would not be amisse, nor impertinent to our purpose, (most Christian king) to entreat somewhat touching his  
cruel-

cruelitie: for asmuch as Spaine did neuer yet find his like or equall, as the flesh and bloud thereof hath too too well tried, and had the experience.

All bookes, all men, and euen his owne mischieuous and wicked actions, do euerie where yeeld open and abundant testimonies of his cruelitie. If *Iulius Caesar* (as it is reported of him) were cause of the death of more then a million of men, they which haue bene acquainted with the cariage and behauour of this tyrant, wil confesse, that he hath bene the death and destruction of a farre grater number. *Caesar* was extreameley grieued to see *Pompey* his enemy dead. And as *Antigonus* when his sonne *Alcinous* presented him with the head of *Pyrrhus*, slaine at the entrie of the Citie of Argos, did sharply reprove him (*filiūm q̄ nefariū & barbarū vocauit*) calling him a wicked and barbarous sonne: so *Caesar* in imitation of his example, seeing the signet and the ring of *Pompey*, did of pure compassion fall a weeping, in so much as he was resolued to make war vpon *Ptolemey*, because he had slaine *Pompey* traiterously, and he did so much, that hee caused him in the end to be the instrument of his owne death. *Philip* on the contrarie, doth not onlie not grieue at the death of his seruants, friends, cousins, nephewes, brother, sonne and wife: but he doth reioyce and triumph at the same; yea, he doth procure and aduance it, giuing great summes of money, excessiue rewards, and great honours vnto the executioners and ministers of his cruelitie: & for the satisfiing of his pernicious ambition, when there is any thing whatsoeuer, be it neuer so litle that toucheth him, he maketh no exception of persons, be it Pope, Nuncio, Bishop, Monke, or other Ecclesiasticall person, he poysoneth them all, without feare of God, or shame of man.

Of the crueltie  
of king Philip.

Plutarch.

See hereafter.

## The Translatour.

The Arch-  
shop of Toledo.

Of his seruants & friends he hath caused to be made away the Counties of Egmont & of Horne, the L. Mountigny, and the Marquisse of Bergues, with many other Noblemen & Gentlemen, whose bloud is yet fresh in remembrance: the Prince of Orange, Mark Anthony Colōna, Don Iohn de la Nuca great Iusticier of Arragon, the Duke de Villa Hermosa, the Marquisse de Fuentes, Don Iohn de Luna, &c. his cosin the Emperour Maximilian, his Nephewes by his sisters, Don Sebastian king of Portugall, & Don Alexāder Farnese Duke of Parma, Don Iohn Duke of Bragantia, his brother Don Iohn de Austria, his son, the Prince Charles his eldest sonne, his wife Isabel, sister to the three last kings of Fraunce deceased, Pope Sixtus the fift, Alexander Formenti, Nuntio in Portugall, sent thither by Pope Gregory the 13, as he was on his returne towards Rome, in his passage through Castile. Of Bishops, Monks, and ecclesiasticall persons, Don Bartholmew Carrance, Archbishop of Toledo, of whom we haue lately spoken, being his owne maister, a man of so great authoritie and excellencie, that by the space of many yeares Spaine hath not brought forth his like. This good Catholike was the cause of his imprisonmēt, so strict and so long, as all the world knoweth: this good Christian, in imitation of Nero, did persecute this personage with most notable hatred and rigour, till such time, as for very grieffe and sorrow he died at Rome: the Doctor Frier Hector Pinto, Prouinciall of the order of S. Ierome in Portugall, and ordinarie professor of the holie Scriptures in the Vniuersitie of Coimbre, whose great learning is sufficiently vvitnesed by the most godly and graue writings which he hath sent into the world, being imprisoned in Portugall by the cōmandement of his Catholike Maiestie:

some

some of his friends (who were well affectioned to the Castilian partie) did earnestly intreat and perswade him to retract and recant that which he had publikely read and preached: and to declare that his said Maiestie was lawfull heire of the said realme of Portugall: the which he would not do notwithstanding all the prayers and perswasions of his said friends, to whom he made this answer: That which I haue said, I haue said: and true it is, that Philip hath not anie right in the succession of this Crowne: but inuading & intruding vpon the same in such sort as he hath done, without staying till the cause were lawfullie and orderly heard and decided, he hath committed violence and tyrannie: & therefore I for my part do not acknowledge him for my king, but rather for a tyrant and an vsurper. Whereupon his friends gaue him to understand, that this would be a verie dangerous thing for him to maintaine: for (sayd they) they will leade you away into Castile bound hand and foote, and fettered in iron: and there will they make you languish away in miserie, and in the end there to die without all hope euer to see Portugall againe. Whereunto he answered: Little doth that trouble me, howbeit that it be an extreame grieffe vnto me to end my dayes out of my deare countrie, and that (which worse is) in Castile: and I protest vnto you, that although I doe against my will enter into the realme of Castile, yet shall not Castile euer enter within me. And so as hee persisted in this fidelitie to his countrie, and disauowing of Philip, by his commaundement there was poyson giuen him, whereof this godlie, graue, learned and excellent man died in the flower of his yeares.

The like misadventure happened to Don Laurence Priour generall of the Channons Regulars of Saint Augu-

Hector Pinto  
his speech touching king  
Philip his v-  
surpation of  
Portugall.

Don Laurence.

gustine, of the congregation of the holie Crosse of Coimbre, vvhich for his singular prudence and religion (vvhich with hee is notable adorned) had three severall times vvvith great commendation and honour executed and discharged this charge. VVhat shall vve say touching the immane and brutish crueltie vvhich he hath practised in Portugall against an infinite number of other notable personages? namelie, against that most reuerent Father Frier Steuen Leyton of the order of Friers Preachers, the kinsman of the Duke de Aueyra, and of the Duke de Leyria, and of other Princes and great Lords, vvhich vvas wise Prouinciall, and thise Vicar generall of his Order. And albeit that all the vvorlde did admire the miraculous life of this vvvorthie man, yet because he had tooth and naile (as the saying is) defended the right of his countrie, the said Philip caused him to be taken and imprisoned, depriving him of his voice active and passive, and of the exercise of his Priesthood, vvhich vvas the occasion of his death, through extreame griefe and sorrow.

Frier Steuen  
Leyton.

These things and manie others hath he committed against a great number of persons, both Regular and ecclesiasticall, vvhom to reckon vp vvere infinite. All those above mentioned, they have bene either ill intreated, or else put to death by the commaundement and order of his Maiestie, that is so Catholike: as is vvell knowne by true and manifest proofes, and by most cleare and evident coniectures. It may bee that one day you shall see touching this matter a more ample and large historie then this same: vvhich containeth onelie his cruelties towards his neighbours, and yet not all of those neither. See an epistle vvhich Anthonie king of Portugall sent  
unto



unto Pope Gregorie the thirteenth of that name, in the  
yeare 1584.

Behold then how hee dispatcheth all his affaires,  
and in what manner hee dealeth with all the world.  
It was not long since there was taken in the Citie  
of Leon a packet of letters, written with his owne  
hand, and sent to the Constable of Castile, within  
the vvhich were found certaine graines amongst the  
letters: and a certaine Gentleman suspecting some-  
what, gaue of those graines to eate to manie liuing  
creatures, which all died immediatlie. Another like  
matter as this same happened within a while after in  
the franke Countie of Burgoigne, in a certaine house  
where the Constable of Castile had lodged; after his  
departure from thence, a chamber-maide of the  
house found a ball within a verie faire purse; within  
which ball shee thinking to haue found some great  
treasure, found certaine graines, of which was made  
the same prooffe and experience: and all those crea-  
tures that did eate thereof, died. This is that nota-  
ble tyrant which doth all that he can do, to the vtter-  
most of his abilitie, and that dareth seeke to take a-  
way the life of your most Christian Maiestie, and o-  
ther Princes by such shamefull and abhominable  
meanes, as there is none but would shame to write  
them, saue onelic maister *Hieronimo Franchi Conesta-*  
*gio*, of whom we haue formerlie spoken. For hee in  
the seuenth booke of his historie saith, that *Philip* did  
prize the life of the Priour (that is to say, of Seigni-  
our *Don Antonio* king of Portugall) at fourescore  
thousand duckats, as being a rebell and disturber of  
the publike peace and quietnesse. And so did he handle

To wit, of the  
Queene of  
England, and  
Prince Ma-  
rice Count of  
Nassau, &c.  
Fol. 216. pag. 2  
80000 duckats  
promised by  
king Philip to  
kill Don An-  
thorio.

another Prince that was both his cousin germane, and cousin germane remoued, and so manie wayes of kinne vnto him, and so strictly allied vnto him in friendship and amitie, that they caried themselues each to other, as if they had bene each others father; yea, and as if they had bene but one person: and yet did he vse him as if he had bene a common theefe, a robber, a malefactor, and a man of no reckening nor estimation. And this horrible and abhominable crueltie doth not end in Portugall, but it passeth ouer the sea, and the Pyrenean mountaines, into Fraunce, and into England; where he hath bent and imployed all his meanes to take away the liues of the Monarches of those realmes. O barbarous, ô abhominable hang-man and murtherer! hast thou no shame? If thou be a Catholike, as thou doest entitle thy selfe, how is it, that thou knowest not what a deede of shame and enormitie it is to commit murther? God would not that any man should touch *Caine* himselfe, who had murthered his owne brother: and commaunded that if any were so hardie as to kill him, that he should be seuerely punished: *Omnis qui occiderit Cain, septuplū punietur,* Whosoever shall kil *Cain*, shall be punished seuen fold. If thou do knowe this, why doest thou not keepe the commaundements of God eternall? The good workes (I say not of Saintes, nor of Christians, but euen of Idolaters, which hauing no knowledge of the true light, do follow onely the simple law of nature, do they not worke any shame in thee? Doest thou not remember what the Romanes did when *Pyrrhus* his Physiti- on did offer *Fabricius* to poyson him? And how they handled the Schoole-maister to the children of the Fuliscians,

*Genes 4.*

*Pyrrhus.*  
*Fabricius.*

Fulscians, which came to betray them to *Camillus*? If thou thinke that these examples be nothing to the purpose, learne what sentence they gaue against *Seruilus Capius*, who returning to Rome with victorie, and demanding that he might triumph, in recompence of his seruice done to the commonwealth, by the death of *Viriatus* (whom he had caused to be slaine by treason) and for that he had subdued a great part of Spaine to the Romane Empire: they pronounced this iudgement against him; that both the said *Capius*, and the murthers of *Viriatus* were more worthie to be chastised then to be recompensed: and that there was no reason they should allow any reward for the destroying of their enemies, and the victories gotten against them by money and through corruption. *Qua victoria emptata erat à Senatu improbata, & percussores indigni premio iudicati.*

*Lucius Florus,  
Pompo. Meia.  
Lucas Tuden-  
sis, Paulus O-  
rsius, & ma-  
ny others.*

By this then that hath bene said, may be seene, as in a mirrour, the crueltie of this maligne and peruerse tyrant, whom many will not beleue to be such a one as in verie deede and in trueth he is: but contariwise, without all consideration, as people blinded, peruerse, and obstinate, they will striue and contend to gratifie him, be it well or ill done. And that which doth make me most out of patience in this behalfe, is to see and heare some, who moued with an indiscreet zeale: or els being wickedly enclined, and (it may be) guided and seduced by the diuell, do hold any man whomsoever a most lewd and vile man, and in manner of an heretike, who being drawne by a true and iust zeale, shal publish this much for a trueth and certaintie: in so much, that whether it be for feare or for gaine, or for hatred, or of a disordinate loue and charitie, they do esteeme

it a farre worser deede to accuse and to reprove such open and knowne iniquities, then the very act of doing them. All of you in a manner wil confesse & cannot denie, but that all this which hath bene spoken touching the malice of this tyrant, is most true and certaine: and yet neuerthelesse, they themselues will not for all that stick to saie, that notwithstanding it be so, yet it is ill done, so to report of a Prince, that is so great a Catholike. See, I praie you, what a blindnesse, & how strange a matter this is, most vnworthie and vnbeseeching any man, that would be counted either a Christian, or a iust & honest man. If it be true & publikely knowne, wherefore then do you contradict it, euen against your owne conscience, and to the hurt & detriment of others? Do you not know, that it is a most wicked and cursed thing, and a manifest sinfull crime to condemne the knowne and notorious truth? and especially in such things, which by the commaundement of God, and in holie & pure religion we are bounden to reprove & reprehend? But you will say vnto me; that there is reason Princes should be excused in some faults, when they are otherwise endowed with any notable & excellent vertues. And that there did neuer reigne in Spaine any Prince, which hath giuen better triall, nor made such euident demonstration of him selfe to be a good Catholike, as his Catholike Maiestie, of whome now we are in question. There is no Prince that hath so much enlarged, and augmented the Catholike faith as he. There was neuer any that did vse the Clergie, and all, both ecclesiastical & regular persons with greater loue, nor greater reuerence. And in briefe, there is not any that hath builded more Monasteries; nor edified so manie Churches, nor exercised so great bountie and libe-

*Nefarium est  
& maleficum  
cognitam ve-  
ritatem dam-  
nare.*

*It is as the  
fenne of witch-  
craft, to con-  
demne the  
known truth.  
Obiections or  
allegations of  
reasons to iu-  
stifie, or excuse  
king Philip.*

liberalitie towards the Church as he hath done; for besides the great & excessiue costs and expences which he hath bene at in building them, he hath founded them with most great and rich rents & reuenues, & hath honoured them with most ample and beneficiall priuileges. This is well said. Beleeue me my maisters, I am infinitely sorie, that I may not briefly answer to these propositions, for that euery one of them doth require a more ample treatise then this worke which we haue in hād: neuerthelesse, I wil not leaue by the way (as it were) to say somthing touching the same, & to shew you how you do abuse your selues in all these matters. And first, to answer to the former of your allegations; I confesse that you say nothing but reason: when a Prince shalbe a good Catholike, iust, honest, and valiant, without being liberall: it is great reason he should be pardoned of this defect; and so do I thinke also, when any of those vertues shalbe wanting in a Prince, which are conuenient & fit for the royall person & dignitie: so as notwithstanding he be furnished & adorned with the residue. Howbeit I do not forget what the commaundement of God is, touching this point: *Quicumq; totam legem seruauerit, in vno autem offenderit, factus est omnium reus:* whosoever shal kepe the whole law, & yet faileth in one point, he is guiltie of all. But I speak now as touching man, & in respect of men only, & not of God: and I am of this opinion, that if a Prince be touched with some notable vice: as if he be vniust, or cruell, or a tyrant, or an ill and loose liuer, &c. yet being accompanied and furnished with other vertues, wee ought not neuerthelesse, for any one of those vices aboue mentioned, (how great and haynous so euer it be) neither to reuolt from him, nor yet so to complot or conspire

An answer to  
the former ob-  
jections, or al-  
legations.

James 2. 7. 10.

Good and  
wholesome  
counsell for the  
demeanor of  
subiects to-  
wards their  
Princes.

against him, as to procure his ruine and destruction (for as much as in seeking of his ruine, we shall sooner finde our owne, which Fraunce hath well proued of late to her cost.) But we are bound to haue our recourse to God, by hartie praier, fasting, and abstinence, and to praie to his diuine Maiestie, to turne his mercie toward him, and to pardon him, and to giue him grace & vnderstanding to auoid that which is euill, and iudgement and wisdom, to choose that which is good: that he would giue him a contrite and humble heart, and would deale with him according to his mercies, to the intent the sweete smelling sacrifice may ascend vp to heauen, and that of his clemencie, it would please him to receiue his prayers and oblations made vnto his diuine Maiestie. By such meanes did the people of Loraine obtaine by the mercie & fauour of God so much grace for their Duke *Thierry*, the sonne of *William*, the brother of *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* kings of Ierusalem, a most cruell and tyrannicall Prince, and one that was a persecuter of the Church of God, and an oppresser of his subiects and vassals, in so much as he did not only come to himself and amended his wicked life, but also restoring that which he had wrongfully taken) he withdrew and shut himselfe vp in a Monasterie, where by the space of foure yeares before his death, he led a perfect and holy life. O that it would please God, that your great friend *Philip* the Catholike (in whom are wanting all the vertues which are fit and decent for a good and iust Prince) would do the like, and would restore vnto others, the goods and liuings taken from them, after the example of Duke *Thierry*, and not as did *Charles* the fifth his father. And let this suffice for an answer to the first proposition alledged by you.

As

As touching the second: true it is, that *Philip* hath greatly aduanced the Christian faith in the West Indies: in so much that this doth serue him greatly as a cloake or mantle to couer, and to augment his vsurped power and tyrannie: but this good worke ought to be imputed to such deuout and religious persons, both of his subiects & others, as haue bene the instruments thereof, rather then to him. See, I pray you, and consider well, how he hath extended Religion in Affrique: he hath euen of late, against the institutions of the order of the Knights of the Religion of *Iesus Christ*, and others, concluded and made peace in Barbarie with the Infidels, to the intent he might with the more commoditie make warre in Europe against the Christians. And what doth he at this day against the Turke, but only dallie and trifle with him?

Touching the third of your propositions: histories do wel recount, and all men may assure themselues, how much he loueth the ecclesiasticall persons, and what reuerence he beareth to them that are religious. In times past, it was neuer seene, that any ecclesiasticall or religious person hath bene put to death in Spaine, for any matters concerning the estate. The greatest crueltie, & most rigorous seuerer iustice, that the Arrian Princes shewed vpon them for being contrarie to their opiniōs, was to imprison them, & to keepe them enclosed within Monasteries. True it is, that of some of them they did put out the eyes, & afterwards, some Princes did cause them to be put to death secretly in prison: but as for the gallowes, & such like infamous deathes, they knew not what it meant, saue only since the reigne of his Maiesty, that wil be held for so great & so good a Catholike. And I for my part do belecue, that he is no lesse: and yet I

know he is but a very bad Christiā: for I make no doubt but he beleeueth all that which the holy Catholike, Apostolike Romane Church our mother teacheth, and instructeth vs: howbeit I know full well, that he doth not obserue any of the precepts commaunded in the Decalogue.

And as concerning the rest of your allegations made in his excuse; although that *Philip* hath builded vp a great number of Monasteries, and many Churches, endowing them with rich reuenues, yet all this will not make me, but that I must needes take him and acknowledge him for a notable tyrant, and a most cruell Prince. Historiographers haue written largely of the crueltie of *Brunhault*, (howbeit, that some would excuse her, and do attribute this fault vnto the first writers) and they do affirme, that shee caused to be put to death, ten feuerall kings in Fraunce, and many other persons of great qualitie. Also they write of her, that shee caused a great number of Churches to be builded, and did prouide them of so great goods and riches, that it is a verie strange thing to be reported. See what *Gaguin* writeth thereof: in so much, that if a man would compare the charge & expences of *Brunhault*, with the means shee had, he would greatly maruell, how this woman was able in one age to build so manie Temples, and assigne vnto them also so good and large reuenues. Now *Brunhault* hath deserued another maner of praise and commēdation for vsing so great liberalitie towards the Church, then doth *Philip*, because shee gaue of her owne, and *Philip* giueth of other mens. In Spaine they finde great fault with those that will steale a sheepe, and will giue the feete for Gods sake: and so doth his

*Brunhault*  
caused ten  
Kings of  
Fraunce to be  
put to death.

*Gaguin.*



Catholike Maiestie; he draweth frō the Clergie *Tercias*, *Subsidio*, *Pila*, *Escusado*: in so much, that of ten he taketh at the least five: and one Prelate payeth more vnto him then 2000 labourers, or 4000 Gentlemen. See then how liberall he is to the Clergie: and by the meanes of these feete of his sheepe, he buildeth vp Monasteries and other Churches, and endoweth them with great reuenues. Moreouer, who is hee that hath medled with setting to sale the townes and Castels which were of the iurisdiction and vassals of the Church? It is your great friend *Philip*, whom you accompt so vertuous and so Catholike.

See the meaning of these words a little after.

### The Translator.

*Tercias*, is the third part of the rent which a Prelate receiveth yearly out of his Benefice or Spirituall living.

*Subsidio*: is an ouerplus and certaine summe which he payeth out of the 2 third parts which remaine, & of other reuenues appertaining to his estate.

*Pila*: is that summe, which he taketh of all the parish Churches in Spaine: namely of euery parishioner, that is, of them that are of any wealth, he taketh the tithes or tenth part. And some of the regular persons, who do possesse any heritages in the same parish, do help to paie this tribute after the rate. The Regulars them selues do paie tithe also of all that which they possesse, euen to the Apples, Oranges, & other fruits of their gardens.

*Escusado*: is a certaine summe which the Clergie, both ecclesiasticall and Regular persons, because they may not beare armes, do pay vnto the king Catholike, to be excused in that behalfe.

Objection.

Answer.

Daniel. 4.

Daniel. 5.

Acts. 5.

The common  
histories of  
Spaine.

I know well, you will replie vnto me, and alledge, that the rents of the Churches of Spaine are so great and excessiue, that although the Prelates do pay vnto their King the one halfe of them, yet they do all of them still continue and remaine rich; because there be some Prelats in Spaine, which haue greater reuenues yearly then 50 or 60 Prelats in Fraunce. Hereunto I answer: that although it be so, yet his Catholike Maiestie may not spoile the Church of her goods which Princes and others Catholike and deuout persons haue giuen vnto her. And if the dowrie of any Damofell or maiden be priuiledged, how much more ought that so to be, which is giuen to God, & to our Lady, and to the Saints: who (as histories do specifie) haue foughten visibly and really, and haue bene scene in sundrie battels personally, doing of great miracles? And therefore seeing that his Catholike Maiestie doth take away from the Churches that which is giuen them, for the causes and reasons by vs alledged, he committeth fraud and sacriledge, which may be an occasion, that he himselfe may happen ere he dye, or his successors for him to repay the same againe. For this cause did *Nabuchadnezzar* wander vp and downe for many yeares in the fields in the shape of a brute beast: and *Balthazar* his sonne saw that horrible vision of a hand writing vpon a wall his future death and destruction. *Ananias* and *Saphira* his wife fell downe dead at the feete of *Saint Peter*. Wee haue many examples touching this matter in the holy Scriptures, and many more in prophane writers: and there is a great number of them euen in Spaine, especially in Castile. The Queene *Dame Viraca*, the daughter of *Alphonfus* the sixt Emperour, going out of the Church of *S. Isidore* with the riches which shee had taken

taken thence, fell downe dead at the Church dore. *Don Alphonfus* the warriour her husband, for the like matter was vanquished by the Moores in the battell of Fraga, and was neuer more seene nor heard of after that time, neither aliue nor dead. The King *Don Henrie* brother gerimane to the mother of Saint *Lewes*, being but a ladde, was slaine by the hazard of a bricke or tile falling vpon him within Placentia. Some doe attribute this his death to the carelesnesse of the sayd *Henrie*, for not prouiding a remedie (albeit hee were in his tender and younger yeares,) against the extortions done vpon the Churches, by the children of the Count *Don Nugno de Lara*, who were Tutors to the said *Henry*, and Gouvernours of his realme: and they do affirme that all those difasters and mishaps which histories do write of, did happen by the occasion of those his Tutors. These examples may suffice to proue vnto you the abuse and inualiditie of your replie, and to shew that your *Philip* by laying of his hands vpon the Ecclesiasticall liuings (as he hath done) cannot excuse himselfe of fraud, sacriledge, and tyrannie; and so by this meanes (with an ill conscience) he stealeth the sheepe of another man, notwithstanding that hee giue againe the feete for Gods sake. And yet ouer and aboue all this, I do assure you euen in the faith of an honest man, that if there were no other vices in the person of King *Philip* saue onely these two, to wit, tyrannie and crueltie, and if he were a true obseruer of the rest of the law and faith Catholike, I would excuse you of your blindnesse and inueiglement: but you may holde this for a certaintie, that his abhominable workes, will proue anie man whomesoeuer

to be an egregious lyer, that shall bee so hardie as to defend that he is no such manner of man. For this enemy and generall persecuter, vnder the cloake and shadow of a Catholike, hath done more mischief, and committed more insolencies against the Church of Rome, then all the other persecuters that euer went before him. Will you see the prooffe how you are abused, and how bad and vile a Christian he is? Open your eye liddes, and you shall see how hee bewrayeth it, euen as if a man should with his finger point at it. In the yeare 1575 this King Catholike being aduertised that the late *Monsieur* did make great preparation to enter with a mightie armie into Flaunders, he began verie secretlie to sound certaine of the principall Lords and chiefe heads of the pretended reformed religion, within the prouinces of Languedoc, Foix, Bearne, Bigorre, and of the countrey *de la Bort*, neare to Guipuscua, ouer against Fontaraby, to knowe if they would vnder his protection defend their liberty, promising them, that he would cause an armie of Almaines to descend against the most Christian King, and that hee wold giue them five hundred thousand Crownes yearelie to that effect, and for the entertainment of the Ministers of their Churches: beating into their eares, and making them beleeeue, that the enterprize of Flaunders, which the Duke of Alanson had vndertaken, did not tend to any other end, but onlie to entrap, and to make another massacre of them, as had lately bene done vnder the King *Charles* the ninth his brother, when the Lord *de la Noue* was taken, and the Lord *de Iuoy* was put to death betweene two tables, with manie other Lords and Gentlemen. He had the better meanes and

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Offers made  
for King Phi-  
lip to those of  
the reformed  
religion, to  
make warre  
against the  
late French K.

1572.

oportunitie to treat with the said Churches, by reason there were manie Catholikes mingled amongst the Huguenots: all of which did gouerne, and demeane themselves according to the conuentions and agreements made betweene them: and a great Lord of Fraunce, and the Lord *Monsieur de Chastillon*, howbeit that afterwards this vnion was broken. Some of their chiefe heads did giue eare vnto those perswasions of King *Philip*, inso much that there were great preparations made for a strong and mightie warre against them, which succeeded not long after, when Brouage was taken. Besides, the said Lords and heads of the reformed religion, with some of their Ministers, being entred into a great ielosie of the most Christanking now raigning (who was then king of Nauarre) and of the late *Monsieur* the Prince of Condie, they resolued secretlie within the towne of Montauban, to call in straungers of their religion to be their Protectours and defenders. And to that effect, they sent one of their Ministers into Almaine, feigning that they sent him vnto the pretended reformed Church of Metz. Notwithstanding the matter was discovered by one of the principall Lords, newlie drawne to be of their religion, who had taken great indignation against a minister of his owne, and because hee had bene an assistant at the same Counsell, hee thought hee had bene of the same minde also: and did therefore reprocue him saying: that he greatly maruelled how he could suffer such a quill to be thrust through his nose, without laughing at it. But the Minister excused himselfe, assuring him that he knew nothing of that matter. But that was an occasion, that the practise brake off. be-

sides, that they were not well agreed amongst themselves, whom they should choose to be their chiefe and protectour: some of them desired the Duke *Casimier*: others would haue the Queene of England: and some others the late Duke of Sauoy: who all that time (which was in the yeare 1577), did not know anything at all of that which passed betweene him and the Ministers. But after that, at such time as the young Duke (now presently ruling) came to succeed his father, he being aduertised thereof, sent vnto the king of Nauarre, to demaund the Ladie his sister for his wife: one named *Seruin* was dispatched as the messenger to that effect, and after him a Viscount; who seeing great difficultie in the demand, went by Bearne into Spaine, where he treated the mariage of the infant *D. Katherine*, at this day Duchesse of Sauoy: which mariage *Don Amadis* the bastard brother of the said Duke afterward effected. This mariage came well to purpose for *Philip*, because by this meanes he assured himselfe of the Duke, that he should attempt nothing in Portugall: where he knew full well, that after the death of king *Henrie*, there was great diuision amongst the Portugals, for that some would haue had the Lady *Katherine* Duchesse of Bragancia: others the Lord *Don Antonio*: and in a maner all well neare not liking to haue any of those which were named, would haue had the said Duke of Sauoy, being the graund-childe of a daughter of Portugall, who (as the report is,) if he had gone thither during the inter-raigne in Portugall, at the time of that dissention, and by reason of their vnwillingnesse to admit the one or the other of those aboue named, hee had without doubt bene receiued of all the Portugals.

To proceede, and to shew you yet more plainly what maner of man this is, for whose loue you do euen seeke your owne destruction, and in whose seruice you are so forward and so diligent, I wil adde here somewhat more touching this matter, for it is not possible to vtter all that may be spoken to that effect. It is not long since, that for to follow the steps of some other good and godly Catholickes as himselfe is, he rendred the city of Arzile to *Muley Hamet* king of Marocco, against the will and liking of the Portugals which did inhabit it, who had bound themselues without his aide to defend it. It was supposed by all the Christians, that *Philip* surrendered this city, because he was assured he should not be able to defend it against the puissance of infidels, for so did he himselfe cause it to be giuen out, saying: That it was a lesse mischiefe to render it without hazarding the liues and goods of the inhabitants, then by keeping it, to put them all in daunger. But therein he abused them most maliciously, for the true cause why this good Catholicke rendered this city of Christians vnto the Moores, was because he had promised it vnto their king, vpon condition hee should not lend two hundred thousand Crowns to *Don Anthonio* his cosin german, king of Portugall. The which summe the Moore had before promised to lend him at the intercession of the Queene of England: and for this reason had the sayd *Don Anthonio* sent his son *Don Christopher* to Marocco to be there in hostage for the sayd summe of money, who remained there by the space of foure yeares. You see now what a good and Catholicke Christian deede this man did, whom you do so defend for a most singular Christian and Catholicke, who to hinder a king, a farre better Catholicke then himselfe, from recovering of his owne,

*The reason why Philip rendered the city of Arzil to Muley Hamet.*

doth not onely tyrannically detaine anothers right, but doth make it away from Christians, to giue it vnto infidels. What answere do you make hereunto? I make your selues the iudges: wherefore then will you not acknowledge the irreligion of this man, to whom you are so affectionate, and the great malice and peruersenesse of him, whom you loue so well? Consider and know, that you are taken and bound with a grosse chaine: and that *abissus abissum inuocat*: one depth calleth another. And I say to you, one fault draweth on an hundred thousand after it. Of the maintayning and defending of an euill and wicked man, ensueth commonly a sinister and peruerse iudgement of them which are good. This was well scene to be true and verified in the life time of *Don Antonio*, and is yet still euen at this day. It is a shame to heare the abominations which the fauourers of this pretended king Catholicke haue heretofore spoken and giuen out, and do not yet cease to speake of this poore Prince deceased. Some call him rebell, others terme him a runnagate and a fugitiue from place to place, and from countrey to countrey: & some others call him a seditious person, an enemy to Christendome, an infidell, and an hereticke. Can there be any thing more grieuous, more sensible, more vniust, and more vnworthie of a Christian? How dare you (against all lawes both diuine and humane) handle and vse so ill, a Prince, the sonne, of the greatest Prince of his age: the graund-child of that great *Emanuel*, from whō the Princes of Europe do glory to draw their descent and originall: a Prince sore pressed and turmoyled with affliction, trouble and perplexity. He hath well shewed euen in his exile and banishment, that hee was a better  
Catholicke

Psalm. 41.



Catholicke then your *Phillip* his cosin: lesse ambitious, without choller, without hatred, and full of charitie. For if hee would haue beene content to recouer his realme of Portugall, with more honourable meanes then your tyrant hath tyrannized ouer it, and doth yet tyrannously detaine it, hee might well haue done it. If he would haue accorded, that the English should haue had exercise of their religion in Portugall, onely within their owne houses and lodgings, the Earle of Leicester (whom some call the Count of Lest) would haue yndertaken to set him againe in possession of his Realmes and Seignories. In the yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie nine, when he passed into Portugall with the English, amongst other Articles of agreement made betweene them, there was no other thing graunted nor yeelded vnto them, but onely a licence or libertie for them to liue in Portugall, without being bound or compelled by the Ecclesiasticall Prelats, to repaire to the Churches to the seruice and exercise of the Catholickes. And in the same manner, as the Queene of England did then entertaine the straungers Catholickes, inhabiting within her Realme of England: euen so did hee accord and ordaine that the English should find the like vsage and entertainment in Portugall. And it may bee, that if he would haue enlarged their libertie in this respect, the English would againe haue enforced their aboade in that Countrey. But hee proceeded so like a Catholicke with them, that they had a kinde of distrust, and tooke occasion to suspect him. The king of Marocco at this day now raigning (of whom we haue lately spoken) sent an Embassador into England,

to entreate him, touching the deliuering of Portugall from her tyranny: offering him to make present payment of 100 thousand Crownes at London, for the providing of a 100 sayle of ships to passe into Barbary, from whence he promised to embarke, and to passe with him in person, and also to set at liberty about seuen or eight thousand Portugals, whom he held in captiuity, and which were good souldiers, and with them and the principall horse of Barbarie, to take land and set foote in Spaine, & to put him in possession of his Realme. But *Don Anthonio* would not accept those his offers, because he wold giue no occasion to the Moores, (namely those Moores that are baptized and liue as Christians in Aragon, Valentia, Murcia, and other quarters of Spaine, where the Moore did assure himselfe to find 60 thousand men at his deuotion) there to rebell, and to worke the misery and calamity of the Christians. This was a more dangerous matter, and would haue bene more burthensome & chargeable to *K. Philip*, then to the *K. Don Anthonio*, with whom *Muley Hamet* desired to haue made a peece very beneficial and aduantageous to the Realms of Portugall: but *Don Anthonio* refused all, only moued thereunto of a godly Catholicke zeale. Now shew me (my Maisters) where or when your *Don Philip* euer did as much: He hath made great promises to *Don Anthonio*, to the intent hee might cause him to renounce his right, which he had in Portugal, by reason of his electiō: He offered to make him Viceroy of Naples, with 400 thousand Crownes of yearely rent, and the collation of the officers and benefices of that kingdome. Moreouer he would haue giuen him 500 thousand Crownes to pay his debts, and to defray the charge of going to take that Governement vpon him: And that he would be bound

The cause why  
Don Antho-  
nio refused  
the meanes to  
recouer his  
Realme.

Offers of king  
Philipp to Don  
Anthonio.

bound to restore all those Portugals to their former estates, whose goods he had taken & confiscated for following of his party. And that he would aduance & recōpence such as did serue and attend him actually: and that hee would pardon all in generall. Whereunto *Don Anthonio* made him this answere: God defend that he should commit so great a fault: and that he had rather die in an hospitall, then to do a thing so hainous, wicked, vniust, and against his conscience, for that the lawes had taught him thus much, that hee might not contract for that which appertained to another. For, when he was chosen at Sautaren, he had then sworne, and afterwards againe at Lisbon (when he was confirmed king by the deputies of the cities and townes of Portugall, which came thither to take their oath for their allegeance, and to doe him homage) that he should neuer accord nor fall to any agreement with the enemy, without leauing Portugall in her full and perfect liberty. This may serue to shew how much better a Catholicke, & how lesse ambitious the king *Don Anthonio* was thē king *Philip*. And as touching his choller and his hatred or charity, that may appeare by this which followeth, in that there haue bene many men who haue oftentimes offered to *Don Anthonio* to kill *Philip*: neuertheless he would neuer giue them any entertainment, alledging that kings are the annoynted of the Lord: and although (quoth he) my cosin king *Philip* blinded by ambition and tyranny, do persecute me, and do seeke to take my life from me, yet will not I be content nor consent for all that, that any man for the loue of me, should attempt to take his life. And whosoever shall dare or aduventure to doe it, let him looke to himselfe that he come not into my hands. For though his sins do so blind and bewitch him, as that

*Don Anthonio*  
full of conscience

*Most Christian*  
speeches of  
*D. Anthonio.*

they make him shew himselfe a *Saule* against me, yet I for my part do protest before God, to shew my selfe a *David* towards him. A certaine man on a day demaunding of him a fauour for the good newes which hee brought him (for he had assured him that king *Philip* was dead) he answered him halfe in choler; My good friend, doest thou not know who it is of whom thou speakest vnto me? hee is my cosin germane, bring me newes that I haue eight or ten thousand faithfull men, and well armed with good and sage Captaines, and all things necessary to restore Portugall to libertie, and I promise thee in the word of an honest man, to make thee so rich and so honourable in my Realme, as no Gentleman shall goe beyond thee: go, go, learne to know the disposition of Princes. Now my masters, what thinke you of these examples? doe you now see what reason I haue to say: That the King *Don Anthonio* was more Catholicke, and lesse ambitious then King *Philip*, and that hee was a man without choller and hatred, but contrarywise full of charity: I pray you therefore for the loue of God, that from hencefoorth you would resolue your selues, with a sound and vn-corrupted iudgement, and a pure conscience, and without any inueiglement or indiscrete zeale, to embrace the good, and to reiect the euill. If hee bee dishonest, luxurious and licentious, I say nothing in that behalfe: for that is not the butte or ende of our Treatise: and I beleue, that the Prince of Orange in his Apologie, hath sayd something touching that matter: and the infamous rumour and detestable report which hath runne, and doth yet runne throughout the world, doth saie much to that effect. God giue him the grace to know himselfe, and to conuert,  
and

and to render to euery man his owne before his death, better then he hath restored that which (as is reported) his father at the hower of his death commaunded him to render and to restore againe.

Sir, most humbly I beseech your Maiestie to hold me excused, for hauing beene so large in this matter: because I haue not done it without good cause, knowing that to come to the butte and end of my purpose, it was verie needfull, and did much import me, to haue sayd that which I haue done. This is a thing proper and conformable to the lawe of God, and agreeable to the nature of charitie, to bring them into the right waie, that wander and goe astray, and to discharge and cleare the innocent, though it bee to the damage and displeasure of the wicked.

*Most excellent Princes,*

If the reasons which I haue alleadged, and the histories which I haue quoted, bee not sufficient to perswade you, and to vrge you speedilie with one accord, and consent to make a good and gallant army, and to send it into Spaine, not onely to make present resistance against the force of the Castillian, to breake the course of his desseignes, to beate downe his pride, and to ruinate his puissance: but also to bridle him in the time to come, I shall bee enforced to beleeue, that God hath forsaken and abandoned you, because of your sinnes, both publicke and particular: and that hee hath depriued you of all iudgement and vnderstanding, to the intent you should not see that which concerneth you so neare, and which is aboue all thinges, most needefull

and necessary for your safety. In such sort that being so inueigled, and (as it were) wholly amazed, you will come to fall into a bottomlesse gulfe of most blind darkenesse, and consequently into vtter destruction and totall ruine: Conceiue (I beseech you) and comprehend that which I say vnto you, and consider it intentiuely, for in that you haue within these few yeares past contemned or neglected to make a voyage into Portugall, and haue not vouchsafed to yeelde neither succour nor fauour vnto the Portugals your friends, you haue therefore at this time in Fraunce the Castillians your enemies. From hencefoorth it shall be better for you and more expedient, that the warre bee made in Spaine, and not in Fraunce: and you shall receiue farre lesse discommoditie in destroying the territories of the Castillians with fire and sworde, then to see the townes and territories of the French taken, wasted, and spoyled.

The Translator.

*The inward affection which I haue vnto your Maestie, the loyalty which I owe vnto your seruice, and the desire which I haue to see the augmentation of the good and prosperity of Fraunce: besides my age, and long experience in matters of estate, do giue me the assurance and hardinesse to aduersitie, you by the way of something cōcerning the matter here spoken of by the Author. I had of late certaine intelligence by letters frō some of my friends, that the great king of Tartaria now raigning (whom the auncient Historiographers and Cosmographers doe call, Magnum Can, Regein regum, & Dominum dominantium, that is, The great Cham, king of kings, & Lord of Lords) who is sayd to be a most prudent, braue, and warlike Prince, hath deter-*  
*mined*

mined for the great deuotion vvhich he beareth to his great Prophet Mahomet (vvhose sect he profeseth) to passe vwith great forces to Mecha in Arabia, and there to seaze vpon the bodie of his said Prophet. This Sophie of Persia being ascertained of this enterprize (vvhome the Authour in this his Treatise nameth Xatama) presentlie dispatched away certaine Embassadours to Constantinople, to the great Seignior of the Turkes, vwith vvhom for these manie yeares of late he hath had great vvarres, and continuall enmitie, to pray him that he would ioyne his forces vwith his, to the end they might both of them iointly resist and vwithstand the puissance of the Tartarian, shewing him also the danger which both the one and the other of them might incur to the losse of their estates, by hauing to their neighbor an enemy so sage and puissant. I wold to God your Maiestie would now consider, that if these considerations do fall into the vnderstanding of a Barbariã, how much more ought they not to be wanting in men of iudgement and vnderstanding: and I wold your Maiestie wold ponder aduisedly, how much it importeth you not to suffer the greatnesse of the Castilian your next and nearest neighbour. Ioyne your forces vwith your Confederates, and take in hand this enterprize, in such sort as you may deuide the power & monarchie of the enemy. I do not say that you should send to pill and ransacke them which are vnder the yoke & command of the enemy, God forbid: for this would turne as much to his good and profite, as to our hurt and damage, because by our pilling and sacking of them, we shall giue them cause (who now hate him dedly, & cãnot abide not only him, nor so much as to heare him named) for the defence of themselves, and to be reuenged of their damages, and our extorsions done vpon them, to ioyne themselves with our enemy, and to serue him vwith loue and fidelitie: and contrariwise,

to prosecute and pursue vs with extreame hatred, doing their worst that they may against vs: in such sort, that we losing our friends, vvhich now desire to assist vs, shall purchase them for our enemies; and they vvhich will aspire nor seeke nothing more then our ruine & destruction. On the contrary, in steed of mortall enemies vvhich he hath now of the, shall find them to be his friends to ayde and assist him, to the maintainance of his ambition and tyrannie. And this is that vvhich he doth seeke and desire, (shewing himselfe in the meane vvhile like a most vvilie Foxe) and to this effect he will not spare to giue money liberally, because of the good that may redound thereof vnto him. This is a thing most certaine, that he desireth extreame to see them made poore and ruinated whom he feareth, &c. I am fully perswaded that fewer vvhords then these vvhich will suffice, to giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how much it importeth you to preserve and defend people that are malcontent and afflicted in miserie, and how much mischief may ensue by giuing them cause of scandall and offence. That which we ought to do in this case, is to trauell by all means possible to set foot in Spaine, and to fortifie our selues within it, gathering & drawing vnto vs such as are scandalized and ill handled by the enemy, and to receiue them vvvith humanitie and curtesie: so did William the Conquerour gaine the realme of England; the vvhich also in the same maner Henry the seventh did afterwards get likewise. Manie others haue done the like: yea, and your Maiestie also, who if you shall seize vpon some places in Spaine, you shall make your owne peace vvvith honour, profite and aduantage. This vvhich I say, is not to contradict that vvhich manie desire, vvvithout considering vvhich is expedient and necessarie to a matter of so great importance: but rather to shew, how your Maiestie may doe vvvithout any losse and detriment,

and



and to the best profite and aduantage of your realme : yea  
 and of all the common vveale of Christendome . The ho-  
 ly King and Prophet David, as a most politike and vwise  
 man, counselleth vs to pray to God for those things which  
 are needfull to the peace of Ierusalem, that is, the Church  
 militant, and consequently, vve are commaunded to do it.  
 Primò, rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Ierusalem : Pray for  
 the peace of Ierusalem. Secundò, Fiat pax. Secondly, Let  
 peace be (but the vworld shall neuer haue peace till Spaine  
 be deuided) in virtute tua. That is to say, in such sort, as  
 vve may not lose one iote of our estate, honour, reputations  
 and integritie, and other things of like nature and quali-  
 tie, vvhreeof I vwill surcease to speake any further, be-  
 cause I vwill not trouble the discourse of the Au-  
 thour.

And for my part, surelie and in my conscience I am  
 halfe in a doubt whether I should laugh or weepe at  
 this so great and extreame a blindnesse: neither more  
 nor lesse then *Hanniball* did seeing the destruction of  
 Carthage. And if it be well considered, that this laugh-  
 ter proceedeth not but of the great grieffe and sorrow  
 which I haue at my hart, I belecue assuredly that it wold  
 be to more purpose then all your teares, cries, and la-  
 mentations: and I will then say of you as *Hanniball*  
 said of the Carthagenians: You weepe, you sigh, and  
 you lament to see your townes taken, your countrey  
 ransacked and spoyled, your children, brethren, kinf-  
 folkes, countrimen and friendes slaine and killed,  
 and your goods wasted and lost: you know all of you  
 how to remedie it, and confesse that you knowe it:  
 and yet there is none of you that will resolue, nor  
 shewe himselfe forward, for the publike and com-  
 mon good, as well as for the particular good of euerie

one: and there is none that either speaketh or talketh of it, saying, let vs free our countrey, let vs succour our friends, let vs cast out and driue away our enemies: I will do this or that, I will giue thus much for the publike and common good of my countrie. Are you so straight laced for so small a matter, which should redeeme you, and set you altogether in peace, rest and quietnesse? and which should deliuer your friends, who will serue you as a rampier or bulwarke, and will cast your enemies out of your prouinces, and will driue them into a corner, where they shall feare you more then they do now scorne and contemne you? I am sore afraid, that before manie dayes be past, you will confesse you wept hitherto but for trifles, in comparison of that which is to come. I pray God you do not follow the steps of *Antiochus*, who seeing himselfe vanquished by the Romanes for want of following the counsell of *Hanniball*, was greatly astonished, but all too late. And he then esteemed *Hanniball* not only sage and prudent, but also, euen as a Prophet; for that he had foretold him all that which afterwards happened vnto him. Awake therefore I pray you, & consider well vpon that which I counsell you for your good: and that he which doth aduise you to it, doth desire it as your poore seruitour & friend, who hath as great a care of your safetic and preservation, as of his owne: and who hath often foretold, and (as it were) prophecied (as the principall counsellors of estate, both in Fraunce and in England can well testifie) both all this which is come to passe in this behalfe, and hath also foreshewed all that which hath bene lost in Fraunce: and to what end and issue things will grow at the last, if there be not some better order taken in these affaires. And I beleue, that if they were  
de-

demaunded the question, they will tell you, how I haue passed away my time with as great grieffe and discontentment, as a man possibly might do, to see the enimie daily to prosper, and to waxe more proude and arrogant by your owne proper sufferance, consent, and wilfulnesse: and for this cause, I am in a manner wholly resolued, to leaue & abandon the conuersation of men, and to retire and withdraw my selfe into some solitarie mountaine. Notwithstanding, because I know and am acquainted with all that hath befallne for these xx. yeares last past in the greatest part of Europe; I do therefore tell you, as one that hath had experience of these matters, that as yet you may recouer (if you will) all that which hitherto you haue lost, and both deliuer your friends and bridle your enemies. And you may take such order, that the time to come shall be more happie and fortunate vnto you, then the time alreadie past hath bene. And moreouer, I do assure you, that sithens the losse of Amiens, (which I for my part do thinke to haue proceeded from the verie hand of God, as of your louing father, who by a fatherly loue doth chastise you, to the end you should awaken out of your securitic and negligence) I haue bene euer since resolued to set downe in writing, that which I haue so often pronounced by word of mouth, to so manie persons of speciall marke & qualitie, before that euer they did intreat me therunto. And this is the cause, that if this my writing do not produce that publike good, and that effect which I desire, I protest that from henceforth I will for euer hold my peace and be silent. Neuerthelesse (Sir) I most humbly beseech your Christian Maiestie, and all the Princes & Potentates of Europe, and all the great Lords and officers of the Crowne of Fraunce, that it would please you

to descend into your selues, and at your leasure according to your accustomed prudence and wisdom, to consider that good fortune and felicitie doth not consist so much in the conquest and subduing of great Seigniories & large dominions, for the time present, with an intent to leaue the same to your successours: but rather to assure, confirme & preserue them for the time to come to your children & posteritie: to the intent that when it shall please God to call you hence, they may quietly & peaceably enioy them in peace & tranquillitie, without any trouble, disquiet or hinderance. For it is a far greater vertue, to preserue and keepe that which is gotten, then to get and purchase newe things daily.

*Non minor est virtus quam quære, parta tueri.*

The poore Pilgrime beaten by Time, and persecuted by Fortune,

P. Ol.

I am resolued to make warre vpon the Castillian: wherein if you also will beare a part, assure your selfe, you may account me as one of your most faithfull & surest friends. But if you once growe to any termes of peace and amitie with him, then seeke you some other, with whõ ye may deliberate vpon that matter.

AN

# AN EXPLICATION OF THE PILGRIM VPON THE PROVERB:

IF THE COCKEREL HAD NOT COME,  
*the Cocke had bene taken. And of the loyaltie  
of Avila & Simanchas in Castile: and of  
Celorico, and the Castell of  
Coimbre in Portugall.*

*Item, VVhat the diuersitie is between the King of Castile and  
of Spaine: and vwho they be, vvhom vve call Castillians,  
& vwhat is understood by Cities & Townes.*

**H**Enry the fourth, king of Castile, *If the Cockerel  
had not come,  
the Cock had  
bene taken.*  
(of whome wee haue before spo-  
ken) being at the point of death,  
named foure executors of his Te-  
stament, to gouerne the Realme  
after his death, and to marrie his  
daughter the Ladie *Iane*: two of  
which executors (to wit) *Don Al-  
uaro de Estugniga Duke de Arcualo*: and *Don Diego  
Lopez Pacheco, Marquis de Villena*, ioyning with the  
Archbishop of Toledo, named *Don Alphonso Carrillo*,  
*Don Bertrand de la Cueva*, Duke de *Albuquerque*: the  
maister of Calatraua: *Don Rodrigo Telles Giron* Coun-  
tie de *Vregne*: *Don Iohn Telles Giron* his brother,  
Marquis of Caliz, *Don Alphonso de Aguilar*, and  
manie other great Lordes, with foureteene Cities of  
Castile, sent vnto *Don Alphonso* the Affrican King  
of Portugall, praying him, that hee would take

The battel of  
Toro.

to wife the said Queene *Dame Iane*: the which the king of Portugal accepted, against the willes & good liking of many of his realmes, who would not by any manner of meanes haue to doe nor meddle with the Castillians. By reason of this mariage in the yeare 1475, *Don Alphonso* went into the lands and countrey of his said wife, where he had many encounters and combats with *Fernand* king of Arragon, the husband of *Isabell* the pretended Queene of Castile, and with his people, till such time as they encountred in the battel which was foughten nere the citie of Toro in March 1476. which was ordered in this manner: the king *Alphonso* had made one campe of the Lords and Nobles of the realmes of Castile and Leon, with some Portugals: the Prince *Don Iuan* his sonne, ( who was come to the succours of his father) had made another camp of his Portugals, without any Castillians mingled amongst them: The king *Fernand* made also two camps, the one of the Castillians, which tooke his part and his wiues: and the other of Arragonois, the Catalans, the Valencians, and such other peoples and Nations, as were the subiects of his owne realmes and seignories, whereof himselfe was Lord and commaunder. *Fernand* encoutring with *Alphonso*, defeated and ouercame him: and hauing taken his Guidon royall, made him forsake the field, and to betake himselfe to flight. But the Prince *Don Iuan* gaue in and charged so resolutely vpon the Castillians, that he made them to flie, and hauing slaine many of them vpon the place, he tooke a great number of prisoners; and himself remaining whole and entire with his forces, did with singular hardinesse and magnanimitie assaile *Ferdinand* also, the vanquisher of his father, and making him to flie, did recouer againe the Guydon royall

royall, which the said *Alphonso* his father had lost. The historie of Portugall saith, that the Prince did great honor vnto a knight which saued the said *Guydon*, and gaue him an yearely rent or annuitie of fīue thousand Marauedis (which was at that time no smal reuenue, in comparison of that it is at this day) being about 12 duc-kats and a half, allowing 400 Marauedis to ech duc-kat, and gratified him with fundrie other gifts and great honors. *Fernand* wrote vnto *Isabell* the successe of this battell, giuing her to vnderstand, that if the Prince had not come, the king his father had bin taken. Wherupon he returned him this answer: that, if the Cockerell had not come, the Cocke had bene taken, and hereof came that prouerb which we told you. *Guaribay* setteth down these last words, & confesseth the very truth. Neuerthe-lesse, touching the residue of the history, he reporteth a thousand vntruthes, which may be verified by the hi-story which *Damian de Goyes* hath written of this Prince *Don Iuan*; in the which he saith, that the Prince would haue kept & remained in the field where the battell was foughten, by the space of three daies, if the Archbishop of Toledo had not dissuaded him, who with great in-stance & earnest entreatie caused him to retire into the citie, because the weather was extreme cold, & his men were sore trauelled and wearied, & had bene ouerwat-ched for want of sleepe. And he said vnto him: sir, your highnesse hath kept the field long enough, these three houres you haue staid here, are as good as three daies, and one houre is as much as three. Some write, that in memorie of this victorie, king *Edward* the fourth of England, sent vnto this Prince the order of the Garter. And the Castillians had such ill successe continually a-gainst the Portugals, that (to grace themselues, because

*Damianus de  
Goyes in the  
life of the  
Prince Don  
Iuan.*

the king *Alphonso* was defeated and forsooke the field: (though his sonne held the field, and remained vanquisher) yet they shame not to attribute vnto themselves the honor and victorie of this battell.

*Auila.*

*Alphonfus Raymond* the only son of *Vrraca*, the daughter of *Alphonfus* the sixt, furnamed the Emperour, was borne in *Auila*, a citie of Castile, and was nourished & kept by them of the citie, during the raigne of *Alphonfus* king of Aragon, called the warriour, together with his wife *Vrraca* Queene of Castile, mother of the said *Raymond*. Now there were great reuolts and troubles in Castile, in the which they of *Auila* following the party of *Raymond* against the said *Alphonfus* his father in law, did so much, that the father in law was dispossessed of the gouernement, and the sonne in law was installed in the siege royall. And for this cause, this word hath passed for a common prouerbe: The fidelitie of *Auila*: and, *Auila* is for the king.

*Simancas.*

Touching *Simancas*, you are to vnderstand, that in the yere 1463. *Henry* the 4 raigning in Castile, at the perswasion of some of the Princes, many other cities and townes did reuolt from him, and grewe into a rebellion, which they called, *The league of the Princes*: and they entituled themselves, Princes of the League. And in imitation hereof did *Philip* king of Castile, in the yeare 1582 baptise the League, which hath bene the occasion of so manie mischiefes & afflictions, of which Fraunce hath specially tasted, and had experience for these nine yeares last past. This is that League which hath wrought so great damage to the Church of Rome, and hath so ruined and pulled it downe, as it shall neede manie hundreds of yeares to restore it againe. But to our matter: in processe of time, the souldiers of  
the



the kings armie, being greatly augmented, and their puiſſance much increaſed, they came to the citie of Toro: and the king hauing aduertifement, that they of the League were iſſued out of Valladolid, and that hauing broken downe and razed the walles of Pegnaſleur, they were gone to Simancas, he ſent preſently *John Hernandez Galiude* his Captaine Generall, with 3000 horſes, for the ſuccors of the towne: which being entred into Simancas, were beſieged by them of the League, who notwithstanding, were more afraide then thoſe whome they had beſieged. The lackeys within the town (who ſhewed themſelues to be of a wonderful good courage) hauing aſſembled themſelues one day in a great number, and mocking thoſe that had beſieged them, did make a picture, which repreſented the Archbiſhop of Toledo; whome (because he was a rebell againſt his king and Lord) they called *Don Opas*, the brother of the Count *Iulian*, who cauſed the Moores to enter into Spaine againſt the king *Rodericke*. After which, one of the lackeys being appointed for a Iudge, ſate him ſelfe downe on the iudgement ſeat, commaunding the priſoner to be brought before him, (which was the picture of the Archbiſhop,) and he gaue iudgement vpon him in this manner: For as much as *Don Alphonſo Carillo* Archbiſhop of Toledo, following the ſteppes of the Biſhop *Don Opas* the deſtroyer of Spaine, hath bin a traitor to his king and naturall Lord, rebelling againſt him with his places and Fortreſſes, and with the money which he put into his hands to do him ſeruice. For theſe cauſes, hauing ſeene and conſidered of his deſerts by his triall, wherein hath appeared his wicked practiſes, and felonious offences, we do therefore condemne him to be burned; & that he be firſt trailed & drawne through

*Iudgement gi-  
uen by the lac-  
keys againſt  
the Archbi-  
ſhop of Toledo.*

*Guar. lib. 17.*

*cap. 14.*

the streets and publike places of Simancas: & that in the execution thereof, the common cryer shall cry and proclaime with a loud voice: This is the iustice commanded to be done, namely, that this cruell *Don Opas* shall bee burnt for his offence & trespasse; because hauing receiued diuerse places, fortresses and monies of his king, he hath notwithstanding reuolted and rebelled against him.

*Quiental haze, que tal pague.*

That is to say,

*So do, so haue.*

The iudgement being pronounced: another lackey taking the picture between his armes with an open crie, threw it forth of the town, hauing in his company more then three hundred lackeys, and immediatly two of their companie made a great fire to burne it, not farre from the campe of the enemy, who looked on whilest they were doing of it; and whilest the picture was in burning, all the lackeys together with open throte cryed and sang:

*Esta es Simancas,*

*Don Opas Trahidor,*

*Y no Peñaslor.*

Which is to saie:

*This is Simancas,*

*(Don Opas, O thou Traitor)*

*And not Pegnaslor.*

With manie other speeches to that purpose. Which song of theirs was for a long time after vsed in Castile, and was commonly sung both in the Court, & throughout all that Realme.

*Celario.*

After that the Portugals had deposed *Don Sancho*, surnamed *Capelo*, from his Realme and kingdome,

*Don*

*Don Alphonso* his brother (who was then Countie of *Bologne* vpon the sea) was chosen *Gouernour* of *Portugall* by the same *Portugals*. This election (which they made, together with the deposition of the said *Sancho*, was approued and confirmed by *Pope Innocent* the 4, in a Councell held at *Lyons*: which was the cause that the said *Alphonso* went from thence into *Portugall* with letters of fauour from the said *Innocent* the 4, to the peoples of *Portugall*, praying and requiring them, that they wold obey and submit themselues vnto him, and deliuer vnto him all the cities, townes, and castles of the realme in generall. Neuerthelesse some speciall persons there were, who (notwithstanding the commandement of the *Pope*, or the force of *Alphonso*) because they supposed that this did derogate frō the loyaltie which they ought vnto their king, would not yeeld thereunto, but opposed theselues against the said *Alphonso*, & would not render vnto him the townes and castles which had bene cōmitted to their custodie by their king *Sancho*, *Fernand Ruis Pacheco* Lord of *Ferreyra* was one of those, who being besieged by *Don Alphonso* within the towne of *Celorico*, & seeing himselfe in extream necessity of victuals, there happened by great chance a Trowt to fall within the castle frō the talents of an Eagle, flying ouer the place: of the which hee made a present to *Don Alphonso* with two fine white manchets, to the intēt he might make him beleue, that he was very wel prouided of victuals, seeing he was not as yet without such delicates and dainties. In so much that the *Gouernour Alphonso* beleeuing that he had victuals secretly conueyed vnto him, raised his siege & departed. This deuise was imputed to *Fernand Ruis*, as a notable point of fidelity in the seruice of his L. & maister: after whose death he did immediatly yeeld

vp the said towne to the said *Alphonso*, then elected and chosen king of Portugall (for that *Sancho* his brother had left no issue behind him) without any other accord or condition.

The Castle of  
Coimbre.

The said *Alphonfus* for the same reason besieged the Castle of the citie of Coimbre, the Captain wherof was called *Martin de Freytas*; who was brought to that necessitie, that both bread & water failed him, notwithstanding neither his owne wants, nor the great promises which *Alphonfus* made vnto this Captaine could draw him to reder the Castle vnto him. *Don Alphonso* considering the loyalty and constancy of this Captain, & being desirous to saue his life, as soon as tidings were brought him that the king *Sancho* his brother was dead (who died during the siege) he sent from his armie to the besieged, both bread, flesh, and other victuals necessarie for their sustenance; and hee wrote vnto the Captaine that the king *Sancho* was dead and buried in the citie of Toledo; and he promised to giue him great honour and preferment, praying him that he would not anie longer trouble himself, but reder vp the castle vnto him, seeing now his king was deceased, & that he was chosen king by the Portugals, and had bene receiued and confirmed in the kingdom by the oth of fidelitie & allegeance throughout all the realme. The Captaine seeing the letter, demanded of the king only so long time of truce, as was needfull for him to go into Castile, and to see with his own eyes, if that report were true or not: which the king hauing granted him, he tooke his iourney, and comming to Toledo, caused the sepulcher of king *Sancho* to be opened, and hauing taken good notice and knowledge of him, hee bound the keyes of the castle to his right arme, of the which he caused an act and record to be made

by a publike Notarie, whom hee had there of purpose to that effect. And so returning from thence into Portugall, he rendred the castle to the king *Alphonsus*. The king in token of so rare a constancie & fidelitie, restored to him againe the keeping of the said castle, & gaue him the place freely to him & to the heires of his body for euer, with this prerogatiue, that neither he, nor any of his posterity, should be bounden to do homage for the same, either to himselfe or to the kings his successours. *Freytas* hauing kissed the kings hand, & yeelded most humble thanks to his Maiestie for so great a fauour, did not onely refuse to accept of the kings gift, but forbad his sonnes, and all the issue that should descend of him, vpon paine of his curse, neuer to take charge, nor to vnder take the custodie and guard of anie towne or castle, for which they should be bounden to do fealtie and homage vnto anie Prince whatsoever. Thus you see, what is meant by *Auila*, *Simancas*, *Celorico*, & the castle of *Coimbre*, al which are notable examples most worthy to be considered, & may be a shame to many men in this our age, wherin they make so smal account & reckening of a vertue so rare & commendable. My maisters, put your hands, I pray you, into your bosoms, & see how they are ful of leprosie: return & consider wel with your selues, & acknowledge your faults, for God hath alwaies his eares open to heare them that seek vnto him for mercy.

Now as concerning the king of Castile, I would bee verie glad, that you would well vnderstand & conceiue what the meaning of this is, and wherof we haue already spoken somewhat; and is at large handled in that booke which *Frier Ioseph Texere* (a religious person of the order of *S. Dominicke*) hath made concerning the Genealogie of the most Christian king: who is the very same

*The title of the King of Castile, and of Spaine.*

*In the year 1594 at Paris.*

person, that did preach, how we are bound to loue all men of whatsoeuer religion, sect or nation that they be, euen the Castilians themselues: which Monke being a Portugall (it may be) doth not fullie know how much the Spanish nation is agreeued to see & heare, that king *Philip* should entitle himselve king of Spaine (we speake nor meane not in this nūber the vulgar and rascal sort of Castilians, because they are perswaded that their king being so, they alone shall haue all the rule and gouernmēt of the world.) For there be diuers other reasons besides those which he alledgeth, which are of no smal importance to let you know: that as they of Arragon and of Nauarre are not altogether out of hope to see themselues yet one day deliuered from the tyrant (which may be also said of Portugall,) so they haue a desire likewise to preferue their monarchies entire, that is to say, the priuiledges, preheminences, prerogatiues, dignities, offices, customs, & language of their realmes: & it may be, that God of his diuine goodnesse and mercy will permit one day, that there shall be raised vp some *Moses* for the restoring of them to their liberty, for so also some haue written touching the children of Israell; that after their entry into Egypt, they did continually keep 3 things especially vncorrupted and in their first integrity: to wit, their language which was the Hebrew tongue, one selfe same fashon of aparrelling themselues, & the proprietie of the surnames of their Families. And in case his Christian Maiesty would resolue to draw & deliuer that realme of Nauarre from the tyranny of the Castilian, he should find a Constable and all other officers of the said realme, who would assist him, and do their vttermost endeuors to serue him faithfully: to the intēt they might remain in their cūtry with their charges & offices, vnder  
the

the obeissance of a naturall king, and not of a Castilian. And if the most excellent Duke of Lorraine, were disposed to restore Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, &c. he should haue an Admirall, and many officers of those Realmes to accompanie him: and they would hold and esteeme themselves for most happie and fortunat, to deliuer their Countrey from the tyranny and yoke of a stranger, and to redeliuer it to a naturall and lawfull Prince. If the Portugals likewise would determine and resolue themselves to choose by election (as they haue right so to do) some Prince or some other of the people either white, or negro (for it is most certaine, that to deliuer themselves of the tyranny of *Philip*, they would be content to receiue to their king the meanest negro of Guinee, if he be a Christian, and will liue in the Realme with them) they are fully perswaded, and they haue reason, that this would be a great helpe and furtherance to the accomplishment of their desires, to find for their defence and preservation, a Constable of Portugall, a Marshall, and Admirall, and all other such like officers of the Realme: and their records and writings done in their own tongue, the fashions of their garments, & the surnames of their families. Contrarywise, if it be graunted and yeelded vnto *Philip*, that he may once take vpon him this title of king of Spaine, it is most certaine and sure, that hee will make onely one house royall of all Spaine, with a Constable, Marshall, or Marshals, & Admirall, graund maister, great Chamberlaine, maister of the horse, and all other such like officers of the Realme, all which shall be called of Spaine generally, and they will call themselves also by the name only of Spaniards, & so wil vnite all of them into one only body, which wil turne to the great damage and prejudice of the parti-

*Inciuitale est de  
re incognita  
iudicare.*

*Egbert King of  
West Saxons  
in England.*

cular states and kingdomes of Spaine, and to the great profit and surety of *Philip* and his posteritie. Full litle do strangers knowe of what importance this matter is: and thereof it commeth that, they speake so fondly and foolishly when they talke thereof, which is a thing greatly to be blamed and reprehended in them: considering that it is against the law, which sayeth, that it is a great inciuility for any man to iudge of that which hee doth not vnderstand. The nations of Spaine doe see very well what mischiefe this may bring vpon them: and therefore they do resist and withstand it with so great force and vehemencie. The Castillian knoweth full well the great aduancement and assurance, which would hereof ensue to his estate, if hee could reach so farre: and that is the cause, hee is so earnest to get himselfe entituled king of Spaine. He is (as we haue before sayd) very expert and well seene in histories, as his predecessors were also before him: and by reading of them he hath learned that this is the most easie meane and readie way to commaund peaceable, and to gaine the affection of all the Spaniards. Histories doe shew vs, how *Egbert* a valiant and magnanimous Prince, being cholen king of the realme of West Saxons in great Brittain (which realme contained the prouinces of Cornwall, Deuon, Somerset, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Barkeshire: and trusting vpon his skill and knowledge in the art military, which he had learned in Fraunce vnder *Charlemaigne*, where he had beene banished for manie yeares, hee resolued to make himselfe king and Lord of all great Brittain, leauing Scotland aparte. And beginning his enterprise, hee first subdued the prouince of Wales, which

is



is the strongest of all the rest. After which hee wanne the Realmes of Kent, Mercia, Northumberland, and the Realme of the East Saxons, called Essex: hauing gotten this prouince, and those foure realms, *Egbert* seeing himselfe now Lord of fiue, and that there now rested no more to conquer but the Realme of Sussex, so called of the South Saxons, and that of the East Saxons, called East Anglia, of whose forces he made no great reckening. And bethinking with himselfe how hee might assure and secure these dominions and Seignories vnto himselfe, he determined not onely to roote out and extinguish the name and memory of the Britains the auncient inhabitants of that Ile, but also gaine the good willes and affections of his subiects, by a new name, and so by that meanes to draw vnto himselfe the residue which remained yet vnconquered. To this effect and purpose he ordained and appointed, and by a perpetuall edict commaunded, that from that day forwards all those seuen Realmes should bee named by one onely name England: and that all the inhabitants should name themselues Englishmen. And by this meanes hee came readilie and fully to the ende of his desire. In imitation of this *Egbert*, *Fernand* the second king of Arragon, and the fift of that name, king of Castile, seeing himselfe Lord of the greatest part of Spaine: and that there rested no more for him to gaine saue only Nauarre and Portugall, hee employed all his forces and endeuours to obtaine from the Princes, realmes, and prouinces of Spaine, that which they refused, to wit, that hee might entitle and write himselfe King of Spaine. With the like ambition and desire, *Philip* his great graund-child, pretendeth that

*Orrashee*  
North Saxons  
in Northfolke.

*Egbert the*  
*first king of*  
*England.*

the Realms of Spaine, & now of late Portugal haue constantly & resolutely denied him, & which you do giue him so readily & so liberally. So that now I thinke you wil perfectly vnderstand the cause wherfore *Philip* doth write himself K. of Castile & of Leō, &c. For so the natiōs of Spaine, & the Castilians themselves call him, howbeit that you do make a iest & toy of it, not knowing how much it doth import thē so to do and therefore I hope that frō henceforth you will by these instructions both know your own ignorance & correct this your fault & ouersight.

Castilians and  
Castile, what it  
meaneth.

New Castile  
all those king-  
domes which  
the kings of  
Castile haue  
gotten from  
the Moores.  
The particular  
names of the  
kingdomes of  
new Castile, &  
when they  
were recovered  
from the  
Moores.  
Toledo first set  
at liberty, an-  
no. 1086.  
The reason  
wherfore  
Braga enti-  
tlesh herselfe  
Primate of  
Spaine.

We call them Castilians, which are naturall & borne in the Realme of Castile, & in those Realmes which the kings of Castile (with the aid of the kings of Nauarre, Arago, & Portugal, & other Soueraigne Lords of Spaine) haue gotten & wrested out of the hands & possession of the Moores: all which Realmes we name by one onely name, new Castile. Of these Realmes, that which was the shortest time in the power and puissance of the Moores was the kingdom of Toledo, which was restored to liberty by *Alphonfus* the 6, called the Emperour, in the yeare 1086, hauing bin left vnto thē, when Spaine was lost by *K. Rodericke*, in the yere 714, so that by this account Toledo the chiefe & metropolitan city of Spaine, was in the possession of the infidels by the space of 372 yeares. For this cause the city of Braga in Portugall, Metropolitā of the realme of Galicia, & hauing bin alwaies maintained against the Moores by the Portugals, the inhabitants thereof (who at the time whē they builded it, were called *Galli Bracchati*) & where there haue bin Bishops successively frō the beginning of the primitiue Church euē til this time) did heretofore obtain the primacie of Spaine, & she doth yet so entitle her selfe, against the consent & liking of the Church of Toledo, which after it came to

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be restored to her liberty, did againe begin to reuiue & take her former title, and the Archbishops of those places do yet at this day dispute & contend, whether of the should haue the preheminnence.

Cordua was in the power of the Moores by the space of 522 yeares, for it was restored in the yeare 1236, the 29 of Iune, on the feast of the Apostles *S. Peter & S. Paule*. *Cordua. 2.*

Murcia was in their possession by the space of 527 yeares. For it was recovered in the yeare 1241, on which yeare also the vniuersity of *Salamanca* was founded. *Murcia. 3.*  
*Vniuersity of Salamanca founded annus.*

Iaen was vnder the Moores 529 yeares, & was restored in the yeare 1243. *Iaen 4.*

Seuill hauing bin held by them for the space of 535 yeares, was set at liberty in the yeare 1248. *Seuill. 5.*

Caliz was vnder their commaund by the space of 555 yeares, and was reestablished in the yeare 1269, in the time of *Iacob Aben Iuceph* king of Marocco. *Caliz 6.*

Algizira hauing bin in their subiectiō for 630 yeares, was deliuered in the yeare 1344. For the recouery of this city, the people of the Realmes of Castile and of Leon, did graunt and accord to giue vnto the king *Alphonsus* the *Iusticier* as long as the siege should endure, the tribut which is called *Alcâ vala*: which is a shilling vpon the pound of all the Marchandize which shold be sold. The which tribute *Alphonsus* most vniustly & ambitiously against the wil of those peoples, did exact as long as he liued. In so much as the kings his successours haue not only euer since cōtinued it, but they haue also augmented it, & they make the pay at this day one vpon ten. *Algizira. 7.*

Gibraltar was held by the Moores for 748 yeares, & was recovered in the yeare 1462. *Gibralt. 11. 8.*

Malega was vnder them 773 yeares, and was reconquered in the yeare 1487. *Malega. 9.*

Granada. 10.

Granada was regained in the yere 1492, & was the last city and realme taken from the Mores, who had enioyed it the space of 778 yeares.

This being knowne, it is no maruell, as I haue written in this Treatise, that the Castilians are descended of the Mores & Iewes, (for these two peoples liue mingled pell mell together) and that the pronunciation of their language is after the Morish fashion: seeing that the Mores haue inhabited in that countrey so many hundred of yeares, and do yet at this present possesse and occupie a great part of Castile.

Cities: the  
meaning  
thereof.

Cities in Spaine, are those peoples wherein Bishops Seas are established. There bee also some cities which by particular priuiledge (albeit they be not Metropolitans nor heads of Bishoprickes) do vse this title and prerogatiue: howbeit there be very few of them. Betweene a City and a Towne, there is a great difference, aswell in authoritie, as in prerogatiues, honours and priuiledges. In Cities there are commonly *Corrigidores*, specially in Portugall, who may bee resembled to the Pretours and Gouvernours of the auncient Romanes, which gouerned the prouinces. One citie hath many townes, peoples, and villages, which are subiects vnto it, aswell in temporall as spirituall matters. In such sort, that the cities are as the heads, and the townes as the members. For this cause when there happeneth any great affaires or common reuolt in Spaine, the townes doe alwayes follow the partie of that city whereunto they are dependant. And to reduce any people into a citie, the antiquitie of the place is more required then the greatnesse of it. There bee many cities which are but meanly peopled, and  
Townes

townes which are full and thicke of people. *Valladolid*, *Medina del Campo*, *Madrill*, and *Caceles* in Castile, *Santaren*, *Abrantes*, *Setuall*, and *Oliuença* in Portugall, are verie great townes, and notable well peopled, and yet they surpasse in greatnesse manie of the cities: neuerthelesse, they are not for all that indowed with all these prerogatiues, neither are they called Cities. *Valladolid* and *Sentaren* are so full of people, that when in Spaine we make comparison of the greatnesse of Cities and of townes, we say; *Ciudad par ciudad*, *Lisbona en Portugall*: *Villapor villa*, *Valladolid en Castilla*: *si quieres otratal, busca Sentaren en Portugal*, that is to say: Citie for citie, Lisbon in Portugal: towne for towne: *Valladolid* in Castile: if you wil find any other the like, seek *Santaren* in Portugall. It is not manie yeares since that king *Philip* hath honoured the said towne of *Valladolid* with the title of a citie, and hath made it an Episcopall See: and that was, both because *Valladolid* was wonderfull well peopled (as hath bene said) as also because it is one of the most noble and chiefest townes of Castile, full of great and rich buildings, churches, Monasteries, Colledges, principall houses, and generall studies: and also because his Maiestie was borne in that towne the 22 day of May 1527, on a Tuesday about 4 houres after noone.

*Valladolid* made a citie and Bishops see by king *Philip*.

King *Philip* borne in *Valladolid*. The time of his nassivity.

The townes in Spaine are best peopled, which haue within their limits and territories manie villages, hamlets and houses, and haue their iurisdiction limited and subiected to the Cities. True it is, that there bee some townes, which are the heads of Baylife-wikes and gouernements, as in Portugall, the towne of *Santaren*, of the which wee spake before, and the

Townes in Spaine which they be.

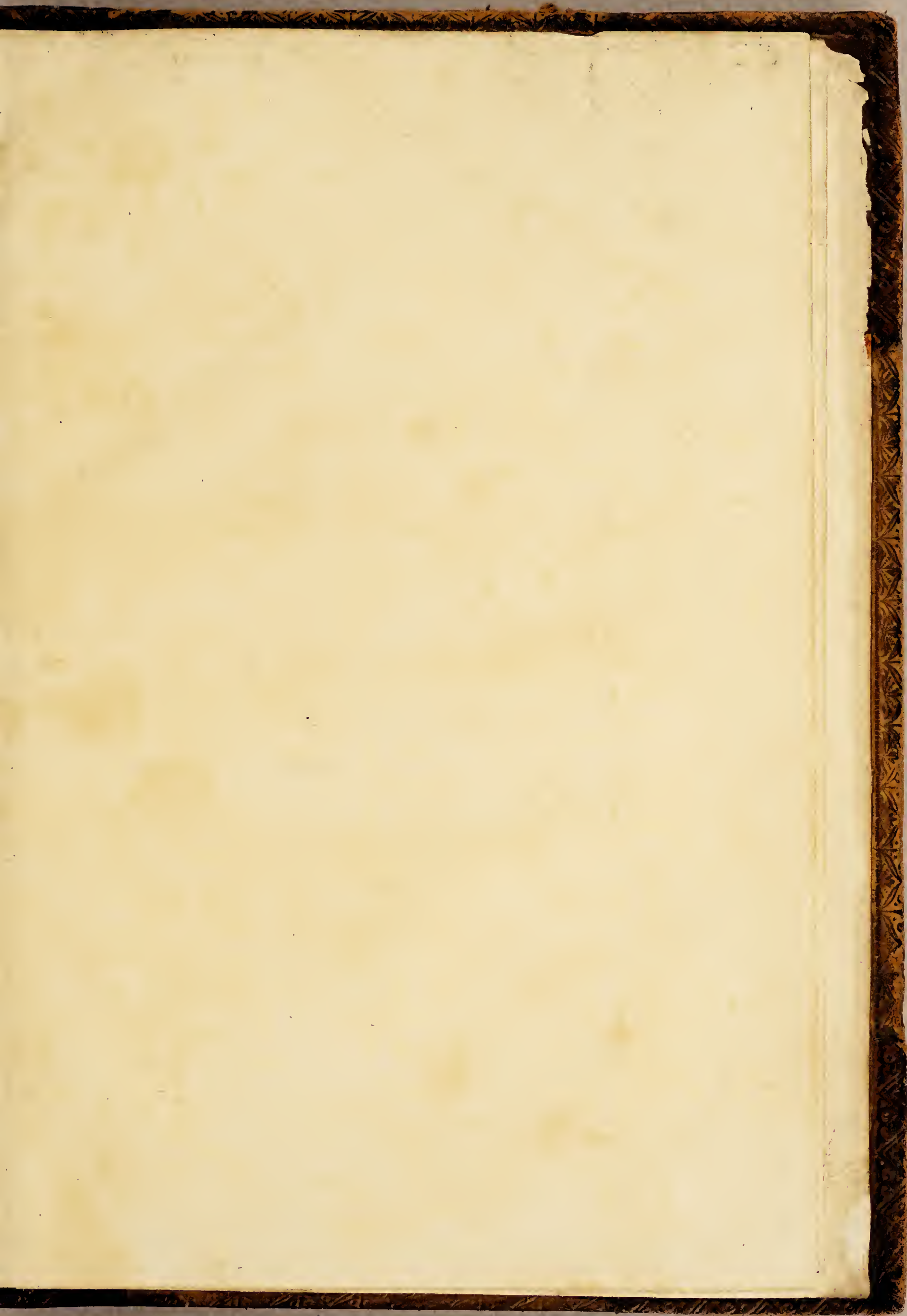
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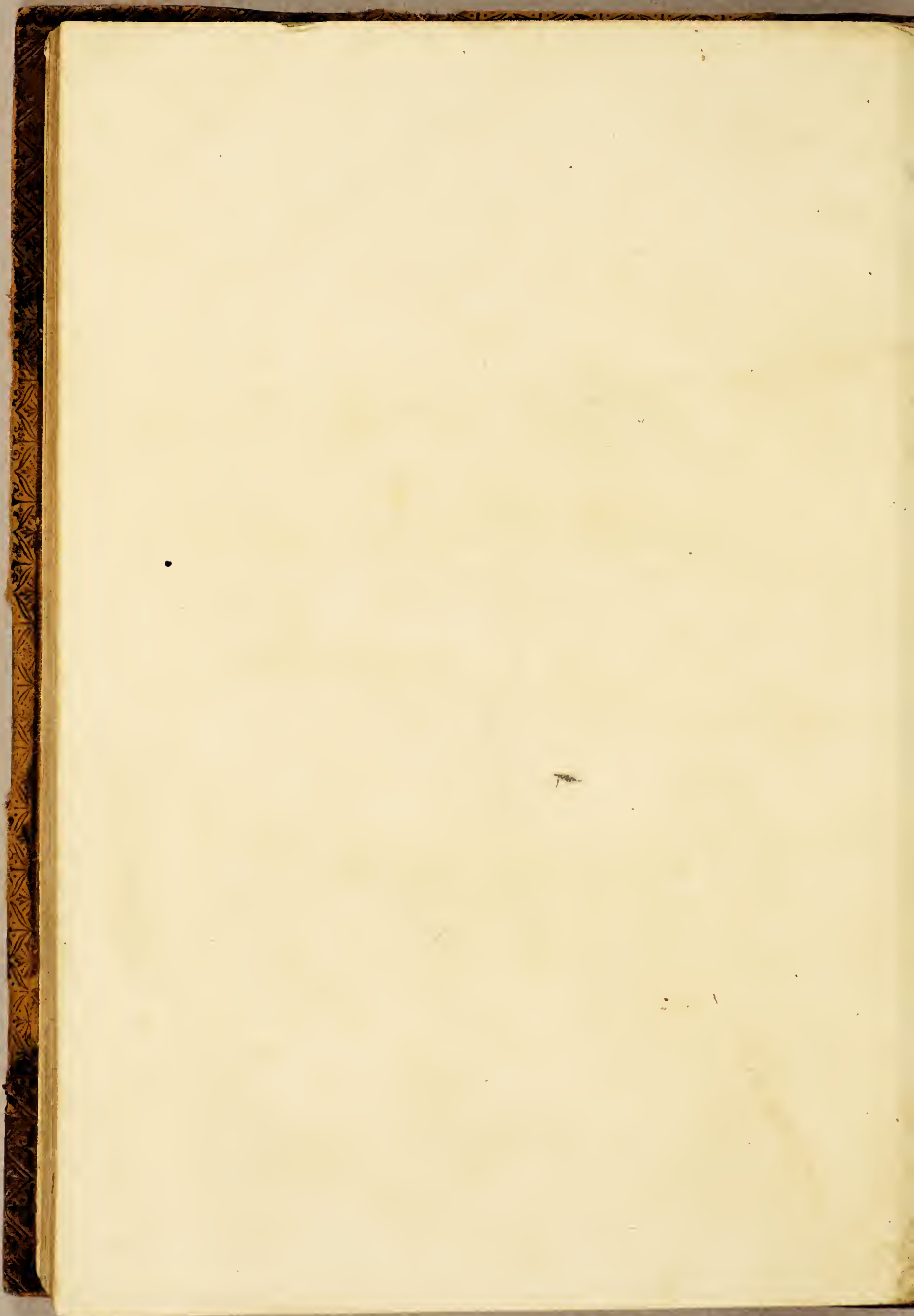
Towne of Tomar, which hath 42 Townes depending of  
her iurisdiction. These two townes in Portugall do pre-  
cede & haue the preheminance of the place before ma-  
ny cities, in the publike assemblies of the estates of that  
kingdome. The towne of Santaren precedeth & goeth  
before 13 cities, and is preceeded only of foure, to wit,  
Lisbon, Coimbre, Ehora, and Puerto, which in Latin is  
called *Ciuitas Portugallensis*. Santaren in the time of the  
Romanes was called *Iulium Presidium*, and was a Court  
Royall, or (as they call it in Fraunce, a Court of Parlia-  
ment) and was a Colonie of the Romanes. Tomar also  
at the same time was called *Nabantia*, and was an aun-  
cient city.

Now I suppose that I haue sufficiently performed  
my promise, and satisfied your desire.

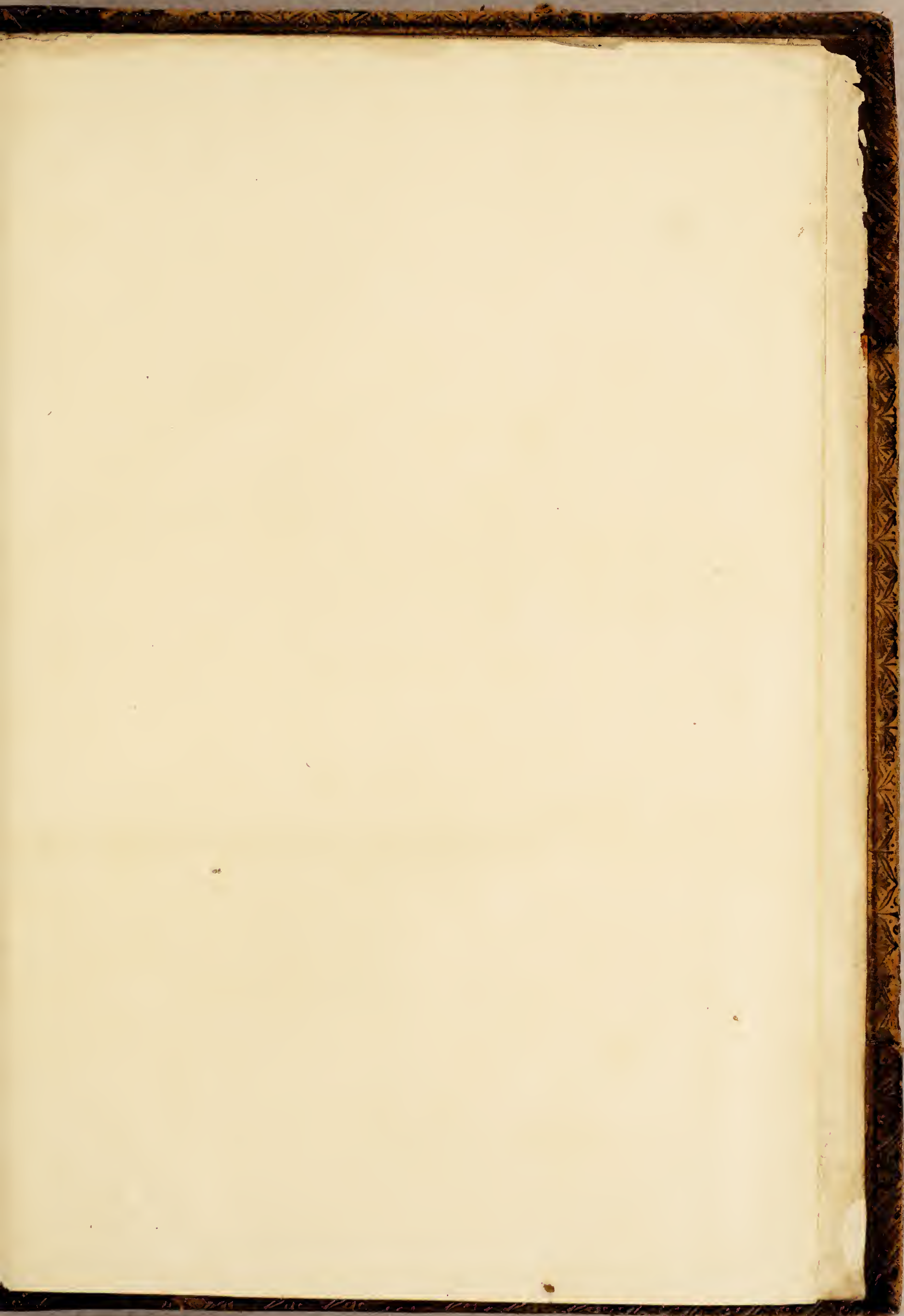
And so fare you well.

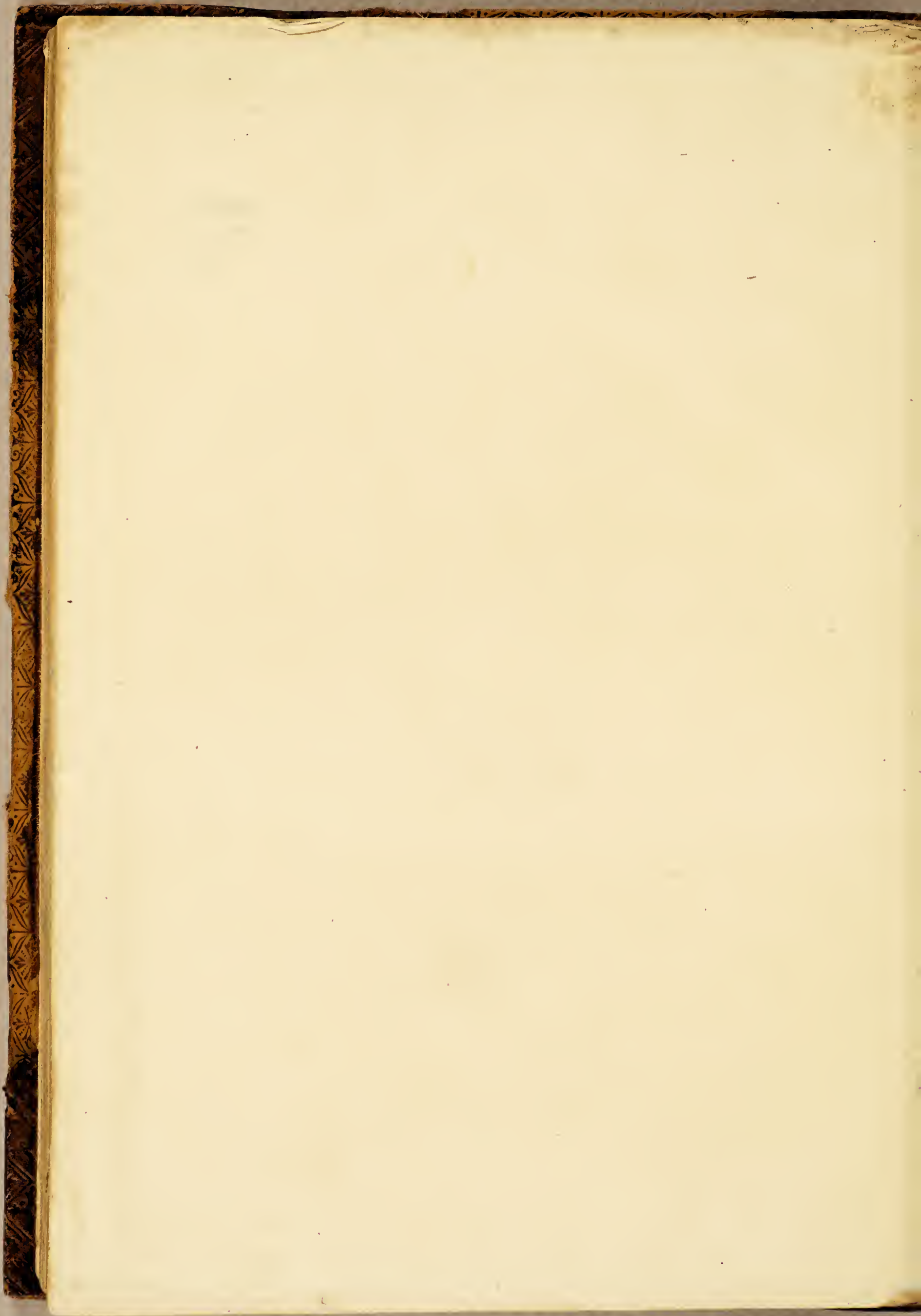
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