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 Utretch– acabaría sus días asesinado. Sus obras suelen ser de carácter inflamatorio. 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 togither” y sobre Jacobo I se indica que es “one of the most accomplisht Princes that ever raign’d, extreamly hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peacemaker, as that for it he wil

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1 Para el contexto de la literatura panfletaria inglesa antiespañola en que inserter 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 treate 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 endeuer 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 shadow 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 blolv this cole fearing their owne stakes, if a Parliament should inquirre into their actions, that they use all their art and industrie to withstand such a councell; 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 occasionado 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 forewarnner 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 subversion 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 Butteslave or Incendiarie of Christendome, the Intelligencer, *Ambassadour & Jesuicall 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 beleued) 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 vnertakings, When I saw France buffie 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 every 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 vnuersall 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 advantages, which too plainly discovered 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 Ilonds of Sardinia and Corfica, the Dukedom of Millan, the reuolte of the Valtoline and a world of other places, some possesst, some lying vnder the pretence of strange Titles, but come to give 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 have flowne to Genoa, and what threatnings against Geneua? and all to put Italy into combustion, whilst the Papes holinesse, and his Catholike 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 m\'as en la importancia del Palatinado en el imaginario ingl\'es del momento:

Thus I haue brought Spaines attemps for an vniersall Monarchie, from Portugall to the Netherlands, thence through Italy, so into France; England, was looke\’d 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 un\’touched? 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 lies 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 lies) 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 errours 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 Espa\’na en el asesinato de Enrique III y IV, Guillermo de Orange y don Sebasti\’an, y donde se repasa por turnos el involucramiento de Espa\’na en los sucesos de las Indias, Portugal, Italia, Venecia, Suiza, la Valtellina (Gris\’on), Saboya, Francia, los Pa\’ises Bajos e Inglaterra. El texto en su totalidad es una diatriba contra Espa\’na que entrar\’a de lleno en lo que hoy tildar\’amos como ‘complot theory’. Quiz\’a pueda resumirse la obra en su totalidad con los siguientes alegatos contra al af\’an expansionista e imperialista de una Espa\’na 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 troops & 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[\ldots] great Britaine 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 policy, and a diabolical designe and resolution of the Counsell of Spaine, to advise our Prince upo his returne into England, to waerre vpon the Protestants, and to proffer him an Army to suppressse and exterminate them.

O considerése 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),

Think what a hapines, what a glorie it is for England to haue wars with Spaine, sith Spaine in the Lethirie of our peace, hath very neere vndermined our safetie, and subueried 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 politico-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 veins 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 dissall cloud, may looke more martiall and terrible to our Enemies. 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 Subject from the Ships of warre of Dunkerke and Ostend, by whome otherwise they will be extremally 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 Beggers, 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 negative 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 Di...usion 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 communaltie 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 politcall 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, Commonvveales, 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 knovv vvhether 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 pomp into Pernassus.
- Almansor, sometime King of the Moores, encountering 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 throvveth 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, vvich he refuseth, and vvhy. The Spaniards attempt the acquisition of Savoy, but do not prevaille.

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

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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.

eHumanista: Spanish Black Legend
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 partió 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.

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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 Diego’s’, 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 jueus 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.

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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 haciendo 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 abundantly) hath made all Newes […] lyable to […] fals[e]hood, yet this relation […] it is as justly allied 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 vnuiersall Monarchie every way full and perfect…”; ‘bringing forward of his vnuiersall monarchie;” “…by which to advance thy Master to the vnuiersall 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 larguísimas lista de conspiraciones para derrocar casas reales, asesinar monarcas, tiranizar naciones, solo Elizabeth, la soberana inglesa, “stron Rocke 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 gulphe 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 posesora 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 usurpation”.

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 Iyes hath now, from thee taken new presidents for lying”.
Obras citadas


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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 monarckie. Translated according to the French [London]: Printed, 1624.

---. Sir Walter Rayvleighs 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 John Schellem, 1626.


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/
7/ Destruction and unhap[p]iness 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,
Gazetetas./Pasquils, and the like, swarme too <too> abundantly) hath made all Newes (how
serious or substantiall soeuer) lyable to the jealous 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 invention,
yet for the pith or marrowe thereof), it is as justly 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 Oliuaires) 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
Enue 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 Archbishop 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 Jewell on which Spaine had long since fixed her heart to make her vniuersall
Monarchie every way full and perfect, he is by command from the King (in the person of the
Cound Oliuaires) to make his appeara[n]ce before the Pope s Nunto, the Duke of Lerma, the

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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 Infantasgo & the Constable of Castila, who had a special Comission signed [3] for that purpose, & to deliuer vnto them all those secret aduantages, which he had either by the experience of time, the corrup[ti]on 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 reservatio[n]s, began to make a great flo[u]rish of many demure & austere circumst ances 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 thervnto sundrie admonishments of Caueat[s] to call into his rememb[er]ance, touching many altertions in the State of Great Britaine, some defenciue, some offenciue since his last aboad or commerccement 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, warlikenes se of the British Nation, affirming that he had heard him say, that he had scened 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 famou[s] 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 soldi[ers] 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 every 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 replyed 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 that[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

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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].

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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
ememie 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 recken 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, 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 memorabl. Wherein as in a Mirror euery eye may behold
the weaknesse of a guilty thought, and how easily frailty in surprised and overcome, 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 glue 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 qualitite,
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 closse-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 mans bosome.

Being obeyed in all his commandements, and seated thus alone by himselfe, onely
guarded by his two choise friends Malise and Mischeife, he had not cal[le]d vp many euil
thoughts to appeare before him, when on a Fodaine (according to the weakenes of his
prehension) 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]d 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 Iesu[te]s coniura[ti]ons 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 singularnes 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 reverence but sees no Saint, would faine utter either salutatio[n]s or curses, but
knows not by what name to call[li]s 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 truly 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)
or 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 every 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 nakednes of
the truth is, that as he gazed thus fearfully 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 backeward he
durst not, lest he might giue a offence to his Surgion) and yet the posture in which this Noble
Gentleman appeared, how euer fearfull to the guile 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 innocenc and harmlessnesse. In his right hand he
brandished his sword, which was an instrument that had beeue ever fatall to Spanish practices,
and had not the edge beeue 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

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of gold filled with blood, [11] which blood he sprinkled, some upon Gondomar and some upon the ground, uttering in a hollow and unpleasant voice, these or the like words following.

*Cresce Cuor, Sanguis satietur sanguine Cresce, quod spero sitio, ah sitio, sitio.*

Gondomar's attendants who had all but this while (a far off) beheld their Lord's actions, seeing him now falling down in this trance, came with all possible speed running unto him, but ere they could offer an hand to his assistance, they might hear him utter words of that strange nature and quality, that their fears bridled their charities, and they were rather willing to let him ly still, bending their attentions to his words, then by a too officious disturbance to break off any part of that discourse which might either make for the bettering of the knowledge of the State, or otherwise be applied to future service, at which these unnatural and abortive accidents ever point, & therefore fixing their eyes and their ears constantly upon him (as he lay groveling on the earth) They might hear these, or like words much like unto these, proceed from his perplexed and amazed spirit.

"Blessed soul (Noble Sir Walter Rawleigh) what have I to do with thy goodness, or wherefore hast thou left the peacefulness of thy rest, to torment and call me account ere the prefixed and full day of my trial be come, and that I must stand face to face with thee and a world of others [12] before the greatest Tribunall, I can confess mine iniquities, and that I have beene to the Kind my master, as Borgia Caesar was to Pope Alexandre the sixt[h], an instrument willing to take upon me any or all manner of sins how odious or vile soever, so I might but make Spaine look fresh & that those imputations (which otherwise might have drown[ed] her) might be but put into the Catalogue of my services, though defame and curses were heaped upon me, in much greater quantities then Osse, Pelion or Pindus.

I do confess I have 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 have beene a channell or a Common-shoare to the Church or Rome, and what either Pope, Priest, Knaue or Iesuite could invent, I have 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, tied Princes to detest conspiracies, and had many times read over that notable Historie of Lewis the eleuenth, and could my selfe repeat the noble and famous praises which all Europe gave him for advertising 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 fuel, so long as my thoughts were busied with the studie and remembrance of an vniversall Monarchie. [13] I confess I have many times said (how euer I have beleued) that those great ones which seeke to make away their enemies otherwise then by Justice 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 scorn. I confess I have admired the goodnesse of Faritius who deliuered into Pirrhus hand the slaeue 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 use to be revenged of her enemies secretly and by deceit, 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 condemnd the action for most odious, accus[e]d Flaminius of crueltie and coueteousnesse, or vaine glory and of ostentation. And questionlesse had they any touche or feeling of Diuinitie or Christianitie they could not haue found any other ranke for him, then that
next unto 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 policie. 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
Vniversal 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
peesces in which I euer triumphed. I haue made my selfe fat with thy downefall, 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 turie 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 wholy
Gentleman, wholy 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 onelye time that did produce the excellencie and perfection of
Wisedome, Warre and Gouvernment. 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 actiuely disposed; and hosoeuer thy fortune was accompanyed with all manner of felicities,
things able in themselves to haue drawne thy minde from all other obiec ts, and to haue setted
thee ypon this Theorie, that solitarinesse is the most excellentest condition belonging vnto
mankinde, in as much as in it, he onely findeth the true tranquilitie of the minde, for nothing is
wanting in that quiet habitation; Manna fall[l]s 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 euer 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 betoookest 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 Diademre 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 controller 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

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thinke of the generall viewe which thou hadst taken without impeachment of all the West Indies. But most of all, when shee was adwertised of they long and laborious passage vpon the riuere Oranoque, the distinguishments which thou hadst made betwixt it and the riuere of Amazons, and the intelligences which though hadst gotten for thine ascent to the great Cittie of Manoa and Kingdome of Guyana, designs 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, begge[d] of all, and the Pistolets of gold and pieces 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 confess 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 vp on 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 riuere of Oranoque, how fit it lay as a bayte to drawe thee into mischiefe, 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 menacying him with frownes and the shaking of his sword, the poore Don lifting vp his armes under his cloake, shewed his red badge of the Order of Colotrauia. 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 advancement 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 Britaine, 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 hurtefull, 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 vows 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 deououre your Mariniers & 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 perfecction, and thy destruc tion the last worke or master peece of [21] all my wisedome and pollicie. This is the freedom e 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, whilest the Ghost seemed to utter vnto him these or these like words following.

“To hee whome bast flatterie, wante and coueteuinesse hath giueld 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 Wisedome.
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, Gouernour of Menroyo, and Pennarogo, of the most honorable Order of Colatrauia, Counsellour of State, one of the King s Treasurers, Embassadour for his Catholike Majestie to his Royall Majestie of England, Regent of the Towne and Castle of Bayon, President of the Bashoprice of Tuid in Ga[22]litia,

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

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Chief Treasurer of the most noble Order of Alcantara, One of the foure Judges 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 IIII, 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 poysnous 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 Ciuilitie.
The Buffoone in Courte.
Ate in Counsell
Atheist, for the Pope s advantage, and principall intelligencer betweene Hell and the Iesuites.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, Most dishonorable Earle of Gondomar, Poular 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 Principalitie of Astures [23] of Astures, and a continuall Broker betweene the King of Spaine and the Pope, and betweene the Iesuits, 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 secon[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 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 Sauiour into eternall captiuitie. Hath not thou beene an vntired packe-horse, travelling night and day without a baite, and loaden like ad Asse, till thy knees haue bowered vnder the burthen of strange and unnaturall designes, by which to advance thy Master to the vniuersall Monarchie of all Europe. This thy feare hath made thee confess, 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 unfortunately, 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 wherewith 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 Gouernments of the Duke of Alua, and Don Iohn Duke of Austria, the tyrannies so insufferable, that all manner of freedomes were converted 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 suriuuing. What incrochments were daily made vpon these distressed Prouinces, all the Princes of Europe blush to behold, and had not Elizabeth my dread 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 succour, there would be 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 politieke 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 growiing 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 discou ered 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

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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 panfletería 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].

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and a world of other places, some possesst, some lying vnder the pretence of strange Titles, but
come to giue vp their account, and it will be more than manifast, 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
[alic] 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
michifie) 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
diuer other places about Succy 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 leaui ng heir foot-hold [28] hauing receiued diuers
commandments to keep it, both from the Count de Fuentes (at that time Vice-ro of Millan) from
thee by priuate letters, and from the King your Master by sundrie Comissions. That the chiefes
of those Toopes, peremptorily answered the Duke, that they would hould their gettings, in
despight 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 permittous 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 vnholie League, was it not Philip of
Spaine one of your most Catholike 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 Catholike 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 greates t that France could number: What Countries
under 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 euyer perfection of true honour and maginitie, that his parallel hath not beeene 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 assayed in the days of Henry the third, and in the space of foure years, by ten Royall Armies successiuely 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 Couteras 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, Fluviers, 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, fataall 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 forst 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 triumphantily 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 extreamitie, 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 rebellius and vsurping partie, casting forth his fulminations with such violence and injustice, that the Buls were taken and burnt both at Tours and at Chalons. Neither sent he out these Buls 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 Buls) 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 chieffest servants, 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 come 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 despight 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 turui. 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 vtndertooke 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 florishing 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 fiew great Dukes, formerly bewitched with Catholike incantations, fall at the foote of this great King, and confess 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 abtained pardon through the wisedome of his carryage, having 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, forsok 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 wheeles 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, having 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]aime himselfe, your selfe and the Jesuites, who are both vil[l]aines and your selfe. But the matter was fully blancht, and your impious eare (that had listned to this adominable sinne) was excused, and the whole offence of subornation was laid vpon a creature of yours. But one of the King of Spaine s Esquires, named by the place of his birth Valdomoro, who vpon examination (hauncing his lesson fore taught him), confest all the passages to the Duke of Lerma, and that not onely this slave, but diuers others had tendred themselues to the like service, 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 Jesuite (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 evident for the Spaniards, if they had punished the Traytor, made thy selfe Valdomoro, and the Jesuite 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 slave ought not to haue come out of Spaine vnchastisted, for all Kings are brothers, and all Kingdomes interessed 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 Lunguedoc, 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 haung 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 witn esse, and that you did presere 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 Petitioners 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 Deuill[s], the Gun-pouder conspiracie, that which should haue destroyed all, not a single Prince or a single man, but many Princes, many men s whole generations. Here was cruell Spaine and here indeed (had not God preuented) was a strong foundation for an vnuiersall 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 […] 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 receive his breeding? Who gauie information of his knowledge in myning? And who preferred and advancest him to this peecie of most damnable seruice? Questionlesse let truth answere to any of these positions, and the speech it must vitter, 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 absolued 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 vnuiersall Monarchie, from Portugall to the Netherlandes, thence through Italy, so into France. England was looke vp 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 deuore 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 politque defeature? Why, the lyes which thou didst utter to abuse the Maiestitie of England, and to breed delayes till thy Master s 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 errours? 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 services 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 whatsoeuer though shalt contriuie 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 thou 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 gasly amazednesse as affrighted all that beheld him. In the end espying his own servants, 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