

SIR VVALTER / RAVVLEIGH S / GHOST/ or/ ENGLAND S FOREWARNER. / Discouering a secret Consultation, newly holden / in the Court of Spaine. Together, with this tormenting of Count de / Gandomar; and his strange affrightment, Confession / and public recantation: laying open many / treacheries intended for the subuersion of England. Cresee, Cruor Sanguis satietur sanguine cresce, / Quod spero suio, vah sitio, sitio. / Psal. 14. Ver. 7 / Destruction and unhap[p]inesse is in their weyes; and the / way of peace haue they not knowne, there is no feare of/ God before their eyes. Vtricht/ Printed by John Sebell[...] / 1626

Antonio Cortijo Ocaña
University of California

Christine Fernández
University of California

El siguiente documento se presenta como un diálogo ficticio entre el conde de Gondomar (don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, 1567-1626) y Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618) en que el segundo –que se presenta como fantasma tras su ajusticiamiento, del que el primero ha tenido, según él, gran culpa– acusa al de Gondomar de todos los vicios posibles (morales y políticos) achacables a la nación española (desde la época de Felipe II a la de Felipe IV) y en donde –como si se tratara de un juicio en que Raleigh actúa de fiscal– se lanza la acusación principal contra la misma, en la persona de Gondomar, de tener una insaciable sed de lograr una *monarquía universal*, así como de querer obtenerla por medios ilícitos, tales como la traición, la doblez, el asesinato/masacre, la mentira y el soborno.

Se trata de una de las muchas obras de Thomas Scott, inglés exiliado en Holanda, donde –en Utrecht– acabaría sus días asesinado. Sus obras suelen ser de carácter inflamatorio¹. Fue rector de St. Saviour y, a consecuencia de dichas obras, hubo de exiliarse en Holanda (primero en Gorinchem y luego en Utrecht, donde sería asesinado). En particular el autor se muestra hostil a la figura del gran diplomata Gondomar, embajador en Inglaterra, a quien sus enemigos ingleses veían como la sombra del poder que manejaba los hilos de la política exterior inglesa por su enorme influjo sobre Jacobo I, y con quien Scott tiene una verdadera obsesión enfermiza (los ataques a su figura son un paralelo de los ataques a Bernardino de Mendoza –otro embajador español en Londres– con anterioridad por parte de los panfletistas ingleses). Su segundo caballo de batalla lo constituía el problema del Palatinado, que a ojos ingleses (anglicanos y puritanos en especial) se tomó como una claudicación del protestantismo frente a los intereses papistas. Su primera obra, *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie; which may serve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences*, de 1620 (reeditada en 1659 y 1679 como prueba del continuo sentimiento antiespañol), es un relato imaginado sobre el juicio de residencia al que se somete a Gondomar a su vuelta a España desde Inglaterra. Gondomar empieza por afirmar que es el propósito de España y sus embajadores “the advancement of the Spanish State and Romish Religion together” y sobre Jacobo I se indica que es “one of the most accomplit Princes that ever raign’d, extreemly hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peacemaker, as that for it he wil

¹ Para el contexto de la literatura panfletaria inglesa antiespañola en que insertar esta obra, puesto en el marco político, histórico y económico del momento, así como para un análisis ideológico de la misma, me remito a mis dos amplios estudios de 2008 y 2010. En bibliografía ofrecemos un catálogo de las obras conocidas de este autor, parte de las cuales comentamos *infra*.

doe or suffer any thing”. Sigue una serie de razones a favor y en contra del matrimonio del príncipe de Gales con la princesa española, declando que “vve that onely negotiate for our owne gaine, and treat about this mariage for our owne ends, can conclude or breake off when we see our time, without respect of such as can neither profit us, nor hurt us”. Uno de sus más preciados logros es haber enemistado al Parlamento con el rey, y haberle convencido de que debe gobernar sin la ayuda de aquél:

Therein lies one of the principal services I haue done in working such a dislike betwixt the King and the lower house by the endeour of that honourable Earle and admirable Engine (a sure servant to us and the catholike cause while he lived) as the King will never indure Parliament againe, but rather suffer absolute want then receive conditionall relief from his subjects. Besides the matter was so cunningly caried the last Parliament, that as in the powder plot the fact effected should haue been imputed to the Puritans (the greatest zelots of the Calvinian sect) so the proposition which damde up the procedings of this Parliament howsoever they were invented by Romane Catholiques and by them intended to disturbe that session, yet were propounded in favor of the Puritans, as if they had been hammered in their forge. Which very name and shadowv the King hates, it being a sufficien aspertion to disgrace any person, to say he is such, & a sufficient barre to stop any suite & utterly to crosse it to say it smels of or inclines to that partie. Mareover there are so many about him who blovv this cole fearing their owne stakes, if a Parliament should inquire into their actions, that they use all their art and industrie to withstand such a councill; perswading the King he may rule by his absolute prerogative without a Parliament, and thus furnish himself by warying with us, and by other domestick projects, without subsidies.

Asegura a los presentes que la fuerza naval inglesa no es tan de temer como pareciera y se muestra en especial orgulloso de haber ocasionado la ruina de Sir Walter Raleigh. Concluye con un largo análisis de la situación de los católicos y sus ministros en Inglaterra y de la ayuda que les ha ofrecido.

Una segunda obra suya, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, vio la luz en 1624, contiene dos estupendos grabados de la mesa redonda en que tiene lugar el juicio de residencia, y allí –aunque se repiten en gran parte los argumentos de la primera obra– se añade una joya del prejuicio racial:

Some think that there is a natural antipathy or contrariety between our disposition and theirs, they living in the North, and we in the South, which being (as Charron a French Autor observeth) nearer to the Sun, the inhabitants are more crafty, politique, and religious [...] even to superstition and idolatry, whereas on the contrary, those of the North (howsoever goodier in person, better faced, and the more beautiful than ourselves by reason of the coldness of the climate, preserving inwardly the natural heat and radical moisture) are plain simple, nothing as religious withall, of the glorious ceremonias of our Church.

Asimismo, se vuelve a lanzar la acusación de instigación de la traición desde dentro (“seditions within the land”):

Fourthly, because (say the English) they are the only engines and complots of all Treasons, authors of Tumults, and seditions within the land, they instante long since the rebellion in the North, of late the Gun-powder Treason, Watsons plot with that of Sir Walter Raleigh, and many more the like.

Otra obra de Scott de considerable importancia es *Sir Walter Ravvleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner Discovering a secret consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spaine. Together, with his tormenting of Count de Gondemar; and his strange affrightment, confession and publique recantation: laying open many treacheries intended for the subuersion of England*, de 1626, en que Gondomar se enfrenta al fantasma acusador de Sir Walter Raleigh (“Earle of Gondomar, whom the whole world Baptized the *Butteslaue* or *Incendiarie* of Christendome, the Intelligencer, *Ambassadour & Iesuiticall Archbishop Leadger* (as his practises in our Nation hath well witnessed)”). Gondomar en la obra acaba, tras la acusación de los pecados suyos y de España (entre los que se incluye haber asesinado a Dom Sebastián, el malhadado príncipe portugués), confesando sus culpas: “I confesse I haue many times said (how euer I haue beleueed) that those great ones which seeke to make away their enemies otherwise then by Iustice or the euent of warre, shewes mind base and coward, and that their soules are emptie of true courage, fearing that which they should scorne”. Ya a punto de pedir la absolución, confiesa que

no Nation vnder heauen was so able in power, so apt in the nature and disposition of the people, nor so plentifull in all accomodations, both for sea and land, as this Iland of Great *Britaine*, to oppose or beate backe any or all of our vndertakings, When I saw *France* bufie both at home and abroad, the Lowe-Countries carefull to keepe their owne, not curious to increase their owne; when I saw *Germany* afflicted with ciuill anger, *Denmarke* troubled to take trouble from his dearest kinsman: the *Polender* watching of the *Turke*, and the *Turke* through former losses, fearefull to giue any new attempt vpon Christendome, and that in all these we had a maine and particular interest: when I saw euery way smooth for vs to passe, and that nothing could keepe the Garland from our heads; or the Goale from our purchase but onely the anger or discontent of this fortunate British Iland; blame me not then if I fell to practises vnlawfull, to flateries deceitfull, to briberie most hurtefull, and to other enchantments most shamefull, by which Imight either winne mine owne ends, or make my worke prosperous in the opinion of my Soueraigne. I confesse I haue many times abused the Maiestie of Great *Britaine* with curious falshoods, I haue protested against my knowledge, and vttered vowes and promises which I knew could neuer be reconciled.

Sigue un catálogo (casi) completo de las atrocidades cometidas por España en razón de su ansia insaciable de poder a toda costa, y que significa un repaso de historia de Europa (Portugal, Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Inglaterra, Francia, Dinamarca, Países Bajos, Italia, Alemania, etc.) vista como una sucesión de intromisiones imperialistas hispanas motivadas por el deseo de crear una “monarquía imperialista”. Valga el siguiente ejemplo como modelo:

But you will answere, that if *Spaine* had fixed down its resolution vpon an vniuersall Monarchy, they had neuer then harkned to a peace with the Nether-Lands: to this thine owne conscience is ten thousand witnesses, that the peace which it entertained was nothing else but a politicke delay to bring other and impersit ends and designes, to a more fit and solid purpose, for effecting of his generall conquest: for what did this Truce, but diuert the eyes of the Nether-lands (which at that time were growing to be infinit great masters of shipping) from taking a suruay of his *Indies*, and brought a securitie to the transportation of his plate and treasure, and made him settle and reinforce his Garrisons which then were growne weake and ouertoyled, besides a world of other aduantages, which too plainly discouered themselues assoone as the warre was new commenced.

As he had thus gotten his feete into the Nether-lands, had not *Spaine* in the same manner, and with as much vsurpation, thrust his whole body into *Italy*? let *Naples* speake, let *Sicill*, let the Ilands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, the Dukedome of *Millan*, the reuolte of the *Valtoline* and a world of other places, some possest, some lying vnder the pretence of strange Titles, but come to giue vp their account, and it will be more then manifest, that no Signorie in all: *Italie* but stood vpon his guard, and howerly expected when the Spanish storme should fall vpon them; how many quarrels hath beene piled against the State of *Venice*, some by the *Pope*, some by the King of *Spaine*? how many doubts haue beene throwne vpon *Tuscanie*? what protestations haue flowne to *Genoa*, and what threatnings against *Geneua*? and all to put *Italy* into combustion, whilst the *Popes* holinesse, and his Catholicke Maiestie, like *Saturnes* sonnes, sat full gordgd with expectation to deuide heauen and earth betweene them.

Concluye la obra con un corolario en que vuelve a demonizarse la actitud española y se insiste una vez más en la importancia del Palatinado en el imaginario inglés del momento:

Thus I haue brought *Spaines* attempes for an vniuersall Monarchie, from *Portugall* to the *Netherlands*, thence through *Italy*, so into *France*; *England*, was lookt vpon by the way, in the yeare 1588. but shee was not so drowfie as others: there is now but *Germanie* betwixt him and the end of his Ambition, but is that free and vntouched? woe to speake it, that of all is the worst and most horred: O the lamentable estate, of those once most happie Princes! how hath the house of *Austria* drownd them in blood? and by the worke of ciuill dissention, made them in their furies to deuoure one another. Is there any thing in this age more lamentable or remarquable, then the losse of the *Palatinate*? or is there any thing in which thy villany can so much triumph as in that politique defeature? why, the lyes which thou didst vtter to abuse the Maiestie of *England*, and to breed delayes till thy Masters designes were effected, were so curious and so cunning, so apte to catch, and so strong in the holding, that the Deuill (who was formerly the author of lyes) hath now from thee taken new presidents for lying. I would here speake of thy Archduchesses dissimulation, but shee is a great Lady, and their errors at the worst are weake vertues.

De 1624 es otra obra, de S.R.N.I. [Thomas Scott], titulada *Vox Coeli*, donde (tras un discurso/ensayo apasionado firmado por S.R.N.I.) un jurado compuesto por varios reyes pasados de Inglaterra decide la culpabilidad de España en el asesinato de Enrique III y IV, Guillermo de Orange y don Sebastián, y donde se repasa por turnos el involucramiento de España en los sucesos de las Indias, Portugal, Italia, Venecia, Suiza, la Valtellina (Grisón), Saboya, Francia, los Países Bajos e Inglaterra. El texto en su totalidad es una diatriba contra España que entraría de lleno en lo que hoy tildaríamos como ‘complot theory’. Quizá pueda resumirse la obra en su totalidad con los siguientes alegatos contra al afán expansionista e imperialista de una España obscurantista:

And wherevnto tends all this treacherous ambition, and formidable vsurpation and greatnes of the King of *Spaine*, but to cut out a passage with his sword, and to make his troopes & Regiments fly o're the Alpes, for his erecting and obtaining of the Westerne Empire: And wherevnto tends it I say, but to make his territories and Dominions to encirculiz[...] great *Brittaine* and *France*, yea to be their Cloyster, and to make and esteeme those two famous Monarchies, but onely as a fatall Church-yard to burie and interre themselues in.

And to step yet a degree further; was it not a hellish pollicy, and a diabolicall designe and resolution of the Counsell of *Spaine*, to aduise our Prince vpon his returne into *England*, to waerre vpon the Protestants, and to proffer him an Army to suppress and exterminate them.

O considérese este alegato a la guerra (en el contexto de una petición de rotura de la paz de 1604 y el impedimiento del plan de matrimonio del príncipe de Gales),

Thinke what a happines, what a glorie it is for *England* to haue wars with *Spaine*, sith *Spaine* in the Lethirgie of our peace, hath very neere vndermined our safetie, and subuerted our glory; And let vs dispell those charmes of securitie, wherein *England* hath beene too long lul'd and enchanted a sleepe: And if feare & pusillanimitie, yet offer to shut your eyes against our safetie, yet let our resolution and courage open them to the imminency of our danger; that our glory may surmount our shame, and our swords cut those tongues and pennes in pieces, which henceforth dare either to speake of peace· or write of truce with *Spaine*.

que, a su vez, debe insertarse dentro del programa político-social-militar del autor, que contiene los siguientes 5 puntos:

That you be carefull that your warres (both by sea and land) be plentifully stored with money, powder and shot, which indeed is the veignes and Arteries, the sinewes and soule of warre. That you crye downe all gold and siluer Lace, and all silkes, Veluets, and Taffities, and crie vp woole cloath, and blacke [...] and Corslets insteede thereof, that thereby *England* as a blacke and dismall cloud, may looke more martiall and terrible to our Enimies. That our English Romanists may be taught either to loue, or to feare *England*. That there be prouision made, and especiall care had to secure his Maiesties Coasts, Seas. and Subiect from the Ships of warre of *Dunkerke* and *Ostend*, by whome otherwise they will be extreamely indomaged and infested. That by some who'some Statute and Order, you cleanse the Citties and Countrie, the Streets and highwaies from all sort of Beggars, by prouiding for their labour and reliefe, whereby many hundred thousand Christian soules will pray vnto God for his Maiesty, and to power downe his blessings vpon all your Designes and Labours, whereby without doubt our Warres will succeed and prosper the better.

El libro termina con “The Conclusion of the Consultation” (y el veredicto negativo de los soberanos), así como una carta apasionada (desde el cielo) de la reina María (Estuardo) al soberano español en que le recomienda seguir el curso de su política, creando conflictos armados, creando disensión, luchando contra la herejía protestante y pagando sobornos:

Whiles *England* lyes gasping, on her bed of Peace and securitie, let the King your Master prouide for Warre; Continue to sowe D[...]uision in the Church of *England*, and rather augment then diminish your Pensions to you know wh[...]m.

Otra obrita breve en la misma vena es *Robert Earle of Essex his ghost, sent from Elizian to the nobility, gentry, and communtie of England*, también de 1624 y de Thomas Scott. Siguiendo en parte los mismos argumentos ya expuestos en otras obras anteriores (aunque ahora es el espíritu de Essex quien los proclama), se insiste en la depravación de Felipe II, “that all Treatises with *Spaine* (and idolatrous and irreligious Nation) were both vnsafe and dangerous”, que no se llamen a engaño los ingleses, pues Felipe III no es sino “sprung from his [Felipe II] loynes”; en resumen, tras repasar parte de la historia reciente europea en términos parecidos a los de otros panfletos suyos, se desaconseja fehacientemente el matrimonio propuesto para el príncipe de Gales con una española. Más en vena satírica, y del mismo autor, es *Nevves from*

Pernassus, The politicall touchstone, taken from Mount Pernassus: whereon the governments of the greatest monarchies of the world are touched, donde en burda alegoría se presenta una petición de España ante Apolo para que la cure de la herida de los Países Bajos. Un índice de sus capítulos da ya idea somera del contenido:

The *Spanish Monarchy* arriveth at *Pernassus*; beseecheth *Apollo* she may be cured of an Yssue in her arme, and by the Politicall Physicians dismissed.

The *Monarchy* of *Spaine* lamenteth for that her falshoods are discovered.

Maximilian the Emperor is advertised of the troubles begun amongst his sonnes.

Most of the Princes, Commonveales, and States of *Europe* are vveighed in a paire of Scales by *Lorenzo Medici*.

The *Spanish Monarchy* goeth to the Oracle at *Delphos*, for to knowv vvwhether ever she shall attaine to the *Monarchy of the World*, and receiveth a contrary ansvver.

Philip the second King of *Spaine*, after some contestation about his Title, entreth vvith great pompe into *Pernassus*.

Almansor, sometime King of the *Moores*, encountring vvith the Kingdome of *Naples*, they relate one to another the miseries they sustaine by the oppression of the *Spaniards*.

Sigismond Battor learneth the Latin tongue. The Cardinall of *Toledoes Summa* is not admitted into the Library of *Pernassus*.

The *French* desire the receipt of the *Spanish* scent for Gloues.

The *Monarchy* of *Spaine* throwveth her Physician out of the Windowv.

Most of the States of the World are censured in *Pernassiu* for their errors.

The Duke of *Cuize* his Secretary is punished for speaking amisse.

Certaine Persons for example vnto others, are shevved vnto the people.

The *Monarchy* of *Spaine* inviteth the Cardinal of *Toledo* to be her Royall Divine in her Councel of State, vvwhich he refuseth, and vvhy.

The *Spaniards* attempt the acquisition of *Savoy*, but do not prevaile.

The Duke *d'Alva* being arrived at *Pernassus*, in complementing vvith *Prospero Colonna*, they fall foule about defrauding the *Colonesi* of their Titles.

En vista de que los dos personajes principales del panfleto que aquí editamos son Sir Walter Raleigh y el conde de Gondomar, daremos un escueto esbozo histórico sobre los mismos, basado en Adamson, Redworth, Ronald, Stebbing y Trevelyan; ver asimismo el sitio web *luminarium*).

Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618) fue un afamado aristócrata inglés, soldado, poeta, cortesano y explorador. Su familia fue de un acendrado protestantismo y ello influenció muchas de sus ulteriores actuaciones contra España y contra el catolicismo en general. Participó en la supresión de la rebelión de Desmond, así como en las masacres de Rathlin y Smerwick, en Irlanda, donde adquirió títulos de propiedad y donde estableció amistad con el poeta Spencer.



Entre 1585 y 1590 Raleigh financió y dirigió expediciones para la colonización del Dominio de Virginia (Isla de Roanoke), infructuosas. Su ascenso social se produjo a comienzos de la década de los años ochenta, cuando se convirtió en favorito de la reina, recibiendo numerosas propiedades y títulos, así como dando inicio a su carrera como parlamentario. En 1588 participó en la jornada de la Armada Invencible como Vicealmirante de Devon, a cargo de la defensa de dicha región. En 1591 se casó en secreto con la dama de honor de la reina Elizabeth Throckmorton, sin el conocimiento de la soberana, lo que le valió sufrir prisión. En 1595 comandó una expedición para la conquista del río Caroní y en 1596 exploró la Guayana y Venezuela, en busca de Manoa, la ciudad dorada, puesto por escrito en su *The Discovery of Guiana*. En 1596 participó en la toma de Cádiz y al año siguiente en la expedición contra las Azores. Aunque había recuperado el favor real por un breve tiempo, a la muerte de Elizabeth (1603) fue acusado de traición (Main Plot) contra Jacobo I y sufrió prisión. Permanecería en la Torre de Londres hasta 1616, donde, entre otras actividades, se dedicó a la composición de su *The Historie of the World*. Tras su libramiento dirigió una segunda expedición a Venezuela en busca de El Dorado, durante la cual atacó Santo Tomé de Guayana en el Orinoco. A su vuelta a Inglaterra el embajador español, tras enérgica protesta, obtuvo del soberano que se apresara a Raleigh, que sería decapitado en 1618. La opinión (en la época y después) sobre el involucramiento de Raleigh en el Main Plot es que fue prácticamente inexistente y que su muerte se debió a las maquinaciones y presión sobre el rey por parte del embajador español.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar, fue embajador español en Inglaterra entre 1613 y 1622 y con posterioridad quedó como experto en asuntos ingleses hasta su muerte en 1626 (ver Carter y Gayangos). Se casó en primeras nupcias con Beatriz Sarmiento,

y en segundas con su sobrina Constanza de Acuña, con la que tendría 7 hijos. Gondomar fue acusado por parte de la facción antiespañola en la corte de Jacobo I (quien siempre mostró preferencia por limar asperezas con España y hasta burcar una alianza matrimonial) de manipular la política exterior del monarca y de ser un político eminentemente *maquiavélico*. Aparte de otros puestos militares y administrativos, parece que su involucramiento en los asuntos ingleses data de su participación en el rechazo del ataque inglés a las costas españolas de 1585, en la defensa de La Coruña frente a Drake, así como en ejercida frente a la armada inglesa de 1589.



Como embajador en Inglaterra sirvió dos términos, de 1613 a 1618 y de 1619 a 1622. Su propósito en tal función se centró en tres puntos: buscar la alianza matrimonial entre el príncipe de Gales y la infanta María Ana; evitar la entrada de Inglaterra del lado protestante en los comienzos de la guerra de los Treinta Años (asunto del Palatinado); detener los ataques de la piratería inglesa en América. Todo ello, entreverado del agrado mutuo entre monarca y embajador en cuanto a sus aficiones personales, unido a la parte que desempeñó Gondomar en la ejecución de Sir Walter Raleigh, le provocó la animadversión del partido puritano y antiespañol, representado en particular por las numerosas obras de Thomas Scott o por la obra teatral antiespañola *A Game of Chess* de Thomas Middleton. Las notas de traición, embuste, engaño, y la ridiculización de un problema intestinal agudo aparecen con frecuencia en la literatura panfletaria sobre Gondomar.

Aparte del rey, Gondomar contaba en la corte inglesa con el apoyo del partido “Howard”, en su mayoría católico y a favor de un espíritu de tolerancia religiosa, compuesto por las siguientes personas. Henry Howard, Earl de Northampton; Thomas Howard, Earl de Suffolk; el favorito del rey, Charles Howard, Earl de Nottingham y Thomas Howard, Earl de Arundel. Esta camarilla prefería una alianza matrimonial con España, no con Francia (con la hermana de Luis XIII), y defendía el rechazo a la guerra con España. Muchos de los miembros de dicho partido cobraban *pensiones* por parte del gobierno español, práctica ya iniciada en la época de Felipe II por don Bernardino de Mendoza, en particular con respecto a la casa de los Guisa. Por encima de este grupo, Gondomar disfrutó en particular de la amistad personal del monarca inglés, que solía alabarle por su conocimiento del latín, su ingenio y su pasión por los libros (su abundante

biblioteca es ahora patrimonio de la Biblioteca de Palacio, desde tiempo de Carlos III). Los ‘dos Diegos’, como gustaban llamarse, parece que incluso acostumbraban beber de la misma botella (Carter 205). En cuanto a su labor diplomática, Gondomar, como Bernardino de Mendoza antes que él, concebía su trabajo como el de una avanzadilla en tierra enemiga, apoyando a católicos, contactando elementos descontentos, ingleses o irlandeses, pagando sobornos o sueldos a elementos desafectos y defendiendo la labor de los jehuitas que entraban ilegalmente en el país. En este sentido es de resaltar el papel activo que tuvo en 1613 al evitar que la labor de doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza en Londres intentando convertir a la población protestante no llegara a escalar hasta convertirse en verdadero conflicto diplomático (ver Cortijo y Pando Canteli).

Si la amistad con Jacobo I y los miembros católicos de la corte o el apoyo y fomento de la alianza matrimonial española hicieron levantar voces de protesta entre los puritanos ingleses, aún más lo hizo el involucramiento de Gondomar en el ‘*affair*’ Raleigh. Sir Walter Raleigh fue ejecutado el 29 de octubre de 1618 como respuesta a las urgentes peticiones españolas de su cabeza. Ello se producía como consecuencia del ataque que Raleigh infligiera a Santo Tomé (Ciudad Guayana), sabido por Gondomar (porque Jacobo I así se lo mostrara) que el contrato por el que Raleigh viajara le prohibía expresamente el ataque a establecimientos españoles. Consecuencia de ello fue la salida de Gondomar de Inglaterra, adonde volvería en 1619. Curiosamente, en 1620 se produjo un nuevo ataque inglés a la Guayana, esta vez por parte de Roger North. De nuevo por insistencia y presión de Gondomar, North fue encarcelado.

El tercer episodio de relevancia en que se involucró el hacer diplomático de Gondomar tuvo que ver con la llamada guerra del Palatinado, por la que Federico V, el elector Palatino y yerno de Jacobo I, fue depuesto. El conde de Mansfeld había urdido un plan por el que usaría tropas inglesas para acudir en ayuda del mismo, quizá ayudando de paso a la recuperación de la provincia de Artois para los franceses. El proyecto nunca se llevaría a término, aunque las tensiones diplomáticas crecieron en torno a este problema.

Tras su retiro en España (1622) Gondomar fue nombrado miembro del Consejo Real y gobernador de un *palacio*.

Aparte del hecho que se analice en clave humorística la figura de Gondomar, mentiroso y flatulento, el texto resalta por ser un resumen acertado de los tópicos que contra España había acumulado el género del panfleto antiespañol inglés durante los cuarenta años precedentes. Es igualmente un repaso de los hechos clave de la política europea de las últimas décadas, con énfasis especial en el agravio del Palatinado y en el hecho de que Inglaterra (en la figura de Isabel I) se ha convertido en una isla en tormenta, en salvaguarda de la libertad europea frente al ansia imperialista de dominio universal español.

El texto del panfleto es curioso por cuanto comienza hacienda referencia al género mismo en que se inscribe, el del panfleto político. Así, Scott quiere convencer al lector de que el suyo no será como los que se estilan, panfletos mentirosos: "Although the liberty of these times (wherein your Currants, Gazettas,/Pasquils, and the like, swarme too <too> abundantly) hath made all Newes [...] lyable to [...] fals[e]hood, yet this relation [...] it is as iustly allyed and knit to truth..."

Gondomar, como los españoles en general en la literatura panfletaria inglesa, se describe en términos apocalípticos. Se le describe como ‘Anticristo’ y ‘Zorro’ (‘*taimado*’, ‘*falso*’)

(“Cound de Gondomar, the Archenemie to the flourishing Estate of our England, and the Foxe”); sus dos únicos amigos son “malise” y “mischief”; se comenta su problema estomacal y su flatulencia, en términos escatológicos: “[Gondomar es] the very Nose of the Spanish State, through which hath beene voided all the excrements both of the head and the whole body”.

El tema dominante y sobre el que se erige el discurso de *Sir Walter Rawleigh* radica en probar que Gondomar, siguiendo imperativos de su monarca, ha trabajado, con doblez, engaño, traición y falsedad, por asegurar el *dominio universal* del imperio español. En ello ha estado ayudado por sus ministros predilectos, los jesuitas, adláteres sangrientos del Papa (“his [...] vngodly and bloodie Ministers”). Dentro de este afán de dominio, Europa entera (Francia, Países Bajos, Italia, Palatinado, etc.) ha caído bajo las garras españolas, y Gondomar se ha esmerado por que Inglaterra, que sería así la joya de dicho dominio, caiga también en el mismo destino: “The State of Great Britaine, being the onely Iewell on which Spaine had long since fixed her heart to make her vniuersall Monarchie eury way full and perfect...”; ‘bringing forward of his vniuersall monarchie;’ “...by which to aduance thy Master to the vniuersall Monarchie of all Europe,” etc. España, asimismo, ha actuado con el fanatismo religioso que ha hecho que bajo capa de religión se esconda en realidad villanía, y bajo la piel del cordero una política de lobo (“[haciendo de la] Religion a cloake for our villanie, and vnder the Lamb s Furre to couer the Wolue s policies?”). Y en el contexto de una larguísima lista de conspiraciones para derrocar casas reales, asesinar monarcas, tiranizar naciones, solo Elizabeth, la soberana inglesa, “stron Roche against the rage of a furious sea,” se erige como valedora de afligidos y defensora de libertades: “ [Si no hubiera] Elizabeth my dread [dear?] Ladie and Mistris of famous and blessed memorie, taken them [príncipes afligidos] to her Royall protection, they had long since beene swallowed vp in the gulfhe of his tyrannie.”

La actuación de Sir Walter Raleigh ha sido siempre loable, en defensa de su patria y monarca. Así, sus incursiones contra posesiones españolas en América no deben verse como piratería, pues España ha asumido un papel como legítima poseedora del derecho de tierra en América que no le corresponde: “I say the tottering ground wher[e]on my King s title to the Indies stood, that it was nothing but violence and force, tyrannie and vsurpation”.

En suma, Gondomar no es sino un nuevo Demonio que hasta al mismo Satanás puede dar lecciones de mentir: “That the Deuill who was formerly the author of lyes hath now, from thee taken new presidents for lying”.

Obras citadas

- Adamson, J.H., & Folland, H. F. *Shepherd of the Ocean: Sir Walter Raleigh and His Times*. London: Gambit, 1969.
- Carter, Charles H. "Gondomar: Ambassador to James I." *The Historical Journal* 7.2 (1964): 189-208.
- Cortijo Ocaña, Adelaida, & Antonio Cortijo Ocaña. "Entre Luisa de Carvajal y el conde de Gondomar. Nuevos textos sobre la persecución anticatólica en Inglaterra (1612-1614)". *eHumanista* (Projects, Black Legend).
- Cortijo Ocaña, Antonio. *Carlos Coloma de Saa*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2010.
- Cortijo Ocaña, Antonio, & Á. Gómez Moreno. *Bernardino de Mendoza*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2008.
- Gayangos, Pascual de. *Cinco Cartas politico-literarias de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar*. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1869.
- Pando Canteli, María J. "Tentando vados: The Martyrdom Politics of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza". *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10 (2010): 117-141.
- Rawson Gardiner, Samuel. *History of England*. London: Elibron, 1883-1884. (Vols. 4, 5).
- Redworth, Glyn. *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003.
- Ronald, Susan. *The Pirate Queen: Queen Elizabeth I, her Pirate Adventurers, and the Dawn of Empire*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007.
- Scott, Thomas. *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne translated according to the Spanish coppie; which may serve to forwarn both England and the Vnited Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences*. [London]: [s.i.], 1620.
- . *Nevves from Pernassus, The politicall touchstone, taken from Mount Pernassus: whereon the governments of the greatest monarchies of the world are touched*. Printed at Helicon [i.e. Holland]: S.i, 1622.
- . *An Experimentall discoverie of Spanish practises, or, The Counsell of a well-wishing souldier, for the good of his prince and state wherein is manifested from known experience, both the cruelty, and policy of the Spaniard, to effect his own ends : chiefly swelling with multiplicity of glorious titles, as one of the greatest monarchs of the earth, that being admired of all, his greatnesse might amaze all, and so by degrees seeking covertly to tyrannize over all, when as indeed and truth, the greatest part of his pretended greatnesse is but a windy crack of an ambitious minde*. Londres: s.i., 1623.
- . *The Second Part of Vox Populi on Gondomar appearing in the likeness of Matchiavelli in a Spanish Parliament, wherein are discovered his treacherous and subtile Practises To the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlands*. Goricom: Ashuerus Janss, 1624.
- . *A Second part of Spanish practises, or, A Relation of more particular wicked plots, and cruell, in humane, perfidious, and vnnaturall practises of the Spaniards with, more excellent reasons of greater consequence, deliuered to the Kings Maiesty to dissolue the two treaties both of the match and the Pallatinate, and enter into warre with the Spaniards : whereunto is adioyned a worthy oration appropriated, vnto the most mighty and illustrious princes of Christendome, wherein the right and lawfulness of the*

Nederlandish warre against Phillip King of Spaine is approued and demonstrated.
[London: N. Okes], M. DC. XXIV [1624].

- . *Certaine reasons and arguments of policie, why the king of England should hereafter give over all further treatie, and enter into warre with the Spaniard.* Londres: s.i., 1624.
- . *The Spaniards perpetuall designes to an vniuersall monarchie. Translated according to the French* [London]: Printed, 1624.
- . *Sir VValter Ravvleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner Discovering a secret consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spaine. Together, with his tormenting of Count de Gondemar; and his strange affrightment, confession and publique recantation: laying open many treacheries intended for the subuersion of England.* Utricht [i.e. ¿Londres?]: Printed by Iohn Schellem, 1626.

Stebbing, William. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Oxford, 1899 Project Gutenberg eText

Trevelyan, Raleigh. *Sir Walter Raleigh: Being a True and Vivid Account of the Life and Times of the Explorer, Soldier, Scholar, Poet, and Courtier--The Controversial Hero of the Elizabethan Age.* New York: Henry Holt, 2003. www.luminarium.org/renlit/ralegh.htm.

SIR VVALTER / RAVVLEIGH S / GHOST/ or/ ENGLAND S FOREWARNER./ Discovering a secret Consultation, newly holden/ in the Court of Spaine.

Together, with this tormenting of Count de/ Gandomar; and his strange affrightment, Confession/ and public recantation: laying open many/ treacheries intended for the subuersion of England.

Cresee, Cruor Sanguis satietur sanguine cresce./ Quod spero suo, vah sitio, sitio./ Psal. 14. Ver. 7/ Destruction and unhap[p]inesse is in their weyes; and the/ way of peace haue they not knowne, there is no feare of/ God before their eyes.

Vtricht/ Printed by John Sebell[...]/ 1626

[1] Sir Walter/ Rawleigh s/ Ghost/ Although the liberty of these times (wherein your Currants, Gazettas,/Pasquils, and the like, swarme too <too> abundantly) hath made all Newes (how serious or substantiall soeuer) lyable to the iealous imputation of fals[e]hood, yet this relation I assure you (although in some circumstances it may leane too neare the flo[u]rish of inuention, yet for the pith or marrowe thereof), it is as iustly allyed and knit to truth, as the light is to the day, or night to darkenesse.

To hold thee them (Gentle Reader) in no further suspence, be pleased to understand, that some Fewe dayes after the solemnitie of the Purification of the blessed Virgin (according to the Roman and Spanish computation) It pleased the Majestie of Spaine, Philip the fourth, to retire himselfe to his delicate house of pleasure, called Casa del Campo, situated neare unto the towne of Madrid or Madrill, where his standing Court for the most part continually remaineth. And the nearest in attendance vnto him (next to the Cound de Oliuares) was the Cound de Gondomar², the Archenemie to the flourishing Estate of our England, and the Foxe whose stench hath not cured the Palsey, but rather [2] ther[e] impoisoned & brought into an Apoplexie many Noble and some times well deseruing English hearts. Neither was the King for his pleasure retyred to this house of Pleasure, but rather through the necesessity of some special affaires, the greatest whereof seemed to be fathere from the last attempt of the English vpon the Fort & Castle of the Punctall & the town of Cadiz or Cales,³ wher[e]in though the losse was not so great or materiall as might either make the Assailant or Assailed offer Roses, or Nettles vpon the Altar of Fortune. Yet the affront seemed to strike a more deepe impression in the hearts of the scorne (which is the ensigne of their pride) or with the hope of future aduantage (which only giues life vnto their Enuie and Malice).

And therefore now at this time & in this place after many consultations held with the Earle of Gondomar, whom the whole world Baptized Butteslane or Incendiarie of Christendome, the Intelligencer, Ambassadour & Jesuiticall Archibishop Leader (as his practices in our Nation hath well witnessed) touching some notable reuenge to be had against the State of Great Britaine, being the onely Iewell on which Spaine had long since fixed her heart to make her vniuersall Monarchie euery way full and perfect, he is by command from the King (in the person of the Cound Oliuares) to make his appeara[n]ce before the Pope s Nuntio, the Duke of Lerma, the

² [Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, 1567-1626, sirvió como embajador de España para Inglaterra entre 1613-1622. En 1617 recibió el título de conde de Gondomar. Tuvo un papel de gran importancia en el mantenimiento de las relaciones políticas pacíficas entre Inglaterra y España y en la década de 1620 tuvo un papel crucial en las negociaciones para la boda del príncipe de Gales con la infanta española, infructuosa a la postre. Él y su sucesor en el puesto de embajador, Carlos Coloma de Saa, hubieron de hacer frente a numerosos libelos por parte de las autoridades inglesas, acusados de conspiración y traición].

³ [Se trata del ataque a Cádiz de 1625, comandado por Sir Edward Cecil, centrado en primer término contra la fortaleza del Puntal].

Duke of Cea, the Duke of Infantazgo & the Constable of Castila, who had a speciall Comission signed [3] for that purpose, & to deliuer vnto them all those secret aduantages, which he had either by the experience of time, the co[n]tinuall labor of his braine, the corruptio[n] of his bribes, the threat[e]nings & insinuation[n]s of his Popish Priests, the petulant flatteries of his Papisticall English Mistrisses dyuing into their husba[n]d s Counsels, or by any other direct or indirect meanes, wonne vnto him selfe a knowledge or instruction for the alteration or subuerssion of that braue & flourishing British Monarchie. And in this charge the C. de Oliuares according to the state and magnificence of the Spanish reseruatio[n]s, began to make a great flo[u]rish of many demure & austere circumstances vnto the E. of Gondomar, concerning the greatnes[s] of his ingagme[n]t, the high Trust reposed in his singular knowledge, & the infinit[e] expectations and the King and the whole State had fixed vpon the wisdom of his proceeding; adding therunto sundrie admonishments of Caueats to call into his rememb[er]ance, touching many alterations in the State of Great Britaine, some defenciue, some offenciue since his last abroad or commercement in the fame. And amongst the rest as a thing of most especiall note, the Cound began to repeate many relations which Gondomar himselfe had deliuered vnto him touching the generall, warlikenesse of the British Nation, affirming that he had heard him say, that he had seene the very children and boys in the streete, make their sport and play a schoole or warre and by imitation from elder knowledges to expresse in childe play, the [4] very excellencie and perfection of Martiall discipline, which had summoned in him both matter of passion & admiration, that he had often cryed out, *What will the English doe, every childe will be an Hercules and kill a Serpent in his cradle*: This Oliuares tould him was but a finall shadow or little pricke to expresse a much greater substance now in vse for since the death of King Iames, of euer-liuing and famous memorie, the Englishmen, who for the space of twenty two yeares before, had but as it were dallyed and plaid with Armes, rather seeking to affect it for nouelty then necessity, were now in one yeares deliberate and materiale exercise, become so singular and exquisite, that the Netherlands blusht to see themselues ouergrone in a moment, & that to be made familiar in an insta[n]t which they had laboured to obtaine to in diuers[e] ages.

Besides Oliuares assures him that he had receiued infallible intellige[n]ce out of the Archduche s Countries, that a hundred & odde of the best experie[n]ced souldiers or firemen (being all English) were sent fro[m] the State of the Vnited prouinces, into Great Britaine, to educate and instruct in Martiall discipline euery seuerall Country and Prouince in so much that the whole lland was nothing now but a Nurcery of excellent and [e]xquisite Souldiers.⁴

To this Gondomar replied that he had from certaine Iesuites in England, receiued the like intellifence, and with this addition that those excellent elected men in the Low-countries found their equall Schoole-fellowes, nay many Tutors and [5] experienced Masters when they came into England, so that indeed their necessitie did but conuerte to superfluity and a little losse, to some tha[t] were of much better deseruing.

Yet said Gandomar further, for mine owne part though this make much for our terror & amazement; And that we must with Curtius leape wilfully into a Gulphe if certaine ruine ere we can hope of reuenge or triumphe, yet doth this new Militarie course little moue my blood, for though I must confesse the Nether-lands to be onely vnparal[l]eled Schoole of warre in the whole world. Yet the onely thing it teacheth is Forme and Fire, Intrenchment and Besiegment. But for

⁴ [Había sido desde época de Isabel I de enorme importancia estratégica para Inglaterra el apoyo de la rebelión holandesa, con dinero y tropas, intentando con ello alejar el escenario bélico del territorio inglés. Asimismo, era de importancia económica crucial para Inglaterra el triunfo de la rebelión holandesa, para asegurarse el comercio por los mares septentrionales].

the use of the Sword, push of the Pike, bringin of Grosses bodie to bodie and hand to hand, the exercise of every private strength, and the fortune of Battles; things which the English must of necessitie be exposed vnto, *Hoc raro aut nunquam*. And therefore (my Lord) I tell you, I more quake when I see an old Irish Commander drilling an English Company, who neuer beheld an enemie but he felt his Sword and knew his Target, then when I see infinit[e]s of golden fellows, teaching men onely dance to the turn of Posture, or framing Chimera in their braines, whether the Pike and Bowe, or the Pike and Dragoone, or Pike and long Pistoll be of greater importance. But of these things wee shall haue a larger time to discourse & thinke vpon, it sufficeth me that I knowe my Royall Master s pleasure & your honorable instructions; all which I will studie, to satisfie onely [6] diuers[e] things are (through other imployment laid as it were aside from my memory) not vtterly forgotten. Therefore I beseech I may haue the respite of some fewe houres to reckon with my former knowledge, and so yield vp the whole summe of my duty and seruice.

To this Oliuares seemed exceeding willing, & so the Earle to make choice of his best time, they departed one from the other, Oliuares returned to satisfie the King, & Gondomar taking his Litter, went backe to Madrill, where what contention grew betwixt him & his old acquainted mischieues, how euery minute hee produced new and vnnaturall Cocks-egges, brooded them from the heat of his malice, hatcht them with the deuilishnes[s] of his Policie, and brought forth Serprents able to poyson all Europe, is a Discourse monstrous and almost inexpressible. I will therefore omite this mutinie of his troubled thoughts and onely pitch vpon this one accident, no lesse strange then memorable. Wherein as in a Mirror euery eye may behold the weaknesse of a guilty thought, and how easily frailty in surprised and ouercome, when it encounters with these two maine enemies of our blood, Feare and Amazement.

It so fell out, that the Morning before the Noone on which Gandomar was to appeare before the designed Commissioners, partly to refresh his perturbed spirits with the pure Ayre, and to recollect vnto himselfe all those thoughts and his circumstances which might make a glorious [7] passage for the huge and monstrous bodie of mischiefe where withal he was that day in labour; he caused his attendants to bring him in his Litter to the Prada, neare vnto Cittie of Madrill, being a place of recreation and pleasure for the Nobilitie and Gallantrie of Spaine, not much vnlike to our new More field walkes, neare to the Cittie of London, onely that this is more priuate and reserued; for as ours is common to all men of all sorts, so is this Prada onely but for the King, the Grandies of Spaine, the Nobilitie and some Gentlemen of the vppermost or best qualitie.

After Gandomar had in his place of recreation taken a turne or two in his Litter, whether hee found his ruminations disturrbed with the vneasie pace of his Mules, or that he had not elbow roome enough in his Littler, to giue action and grace to many of those damnable thoughts which in that houre gaue him singular contentment, for the Spaniard is not of our dull English qualitie, to let his words passe from him as neglected strangers or thoughts out of the compasse of his dearest familiaritie, but rather as deare children or choicest friends, to lend them admiration with his eyes and hands, to adorne them with expectation in the shrugge of his shoulders, and with a thousand other minickee gestures, to make a speech that is as triuiall and vnseasoned as folly it selfe, to appeare as serious as if it were a Delphan Oracle: vpon some one or other of these Spanish disgusts, this Fox (our Earle) vnkennels himselfe and makes his [8] seruants take him from his Litter, then placing his chaire (the true sworne brother, or at least the nearest kinsman that might be a close-stoole) vnder the shadoe of certaine trees, in a walke more reserued then the rest, he commanded his attendants to withdraw themselues; and he had reason so to doe for two principall respects. The first, least his anticke postures, mumps, moes and Munkey-like wrye

faces might drawe laughter or scorne from his vassals, or lastly least the violence of his studie and meditations might make some words fall from him, which he thought too precious for another man s bosome.

Being obeyed in all his commandements, and seated thus alone by himselfe, onely guarded by his two choise friends Malise and Mischiefe, he had not cal[le]d vp many euill thoughts to appeare before him, when on a fodaine (according to the weakenesse of his apprehension) there shined round about him a most glorious and extraordinary light, which might be taken rather for fire or flaming, then shine or glittering. And this appeared so sodainely, spred it selfe so largely and increased so violently, that terror, feare and amazement at one instant rais[e] vpon the heart of the Earle, and with their colde qualities did stupifie, dull and contract all his spirits, that as if he had seene Medusa s head, the poore Don was become altogether a peece of yee or marble; he had no spirit to remember.

There were spirits; his crossings and blessings, his holy water and his Agnus Dei, his Monks [9] charmes, and his Iesuites coniurations were all now turn[e]d to quaking and trembling, to staring & starke madness, to gaping and groaning, to wante of words through strife for words, and indeed to what not that might shew the singularness of aperplexed astonishment? His night-cap throwes his hat in the dust, and his haire makes his cap fly into the aire like a feather; he doth reuerence but sees no Saint, would faine vtter either salutatio[n]s or curses, but knows not by what name to cal[l] his controller. In the end staring standing upright, seeming to see what he would not see, or to finde out that with curiositie, which he had rather loose with the best care of his spirits; straddling like a Colosses, as if he neither respected present perils, nor feared those which were further off, he lookt as if he would look through the pure ayre, and though it haue truely no colour. Yet his searche so diligent that he appeared to find out a constant complexion; yet all was but his new feare, which neither the manner of his life (which had euer beene desperate, subtile, and reserued), the condition of the times (at the time and in the place free from perplexities and incumberance), the state of his affaires (rather rising than declining) nor his present negotiations strong enough to haue encountered with any Goliah s amazement, was able now to keepe constant any one ioynt about him. I haue read that the Duke of Burgundie had like to haue dyed at the fight of nine Worthies, which a Magician had discovered. But our Don Gondomar [10] is like now to dye at the fight of nothing but aire and his owne imagination, for he had euey symptome of death about him, as a body trembling, a stomach swelling, forehead turn[e]d yellow, eyes dead or sinking, a mouth gaping, & what not that could say our Don is now vpon the pitch of departing. They say that great Princes should neuer see the portraiture of feare but vpon their enemies backes. Sure I am Gondomar now sawe both feare and cowardise vpon his owne hear. But why should I driue you off with more circumstance? The nakedness of the truth is, that as he gazed thus fearefully about, there appeared or seemed to appeare before him the Ghost of Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight, a Noble famous English-man and a renowned So<u>ldier. At this apparition the Earle fell downe flat to the earth vpon his face (for backward he durst not, least he might giue a offence to his Surgion) and yet the posture in which this Noble Gentleman appeared, how euer fearfull to the guilte of Gondomar s conscience, yet it was amiable and louely to any pure and honest composition, for he was armed at all peeces, and those peeces of siluer, which is the ensigne of innocence and harmlesnesse. In his right hand he brandished his sword, which was an instrument that had beene euer fatall to Spanish practices, and had not the edge beene taken off by this Foxe s subtilities, I perswade my selfe (by this time) it had meere made a new conquest of the West Indies. In his left ha[n]d he seemed to carry a cup

of gold fil[le]d with blood, [11] which blood he sprinkled, some vpon Gondomar and some vpon the ground, vttering in a hollow and vnpleasant voyce, these or the like words following.

CresceCuor, Sanguis satietur sanguineCresce, quod spero sitio, ah sitio, sitio.

Gondomar s attendants who had all but this while (a farre off) beheld their Lord s actions, seeing him now falling downe in this trance, came with all possible speede running vnto him, but ere they could offer an hand to his assistance, they might heare him vtter words of that strange nature and qualitie, that their feares bridled their charities, and they were rather willing to let him lye still, bending their atte[n]tions to his words, then by a too officious disturbance to break off any parte of that discourse which might either make for the bettering of the knowledge of the State, or otherwise be applied to future seruice, at which these vnnaturall and abortiue accidents euer point, & therefore fixing their eyes and their eares constantly vpon him (as he lay groueling on the earth) They might heare these, or like words much like vnto these, proceed from his perplexed and amazed spirit.

“Blessed soule (Noble Sir Walter Rawleigh) what haue I to done with thy goodnesse, or wherefore hast thou left the peacefulnesse of thy rest, to torment and call me account ere the prefixed and full day of my triall be comed, and that I must stand face to face with thee and a world of others [12] before the greatest Tribunall, I can confesse mine iniquities, and that I haue beene to the Kind my master, as Borgia Caesar was to Pope Alexandre the sixt[h], an instrument willing to take vpon me any or all manner of sinnes how odious or vild soeuer, so I might but make Spaine look fresh & that those imputations (which otherwise might haue drown[e]d her) might be but put into the Catalogue of my services, though defame and curses were heaped vpon me, in much greater quantitites then Ossa, Pelion or Pindus.

I doe confesse I haue beene the very Nose of the Spanish State, through which hath beene voided all the excrements both of the head and the whole body. I haue beene a channell or a Common-shoare to the Church or Rome, and what either Pope, Priest, Knaue or Iesuite could inuent, I haue not left to put in practice. I knew the odiousnesse or conspiracies, and how hatefull they are both to God and man, yet had I neuer the power to leaue conspiring. I knew both that the Law of God and the law of Honour, tyed Princes to detest conspiracies, and had many times read ouer that notable Historie of Lewis the eleuenth, and could my selfe repeate the noble and famous praises which all Europe gaue him for aduertising his Arch-enemie the Duke of Burgundie of an attempt against his person. But what hath this wrought in me? Certes nothing but more flame and more fuell, so long as my thoughts were busied with the studie and remembrance of an vniuersall Monarchie. [13] I confesse I haue many times said (how euer I haue beleued) that those great ones which seeke to make away their enemies otherwise then by Iustice or the euent of the warre, shewes minds base and coward, and that their soules are emptie of true courage, fearing that which they should scorne. I confesse I haue admired the goodnesse of Faritius who deliuered into Pirrhus hand the slaue that should haue poisoned him. I haue made Tiberius Caesar a demy-god for answering a King of the Celtes which made him an offer to poison Arminius, *That Rome did not vse to be reuenged of her enemies secretly and by deceite, but openly and by arme.* But haue I persued this honorable tracte: haue any of my ghostly fathers the Iesuites, or my masters the Inquisitors giuen examples for these restrictions? No, their lessons are of a cleane contrarie nature. They say Flaminius was an honest man when hee made Prusias the King of Bithinia violate all the lawes of hospitalitie and virtue, in the murther or Haniball, but the whole Senate condemd the action for most odious, accus[e]d Flaminius of crueltie and coueteousnesse, or vaine glory and of ostentation. And questionlesse had they had any touche or feeling of Diuinitie or Christianitie they could not haue found any other ranke for him, then that

next vnto Iudas. These faire paths I haue knowne, but these I haue forsaken. And as Flaminius was the cause of Hanibal s death out of an ambitious emulation, that he might in the Histories of succeeding times be made notorious and eminent for so foule [14] an action. So I must confesse I that haue the whole course of my life labo[u]r[e] continually in the deep myne of pollicie. Haue not spared any blood (how excellent soeuer) so I might be rememb[e]red in our after Annals, for one of the chiefe master workemen which went to the building vp of the King my masters Vniuersal Monarchy. And in this I must Confesse, most blessed soule, that thy death, thy vntimely (& to the Kingom of Great Britaine) much too early death (which with all violence & with all the coniurations, perswasions & exa[m]ples that could tye & bind together the hearts and bodies of Princes I did both plot, pursue, effect and consumate) was one of the greatest masters peeces in which I euer triumphed. I haue made my selfe fat with thy downfall, and the blood which issues from thy wound, was Nectar and Ambrosia to my soule. For from thy ending I knew right well must proceed Spaine s beginnings for neuer could the Spanish King say as the French King did, *Je suis Roy seul*, I am King alone of the Indies as long as Rawleigh liued, whose knowledge and experience was able to diuert, conuert and turne topsie turuie all his conquests, all his proceedings. I say the tottering ground wher[e]on my King s title to the Indies stood, that it was nothing but violence and force, tyrannie and vsurpation, and that if a stranger or more gentle army should enter, how easie it was to set vs besides the cushion. This I knew thou knowest, and what not besides which belongeth to so great an attempt and triumphe? I must confesse I haue [15] called vp into my minde the honour, the antiquitie and greatnesse of they great Familie, how rich thou wert in blood and friends, the whole West of the English Nation depending on thine allyance. The manner of thine education, which was not part but wholly Gentleman, wholly Souldier, the e[n]dowments of they vertues, which was Learning and Wisedome. The aduancement of those endowments, which was to be the greatest, the best, the most renowned Princesse that euer breathed in Europe, and in the greatest time of the greatest actions, the busiest time of the most troubled Estates, the wisest time for the discussion of the most difficult affaires, and the oneely time that did produce the excellencie and perfection of Wisedome, Warre and Gouernment. So that nothing could be hid from thy knowledge, neither wouldst thou suffer any thing to be concealed from thine experience, for though hadst euer a mind actiue disposed; and hosoeuer thy fortune was accompanied with all manner of felicities, things able in themselues to haue drawne thy minde from all other obiects, and to haue settled thee vpon this Theorie, that solitarinesse is the most excellentest condition belonging vnto mankinde, in as much as in it, he onely findeth the true tranquillitie of the minde, for nothing is wanting in that quiet habitation; Manna fal[ls] there, the Rauens bring bread from heauen if the waters be bitter, there is wood to sweeten them. If the combate of Amalec & Edom be there, the triumphs [16] of Moses & Iosua are lik[e]wise there, for what cannot a life retired either suffer or care in its contempation. Yet all this thou didst neglect, and both contradict and disproue. Though knewest this life vnfit for thy greatnesse, and thou wert not borne for thy selfe but thy Countrie. Though knewest the Sea, wherein euery great soule should wander: had no hauen but the graue, and that as they liued so they ought euer to dye in action. Hence it came, that euen in the very flo[u]rish and glorie of all thy great estate, thou betookest thy selfe to the Seas, and what thou hast before by thy purse And infinit[e] great charge in the actions of other men wonne and annexed to the Diademe of they great Mistris, now thou doest in thine owne person take a v[i]ewe and suruay of the fame, applying knowledge to report, and making thine owne experience a contrroller to other men s relations. I dare not (for the honour of my Nation) vnfolde the woefull perplexitie in which Spaine stood during this tedious voyage. How she quaked to

thinke of the generall viewe which thou hadst taken without impeachment of all the West Indies. But most of all, when shee was aduertised of they long and laborious passage vpon the riuer Oranoque, the distinguishments which thou hadst made betwixt it and the riuer of Amazons, and the intelligences which though hadst gotten for thine ascent to the great Cittie of Manoa and Kingdome of Guyana, designes which if they had beene pursued according to thy willingnes[s] and knowledge, [17] we had not at this day acknowledged one foote of earth for ours in all the West Indies. O the miserable estate of Spaine if these things had proceeded! She had then, which now threatens all, beg[ge]d of all, and the Pistolets of gold and peeces of plate wherewith it now corrupts and conquers Nations, had beene turn[e]d to Leather or Iron, or some other Spanish stuffe more base and contemptible. Was it not now high time to conspire against thee, to dig<ge> mine vnder-mine, to enter into familiaritie with malcontents, to seduce some, to bribe others, to flatter all, to preache a thousand most damnable false doctrines, for the subuersion of Princes and the destruction of their faithfull seruants. Was it not time for vs to make Religion a cloake for our villanie, and vnder the Lamb s Furre to couer the Wolue s policies? Beleeue me (blessed shadow) had we either made conscience of sin, or scruples for the maintenance of Honour, we had not subsisted as we doe, but had sadly Liue like those which now lye captiued below vs, can Spaine euer forget thine attemp vpon her owne confines and in her most securest places, call vp Cadiz to witnesse, she will shew you some of her ashes. Call the King s great Armada to account, which was led by his twelue (supposed inuincible Apostles) and the most of them must rise from the bottome of the seas, some must desimbogue from your owne harbours. Let Pharaoh in Portugall speake, and she will confesse that her Church will yet hardly couer her Idols. When I [18] vpon the Ilands of the Azores, me thinkes I see Piall [*sic*] burning in the flames which you cast vpon her, whilst all the rest bring in the tribut[e]s of their best wealths, to saue themselues from perishing. Lastly but not least, for from it I rais[e]d the groundworke of thy fatall destruction, I cannot but recount thine action vpon the Towne of St. Thoma standing vpon the riuer of Oranoque, how fit it lay as a bayte to drawe thee into mischief, and how brauely it gaue me occa[i]sion neuer to desist till I saw thy ruine. Alas, was that despised Towne to be prised with thy life, with thine experience, with thine abilitie to direct, or with the least parte of thine actions? No, it was not, onely my malice made it inestimable, and my continuall solicitations, mine imprecations, my vowe, mine exclamations vpon Iustice, mine instances on the actions of pious and religious Kings, and the darings of too bold and ambitious Subiects, was so importune and violent, that but the great forfeiture? Of thy blood, my furie could fine no satisfaction. Hence you fell, and that fall was to me more then a double Banquet, for now mee thought I saw all things secure about me. Now said I to my selfe who shal[l] shake any one stone in our building? Who shall giue vs affraight by sea, or shew vs now to bring home our fold in Caruiles, and our marchandize in Hoys and Blyboats? All is ours, the Ocean is ours, and the Indies are ours. This could wee neuer boast before, yet this was my worke and in this I triumphed.”

At these words the Ghost appeared to shewe anger, and menacing him with frownes and the shaking of his sword, the poore Don lifting vp his armes under his cloake, shewd his red badge of the Order of Colotraua. But finding the crosse vtterly void of verue to diuert that charme, he began to crye out againe in this manner.

“Doe not mistake me (blessed Soule) in that I haue said I triumphed, for I will now with friende and repentance buy from thy mercy my absolution. It is true that then I triumphed, for what is he that takes in hand any labor or worke of high consequence, but when he hath finished it to perfection, hee fits downe and reioyceth? So I that saw (nor a farre off but neare at hand) the

infinite hinderances, rubs and impediments, which thy knowledge, thy valour, thy command and experience, might bring to any worke vndertaken by my King, for the aduancement or bringing forward of his vniuersall monarchie. And when I pond[e]red with my selfe, that not Nation vnder heauen was so able in power, so apt in the nature and disposition of the people, nor so plentiful in all accomodations, bot for sea and land, as this lland of Great Britiane, to oppose or beate backe any or all of our vndertakings. When I saw France busie both at home and broad, the Lowe Countries carefull to keepe their owne, not curious to increase their owne. When I saw Germany afflicted with ciuill anger, Denmarke troubled to [20] take trouble from his dearest kinsman. The Polander watching of the Turke, and the Turke through former losses, fearefull to giue any new attempt vpon Christendome and that in all these we had a maine and particular interest when I saw euery way smooth for vs to passe. And that nothing could keepe the Garland from our heads, or the Goale from our purchase but onely the anger or discontent of this fortunate British I[s]land. Blame me not then if I fell to practices vnlawfull, to stories deceitfull, to briberie most hurtfull, and to other enchantments most shamefull, by which I might either winne mine owne ends, or make my worke prosperous in the opinion of my Soueraigne. I confesse I haue many times abused the Maiestie of Great Britaine with curious fals[e]hoods, red vowes and promises which I knew could neuer be reconciled. I haue made delayes, sharpe spurs to hasten on mine owne purposes, & haue brought the swiftest designes to so slowe a pace, that they haue become lost like shadowes, and neither known nor regarded. I lookt into your Common-wealth, and saw that two and twenty years⁵ ease had made her grow idle. I saw the East Indies eate vp and deuoure your Mariners & Sea-men, & time and old age consume and take away your land Captaines. And of all, none more materiall then your selfe. Blame me not then if I made thine end my beginning, thy fill the fulnesse of my perfection, and thy destruction the last worke or master peece of [21] all my wisdome and pollicie. This is the freedome of my confession, and but from this sinne absolue me, and I will dye thy penitent in sackecloath and ashes.”

At these words, the appartition seemed (in the fearefull imaginations of the poore Don) to be more then exceeding angrie, and lookt vpon him with such terror and amazement, that Gondomar fell (with the affright) into a trance or deadly sound, whilst the Ghost seemed to vtter vnto him these or these like words following.

“To hee whome bast flatterie, wante and coueteuinesse hath guilded him with these foolish and vnfitting hyperboles, as to call thee,

The Flower of the West,

The delight of Spaine,

the life of Wit.

The light of Wisdome.

The Mercurie of Eloquence.

The glorie of the Gowne.

The Phebus in Court.

Nestor in Counsell.

Christian Numa

and principall ornament of this time.

Lord Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Most honorable Earle of Gondomar, Gouvernour of Menroyo, and Pennarogo, of the most honorable Order of Colatrauia, Counsellour of State, one of the King s Treasurers, Embassadour for his Catholicke Majiestie to his Royall Maiestie of England, Regent of the Towne and Castle of Bayon, President of the Bashopricke of Tuid in Ga[22]litia,

⁵ [Referencia a la Paz de Londres de 1604 firmada entre Felipe III y Jacobo I].

Chiefe Treasurer of the most noble Order of Alcantara, One of the foure Iudges of the Sacred Priuiledges, Pronotarie of the Kingdome of Toledo, Leon and Galitia, and Principalitie of Astures. And Lord high Steward of the most Puissant, Philip the III, King of all the Spaines and of the Indies.

Loe thus I salute thee with thy true Stile and eminent Incription according to thine absolute Nature, Qualitie and Profession.

To thee then that art,

The poysonous weed of Europe

The Atlas of Spaines sinnes and conspiracies.

The Deuil s foole.

The Wiseman s Bugbeare

The Mercurie of knauish Policie.

The disgrace of Ciuiltie.

The Buffoone in Courte.

Ate in Counsell

Atheist, for the Pope s aduantage, and principall intelligencer betweene Hell and the Iesuites.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Most dishonorable Earle of Gondomar, Pouler and Piller of Menroyo, and Pennaroyo, of the riche couetous Order of Colatrauia, Gazetist of State, one of the consumers of the King s purse, Intelligencer for his Catholicke Maiestie against the Royall Maiestie of England, Spoiler of the Towne and Castle of Bayon, an ill expample to the Bishopricke of Tuid in Galitia, Chiefe cash-keeper for the Order of Alcantara, one of the foure Bribe-takers for the prophane priuiledges, Promoter for the Kingdome of Toledo, Leon and Galitia and Principalities [23] of Astures, and a continuall Broker betweene the King of Spaine and the Pope, and betweene the Iesuites, the Inquisitors and the Deuill.

Harken to my detection, and though I knowe thou canst steale and kill, sweare and lye, weepe and wound, and indeed doe any thing that is contrarie to Truth and Iustice. Yet in this accusation, shame and thine owne putrified conscience shall be witnesses to powerfull an vndaunted, that though shalt not be able to resell any one allegation or smallest particle.

To begin then with mine owne end, thought I know the day of my death was the greatest Festiuall that euer thy fortune did solemnize, though it brought to Spaine a yeare of Jubile, to thy reputation Absolans pillars and to euery Papisticall Minister in the world, the praise of his Artes-master. Yet poore despised mortall, know, it was not you, but a more diuine and inscrutable finger which pointed out my destinie to this manner of ignorant man to open his eyes, as daring to presume to gaze on the radiant beames of that soueraigne power, which disposeth of seco[n]d causes as the pleaseth. Neither doe I afflict thee as my particular executioner, but as my Countrie s generall enemy. It sufficeth me that the great God who is Iudge of life & death, hath disposed of my life & after this early manner, that in it he might expres the effects of his Iustice. Therefore trouble not thy selfe with my death which was thy comfort, but be vexed at [24] thine owne life, which is nothing but a continuall pilgrimage to Ambition, and an vnderminig Meale to digge downe the Church of God, and to bring the Gospell of our blessed Sauour into eternall captiuitie. Hath not though beene an vtired packe-horse, traouelling night and day without a baite, and loaden like ad Asse, till thy knees haue bowered vnder the burthen of strange and vnnaturall designes, by which to aduance thy Master to the vniuersall Monarchie of all Europe. This thy feare hath made thee confesse, but this thy flatterie and fals[e]hood will deny, should not the efficacie of truth make it most apparent and pregnant. Therefore to enter into the first streames from whence Spaine hath gathered the great Ocean of its Soueraigntie, there is no

fountaine more remarkable then the Battle of Alcazar in Barbarie, where the too forward Don Sebastian King of Portugall (whether slaine or not slaine) ingaging himselfe too vnfortunately, gaue occasion to Philip the second of Spaine, to enter and vsurpe vpon his kinsmans Kingdomes, to expell Dean Antonio from his right and inheritance, and as it is strongly supported, to cause the true King himselfe to dye in the Gallies. Hence he became King of all the Spaines and Portugall, pul[le]d to himselfe the Soueraignetie both of the I[s]lands of the Canaries and of the Azores, the one securing his way forth, the other securing his way home from the West Indies, and so made the conquest the real more safe and vndoubted.⁶ Hee tooke also by the [25] same interest many strong holds & marchantable places in the East Indies, so that sitting now alone in Spaine without a competitor, and hauing treasure from the West Indies where with to pay Souldiers, and marchandize from the East Indies wherwith to enrich his owne subjects, what could he, or what did hee contemplate vpon but the augmentation of his Monarchie. Hence it came that his waare grewe violent vpon the Low-Countrie and vnder the Gouvernements of the Duke of Alua, and Don Iohn Duke of Austria, the tyrannies so insufferable, that all manner of freedoms were conuerted to slaueries, and the blood of the Nobilitie made only good for the slaughter-house, yea such as were remote and stoof farther off from his crueltie. Depending vpon their owne rights and vnder the couert of their owen guards, were not yet safe from Spaine s conspiracies, and that witnesseth the death and murther of the famous Prince of Orange, the imprisonment and death of his eldest sonne, and a world of infamous practices against the life of Count Maurice, the last Prince deceased, and against the safetie of Count Henrike the Prince now suruiuing. What incrochments were daily made vpon these distressed Prouinces, all the Princes of Europe blush to behold, and had not Elizabeth my dread [dear?] Ladie and Mistris of famous and blessed memorie, taken them to her Royall protection, they had long since beene swallowed vp in the gulphe of his tyrannie. And none of them now liuing had knowne the name of [26] free Princes. And as this worke was begun by Philip the second, so it was continued by Philip the third, and is now at this house as earnestly pursued by Philip the fourth and his sister the Archduchesse, and rather with gaining then loosing. So that should England but turne its face a little away from their suceour, there would de a great breache made in the hope of their subsisting. But you will answere, that if Spaine had fixed down its resolution vpon an vniuersall Monarchy, they had neyer then harkned to a peace with the Nether-Lands. To this thine owne conscience is ten thousand witnesses, that the peace which it entertained, was nothing else but a politicke delay to bring other and imperfit ends and designes, to a more fit and solid purpose, for effecting of his generall conquest. For what did Truce, but diuert the eyes of the Nether-lands (which at that time were growing to be infinit great masters of shipping) from takign a suruay of his Indies, and brought a securitie to the transportation of his plate and treasure, and made him settle and reinforce his Garrisons which then were growne weake and ouertoyled. Beside a world of other aduantages, which too plainely discouered themselues assoone as the warre was new commenced.

As he had thus gotten his feete into the Netherlands, had not Spaine in the same manner, and with as much vsurpation, thrust his whole body into Italy? Let Naples speake, let Sicill, let the I[s]lands [27] of Sardinia and Corsica, the Dukedome of Millan, the reuolte of the Valtoline

⁶ [La muerte de Domn Sebastián, la ‘usurpación’ del trono portugués frente a los defensores del prior de Crato, la anexión de Portugal en 1580, asegurándose así las Azores y la protección del regreso a Sevilla de la flota de Indias, así como la supresión de la revuelta catalana de la misma época, se analizan en la literatura panfletaria europea como ejemplos del deseo de obtener una monarquía universal por parte de España, que pasa incluso por el dominio y sujeción de los mismos habitantes de la Península Ibérica].

and a world of other places, some possest, some lying vnder the pretence of strange Titles, but come to giue vp their account, and it will be more than manifest, that no Signorie in all Italie but stood vpon his guard, and howerly expected when the Spanish storme should fall vpon them. How many quarrels hath beene piled against the State of Venice, some by the Pope, some by the King of Spaine? How many doubts haue beene throwne vpon Tuscanie? What protestations haue flowent to Genoa, and what threatenings against Geneua? And all to put Italy into combustion, whilst the Pope s holinesse, and his Catholicke Maiestie, like Saturne s sonnes, sat full gordgd [sic] with expectation to deuide heauen and earth betweene them.

O was it not a braue politicke tricke of Spaine, (neither was thine aduice absent from the michiefe) when the difference fell between Henry the Great of France and the Duke of Saucye, about the Marquisate of Sauses. The King then your master vnder pretence of aiding the Duke his brother in Law, sent diuers Regiments of Spaniards in Montmallion, Sauillan, Pignoroll and diuers other places about Sucye and Piemont. But when the Truce was concluded, could the Duke vpon any intreatie, potent or message make those Spaniards to quit his Countrie? No, by no meanes, for they were to farre from leauing heirfoot-hold [28] hauing receiued diuers commandments to keep it, both from the Count de Fuentes (at that time Vice-roy of Millan) from thee by priuate letters, and from the King your Master by sundrie Comissions. That the chieffes of those Toopes, peremptorily answered the Duke, that they would hould their gettings, in despite of all oppositions, and were indeed full as good as their words for a long time, till at last the Duke (inforced thereunto) raised vp a strong Army, and in a fewe dayes put them all to the sword, I would here repeate the Spanish attempt against the Castle of Nice, being the very key or opener of an entrance into the very bowels of Italie. I could speake of the dangerous quarrel rais[e]d between the Duke of Sauoye and the Duke of Mantoa, for the Marquisate of Montserrat, and how fatall it was likely to haue been to the whole state of Italy, wherein that might be, which should become the master worke-man. But these things are so pregnant and apparent that they neede little discussion.

Let mee now awaken thy memory with some stirrings vp or practicies against the Kingdome of France, no lesse but more pernicious then any of the former, who was the head or chiefe soueraigne (after the death of Henry the third King of France and Poland) of that most vnchristianlike combination, intituled the Holy, but truly vnholly League, was it not Philip of Spaine one of your most Catholicke Masters, w ho made the great and [29] valiant Guise his sword and seruant, the ould Queene mother his intelligencer and admirer, the Cardinals his Ministers and seducers, and the Pope himselfe a Prodigall childe, to bestow and giue away whatsoever hee required? Was not all this Philip of Spaine your Catholicke Master? How long did he keepe Henry the fourth surnamed the Great, from his lawfull Throne and inheritance? What Citties did hee possesse? Euen the greatest that France could number: What Countries vnder his command? All that were rich or fruitfull, and what Nobilitie had hee drawne from their obedience? Those that were more powerfull and best beloued, in so much that had not my most excellent Mistris Elizabeth, of blessed and famous Memory, like a stron Rocke against the rage of a furious sea, taken the quarrel into her hand, and by her Royall protection, first vnder the conduct of the Lord Willoughby, after vnder the conduct of the Earle of Essex, staid and supported that reeling Estate, France it is feared, at this houre hand onely spoken the Spanish language. But God in his great mercie had otherwise disposed of these practices, and though with some difficulties, brough the Crowne of France to its true owner, a Prince so absolutely excellent in euery perfection of true honour and magnimitie, that his parallel hath not beene found in all the Historie of France, and although hee had in his very youth and almost child-hood preuailed in

diuers Battles, as that at Montconter, and at Rene-le duke. And [30] although hee had beene assayled in the days of Henry the third, and in the space of foure years, by ten Royall Armies successiue one after another, and sent one to refresh the other, and vnder the conduct of great and most glorious Captaines, against all which he preuailed, as witnessed his victorie at the Battle of Coutras And other places, though he had giuen succor to Henry the third, and deliuered him from his great danger at Tours, bringing to his obedience Gargeau, Gien la Charite, Fluiuers, Estampes, Deurdan and diuers[e] other places. Though hee had beene generally fortunate in all his great actions, yet after the death of Henry the third, this deuilish combination, or Spanish knot of the League is more ominous, fatall and troublesome vnto him, then all his former vndertakings. And hee found that although hee might haue come to the Crowne of France by succession, which was the easiest way, yet God to trie his courage, to exercise the force of his minde, and to make a foolish shadowe or Ignis Fatuus of Spaine s Ambition, presented the most painefull and difficult vnto him, which was that of Conquest. Hee was first to raise on foote (by the helpe of our English Nation) three Royall Armies, which he disperst in three Prouinces: the first, into Normandie, where he was assisted by the Earle of Essex; the second into Champagne, and the third into Picardie where hee was seconded by the Lord Willoughbie, who brought him triumphantly into the suburbs of Paris, and by the [31] blowing vp of a Porte, offerd to deliuer the whole Cittie to his subiection. The Earle of Essex did as much at Roan, but the King desired to winne France, not to destroy France. Yet ere the Earle departed, he chased rebellion out of the most part of Normandie: the King gaue his enemis (the Spanish faction) battle vpon the plaine of Tury and wonne it, but which he regained in lesse then two months fifteen or sixteen great Townes, brought Paris to infinit extremitie, made the Spaniards wisn [*sic*] themselues on the other side of the Pereneans: and indeede such a generall amazement to all the vnhappie Leauers, that all stood afast, as vncertaine which way to turne them.

This when your great Master beheld, and saw that all his hopes were dying in an instant, like a cunning Coniurer hee seekes to drawe fire and lightning from heauen, to consume what his Armies durst not approach or disualewe, whence it came, that he rouses vp Gregorie the 13. Then Pope, who indeed was the Oracle, or rather the creature of Philip your master, and makes him of a common Father between the head of a rebellious and vsurping partie, casting forth his fulminations with such violence and iniustice, that the Bulls were taken and burnt both at Tours and at Chalons. Neither sent he out these Bulls by his vngodly and bloodie Ministers the Iesuites, or such like desperate and obscure mal-contents, but with an Army of a thousand cassacs of watchet veluet, imbrodred with gold and Ciphers of Keys ioyned [32] vnto swords (whose earrand was, to demand the execution of these Bulls) now seing the difficultie wherein affaires stood, vpon the vew on one hundred horse of the French King s white Corner, dare not for all the Pope of the King of Spaine s hopes or commandements abandon the very shadowe of the walles of Verdun, but like so many Foxes lay lurking in their kennels of security, knowing they had to deale with me, whose swords were so well steel[e]d, that they feared not the lead of Rome, onely like so many Furies of hell they seeke to breake all treaties of peace, and made it an action treasonable and most impious, to talke of an vnity between the Soueraigne and the subiect.

But for all this, great Henry lost no time, for first he passed into Normandy, secured his friends there, thence hee went into Picardie, besieged Nuyon and tooke it, euen in the view of the Spanish Armie, who although they were three to one, yet durst not to hazard the Battle. Which aduantage the King wisely taking, and turning head vpon his enemies, albeit hee was aduised to the contrary by his chiefest seruants, yet his courage bound him rather to follow the path of danger with honour, then that of safety with shame, saying as Pompey said, *That in striking his*

foot against the earth he would raise up Legions. So the Armies met together at Aumale, where though vpon the first approach the King was hurt with a shot, yet he had strength to crye *Charge, Charge* and [33] breaking through his enemies, he put the Duke of Parma and all his Spaniards to a shamefull retraite. As this, so he beat his enemies at Bellencombe, he stripes them at Bure, and made them to quit Tuetot with much shame and losse.

Thus this Royall King s quarrel being iust, and maintained by a good sword, the pride of Spaine found that if the warre contained longer, her Catholicke greatness, could haue more wood to heat her Ouen, then corne to send to the Mill.

Tis purposeless to speake of the ruine of Quibeuf, the couerie of Espernay, or that braue assault, where eight Horses put three hundred to route. Let it suffice me in one word to conclude that in despite of all the engines which the Pope or the King of Spaine could vse, Henry of France became triumphant, and your Master s vniuersall Monarchie was turned topsie turuie. Nay, the League the Typhon of sedition from whence sprung smothered vnder the Aetna of her owne presumption and pride.

But did either Spaine or Rome here stay in their malice? Fie [*sic*] no, but rather Anteus like, they rose vp with double vigor, and what publique warre could not effect, priuate practice and conspiracie must bring to passe, for ere the Great Henry was well warmed in his Thron, Hell and the Spanish gold stird vp a wretch, who vndertooke to kill him. The Tyger staid his hand at the shining of a glasse, and after his apprehension, confesst that hee [34] asaw so much piertie and zeale shining in the eyes of this Prince, that he felt horror in himself in offend the Soueraigne dignity ordained of God among Angels and Men. Hence it came that all France beheld and tooke notice of Spaine s Ambition & that indeed all their labour was but to reduce that flourishing Nation to a priuate Prouince, which the Parliament of Paris (after it had vomited the phlegm of temporizing) taking to heart, made forth a Decree for the dispersing and banishing of all the Spanish Regiments. And now fiue great Dukes, formerly bewitched with Catholike incantations, fall at the foote of this great King, and confesse how they were beguiled.

The first, was the Duke of Lorraine, which obtained a generall Peace for his Estate, through the mediation of Ferdinand the Archduke of Tuscanie. The second was the Duke of Mayenne, who obtained pardon through the wisdom of his carriage, hauing still a watchfull eye, that no generall ruine might happen to the Kingdome. The thid, was the Duke of Guise, the losse of whose father and vnckle made his interest the greatest in this quarrel, yet had he the honour to receuie the King s first imbraces. The fourth was the Duke of Ioyeuse, who as soone as hee had kist the King s hand, forsook the troubles of the world, betook himself to a solitary life. And the last was the Duke Mercure, who brought to the King, not himself alone, but with him the reduction of the [35] goodlyest Prouince in all France. To conclude Philip of Spaine your Master, seing vpon what false wheelles his engins ranne, was content to intreate for peace of this great Cheftaine.

But did here conspiracies and Spanish plots end? No, nothing so; for to come nearer to our owne touche, and to repeate matters of thine owne prosecution. Is it not an Historie most remarkable, and to Spaine most infamous, of that desperate vil[l]aine borne at Negre-pelisse, who going into Spaine vpon some discontents conceiued against this great Henry of France, and as it was strongly supposed, hauing taken some directions from you, but full and materiall instructions from the Deuil s post horses your masters the Iesuites, did with all violence prostitute himself to murther this most Christian King. But the matter being so important, and carried through so many seuerall hands, had lost so much strength of secrecie, that an inckling thereof came to the eares of de Barraut, then ordinarie Ambassadour in Spaine for the King of

France, who instantly out of dutie and hatred which euery true Christian ought to beare against these odious and most Atheisticall practices, complained to the Pope s Nuntio, hoping of refresse, both against the vil[l]aine himselfe, your selfe and the Iesuites, who are both vil[l]aines and your selfe. But the matter was fully blancht, and your impious eare (that had listned to this adhomorable sinne) was excused, and the whole offence of subornation was [36] laid vpon a creature of yours. But one of the King of Spaine s Esquires, named by the place of his birh Valdomoro, who vpon examination (hauing his lesson fore taught him), confest all the passages to the Duke of Lerma, and that not onely this slaue, but diuers others had tendred themselues to the like seruice, yet this with the greatest violence, assuring him that he knew the meanes how to kill the King. Which proposition, vpon some conference with a Iesuite (who neuer take distast[e] at such a practice) he had accepted of, but yet with that caution and delay that nothing proceeded therein, neither was likely to proceed. And so all things were shut vp without any further discouerie, onely that de Barrant aduertised the King his Master thereof. But was this honorable or pious in Spaine? No, the praise had beene more perfect, and the merit more plaine and eident for the Spaniards, if they had punished the Traytor, made thy selfe Valdomoro, and the Iesuite examples, not to listen or giue eare to such odious conspiracies, and by a carefully aduertisement to the King, made others dread the entering into so odious a businesse. For it is true in all the lawes of hospitalitie, that this slaue ought not to haue come out of Spaine vnchastised, for all Kings are brothers, and all Kingdomes interested in these attempts. But the designes of Spaine lookt now an other way, and the Traytor had leaue to escape, who returning afterwards into France, was by de Verdun first President of Languedoc, apprehended [37] at Tholouse and there executed, and his companion condemned to the Gallies. O how farre was this action shorte of that Royall and Princely acte of the famous late Queene Elizabeth I who hauing receiued intelligence or some Spanish mischieues pretended against this great King, forthwith gaue him intelligence, that a strange Gentleman, who was one of his followers, had no good meaning towards his person and released vnto him euery circumstance as she had receiued it. But such was the bountie of this great King, that allbe reason would that he should haue bin apprehended, yet the King neuer discovered vnto him a frowne, but he still remained in the Court well entertained, was mounted out of the King s stable, and honoured with many of his trustie comandements, till in the end tortur[e]d with his owne conscience, he stole away from the Court, & durst no longer abuse so Royall a bountie. That this was a Fauorite of Spaine your selfe cannot deny, that he fled from France into Spaine, your one Cabanet is a witsse, and that you did preserue him for the like exploits in others places. The marke on his face, the colour of his beard, and his cloaths cut after the Walloone fashion were too apparent testimonies.

I might here recounte this great King s death by Rauiliac, from whose blood, neither thy selfe nor Spaine can wash themselues, though all the Riuers in the world were exhausted and thrust into one entyer Bath, and so spent vpon your particular [38] cleansings. But these truths are so fresh in memorie; they need neither repeating, nor amplification. I could to these adde a world of others, as the attempts vpon the life and safety of the late Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, and the making of all those inhumane creatures Pentioners of Spaine, who had either by rebellion or other treasonable practice, attempted any thing for her vntimely and sad destruction.

Was our late dread Soueraigne, King Iames of blessed and happy memorie, that Salomon of his time, a Prince so indulgent and carefull for euery good thing that might happen to Spaine, a man so tender and vigilant for her reputation, that hee eyer plac'd it in the next rancke to his owne honour? Was he I say? Was this good King free from the bloody practices of Spaine? No,

to the eternall infamie of ingreatfull and bloody Spaine, I may euer proclaime it that he was more deeply plunged and his like, more bitterly besieged and assaulted then any whatsoeyer before rehearsed. And to this I call vp the plot of all plots, tha Deuill of many legions of Deuil[1]s, the Gun-pouder conspiracie, that which should haue destroyed all, not a single Prince or a single man, but many Princes, many mens whole generations. Here was cruell Spaine and here indeed (had not God preuented) was a strong foundation for an vniuersall Monarchie, and that Spaine may not in this, pleade not guilty. Let her discouer to the world [39] that occurrents they were which drew Thomas [...]inter Into her confines, what negotiation was that which hee held with de Laxia, whence came [...] instructions and letters commendatory into the Archduchesse Countrie? Where did Guy Gaucks receiue his breeding? Who gaue information of his knowledge in myning? And who preferred and aduanced him to this peece of most damnable seruice? Questionlesse let truth answere to any of these positions, and the speech it must vtter, will be Spanish language. Who in all this Nation was to intimate with you as the Archpriest Garnet? Or who like him found at your hands equall protection? He confest and absolved the Traytors, and thou didst absolue and confesse him, and thereby didst get vnto thy selfe from thine owne Tribe, the nicke name of Archbishop Ambassadour.

Thus I haue brought Spaine s attempts for an vniuersall Monarchie, from Portugall to the Netherlands, thence through Italy, so into France. England was lookt vpon by the way, in the yeare 1588. But shee was not so drowsie as others: there is not but Germanie betwixt him and the end of his Ambition, but is that free and vntouched? Woe to speak of it, that of all is the worst and most horred. O the lamentable estate, of those once most happie Princes! How hath the house of Austria drown[e]d them in blood? And by the worke of ciuill dissention, made them in their furies to deuoure one another. Is there any thing in this age more lamentable or remarquable, then the losse [40] of the Palatinate? Or is there any thing in which thy villainy can so much triumph as in that politike defeature? Why, the lyes which thou didst vtter to abuse the Maeiestie of England, and to breed delayes till thy Master s designs were effected, were so curious and so cunning, so apte to catch, and so strong in the holding, that the Deuill who was formerly the author of lyes hath now, from thee taken new presidents for lying. I would here speake of thy Archduchesses dissimulation, but shee is a great Lady, and their errorrs? at the worst are weake vertues.

Therefore to thee that hast lent both fuell and flame to all the mischiefs of Europe, and that art now bigge in labour with new troubles and vexations, arise and collect thy spirits, become once honest and religious, let thy seruices depend vpon good and necessarie affaires, and not vpon malicious and bloody practices. For behold, I thy Tormentor will neuer be absent from thine elbow, and whatsoever though shalt contriue or plot for the hurt of Great Britaine, I with the helpe of the holy Angels will returne vpon thine owne bosome and the bosome of thy Countrie, for the good of heauen and earth, who is the Protector of the Innocent. Hath made Royall King Charles and his Throne precious in his fight, therefore if though desirest to liue and see good days touch not his anointed and doe his Prophets no hurt.”

At these words, the glorious aparition (wauing [41] his sword about) vanished out of his sight, and the poore Done as if awakened from a deadly or mortall sleepe rose vp, looking about with such gastly amazednesse as affrighted all that beheld him. In the end espying his own seruants, with teares in his eyes, terror in his heart, and a generall trembling ouer all his body, he went into his Litter, and returned home, where how he refresh himself. How hee appeared before the designed Commissioners, and how he answered the expectation both of them and the King

his Master, shall be declared vpon the next returne of the woman Poste which passeth betwixt the English and the Spanish Iesuites.
FINIS