

## A Discourse of the State of Spain (1607)

Sir Charles Cornwallis

### Transcript

British Library, Additional MS 4149, ff. 132r–152v

#### 132r

A Discourse of the State of Spayne written by S[i]r Charles Cornwallis  
the Lidger Ambassador ther, about the begininginge of this yeare. 1607. / .

The kinge possesseth at this present Spaine entirely, wherin are contayned Fourteene kingdomes and principallities, Portugall, Algaruie, Granada, Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, Catalun[n]a, Arragon, Nauarre, Biskay, Galicia, Leon, Castile, the newe, and Castile the olde, / .

In Italye he hath the kingdome of Naples, that of Cicilia & the dukedome of Millan, w[hi]ch in riches, in Number of Subiectes and in Revenewe exceedeth divers kingdoms. / .

In the Lowe Countryes, he possesseth a tytyle in reuersion to the dukedoms of Brabant, Lymburche, and Lucenburch, and entitleth him selfe in like Manner to sixe Earledoms. v[i]z<sup>t</sup>. Flaunders, Holland, Zelande, Artoys, Namure, and Zutphen, To fower Sign[n]ories, Namly, Frizeland, Gronningham, Heynoul, and Malines. / .

In the west Indies, beyonde the Islandes of Capo verde, and that of St Thomas, (from whence comes the Suger) hauing passed the Cape de buena Speranza, he houldeth Mozambique, a place of greate import for the Trafique of the East, He hath the kingdome Ozmv, and many other forteresses in the Rivers of all that Ocean Sea, to the gulfhe of Benala and from thence to Scyan Canton and the Confynes of China: He howldeth Moreouer the Islandes of Molucca, and those of the Phillipines, by meanes whereof he is Maister of all that Ocean Sea, in such sorte, as departinge from Spaine towards the west, and passinge the streightes of

Magellan, toward[es]

#### 132v

Magellane, towards the Phillipines, and the Mollucas and takinge their waye by Sea to the Gulphe of Bengala, after to Ozmv, and aft Lastly to the Cape of Buena, Speranza, tourninge themselues towards the Islandes of St Thomas and the streightes of Gibraltar, in this sorte, they goe about the circle the whole world. / .

Besides all these estates, he is possessed of many other places of much importance, w[hi]ch are as accessaries, and adiunctes, to his other dominions, as the Islandes of the {Tarceras} to his kingdom of portugall, the Canaries, to Castile, Maiorca, Minorca, and Sardenia to Arragon, diuers places in Tuscan and Piombin to the kingdome of Naples the Marquesake of Fynall, and Corregio to the state of Millan, Oram and de Peynor in Affrica to Castile; Tangor, Arzola, Mesagan, and Septanell, to the Crowne of Portugall, and the Earledome of Borgoyne, w[hi]ch should most aptly have bene rekoned w[i]th his signorys in the Low Countrys. / .

The Iles of Maiorca, Minorca, and Sardenia are not of such strength, but they may easelie be possessed by an enemy, that were able w[i]th a potent Army to assaulte them. / .

The West Indies they possesse not soe strongly, but they maye haue Cause to feare, For although of the Naturall Indians, they haue not much occasion to make doubt, beinge in their owne disposicon, cowardlie, and w[i]thout all experience, and leaders to directe them: yet hath there such a multitude of people transferred them selues, thither out of Spaine to the much dispeoplinge of their owne Countrye, and multeplyed soe habeundantly there, as whatt w[i]th discontentes given them from their owne Countrye, w[i]th Confidence of their, and the great distance from Spaine, were there added vnto it any hope of assistance, of some other powerfull Prince by Sea, they may w[i]thout any great difficultie become moued to make such a revolt as wilbee

harde for the

**133r**

hard for the kinge of Spayne to suppress: Herevnto the Spanyard gives, what remedye he can, hauinge forbidden the buildinge of any forteresses, or stronge places in those Countryes, wherevnto his rebells or Enemyes might have retreat, prohibitinge the plantinge of vines, wherewith to make wyne, and olive trees for oyle, the makinge of Linnen, and silkes, and such other necessaries, and not permitinge any other Nac[i]on, to haue Commerce w[i]th them, whereby to hould them in a Continvall necessitie of his yearlie assistance and helpe from Spaine. / .

In the East Indies although they possesse litle but the very extremities, and out sides of the lande, notw[i]thstandinge by meanes of the forteresses that they haue builded, they hould their owne, and the Rather by reason of the navigation, and comerce that they haue, in those Seas, w[hi]ch before the Hollanders in those late yeares gaue them disturbance, were wholly in their Power, for by means of that navigac[i]on, they maye w[i]th the more facillitie, releive, strengthen, victuall, and put in garisons, in everie one of the said places that they are possessed of, hauinge soe digged awaye the Earth, neere vnto those Forteresses, that they haue accesse vnto them by water, and herew[i]th haue soe environed them, as they haue putt them almost all, into the forme of Islandes. Those places are in greatest perill to receaue hurte from the Turke, who beinge disposed to sende a great navie by the Thesean sea, or by the Petrian gulph, may disturbe their navigation, and besiege their Forteresses of most importance, ouerthrowinge their Traffique of pepper and other spices, w[hi]ch from those partes are transported to Spaine, and this by experience of these fewe years, we fynd not to be of any great difficultie to a potent Army consideringe that the Hollanders w[i]th those fewe Shippes they haue adventured thether, haue already in a manner destroyed

all the Portugall

**133v**

all the Portugall traffique for spices, w[hi]ch is the Cheefe com[m]oditie of that navigac[i]on. / .

Touchinge the Lowe Countries of some parte whereof, for the present, the Archdukes are the proprietorie Lords and possessors, who are nowe w[i]th consent of the kinge of Spayne, in treatie for a peace w[i]th the other States vnited, and have assented to relinquish their title and interest to those partes, that by them are w[i]thheld from their obedience, I will say nothinge but leaue them to such successe as so suddaine and soe unexpected a Moc[i]on, may w[i]th tyme produce, the same hauing in the vnderstandinge and iudgment of man soe

many and soe various dependances, as to decipher them all, would rather require a whole voll{uim}ie then a short discourse: Onlie this by way of divinac[i]on, If a peace it proue, to Spaine it is not very likely to be for the present, either Honorable or Advantageous, and to the estates for the tyme to come, neither safe nor dureable, yf a warre Continued, it maye in tyme become the Ruine of the one, or the impouerishinge and envassalinge of the other. / . The Townes in Affrica, in feare of such fortune as they suffered at Thunis and Goletta, places soe important and neere to the kingdome of Spayne, w[hi]ch were taken from them by the enemy, they keepe w[i]th great care and providence, as those whom the losse of these Townes haue made more circumspecte and regardfull of the rest that be in their possessyon. / .

The Revenewe of the Crowne of Spayne, some .9. or 10. yeares passed, amounted vnto .14. millions & .56600. ducattes, whereof Spayne yeelded .7. millions (viz) Castill .5. millions, Portugall one million and .60000. ducates, Arragon and Castalunia .200000. ducates, Granada, Murcia and Valencia .200000., out of Cicylya .700000. out of the State of Millan .900000, Out of the kingdom of Naples one million, and 200000 ducketes, out of the Towns

he hath in Tuscan

**134r**

he hath in Tuscan .10000. ducates, out of the Low Countrys he hath had .710000. ducates, out of the East Indies, one millione and .600000, ducates, and out of West Indies .2. millions and .200000. ducates, ww[hi]ch in the whole amounteth to the aforesaid Some of Fourteene Millions & 566000. ducketes,: But in the yeare .1598. vpon an accompte then made, of the particularities where of I am possessed, <sup>the revenewe of portugall, Navarre, Arragon, Catalunia,</sup> and his other states in Itallie (viz) Naples Sycilia, and Millan, and his Townes in Affrica, and other partes not accompted, in regarde that from none of them, there comes any thinge to the kinges purse, the same beinge spent ww[i]thin those seuerall estates in maintenance of his viceroyes, gouernors, and garisons, and in the multetude of pencons he giveth there, and in other partes of Italie, It appeareth [tha]t the kinges yearlie revenewe by all manner of wayes and meanes amounted not to aboue .97643624. ducattes, his assignations, outrentes, and Charges, ordinary and extraordinary in that yeare to the some of .11352834. ducates, soe as his yearlie charge exceeded his receiptes the some of .1609210. ducattes: But this was then helped by an ayde of .6. millions yearlie duringe the space of Eight years, graunted vnto his ma[jes]tie in his Courtes w[hi]ch are assembled in the naturre of of our parleamentes in England: These beinge nowe exired and the kingdome of Spayne soe exceedinglie impoverished and unhable, for soe greate a burden, they haue by a late parleament abated and nuely graunted two millions and a halfe yearlie to be payed for the space of Eight yeares, a some also (w[hi]ch the Estate of thinges continuinge as it doth) it is verelie thought they will not in any sort be able to performe; Moreover it is to be considered, that sithence [th]e former accomptes made, the debtes of the kinge are greatlye increased, w[hi]ch are thought at this daye to amount to .160. Millions at the least, for w[hi]ch he payes Interest

for some after

**134v**

for some, after the Rate of one for .14. others one for twentie, & some at one for thirtie, besides other greate Somes due to his penc[i]oners, his Garyson souldiers, and to those

of whome he hath taken victuall, munition, and other necessaries for his Navis and his forteresses in Barbary and other places; Neither is it of small Consequence to the kinge, that these his revenewes and Treasure are Mannaged for the most parte, by people marked w[i]th the spottes of vntruthe and vnfaithfullnes as those that more respect their particuler interest, then the publique good: And would the king purpose a generall correction of them all, such is this estate and people, as hardlie he should fynde any to serve him in those places: And for particulars, if any such fall out as latlie that of the Earle of Villa Longa, and Ramires de Prada, it extendeth not to the takinge awaye of their Lives, but only to banishment, imprisonment and cnfiscation of their goodes soe as the same beinge not publique nor exemplarie, gives vnto the Rest the more incouragement to continewe their falsetie, to the priudice of the Crowne: Lastlie the Rentes and revenwes Royall haue annexed vnto them two notable incomodities w[hi]ch denies them certaintie. The first in regarde that the most of them are founded vpon {imposiliores} & and those soe exorbitant, that they haue alreadie and goe on daylie wastinge and Consumynge their people and especiallie those of Spayne, where it is not possible, that they should longe be hable, to beare the burthen of soe greatesomes of money, as for the passed and present, are layd vpon them.. The other w[hi]ch is of more importance, is that the most of his Ma[jes]ties Revenewes in Castile, Portugale and the Indies resteth vpon the navigation of his yearlie fleetes, {+} w[hi]ch beinge both subiect to stormes, and to disturbance by enemyes, can never promise any assurednes, neither are those two perills to be

avoided, either

135r

avoided, either w[i]th vndertakinge of those navigacons in tymes more seasonable: For then their certaintie tymes of returne beinge knowne, they should be in greater danger to fall in to the handes of their enemis, or by encreasinge of their number of Shippes of warre, such beinge their generall want of maisters, and mariners, as they hardlie fynde nvmber sufficient to saile those they yearlie sett forth for the present. Soe as were there convenient nvmber of Shippes of warre, Continuallie attendant vpon the Costes of Spaine, for the space of 2. years onlie to keepe in the kinges navie (w[hi]ch is gathered and Compounded of divers distant places) from issuinge out and assemblinge them selues and by that meanes also stoppe the passage into the Indies, and prohibit all Strau[n]gers that should endevore to bringe in Corne, Munition, Cordage, and other necessaries in to Spayne, This kingdome beinge in soe great want in it selfe, and not ayded by the purse of Genoa, and that of the Foulkers, w[hi]ch in a case of such despayre to be repaired (by all probabilitie) would be denied, must of necessitie come to vtter ruine or be enforced to receave any Condic[i]ons that would be required to be imposed vpon them, for the strength of this great monarchie consistes onlie in the Riches drawne out of the Indies, in the Souldiers of Spaine and the Captaines of Italie, the first failinge, the seconde would want Armes, and [th]e third Legges. / .

The Spanyard although he be exceedinge patient of heate, Could, hunger, and thirst, yet where there is none or little hope of reward, his disposition is not to be forewarde to adventure, the Itallian lesse, who havinge no loue at all to the Spanyardes person, will neuer put him selfe in perill, but in hope of his purse. And in their Indies, their people receavinge, not for

soe longe a tyme

135v

soe longe a tyme the necessaries w[hi]ch yearely they are enforced to expecte from Spaine, wilbe Compelled to cast themselues into other Armes, and receave such lawes as those princes that shalbe Maisters of the Navigac[i]on and of the Seas, shall impose vpon them. / .

The Cavallerie of Spaine Consisteth of five thousand in ordinary paye, Armed lightly w[i]th Lawnce & Target, who aswell in regarde of their litle experience & practize, as the qualletie of their horses (w[hi]ch are weake and of litle worth) are of no great accompte, besides thes there are some in continuall paye, that are bound vppon occasions to attende the kinges person for his guard, also there are .1600. armed w[i]th Launces and Target, & accustomed to attende the coastes alonge the Mediteran Seas to w[i]thstande vpon occasions the incursions of Pirates, and Mores, Wherew[i]th they are often infested. / .

The Forces of the kinge by Sea consist of .80. gallies ordinarelie held in Readines at his Charges, whereof .8. in portugall, twentie in Spaine, 24. in Naples, .12. in Scycillia, and .16. in genoa: But these (by reason of the averice and attentivnes to their owne gaine in the kinges ministers) soe evill in ordere, as were they putt to a soddaine service, there would be found of serviceable vessells a mucche smaller number, neither can he give any present remedie to it, w[i]thout puttinge much disorder in his other occasyons, that more import him. Vpon these other Seas neerer home, and about Portugall, for defence against pirattes and other enemyes, the greatest nomber that this yeare of .1607. his ma[jes]tie Coulede putt to Sea consisted of .80. sayle, where of .30. were Gallions, and for

the furnishing

136r

the furnishinge thereof, as the kinge was enforced to p[ro] claime not only much paye beforehande, but an hidalgement, and other exemptions, to who soeuer would serve him in that navy: And all that notw[i]thstandinge had they not bene furnished by the oportunitie of the returne of the Spanishe souldiers at that instant out of Itallie, and the takinge out of others out of divers garisons (soe as in the Castle of Lixbone it selfe, they left not about .40. souldiers) they had not had suffittient to saile and man that nvmer. / .

Of the Gallies before menc[i]oned, are for the instant, Comaunders, of those of in Naples, the Marques of St Cruz, of those in Sycillia Don Pedrp de Leyva, of those in Portugall Conde de Elda, and of those in Spayne Don Pedro de Toledo, Marques of Villa Franca: of the other navye of Shipps and Gallionnes Don Luys Faiardo. . / .

These forces and all other of the kingee both by Sea & Lande, suffer two mortall oposic[i]ons w[hi]ch makes them of lesse esteeme w[i]th their enemys and of litle or none effect to their freindes, or them selues: w[hi]ch are softnes, and slownes growinge out of a naturall tarditie in [th]e nac[i]on, out of the irresoluc[i]on of the kinge, and his Counsell, out of a difficultie to prouid money, and the distaunce of the kingdomes, and ;partes from w[hi]ch they are to be assembled, w[hi]ch breedes a greate delaye in their Coniunction, and by Consequence, much abatem[en]t to their power, and impediment to the successe of their enterprises. / .

Havinge thus in a kinde of generalletie rvnne over the estate of this kinge, held thoroughout the world soe potent, in regard, that the Countrys of Spaine, and Italie are the synnowes and foundac[i]ons of his strength and forces, I hould it best to enter into a dist

## 136v

distincte considerac[i]on, both of the one and the other Coun=trie, . / .

In Spayne, there are three sortes of people, the Churchemen, the Layetie, and the Moores, The Churchmen are there either exceedinge Riche or extreamply poore, these last are oft tymes to sustaine their lives enforced to labours and industry, vnproper for men of their vocation, the other are devided in to Archebishops, Bishops, Chanons, and other digneties. In Spayne there are .8. Archebishops, 40. Bishops, In Portugall .3. Archebishops, and 9. Bishops, besides infinit monasteries, religious howses of greate reuene, and verie Riche in plate, and furniture and other Chaunteries and benefices also of much yearlie vallew. To all the Benefices in Spayne the kinge hath the nominac[i]on and presentac[i]on, #and libertie to impose vpon them, what penc[i]ons hee thinkes Convenient to be by him distributed to other Churchemen, at his pleasure: He hath also power to translate, and transfere from one Bishopricke to an other, and by that meanes holdeth the prelates of his Realme in much obedience, aswell in regard of the favour and benefite they receive from him, as in hope of others in the future, yf any need they have, of ayde or helpe, they resorte not for it to Rome, but to [th]e kinge, as also in any greevance they receaue from Rome, they reapeire to him only for assistance, and he patronises and defendes them from the iniury of such as would oppresse them, & in regarde thereof findes it not difficult to drawe from them vpon euerie his occasions greate somes of money, w[hi]ch in outward shewe, they willinglie depart from, in hope by his ma[jes]tie to be raised to higher digneties, or better Bishopricks, or at least to be protected, and kept safe, and w[i]thout molestac[i]on in those that alreadie they are possessed of: / .

The Layetie of

## 137r

The Layetie of Spaine are devided into Nobillitie and Comvnaltie. Of the Nobillitie those that are Licensed to couer their heades before the Kinge, are called Grandes, and of those there are for the present about the number of .40. whereof some .24. are Dukes, the rest Marquesses or Earles; These in the tyme of the Kynge deceased, were much held vnder, as those vpon whome, he seldome bestowed any Charge or office in Spaine of any greate importance, and if any they oute of Spaine, they were for shorte tyme, and often changed, soe as they could not haue leasure, to acquire any greate power or Authoritie, he was occasioned to sowe distastes, and discentions amongst them, And albeit they vsed all manner of exactions vpon their Tenautes, yet were they then, and are nowe, in the tyme of the kinge that raigneth, (notw[i]thstandinge the huge number of Ducates, that they putt into the Reconing of their reueneues) in a manner all exceedingly indepted, and their Landes and estates engaged. / . The third sortes w[hi]ch are the Moores are infinite and beinge dispersed, thoroughout all the partes of the kingedome doe daylie multeplye, and the Spaniardes continuallie deminishe, and decrease, in their number, as those who are Contvallie sent into the Indies, into Flanders, Itallye and other partes, where the kinge employeth Souldiers, These Moors neuer stirringe out of Spayne, whereby their Labours, their industrie, and their frugall manner of Livinge, (aswell in victualles as apparrell) they growe exceedinge riche, and increase daylie. aswell in reputacone and Courage, as in number, to the great perrill of [th]e Spanyard: were that people assisted by the force of any forraine prince of Power; Neither fynde they any remedye

to this evell, in regarde that soe longe they have suffered it to growe vpon them; For albeit they haue in their Counsaillies of Estates, diuers tymes, consulted about the driving of that whole generac[i]on out of Spayne, yet vpon mature

deliberac[i]on, it

137v

deliberac[i]on, it hath bene founde to be impossible to be effected, w[i]th out a Plonginge of the whole kingdome into manifeest danger, w[hi]ch shoulde serve to litle other ende, then to hasten ann evell that w[i]th temporising althoughe perhaps can never be whollie avoyded, yet at least may be a longe tyme deferred: This people although sithence their Last Rebellion, dispersed into all partes of Spaine, and for avoidinge the like in tyme to Come, mixed in all places w[i]th the Spanishe nac[i]on, and enforced to leave their habitac[i]ons, and scituac[i]ons of Strength, wherein, in formor tymes they lived together, and to dwell in places playne and open, and seperat from their Companyes, yet is there greatest number abidinge at this daye in the kingdomes, of Vallentia, and granada, and other partes nearest vnto Affrica, and for this reason onely the Biskaynes reckon them selues the noblest and least corrupted people of all Spaine, in regarde they haue neither had nor have any mixture w[i]th that base and infidelious generac[i]on. / .

The Spanishe nac[i]on in generalletie is not vallerous of their owne Nature, nor much adventvrous further forth then vaine glorie, and desire of gettinge puttes them forward, for it is vniversallie noated in them, that in the services of the night or such other, where the same are not in veiw of their generall, and where their feare of Perill, is greater then their hope of bootie, they for the most parte, neglecte the office of their handes, and putt their greatest Confidence in that of their feete: neither are they at home disciplined or exercised in any such sorte as whereby to gett either experience or dexteritie, in the vse of marsheall weapons, yet falles it often, that the Besognes of Spayne take from the Ploughe, and other labours prouue better Souldiers, and of more vse, then those that are drawne out of their garrisons in Itally, and other places, for these last applie all their Studies, rather how to Robbe and

Spoyle and to serve

138r

Spoyle and to serve them selues of the comodities of the people, amongst whome they are placed, then to any other industerie, or millitary exercyse, and beinge difused, an vnaccustomed to travaile and laboure, and groune Riche and able to live doe rather couett to enioye w[i]th ease what they haue formorlie gotten, then w[i]th payne and perill, to adventure that, and their Lives, in doubtfull chauce of warre: The other accustomed to laboure, and ~~meerlie~~<sup>newlie</sup> drawne from it, not much given to ease or pleasure, hauinge Nothinge of their owne where vnto to trust, w[i]th desire to gett, and neessitie to haue, prouue of more vse and comoditie, for that kinde of service. / .

The Spaniardes vniversally are much inclined to Religeo[n] and Devotion, but that w[i]th suche immesurable superstition, and aptnes to beleeeve false miracles, and fained Fables of the sanctetie of any person whatsoever, as what w[i]th that inclinac[i]on, and the extreme licenciousnes of their Lives they haue a greate facillytie of disposic[i]on to fall into any heresie or oppinion whatsoever, were they not restrayned by that dreadfull office of the Inquisic[i]on, w[hi]ch w[i]th greate reason is helde on foote, and maintayned in supream

auth authoritie by the kinge and estates, who are not ignorant of the disposic[i]on of the[i]r people. / .

The whole people but especiallie Castileis exceedinglie overburthened, w[i]th charges and imposit[i]ons, whereof the people incesantlye complayne, but w[i]thout releefe, for the kinge though he cannot but bothe heare it and feele it, yet hathe no powere nor meanes to redresse it, for albeit the Tallages and charges layed vpon them be excessive, yet are they not by many degrees euallent to what the Crowne hath neede of. / .

**138v**

Remaines safe in regarde of the streightnes of the Countrie, of the great sterillitie of those partes, and of the strengthe of the fortresses builte vpon the Confynes. / .

Perpignan and Salsas Townes towardses towardses the Mediterran Sea: and St Sebastian, and Fountereba towardses the Ocean, ouer and besides these more w[i]thin the Countrie there is Pampalona the principallest and Antientest Cittie of Navarre, of greate strength and in a manner inexpugnable: Neither are the French towardses those partes, as yet soe recouered of the weaknes they were fallen into, in their late longe warres; that they cannot give any greate Cause of feare of their invasions: And should they attempt any such matter, then are the Grandes, who otherwise are neither compellable to the warres or the least Charge thereof, either in purse or person, necessited to arme them selues and their vassalles, and w[i]thall their forces, to concurre in defence of the Crowne and their Country. On the partes towardses the Sea; they are apte enough to receave notable {domag}; if at one instant they were assaulted w[i]th two Armyes, [th]e one, one on the Cost Mediterran, the other on those of the Ocean, And albeit that towardses the Southe, the scituac[i]on makes them stronge hauinge in all that Coast, but one Haven, w[hi]ch is that of Curtegana, and that reasonably well fortifyed notwithstandinge in regarde that Affrique is soe neere to them, they should not only be enforced to defendethem selues, against their outwarde and forraine ennemyes, but against the Moores their neighbours, whom they knowe to be continuallye attendant, both to take and vse their advantage. And more perillous would such an invasion be vnto them, if it were executed, w[i]th speede and celleritie: For Spaine it selfe yeildinge noe souldyers eithere acustomed or exercised in Armes, their ayde must be drawne from other kingdoms and estates subiecte to that Cro

Crowne, which

**139r**

Crowne, w[hi]ch aswell in regarde of the slowe prouisions made in Spayne, as of the greate distance of the places, would both give tyme to their enemyes to hurte them, w[i]thin the Countrie it selfe, and also to cutt of such assistance and soccours as should come vnto them: towardses the North; Spayne hath two Portes of speciall importance St Andrea, and the Groyne, The last wright haue bene entered and possessed by our Countrymen in the year .1588. yf their disseigne had not bene for an other place, and would haue bene of exceedinge Consequence to our Nac[i]on, as from whence wee might haue Continuallye inquieted Spaine, and disturbed their Navigations into their Indies and other places vnder the kinges obedience. These two portes the Spaniard hath nowe well fortifyed, and better garrisoned, the like whereof he hath done in fowere of his Havens towardses the weste For findinge by experience that they were not able to shewe their face to the English, who in tyme of the warre accustomed contnuallie to scower those Coastes; in the latter tyme



assoone as they discovered the Englishe flectes, their costome was to drawe their shippes in to the Havens to diffurnishe them of all their necessaries, and some tyme to drowne them, least they should come into their enemys handes, or be consumed by them w[i]th Fyre. / . To these doubttes and difficulties, this kingdome hath not any remedie to applie except they were able to sett forthe yearlie two seuerall navies, the one of a sufficient number of Gallies in the Sea Mediterrane, the other of shippes and galleons in the Ocian: But this Caryeth an Impossibilitie to be accomplished, such beinge their want both of all the necessaries for shippinge, such of Souldiers fitt for sea service; wherevnto the Spaniard in his owne nature, hath no aptnes, and especiallie that of Marrryners, and experte Maisters and Pilots, as w[i]th great difficultie (as formorlie I haue sayed) they finde wherew[i]th

to serve and

**139v**

to serve and sayle those they haue at [th]e present. / . Spayne is at this daye devided into three seuerall gouernementes (viz) that of Arragon, Castill and portugall, Not unconformeable to the old deuison of that kingdom into three prouinces of Tarragones, Betique and Lvcitanya, the kingdome of Arragon in tymes passed enioyed a kinde of immoderat and vnbridled libertie (hauinge their parleamentes, w[hi]ch Absolutlie gouerned all) They possessed them selues of all the Reuenues, and gave vnto the kinge onlie by waye of donative or beneuolence 200000 Crownes, Neither were they in any sorte tyed to disburse that Some, but onlie at such tyme, as the kinge Came into the Countrye to hould his Parleament: They Constituted Magistrates that had supream Authoritie, w[hi]ch Comaunded the procuradors of the kinge himselfe: And oft tymes condemned the kinge in a pecuniarie recompence, or to silence in Causes of great importance. / . Such was the powere and Auctoritie of the Lordes of that state, as they made what soeuer they had a will vnto a lawe, w[hi]ch gaue them libertie and meanes to comitt infinit disorders, drawinge women by violence out of their owne Howses, Deprivinge the Mothers of their Children, and pullinge them from their verie breasts, w[i]th Many other Monsterouse and exorbitant actions, And if at any tyme the kinge attempted to temper any of those Lawes, Imediatlie all the Grandys and peopell would put them selues in Armes, vnder the fayned pretence of defendinge their Libertys. / . In this estate stode this kingdome at such tyme, as Antonio de Peres Secretarie to the kinge deceased and his procurador in Arragon, beinge by the furie of the People deliuered out of the prison of the Inquisicon (whether [th]e kinge fallen into some suspicion of him had Comitted him) so practized both w[i]th the Nobillitie and Comvnaltie

of that estate

**140r**

of that estate as he drewe them to an open and great rebellion, and by that meanes wrought the Ruine of this Country: The kinge at first would haue contented himselfe, if the Arragoneses would haue deliuered, in to his handes the said Antonio de Perez and some of the princepall heades and mouers of the Rebellion: But [tha]t beinge denyed vnto him, necessitie for the conservac[i]on of his Royall auctoritie and dignetie, he resolved vpon force, and gatheringe an Army wherof it wvas expected that he would haue made Don Hernando de Toledo, Duque de Alua his generall, he preferred therein Don alonzo de vargas doubting that the other (beinge a Grandee of Spaine and neere allyed to many of the Nobillitie of that kingdome) would not

soe absolutlie execute his Com[m]andementes as Alonzo de Vargas beinge neither of greate lineage, nor hauinge any allyance w[i]thin that estat. / .

The Arragoneses shewed as litle Couerage in defending as they had demonstrated temeritie and in=Considerac[i]on in Rebelling: for although they were prouided of an hoaste of Number and power suffitient to haue resisted, and (as verie probable it is) consideringe that the Castilian army was Compounded of Newe and inexperienced people) might haue prevayled against their enemyes, or at least by temperisinge, drawne the kinge to some good Condic[i]ons, yet came they Noe sooner in the sighte of the kinges forces but they Comitted them selues to such safetie, as their heeles might procure them: habandoninge their Hoast, and presentlie after the Cittie of Saragosa and leauinge the same in praye to the Castillians: By this meanes tooke the kinge occasion to diminishe, or rather whollie to ouerthrowe the liberties of that kingdome, seuerallie punishinge the heades of the Rebellion, some w[i]th deprivinge them of their lives, some

w[i]th Banishment

140v

w[i]th Banishment, and others w[i]th Confiscation of their goodes, and perpetuall imprisonment: Their Iustice & maiestates he deprived of their Authoritie, and enforced them to accept of a Castilian Visoreye, where as in former tymes, they ellected and appointed such as pleased them selues: The Administrac[i]on of the reuenues of the Crowne he likewise tooke from them: And appointed them to the Buildinge and Maintayninge a Citadell in Saragosa, w[hi]ch is Cituated in a place soe eminent as it Comaundeth the wholl Cittie. The kinge keepe there also a Garrison Continuall Garrison, who livinge Lycentiouslie, haue spoyled the same of their greatest wealth and ornamentes, and w[hi]ch is of most noate of all others, such was the kinges prudence and polecie, as he drew those that were to be the Cheefe observers and defenderes of their formore Lawes and liberties to become in open parlement the Confirmers and establishers in perpetuities of all such lawes and orders as he had made to ouerthrowe them: All this notw[i]thstandinge, such is [th]e memorye of their auintient liberties and privelidges fixed in the heartes of that people, and soe many are the ~~deseentions~~ descendantes of those that suffered deathe, banishment and Confiscation for their formor delictes as if euer there come apt occasion by any publique com[m]oc[i]on, w[i]thin these kingdomes it is to be doubted [tha]t they will once againe, to the daunder of the kinges estate make prooffe of their fortunes. / . Hauinge thus breeflie run[n]e ouer the kinges estate and partes of Spaine I ame now to saye somewhat of the kinges dominions in Itallie, Namlie of Naples, Cicyllia and Millan, w[hi]ch may welbe ~~Compared~~ Accompted the best and greatest parte of Itallie albeit in regarde of the Contnuall charges the kinge is enforced vnto, to Continewe that people (soe desirous to shake of [th]e yoake

of their subie

141r

of their subiection) in their due obedience it yeeldeth no benefit to his purse, yet gives it both strength and great reputac[i]on vnto him, from thence he drawes Captaines and souldiers, in great abundance, and by meanes of the estate of Millan Confininge vpon Germany, serves him selfe of Apt conveyance of them into the Lowe Countrys: Cicyllia is a fruitfull Country, well peopled, Riche, and soe haboundant of Corne as oft tymes vpon occasion of dearth, it not onlie releeveth Spaine, but divers parte of Itallie; On the East parte it is fortifyed w[i]th

many stronge places and forteresses, on the North w[i]th a Continued Circuite of Mountaines that rvnne alonge those Coastes: On the side towards Affrica w[i]th [th]e wante of Portes, or places for shippinge there, and were the Island assaulted w[i]th any greate foarces, standes Aptlie to be Ayded and soccored by the kingedome of Naples, from whence beinge soe Neere, may be drawne manye Galleyes by Sea; and as muche force both on horsbacke, and on foote by lande, as shalbe needfull. / . The kingdome of Naples, is much more Apt to receive hurt by foces by Sea, then by Armyes by Lande, as that w[hi]ch is almost whollie environed w[i]th the Sea, and Cituate vpon the Coastes of the Adriatique sea and the dominions of the Turke; But the Nvmer of the Havens there beinge verie smale, and those that are either stronglie fortiefied landed vppe, or well blocked and defended, the perrill on that side is not greate. Besides they maye vppon euey occasion gather people out of the Estates Confyninge suffitient to defende them selues, against any soddaine invasion. On the lande side, that kingdome bordereth from the one side sea to the other: vpon [th]e estate of the Church, and is on that parte, made sure w[i]th stronge and well prouided fortresses for that kingdom beinge of the fee of the Churche, the Spaniard is not

w[i]thoute feare

141v

w[i]thout feare, that some Pope Not well affecc[i]oned to the Crowne of Spaine, Might make some attempte to repossesse the Church of that kingdome: For prevenc[i]on where of they seeke by all meanes possible to affecc[i]onat the Popes vnto them, to haue alwayes a stronge partie in Rome, aswell of Cardinalles as principall Romanes to hould stronge and well prouided, their foretresses vpon the Confines, to allienate the mindes of the Popes from affectinge that kingdome, and when soeuer any such hvmore shall possesse them, to remoue it, w[i]th puttinge them in doubte of danger in their owne Estates. / .

The Estate of Millan heretofore much travailed and troubled by the French (as well in regard of their Neerenesse there vnto as of the titles and pretenses they made vnto it) is nowe more sure then heretofore aswell in regarde of the Confederac[i]on the king of Spaine hath w[i]th the Catholique Cantons of the Switzers obliged to the deffence of his Estate in Italye of his neere alliaunce w[i]th the Duke of Savoy, and of the fortresse latelie ~~built~~ built and other prouisions made by the Conde de Fuentes, to stoppe the passage by the waye of the Grisons, (all w[hi]ch they denie vnto the French, the easie enterance in to that estate) w[hi]ch in tymes past they were wont to finde: Moreouer the kinge may vpon any such Attempt, w[i]th greate facillitie drawne souldiers out of Germanye, and by the waye of Genoa (that Cittie beinge somuch att his devoc[i]on recaue vpon any occasion supplies aswell oute of Spaine, as from his kingdomes of Naples and Cicillia. / . The kinge to keepe his estates in Itallie quiet and in peace, bendeth not onlie hus Cares to defend them from attemptes of Strangers, but to preserve them also, from receauinge any offence or motion by the Princes of Italye, for this cause findinge those Estates, for the present soe well balanced as one of them

hath not much

142r

hath not much advantage of the other, by meanes whereof his forces there, are become as it were the beame that Rules the weight, (and thereby gaineth both the reputac[i]on, and auctoritie (yf any question doth arise amongst them) to become [th]e Arbitrator, and to rule the right, and shall best agree w[i]th his owne vtillitie or assurance: He endeavors to hould

them all weake and disvnite to cutt from them all hope of foraine ayde, w[i]thout w[hi]ch, he knoweth <sup>that</sup> of themselues, they are not of power, to doe any thinge of moment, and for that cause, hath made manye attemptes, but of late more strongly then ever: To Conclude a league w[i]th the Grisons, w[i]th purpose to cutt of all possibillitie of the entrie of Strangers into Italie: He suffers not those princes of Italie to encrease their strength, w[i]th addinge any other estate vnto that w[hi]ch allredie they possesse, much against his will became the Pope possessed of Ferrara, and w[i]th great vigilencie he attendeth, that he doe not the like of Vrbin, He obligeth many of the lesse Princes, w[i]th yearlie penc[i]ons, givinge to the Dukes of Urban and of Parma, to the duke of Modena and Reggio, and to diuers others, He likewise drawes vnto him out of euery estate, some principall parsonages in whom is discerned most sperit and activitie deprivinge their owne princes of them, and by their meanes gatheringe vnto him manye of the best Souldiers of euery principalletie, and appropriatinge them to his owne service in his warres: In the Lowe Countryes, By that meanes he spoiles Italie of all millitarie men; and makes it the more easie to endure his yoake, and of lesse force to attempt any thinge against his Estates: To hould them disvnite, he hinders by all posible meanes their Coniunctions of allyance, as not many yeares since, he did that of the Duke of Parma, w[i]th the Neece of the duke of Florence: And of late that of the prince of Mantua, w[i]th a daughter of the duke of Savoy: he indevores to devide their frendshippe and entercourse for bearing

not to serve disco=

142v

not to sowe discordes and discensions, gives encrease to all occasions of distastes, and remoues all meanes of Trust and confidence amongst them, well knowinge that in their devison and seperac[i]on consistes the securetie of his estates: To particularrise the oppinion held of these princes and estates, and the Courses taken w[i]th them, may make me seeme longe and tedious: yet hould I it not vnecessarie to touch them breestyle. /

Of the Duke of Florence, the Kynge of Spayne is verie Iealous, in regarde of his preferringe in his marriage the daughtere of the Duke of Lorryne, before the daughter of the Archduke Charles, married since to the Kinge of Polonya and of some encounters betwen Spaine and him, about the ellection of the Popes, wherein for the most parte, the dukes faction became opposite to that of the kinge of Spaine, but most especiall for the Couert ayde he was thought in tyme of the warres to give vnto Mounsieur de Esdiguiers, and impedimentinge by that meanes the duke of Savoys proceedinges in provence, for the dessignes he hath often made shewe to haue about Piombin, and his late allyance w[i]th France, w[hi]ch make him now to be held whollie French: Howbeit the kinge knowinge the greatnes of that prince, in Italie, the Comoditie and amplitud of his estate, w[hi]ch goeth almost ouerthwarte the whole of it: of what importance his Porte of Ligorne is for all occasions of the kingdome of Naples, and for other respectes of greate Moment, covereth in all that he may, his Conceiptes, and suspitions, and houldes good termes w[i]th him, On the other side the duke consideringe howe farre his forces are inferior to those of the kinge, who hath diuers Townes of much importance in Tuscanie it selfe, that he is fev fevdaturie vnto him for the state of Syenna, that his estates borderinge vppon that of the kinge, might receaue much trouble and preiudice, if he should enter into termes of enmitie w[i]th him,

endevoareth by

143r

endeuoreth by all meanes possible soe farre as may agree w[i]th his reputac[i]on, to give him satisfaction and howld him Contented. / .

The Duke of Mantua, all thoughte in tymes past very inwarde w[i]th the Kinge of Spaine desceased, yet before his death stood not altogether in soe good termes, neither doth w[i]th the Kinge that nowe is, aswell in regarde of his alliance w[i]th the duke of Florence w[hi]ch moues the Spaniard to imagine that he hath made a change of his former dependencie, as also for hauinge builded the fort of Cassale, (w[hi]ch w[i]thout priueticie of the kinge or any of his Ministers) he erected in the state of Mountferat, and neither haue these sinister conceiptes wanted their oncrease by some rumors spread and suspic[i]ons conceived, that he gaue ssecrett aide and releefe w[i]th monye vnto Esdiguieres. The duke also who in former tymes (aswell in regard of his Allyance w[i]th the Howse of Austria, as his owne perticuler interest depended wholie vpon the Crowne of Spaine) hath by degrees w[i]thdrawne him selfe from it, and fearinge least the duke of Savoy perswaded by the kinge and assisted by his forces would attempt to disposses him of his faire and riche state of Mountferat, hath in doubtte thereof ioyned himselfe w[i]th the duke of Florence, and attendes the fortificac[i]on of those places, wherein (as the Spanyards saye) he hath receaued from the duke much helpe both in aduise and money. / .

The duke of Savoye although soe neerly ioyned in allyance w[i]th this Crowne, yet in his late warres w[i]th Fraunce, hauinge received soe leane assistance as gaue him occasion rather to thinke that the kinge sought to hould him in warrs to weaken him, then in any soarte to aduance his dissignes, or to add vnto him any further greatnesse, ioyned w[i]th the litle succese he had, at his personall beinge in Spaine, in any thinge he either entended, or required, and the now ample Issue the kinge

hath (w[hi]ch hath

### 143v

hath (w[hi]ch hath cutt of all hope from the Dukes discendante{s} is in his inwarde thoughtes not the least discontented, although for some other respectes, and not to loose the reputac[i]on of soe great and potent an allye he couereth his thoughtes and dissembleth what he thinketh. / .

Some other Princes there are, that (as formorlie vpon occasion haath bene said) are obliged to the Kinge by earlie penc[i]ons and other respectes, as the Duke of vrbyn hee giveth Not w[i]th any purpose to vse the service of his p[er]sone, ~~The Duke of vrbaine he giveth not w[i]th any purpose~~ hauing never employed him in any his occasions, but partlie to the ende that other Princes should not increase their strenthes by entertayning him in theirs, and partlie to serve him selfe, of the Comodities of his estate, w[hi]ch yeildes victualles in great haboundance, and is not voide of souldiers, and other thinges of much importance. / .

The Duke of Parma restes obliged by the investiture of Parma and Placentia, Neither is there any likelihood of his disvniion, for those two Citties beinge members of the Dutchie of Millain, might w[i]th noe great difficultie be drawne from him, by the kinge: if he shoulde carrye him selfein other soart then he doth, or should the kinge w[i]thdrawe his fauour, it wwould minister fitt occasion to the Church to rcale the investidure that they gave vnto that howse, Moreouer their longe and continued service houldes them in greate Obediencie observance and vnion w[i]th this Crowne. / .

The duke of Modena and Reggeo is held in termes of observance, by the same means, and for the same Reasons that the Duke of vrbyn. / .

The estate of Genoa although in generalletie, much affected to the French, and abhorringe the Spanyarde (especciallie those of the meaner soarte) hath ben drawne, tho

though not to an

**144r**

though not to absolut subiection, yet to an obseruance of the strictest nature: The kinge of Spaine hauinge for many yeares endeouored to impouerish the publique, and enrich the particulers of that Com[m]on Welth, whome hauinge theire Monyes vpon great and excessiue interest, he hath possessed of principallities and Baronys in the kingdome of Naples and of his rent corne, and liberall penc[i]ons in Sycilia and Millan, and of many landes and Rentes in Spaine it selfe. The most of theire Treasure and substance restinge in the handes and power of [th]e Spanyarde, and many of them in his service, they are becomen wholie obedient to his will, and whensoever the popular multetude shewe a Contrarie inclinac[i]on, he hath a bridle readie to restraine them, hauing alwayes in theire Haven a good nvmber of Galleys armed and provided for all eventes. / .

The Com[m]on wealth of Luca although the Estate they possesse be of small importance, yet the same desyring to liue vnder the shadowe of this Kinges protection, he receaues and favours them, as a people recomendinge them selues vnto him; aswell for his owne vtillitie of hauinge at his devoc[i]on that Cittie (w[hi]ch in Regarde of [th]e Cituac[i]on is of much importance) and to prevent that it fall not into the handes of any other prince, as alsoe by seruinge him selfe thereof, the better to restraine the Duke of Florence to whom that Cittie is soe neere a Neighbour. / .

To The Signorie of Venice albeit the kinge hath neither much affectyon, Nor much Confidence, the one in regarde of theire hauinge possessed them selues of some places belonginge aswell to the estates of Millan, as to the Emperor, and Arche Dukes of Austrya, the other of their confederac[i]ons w[i]th the Kinges of Great Britaine and France and w[i]th the Com[m]on Wealthes of the Switzers &

Grisons and the

**144v**

Grysones, and the same not a litle increased, by theire Late opposic[i]on against the Pope, and especially by theire ioyninge w[i]th France to vnknitt the league and Confederacie made latlie w[i]th the Grisons, by the Cond de Fecentes: yet knowinge theire forces, both by Sea and Lande to be greate theire Treasure much and theire strength and inteligence <sup>in Italy</sup> such as w[i]thout an vnion and Comiunction w[i]th them there can be no attempte of any importance atcheived in Italie: Addinge herevnto that w[i]thout theire assistance, his owne Sea forces, would not be of power to defende his estates against the Turke, is Contented to hould good termes and Amytie w[i]th them, They in like manner, although they knowe, that whensoever they shall haue occasion to vse the Ayde of Spayne, it wilbe ministred vnto them, soe late and soe slowlie, and in soe thinne a measure, as it shall rather serve the dessignes of the Kinge, w[hi]ch allwaies hath bene, to wearie the enemy, and to weaken them, and to drawe the Comone forces in to the Coastes of Affrica for [th]e takinge in of some Townes in Barbarye, that are most offensive to Spayne, then to goe into the Levant, to make any expedic[i]on

against the Turkeprofitable vnto them, To hould the warres in Lengthe whereby that Comon Welthe might be deprived of their traffique into the Levant, w[hi]ch addes the greatest wealth vnto that estate: and to consume them selues w[i]th charge of the great Garrisons, they are enforced to maintaine, in tyme of warre, yet in regarde of [th]e great estates and dependantes the kinge houldeth in Itallie, and of the reputac[i]on and suretie that an vnion and Confederac[i]on w[i]th Spaine breedeth vnto them w[i]th the Turke, who in regard of the Sea successes passed, standes much in Awe of their Coniunction they are desirous to Continewe the good Terms

they stande in

**145r**

they stand in w[i]th the kinge, and in this their late question w[i]th the Pope made much shewe of it, in the extraordinarie entertainment they gaue to Don francisco de Castro, sent vnto them from the kinge to perswade an ende of those controuercies. / .

Lastlie the Kinges of Spaine, alwayes endevore to keepe of the Popes benevolent towardses them, aswell in respecte of the assistance that any of the other Princes of Italie might receaue from them, both w[i]th Armes Spirituall and Temperall, if w[i]th their Consent they should there attempte any thinge against them, the Popes estate, lyinge soe neere and apte, to anoye the kingedome of Naples, wherin also w[i]th much facilitie, they maye at any tyme procure great alteration, only by discharginge those people of their oathes, that kingdome beinge of the fee of the Churche, the Subiectes thereof naturallie hatinge the Spanishe Nac[i]on, and muche enclined to change and mutabilitie, as also in considerac[i]on of, the many faouours and benefites they receaue from them, by grantinge of Crusadoes, of Tenthes, and indulgences, and infinit other concessions of like nature, out of w[hi]ch they drawe yearlie in Spaine and in their Indies greate somes of money: Moreouer consideringe that all or most parte of their vsurpac[i]ons and deseignes are Coullored w[i]th the pretence of Catholisisme and desire to continewe that Churche in the height of her dignetie verie incongruent it were, if in any thinge they should shewe themselues either aduerse or inobservant vnto hir Popes, In like soarte the Popes in whose ellection the Kinges of Spayne, by reasone of the many Cardinalles that are att his devoc[i]on, hath a greate hande, findinge them selues beseiged (as it were) w[i]th his dependantes, and ouerflowen w[i]th his forces, and w[i]th all that there is

no other prince

**146r**

no other Prince eithere soe apte or powerfull, or vpon whom they maye w[i]th so much Certentie repose their affiance for the maintenance and vphoulding of their seuperlatiue authoritie, The Emperore by wantinge meanes, the kinge of Spaine Great Brittain, Not subiectinge him selfe to his Auctoritye, and the frenche kinge besides the naturall suspition that his educac[i]on and his relapses haue given of him, sufferinge in his kingdom such a Mixture of those of the Religeon reformed, as he houldeth it in his power to giue the hand to w[hi]ch the proffessions shall best suite w[i]th the utilitie of his estate, as w[i]th greate reason they desire to hould perfecte frendshippe and Coniunction w[i]th this Crowne. / .

It resteth now that I giue an accompt in what estat for the good or evell affection of the othe princes of the worlde, this Crowne for the present standeth. / .

I will beginne w[i]th the Turke, whose enmitie and envye both in generall and particuler to this estate is non of the leaste, for that in extenc[i]on of dominions and haboundance of Treasure, there is non other that maye soe evenlie Compare w[i]th him. / .

The Turke enlargeth his Empire in the East, the kinge of Spaine, stretcheth forth his, in the west, who (as is before said) hauinge passed the newe world, and arrived at the Molluccas, beinge the furthest parte of the East Ideas, extendeth himselfe by all those maritime partes, even to the straighes of Gibraltar: The one hath obtayned his kingdoms by force, and aduantage taken of the discordes and disunyons of Christian Princes, the other is Comen to his greatnes, by the opulent and rich inheritances lefte him by his Auncestors, and some acquistes of his owne, out of pretence of Tytle: The Turke might by meanes of his Portes neare Affrica (where he should not want the Assistance of the Moores, aswell in regarde of their Conformatie

in Religeon as

**146r**

in Religeon ~~hath not much~~ as of the Naturall hatred they Carrye to this Crowne and Nation) much troubled and infested Spaine, but dares not least by that means he might drawe all Christendome vpon him, as Carefull of their Comon interest: The kinge on the other side wantes not good meanes to vndertake Argeirs as an enterprise wherein all his Subiectes of Spaine, w[i]th their fortunes and forces would helpe him, in regard of soe many and continuall Molestac[i]ons, that by meanes of that Towne, they receaue from the Turke Corsories: But well hee knoweth that place to be nowe in strength and fortificac[i]on much different from that it was in the tyme of his grandefather Charls the fifte, and that to adventure vpon that, were to give an occasion to drawe in to those Seas, some stronge Navye of the Turkes to his owne perill and damage: Moreouer the Spanyard fyndinge, that to weaken the Turke it would be necessarie for him to tourne him selfe towards the East, w[hi]ch in regarde of [th]e farre distance, would be a matter of verie great diffirmitie, & Consideringe that dyvers of his owne estates are neare, and much subiecte to incursions by the Turke if he should prouoke him: for these regards abstayneth from giving him aany cause of offense, or to assist in any soarte the percian against him, for w[hi]ch he wanteth not Comoditie by the waye of the Indies So as both these great Monarches hauinge their particuler respectes, and their handes more thenn full of other buisenes, stand for the tyme, only vpon their owne garde, expectinge into what figures tyme future will Cast the Modell of their occasions. / .

The Emperore although houlding a neere coniunction w[ith] this king aswell by disscent, as alliance, hyet hath not bene w[i]thout his particular distastes: The Infanta now married to the Archduk Albert, was denyed to him, w[i]th whome he expected by some Ample dower an engreatinge of his Estate, w[hi]ch was farre from the intenc[i]on of the kinge deceased: He hath not bene ayded according to his desires, and expectac[i]on by the kinge in his warres against

the Turke, &

**146v**

the Turke, and hath bene of late more pressed by this Estate, to consent to a present ellectyon of a Kinge of the Romanes, then hath agreed either w[i]th his dissignes or likinge. / .



The other princes of Germany haue noe effectuall ~~occasion~~<sup>Cause</sup> whie they should beare towards this Crowne anie evell affection, except it be in regarde of difference, of Religeon, of the fauoure they beare to their Neighbours the Estates vnited, or in regarde of the inlimited possession the kinge of Spaine houldes of Millan, w[hi]ch is of the fee of the Empire, and was possessed by Charles the fyfte vnder the Condicons, and whereof they howld it noe reason that the kinge shoulde enioye any other title, then by investidure as a particuler duke. / .

W[i]th the French kinge, they haue for the present Peace, but of such nature, as well it maye be saide, to be w[i]thout loue or trust: Age and Necessitie begate it, in the kinge deceased, who seeing his Treasures vneuen for soe great a Charge, as the defence of him selfe against the attemptes of Englande, the prosecution of his owne Warres in the Lowe Countryes, the howldinge of such Townes, as he had possessed him selfe during his assistance given to those of the league in Fraunce, the great age and irreparable infirmities of him selfe, and the youthe and litle aptnes for gouernement in his sonne, together w[i]th th Military habillities of the French Kinge nowe Reigninge, thought fitt Rather accordinge to what had formerlie ben done, by Charles the fifthe in like case (whoe restored by agreement, in makinge peace what he had wonne in the tyme of warre) to deliuer vppe those Townes & places, whereof he had become possessed, then to leaue his sonne intricated in so many questions, w[i]th so daungerous and mightie Enemyes: But this wound though Closed, yet cannot but inwardely bleed: The Considerac[i]on of soe vneauen an disadvantageous accordes, Neuer Comonly departinge from the heartes of Princes. / .

The Frenche kinge on the other side, who to resist the soe

Potent and

### 147r

Potent and malitious an Enemy, and disvnite the Confederacons of his owne subiectes, had bene enforced to suffer intolerabilityties in his body and in some sorte to offer violence to his soule, although to ende a w[ar]re<sup>warre</sup> for w[hi]ch he wanted synneowes, and to recouer his lost Townes, he was necessited to agree to the Peace, yet cannot but hould in memorye the Spanishe purposes, plotted not only for the distruction of him selfe, but the totall Ruine of his Country, thr malitiose exceptions taken against himselfe, after his Reduction to the Roman Religeon, affirminge that to a man soe often relapsed, there was to be given noe eare, muche less any beleefe, the Cuninge manner of the ayde, they gaue to the Leaguers, to whom they never miniustred any such helpe as might promise them victorye, but onlie such as might howld life and Continuance in the warre, their poletique handlinge of the many proposic[i] nes, that duringe those tymes, they Made for ellection of an other kinge, never setlinge vpon any, but opposinge against any such as by the French were named, the devidinge of their forces, into diuers partes of his kingdome: the Itallians into provence, into Narbona, the Germans into Brittanie; The Spaniardes in to Picardie, and the partes towards parris, their Armie of Flaunders, w[i]th purpose to infest all partes of [tha]t Countrye, to the ende that the heades and princepall of French beinge accuustomed to disobedience, and the Citties to libertie (things w[hi]ch in length and Contnuance of warre easelie growes in all mens myndes) might take an occasion to falle into some devision of that Realme, into diuers principalleties amongst w[hi]ch might allwayes haue ben vnder hand nourished such

dissension and warres, as he might in tyme haue swallowed, if not the whole kingdome, yet at least the Country of Brittainie (wheee vnto he made some pretenses of Tyle) and

those partes w[hi]ch

147v

those partes w[hi]ch for the Convayance of his Armyes to and from those Countries had bene to this Crowne of exceeding vtillitie and importance, and a great endangeringe to the Libertie of Itallie, w[hi]ch vpon those acquistes, should w[i]th great difficultie haue avoyded the tallentes of this greate Eagle, w[i]th w[hi]ch her wide winges, sought to Comparse in the whole worle: moreouer the many practizes, that haue bene discouered sithence the Peace, their baytes given to Byron and their dessignes for ~~Marshall~~ Marcelles, and other Townes on the one parte, and the Couert assistances and aydes given both w[i]th men and money to the states on the other parte, give life and Continuance to the former distates, and raises a settled foundac[i]on of a perpetuall suspition betweene these Princes, although for diuers important considerac[i]ons, and not the least for avoydinge occasion of advantage to some other their neighbors, to whom their consumptions would give encrease of Riches, and their weakenes, strength, and Continewe an outward face of peace and Amtyie./.

To the Kinge my Soueraigne, vpon his first approches to take possessyon of the Crowne of England, soe Lawfullie an iustlie deuolued vnto him, howesoer formerlie (as appears both by the workinge and writinge of their Ministers) they were Contrarelie affected, yet they offered and laboured by all meanes possible to enter into peace and Confederac[i]on. / . To them it was a soueraigne salue for their wounded and sicke Estate, w[hi]ch had the sharpenes of the fittes, they dayly suffered from England, continued, all men may discern by what hath since occurred them, w[i]th the estates allone, (to whome their extreame necesseties haue of late enforced them to propound so indigne and disadvantageous proposic[i]ons) that w[i]thout all question the whole bodie of this monarchie had ben plounged into soe deepe danger, as it had bene almost desperate of all Cure or recouery: On the other side,

it was not vnne=

148r

it was not vnnesarye nor disvtill to the kinge of great Brittainie, who although receaued w[i]th soe rare and generall an Applause of all that kingdome, yet beinge not without memorie, that in the Case of our Savioure him selfe the populare multetud that cried Hosanna vpon the sondaye vttered a Contrarie and farre different voyce vpon the fridaye followinge, and beinge not then settled in his Chayre, and to effecte a worke of soe difficult as to drawe two Nacons of soe different humors, to ioyne in obedience vnto him, and loue and vnitie amonge them selues, and to induce the one, that had soe longe enjoyed the sunshine of his presence, to content them selues w[i]th the shaddowe of his gouernement, and for [th]e effectinge thereof to giue them by his greate liberalletie, an haboundant taste of his Loue, to the much exhausting of his Treasure, neither of w[hi]ch Could soe well gaue bene effected in midst of the Noyse of drumes and Trumpetetes, and the Clashinge of Armors, had herebye the honoure in the first dayes of his Cominge to the Crowne (as it weare) to shutt vpp the doores of Janus Temple, by hauinge Amitie and peacr, w[i]th all the worle, as also by that meanes cleare all accomptes and Cancelled all arrerages and allegac[i]ons of iniurys and demaundes of reparation and restituc[i]on, for the tymes of his predecessor, wherein this Crowne and Nation had somuch suffered. / .

This peace though soe latelie and newlie planted, (Cherished w[i]th often presentes on either parte, and wattered w[i]th the best wordes that Spaine affordeth) yet be+ gines alredye to shewe some drienes in the roote, the Kinge of Spaine distasted w[i]th the Multitude of the kinge my Soueraignes Subiectes seruinge the estates vnited w[i]th his ma[jes]ties not endeauoring w[i]th such earnestnese as they hoped, the reducinge of that people to

some Conformatie

**148v**

some Conformatie, and the securinge of Traffique and and passage of the Arche Dukes subiectes in to his poartes of England, and the late seveare Lawes (as they terme them) made against Romane Recusantes, w[hi]ch oure Iesuites and other fugetives of that profession (thoughe not ignorant that the same grewe out of their owne occasion) amplefye w[i]th the vttermost of their arte and malice. / .

The Kinge of greate Brittainne on the other side parte findinge that in these kingdomes, his Traytors are entertayned, his evell affected Subiectes harbored and releived, and his marchantes that live in obedience to his Crowne and Lawes continually spoyled of their goodes laden w[i]th Molestac[i]ons and prouoked w[i]th iniuries, and vpon notice given either by his owne [l]ettres to the kinge or by Complaite and sollicitac[i]on of me that ame his minister, either slenderlie regarded, or at least omitted, & vnsufferabelie delayed, receaueth much Cause of discontente: yet doth the Kinge of Spaine in regarde he knowes not which waye to hurte, and in feare to drawe vpon him an enemye soe potent (the memorie of the weight of English handes not yet had tyme to be forgotten in Spanish hartes) temporise and by all the meanes he cane seeke to soften and sweeten the herdenes and sharpnes of such humors as these disregards to the Kinge of greate Brittainne him selfe, and so inceassante Complaintes of his subiectes, might breed in the hearte of soe magnaminous and consideratiue a Prince of his Honoure and people: The Kinge of greate Brittainne, as yet hauing not finished, what so wislye and gloriously, he hath vndertaken, houldinge it not fitt vpon vnkindnesses of no greater moment, and iniuries offered to particulers ~~and willinge to winne tyme~~ soe soone to dissolue an Amyty

soe seriouslie

**149r**

be seriously contracted and willinge to wine tyme for the better discerninge into what forme other Confyning Princes and estates will cast them selues, and by his Charge and adventure Not to give advantage to such as perhappes would make their profite out of his perill continueth ay as yet the Amytie w[i]th this estate, but yet in such termes as are both agreeable w[i]th his honoure and office. / .

The wholl weight of the gouernement for all these estates in matters of most moment rest at this present, vpon the shoulders of the duke of Lerma, assisted w[i]th the aduises of the Earle of Miranda and Don Ivan de Heaques and the Travailes and dilligence of the Secretarye of estates Andreas de Prada, and that of Don Rodrigo Caldearon, a secretarie and faourite to [th]e Duke thorough whose handes passe all the Negotiac[i]ons that come to the Consulta: The duke at the tyme of [th]e death of the last kinge, thoughte of noble howse possessed from his Auncestours of the tytle of a Marques and Grandee of Spaine: yet was of verie smalle reueneue, and that alsoe soe accombred and engaged for his debtes, as he had not any vse

of the greatest parte of it: Into the fauoure of this kinge that now raigneth he had insinuated him selfe in the life tyme of his father, Made greate demonstrac[i]on of his love and service in all thinges, and Not the least in supplience his wantes w[i]th moneye in those tymes, when he was held exceeding streight by the kinge his father: He is besides of Comlie personag, defectiue in Nothinge that appertayneth in a highe degree, in demonstrac[i]on of all loue and dilligence in the service of his maister, hath in these fewe yeares of his happie fortunes soe strengthened him selfe w[i]th

Kingdome, soe

149v

Kingdome, soe beseiged the kinge w[i]th the loue and Comaundemente of all those that serve in Neerest places about him, and given so large winges to his power by the disposing of all princepall places of Aucthoritie and strength, aswell in gouernement and Iustice, as of defence and millitary services both by Sea and Land, in all the kingdomes and dominions of this Crowne accordinge to his owne tast and to serve his purposes, as he hath at this daye drawne himselfe in to the extraordinary greatnes followinge, hardlie nowe Controleable by a kinge of so mild a nature, and soe softe and peaceable a disposicon: vnder the Coulloure of beinge Squire for the bodie, contrarie to the Coustome of all other officers, he not onlie lodgeth in the Pallaice, but hath almost a thirde parte of it to his owne use, he hath dyet there also for him selfe and some good nvmber of his nearest attendantes; At his vpp risinge, he is daylie attended by .8. of the kinges owne pages, euerie of them in the tyme of his apparrelinge himselfe, doinge him some especiall service, They Come downe from the Kinges lodgings in an orderlie manner, by two in a Ranke, and in like soart hauinge performed their said observance returne againe: He giues Audience twice or thrice in the Weeke, those that desire it, make their Repayers to Don Roderigo Calderon, either by their persons or their billetes, non other Secretarie or servant about the Duke, dare presente any such request, or accepte of any paper from any Man: Don Roderigo receauinge these requestes, putes them in a list, and at oportuneties presentes them to the Duke who causeth him to sett a marke vpon such as he will graunte accesse vnto the daye followinge, w[hi]ch done, Don Roderigo makes an especiall noate of them, and

deliuers it to

150r

deliuers it to the Porter that keepe the outwarde doore of the Dukes Lodgings, the Porter accordinglie when the suitors present them selues, onlie gives enterie to those that are contained in the liste, and telles the rest, they must forbear, as those <sup>whose</sup> hower is not yet Come; By this meanes it oft falles out that ambassadors obtaine not accesse in fowreteene dayes, after their demaund of it: The greatest of the Grandees not w[i]thin a moneth, and other particulares of more inferiore soarte, not in a quarter of a yeare nay w[hi]ch is more, at tymes some Grandees that haue married his owne daughters (thoughe otherwise very deere vnto him) are not suffered to come w[i]thin fower Rooms of his inwarde Lodgings. / .

I maye be thought to dwell too longe in discourse of these minute matters, yet seemeth it to me not impertinet to sett forth, the extraordinary greatnes, of that a fauorit to a prince may attayne, hauinge by God and tyme, good and apte subiectes giuen him, wherevpon to erecte his fortunes, In this man it appears to me more ~~more~~ strange then in others, for althoughe the

matter he hath to worke vpon be facyle and was by him taken in a fitt season, yet wantes himselfe [th]e ordinarie instrumentes and tooles wherew[i]th are vsuallie engrauen those charectures of fauour and affection, that are deepe imprinted, to the follower of soe yonge a Prince, in matters of pleasure and recreac[i]on, had bene necessarie a more equalletie both in years and bodie: To one vppone eho Shoulders was to be layed the weight of soe great a gouernement, a greater proportion of experience and vnderstandinge in matters of Estate, and disposic[i]on of other nations, or att least a supplie by learninge and Readinges, in neither of w[hi]ch he hath anye. But by how muche

these wantes in

**150v**

these wantes in him seeme greate, by somuch the more are his dilligences and endeouours (whereby those gappes are stopped) to be comended: The inequality of his age, and vnaptnes to followe his Maister in the same steppes, he supplies by his eldest sonne the duke of Sea, who in his absence treades out of the same pathes & is as it weare the watche tower to all the kinges wayes, wordes and acc[i]ons for matter of gouernement, he helps him selfe w[i]th the aduise of some fewe that are most experienced, and best deemed of both by the kinge and people, by meanes whereof, though infinites errorrs are Comitted and the estate brought into termes of great extremitie, yet is not the whole burden layde vpon him, but equallie attributed to those he Consults w[i]th, and the whole becomes the lesse, in regarde that those others, haue by their former Courses gained much good oppinion and little Envie. This last evill of enuye, although him selfe in soe extraordinarie a greatnes hath no possibilitie meanes to avoyde, yet doth soe quenche the furie of it, as though it liue in the Cinders, yet it shewes not it selfe by any flame, In all the whole Course of his life he shewes much temperance and litle Pompe, excedinge Curtious and affable to all that haue accesse to him, and seldome gives discontentinge or bitter answer to any suitor that repaires to him, and if any he doe, he soe sugers it ouer w[i]th softe wordes, as though the deniall giue a wounde, yet the baulme of his good wordes soe supple it, as it takes awaye the greatest sence of the paine, onlie in his attendance vpon the kinge to the Chappell, and his Subscription to Me morialles and Billetes, he gives some Cause to drawe the envious and emvlatinge eyes of his equalles vpon him, obseruinge Com[m]onlie in the first as much distau[n]ce in goinge before the kinge, betweene him and othar grandees, as there is betweene the kinge and him, In his other, his subscribinge Yo, el, Duque, in a kingdome where there are soe manie others of [tha]t dignetie, seemes to many too much arogatinge to himselfe,

and detractinge

**151r**

and detractinge from others: But w[i]th those of that ranke and other men of power and title, he vseth soe good prevention, as if he avoid not the Evill of the Cause, yet he seemeth himselfe from the perill of the effecte, some of the greatest, hee hath drawne to himselfe by allyance, others he hath drawne to him by benefytes, To those that are enclined to their ease, and interest, he obtaynes a permission that they may abide in their owne Hives, where attendinge onlie to gather the honie of their ease, or vnderstandinge to any matter of Gouernement, but w[i]th tyme and Coustome, growe to make ease and securetie their Sum[m]um bonum and become inania peccora, retaininge nothinge of a man but the forme, their mindes beinge metamorphosed into that of Beastes: A last soarte, in whome he noates

a qqwicke motion of Sperite, men actiue and able to looke into the deepest of his misteries, of Courage and habiletie, to pursue theire dissigns, and somuch respectinge the publike, as they preferre it before theire privat, he remoues from the kinges presence, vnder a faire and pleasinge shaddowe of employinge them, in the Livetenancye and gouernementes of his ma[jes]ties kingdomes and domions, in partes remot: Neither doth this duke onlie affecte Authoritie and greatnes, in his owne daies, but soe well and politiquelie layes his foundac[i]on, as he maye conceive good hopes to leaue a great mea- sure of the same, to his howse and posteritie: For his Eldest sonne he hath alreadye the title of a duke, and the place of a Grandee: To his second sonne by his marriage w[i]th the daughter and heire to the duke of Infansado hee leaues the Reversion of the like w[i]th one of the Amplest patrimonyes in Signoris and Comaundment of vassailes, that any subiecte in Spaine possesseth: Him selfe is saide to be at this daye possessed of Landes and Rentes that yeild him in yearlie Revenewe .300000. ducates and of plate and moueables an infinit vallue. / ,

Lastlie to putt

**151v**

Lastly to putt a kind of necessitie, vpon the kinge to vse the duke of Sea his eldest sonne, hereafter in place of like privacie and Authoritie, as also to enable him, in mean tyme, for the vse and exercise of the same, He hath of late transferred muche of his businesses vnto him, and Caused the suitors to praye accesse to that duke, and him to give them audience, and dispatche in suche forme as he prescribes vnto him. / .

To come nowe to his t̄o two principall assistantes in Counsaill, the Earle of Miranda, and Don Ivan de Idyaques, the first hath been accompted a man of much wisdom and great experience, as he that was a longe tyme Ambassador in Roome, viceroy of Naples and nowe lastlie President of Castill a man greatly Reputed and revered by this Nac[i]on, as sinceere in administrac[i]on of Iustice, and respectfull of the publike: But such are nowe his yeares, his Corpulency & other infirmities, the first hauinge weakened his bodie, the seconde overgrowne his sperites, and the third made him vnapte for buyssines, as (in myne owne iudgement) there remaines litle but the Caske, the Lees and the savor of the liccour, that formerlie hath bene in it. / .

The Second hauing been a man of somuch trust, and imployment in the tyme of the kinge deceased, may iustlie be said to be, a graue wise man, and in affaires of Estat of greate vnderstandinge, but hauinge none other vnderstandinge but foundac[i]on than that of owne meritte, and ouerflowne by soe supereminent authoritie, as that of the duke, tyhmorous in his owne nature, and of soe Coude a disposic[i]on, well may that verse of Dauid be applied vnto him (viz) A facie frigoris eius quis sustenebit, it is thought that in all his Counsayles he enclines too muche vnto what he sees the duke disposed to, for the Rest he is muche given to devotion, and is of [th]e people

held a man of

**152r**

held a man of greate zeale and virtue w[hi]ch drawes much good opinion, and reverence vnto him. € / .

Concerninge the twe Secretaryes before Named, the one of the Counsell of Estate, the other of the Duke, the one Named Andreas de Prada is generallie esteemed more devout then

polletique, he is of his owne disposicon plaine and vpright, but much enclined to give eare, & beleiffe, to those of the turbulent societie of the Iesuites by whome he is oftimes abused, and drawne out of those good wayes that him selfe affecteth, exceedinge curious he is and affable to all suitors, to whome hee seldome or neuer denies accesse vnto him, keepinge for that purpose the dores of the place where he sittes the more parte of the daye open, and w[i]thout a keeper: [*Left margin:*[mark]] The Secretarie of the Duke, though not brought vpp in Learninge, is of a pregnant witt, and by practise giuen to be (his younge years considered) of much vnderstandinge, Laborious he is, and of great diligence, and hath attained the rewarde of it, beinge deare to the duke, well respected of the kinge, and from Nothinge, in fewe yeares growne to be of verie great reueneue. / .

It resteth that in this place, I speake of him, that ought to haue bene the First; and is the firmament, wherin all the Starres before mentioned are fixed: The kinge himselfe, who for his person is of a lowe stature, and in Complexion more resemblinge a Germane then a Spaniarde, he seemeth of a flegmatique and slowe disposic[i]on, yet is it said by some, that he is more inclined to Choller, then was his inclinac[i]on father, Hardly shall an Ambassador iudge either of his inclinac[i]on or habillities, to whom he euer gives short Audiences, him selfe leaninge against a Cupboarde, his answers breefe, most comonlie not varyinge from an vsuall

forme and

### 152v

forme, and deliuered w[i]th soe Lowe a voyce, as withe difficultie they are either vnderstoode or hearde: His owne people iudge him not to be verie Active, or hable ffor gouernement; praise his sinceritie and good intenc[i]ons, and honoure him w[i]th the Name of a Santito, but much misliketh that he deliuereth him selfe soe absolutlie ouer, into the handes of the Duke, and onlie Comforte themselues w[i]th an opinion, that accordinge to what is observed in those of the house of Austria, more yeares will breed in him a more Ripenes of vnderstandinge, and a greater Courage, then to suffer his Royall { eour } dignetie to growe into soe greate disesteeme, and his estate into such Necesseties and Perills: The truth is, his majes]tie is much enclined to devoc[i]on and obserues his vsuall howers, w[i]th noe lesse strictnes, then if he were a votraaye or a man in Orders, he is verie chast, Clement and Lyberall, for his excercise and recreac[i]on, he is most affectionated to huntinge, and to playe, the first not ww[i]th houndes, or grehoundes, but w[i]th hand, by vsinge of his peece, and therein is said to be verie Laborious; ( He is very fortunat, in his yssue, hauinge already in soe yonge yeares two sonnes, and asmany daughters: The eldest prince and princes are of mucche hope: The Prince in this his infancye shewinge many argumentes of hauine a quicke conceipte: The Princesse like to be very singuler in beautie of an exelent witt, and a greate Sperite. / .

. Finis .

### Other manuscript witnesses

- British Library, Additional MS 36444, ff. 14r–61x
- British Library, Additional MS 39853, ff. 150r–161v
- British Library, Additional MS 48062, ff. 326r–367v
- British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian C X, ff. 1x–35x
- British Library, Harley MS 295, ff. 240r–248v
- Beinecke Library, Osborn fb178, ff. 37v–41r

- Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 929, ff. 1r–18v
- Cornwall Record Office, EL MS 655/6, ff. 128r–155v
- Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, VIII.B.139
- Senate House, University of London, MS 305, ff21
- Woburn Abbey, MS 21, pp188–189

### **Modern print exemplars**

- *Somers Tracts* (2nd ed.), vol. 3, pp. 304–315

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<https://mpese.ac.uk/t/CornwallisDiscourseSpain1607.html>