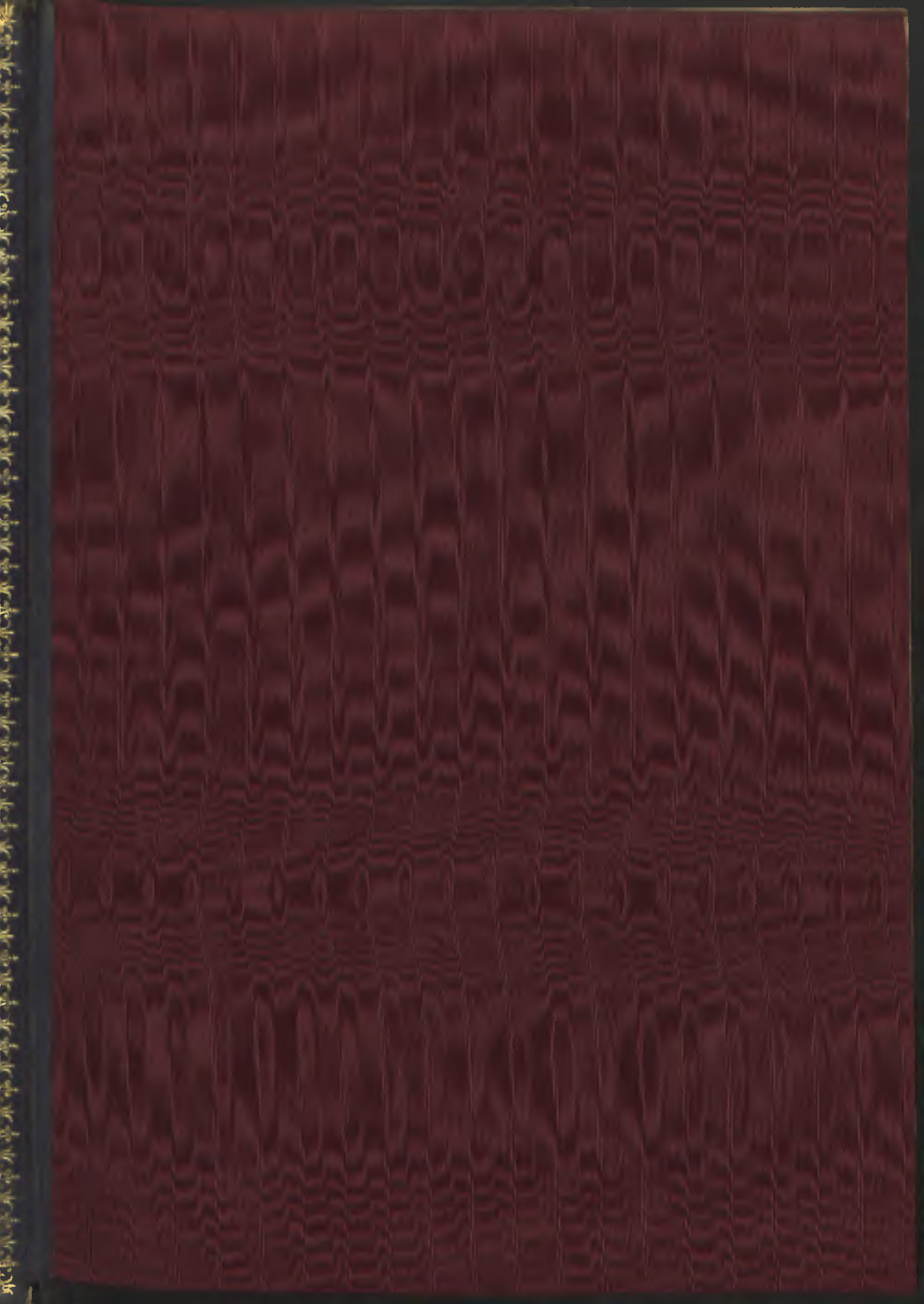


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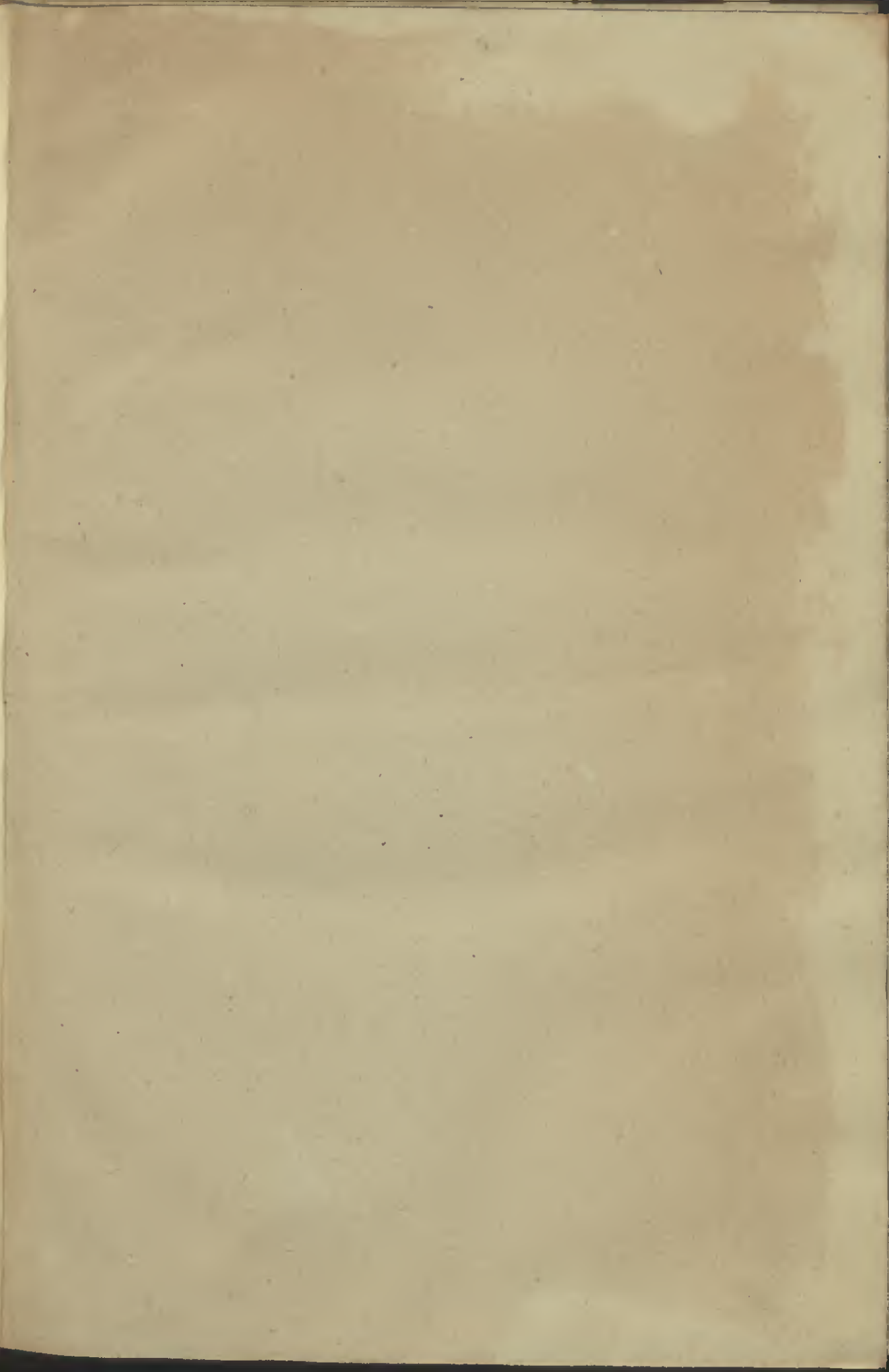


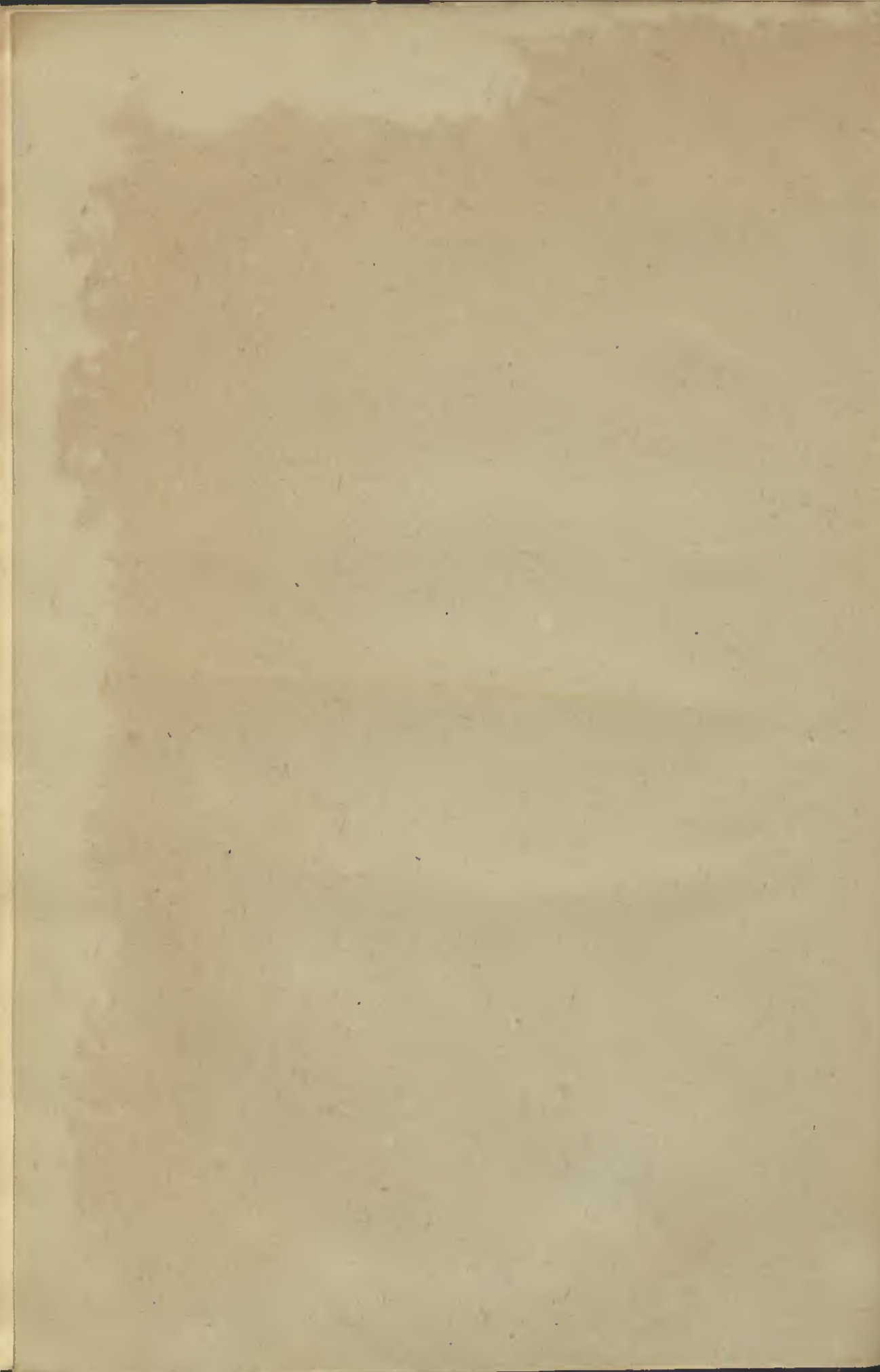


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Sec. XVII-2







THE
HISTORIE OF
THE VNITING
OF THE KINGDOM OF
PORTVGALL TO THE
Crowne of Castill:

*Containing the last warres of the Portugals against
the Moores of Africke, the end of the house
of Portugall, and change of that
Gouernment.*

The description of Portugall, their principall Townes, Castles,
Places, Riuers, Bridges, Passages, Forces, Weakeneffes, Reuenues,
and Expences. Of the East Indies, the Isles of Terceres,
and other dependences, with many battailes by
sea and lande, skirmishes, encounters,
sieges, orations, and stratagemes
of warre.



*Imprinted at London by Arn. Hatfield
for Edward Blount.*

1600.



THE
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TO THE MOST NOBLE
and abundant president both of
Honor and vertue, HENRY
Earle of Southampton.

Right honorable and most woorthy Earle,



T is not my fortune to be so unfortunately read, as to begin (after the common stampe of dedication) with a grai-headed Apophthegme, or some straied sentence out of *Tully*, but in such proper and plaine language, as a most humble and affectionate duc- tie can speake, I do heere offer vp on the altar of my hart, the first fruits of my long-growing ende- uors; which (with much constancie and confi- dence) I haue cherisht, onely waiting this happie

opportunitie to make them manifest to your Lord- ship: where nowe if (in respect of the knowne distance, betwixt the height of your Honorable spirit, and the flatnesse of my poore abilities) they turne into sinoake and vanish ere they can reach a degree of your merite, vouchsafe yet most (excellent Earle) to remember it was a fire that kindled them, and gaue them life at least, if not lasting. Your Honors patronage is the onely obiect I aime at; and were the worthinesse of this Historie I present, such as might war- rant me an election out of a worlde of Nobilitie; I woulde still pursue the hap- pines of my first choise; which hath since beene confirmed to me by my re- spected friend the translator, a Gentleman most sincerely deuoted to your Ho- nor: For the subiect it selfe I dare say nothing; since it is out of my element to iudge. But I haue heard others report it (and some of them also iudicious) to be a thing first and excellently written in Italian; then' translated into French, and generally receiued in both those toongs through all christendome for a faithfull, elegant, sinewie, and well digested historie: what the beauties of it are now in this English habite, I make your Honorable Lordship the first and most competent Censor; wishing that before you begin to read farther, you could but reade my silence.

By him that wants much to expresse

his dueties to your Honor,

EDW. BLOUNT.



The Authors Apologie vnto the Reader.

If it argues guilt to be accused, no man shall be innocent; he is therefore blamelesse, that being charged, defends himselfe: Gentle Reader, the first impression of this historie of Portugall, came no sooner forth, but many (greedie to detract from anothers glorie) did therein bitterly wrong me, accusing me to be ill affected to the Portugall nation in generall, and a seuerer censor of the priuate actions of great personages, and of the officers of that crowne. And albeit it behooeeth him that shall write of late accidents, in the Theater of this vniuersall worlde, to beare the malice and follie of many; besides that, he shall hardly satisfie all; yet were it more tollerable, if some (content wrongfully to backbite me,) were not so transported with their owne passions, as to labour to haue the vse of this Booke forbidden throughout all Spaine; notwithstanding it had bene allowed by the Inquisitors: Albeit I knowe well that many men of iudgement, and louers of truth, haue shewed themselues fauorers of this worke: yet haue I thought it fitte in this second edition briefly to make my innocencie knowne. And although they haue inuented many more to these two slanders, yet will I satisfie euery point I thinke necessarie, with this supposioun for a firme ground, that the truth and diligence of a historie, be the qualities that giue it spirit, and life, the which by no meanes can be infringed, without conuerting the most graue and profitable manner of writing, into the most vaine and preiudiciall of all others: So as if my accusations grow from the truth and my diligence, I will not yeeld my selfe guilty, seeing I cannot amend them without error. But let them understande that I write onely to those Readers that can iudge of the truth of a historie and the newtrallitie of the writer: First of all, they must consider it was my chance to write the actions of that realme, which hapned in those fower most unfortunate yeeres, which succeeded that of 77. so as there is no reason that such as report I was enclined to disgrace the Portugals, shoulde from the qualitie of the time, sinisterly iudge of the disposition of the writer; neither let them hold him partiaall in the conquerors behalfe, seeing that in accidents of warre, they can hardly honour him that fals, but he that suffereth himselfe to be vanquished, must with his losse, willingly beare the blame that growes thereby: The which the ancient writers could so well obserue (whose example I do willingly imitate) that if Titus Liuius had begon and finished his historie in the course of Hannibals victorie, he had been held for a Carthaginian, and Iosephus in describing the calamities of the Iewes, and the triumphs of Titus, seemed a Romaine: If I writing of two battailes, where in the one, the Portugals lost their kings, in the other their kingdome; besides that at sea, and the losse of the Terceres; what offence

The Authors Apologie, &c.

offence is it, if I seeme not a Portugall? seeing that if I were one, I should not seeme to be so: or how is it possible to conuert this mornefull historie into praises, making him seeme valiant that loofeth? without doubt, if it had fallen to my lot, to write the deeds of that nation, whereby they made shew how apt they were to armes, and to noble attempts, as the victories they got of Castile at *Alubarorta*, and at *Trancofa*, the conquests they made in *Affrick*, their woonderfull navigations and happie successe in *Asia*, touched in this historie, as occasion required. I had not then bene more faithfull then now I am, though more acceptable to Portugals, yet men of iudgement do with one minde feele both gaine and losse, praise and dispraise, when they be truly related: So as without doubt we may conclude, that no man ought to censure the inclination of the writer by the matter he treates of, be it either in fauour or blame of the nation of which he writes; but onely of the truth and indifferencie he professeth. My accusers must also vnderstand, that a Historiographer doth not wrong any nation, in describing the qualities which the heauens that couer them, doe infuse vpon them, the aire they breath, and the water they drinke, especially when those properties be not base but excesses of vertue: As for example, if a man should (imitating *Iulius Cæsar*) write, that the French are in the beginning furious, and in the end, faint; he should not for this shew him selfe an enimie, nor disgrace that mightie and warlike nation: And who should say that the Spaniards are proud, should he therefore impugne their reputation published through the worlde? neither should he offend the Portugals, that should say they are naturally presumptuous, seeing they neither can deny it, nor do seeke to hide it; yea themselves are wont to say, that they liue by opinion, that is, they support themselves more, with that they imagine themselves to be, then with what they are in effect: my accusers should likewise consider, that I offend not the Portugals, in saying, that the ignorant regard not dangers a farre off, and feare them neere, if they meane not to separate them from the condition of man, and against all reason make equall ignorance with knowledge. Moreouer I would gladly knowe why it were not lawfull for me without offence, to relate with truth the misfortunes and calamities of the Portugals, and the altered forme of their realme, as well as for some of the same nation to write many of their actions blame woorthie, and yet not helde discourteous: The entrie which *Henric the bastard*, king of *Castill* made armed into Portugall, running from the confines of *Gallitia*, vnto *Lisbone*, where he lodged, forcing obedience in all places, was it not more dishonorable then any thing I haue written, king *Ferdinand* not being able to make any resistance? Read the *Chronicles* of *Iohn the second*, their naturall king, being quiet and peaceable, what conspiracies were practised against him by the nobilitie of his realme, so as he was forced to seeke reuenge by stabbing, and to behead some of the chiefe publikely, is not this a reprochfull thing? Although some alleage, that the king exceeded in the execution, & that by nature he was a seuerer man, and full of reuenge, yet there want not others that do number him amongst the saints; but be it as it may, it lies not in me to iudge, and yet this booke is Printed and sold in *Lisbone*, whereas my booke (that treates not of matters of so great doubt) is mightily abhorred. As for the private personages of the realme, neither haue they reason to surmise that I haue spoken of them, either with passion or immodestie, the which I beleene themselves haue founde, if they haue had any leisure to read this historie with iudgement, or haue any perfect knowledge in the *Italian* toong. But relying vpon the report of such as (inclined to flatter) reprove all writings

The Authors Apologie

things, that are not corrupted with flatterie, it is no woonder, if they be induc'd to beleue, that I haue written disurteously of them and with passion: But to make knowne the contrarie, they must vnderstande, that of vices which are common to states, and to mens priuate humours, we may saie the like as hath bene saide of those that are commonly incident vnto nations, that they blemish not so much as they ought to be concealed, but march alwaies vnited to the state and qualitie of the person. For example, he that talking of a yoong gentleman, shoulde say, that he were phantasticke, cholericke, amorous, arrogant, for all this he doth him no wrong; for besides they are no base affections, they are commonly incident to youth and nobilitie: In like sort, an officer respected by his prince, or any fauorite whosoeuer, ought not repine, if he be described to be reialous, circumspect, ambitious, a temporizer, carefull in his owne causes, and carelesse of others, being qualities that do accompanie princes fauours: so as when I touch any one with such like, no man of iudgement ought to greene more, then if I shoulde terme him cholericke or flegmarike, being certaine naturall qualities, as the humours and inclinations: Notwithstanding when I particularly note such points as seeme blame woorthie, although they be publike and apparant, yet doe I suspend my iudgement, attributing the faults to the emulation of courts, and the ambition of competitors: And such as will not be satisfied with this exception, shewe plainly they desire to be flattered; but they strue in vaine, for I esteeme flatterie in a writer, to be like the sinne of idolatrie. Some haue bene so sensible as to note for an excesse (speaking of any officer) to saie couertly, that men transported slander him with some secrete action, to such I can make no answer, seeing they are not content that I tearme them passionate that blame others, that I reprehende surmises, that I call in question that which others affirme for certaine, excusing in a manner the accused.

Others haue laboured to publish vnto the world, that in my relation touching the title of the realme, I haue shewed my selfe partiall for the Catholique king: To such I can not say any thing, but wish them to be aduised, they accuse not the diuine providence as partiall, which deprived of life twentie successors of that crowne, all preceeding the saide king. But I woulde haue these men to tell me if in this historie (where I coulde not alleage Bartoll nor Bald) I haue omitted any one point of importance, which hath bene alleaged by the pretendents, and haue not set euery reason downe as their owne aduocats did plead it: Let them consider if there be any thing omitted touching the representation of the Durchesse Katherine, of the transmission of Rainucius Farnese, of the precedence of Phillibert duke of Sauioy, in case that Henric had outliued Philip, of the election the people pretended, of Antonie his grounds, and his pretended legitimation; and to conclude, if there were any thing defectiue of that which Queene Katherine of Medicis alleaged against the eleuen kings of that realme: Now if all these reasons which I haue so largely set downe, can not hinder the king of Spaine from being the eldest kinsman, that Henric left when he died, a male, and legitimate, what faulte is there in me? If men will not beleue that Katherines prerogatiue by her father be of more vertue and efficacie then Philips owne right, and that the imperfection deriued from his mother doth more preiudice the king, then that of the Dutchesse which remaines in her owne person, how can I helpe it? It is most manifest, that such onely as are partiall
haue

to the Reader.

haue held me partiall in relating plainly, this title with the rest, without giuing mine owne iudgement, and the rather for that they see such as are indifferent, doe happily esteeme it better then the rest: I may not be more tedious in this respect, hoping it shall suffice for euerie man of a free iudgement to discern mine innocencie, from the malice or ignorance of mine aduersaries. But morcouer I entreate them that know me to be a writer not accustomed to lie, to consider that I haue written to Italians in the Italian toong, who could not perfectly understande the substance of this historie, if I had giuen them lesse knowledge of men whom they knew not: And to verifie this, let a Portugall writer in Italy describe in his owne toong, vnto his owne countrimen the tumults of any of our cities, he shall well finde, (if he desire to be vnderstoode in Portugall) whether he may forbear to specifie much more then I haue done, of the humours of the head and principall members of that province whereof he writes. But if all this sufficeth not to iustifie me; I make God iudge of the sinceritie of mine hart, and the indifference I haue strictly obserued.

THE GENEALOGIE OF THE
Kings of Portugall from the beginning of that
kingdome, unto the end of the house of Por-
tugall, with the pretendants to
that Crowne.

HENRIE issued from *Besançon*, first Earle of Portugall, married with
Therastie daughter to *Alphonse* the sixt, King of Castile, about the
yeere of our Lord 1090. by whom he had
Alphonse Henrie, which was the first king.
Therastie Henrie, and
one other daughter married to *Ferdinand Mendes*.

1. *Alphonse Henrie*, first Duke and King of Portugall, sonne to the saide
Henrie, he succeeded his father about the yeere 1112. he tooke vpon him
the title of King about the yeere 1139. he reigned in all about 72. yeeres:
he married with *Malfade Manrique de Lara*, by whom he had issue
Sanches, who was after King.
Vrraca, Queene of Leon.
Therastie, Countesse of Flanders.
Malfade.
2. *Sanches* the first, sonne to the saide *Alphonse*, about the yeere 1184. he raig-
ned 28. yeeres: he married *Aldoneta*, daughter to Count *Raimond Berenger*
of *Barcelone*, by whom he had
Alphonse, King.
Ferdinand, Earle of Flaunders.
Peter, Earle of Vrgel in Arragon.
Henrie.
Therastie, wife to *Alphonse* of Leon.
Malfade, Queene of Castile.
Sanches, a Nunne.
Blanche, and
Berengueta.
3. *Alphonse* the second, sonne to *Sanches*, the yeere 1212. he raigned 11.
yeeres, and married *Vrraca* of Castile, daughter to *Alphonse* the noble,
by whom he had
Sanche, King.
Alphonse, King.
Ferdinand.
Leonor, Queene of Denmarke.

4. *Sanche*,

4. *Sanche* the second, called *Capello*, sonne to *Alphonse* the second, the yeere 1223. he raigned in troubles vnto the yeere 1257. he married *Mencia Lopez*, by whom he had no children: he died in Castile incapable to rule.

5. *Alphonse* the third, called the *Braue*, brother to *Sanche* the second; of a regent he made himselfe King about the yeere 1257. & raigned 22. yeeres: he married with *Mauilde* Countesse of Boloigne in Picardie, by whom he had *Ferdinand* or *Peter*, & *Robert*: in her life time he married with *Beatrice*, bastard daughter to *Alphonse* the 10. called the wise King of Castile, by whom he had

Denis, King.

Alphonse.

Blanche, a Nunne.

Constance.

6. *Denis*, sonne to *Alphonse* the third, the yeere 1279. he raigned 48. yeeres, and was married to *Isabella*, daughter to *Peter* King of Arragon, by whom he had

Constance, Queene of Castile.

Alphonse, who was after King.

Peter, Earle of Portalegre.

7. *Alphonse* the fourth, sonne to *Denis*, in the yeere 1325. he raigned 32. yeeres, and married *Beatrice* of Castile, by whom he had

Peter, that was King.

Marie.

Alphonse.

Denis.

Iean.

Eluira, Queene of Arragon.

8. *Peter*, called the cruell, sonne to *Alphonse* the fourth, the yeere 1357. hee raigned 10. yeeres, and married *Blanche*, daughter to *Peter* King of Castile, whom he put away, and after married with *Constance* daughter to *Iean Emannell*, by whom he had

Lewis, who died yoong.

Ferdinand, King.

Marie, wife to *Ferdinand* of Arragon.

Beatrice, died yoong.

And of *Agnes de Castro*, a supposed wife, he had

Alphonse.

Iean.

Denis.

Beatrice, Countesse of Albuquerque.

And

And by *Therapie Gallega* his concubine, he had
Jean, who was King.

9. *Ferdinand*, sonne to *Peter*, the yeere 1367. he raigned about 17. yeeres, and
married *Leonor Telles de Meneses*, by whom he had
Beatrice, Queene of Castile.

10. *Jean*, called of good memorie, sonne to the said *Peter*, the yeere 1383. he
raigned about 49. yeeres, and married with *Philip*, daughter to *Jean* of
Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by whom he had

Blanche.

Alphonse.

Edward, King.

Peter Duke of Coimbra, who had by *Isabell* of Arragon his wife;
Peter that was Constable; *Jean*, King of Cypres; *Isabell*, Queene of
Portugall; *Philip*, a Nunne; *Jeams*, a Cardinall; *Beatrice*, wife to
the Lord of Rauestein.

Henrie, Duke of Viseo.

Isabell, Dutchesse of Burgundie.

Jean, master of Saint Iaques.

Ferdinand, master of the order called d' *Auis*, or Saint *Benet*.

11. *Edouard*, sonne to *Jean*, the yeere 1433. he raigned 5. yeeres: he married
Leonor of Arragon, daughter to *Ferdinand* the 1. by whom he had

Alphonse, King.

Ferdinand, Duke of Viseo, who had by his wife,

Philip.

Leonor, wife to *Frederike* the 3. Emperour.

Catherine.

Jean, Queene of Castile.

Beatrice, wife to *Jean*, Master of Saint Iaques.

Leonor, Queene.

Dominique.

Emannell, King.

Isabell, Dutchesse of Bragance.

12. *Alphonse* the fift, called the *Affrican*, sonne to *Edward*, the yeere 1438.
he raigned 43. yeeres: hee married *Isabell*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of
Coimbra his vncle, by whom he had

Jean, who liued but a while.

Jeanne.

Jean, King.

13. *Jean*, the 2. son to *Alphonse* the 5. the yeere 1481. he raigned 14. yeeres, and
married *Leonor*, daughter to *Ferdinand* Duke of Viseo, by whom he had
Alphonse, who died before his father.

Emannell,

14. *Emanuel*, sonne to *Ferdinand* Duke of Viseo, borne in the yeere 1468. began to raigne in the yeere 1495. and raigned fivē yeeres: he died at Lisbone the third of September 1521. he married *Isabell* the eldest daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabell*, King and Queene of Castile, by whom he had *Michnell*, who died yoong: and to his second wife, he rooke *Marie* sister of the said *Isabell*, by whom he had

Jean, who was after King.

Isabell, wife to *Charles* the 5. Emperour, of whom is issued *Philip*, King of Spaine.

Beatrice, wife to *Charles* the third Duke of Sauoy, from whom issued *Emanuel Phillibert*, father to *Charles Emanuel* now Duke of Sauoy.

Lewis, father to *Anthony* the Bastard.

Henrie Cardinall, King.

Alphonse, Cardinall.

Katherine.

Ferdinand.

Edward, husband to *Isabell*, daughter to *Jean* Duke of Bragance, by whom he had *Marie*, wife to *Alexander Farnese* Prince of Parma, father to *Rainuce* now Duke of Parma; and *Katherine* wife to *Jean* the second Duke of Bragance, sonne to *Theodose*.

Anthony, who died soone after his birth.

And of *Elenor*, daughter to *Philip* Archduke of Austria, sister to *Charles* the fift, he had

Charles, who died yoong.

Marie, who died a maide of the age of 56. yeeres.

15. *Jean* the third, sonne to *Emanuel* and of *Marie* his wife, borne the 7. of Iune 1502. he began to raigne the 15. of December 1521. and raigned 36. yeeres; he died the 27. of Iune, 1557. and married with *Katherine* sister to *Charles* the 5. Emperour, the 5. of September, 1525. by whom he had

Alphonse.

Marie, the first wife to *Philip* the second King of Spaine, of whom issued *Charles* that is dead.

Katherine.

Beatrice.

Emanuel.

Philip.

Jean, Prince of Portugall, who had by *Jeanne* daughter to *Charles* the fift, Emperour, *Sebastien*, who was King.

Anthony.

16. *Sebastien*, sonne to Prince *Jean*, borne the 20. of Ianuarie, 1554. he began to raigne the yeere 1557. and raigned 21. yeeres; he died in the battell against the Moores the 7. of August, 1578. being vnmarried.

17. *Henrie*

17. *Henric*, Cardinall, and Primat of Portugall, sonne to King *Emanuel* by *Marie* his wife, borne the 16. of Ianuarie, 1512. in the yeere 1578. he raigned about a yeere and a halfe, and died in the beginning of the yeere 1580. he was the last of the house of Portugall, to whom succeeded

18. *Philip*, sonne to *Charles* the fift, Emperour, and of *Isabell*, King of Spaine, &c. borne the 7. of May, 1527. &c.

I

THE
VNITING OF THE REALME
OF PORTVGALL TO THE
CROWNE OF CASTILL.

The Contents of the first Booke.

The originall of the Realme of Portugall, the description thereof with their newe conquests : The life of King Sebastian, his first voyage into Affrick, his enteruiew with the Catholique King at Guadalupa, the preparatiues of warre made at Lisbonne for the enterprize of Affrick: the kings departure from Portugall with his armie.



Vndertake the Historie of the Realme of PORTVGALL; from the time that king *Sebastian* the first, passed into Affrick with a mightie armie to make warre against the Moores, which inhabite Mauritania Tingitana; till that (after many afflictions) this Realme was vnitied to those of Spaine, vnder *Phillip* the second king of Castill. A subiect of importance for the generall state, by the increase of power to so mightie a king: yea considerable for the diuers accidents hapned in so short a time, contrarie to common hope; and profitable, by the examples of the instabilitie of this worlde, and the dangers that Princes and people runne into by their ill grounded resolutions. I hope to relate these euentz sincerely with truth, hauing bene present at the greatest part, and receiued the rest from a faithfull Reporter. I am void of passion, an enimie to the vncorrupt writing of Historiographers, being neither borne in any of those countries; nor subiect or vassall to any king or prince. But before I enter into the wellspring of those warres, I haue thought it conuenient to make a brieve relation of the state of the Realme, of the scituation, beginnings, enterprizes, and such like, to the end, that

B I

being

being to report the fall, we may withall see the rising thereof, by what meanes it encreased, and was supported, how and when it declined, and finally altered his forme.

*The description of the Realme of
Portugall.*

Portugall is a part of Spaine, lying vpon the furthest borders of the Ocean. It bordereth vpon the East with the kingdome of Castill, vpon the West with the great Ocean, vpon the North with Gallicia, and towards the South with the Atlantike sea and Andelouzia. The late writers haue deuided it into sixe countries, which they call Comarques, that is, beyond the riuer of Tagus, Estremadura, betwixt Duero and Minies (and this with the countrie which stretcheth to Coimbra is the ancient Portugall) behinde the mountaines Beira, and Algarues, which last hath also the Title of a kingdome. It containes in circuit 850. miles, whereof 400. run along the Sea store, the rest is maine land, which maketh it in forme long and narrow: It hath in it eighteene cities, with many great villages and castles, in number aboue 470. Three of these cities haue Archbishopsricks, Braga, Lisbonne, and Euora: whereof the first is Lord both spirituall and temporall. Nine haue their Bishopricks, Coimbra, Lamego, Visco, Porto, Miranda, Portalegro, Guarda, Leiria and Eluas: the other fiue remaine without dignitie, and those are Bragança, Taurira, Lagos, Faro and Silues: These last fower be in the kingdome of Algarues, whereof one Bishop hath the Title. It is watered with many riuers, whereof two are most famous, Tagus and Duero; the first runneth by the walles of Lisbonne, and sixe or seuen miles off dischargeth it selfe into the Sea; the other doth the like by the citie of Porto, and two miles from thence falleth into the Ocean: from their mouthes vnto the citie they are no riuers, but as it were armes and bosomes of the Sea; and most assured and capable portes for many great ships which may saile farre vp against the streame, but further in that of Lisbonne then of the other, whereas many great vessels passe fiftene or twentie miles vp beyonde the towne: besides these two portes, twentie miles from Lisbonne, to-
wards

wards the South, is Sertuual, which hath a small Tower at the entrie thereof, with a port capable of many ships. And in Algarues is Tauira, Lagos, and Villencuue; these three are of reasonable capacitie, the rest are lesse, with many pleasant plashes. The seate of the countrie is commodious for all partes of the world; being in the middest of many great kingdomes, fit for the ancient and later nauigations: For turning towards the West, they discouer directly Gallicya, Biscay, Fraunce, England, Germanie, & the other Northerne Régions. Before them lieth the Islands of Azores (otherwise called Terceres) the fortunate Islands, with the countries called the West Indies. On the left hād lieth Andelouzia, & the Streits of Gibraltar, by the which they enter into the Mediterranean Sea, for the Nauigation of Italie and Greece. And leauing the Streits coasting Affrick, on the left hand they discouer many nations and new people, vnknowne to the auncient, who beleued that the burning Zone was inhabitable: from which places many ships arriue at Lisbone with great riches, chieflie from the East Indies, the which the Portugalles themselues (as we shall declare hereafter) conquered: besides their traffique with the kingdome of Castile, which lieth behinde them.

Lisbone is the best and chieftest of all their Cities, on the which the whole Realme dependes: It is verie populous, yea many beleue that of all the cities of Christendome (except Paris) it containes the greatest number of people. The aire is verie wholesome and temperate; distant from the Equinoctiall nine and thirtie degrees; and with the ebbing and flowing of the salt water (which is great vpon that coast) there bloweth alwaies a temperate winde, which doth refresh it. It is neither wholie plaine nor all mountaines, but deuided into fiue small hilles, betwixt th'one and the other of these, the plaine extends vnto the Riuer. It hath beene walled, whereof some part continues to this day; but for that it hath beene since much augmented, that part without the walles exceeds the other in greatnes: There stands vpon an high hill a very ancient castell, which hath no other strength in it but his height, nor any guard, but is reserued as a prison for noble men. At the mouth of Tagus, on the citie side, stands a Fortresse built after the newest manner, which they cal the rocke of Saint *Iulian*, made to defend the entrie of the Riuer. The fruite it bringeth forth surpasseth all their neighbours in bountie: and

The description of Lisbone.

although it yeeldeth not corne sufficient to feede them, yet haue they prouision daily out of Fraunce and Germanie. The whole Realme is at this present greatly inhabited, being replenished with manie Noblemen and Gentlemen, and much building of ships, and vessels for sundrie Navigations: Besides the order of the knights of Saint *Iaques* and *Aleantara*, or of Saint *Bennet*, which they call *d'Auis* (of a place so named,) these carrie a red crosse, and these a Greene, like vnto the Knights of Castill) when as the Templers were suppressed, they did institute another order with the same reuenues; which they call the Knights of Christ, bearing a red crosse, and in the midst a white, the which are bound to goe to the warre against Infidels, to whome Pope *Alexander* the sixth, did since graunt libertie to marrie. And their Kings hauing encreased their reuenues, a great part of their Nobilitie affected this order, although they haue many times receiued men base and vnworthie. A great part of this Realme was sometimes vnted to the crowne of Castill, but in the yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundreth and tennie, *Alphons* the sixth being King, that part towards the north was separated, giuing it in marriage for a certaine tribute, to *Henrie* nephew to the Earle of Burgundie, borne at Besanson, marrying *Therassie* his bastard daughter: for that comming out of Fraunce with *Count Raimond* of Tholouse his vncle, who was after Earle of Gallicia; he went to the warres which the Castillians had against the Moores that possessed Spaine. And although some deriue the originall of this *Count Henrie* from Hungarie, others from Aragon, and from other places; yet this is the most approoued opinion: But it hapneth in the originall of Kings, as of great riuers, whose mouthes are knowne, but not their springs.

The Portugals conquests.

Portugall was then obscure, vntilled, poore, and reduced into streight limits, yet *Alphons Henry*, sonne vnto this first Earle, did greatly augment it by his valiant exploits, taking many places from the Moores by force, against whom hauing woone a great victorie, in a pitched battaile, he was proclaimed King by his soldiours, in a place called Campo d'Ourique; and following his victorie, woone Saint Arém and Lisbone, remaining peaceable Lord of the Realme; he had the title of King confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the fourth, for a certaine small tribute. Their first king which succeeded him, named *Alphonso* the thirde; did no lesse augment it by another meanes:

For

For hauing (before his comming to the Crowne) married with *Matilda* Countesse of Boloigne in Picardie, being now in possession of the Realme, he put her away of his owne proper motion, and without cause, taking to wife *Beatrice*, bastard daughter to *Alphonso*, the tenth King of Castill surnamed the wise, to haue in dowrie with her (as indeed he had) the kingdome of *Algarues*. So as their lymits being extended as they be at this present, and the Moores subdued, who kept them in martiall exercise, they began since to make war with the Kings of Castill, although their Dominions were alwaies greater then the Portugals; the which they did so often and with such obstinacie, that these nations all of one continent, issued from one stocke, & of one language, were enflamed one against the other with so mortall a hatred, that it remaineth euen vntill this daie, but more with the Portugals then the Spaniards. And although these late warres did breede them more honor then profit; yet were they not without some vtilitie; for that this continuall exercise did maintaine them in discipline and keepe them from delights and idlenes, capitall enemies to any State. Since which time they haue not remained idle, but (inured vnto war) wonne vnto themselues some honour vnder *Iohn* the first, at the perswasion of *Henry* his sonne, they laboured to take from the Moores certaine places in Affricke, the which succeeded happily. For in time they became Maisters in Mauritania Tingitana of the townes of Ceute, Tanger and Arzilla; (and this is that auncient Zillia) and other places; which since they haue either lost, or abandoned to the Moores (as they did Arzilla) being of great charge and small profit. They onely maintained and defended the two first, and built towards the West, Mazagon, being seated at the mouth of *Hercules* straites; for holding those places the Moores should not harbor so neere vnto Spaine, but they serue, as a buckler vnto that Prouince. By reason of these euent they extended their hopes yet further, so as the Ilands of Madera, not farre distant, and the Terceres, lying from Lishbone 850. miles, in the fortie degree of latitude (then vtilld and uninhabited) were by them discouered and peopled: And not yet content (especially the said *Henry*, who aspiring to higher matters, though with lesse hope then the effect which followed) they began (sailing through the Ocean) to coast Affricke, searching new countries and nations: So as

running along that coast by the space of many yeeres, they went on so far, that comming to the other Hemisphere, they discovered all Ethiopia. And although *Alphonso* the fifth of that name, and the twelfth King renewed the war against the Spaniard, yet did they not discontinue their nauigation, to their great good; but in the end hauing made peace with the catholique King *Ferdinand*, in the yeere of our Lord 1479. they had more leisure to think of their new conquest. It is worth the obseruing, that in capitulations then made, it was particularly specified, that the peace was concluded for a hundreth yeeres and one; naming alwaies a certaine for an vncertaine: But this prooued a prophesie: for it continued iust a hundreth yeeres & one; for so much time passed from those wars vnto this which I vndertake to write: if the words of the Treatie agree with the qualitie of the euent. The Realme was greatly strengthened both with people and wealth, and since encreased more; when as *Ferdinand* and *Isabell*, King and Queene of Castill, in the yeere 1482. expelled the Iewes out of their Dominions being then in great numbers: they agreed with *John* the second, successor to *Alphonso* the fifth, and obtained libertie (paying eight duckats for euerie person) to enter into his countrey, vpon condition to depart at a certaine time prefixed, and that the King should appoint them shipping to transport them. So as vpon those conditions (which were not fully obserued) there entered about 20000. families, and in euery one ten persons at the least: the time of their departure expired, and not performed, many remained slaues; others either vnwilling to depart, or to loose their goods were baptized, as the rest had done that remayned in Castill. So as vnder the name of new Christians, the greatest part remayned in Portugall vnknown; being vndistinguished, and allyed for money with some Noblemen of the countrey; they laboured to be admitted for citizens: And although (according vnto reason of State) this manner of peopling were not good, being of a nation different in blood and law, the which in multiplying might cause an important diuision, being many in number; yet brought it great profit to the Crowne. Since in the time of *Emanuel* the fourteenth King, who began to raigne in the yeere 1495. they continued their new nauigation, with greater seruencie, and more quiet: For the Castillians being growen mightier by meanes of the forces annexed to their

Crowne,

Crowne, and hauing by new alliances drawen vnto them the loue of the Portugales, the one durst no more contend, & the other suffered them to liue in peace. His predecessors hauing many yeeres coasted along Affricke, they built a fort at Argin; tooke the Islands of Hesperides, which now are called Cape-Vert; fortified the Castle of Saint George in Ethiopia, which they call Mina; discovered the Princes Island, and that of Saint Thomas, which lyeth perpendicularly vnder the Equinoctiall, with certaine smal Ilands thereabouts, they became Lords ouer all. And passing further, they entred into league with the Realmes of Congo, and Angolla, all Moores; hauing passed the great Cape of * *Buena Esperança*, and the Island of Saint Laurence, ^{* Of good hope.} right against it vpon the mayne land they became Lords of Soffolla, Mozambique, and Melynde: where according to the humours and qualitie of the people; they had won some by loue, & some by force; although for the most part where they set footing, they preuailed by Armes. In the time of the said *Emanuel* they passed the mouth of the red sea, traffiquing at Socotra, & Calahiate, they did run through the Persian gulph, and (hauing passed the mouth of the riuer Indus) they entred into India, where first by traffique, & after by force, they landed at Calecut, Cochin, and other places thereabouts; but more strongly then in any other place vnder the conduct of *Alphonso Albuquerque*, a famous captaine at Goa, a small Iland in the Realme of Accen, neere vnto the countrey of Idalcan, the which is now a citie with an Archbishopricke, chiefe of that State, where the Vizeroy maketh his ordinarie aboad. They haue gone along all that coast building small fortresses, and hauing turned backe to the mouth of the said gulph, they are become Maisters of the Ile of Ormus; and along that coast haue conquered the cities of Chaul, Damane, Bazain, and Diu. Vpon the point of the coast of Mallabar (which they call the Cape of Comery) turning towards the gulph of Gangis, they haue traffique, and fortresses in the Ile of Zeilan; which some take to bee the ancient Taptobana, where groweth the best Cinnamom. And hauing passed the said gulph towards the East, & the mouth of Gangis, they discovered the other coast, at the point whereof (which the ancient call the golden Chersonesse) they became Lords of the towne of Malaca, fiue and twentie miles from the great Iland of Somatra (held also of some for Taprobana.) And passing on further,

not

not onely by their traffique, in the Realme of Pegu, and other countries vpon the firme lande; but also by their nauigation, they haue discouered the greater and lesser Iaua, the kingdome of China, the great sea of the Isles of the Molucques, from whence come all the Cloues and Nutmegs, with many other drugs, the Ile of Iappon: To conclude, they haue sayled on so far as they haue met in those quarters with the Castillians that came to the Conquest of the West Indies, discouered by *Christopher Columbus* a Geneuoys, in the name of the Kings of Castill. Of late daies some by these two nauigations haue compassed the whole world, and ioyned East to West: They haue also in the time of Emanuell conquered (opposite to Ethiopia, and to the Cape of * *Buena esperança*) the prouince which they cal S. a Croix, commonly called Brazill, ioyning to Peru, running 1500. miles in length, yet stretcheth it not far into the maine land: they haue deuided it into eight parts, which they call Captaine-ships, and haue in a manner giuen it to those that haue conquered it, reseruing to the King the greatest part of the iurisdiction. And although for a time it did seeme of small profit, so as the criminall Iudges of Portugall did, and doe yet still, confine and banish thither theeues, murtherers, and such like malefactors; yet being fertile, it is greatly inhabited, so as at this day there are great dwellings and manie buildings for sugars. The principall townes be the Bay of Alfaints and Pernanbuc: All these countries of new conquest (whereof we haue made mention) are rich, and of great importance, from thence commeth yeerely (as we haue said) into Portugall, ships laden with sugars, spice, drugs, stones, with many other precious things and of great value. And to say the truth, this nation is woorthie of great praise; that hauing but a small and barren countrey, they haue made themselues equall (by the good institutions, frugalitie, and vertue of some of their Kings) not onely to all the kingdomes of Spaine: but haue gloriously maintained war against Castil, a Realme far more rich and mightie, then that of Portugall, and their other neighbours. They haue shewed the like vertue, nay rather greater, far from home, as well in Affricke, as at the Indies, hauing not onely perfourmed so woonderfull a nauigation, as was held in the beginning by the wisest to be rash and foolish; but also giuen such testimonie of their Armes in those parts, that the writers hold many of
their

* Of good
 hope.

their deeds to be miraculously performed; by reason of the inequality wherewith they were attempted, hauing shewed themselves in fight at sea, and defending of forts, more valiant than in any thing else. And besides the conquest of so great an empire, in so long and large a sea, as we haue written; it hath caused an other good of greater importance for Christian religion; the which is now planted in all those countries: So as whole Realnies which were Idolatrous, are now obedient to the Apostolique Sea (to the great commendation of the Iesuits, whom in that countrey they call Apostles) who haue and doe still maintaine a spirituall war. Notwithstanding the Portugals who for the space of 460. yeeres had beene busied in these glorious attempts, who had planted their crosses in the farthest bounds of the East, whereas the name of Christ was not yet knowen; they haue not since followed the steps begunne, but contented with the weake borders of the Indian seas, they haue not pearst into the maine lande, but (corrupted with the pleasures of the people, and enriched with the traffique of marchandize) they haue beene content to enioy their gettings, not acknowledging the benefite of the giuer of graces: and hauing conuerted the militarie reuenewes of Comma-dries into pleasures, they became idle and vaine; attributing to themselves the honors and ceremonies which faithfull Christians reserve vnto God: they liued long in this estate; yet in good opinion of the worlde. This corruption and weakenes of the Realme brought in by the delights of Asia, was in the education of king *Sebastian* discouered, and reiected by the Iesuits; who as religious men, desired and laboured much to reforme it: But they applied not fit medicines for so languishing a body, not considering the impossibilitie sodainly to reclaime a whole people alreadie corrupted with libertie, to the extreame rigor and sparingnes of these Fathers. A hard matter to performe not onely in a kingdome; but also in the precinct of their monasteries: Whereupon they made sumptuarie lawes, and especially vpon victuals; which the auncient Spartaines could hardly haue tolerated: They did specify what meates were allowed, and what defended, distinguished wherein eterie man should employ his money, taking from them in a manner all that came from forraine countries, were they for profite or pleasure: So as these violent remedies, prooued not onely vnprofitable and ridiculous, but did con-

firm

firm the opinion of such, as hold that Clergie men are as vncapable to gouerne in politique affaires, as secular magistrates be in ecclesi- call causes : but God (when he meaneth to punish (taketh away mans vnderstanding, and giueth him an ouerweening spirit, euen so did he with the Portugals, sending them chastisements for their offences, committed in time of prosperitie; or by his secret iudgements, when as they thought themselues most secure, their fall was the greater being in their greatest glorie. For this nation the proudest in the world, in this last warre of Affrick, became slaues vnto the Arabians and Moores; and being free, in a short time by their warre against the Castillians, were conquered by them, whom they holde for their capitall enemies.

*The life of
king Seba-
stian.*

The afflictions of this Realme tooke their beginning in the twen- tieth yeere of the age of *Sebastian*, who (borne after the death of his father, & a little before the decease of his grandfather) (by entreaties, and to the fatall ruine of his subiects) strong of body, and of a cou- ragious minde, full of ouerweening, (the which is a naturall vice in Portugals, not content with his owne dominions) resolu'd (as it were by force) to alter the quiet, which his Realme had so long enjoy'd. And although it seem'd hard of execution, being inuironed with the territories of *Phillip* of Austria King of Spaine, his deare friend and kinsman, more mightie than himselfe, with whom he might not con- tend, nor passe by land into any other countrey. But as it is easie to perish for him that is desperate, he let him vnderstande the excessiue desire he had to ruine himselfe & all his. He had first plotted a warre against the Indians, which his kinsmen and subiects woulde not con- sent vnto. But as there was some difficultie wholie to withdrawe the yoong Prince (who had a warlike spirite) from this enterprise; such as were neere about him laboured to diuerte him by meanes of an other which they laide before him, turning all his resolutions vpon Affrick to indomage the Moores which liue in that part which is cal- led Mauritania Tingitana, whereas the Portugals maintaine (to their great charge) vpon the borders of the Sea, those three forena- med fortresses, Ceute, Tanger, and Mazagon, the buckler and key of Spaine; by which the Moores haue heeretofore conquered it. But this diuersion whereunto they perswaded the King, was cause of great ruines, proceeding from want of iudgement; for although it
were

were hard wholie to dissuade him from the enterprise of the Indies, and therefore conuenient to represent vnto him some other action; yet shoulde they aduisedly haue foreseene, not to drawe him from one mischiese to thrust him into a greater. But these men diuerted him from an enterprise farre off, and of hard execution, by representing vnto him a neerer, easier to effect, but more perillous. And although they surmized he would not haue vndertaken it but with deliberation, yet shoulde they not haue giuen too much confidence to his yoong age, for the which the Iesuits were greatly blamed, who hauing planted their religion in this Realme more then in any other of the worlde, and with more zeale, as enemies to the enemies of God, they did encourage this yoong Prince (whom Queene *Katherine* had giuen to them in charge) to this enterprise with carefull instructions, the which as then they might easily effect: But finding the King soone after readie to execute it with rashnes, they had no more the credite to diuert him being in disgrace. So as this yoonge King bred vp amongst women, religious persons, delights and pleasures, had a more bould and warlike spirite, then if he had beene borne and nourished in the middest of armies. He raised certaine troupes of footemen of his people of Lisbone, whom he did inrowle and traine vp to the Pike and Harquebuse, sending them once a weeke to the fiede to practise, with intent to vse them when neede shoulde require.

The which he staid not long to effect: For in the yeere 1574. he *Sebastians* assembled (against the will of the wisest) certaine of his souldiers, and *first voyage* with fower gallies and certaine ships and caruels passed into *into Affrick* Affrick, vnder colour to visite his Fortes; although in his minde he had a desire to do more then he spake, and as yoong and without experience, thought to effect more then he did. Being arriued in those countrie, he onely discouered, finding his owne weakenesse, but in light skirmishes, which are made daily vpon those frontires with the Moores: he shewed himselfe most willing to be in person, vexing himselfe when he coulde not do as he desired; but as a royall person it behoued him to containe himselfe within the tearmes of grauitie; the which hee often exceeded. Hee returned soone to Lisbone, still deuising with himselfe some newe manner of warre, and was so disquieted and carefull in his conceite, that he neither saide nor did any thing

thing that tended to other end, deuising not as a king, but as a priuate souldier, to accustome his body to labour, seeming vnto him by this meanes to make himselfe more strong and better able to endure the discommodities of warre. This inclination (wherein the hea-uens had some part) was not gainesaid by any of his chiefe Counsell, nor kinsmen of riper age, who might haue dissuaded him, and drawn him to haue enioyed his Realme: For although the action seemed rash, yet ambition and feare of the Kings disgrace were of such force, that the Nobles, Magistrates, and great persons (who might haue forced him) durst not open their mouthes, nor oppose themselues against his will: and if any one did mutter or speake to the contrary, they were men of base qualitie, and not admitted.

The Cardinall *Henry* his vnckle, brother to *John* the thirde his grand-father, and Queene *Katherine* (in whom flatterie shoulde finde no place) had small credite with the King, neither did they vse the authoritie they might haue had, both fearing they shoulde not preuaile; but loose (with the Kings disgrace) the small commandement was yet remaining in them; so as by a fatall silence they suffered this yoong Prince to returne the second time into Affrick, with apparant perill: wherein *Peter D'Alcazona* was a chiefe actor, who ha- uing before time beene Secretarie of the Realme, and Counsellour of the State, greatly fauoured of King *John*, and Queene *Katherine*, was now disgraced, and put from his places when as the Cardinall *Henry* gaue the gouernment to King *Sebastian*, the which hapued more by emulation, and for that the Cardinall woulde settle a newe forme, and plant newe officers, in the managing of the affaires, then for any faults that were imputed vnto him, were they true or false.

„ But in the declining of fauorites it alwaies chanceth, that faults serue
 „ rather to iustifie the ambition of an other then the offenders punish-
 „ ment: And in these afflictions he had liued content, for being wise,
 and rich, he had borne his aduersitie with a constant courage, still
 expecting some meanes to returne into his place and dignitie; the
 which fell out easily by the practise and industrie of another. For
Martin Gonzales de Camera his competitour, hauing succeeded him in
 his offices, with some other depending of the Iesuites, whom the Car-
 dinall sought to bring in, they had no lesse conflict with their enemies
 then *Peter* had with his, for that *Aluaro de Castro* fauorite to the king,
 of

of a contrarie faction, with some of his friendes (desiring seerely to withdraw the Kings affection from *Martin* and his partie) tooke occasion to effect it, when as the King was at Cape Saint *Vincent*, whither he went in Sommer to satisfie the desire he had to go to sea, making him beleue (and it may be not without cause) that *Martin* and the fathers (as men ignorant in matters of State, & of the wealth of Princes) had wasted the treasure of the Crowne, and cut off the meanes, for all such enterprizes as he might execute, by their lawes made vpon the changes of money : the which if they did not reuoke, it were impossible to effect his glorious designs. This was a deadly blowe; yet did they adde one more of greater moment, giuing the King to vnderstande (being yoong and high minded) that he was oppressed by them, that they ruled in effect, and he in shew; and they passed on so farre, that they caused a Secretarie of the chamber well fauoured of the King, and a great talker, (presenting him one day with a commandement of small importance to signe) to say vnto him that he might boldly subscribe it, for that hee was king vntill he shoulde returne to Lisbone: so as mingling sport with truth, they drew this yoong Prince from the affection he bare to the ministers which had beene giuen him by the Queene and Cardinall; and changed the doctrine wherein he had beene nourished. But *Peter D'Alcasoua* reapt the whole fruite thereof, for the King being estranged from his enemies, and the lawes made by them reuoked, *Aluaro de Castro* the author thereof died, none of his faction remaining saue *Emanuel Quaresmia*, who had the office which they call *Dispaccio*, of great importance, beeing Controwler of the Kings rewardes, who hauing neither experience, nor authoritie to maintaine himselfe long in this degree, nor yet iudgement to contend with *Alcasoua*, the said *Peter* laid holde of this occasion, to recouer his former place: And to effect it the more safely, he married *Lewes* his eldest sonne, with the daughter of *Christopher de Tauora*, a great fauorite of *Sebastians*. Being thus returned into fauour with the king, he easily maintained it, seconding his humours, in making the meanes easie to recouer money, and unfolding all doubts for the execution of his enterprise: by reason whereof he made him Chamberlaine, or rather *Veador de Hazenda*, a place of greater countenance then the other, imploying him in most important affaires. And although his cunning did somewhat assist

the King in his determinations, yet was there another occasion presented which made his hopes increase, which was this.

Long time before there died in Affrick *Mulei Mahamet Cheriffe*, he who had vnited the Kingdome of Feez, Marroc and Turedant, the which he had alwais possessed, deuided with his brother *Mulei Hamet*: It seemes that these (whiles they liued quietly together) made a law, that al the children that suruiued after their decease, should succeed in the kingdome before any one of the nephewes should enioy the succession; so as to the yongest vncl should succeed the eldest nephew: yet after their decease, although they left many children, the greatest part thereof (euen as it hapned vnto their fathers) died by the sword, or were strangled in prison, for the icalouisie of State, by the commandemēt of *Abdala*, one of the sonnes of *Mahamet*, who succeeded his father, & raigned xvij. yeres, the most happie & peaceable Prince that euer that countrey enioied. This man although he were cruel, yet did he refraine from murthuring his three brethren; it may be for that they were very children, when he came to the succession; but growing to more yeeres, they fell to distrust him: so as two of them fled to the Turke; the thirde tooke his way by lande and went to liue amongst the Arabians. And although the lawe had decreed that the next brother shoulde succeed to the Crowne, yet *Abdala* resolved to swear his eldest sonne *Mahamet* his successour, which being performed, sodainly this newe Prince practised against his vncl, sending a Moore to Tremisenne to kill the eldest, who was detained by the Turkes, the which he did effect; wounding him with a dart in the *Mezquita*. This act did greatly trouble the other brother *Mulei Moluc*, yoong and of great hope, who (remaining at *Algier*) demaunding succours in vaine from *Philip* King of Spaine, by the meanes of *Rodorike Alphonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, then Viceroy of Valencia; here resolved to goe seeke it at Constantinople, where he attended long with patience; exclaiming against his kindred, and not obtaining that which he demaunded, till in the end (hauing giuen an honorable testimonie of himselfe in the last sea fight at Nauarin, betwixt the armies of the league and Turke, and at the taking of *Gollette*) he obtained three thousand souldiers of the Turke for this conquest; vpon certaine conditions that were not obserued. With these forces and his Moores that followed him, which wanted not in
Affrick,

Affrick, he entred his Nephewes kingdome (for his brother was now dead) and defeated threc armies, whereof the last (which seemes woonderfull) consisted of threescore thousand horse, and ten thousand foote, and tooke absolute possession of the Realmes, living with great reputation both of the Moores and Christians. *Mulei Mahamet* being in this manner expelled his countrey, he fled to Pignori of Velay, a fortresse which the Catholique king holdes in Affrick, and from thence by the counsell (as they say) of a *Renegado*, he sent his ambassadors to the said King, letting him vnderstand of his disgrace, and crauing aide to be restored to his estate. Whereunto the Catholique King hauing made no answer conformable to the desires of the Moore, being gone to Ceuta, he did the like office with King *Sebastian*, shewing vnto him, that by this occasion he shoulde easilie make himselfe Emperour of Marocco. The yoong Prince fedde with this vaine hope, seemed nowe to haue a lawfull subiect to make warre, whereon he resolved, and to succour the Moore *Mahamet*. He propounded this to his Counsell, laboring to proue that it was both profitable and honorable, whereunto (although there were some of contrarie aduise, laying before him that he was without heires, that Christians shoulde rather imploy their armes against heretikes then Infidels, that his forces alone were too feeble for so great an action, strengthening their reasons with many examples: notwithstanding as Princes blinded with their owne desires, will not allow the mishaps and disgraces of an other, issuing from their ill measured Counsell, to serue them as examples of better aduise; there was neither reason nor example could preuaile against the Kings opinion, but fortified in his resolution by many (who either for their owne particular, or for want of iudgement) did counsell him to warre, it was concluded.

And although his owne weakenes was vnknowne vnto himselfe; yet was he aduised by others to take a companion, and to draw the Catholique King into this action, believing it were easily performed: the State of Affrick being of greater importance for his kingdome which was adioining to it then for Portugall. He desired greatly to marrie, to haue issue (although his Phisicians feated much he was vn- able for generation) and woulde willingly haue taken one of the daughters of the Catholique King, whereof they had giuen him an assured

*Sebastians
enterview
with Phillip
at Guada-
lupa.*

assured hope: for these two causes he desired to enter parle with him, sending *Peter D'Alcasoua* as Embassadour vnto him, with commandement to treat of three points, that is, for aide in the action of Affrick; for the marriage of his daughter, and for an enteruiew. The Embassador departed, and effected with great diligence the charge his maister had giuen him: and hauing attended some time in this court, he obtained all three, the promise of marriage with one of his daughters, when she shoulde come to yeeres, for as yet they were too yoong; That the Catholique King should goe to Guadalupa to meete with King *Sebastian*: And as for succours he shoulde furnish men & galleies, to vndertake the enterprize of Alarache, the which was spoken very coldly. For the Catholique King knowing the Portugals to presume beyond their strength, and holding it nothing safe to vndertake this action of Affrick without great forces, he laboured what he could by letters to temper this heare, disswading him with many reasons (if not from the enterprize) at the least not to go himselfe in person: but this yoong Prince resting immoueuable in his counsels, and most obstinate in his opinion, did still importune him by letters. *Phillip* confirmed the succours of men and galleis, so as the Turke should sende no men into Italy, and that they shoulde vndertake Alarache in the yeere 1577. the whole being referred vnto their enteruiew at Guadalupa. The Embassadour returnes home more faouored then euer, seeming to haue effected more then was thought or looked for: In both Courts they make no great delaies, but take their way for Guadalupa, where both kings arriue with no great traines, but with the chiefe Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Realmes: There the Portugals (who arriued last) were receiued with great shewes of loue, finding in all places of Castill, where they passed, the kings expresse commandement to receiue him of Portugall as his owne proper person, so as at Badagios and in other places, where he past, the chiefe men went to meete him, the prisons were opened, and he conducted to his lodging vnder a cloth of estate. The Catholique King rooke great pleasure to see yoong *Sebastian*, whom he entertained as his host, laying aside all tearmes fitte for a greater King, entreating each other equally in maiestie, talking particularly of the warre, being both profitable and honorable for the Realmes of Spaine. The Catholique King did not disswade him, yet

he aduised him not to goe in person, excusing himselfe that he could giue no great succour, by reason of the continuall charge he was put to in Italy to resist the Turke : but *Sebastian* being fully resolu'd to goe, and admitting no excuse, *Phillip desirous* to please him, accorded with him in this sort. That the generall opinion being, and especially of the Duke of Alua, that this action would require 15000. foote, not Portugals, but of other nations, trained vp in warre, deuidd into Italians, Germanes, & Spaniards; that the king of Portugall should entertaine ten thousand, and the Catholique King five thousand, furnishing the enterprize with fiftie galleis; (alwaies prouided, if the Turke sent not an armie into Italy) and that they should goe vnto Allarache, without entring into the maine land, and this to be attempted in the yeere 1577 otherwise he should not be bound to any thing. This treatie being ended, euery one returned from whence he came.

In Portugall they made slowe preparatiues to warre, and in the first beginning their money failed them; for that the reuenues of the Crowne are small, and ill imploied. The whole Realme vpon the maine land yeelding but a million, and one hundreth thousand duckets a yeere: The greatest part in customes (the which be vnreasonable) paying for all things twentie in the hundreth except fish, which paieth the one halfe. The new found lands, as Saint Thomas, Myna, Brazil, and the Indies yeeld but a million at the most, which makes in all two millions and one hundreth thousand duckats, which comes to the Crowne: And although the Indies yeelde one other million of rent, yet make they neither receipt nor painment thereof, being wholly retained there for the entertaining of armies and garrisons. Of these two millions and a hundteth thousand duckats; there remaines nothing at the yeeres end in Court, and if the King vse any liberalitie, his charge exceeds the reuenues; for that they receiue without order, and spende without measure: For these Kings were neuer so happie as to be serued with men of iudgement, and discretion; who could order the reuenues and expences; but giuing the charge alwaies vnto Noblemen, who were aduanced thereunto by fauour, and not by merite, (an ordinarie custome in that countrey) they studied to maintaine themselues in that throne by other meanes, letting the reuenues of the Crowne goe as it would. So as what in wages of officers, rents, created, recompence for life, priuiledges (which they

*Preparation
for the war
of Affrick.*

they call *Giuros*) sold by him, entertaining of Fortresses in Affrick, preparation of nauies, and expences of the Court, all is spent. They went therefore seeking heere and there for money, forcing the people to contribute, and the chiefe Citizens extraordinarily: for although they gathered much by this meanes, yet they did draw vpon them the curses and exclamations of the people, being most affectionate and obedient to their King; but nothing preuailed against the burning desire of officers. They exacted from the Clergie the thirde part of their reuenues, whereunto they would not yeeld: yet seeing the Pope yeelded vnto the Kings affections, they granted a hundreth and fiftie thousand duckats. They granted vnto the new Christians paying two hundreth & fise & twentie thousand duckats (that which before had been for a time granted & often since denied) that for sinning against the Inquisition they shoulde not loose their goods as they did. They imposed a newe custome vpon the salt, and exacted money from the Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of the Realme, against their auncient customes; many being by this meanes vniustly vexed. Amongst other Noblemen, the King sent to *Frauncis de Melo*, Earle of Tentuguel, who excusing himselfe, did write vnto the King, with greater libertie then possible reason woulde allowe: For noting greatly the demand of money, which they had made vnto him, as vniust, he said, it agreed not with the verrues with which his highnes was indued; neither did it seeme reasonable, that they whose fathers had beene helpers to conquer the Realme, shoulde be subiect to the impositions and tributes, which are paid for the warres, whereof many of meauer qualitie were exempt. He laide the blame of these demands vpon the sinnes of the Realme, but much more vpon such fauorites as the King had about him, of whom he complained; he produced the example of that fatall chaunce, which hapned at Tanger, to *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, somes to King *John* the first, seeking to make warres against the Moores at the peoples charge, who ought in reason to pay rather then Gentlemen: inferring thereby that hee could attend no better successe of the action the King now tooke in hand, being at their charge, who had neuer contributed, although the Realme by reason of warres had beene seene in greater necessitie then at that present, he concluded (beseeching the King to consider better what he did, and to imitate the example of his auncestors,

and

and not to leaue a woorse of himselfe to his successors.) This letter, which the King read with disdain, freed the Earle and many others from the contribution of money, seeking by other meanes (but chiefly by the blood of the poore) to supplie their wants. And to the end there might be greater plentie of money within the Realme, he commanded that the Royals of Castill, which before were defended, should be now currant, valuing them a ninth part more then they were accustomed, which many noted as ominous. The King began now to draw his men oftner to fiede, putting them into squadrons, to come to encounters, and to counterfaiete all that which is acted in warre, where he himselfe was often present, in danger of his person, in the midst of their harquebuzes, yet had he neither Capitaine nor Sergeant that could instruct them, onely one *John de Gama*, who in the habite of an Hermit, became a great master of the warre. So as notwithstanding the great paine they tooke in this exercise in manner forced, hauing neuer seene any thing, they remained more ignorant then at the beginning. The King gaue himselfe much to hunting, accounting it a glory to encounter with the most furious beasts, wherein he grew very expert: If he went (as he did often) for pleasure from one place to another, either by sea, or vpon the riuer of Tagus, he thought it a shame to go in calme weather, but still attended some storme whereby it seemed that some furious destinie lead him headlong to his end. But in the meane space time steales away, necessarie prouisions want, and all things proceed slowly forward. They must prouide money in Italy, to leuie the Italian foote-men, and to pay the Germaines: but the Pepper whereby it shoulde be raised, was come but that sommer to Lisbone, from whence it should be sent by the merchant's ships to Liorno, there to be solde. This enterprize, the which (for that they sought to do it with little money, we may tearme vndiscreet) was now almost made impossible, and *Peter D'Alcazoua* (who was Chamberlaine, and had charge of the treasure) durst not discouer the defects vnto the King, fearing his displeasure, if he should now contradict that which before he had allowed: He did still temporize with hope, that the Catholique King shoulde excuse himselfe from furnishing the men, whereunto he was bound, vpon colour of sending an armie into Italy against the Turks, or for some other pretext, the which he greatly desired, that the whole

whole blame might fall vpon *Phillip*: neither was he without hope, for the exceptions vnder which he had promised, made him beleue that which fell out otherwise. In the meane time *Mulei Moluck* hearing of these preparatiues, fearing the Catholique king should ioyne with the Portugals, sent wisely vnto him to will him aduise what part of his Territories he pleased to haue, the which he would giue to be his friend and confederate. The King presently let *Sebastian* vnderstand his offer, aduising that it were a matter of consequence to keepe the Moore in hope and to send vnto him to expound his meaning, the which must needs be profitable, seeing that practizes are no suspensions of armes, whereof there might grow some good effect; for possiblie the Moore would neglect his defence, or yeeld that quietly which they pretended to take from him by force: but this yoong King, who knew not how much better an assured peace were, then an expected victorie, and who desired rather to winne by force, then by agreement, any place whatsoeuer, pressed the Catholique King not to treat any accord with *Moluck*. But *Phillip* knowing *Sebastians* designes seeing him neither willing to accord, nor able to perfourme the enterprife, the which was likely to be broken, he laboured to effect it himselfe; and seeing sommer now come, and neither Italian nor Germaine souldiers in Porrugall, he made offer vnto him by *John de Sylua* his Embassadour, that if he were not prepared for the enterprife as it was conuenient, he woulde furnish both men and shipping, so as he should pay the two thirdes of the charges, according to the Treatie. But forasmuch as this offer was farre off from the marke, whereat the King of Portugall shot, it was neither heard nor accepted. And although the season of the yeare was now farre passed, and the preparatiues weake, (matters being concealed from *Sebastian*, who was abused by his ministers) yet he feared nothing, but that *Phillip* should excuse himselfe, and not keepe promise on his behalfe, which should make him vnable to performe the enterprife, whereof he was so desirous; so as he laboured to obtaine of him an assured promise of aide, without exception of the conning of the Turkes army, the which he secretly feared, and his ministers greatly hoped for, so were their mindes distracted. The Catholique King being aduertised heereof, seeming vnto him impossible to do any thing that were good, either to satisfie, or to withdraw himselfe from
the

the promise that he made, left it to the iudgement of his Embassador, to make offer vnto the King of the fifty galleis lent, & the fiue thousand foote, to be presently imploied (if neede were) according to the Treatie; but he should haue a speciall care not offer them; if he did see any impossibilitie to imploie them, being vnwilling to hazard his forces alone without such as the King of Portugall was bound to leuie: Vpon this offer which the Embassador had made, *Sebastian* being come to himselfe, and casting vp his reckonings, he found himselfe vnable that yeere to passe into Affrick, by reason whereof he caused proclamation to be made, that the enterprise should be deferred vntill the next yeere: *Philip* a little before (being mouued with the practises of this warre,) had sent Captaine *Frauncis D'Aldana* diguised into Affrick to viewe the townes and fortresses vpon the sea coast, who (being in great danger) returned. This man he sent to *Sebastian*, who receiuing many fauours, he informed him particularly of the state of Affrick: And although *Aldana* made the enterprise more difficult then he supposed, yet could he no way discourage him; but laying aside that discourse, he inquired secretly of him (as of an expert souldiour) of many things touching the gouernment of Armies, wherein *Aldana* did amply satisfie him. The King now beleeuing he should be well able to execute all he vnderstood, not knowing the difference betwixt saying and doing; the winter come, he gaue *Aldana* leaue to depart, honouring him with a chaine of gold, of one thousand duckats, making him promise to returne when he should need his seruice.

In this meane time for the yeere following *Sebastian* (by the meanes of *Gomez de Sylua*, his Embassadour at Rome) treated with the great Duke of Tuscane, to leuie in his Territories three or fower thousand foote, accepting in part the offer which the great Duke had made vnto him, not long before by his Embassadors; but the effect followed not. He sent likewise *Sebastian de Costa* into Flaunders to *William* of *Nassau* Prince of Orange (who being chosen head of the Flemmings against the Catholique King, commanded in those parts) entreating him to assist him with three or fower thousand Germanes: He likewise dispatched fower coronels throughout his Realme of Portugall, to leuie twelue thousand foote; and those were *Michael de Norogna*, *James Lopez de Sequeira*, *Frauncis de Tauora*, and *Vasco de Silueira*, the which had neuer bene at the warres. He assembled some Spaniards
which

which came at the brute of warres, and of this voyage, whereof he gathered a good number, without the consent of *Philip*, and in Castill it selfe without any noise of drum he enrolled many souldiers for this warre, which caused *Philip* to punish some Captaines afterwarde: But notwithstanding all these goodly shewes, no man beleued it would take effect, for besides they did esteeme the Kings forces, too feeble to attempt any warre, much more beyond the sea, (whereas the charge would be greater) they did conceiue that when the Catholique King, the Cardinall *Henry*, Queene *Katherine*, and the people, should see all lets taken away, they would not suffer the King to go in person, which made euery man suppose that after the expence of much mony, it would vanill to nothing, as it had hapned the last yeere, and some yeeres before, with the armie of *Edward* the Kings vncle, prepared for the same Countries of *Affrick*, and some other enterprises. But forasmuch as we can hardly resist the diuine powers, it seemed that all things did second the effect of this enterprise: the Queene (a Ladie of bountie and great value) who as well for the loue she bare vnto the King, being bred in her bosome; as to content *Philip* her nephew, who was the sonne of her brother, did vehemently dissuade this enterprise, she died. The Pope forasmuch as this warre was attempted against Infidels, giuing succours in time of need, opened his spirituall treasures, granting the Bull of the *Croy-sada*, which till that time was not brought into the Realme. The ships of the Indies returned home to a safe Port very rich. The Prince of Orange although he were sufficiently busied in the low Countries, yet shewing how little he esteemed the forces of the Catholique King, graunted out of his troupes the three thousand foote, which were demanded; so as all things seemed to yeeld vnto the Kings wil. All that time which was the ninth of Nouember, there appeared in the Zodiaque, in the signe of *Libra*, uere vnto the station of *Mars*, the goodliest & greatest Comet, that hath beene scene in many ages, the which happening in the progresse of this war, amazed many, who looking to examples past, said it was a signe of vnhappy successe, and that coming from a corrupt aire; it did endamage the delicat bodies of Princes. And for as much as the auncient Captaines with their diuines, did interpret it to good, not for that they beleued it, but to encourage their souldiers: the Portugall likewise taking it for a fauour
said,

said, that this Comet spake vnto the King, saying, *Accometa*, which is to say in the Portugall toong: let him assaile them, not hauing any such beliefe, but for flatterie, fearing more the Kings cholet, by reason of his rough inclination, then the heauens.

Philip at that time by a certaine treatie of peace had pacified the war of the Low-Countries, where *Don Iohn de Austria* his bastard brother was gouernour, who seeming not absolute Master of the people, and the Prince of Orange his aduersarie not well satisfied, desiring rather to be Lord of all, then gouernor of a part, they began new practizes against the conuentions agreed on. And *Don Iohns* letters being surprised, (the which he had written into Spaine,) by the Lords of the countrey they discouered, that vpon the Princes fortifying of some places in Holland, he had an other intention then he made shew of, who finding his letters surprised and his purposes laid open, desirous (as he said) to subdue them by armes, he thought it not safe to remaine vnarmed in those parts: So as one day seeming to goe take the aire, he retired himselfe to Namur, vpon the frontire of Flanders, towards Lorraine, with his greatest fauorites, and there discouering his minde, and dismissing such as he trusted not, he suddenly called backe the Spanish foot (the which according to the Articles of peace) were departed, and scarce arriued in Italie; and hauing made a newe leuie of Wallons and Germanes, the warre began in those parts more cruell then before, and with greater disaduantage for the King: for that in the conformitie of the treatie of pacification, they had left all the fortresses in the hands of the Flemmings. By reason of these new broiles, & for that the war of Affrick was deferred a yeere more then was agreed on, the Catholike King framed an excuse to denie his promised succours to the King of Portugall, shewing that it behooued him to prouide in Flanders for his honour, and the safety of his brother; hoping by this meanes to diuert him from the enterprise, but it preuailed nothing: for the other being rash, resolved in any sort to vndertake it, whether he had his expected succours or not, thinking (being yoong) with his owne forces and the Italians and Germanes which hee attended, to bee able to conquer the worlde. This resolution displeas'd *Philip* and did much afflict him, for being vnable to assist him, he feared that without his aide the day would be perillous, and seeing the danger increafe, he continued these good offices

offices with more vehemencie, either to breake off the enterprife, or at least to diffwade him from going in person: whereupon he did write many letters of his owne hand full of loue; he caused the Duke of Alua to write vnto him, and in the end sent the Duke of Medina Celi (one of the greatest in Spaine) to doe his last endeuour to diuert him; but all was in vaine, he would attempt it at his owne cost, although the Catholike King sent him not one souldier. And for as much as good deedes are often taken in ill part, some saide that all these demonstrations of King *Philip* were but couëterfeit, & that he wished *Sebastian* should go, for howsoeuer it should succeed, he should receive a benefit thereby: if it happened he should take *Allarache* or any place vpon the coast, it were more aduantage to *Philip* then to him, hauing his Dominions fronting neerer to Affricke then the other; but if he should happen to die in these wars, a greater good should come vnto him, being heire vnto the Realme. But to say the truth, *Philip* was mooued to doe this office towards *Sebastian*, both of his owne quiet disposition (beeing no friend to broyles) as also for another priuate subiect, of no small importance, which was: At that time the Treatie of Truce was reuiued betwixt him and the Turke, whereunto both were mooued for one and the selfe same respect, not to diuide their forces at such time as they had most need of them to be vnited; the Turke against the Sophi, and the King against the Rebels in Flaunders: So as without infringing this Truce, the Catholike King could not send any Armie to endamage Affricke, being tributarie to the Turke, and especially of *Mulei Moluc* his friend and confederate. And this excuse was so much the more tolerable, for that he laboured to comprehend the King of Portugall within this truce, desiring him to enter into it, but he not onely refused it, but also answered, That he maruelled he would treat a peace for three yeeres with the Turke, to auoide war during that tearme in Italy, being most assured that Affrick should be replenished with Turkes, and the three yeeres expired, he should haue that war in Spaine, which now he sought to auoide in Italy: He did aduise him not to conclude; or if he would needes, not to comprehend him, to the end he might afterwards secretly assist him against *Mulei Moluc*: by meanes whereof with small charge he might assure himselfe of Italy by the truce, and of Affricke by war in the name of the Portugals. *Philip* disallowed of these friuolous

lous reasons, soliciting *Sebastian* to resolue himselve either to enter or be excluded: After some delaies he was contented to bee comprehended therein. But as these Treaties were in handling, he supposed it should not any wise hinder his enterprife of Affricke: And therefore they armed their gallions at Lisbone, they stayed merchants ships, they inrolled all their shipping throughout the Realme to transport men, horse, victuals, and munition, making readie other preparatiues: *Lewis Dataide* was named generall of this Action, but he did not exercise the charge with the authoritie due to the place, for as much as the King with *Peter D'alcajoua* and some other his favorites, resolued and gaue order for many things concerning the war, which belonged to the Generall to do, or at the least to consult of. But as he was not greatly pleasing vnto the King, although he were the most renowned of all the Portugals, so did he not follow this enterprife being sent Vizeroy to the Indies: *Diego de Sofa* was made Generall at the sea, *Christopher de Tauora* his Chamberlaine, and master of his horse (whom he loued entirely) was made commander of all the Nobilitie that should go into Affricke, and of many strangers that came by aduenture, giuing him the Title of Capraine of the Aduentures, by meanes whereof he was preferred before all the Nobilitie. And for that he could not make himselve equall with the Moore in horsemen; he resolued to fortifie himselve better with foote, commanding that no man should furnish himselve with horse, but such as he should appoint, the which should not be lightly armed, but barded, like to the ancient men of armes, so as many gentlemen that prepared to go on horsebacke remained on foot. It was strange to see the Portugals furnish themselues to war; for being an exercise that requireth order & measure, all things were there disordered and confused: The faults which were committed in taking of Musters, giuing of paies, superfluitie in many things, and defect in other, were infinite: The gentlemen after a new prodigious manner attired themselues like vnto the Castillians, in steede of scouring their Armes, they guarded their habits, for corslets they provided dublets of silke & gold, they were charged with sugar and conserues, in steede of water & bisket: The vessels of siluer, & the tents lined with silke and fatten were without number, euerie gentleman went furnished like a king, and the poore souldiers died for hunger: To conclude, it seemed they supposed that hee that

Preparation
for the se-
cond voyage
of Affricke.

went braueſt and beſt furniſhed with delights, and pleaſures, ſhoulde ſooner conquer the enemy; contrary to the opinion of true ſouldiers, who beleue that when a man goes to the combate clad in gold, and ſilke, he is either ſlaine or returns home laden with blows; but when he goeth couered with iron, and ſteele, he returns a conquerour laden with gold. *Sebastian* was carefull to whom he ſhould leaue the gouernment of the Realme, for that there was none remaining of the bloud Royall, but his vnclē the Cardinall, whom (being very old, & not greatly pleaſing vnto him) he woulde not willingly admit to ſo great a charge, yet hauing no other, he went to Euora where he liued, entreating him to take the care in his abſence, the which he would by no meanes accept, excuſing it by reaſon of his age, and indiſpoſition; ſo as he made choiſe of ſower gouernours to command in his name, which were *George d'Almeda*, archbiſhop of Liſbone, *Peter d'Alcaſoua*, *Frauncis de Sada*, & *Iohn Maſcaregnas*, to whom he gaue full power in all things, leauing with thē a Scale which did imprint with inke this word R E I I, with the which he cōmanded thē to ſubſcribe their diſpatches.

In the meane time vpon Affrick ſide, the *Cheriffe Mahamet* did ſtill ſollicite *Sebastian*, by Embaſſadors to make haſte, and by no meanes to abandon the enterpriſe, and with many hopes he gaue him to vnderſtand, that (beſides a good number of ſouldiers, he had already armed) he was moſt aſſured, that vpon the preſent view of the Portugals enſignes in Affrick, being knowue that they came in his fauour, the greateſt part of townes, fortes, and men of warre woulde reſell againſt *Mulei Moluc* & come to him. It is moſt true he diſſwaded the King for going in perſon, ſaying, it was not neceſſarie, but woulde prooue very hurtfull, alleaging that the Moores (which eaſily would yeeld at his deuotion) ſeeing the King of Portugall there in perſon woulde grow iealous, leaſt he came to ſubdue them to the Chriſtians; and therefore woulde not ſo willingly leaue the enemy. The which he ſaide, both for that it might ſo fall out, as alſo fearing (not without reaſon) that if the King were conquerour, and there in perſon to, he would not leaue him his kingdome free. All theſe things greatly enflamed *Sebastian*, & the more the *Cheriffe* diſſwaded his going, the more his deſire encreaſed, ſuppoſing that the Moore grew fearefull that his cōming ſhould deprive him of his kingdome, he did firmly beleue that he ſhould conquer it: and continued ſo blinde in this deſire, that

he

he caused a crowne to be made and carried with him, with other preparatiues to be crowned King, not knowing in the morning what the evening brings. But it seemed to him that fortune began now to smile, for that *Albacarin* the Moore, who commanded for *Mulei Moluc*, in *Arzilla*, a towne vpon the borders of the sea, sometimes belonging to the Portugals, & voluntarily abandoned to the Moores, by the intercession of the *Cheriffe Mahamet*, had deliuered it to the gouernour of *Tanger*, whereof the King receiued great contentment, and beleeued now the Moore had such as he saide, affectionate to his partie.

At this time the Irishmen rebelled in diuers parts of that kingdom, pretending the libertie of Religion, and complained to Pope *Gregory* the 13. taking for their leader the Earle of *Desmond* and others, as *Oneale*, and some other of the sauage Irish, affirming that if they were aided, they could easily draw the whole Island from the Queenes obedience. The Pope did communicate this with the Catholique King, exhorting him to vndertake this action, as most godly, & to succour this people, the which they resolued to do. But forasmuch as the Queene of England did seeme in words friend vnto the king, & did as the Spaniards supposed couertly vnderhand assist the Prince of *Orange* in *Flaunders* against him; the King woulde likewise march in the same path, and make a couert warre against her: they concluded to assist this people in the Popes name, but secretly at the kings charge. To this effect they leuied certaine footemen in the territories of the Church, whereof sixe hundreth vnder the conduct of *Thomas Stukeley* an Englishman, fled out of England for treason; (who a little before had obtained the title of a Marques from the Pope,) were embarked at *Ciuitauechia*, in a ship of *Genua*, to be transported into *Ireland*, the which arriued at *Lisbone*, in the time they made preparation in *Portugall* for the warre of *Affrick*: the king hearing of their arriual, and that for want of money he could haue no Italians out of *Tuscane*, desired to see them, with an intent to retaine them, & vse them in the war of *Affricke*, & hauing caused them to disimbarke, and to lodge at *Oeiras* neere to the mouth of *Tagus*, he went one day to view them; and although they were no chiefe men, yet did he admire their order, their speedie discharging of their *Harquebuzes*, their disposition to handle the pike, and their strict obedience: and hauing had some conference with the saide *Stukeley*, they perswaded him to promise to goe

with him into Affrick. The Catholique King for that he woulde not shew himselfe a partie, woulde not contradict it. The Pope was so farre off, that before the newes coulde come vnto him, he gaue them impresse, and they remained for his seruice. In this time the foote which were leuied by three Coronels, approached to Lisbone: the fourth which was *Frauncis de Tauora*, shoulde imbarke in Algarues. The three thousand Germaines (which the Prince of Orange had granted) were (vnder the conduct of *Martin* of Burgundie, Lord of Tamberg,) arriued within the mouth of Tagus, in Flemmish ships, and were lodged at Cascaies, and thereabouts, to the great amasement of the peasants, not accustomed to the charges of warre. King *Sebastian* before his departure, desired to see the Duke of Alua, whom he sent vnto, but he excused himselfe vpon the King; and the King at the entreatie of the Duke, vpon the infirmitie of the old man; so as his desire tooke no effect. The Dukes friends tolde him he should haue accepted this fauour; whereunto he answered, that hauing knowne by the practises and discourses of Guadaluppa, and by the Kings letters, his resolution to passe into Affrick, he thought it impossible to diuert him from that opinion, that hauing beene discreet in his youth, he woulde not in his declining age make himselfe author of the ruine, which he did foresee of a King and kingdome. *Sebastian* without any graue Counsellors, hastened his departure, impatient of the least delaies; his forces being all assembled with the ships at Lisbone; the souldiours (which were scarce nine thousand) were imbarked against their will: The Noblemen and Gentlemen likewise had euery one a shippe armed, wherein he should imbarque, with those vnder his commaund, but hardly were they drawne from their deere houses. And although there were a certaine day for their departure appointed, yet was it not obserued: So as the King going one morning in great troupe to the cathedrall church, with the Standard he ment to carrie into Affrick, he caused it to be hallowed with great pompe, and deliuered it to the master of his horse, and so returning (many beleeuing he would haue returned to the pallace) he went directly to the galley wherein he woulde passe, to hasten the rest, saying that he woulde presently depart: And although this were the xvij. day of Iunie, in the yeere 1578. yet did he stay eight daies in the Port, and neuer disimbarked, preparing the rest of the soldiours, who were no sooner

*The second
voyage of
Sebastian
with his ar-
mie into Af-
fricke.*

readie

readie then the day after Midfommer: at what time hauing a prosperous winde, the whole armie set saile, to the great pleasure and contentment of the King, who yoong and vnskilfull, guided by some sinister starre, or by that diuine permission which woulde punish this people, went into Affrick, to a dangerous (although a glorious) enterprife, leauing the Realme emptied of money, naked of Nobilitie, without heires, and in the hands of ill affected gouernours.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Contents of the second Booke.

The King of Portugals passage into Affricke: his counsell and resolution to enter into the maine land; the way his armie tooke; the preparatiues for the warre of Mulei Moluc, the qualitie and disposition of his campe, the battaile of Alcazar, the ouerthrowe of the Portugals; the death of King Sebastian and of Moluc, and the creation of King Henry.

THe King of Portugals departure from Lisboie, was so mournfull, that it gaue apparant signes of euill successe, for in so great a number of men, and of so diuers qualities, there was not any one with a cheerefull countenance, or that did willingly imbarke, against the common custome in the beginnings of warre, but all (as it were presaging of ill euent,) complained they were forceable drawne vnto it. There was such a deadlie silence in the porte, that (during all the time of their abode in so great a number of shippes) there was neither flute nor trumpet heard. The Kings galley issuing forth, was carried downe with the currant and brake her rudder against a Flemmish ship: a cannon shot from the towne slew one of his marriners in the boate; so as if we shall giue credite to signes as the auncients did, these seemed very ominous.

*The arri-
uing of the
Portugall
armie in
Affrick and
their pro-
ceedings.*

The first towne they touched vpon the maine lande was Lagos in Algarues (where did imbarke the regiment which *Frauncis de Tauora* had leuied in those parts) and certaine other vessels ioined to the armie, so as in all one and other they made neere one thousand saile; but except five galleis and fiftie other ships, all the rest were vnarmed, and the most of them were barkes to passe horse and munition. They arriued soone at Cadiz, whereas the Duke of Medina Sidonia feasted the King, with chafing of buls, Iocodecanna, and all other delights that poore Iland coulde yeelde. The Duke laboured to perswade him not to goe personally into Barberie, but he preuailed not, hauing soiourned there eight daies like a flecte of merchants, without guard or Centinell, directing their prowesse towards Affrick, in fewe daies they arriued at Almadraues, betwixt Tanger and Arzilla, where hauing cast anchors, they staid some space. The King hauing then an intention to disimbarke at Alarache, a small towne of the Moores, lying fiftene miles towards the south, a little before the armie approached the land, being fully resolved to depart; the King with his five galleis and fower gallions (leauing the rest of the ships) went to Tanger, where he made a short abode: for hauing sent *Mulei Cheque* son to the *Cheriffe*, of the age of twelue yeeres, by land with *Martin Correa de Sylua*, and certaine horsemen Moores and Portugals, to the ende they should draw towards Mazagon, and backe the people thereabouts that should reuolt against *Moluc*; he returned to his armie, hauing supplied the fortresses with fresh souldiors, and taking into his ships the *Cheriffe* and eight hundreth Harquebuzers that were at the guard thereof. From the Almadraues, he went to Arzilla with all his flecte, where seeing his souldiors distressed for water, he commanded them to lande and refresh themselues, meaning to imbarke them againe, or to transport them in barkes to Alarache: But waucring in his thoughts, nothing was constant, for the souldiors being landed with no small confusion, it was hard to force them to returne, for the small obedience they were in, and for the necessitie of water, whereof they must make prouision, so as he continued long irresolute. The armie was lodged vpon the sea shore, hauing on the one side fortified their lodging with rampiers of earth and waggons, on the two other sides the sea and the towne serued them for trenches: It remained in this estate fiftene daies, during which the Portugals

landing

landing with their King, had so troubled all the prouince, that the Moores that are neighbours to the sea townes, as Alarache, Tituan, and others, were resolu'd not to make any resistance, but to abandon their townes, and had already transported their poore wealth with their wiues to the mountaines.

But *Mulei Moluc* being at Marrock, had before both from Portugall, Cadiz, and Arzilla very particular aduertisement of the King of Portugals preparation, and of the quantitie and qualitie of his men, wherewith he was greatly moued, seeming vnto him that *Sebastian* pretended to depriue him of his kingdome being a Moore, to giue it to another Moore, no more friend to him then he was, without any pretext or iudgement to whom of them the estate did iustly appertaine. And seeing the accord with the Catholique King tooke not the effect he desired, he resolu'd vpon his defence: but weighing how much better an ill peace is then a iust warre, and discerning well the discommodities, great charge, and dangers it drawes with it, he laboured first to compound with him, making offer to the King to giue him tenne miles of the countrey lying about his fortresses in Affrick for tillage. But *Sebastian* who was of another conceite, made him answer that he had beene at great charge in leuying of forreine forces, and therefore he coulde not desist from the enterprise, vnlesse he would yeeld him Tituan, Alarache, and Cape D'Aghero. This demand seemed too excessiue to the Moore, and therefore made answer that hee must pause thereon, although the siege were before Moroca, and that the King should offer to giue him in counterchange *Mulei Mahamet* his capitall enimie, That he had conquered those Realmes with his sword and policie, and ment to defend them with all his forces. He commaunded presently *Rhodeuano* his purueyor generall a Portugall *Renegado* to bring to field all his Tents and Pauillions, the which was perfourmed the next day, beeing in number aboute 4000. The sixe and twentieth of May he went towards Sufe, the chiefe citie being Northward from Moroca, to giue order in those parts for certaine things there concerning the warre. But hauing intelligence vpon the way that the King of Portugall was issued out of Lisbone, he returned suddenly to Moroca, where hauing left the said *Rhodeuano* as his Vizeroy, he assembled those men of war he commonly keepes in paye in that Realme: he lodged his campe at
Camis

Camis, and from thence came in three daies to Temisnam (townes which lye towards the frontriers of Portugall) where he fell sicke with great castings and a fit of an Ague. There he vnderstood that *Sebastian* was come to Cadiz: and although he were verie sicke, yet continuing his course, he went to Salé with 14000. horse, and 2500. Harquebuzers, whereof one thousand were on horsebacke, & the rest on foot the most part of Andelousia, & *Renegados*. Here he vnderstood the Portugals were arriued at Arzilla, and therefore hauing passed the riuer of Marmore at a foord, hauing caused some quantity of mettall to be brought from Moroco, he cast fower pieces of great cannon in his campe, three of them with certaine other peeces he drew with him, the other he sent to Moroco, marching himselfe towards Alcafar; *Mulei Hemet* his bastard brother, gouernour of the kingdome of Fesse, was alreadie come to field, by his commandement, as generall of the horse of that prouince, and hauing assembled all the fouldiers both horse and foote thereabouts, was come to the place which they call the faire of Thursday, sixe miles neere to Alcazarquiuir, where he expected his brother to ioyne their armies together, hauing two and twentie thousand horse, and fiue thousand fiue hundredth foote. There *Moluc* arriued the xxiiij. of Iuly so sicke, that he coulde scarce endure on horsebacke, who hauing marched long in his Litter, seeing his brother a farre off, he tooke his horse to meete him, when they approached the one to the other, *Mulei Hemet* put spurres to his horse, and being come neere his brother, he lighted and kissed the ground, in signe of humilitie, the whole armie giuing a great volley of shotte. His sicknes encreasing daily, *Mulei Moluc* entred not with pompe (as the manner was) into his lodging, but returning to his Litter, seated his brother in his place, to effect his entrie, himselfe going before to take his lodging. And forasmuch as he vnderstood, that *Sebastian* had sent *Mulei Cheque* with troopes to Mazagon, he dispatched *Mulei Dan* his nephew with two thousand horse, and some foote to make head, least he should indomage those quarters: Toward Cape D'Aghere, and Alarache, he likewise sent men; but hearing that *Sebastian* was disimbarked at Arzilla, they returned to the campe. *Moluc* was a man couragious, hardie, and free in wordes, seeming to make small account of the Portugals, he saide openly, that whosoever went not willingly with him, he shoulde retire, suffering any
freely

freely to depart that were more friend to *Mulei Mahamet* then to him, wherein they should do him a fauour; the which he spake not to contemne the enimies forces, but knowing how hardly he shoulde staie them that minded to leaue him, desiring rather they should then go, then attend vntill a battaile, or reuolt at some other time when they might do him a greater mischiefe: And therefore to giue them the better meanes to escape, he made choise of three thousand, out of such as he suspected, sending them to discouer the Christians Armie, to keepe them busied with courses, and to giue them often Alarums, not with any meaning they should do this exploite, but if they meant to flie, they might effect it at their pleasure. But this meaning vnkowne to that nation, wrought in them a contrarie effect to that which *Moluc* attended: for hauing construed this commaundement to the fidelitie and trust he had in them, they meant still to remaine faithfull, so as few went vnto the Christians armie: The greatest part did well performe that which *Moluc* had giuen them in Charge, for being deuided somtimes into 600. sometimes more, sometimes lesse, they ran to the Trenches of the Portugals lodgings, molesting and slaying those they found scattering from the Armie.

In the meane while the Portugals remayning in their lodgings, before they had yet discouered, the Moores, deceiued with illusions had twice taken the Alarum in vaine: seeing themselues one day followed at the heeles by 600. horse, like men that had neuer yet scene the enimie neere or far off, although they were in a strong lodging, ioyning to a friend towne, and an Armie at sea within Harquebuz shot: yet ran they fearfully to imbarke, and notwithstanding that the Enimies (after a light skirmish with the Moores of *Cheriffe Mahamet* who were lodged a little without the trenches) returned presently, yet the Portugals were so amazed, that being kept from imbarking, they fled from the campe going by lande to Tanger, and so fell out of one mischiefe into another, for by the way they were taken prisoners by the Moores of Tituan & other places thereabouts, who lay in waite to robbe and spoile. But the King gathered courage by this first view of the Moore so suddenly retyred, for remaining before within the citie, he would now lodge without, to be more neere vnto the skirmishes when need should require. The next day discouering 2000. of the enimies horse, the King went to encounter them

A light skirmish of the Moores against the Portugals.

with

with 600. horse, but the skirmish being begunne the Moores retired, wherein the King carried himselfe more like a valiant souldier, then a wise Captaine, following *Edward de Meneses* Marshall of the campe, who marched ten miles from the Armie with no small danger, hauing neither footman nor Harquebuzer for his garde: the safetie of his person being of great importance to the whole Armie, he seemed rather wearie of his life then to doe any acte of a braue minde, who being a King and might liue deliciously was pricked forward with the onely desire of glorie.

*The meanes
of Moluc to
defeat the
Portugals.*

Moluc had newes of this encounter beyond *Alcazar* where he lodged, from whence he departed not, both for that he expected some troupes from *Tituan* and *Mechinee*, (places vpon the sea coast,) the which arriued soone, as also to draw the Portugals into the firme land; for so he vnderstood they entended, yet he feared it could not so fall out, doubting they would continue along the sea coast, being most conuenient for them. Yet he resolued if they entred not into the maine, to march towards them with all speed, and before they should attempt any thing, to follow them at their backes; thereby to draw them into the want of many things, not meaning to ioyne battell with them but vpon great aduantage: but if they should enter into the maine land, to suffer their passage as far as he might with assurance, and after cut off their returne to sea: In this manner he doubted not to obtaine the victorie almost without fighting, both for the great number of men he had in his Armie, as also vnderstanding the Portugals were ill prouided of victuals, drawne thither by force, full of delights, and voide of experience.

*The counsell
and resolution
of the
Portugals to
enter into
the maine
land of Af-
ricke.*

In this time the King of Portugall assembled the chiefe of his counsell to resolue of his departure, demanding their aduise, what course they were best to take: Many durst not speake freely; for although they thought the best resolution to goe by sea to *Alarache*, yet discovering by daily practises that the King was otherwise resolued, relying more vpon flatterie then vpon the truth; they chose rather to counsell him ill and please him, then to aduise him well and contradict him. He was desirous to goe by land to play both the captaine and the Sericant, not foreseeing the difficultries the way would bring, nor the danger whereinto he did runne, but as ill aduised (hauing no aduertisement of the enemies Armie) thought with securitie

to ouerrune their countrey, and that the Moores should flie before him as those few had done which appeared at Arzilla. One of the chiefe that did most applaud his humour was *Alphonso* of Portugall, Earle of *Vimioso*, who had beene (in the Kings former voyage into *Affricke*) Chamberlaine, and had charge of the victuals; wherein he behaued himselfe so sparingly, as if they had continued any longer in *Affricke*, or else at sea, they had beene starued, the which his enemies tooke as an occasion to disgrace him with the King, whereof he had beene euer sithens secluded. This man (both ambitious and cunning, did second the Kings humours, although he did know with himselfe they were rash and hurtfull, and against that which he thought conuenient) perswading him to march by lande for two reasons: The one to make knowne vnto the King vpon his march the want of victuals there was in his Armie, by reason whereof he coulde not proceed: to make his officers odious, and to whip them with the same rod he had beene scourged before, whereby the voyage should be broken. The other reason was to shew himselfe valiant to please the King and to recouer his disgrace, seeming vnto him that whether he did aduise it or not, the King would vndertake it, and since that he must of force hazard his life, he thought it best to make himselfe Author of the resolution: if it succeeded ill, the losse would be generall; if it happened wel, he alone should haue the honour of it, seeing that he alone was of that opinion. He setled the Kings weake iudgement, and therewithall enflamed this desire to march, saying that this Armie in *Affricke* being master of the field, should not shew any feare by imbarking, but turne head where soeuer it pleased and open all passages. And although they were possibly inferiour to the enimie in number, yet their valour exceeded them, being well knowne vnto the world how much a Moore was inferiour to a Christian, adding thereunto that to disimbarke at *Alarache* it might prooue vneasie and dangerous; he said that both King *Philip* and the Castilians would report the Portugals durst not without their aide enter one foot into *Affricke*, that they had disimbarcked rashly & had retired like cowards. *Lewis de Silua* one of the Kings chiefe fauorites spake his mind freely vpon this point, saying, there was no reason for an Armie to march by land, that went to a towne adioyning vpon the sea, hauing so goodly a Fleete, which might easily be furnished with fresh water for so small a voyage,

The Counte of Vimioso seconded the desires of the King of Portugall.

The aduise of Lewis de Silua concerning this voyage.

age, which was their onely want. He alleaged that it was most easie to goe by sea standing in no feare of any enimie, most profitable, for that the way short and the descent easie, vnderstanding that there was no resistance: contrariwise it was most dangerous to march by land, being ignorant where the enimie did lie, & what forces he had: So as supposing him to be far off, he might be at their backs, and hauing any wants which happen often in an Armie, being far from the sea, they should hardly be supplied; that betwixt Alarache and them did run the riuer of *Lixe* (called by *Ptolome* *Lixos*) vpon the left bank whereof standeth the towne, that hauing neither bridge nor barkes to passe, they must (leauing the sea side by a long course seeke a foorde, or the Moores bridge, whither being come, it were doubtfull to know with what facilitie they should passe it, being likely the enemies would fortifie the passage. Betwixt these two contrarie opinions the one by sea, the other by lande, the thirde was spoken of, the which was to march along the sea side in view of the Fleete, with their Chariots vpon the left hand in steed of Rampiers, and being come to the mouth of the riuer to passe them with their barkes, but this opinion (which seemed to be lesse hurtfull) was not liked of by the King; although the rest that would haue gone by sea gaue eare to it most willingly; yet those that did contradict it, although they were more in number, yet being of lesse authoritie (the King being of the other partie) the worst of all three (which was to goe by lande) preuayled.

Mulei Mahamet seeing the King so hot in this action grew daily into new feares, hoping of no good successe, he doubted before, that if the King should haue the victorie, he would charge him with too heauie a yoke, but hauing viewed the Armie, he lost all hope of victorie if they should fight, and therefore thought it most conuenient to aduise the King to goe by sea to Alarache, hoping he should easily win that place and returne into Portugall with that victorie, leauing his Armie in Affricke, by meanes whereof he hoped to win such credit that they should abandon *Moluc* and flye vnto him; & yet if he would fight to do it with more facilitie and greater iudgement then it seemed to him *Sebastian* would. But his counsell preuailed no more with the King then the rest, so as commaunding *Diego de Sofa* to attend him with the Fleete at Alarache, he marched with his whole Ar-

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The counsell
of *Mulei*
Mahamet
to the King
of Portugall.

mie to *Alcasarquiuir*, being the direct way vnto the bridge, hauing but 13000. foote, and 1500. horse; that is 8000 Portugals, 3000. Germanes, 1000. Spaniards, and 600. Italians, with twelue peeces of Artillerie: but the more they aduanced into the firme lande, the more their feare increased, and chiefly of them that perswaded to goe by sea. And although some did againe shew vnto the King, that Errors in war cannot be repaired, that it would be too late after to change his resolution, and that he ought to haue great care in the execution of those things that cannot be redressed, beseeching him not to cast himselfe into so dangerous an enterprise, and aboue all not to leaue the sea, laying before him the perill, the small gaine, the want of victuals, and the little or no experience of the souldiers: yet nothing preuailed, but as it often happeneth that we reape a bad recompence for good counsell, being discōtented with those he should haue fauoured, he would scarce heare thē. The rest knowing by this prooffe he would accept of no counsell, durst not aduise him for feare of his disgrace. The Armie had no chiefe leaders able to commaund, and therefore could neither march, lodge, nor fight in order: For although the King serued as Generall, *Edward de Meneses* Marshall of the Campe, with some others of lesse qualitie, yet they wanted experience: for although the strangers had their commanders of more experience in actions of war then the Portugals, as the *Marques* generall of the Italians, the Lord of *Tamberg* of the Germanes, and *Alphonso d' Aguilar* of the Spaniards, yet for that none of them was Generall, and being strangers they might not dispose of the Armie, so as none of the Portugals knew his charge. The King the 29. of Iuly made his first lodging at the Milles three miles from *Arzilla*; the second at *Menera*; where he had aduertisement that *Moluc* approched. From thence he wrote his letters to *Lisbone* to *Peter d' Alcasoua* briefly, but ful of ouerweening, in the which he said he vnderstood that *Moluc* drew neere him, and if he escaped not he would ioyne battell with him. At that time arriued Captaine *Frauncis d' Aldana* who had promised to serue the King, and for that effect had obtayned leaue of the Catholike King, (which no man else could do): as a man expert in war hauing viewed the ill disposition of the Campe, began to execute all the greatest charges, disposing the souldiers in the best order that he could, although being a stranger and of no credit with the Portugals, he

The Arriall of Aldana in the Portugall campe.

*Letters and
a Present
from the
Duke of
Alua to the
King of
Portugall.*

could not effect all he vnderstood: In this sort they marched slowly lodging alwaies in places of aduantage, by the industrie of the saide *Aldana* and of *Philip Terzy*, who serued as Ingener; although they discouered some horse, yet knew they not for certaine what *Moluc* pretended: *Aldana* brought vnto the King letters from the Duke of Alua, with present of a headpiece which was the Emperours *Charles* the fifth, and a cassocke of white raffetic, with the which the saide *Charles* entered conquerour into Tunis: He said vnto some, that he had beene sorrie the King should attempt any thing in the firme lande of Affricke: But hearing by his owne letters that he would onely goe to Alarache, he did receiue great contentment, and did commend his resolution; being in the meane time come into certaine small hills which they call *Cabeza d'Ardana*, they tooke their third lodging, from thence they went to *Bercain*, but to come to the fifth they must passe the small riuer of *Mucazen* at a foord, the which fals somewhat lower into *Lixe*.

Moluc aduertised of the Portugals course, hauing made longer staie at his lodging beyond *Alcazar* then he ment, to giue the enimie better meanes to approach, his troupes being ioined, he dislodged the second of August, marching towards *Alcazar*: The day following he went directly towards the bridge, which the Portugals fought for, and being passed did strongly encampe themselues towards the sea, not meaning to passe any farther: the waies being full of hills, though easie to mount and to passe with carriage and artillerie, yet not commodious to giue battaile where the armie consisted most of horsemen. The same day the Portugals had passed *Mucazen*, and come to their fifth lodging, they were in doubt whether to encampe on this side or on the other side of a small riuer, which beginnes in the marishes of *Alcafarquiur*, part of the armie hauing passed the water, they turned head, resolving to lodge on this side: there they vnderstoode that *Moluc* approched, making shew to fight; and if it had not growne late the armies might haue discouered each other. *Moluc* grew then extremely sicke, without hope to liue many daies, not forbearing to command and dispose of all things that were necessarie with great resolution: and seeing the enimie to draw neere, he first called his brother vnto him saying. That although he did not thinke him to haue the spiritite and courage fit for the place, he would giue him,

*Moluc
speech to his
brother.*

him; yet being his brother, he made him generall ouer all the horse, that he might fight, conquer, and die with them, assuring him that if he were noted with the least shew of cowardise, he himselfe would strangle him with his owne handes, and issuing forth of his tent, he put his armie into battaile, going himselfe from ranke to ranke in a small litter carried by men, executing the office of a Sergeant. His armie consisted of many nations, there were three thousand Moores of Andalouise, as well on foore as horsebacke vnder the conduct of *Doali Algari* and *Osain* their Commaunders, valiant men, which are those that passed into Affricke from the warres of Alpussarres or the mountaines of Grenado; he had also three thousand foote, and twentie five thousand horse, with a thousand Harquebuziers on horsebacke, the most part of them Renegados and Turkes, all of them men of warre, entertained daily in paie: and this was the principall force of his campe. He had about ten thousand horse gathered together, & five thousand foote, so as in all he had about fortie thousand horse, & eight thousand foote, besides a great number of Arabians and aduenturers that were come vnto him. *Moluc* had no great confidence in the hirelings or Arabians, esteeming the first fearefull, and the last inconstant. Amongst his entertained bandes, he had likewise three thousand horse, which (as is saide) he suspected to be friends to *Mulei Mahamet*, and not greatly fauouring his rule. But the Portugals who for their honour do willingly augment their number, affirme that the Moores were threescore and ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote, and the Moores (who do encrease their owne actions) doe report their number to be very great: but it is verified by men without passion, that although *Moluc* coulde haue assembled threescore thousand horse, and more footemen then he did; yet had he no more in his armie, then we haue specified, with thirtie and fower peeces of artillerie. *Moluc* kept to himselfe the title of Generall, he gaue to his brother (as is saide) the charge of all the horse. *Osarin* of Raguse was Colonell of all the Harquebuziers on horsebacke: *Mahamet Faba* of the Renegados: *Doaly* of the Andalusi-ans, the rest were vnder men of lesse qualitie, euery one commanding his nation: & *Musa* was captaine of his guard. The same day towards night *Moluc* sent *Soliman* the master of his horse, a Renegado of Cordube, with certaine horse to view the enemies armie, and to discover if

*The qualitie
of Molucs
armie.*

they were in battaile, who descrying the Portugals that had passed the riuer to returne againe; did not belecue it had bin done to leaue the riuer betwixt the two armies, but imagined they had retired: he returned to the campe with this false newes that the Portugals fled; wherewith the Moores being mooued, would haue pursued and not let them depart without some damage: but *Moluc* would not suffer them, and as a wise Captaine who pretended onely to defende himselfe, and to make a bridge vnto the enimie if he would flie, saide, Let them goe in a good hower, I will not runne after them; sodainly he altered the disposition of his armie, not for that he beleueed the Portugals were retired; but being informed by *Mahamet Taba* Colonell of the Renegados, that there was treason in his campe, forasmuch as there were three thousand Harquebuziers Moores, that had neither powder nor bullet, sodainly he caused to be proclaimed, that whosoeuer wanted munition shoulde repaire vnto the Purueior, and he should furnish him, and euery Harquebuzier that should be found the next morning without fiftie bullets, and two pounds of powder, shoulde be corporally punished: He called vnto him likewise all the Captaines (and to be more assured of their fidelities, and to take from them all meanes to effect any treason they might haue practised) he changed euery mans charge, and made one Captaine of an others companie, without leauing any man of qualitie in his accustomed place.

This night passed with more quiet then the neerenes of the armies did threaten: And although *Sebastian* had proclaimed that no man shoulde shoote at any Moore, that shoulde willingly retire himselfe into their campe, but receiue him; yet there came not any one, either for that they bare no such affection to *Mahamet* as he made a shew of, or for that they kept so strict a guard in the Moores campe, that none coulde issue foorth, as indeed they did. It preuailed little for *Mahamet* to plant his colours in the head of the armie, as it were calling them, for no man stirred. And the day being come the Portugals held a Councell what to doe? The King became more milde, hauing assembled the chiefe, heard with greater patience the opinions of such as would not haue proceeded so farre. They propounded either to retire backe, or to march against *Alarache*, & to passe the riuer at the mouth: but the most expert in warre, those that had dissuaded the

*The conceit
of the Por-
tugall to
fight.*

the

the course they had taken, and laboured by all meanes to flie the fight of the enimie, helde that they must fight; the resolution being too late nowe to auoide the battaile, and to turne head: for to retire they could not without grear losse: to stande still, want of victuals would not suffer them: and to continue their vnderaken way, they could not without the hazard of a battaile: that it was better to encounter the enimie valiantly, then to giue him courage by a retraite, or by shunning the way. The Cheriffe *Mulei Mahamet*, although his hopes to recouer this kingdome were grounded vpon the onely victorie of a battaile (and that the King being master of Alarache and the sea townes, he shoulde reape no profire thereby) yet did he all he could to dissuade him from fight, esteeming the Portugals to be inferiour; perswading them to keepe close together, and to seeke meanes to retire although it were with some losse. And although *Sebastian* were somewhat tempered, yet was he not amazed, like to all the rest, but with great courage desired the combate, not esteeming the enimies forces so great as they were: No man durst contradict him; both for that (as it is faide) many thought it necessarie to ioine battaile, as also for that the Portugals doe generally thinke it cowardise to dissuade from fighting, holding it more honourable to loose a battaile with rashnes, then to conquer with cunning and iudgement, without fighting. For this reason it was resolved (after great contrarietie of opinions) to march against the enimie, although some practises of peace were yet in hande, but with weake hopes: So as the same morning they dislodged, hauing diuided their armie into three squadrons, the one following the other immediately, and almost vnited together; that in the front, was in a manner diuided into three; for in the middest the aduenturers were led by *Aluaro Pirez*, brother and Lieutenant to *Christopher* of Tauora: on the left hande were the Castillians led by *Alphonso d'Aguiar*, lined with Harquebuziers of the same nation, commanded by *Lewis d'Godoy*: and the Germanes were on the left hande vnder the Lord of Tamberg, intermixed with Harquebuziers Italians, and those Portugals that vsed to be at Tanger, commanded by captaine *Hercules d'Pisa*: euery nation was set in long rankes with their Commanders in the front. In an other squadron which did second this, were the Portugals of *Michell de Norigna* and *Vasco de Sylueira*, with harquebuziers in flanke: and in the other which

*The order of
the Portu-
gals armie.*

serued for the rereward, were the Portugals of *Diego Lopez de Sequeira* and *Frauncis de Tauora* (although that *Sequeira* remained at *Arzilla*), for the guard whereof besides two wings of shot, there were three hundreth Harquebuziers in the rereward: on both sides of the armie were their horsemen deuided being in all fiftene hundred, placed in triangles, whereof the right wing was commanded by *George d'Alencastro* Duke *d'Auero*: on the left side was the standerd Roiall, *Iean de Sylua*, Embassadour for the Catholique King, and yoong *Theodose* Duke of *Barcellos*, (for so they call the eldest sonne of the Dukes of *Bragance*) and on the right hande a little separated, were about two hundreth horse, of those which liue comunly on those frontiers, which they call *Affricans*: not far from them were the *Moores*, of the *Cheriffe Mahamet*, but fewe in number: In this order they marched with their baggage in the midst betwixt their horse and foote on the right winge, leauing a space on both sides betwixt their squadrons to retire if need were.

*The disposi-
tion of Mo-
lucs Armie.*

Moluc who lost no opportunitie, had now put his armie in battaile; he placed his footmen (which were all Harquebuziers) in forme of a cressent; the first rank were of *Andalusians*; the second of *Renegados*, and the last of *Affricanes* placed expressly in this sort, for that one nation being enemie to an other, they might presse forwarde their contraries, and not suffer them retire: vpon the two hornes of the cressent, he planted two squadrons of ten thousand horse in each; and behinde (as it were in the rereward) followed in equall distance, all their horse in small troopes, resoluing (if they ment to fight) with so great a number of men to compasse in the Portugals armie, and charge them on euery side. But in the meane time his sicknes encreased, feeling himselfe die by degrees: and although his Phisitions vsed all their skill to succour him, yet decaying howerly, they founde he could not liue two daies. He felt a double death by reason of the time wherein he died; and not being able to execute his resolution in this warre; he doubted that he shoulde not leaue any one that could effect them. For although hee were then in battaile, yet had hee no meaning to fight at that instant; foreseeing (after that hee vnderstood the Portugals did march into the maine land with their baggage) if they sought to delay the battell, they were all vndone; and that without the losse of any one man he would take them all
prisoners,

prisoners, by reason of the want they should find in that poore countrey of Affricke: But seeing this resolution (which required time and could not bee effected in haste) would not succeed by reason of the shortnes of his life, he was much troubled. He thought it not conuenient to discouer his conceit vnto his brother, that should succede him, both for that he much doubted of his iudgement, and knowing assuredly that if he died before the victorie, the Moores would flie, and rebell against his brother, and yeeld to the Portugals, chiefly by the pretence of *Mulei Mahamet*, and in this manner the kingdome would be lost. Afflicted with these cares, seeing the enimie nere with so great an Armie, and his death approaching, he resolved not to trust his heire, but leauing his first resolution, rather during his life to hazard a bloodie and doubtfull battell against all Reason of warre, then to die with feare of the losse of his Realme, the which he knew assuredly would happen after his death: being resolved to fight, all practises of accord dismissed, he assembled the chiefe commanders of the Armie, and spake vnto them in this manner.

Your valour (souldiers,) and the iustice of the cause which hath put *Molucs Oration to his Armie.*
 Armes into your hands, will not suffer me to speake much to encourage you to fight: For you are those who vnder my command, haue alwaies brought to happie ende euerie enterprise were it both difficult and dangerous: The enimies which you haue in front, are the same Portugals, which in times past, your fathers and your owne right hands haue often vanquished and ouercome. The Italians and Germans, which are come to their succours (more terrible in name, then in deed) should not any thing amaze you, being men without experience, and in small numbers: And as for me who haue sometimes made tryall of them, I take vpon me the charge to yeeld them subiect to your forces. And if reason preuaile any thing in battell, shall not the victorie be on our side? We liued quiet in our houses, without vexing or molesting any one; content with our fortunes; not practising against the wealth and prosperitie of any other: And a nation by nature our enimies, differing in law, comes from a far countrey, not onely to pull from me my Crowne; but also to spoile you of all your goods, to depriue you of your libertie, and to rauish your liues: You perchance suppose; that in this wicked people, pietie hath so much force; as to plant *Mahamet* in the kingdome (a stranger, contrarie

» trarie to their Religion) whose friendship and bountie is vnknowne
 » to them; they should vndertake this paines to hazard themselves to
 » death. It is the thirst of gold, and of your blood, with the desire to rule,
 » that hath brought the King of Portugall hither, supported not by his
 » owne forces, but with the hopes he hath to deceiue you, vnder this fai-
 » ned shew of pietie, to this Infidell *Mahamet*; who if he had any feeling
 » of a man, should be rather contented, to liue subiect to my Empire,
 » according to our lawes, then (inuading my Realme by force) procure
 » the destruction of his owne blood, the ruine of his countrey, the
 » slaughter of you all, and the flauerie of himselfe. But the deceit is ap-
 » parant to you all, there remains nothing but that you oppose your
 » valour, which shall fight in a most iust cause: You shall repell iniu-
 » ries from your families, maintaine your liberties, preferue your liues,
 » and win honor, and conquering, or dying in what sort soeuer; you
 » shall gaine Paradise. *Moluc* would haue spoken more, but his souldi-
 » ers interrupted him; crying, that he should presently lead them a-
 » gainst the Portugals, whereupon he held his peace, retyring himselfe
 » into his Littor in the midst of the circle of his Arnie, where were his
 » colours and his guard.

*The begin-
 ning of the
 battell.*

In the meane time the Christian Arnie marched on, and approa-
 ched neere the enemie, in an open Champion, (which the Moores cal
 Tamiza.) When as *Moluc* halfe dead; viewing this weake Arnie ap-
 proach in so small a number; being not aboue 1200. foote, he gaue
 order they should not flie, as he had resolved before, that seeming as-
 sured of the victorie there might few escape: And therefore exten-
 ding the hornes of his croissant and the troupes of his horse, he drew
 them into a large circuit, keeping his men rounde, about a cannon
 shot from the enemie, he inuironed all the Portugals campe; ioyned
 the two hornes at the backe of the reeward, making it an ouall circle:
 hauing thus inuironed it, he then straitened it, drawing his troupes
 more close together (so cunning were these barbarous people) so as
 the Christians Arnie being compassed in of all sides with their horse,
 the Moores footmen stood in front to stop their passage: They con-
 tinued long in this estate, the Moores discharged their artillerie at a
 reasonable distance, the which though it did a little indomage them
 (some bullets passing thorowe the rarkes) yet did it no great matter
 of importance. The Portugals fearfull and amased (imagining vpon
 the

the first moouing of the Moores, that they dislodged to depart) seeing themselves inuironed, did likewise discharge their cannon, but with so great disorder, and so much out of season, as it did small hurt. And forasmuch as the Moores (having charged their cannon againe; began to play, although to small effect) yet the Portugals were so much terrified, that vpon sight of the fire, they fell all to the ground: where-with the King (least the artillerie shoulde any more annoy the Portugals, and augment their feare,) gaue signe to the battaile: whereat the squadrons of the auantguard and of the horse, did iointly moouie with woonderfull force and great valour: then their footemen encountered the Moores, who came to it resolutely; for that the Andalusians, (desirous to reuenge olde wrongs) did their best endeouors: The auantguard did so withstand their force, that although the fight was in equall ballance whilest the shot plaied, yet when they came to handie blowes, the Moores had the worst, for they were thrice broken and put to flight, with the losse of their colours: But for that their number was great, the battaile was still renewed by their Commaunders, with fresh troupes and newe order. In the rereward they likewise charged *Frauncis de Tauora*, with the regiment of *Diego Lopez de Sequiera*, where for a while they resisted weakely: Those in the midst were the last that fell to armes: But *Moluc* gaue them no long time of rest, for he sent to assaile *Vasco de Sylueire*, and *Michael de Norogna*, on both sides, so as at one instant they fought on all partes: These made weaker resistance then the rest, for that some of them casting cowardly away their armes, and falling on their knees, yeelded to the discretion of the Moores, who for the most part deuided their heads with their Cimeters, in recompence of their base yeelding. The combate being hot on all sides, the circle of the Moores horse, & their squadrons that were behinde, drew neere, and first charged the auantguard, where they found their succours were more necessarie then in any other part; (for that the Italians and Castillians had cut in peeces a great number of the Moores, and of their best men,) pressing the Christians armie on all sides they coulde approach, without any disorder of their owne, who nowe growne fearefull, began to loose ground, and to shrinke together, to the great discontentment of the King, who for any labour of his, coulde not containe them in their ranks. As these Moorish horsemen began to moouie, the Portu-

The Portugals haue the advantage of the Moores.

gals

gals horse that were accustomed to liue in those frontiers, the Moores of the Cheriffe *Mahamet*, and the Duke of Auero with his triangle did valiantly march towards them, charging the first they mette, & greatly endomaging them, and put their horsemen on that side to flight. This happie beginning of victorie lasted little: for whilest the Duke who commanded the greatest number, did fight hand to hand, he discouered on the one side not farre from him, a great troupe of the enimies horse, the which he durst not attende, doubting his owne strength, but turning head, followed expressly the chase of those that were before him, thinking to returne to the fight with greater aduantage, as indeede he did: for turning his horse, he went to charge them that came to encounter him in flanke; but finding him selfe ouercharged on euery side, wanting courage to withstand them, and turning his horses violently, pressed by the enimie, he found no place of retrait among the squadrons, but rushing through the rankes of the *Germaines*, some part of the horse entring amongst the foore, bredde a great confusion; and being vnable to relieue themselues, they wrought no other effect, but disordered their friends, who were after lesse able to resist the enimies horse and foote, that came to charge them: On the other side of the armie, where stood the *Standard roiall*, and the rest of the horse, which set forwarde somewhat slower, they made a great slaughter of Moores, (although the King were not present, being gone towarde the vanguard) whom they pursued euen vnto their artillerie: But being succoured by one of the squadrons that were behinde them, the Moores returned furiously vnto the fight, so as in short time it hapned vnto the Portugals that were in that part, as to their other horse, whose successe was so much the woorse, for that on the outside they were charged by the Moores, and within, their foote were disordered by their horse, who had the charge on the other side, and all amazed, fledde; so as in a moment all was confounded, the Portugals horse remained disordered, and dispersed, shewing small courage, and lesse discipline: for although it were full of Nobilitie, and men of resolution; yet were there many yoong men sent by their fathers, who not expecting they shoulde come to fight, were the cause of this disorder: so as in one place you shoulde see men of one squadron both fight valiantly and flie away cowardly not being pursued: yet the Commaunders of the
horse,

horse, and some others, turning face to the enemies, they both by words and effect encouraged the rest, and slewe some that fled: But as their number was small, and the amasement great, they preuailed little. In the vanguard (where the King was a looker on) they made great resistance, killing about two thousand Moores, but they were in so great numbers, that the Italians and Spaniards who fought on that side (not being succoured by any others) after they had encountered the enemies with their daggers, were in a manner all slaine; not overcome, but wearie with killing. The small order they obserued to inuest the enimie, was hurtfull vnto them; for the front being composed of diuers nations, who contented to make shewe of their valour, they did not one stay for another, and the Germanes more flegmatike, remained behinde; so as their forces dismembred, wrought not that effect they had done vnited: yet notwithstanding the valour of those men, the first charge of the horse, especially of the Affricanes, commanded by *Edward de Meneses*, strooke a great terror *Moluc* in the beginning vnto *Mulei Moluc*; for seeing his men flie (although *fear.* he were sicke to the death) mounted to horse in choler, going towards them that ranne away, to staie them, and encourage them. And although the presse encreased, and the shot of the Christians drew neere, he made shewe to march himselfe foremost, either to retaine his men by shame, or by the hazarde whereunto hee shoulde thrust himselfe: But his greatest fauorites came about him, some holding him by the stirrups, some by his gowne, and some by the raines of his bridle, beseeching him not to hazarde himselfe. But he persisting his resolution, and they to stay him, he grew in choler, laying holde of his sworde to disperse them; at what time being seased with a cruell fit of his disease, he swounded, and had fallen from his horse; but being taken downe by them about him, he was laid in his Litter, where putting his finger vnto his mouth in signe of silence, sodainely, or (as some report) before he was laide downe, he gaue vp the ghost. *Moluc* The Renegado's which remained neere about *death.* him, kept his death secret, with great care, hauing so formerly appointed if he should die; an argumēt of great magnanimitie in this Barbarian, who measured his counsels with the hower of his life, and prouided that death shoulde not depriue them of the victorie. The Litter being shut, they placed at the doore a wittie yoong childe, who being

being instructed what he had to doe, making shewe to speake vnto him, and receiue his answer, tolde them his pleasure was, they should passe forwards. This secret was of great importance to the Moores, for without doubt if his death had beene discovered, they had all fled. The Arabians who were not come with any intent to fight, but with a desire to spoile the conquered, hauing first viewed some Moores runne away, that their Mercenaries grew fearefull, who kept their lodging, doubting some ill successe; they fell vpon the Moores baggage, and spoiled it, putting to flight such as kept it, who running euen vnto Feez, with many others of the campe, gaue out that the Moores had lost the fielde: so dangerous a thing it is in an armie to conduct a nation light and vnconstant, who vpon the least contrarie euent falles vpon his friendes. But fortune who had hitherto bene doubtfull, although it seemed more to fauour the Moores then the Portugals, after the Italians and Castillians were defeated, remaining yet a good number of Germaines and aduenturers disordred, did now shewe it selfe apparant in fauour of the Moores, and the victorie assured, hauing gotten their artillerie: For the Renegados who were in the second ranke of the Moores, their orders being open, did without any confusion receiue the Andaluzians, and all those that had beene broken by the vanguard and fled, who returning a fresh to charge the aduenturers and Germaines, they founde but weake resistance. The arriual of certaine Renegados that fled from the enemies preuailed but little, bringing newes of the death of *Moluc*: For although some went vp and downe crying victorie, and publishing that *Moluc* was dead, thereby to encourage the souldiers; yet was there no meanes to draw the Portugals to imitate the example of the strangers; but all fearefull without any courage, retiring themselves, they still lost of the fielde: The squadrons of the maine battaile did not yet moue, but vnfurnished of shot (who without keeping their places were crept forward) did stande firme without succouring of their friends, saying, that such was the Kings commandement, and therefore charged by the Moores shotte on horsebacke, were miserable consumed, when as their commanders finding their errors would haue drawne them forward, the souldiers were so amazed, that they could not doe it. In the rereward *Frauncis de Tanora* was slaine with a shotte, hauing long by his valour withstoode the Moores charge;

The Arabians spoile their friends

Frauncis de Tanora slaine in the battaile.

charge; but being dead his men grew more amazed then before, crying for mercie without fighting, & flying away without any respect of the King, who was come thither from the vantguard: they retired of all parts so farre backe, with so great a confusion, and without consideration whither they went, that all the squadrons in a confused order came close together on all sides; so as the horse, souldiers, chariots, munition, tents and pauillions, with their other baggage, came all confusedly together on a heape, and in such a strait, that many were troden downe in the presse, and smothered vnder the horse and chariots: So as this armie which did containe about three miles in compasse, was in a moment consumed by the sworde, and did so restraints it selfe through feare, that a small roome might containe it. The Duke of Auero, Embassador for the Catholique king, *Aldana* and some other chiefe men, hauing gathered togither some horse, charged the Moores first on the one side, and then on the other, where they did see greatest neede, but being disordred and fewe in number, if they preuailed on the one side, they receiued hurt on the other: For at the same instant when as certaine of them attended the King towards the rereward, whereas there needed succours, there came a great number of Arabians against the vantguard, who according to their custome, to fall vpon those, whom they see in route, charged that part with such furie, that they slewe almost all the Germaines with their Captaines, and many men of account: There the Duke was slaine with a shot, *Aldana* died likewise: the Embassador of the Catholique King was hurt and taken prisoner, so was the Prior and the Marshall of the field. These being dismounted, euery man fled; the Moores entring into the ranks of the Christians, with their Cymiters cut them miserablie in peeces: Whilest this was a dooing, the fire fell by chance into the Portugall munition, which did endamage them no more then the Moores: for as they entred among their baggage, it consumed manie of them. The circle of the Barbarians horse did no way garde the passage towards the sea, so as the Christians that ment to flie that way, might easily doe it, but such as thought to returne to Arzille were either slaine or taken prisoners; for such as escaped the Moores, being ignorant of the waies, and passage of the riuers, were either drowned, or fell into their handes, who made them slaues:

The death of the Duke of Auero, and of Aldana, and the imprisonment of the Prior.

There were many drowned, deceiued with the rising of the riuer, & ignorant of their former passage; for whereas the riuers (and particularly Mucazen) doe ebbe and flowe, like the Ocean by the course of the Moone, filling it selfe with salt water, when the armie passed they were almost dry; but in their returne, the Tide (as they cōmonly say) being full the riuers were greatly risen, wherof the Portugals being ignorant, and vnskillfull of the Ford, fearefull, and chased by the Moores, they were swallowed vp; so as of a great multitude of Christians, which were in this battaile, there escaped but one hundredth, so well coulede the Barbarians execute their resolutions. The King (who in the beginning when as *Molues* artilerie first plaied, went through the armie in coach with *Christopher de Tauora*) tooke his horse, and as they say, went couragiously toward the vanguard, where remaining a while a looker on, sending first one, then another, to commaund what he thought was necessaric, he was lightly hurt with a shot in the right arme toward the shoulder, whereof inaking small account, he went ordering thinges in all parts of the armie, leauing the triangle of horse where his Standerd remained.

„ But for that he was yoong, and deprived of the greatest treasure
 „ that Kings can enioy, I meane a wife manneere him in whome he shoulde trust, when he did see his men begin to breake, and the Duke of Auero to go forward and retyre backe, he came furiously with certaine Gentlemen that were about him, to fight among the souldiers, encouraging his men valiantly by the effects, but with fewe words. Those that behelde him fight, woondered at his courage, for although that they slewe three horse vnder him, without any whit daunting him, yet was he neuer wearie to charge, strike, and succour all partes of the armie, where was greatest danger: But being but a man, aided by fewe, he cannot resist the enemies furie; nor make his friends partakers of his valour. Manie of the Nobilitie which remained yet on horsebacke, seeing the armie in route, sought the King in all parts to helpe to saue him: but the Standard which was carried before him as a marke to knowe him, was now taken, and the bearer slaine; and being deceiued with another somewhat like vnto it, which *Edward de Meneses* carried, they followed the one in steade of the other; so as the King remained as a man lost, with some of his most trustie seruants about him, and
 one

The King of Portugall fights valiantly, but is vanquished.

one Renegado, who laboured to saue him: Hauing in vaine sought to fly, being aduised to yeeld with his armes, he would by no means agree vnto it. One amongst them holding vpon the point of his sworde a white napkin in signe of peace, went towards the Moores, as an Embassadour for the rest to yeelde: but they either barbarous, or wrathfull, tooke the messenger prisoner, and charged the rest, who being fewe in number, wearied, & without courage, they were all slaine. Some say, there grew a controuersie amongst them about the Kings owne person, and for that occasion they slew him:

They sent after to seeke his bodie, and by a notable example of the inconstancie of this world, they carried it naked vpon a saddle pom-
 mell, into the roiall tent of *Moluc*, where letting it fall to the ground, it was carefully viewed by the Nobilitie that was there present, & a publicke certificate made that it was he, keeping it a fewe dayes at

*The King
 slaine by the
 Moores, and
 carried to
 Molucs
 tent.*

Aleazer-Quiuier. Such was the death of this vnfortunate King, wherein chaunced all things that might make him lamentable, his yoong age, the expectation of his vertues, the want of succession, his violent death, and the imprisonnient of his bodie. He was indued with excellent qualities, but nothing profitable vnto him, wanting by reason of his vnripe yeeres, that predominant vertue of our actions: For all his resolutions that did guide him to so rash an end, were grounded vpon his magnanimitie, zeale to religion, liberalitie, thirst of militarie glorie; of the disposition of his body, and the vigour of his courage. It seemes that we may well saie of this vnfortunate yoong Prince, that which was somerimes spoken of *Alexander the Great*; That Nature had giuen him vertue, and Fortune vices: For in truth *Sebastian* had his vertues of nature, and his vices from his education.

Mulei Mahamet escaped his enimies hands, but his too great haste to passe *Mucazen*, and to recouer *Arsizille*, was the cause he was drowned in his passage. Those whome idlenes had made curious, did note the diuersitie of these Princes deathes, for being all lost in one battaile, within the space of sixe houres, the one died of his naturall death; the second by the sword; the thirde was smothered in the water. When as *Hamet* see the battaile wonne, he ranne towards his brother, thinking to finde him aliue, and to reioice with him: but being come to his litter, they informed him of his death. And although *Moluc* had left one sonne,

*Mulei Ma-
 hamet drown-
 ed.*

*Hamet
proclaimed
king of the
Moores.*

yet did they salute *Hamet* as their King, running through their campe with ensignes proclaiming of his name, according to their custome: And for that according to the conformitie of the grandfathers will, the eldest (as it is saide) of the nephewes should succede; therefore *Hamet* was sworne Prince. The Moores fell to spoile; and take prisoners, making a very rich bootie, by reason of many precious things the Portugals had brought with them into the campe; but especially for the prisoners, which were in great number; and of great importance; for their wealth and nobilitie: besides that the Moores make more account of one Portugall prisoner, then of any other nation; for that being delicate and not able to suffer, they redeeme theselues for great sums, as these gentlemen did afterwards; who by an example of small patience, set themselves at fixe thousand duckats a peece and more: This day was famous by the death of three Kings; that is, *Sebastian*, *Mulei Moluc*, and *Mulei Mahamet*, by the imprisonment of all the Nobilitie of a Realme, & of so many souldiers; a thing seldome or neuer hapned; and also for the importance of *Sebastians* death, in the other affaires of the worlde: The number of the dead, was not so great as of the prisoners; but for that the truth is hard to be verified, it hath bred diuers opinions in the Portugals: Some haue reported that the enimies were infinite in number; others haue bin more moderate; yet haue they augmented this point: Notwithstanding there died three thousand Moores, and as many Christians; or more; amongst the which were some men of account: For besides the Captaines of the strangers, and the Duke of Auero, there was slaine *Alphonso* of Portugall, Earle of Vinniosa; *Lewes Coutigno*, Earle of Rodondo; *Vasco de Gama*, Earle of Vidiguera; *Alphonso* of Norogna, Earle of Mira; *Iohn Lobo*, Baron of Aluito; *Aluara* of Melo, sonne to the Marques of Ferrara; *Rhoderick* of Melo, eldest sonne to the Earle of Tentuguel; *Iamie* brother to the Duke of Bragance; *Iohn de Silueira*, eldest sonne to the Earle of Sorteglia; *Christopher* of Tauora; and manie other of account, so as some noble families were there wholie extinct. *Arias* of Silua, Bishop of Porto, and *Emanuel* of Meneles, Bishop of Coimbra, died likewise: The Duke of Barcellos, with *Anthony* Prior of Crato, were taken prisoners: The newe King hauing gathered together his armie, and the greatest number of

*Abattaile
famous by
the death of
three Kings.*

*The names
of the chiefe
slaine in the
battaile.*

prisoners

prisoners he could get, resolved to returne to Feez; where he entered in great triumph: For besides the colours taken, and the number of Captiues he led with him, he caused the bodie of *Mulei Mahamet* to be founde out, and hauing flaid it, and filled the skin with strawe, he carried it in triumph, to take from the Moores al the hope they had conceiued in him. After he studied carefully to discover the Gentlemen that were prisoners, taking them from the Moores and lewes, who had bought them for a small price, to drawe from them a greater raunsome, as indeede he did: Whereupon hee was noted by some to be more couetous then valiant, seeing a great indiscretion, that after so great and absolute a victorie, remaining no reliques of an enimies armie, he shoulde so sodainly betake himselfe to rest. They woulde (being but twentic and five miles from the fortes which the Portugals held in Affrick) he should presently haue laboured to force them, and haue freed the Prouince from such a curbe (being the opinion of the most expert) that if he had aduanced his campe, he had soone forced them, vnfurnished both with men and munition; and the Portugals that were there in guard remaining so astonished, for the death of their King, that they could hardly haue made defence, and so much the lesse hauing small hope to be succoured out of Portugall, *Sebastian* hauing carried with him all the Nobilitie which were woont to defende those places. So as vpon this discourse, many saide, as was spoken to *Hannibal* of the same nation, that the Affricanes although they knowe sometimes how to vanquish, yet coulde they not vse the victorie: But all well considered, the Moore proceeded in this action, with more iudgement, then others belecued, for not suffering himselfe to be carried away with prosperitie, hauing aduertisement that the Realme of Feez (the which they had receiued from such as had escaped the day of the battaile the handes of the vanguard of the Christians and of the Arabians) was somewhat altered, seeing himselfe newly King, he thought it more conuenient being armed to goe pacifie his people, and take assured possession of the Realme, then to busie himselfe with newe conquests, and leaue the certaine in doubt for the vncertaine: Besides, hauing well considered the conquest of these fortresses of the sea, he did not esteeme them easie, but of hard attempt: for besides they wanted no garrisons; and that Portugall

The couetousnes of Hamet.

was not yet so vnpeopled, but that it might soone be succoured, he held it for most certaine, that King *Philip* for his owne priuate interest would defend them with all his force, the which he might easilie effect by reason of the great number of galleies hee had prepared readie in Spaine, fearing perchance that which had happened. And for that he doubted the Andaluzians might haue some intelligence with the Turkes, and practise some treason against his person, hee cut off the head of *Doali* and some other Commaunders, and of some others of his traine. By this meanes *Hamet* got the name of a wise and considerate Prince, the which he preferued, gouerning himselfe with iudgement.

The Portugals armie at sea returnes to Lisbone.

Diego de Sofa Generall of the armie at sea, who as we haue said, remained neere Alarache, hearing the noise of the artillerie, and the brute of the two armies, most assured they were in fight, he knew not what to doe: for although his commission was there to attende the King, yet he doubted least the viewe of the enimie might force him to change his resolution, or that the way shoulde be stopped, and that he shoulde expect him in vaine, not resoluing whether it were more expedient to returne to Arzille, or attend in that place: He made likewise a question, whether he shoulde batter Alarache, (whereunto he was enclined) thinking by his cannon to giue the King a signe of his being there, and to trouble the minde of the Moore, while he was in fight; but he resolued not any thing, deteined by his blinde comission, and the aduise of some other Capteines. The armie being broken, he receiued letters from *Peter de Mesquita*, gouernour of Arzille; and withall, newes of the successe, in part false, writing vnto him that he shoulde returne with the armie to Arzille, and that King *Sebastian* came thither to imbarke. And although this letter did not easilie mooue him, doubting that *Mesquita*, demaunded the armie more for his owne assurance then otherwise; yet being certified of the Kings death, he ranne alongst the coast vnto Tanger: seeking to gather vp the remainder of the armie, and so after returne to Lisbone.

These things passed in Affrick, the news came (but without good assurance) to the Gouvernours the fourteenth of August, which did so amaze them, that for a time they knewe not what to determine, yet they kept it secret, resoluing in the meane time to call the
Cardinall

Cardinall *Henrie* (who they saide) succeeded directly to the crowne, he a little before not greatly pleasing nor agreeable to his Nephew, in a manner retired himselfe in the Abbey of *Alcobassa*, to whome with great dissimulation they sent father *George Serrano*, of the order of the Iesuits, to declare vnto him the successe, and to beseech him to come to *Lisbone*, to receiue the Scepter; although on the other part some reported that *Peter d'Alcasoua* had secretlie aduertised the Catholique King of all things, beginning to yeelde obedience, as to him whom he did foresee would be future Lorde of the Realme, if this were not a practise of his enimies to make him more suspect vnto the Cardinall *Henrie*: generally through the Realme they knewe nothing of assurance, for all passengers were staid by order from the Governours; all letters that came from forraine parts were taken, giuing the people to vnderstande a thousand fables, doubting perchaunce, that if the people knewe themselues to be without a King, they would attempt something. The Citie of *Lisbone*, as also all the rest, were in great garboile, vnderstanding that there was a Carrier come with such newes, as had greatly altered the Governours, not knowing what it was, seeing the Councell daily assembled, the letters retained, to vnderstande that they had sent both into *Castill*, and to the Cardinall, to heare that both the Christians and the Moores campes were approached, helde the whole Realme in feare of some ruine. There was none in *Lisbone* but had some interest in this warre, who so had not his sonne there, had his father; the one her husbande, the other her brother; the traders and handie-crafts men who had not their kinsemen there (and yet many of them had) did venture their wealth in it, some of them for the desire of gaine, and others for that they could not call in that which they had lent to Gentlemen, and souldiers: by reason whereof all were in heauines, euerie one seemed to foretell the losse of such friends, and goods he had in *Affrick*: and although they stooode yet doubtfull, yet might you vnderstand their secret sighes.

The Catholique King, aduertised of the successe of *Affrick*, and of that which was treated in *Portugall*, sent thither presently *Christopher de Mora*, a *Portugall*; at that time a Gentleman sewer, one of those which went into *Castil* with the Princessse mother of *Sebastian*.

A message sent to the Cardinall Henrie by the Catholique king.

He

He carried with him two Commissions : the one was to visite *Henrie*, and to let him vnderstande the King would presently sende to him another personage for the full perourmance of that office: The other was to founde the harts of the Portugals, for the which hee was thought best able, being there borne, and well vnderstanding the state of the Realme. They gaue him not the title of an Embassador, for that being doubtfull of the life or death of *Iohn de Sylua*, (who was in Affrick with that charge) the King would not yet appoint any other. *Mulei Hamet*, before his going to Maroc, desirous to make the Catholique King his friend, sent to that effect, to present him the same peace, that had beene betwixt *Moluc* and him, offering him in gift the bodie of King *Sebastian*, which he helde prisoner. This Embassadour being arriued in the Court of Castill, the King heard it willingly, and although he accepted the deliuerie of his Embassage, yet would he not receiue the Kings bodie, but appointed it shoulde be consigned to the Portugals, and therefore *Andrew Gasser Corse*, in the name of the saide Cherisse, did consigne it by publike act, to the gouernour of Ceuta, for the Catholique King: who at the same time (to requite the Moores bountie) sent *Peter Venegas* of Cordube for his Agent into Affrick, with a present of stones, valued at a hundreth thousand duckats, as well to continue the treaties of peace, as to demaund the Duke of Barcellos, the which he graunted, and sent him after free to the frontiers. In this time the Cardinall came to Lisbon, at whose arriual they published this heauie newes, so as this inward and generall sorrow, which was suppressed by the vncertaintie of the report, encreased and burst forth into teares, and lamentations: I cannot well describe the generall sorrow, how all things were filled with sighes, how euerie man was ouerladen with mourning: It was a pitifull thing to heare the women (whereof the most noble in their houses) from whence you might heare the noise, and the rest in the streetes, pouring forth their cries and teares vnto heauen, the which they redoubled so often, as the newes was confirmed by any newe aduertisement: And as it often happens that mindes suppress doe oftentimes turne to superstition, so they and likewise many men did not beleue what was saide; but hoping beyond all hope, and trusting more then they shoulde (although it were verified vnto them that their

An embassage from Hamet to the Catholique king.

The Portugals sorrow.

their husbands and kinsfolkes were dead, yet would they haue them still liuing; and deceiued by forcerers and witches, but most of all by their owne desires, remained long without their widdowes habite, expecting in vaine newes of him which was passed into an other life. Many men complained, and some cursed the King, and such as suffered him to goe into Affrick, one blames the King himselfe, another his fauorites, some the Cardinal, and some the Chamber of Lisbon, who had not hindered so foolish a resolution; some did see that Portugall was neerer her last period, and with their own miserie lamented their countries. The Governours yeelded their government to the Cardinal, who by the Nobles and Magistrates was sworne Governour and future successour to King Sebastian; The which was done to quiet the people; expecting a better confirmation of this newes from Affrick, which staid not long but was verified from all partes. And therefore they resolved to finish the ceremonie which they haue accustomed in bewailing their King dead, and to breake their Scutchions, which was this: There parted from the Magistrates house; a Citizen on horsebaeke, couered himselfe and his Horse all in blacke, with a great Ensigne in his hande likewise of blacke, bearing it vpon his shoulder that it might traile on the grounde: After him followed three olde men on foote in mourning weedes, with three scutchions in their hands, like bucklers or targets, bearing them high vpon their heades, without any figure of them, but all blacke: Then followed some Citizens of the same Magistrates, and other inferiours in great numbers: All these went through the principall streetes of Lisbon, and coming to the steps of the Cathedrall Church, which is neere to the place from whence they parted; those which holde the scutchions, mount vp certaine degrees, and one amongst them lifting vp his target, cries with a loude voice, People of Lisbon, lament your King Sebastian, who is dead: Then all the people weepes and cries: Hauing ended his words, he breakes his Scutchion as a fraile thing, striking it on the place where he standes: Then procede they on, and being come to the newe streete, ascending the staires of the little Church of our Ladie of Oliuera, another of them which carries the Scutchions, pronounceth the same wordes the former had done, and breakes his Scutchion in the same manner: The like is done

Cardinall
Henrie
sworne King
of Portugall.

The ceremonie
of the Portugals
in bewailing their
King dead.

done by the thirde, vpon the staires of the Hospitall: So as all the three Scutchions were broken in these three places, and then they returne from whence they came. At this time *Christopher d' Mora* arriued at Lisbone, who desirous to deliuer his Embassage from the King vnto the Cardinall, was not permitted; for *Henrie* (I know not the reason) would giue him no audience, before he was sworne King: Therefore they made haste to performe ordinarie ceremonies, which done, the King did heare him louingly, and he remained in the Realme, executing the charge his master had inioyned him: The forme of the oath was done in this manner: The xxv. of August the Hospitall Church of all Saints was hanged with tapestrie of silke, in the which they erected a little scaffold, on the which they placed a seate of cloth of golde; thicher came the King in the morning, in the habite of a Cardinall; going from the pallace there marched before him eight Attabales, or drums on horsebacke, after the Moreasco manner; and nine Harolds all on horsebacke, carrying vpon their cloakes their coates of Armes: after followed on foote, almost all the officers of the Courte; those of the Chamber, and other Magistrates; behinde them was the Duke of Braganca on horsebacke bare headed; bearing in his hande a sworde, with a scabberd of golde as Constable: a little after came the Cardinall vpon a Mule; the which *Aluaro de Silua* Counte of Portalegro Lord Steward of his household, ledde by the reines; there followed after many Noblemen and Gentlemen on horsebacke, with much people on foote: The Cardinall inuironed with a great multitude ascends the staires of the hospitall, being entered the Church, hauing heard Seruice, and ended his praers, he seates himselfe in the chaire prepared on the scaffold, where presently *Frauncis de Sada* (one of those that had bin gouernours) put the Scepter in his hand, and *Michell de Mora* Secretarie, standing a little off, said, (reading it with a loude voice,) that King *Henrie*, by the death of King *Sebastian*, did succede in the Realme, and therefore they had deliuered him the Scepter, and that he was come to take the accustomed oath, to maintaine and obserue vnto his people, and to any other all liberties, priuiledges, and conuentions, graunted by his predecessours: which done, the Secretarie kneeling before him with an open booke, the King laide his hande thereon, swearing so to do:

The ceremonie of the Portugals in swearing their King.


then did the Attabales founde, euery man crying *Reale Reale*, for Henry King of Portugall: this done he riseth, & with the same companie holding alwaies the Scepter in hande, he returned to the pallace, the Attabales sounding, and the Herolds crying from time to time as before.

THE THIRDE BOOKE.

The Contents of the third Booke.

The descent of the Kings of Portugall; The pretendants to the succession; The resolutions of King Henrie; And the peoples demaunds; The voyage of the Duke of Ossuna into Portugall, and other Embassadors from the Catholique King; The imprisonment of the Duke of Alua: The Catholique Kings letters to them of Lisbone: The States of Portugall: The grounds of the pretendants to the succession; The sentence of Henry against Anthony Prior of Crato, vpon his legitimation by vertue of the Popes Briefe: The reasons of the Catholique King to the Realme against euerie one of the pretendants: The preparatiues to warre of the Catholique King against the Realme of Portugall; The suspension of the briefe; The second sentence of Henry against Anthonie; The alteration of King Henry his will concerning the succession; And the Popes offers to the Catholique king.

Most


 Oft men from all the noted parts of the worlde, had their mindes and iudgements turned vpon Portugall; both for that hitherto the affaires of *Sebastian* were worthie attention, as to see nowe *Henry* come to the Crowne, who was olde and without successour; which made all Princes doubt that the succession of this Realme might trouble the publike quiet: for the Pretendants were diuers, their actions differing, all allied, and all with groundes: And although their forces were vnequall, yet were they made equal by certaine respects: But to the ende we may the better vnderstand the groundes of euery one of the pretendants, I will make a little digression to report briefly the descent of these Kings. And although from the first vnto *Henry* there raigned seauenteene, yet doe I not thinke it necessarie to take their beginning but frō *Emanuel* forward who was the fourteenth, who began his raigne in the yeere of our Lord 1495. for that of his onely progenie is issued the number of Princes that pretended to the Crowne. This man had three wiues: of the first which was *Isabell*, daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Castill, widow to *Alphonse*, sonne to *Iohn* the second of Portugall, he had no other children, (for she died in childbed) but *Michael*, who died in the cradle, who had beene (as they say) the pillar and corner stone to vnite it and Spaine together: But by his death the Portugals lost the kingdomes of Castill and Arragon, whereof *Emanuel* and *Isabell* his wife were sworne Princes; the issue male of the bloud roiall, being extinct in Castill. His second wife (which was *Marie* sister to *Isabell*, third daughter of the saide *Ferdinand*) brought him many children, vz. sixe sonnes; and two daughters, *Isabel* was married to *Charles* the fifth Emperour; *Beatrice* to *Charles* the thirde Duke of Sauoy; *Iohn* did inherite the kingdome; *Lewes* died without marrying, leauing behinde him *Anthony* his bastard sonne, he (who as you shall heare anon) was the cause of great miserie to his countrey, by reason of his pretention to the Crowne: *Ferdinand* deceased without heires; so did *Alphons* who was Cardinall, called by the title of Saint *Blaise*; and *Henry* of the title of Saint * *Quatre Coronez*, this outliued all the rest, and it is hee of whom we speake: *Edward* tooke to wife

*The descent
of the pre-
tendants to
the Crowne
of Portugall.*

* Of fower
Crownes.

Isabell

Isabell daughter to *Iaime* Duke of Bragance, by whome he had *Marie*, which afterwarde was married to *Alexander Farnese* Prince of Parma; and *Katherine*, at this present wife to *John* of Bragance; he had likewise a sonne, the which being borne after the death of his father (who liued but fower yeeres in matrimonie) was likewise called *Edward*, This is he who disfaoured by *Sebastian* died at Euora, in the yeere 1576. of his thirde wife, which was *Leonora* daughter to king *Philip* the first of Castill, archduke of Austria, who was after married to *Frauncis*, the first king of Fraunce; he had none but *Charles* who died yoong, and *Marie*, who being about sixe and fiftie yeeres olde, died a maide at Lisbone, in the yeere 1578. But returning to *John*, the thirde sonne of the second wife, who succeeded *Emanuel* in the kingdome, he contracted marriage with *Katherine*, sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and had issue *Marie*, who after was the first wife of *Philip* the second king of Castill, now raigning, from whom issued *Charles*, who died yoong; the which if he had liued, without doubt had preceeded the Cardinall *Henry* in the succession of the crowne. The saide *John* and *Katherine* had many male children which died yoong, one onely outliued the rest, named *John*, who (as some say) died yoong with excessiue loue of his wife, sister to the saide *Philip*, leauing her great with childe, and after deliuered of *Sebastian*, during his grandfathers life, who soone after passed to an other worlde, and this is that *Sebastian* which died in Affrick.

Let vs now come to the pretentions: The Catholique King, as it is saide, put himselfe foremost, being borne of *Isabell* the eldest daughter of *Emanuel*: And although as a Castillian, he was naturally hated of that nation, yet he supposed that being mightie, compassing in the Realme with his dominions, and the Portugals vncexpert, he shoulde soone either by loue or force become master thereof: *John* Duke of Bragance challenged the Realme as the right of *Katherine* his wife, alleaging he was neerer to the succession then the Catholique King, being (although a woman) daughter to the saide *Edward*, brother to the saide *Isabell*. And forasmuch as the Duke is the greatest personage of the Realme, and his subiects most warlike, trusting on the fauour of *Henry*; who did then grace him, and hauing small experience, in the affaires of the worlde, he held himselfe

The pretentions to the Crowne of Portugall.

The King of Spaine.

The Duke of Bragance.

The Prince
of Parma.

Anthony
Prior of
Crato.

The Duke
of Sauoy.

The people
of Portugall.

The
Queene
mother of
Fraunce.

halfe in possession. *Alexander* Prince of Parma, sonne to *Octavius Farnesse*, did pretend it for his eldest son *Rhainucius*, as male, issued from *Marie*, the eldest daughter of the saide *Edward*, sister to the saide *Katherine*. And although his territories were farre off, yet besides that some supposed the Church shoulde fauour him, it seemed the Portugals woulde be pleased to haue a yoong king, whom they might breede vp after their owne manner. But *Anthony* Prior of Crato, sonne of *Lewes*, who was brother to the saide *Henrie*, sought the Crowne, but with more vehemencie, saying, he was legitimate, and no bastard, as it was supposed: And although he were without lands, and disgraced by *Henry*, yet being fauoured by the people, he supposed that *Henry* dying, he shoulde in despite of all the rest be crowned. *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, although sonne to *Beatrice*, yoongest sister to the Catholique Kings Mother, and yoonger then the saide King, did not yet leaue off his pretentions, but with greater modestie: And for that amongst the pretendants strangers, the Portugals were more inclined to him, then to anie other, it was supposed he woulde not let slippe the occasion: And this inclination proceeded from the opinion they had, that in regarde of the qualitie of his person, he shoulde be fitter then anie other to defende them from their enimies, and if neede were, hec might vigorously resist King *Philip* if he shoulde stirre, both by reason of his valour, and for the meanes he had to molest him in his Duchie of Millaine, ioyning vnto Piedmont, vsing chiefly the alliance and neighbourhoode he had with Fraunce. The peoples pretention was not vnconsidered, for that the issue male of their Kings failing, they pretended the election to belong to them: they grounded it, that women did neuer succeed, but in an interreigne, a woman was excluded; and *John* the first, the tenth king of this Realme, chosen by the people: It seemed that this pretention shoulde not onely be contrarie to all pretendant strangers, but also might breed a diuision within the Realme. *Katherine* of Medecy (widdowe to *Henry* the second King of Fraunce) did likewise pretende, saying that she was before all others, by an action fetched a farre off, but fortified with liuely reasons by her Embassadors. The ground was, That when as *Sanches* the second raigned in Portugall, whom they called *Cappello* of the habite which he did vse, *Alphons* his brother married

married with *Matilda* then Countesse of Bulloigne in Picardie: And that after by the weakenes of *Sanches*, the people with the consent of Pope *Honorius* the thirde, then rainging, called in *Alphonse* to be as tutor and gouernour of the Realme (a testimony of the auncient Religion of this nation) who euen in temporall matters did flie vnto the Pope: And although at his cōming he did but vsurpe, yet soone after the King dying without heires, the Earle did lawfully inherite the Crowne; hauing had before by his French wife some children, who vnderstanding her husband to be King, and not to returne any more to Bulloigne, hauing prepared certaine ships she went to him into Portugall: But for that *Alphonse* being now King did treat a marriage in Castill, to haue the Kingdome of Algarues in dower, as he after had, without the consent of the Pope, she was neither seene nor receiued by him: So as all the other Portugall Kings which haue succeeded, haue drawen their originall from this *Alphonse*, and the children of his *Castillian* wife: The Queenes Embassadours said, That all the Kings which had succeeded him, and his children, had (as Bastards) vniustly inherited, and that the kingdome ought to returne by direct line, to the heires of the lawfull children of the said *Alphonse*, and the Countesse of Bulloigne, whom they said to be Queene *Katherine* of Medicy, mother to King *Henry* the third, daughter to *Laurence* of Medicy, and of *Magdalen* of Bulloigne, the onely remainder in direct line of that house, and heire to that County; the which although shee did not then possesse, being incorporate by the Kings of Fraunce, as a matter of importance, seated vpon the limits of Flaunders and England, yet they gaue vnto the Queene in recompence the Earledom of Loranguail which shee now inioyeth. They did likewise affirme (but with small reason) that the Pope did pretend, alleadging that the Realme was not onely the spoile of the Cardinall, but when as *Alphonse*, who was the second Earle of Portugall obtained of the church the Title of a King, hee bound himselfe to pay certaine markes of gold for a Tribute. But heereof they made small reckoning. These pretentions did much afflict the mindes of Princes, and made the people feare some broyles, vnderstanding that both the Queene of England was displeas'd against the Catholike King for the affaires of Ireland, and that the King of Fraunce, and the

*The Pope
pretends the
election.*

Turke, were not contented to see King *Philip* become so mightie, conquering a kingdome of so great importance: On the other side, *Philip* would not indure that any other but himselfe should become Lord, for the neighbourhood of their countries, supposing the least inconuenience that could happen, was the ciuill warre betwixt the Duke of Bragrance and the Prior.

The deliberations of King Henry at his coming to the Crowne.

But returning to the Cardinall *Henrie*, being seated in the royall throne, although he were of 67. yeeres of age, and not healthful, yet he looked about him, and (as it were determined from aboue, that Portugall should fall by degrees to his declining) hee did not prouide for the state, according to the opinion that was conceiued of him: but the Realme by reason of their miseries passed, remaying as a bodie emptie and afflicted, which needed a wise Phisitition to restore it. But as one mischiefe comes not alone, the new King did more torment it; for although many supposed, that hee being olde, a priest, and of an exemplarie life, hee should lay all passions aside, and be more carefull to settle the state of the common wealth, » then he had found it, yet notwithstanding he could not temper himselfe with such disposition as was fit for his yeeres and degree: But » as it often happens to such as haue beene oppressed, who coming » to rule, seeke reuenge of their euinies, euen so did he (not imitating » the example of *Lewis* the 12. King of Fraunce, who disdained to requite the wrongs done him being Duke of Orleance) hee resolved to reuenge the iniuries done him being Cardinal, if they may be wel termed iniuries, when as Princes be not respected of their inferiors as they ought: For being not greatly fauoured by the King his predecessor, the ministers and fauorites of his nephewe did not respect him as was fit, not conceiuing (being so old and *Sebastian* so yoong) that euer he should haue attained to the Crowne: By reason whereof he depriued almost all the officers of the court, and some of them that did mannage the Kings Treasure of their offices, and aduanced his owne seruants. The first on whom he discharged the heat of his choler was *Peter d' Alcasoua*, for that he did detest him from the time he was Secretorie, and he Gouvernor of the Realme, during the nonage of *Sebastian*: as also for that he thought to haue reason to punish him, hauing beene an actor in these warres, and seconded the Kings will, and as one of his Chamberlaines had had the greatest charge

Peter d' Alcasoua in disgrace with King Henry.

charge to make the preparatiues for the war, hee did suspend him from all his offices, and proceeded against him by way of Iustice: And although all his faults were restrained to this, onely to haue counselled, or at least not dissuaded the king from the warre of Africke, yet his processe being verified, he suffered condemnation by the Iudges, to loose all his offices, priuiledges, and recompences, which had beene giuen him in the end of *Sebastians* life. It preuailed not for his iustification, to alleage, that if the Cardinall himselfe did not perswade the enterprife, yet at the least he did consent vnto it, and approoue it, which fault was greater in him, then in any other, that his perswasions shoulde be of more importance with the king, then all mens, seeing that for the preheminance of his place he alone might speake cleerely, and force him, which others could not doe, fearing as subiects (and with reason) the indignation of a yoong king; the which (they say) he ought not to haue feared, both for his qualitie and his age, which should neither yeeld to feare nor hope. He tooke the same course against *Lewes de Silua*, and many others that came out of Affrick, whereby it was apparent the King knew not absolutely how to vse clemencie, nor wrath: for neither did he pardon as a man of the Church, nor reuenge as a displeas'd Prince. This bredde an alteration in all the affaires of the Realme, neither was it sufficient that such as were aduanced to these newe offices, were men without experience, who by their ignorance did mightily trouble such as did treat with them, but for that we easily encline to the woorst, some of them vnder colour to seeme affectionate seruants to their king, not onely provided for that which passed their charge, but examined the actions of their predecessors; finding therein a thousand cauils, and preferring the appearance of the kings profite, before iustice, they disannulled conuentions and lawes, to the great trouble and damage of many, and small honour to themselues, and then did they seeme to doe best iustice, when they did molest most, such as *Sebastian* had fauoured, and wrought quite contrarie to that which had beene formerly done: Notwithstanding, if any thing were done by them that was absolutely good, it was the disannulling of the impost of salt, which *Sebastian* had imposed.

Whilest these things passed in Portugall, the Catholique King

*Sebasti-
ans obse-
quies at
Madrill.*

having sent *Christopher de Mora* thither, & *Peter de Venegas* into Africa, he perfourmed the funerals of *Sebastian*, in the Church of *Saint Ierome* at *Madrill*, although it was secretly muttered that the Duke of *Alua* shoulde say, the King shoulde haue perfourmed it in *Portugall*, in our Ladies Church of *Belem*, where the other Kings are accustomed to be interred, inferring it may be, that *Philip* was successour to *Sebastian*, or at the least shoulde assure himselfe by force of the succession after *Henry*, causing himselfe to be sworne Prince. The report of the Dukes words, did greatly mooue *Ferrant de Silua*, Embassadour for *Portugall*, and all the Portugals, being a speech that did pearce their harts; proceeding from a person whom they helde enimie to their nation, for the olde grudges betwixt him and *Ruigomes de Silua*, a naturall Portugall, in great credite with *Philip*; besides that, being a principall man of account, they feared least he spake it with participation of the Kinges minde, and tooke it as a declaration of his meaning. In this time they spake diuersly of these affaires: For although amongst the Castillians, the Duke himselfe, and one or two other principall persons, had this consideration, yet in generall they did not beleue it, neither had they considered that *Philip* shoulde inherite this Realme, but they supposed it did of right appertaine to the sonne of the Duke of *Parma*. But the Portugals (who had better considered thereof, and whose lawes were more in fauour of *Philip* then those of *Castill*) were amongst themselves better resolved: neither was the Catholique King long vn-satisfied; hauing both in his owne Countries, in *Portugall* and other places caused learned men diligently to examine who was by right & equitie the true successour of this Realme, he began now to conceiue that after *Henry* the succession appertained vnto himselfe: And nowe he founde, that it was not onely the generall opinion of the Doctors, but some amongst them, yea of the Portugals themselves, did maintaine that the King did preceede the Cardinal, and that these Realmes did appertaine to the Crowne of *Castill*. They alléged (but with the authoritie of fewe Doctors) that the lawes of *Portugall*, and the Ciuill likewise, ordaine, that in case of Realmes, the inheritance shall goe to the neereft kinsmen of the last possessour, prouided alwaies, that he be issued from the same stocke: That *Sebastian* being the last, the Catholique King was the neereft

*The discord
that fell out
for that one
said Philip
did preceede
Henric.*

nearest kinsman he had, and of the same race; for besides that he was the eldest of the Nephewes of King *Emanuel*, he was brother to the Kings mother deceased, and preceeded the Cardinall a degree, being brother to his grandfather. They did likewise renewe the auncient pretention of the Castillians, saying, that by right the Realme appertained vnto them, for that King *Alphonse* the sixth, could not by generall consent, nor with any reason disunite it from the Crowne; neither *Alphonse* the tenth giue the Algarues to his daughter in dowry, nor free it of the tribute whereunto it was bounde. And although this last pretention to preceede *Henry*, seemed to the King and his ministers of force, yet he resolved onely to follow the first, and to succede the Cardinall, for desiring to enioy the Realme with peace, *Henry* being already proclaimed king with the consent of the people, he supposed he could not without offence, or without forces take possession thereof: besides the respect he bare vnto his vncle, and the hope of his short life. Heere may be noted the hazard (if we may so tearme it) whereunto the King (if he had interest by his affinitie) did thrust his heires, by the concealing of his right, fearing to offende that nation. For besides that during the life of *Henry*, the Portugals shoulde haue leisure to prepare against him, if they were not disposed to yeelde to his subiection, and if he shoulde die before the Cardinall, his successors were excluded from this great inheritance, and *Emanuel Phillibert* Duke of Sauoy did preceede all the rest.

While these things were consulting in Castill, the King of Portugall somewhat settled in his Throne, and the heate of his first inclination tempered, all the States of the Realme entreated him to prouide, that before his death a successor were declared, that after his decease they might not liue in suspence: And therefore the Magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbon, being superior to all others of the Realme, made great instance vpon this point, and one day all the officers being assenbled, they went to courte, where one of them in the name of the rest spake thus vnto the King; Your Highnes shall vnderstande, with how great desire and affection his people of Lisbon, beseecheth the Lorde to graunt him a long life, for thereon depends all our good, hoping that in time it may alter many things which now holdeth vs in carefull consideration: ”

The demands of the people of Portugall.

The

» The wounde of afflictions, which this Realme hath suffered, is yet
 » so greene and so lamentable, as we will not at this present make
 » mention thereof; It sufficeth they are such, as the memorie will
 » neuer be extinct whilest the worlde continueth: and although we
 » be bound to lay the fault vpon our owne offences, yet may we at-
 » tribute a parte to the negligence of the people, and of such as at
 » that time did gouerne the common wealth: But being expedient
 » not to heape error vpon error, it seemes we ought with a liuely
 » voice, and due humilitie, cry vnto your highnes, that (as a iust and
 » holy king,) you woulde preuent the miseries that hang ouer vs: It
 » cannot enter into our thoughts to mooue you to marriage, being
 » no iudges of your conscience, and disposition; but we may well say,
 » if these two cōsiderations do allow it, why do you suffer the delay of
 » one day? If you be resolued not to marry, your Highnes ought with
 » the like care to say vnto such as pretend to the succession, that with-
 » in a time prefixed they shoulde come to deliuer their reasons; that
 » if the successor be a naturall borne, the people shal haue some brea-
 » thing from the afflictions they suffer; if he shall be a stranger, it
 » seemes conuenient they shoulde know it, and haue leisure to aduise
 » what to do: For if our sinnes permit that the Lorde shall call away
 » your Highnes, being in the state we are now, what shall become of
 » vs? being most apparant that all such as pretend to haue any title,
 » do consult, arme, plot, and measure their forces, while the people re-
 » maines doubtfull, not knowing with reason vnto what part to in-
 » cline: Your Highnes dying in this time before the deciding of the
 » cause, we beseech you to cōsider the oppressions they shal suffer, the
 » spoilings, the murders, the dishonoring of women and holy things,
 » and all other excesse, which is commonly practised in such times,
 » the which may be wholie auoided, by knowing who shall succede
 » vnto the crowne. We do solícite your Highnes to sweate a Prince,
 » (for it may be, he that at this present hath interest to this Realme,
 » God may call him before your Highnes) but the contrary hapning
 » we may plainly knowe who shall succeed, for heerein consistes the
 » quiet of this Realme: if you do it not willingly, or that there be any
 » let, you ought to consent that the people declare one, especially
 » they of the citie of Lisbone, vpon whom all Portugall dependes:
 » The holie Ghost, who is the guide of kings, inspire your Highnes,
 » that

that by his merits, the anger of God may be pacified, the which he ,,
powreth downe vpon vs for our offences, and grant that we may ,,
amend our liues, and preferue your Highnes in health, for which ,,
all his people praie. In this manner the officer of the Chamber ,,
spake in vaine, but forasmuch as it seemed vnto the king (ouer ruled
in this respect by the diuine power) that the remedie was not so
easie, nor the matter so soone decided, as they supposed; he made
answere, that it was a care grauen in his hart, the which he woulde
effect with all possible speede, resolving to haue regard vnto it.

But this succession gaue greater cause both to thinke, & talke se-
cretlie, and openlie in Castill then in anie other place; for the King
resolving by all possible meanes to vnite Portugall, with his other
Kingdomes, the Nobilitie did not willingly entertaine it, but did
seeme that the greatest from *Charles* the fifth forwards, had not
tasted the greatnes of the King, lesse respecting them, then had
done the auncient Kings of Castill, making them march in one
degree of equall iustice with their inferiours. The other Gen-
tlemen and common people were nothing enclined to this vni-
on: Saying, that if this Realme were not separated from the rest
of Spaine, they shoulde haue no meanes to marrie their Kings
daughters, but into other prouinces, which were dangerous both
for that the women did not inherite, and for the heresies where-
with the northren Regions bee at this present infected: Manie
and of all qualities, (who holding Portugall as the Sanctuarie of
Castill) were content with the separation, remaining as an assu-
red retreat for offenders. It seemed to the King that hee shoulde
not onely send a sufficient man thither to performe that office, but
also that it was necessaric, that one of the chiefe of Spaine, and best
acquainted with the affaires of State, shoulde goe to propound the
cause of succession: For this occasion they named as it is said *Gasper*
Quiroga, Cardinall and Archbishop of Toledo: *Ferdinand Aluares*
of Toledo, Duke of Alua; *Anthony* of Toledo, Prior of the order
of *Saint Iohns*, master of the Kings Horse; *Frauncis Pacheco* Cardi-
nall of Burgos, all principall personages: *Quiroga* was thought ve-
rie fit by reason of his dignitie and wisdome, together with the ex-
perience he had gotten in the court of Rome, hauing bene there
long Auditor of the Rota: The Duke of Alua for his authoritie, ex-
perience,

*Councill up-
on the Em-
bassage the
King sent to
Henry.*

perience, and wisdom, was thought the better, for beginning to feare they should come to armes, it seemed that he best could treat of the succession, and withall founde the Portugals forces, and what succours they might drawe vnto them, and afterwards if neede required, being a great captaine, coulde by his aduise vndertake the warre with greater assurance. Manie did approoue *Anthony* of *Tolledo*, for besides the opinion, they had of his wisdom, he was accounted godly, religious, and otherwise vertuous, the which they supposed would make him more pleasing vnto *Henry*. But in the iudgement of the most aduised, they preferred the Cardinall of *Burgos*, for besides those other good parts which he enioied with the rest, he was thought most able to treat the matter of State; besides that, being a priest, and a Cardinall, they shoulde seeme to sende vnto *Henry* a companion. But notwithstanding, there was not in *Spain* any greater personages of like experience vnto these, to maniage a matter of so great importance, being the greatest that euer was presented vnto this crowne; yet the preferred *Peter Girone* Duke of *Ossuna*; and although his qualitie (being great among the greatest of the Realme) was woorthie of anie charge, accompanied with manie vertues, and some other particularities, that were necessarie for the voiage; notwithstanding, some did attribute this election to the ordinarie diseases of the court, and to the respects which Kings Councils doe commonly vse, inferring thereby that therein he was extraordinarily fauoured by *Peter Fassardo*, *Marques de los Veles* his kinsman, at that time fauoured by the king. Some said also (and it may be not without grounde) that it was not conuenient to sende anie personage into *Portugall*, whose wisdom, and iudgement were knowie vnto the worlde, to the ende the Portugals shoulde not feare to treat freely with him of all matters, but it was necessarie they shoulde esteeme him affable and curteous, to discouer easilie vnto him their minds; of which humour the rest were not. And although on the one side the Cardinals did seeme fittest to treat with a king, who was also a Cardinall; they did think on the other side that *Henry* might take it ill, to sende one vnto him, who was equall with him in dignitie. There hapned at the same time a matter which bred no small woonder in this court, and in others likewise, the which for that it chaunced to a person of whom

*The Duke
of Ossuna
sent to Hen-
ric.*

*The impri-
sonment of
the Duke
of Aluc, and
the cause.*

we are often to make mention, although it be somewhat from our purpose, we will not leaue to report. The Duke of Alua was banished by the kings commandement, to Vzeda, siue and twentie miles from the court, for that *Fredericke* his eldest sonne, being taken at Tordefillas, a village of that Realme, for that he refused to marrie with one of Queene *Ifabella* of Valoys her maides, to whom (as she said) he had promised, whilest the king was entreated by her friends, to force him to marrie her, he by the aduise of his father, brake prison, and was gone to Alua, to marrie with *Marie de Toleda* his cosen, daughter vnto *Garcie*, he which was Generall at sea, the which hee effected, returning presently vnto the same prison. The Duke bare this affliction with great humilitie and constancie, so as all hatred ceasing, his verie enimies did pittie his miserie. This banishment was remarkeable, both for his estate, age, and the notable seruices he had done vnto this crowne, as also to see the integritie of the king, who notwithstanding the necessitie he seemed to haue of his person in matters of importance, that drewe neere, could not cause him any thing to dissemble the execution of that which he thought fit for iustice, or his reputation: It was also remarkeable for the great offices, which some Princes did in his fauour; but most of all his holines, who did instantly sollicite his deliuerie by the meanes of his *Nuncio*, saying, that although he could not presume of the kings iust intention, but that the Dukes imprisonment proceeded from some great cause, yet he could not in duty but performe this office: It was saide, this good will of the Pope towards the Duke, proceeded from the seruice hee had done vnto the Apostolique seate, hauing made long warre against the Infidels and heretikes, and also for that which he had done against the Church it selfe, effecting that which was conuenient to his king; whilest as enimie hee was contrarie vnto it, as he did defende it, being a friend, binding vnto him, not onely *Paule* the fourth, who was then Pope, but also his successors. And it seemes strange that the greatest loue they say the Church had vnto him, sproong from the warre which he made against it: The Deputies of Castill which were then in court, laboured for him, and although the king sent them worde they shoulde be contented, and not sue vnto him, for that he woulde not refuse anie thing they shoulde demaund, yet this manner of demaunding
and

and denying serued for a great office. The King from the beginning, was in hope to make himselfe peaceable Lord of the Realme of Portugall, although he were not ignorant of the small inclination the Portugals had vnto him, but hee let passe nothing which he thought fit to gaine their loues; and to this effect he did write to all the chiefe cities of the Realme, his pretention, offering and threatening; but in the greatest part his letters were not receiued in publike. To the citie of Lisbone, he did write in this manner: Most noble, and our welbeloued, although I haue appointed *Christopher de Mora* to saie vnto you some things, which you shall vnderstande from him, yer woulde I giue you to knowe by my letters, that there is no man in this world (more then my selfe) that hath felt the losse of noble king *Sebastian* my nephew, and of his men: The reasons for which I ought to haue this iust feeling, are easie to be considered, hauing lost a sonne, and a friend, whom I loued tenderly, and in the same degree I held and hold all those that are lost with him, for I doe cherish and loue all them of this Realme as my owne subiects: And I thinke it is not vnknowne, the great diligence I vsed to diuert his iourney, as well personally my selfe at *Guadalupa*, as also before and since by my ministers, whereof many of the principall of this Realme are good witnesses: But not to reuiue so great a grieffe, let vs lay apart the things which cannot be remedied, fixing our eies on the true consolation, which is, that those afflictions were giuen by the hande of God, and suffered by the greatnes of his prouidence: we ought likewise particularly to comfort our selues, that in this wretched and miserable age, this Realme hath gotten for their Governour so Christian and wise a Prince, as is the king mine vncle, whose rare vertues, and exemplarie life, giueth vs cause with reason, to expect that he will settle the present affaires in so peaceable an estate, that we shall proceede in all things with the mildenes and gentlenes I wish, for the loue I beare to all, and singularly for the degree of amitie, and affinitie, which hath alwaies beene betwixt these two crownes, and betwixt my selfe and the Lords of the same Realme, being all of one bloud, and my selfe and my children, nephewes of noble king *Emanuel*, being nourished and brought vp by the Empresse, and Ladie my Mother. For these causes and considerations, I haue as great respect to the king mine vncle, and

Philips letters to the citie of Lisbone.

as great cause to wish him a long and happie life as your selues : But
the affaires of the succession of this Realme, being in the estate you
know; I haue with great consideration, and due aduise examined
the right, which it hath pleased God by his secret iudgments to giue
me : And causing this action to be viewed by men of great learning,
and conscience, both within mine owne Realme, and without; all
doe finde, that without doubt the succession thereof doth rightlie
appertaine vnto me; and that there liues not any at this day that can
with reason contradict me, by manie and cleere grounds, being a
male, & the eldest, as it is apparently knowne. And hauing resolved
to make this point knowne to the noble King mine vncke, with loue
and due respect, I haue earnestly entreated him, that it would please
him presently to declare it, as he is bounde, for the discharge of his
conscience, and for the bond he hath to doe right and iustice; but
most of al for that it concernes the preferuation, peace, rest, augmen-
tation, and prosperitie of these Realmes, and of all the subiects
thereof, the which hee ought both chiefly to care for, and to pro-
cure, seeing that besides the saide effects, it shall cause an other of
greater importance, which is that which concerneth the seruice of
God our Lord, & the assurance & encrease of our holy Catholike
faith. I thought good to doe the like office to this citie, hauing re-
gard vnto the fidelitie, whereof it hath alwaies made profession, &
being the chiefe of these Realmes, assuring you therewithall, that he
that shall inherite, is no forreine king, but a naturall borne, as I haue
saide before, seeing that I am nephew and sonne to your naturall
Princes, issued of the same bloude, and will be alwaies a father to
euerie one of you, as you shall finde when it shall please God: But
at this time I will entreate you, that with your wisdom, and great
experience, you woulde consider and note wherein I may honour
and fauour you, not onely to conserue your liberties, and priuiled-
ges both ingenerall, and particular, desiring that all other cities of
the Realme, shoulde vnderstande the same, whereof I prairie you to
giue them notice, being requisite that euerie one shoulde know the
loue and affection which I beare to all, and it shall be iust, that in
knowing it, you conforme your selfe to that which is the will of
God, whose iudgements and determinations no man may resist,
but we ought to belecue that what he determines is for the best: So

» as trusting, that both this citie, and the rest, when time shall require,
 » will doe that whereunto they are bound : I haue nothing to say, but
 » that besides the feeling which I haue had of miseries past, I haue
 » beene in particular grieued for the losse of so great numbers of the
 » Nobilitie and Commons of this Realme, whereof that battaile was
 » the cause : And therefore I require you to aduise, what I may do for
 » those that remaine yet slaues, and write vnto me : for although I
 » both haue, and daily had that care, I haue thought fit and coueni-
 » ent, yet shall I be glad to vnderstande your aduise, that all thinges
 » conuenient might bee performed for their deliuerie, and rest as-
 » sured that whatsoever shall concerne you, I will deale in it with the
 » loue of a father, as you shall know more particularlie by the effects,
 » when as occasion shall serue to make triall thereof, the which you
 » shall vnderstande by *Christopher de Mora*, to whom I referre you.

The Catholique king sent this Letter by the saide *Mora*, to be deli-
 uered to the Magistrate of the Chamber, who going for that intent
 presented it vnto them : But being troubled, they doubted that in
 receiuing thereof, they shoulde offende against the Crowne, so as
 refusing it, they willed him to take it with him, and deliuer it to the
 King, the which *Mora* denying, it remained still with them vnopen-
 ned : And least they shoulde be ignorant of the contents, he drew
 a copie out of his bosome, and read it vnto them publikely, di-
 spersing sundrie copies throughout the citie. The orignall was by
 the Vereadures carried to the king : This did smally further *Philips*
 affaires, but rather hinder him, and was by the wisest both of Spaine
 and Portugall, and also by some of the Kings Counsell, helde as a
 remedie not fitting the Portugals humour ; who generally hating
 the Castillians, being newe and rude in this matter, it was not pro-
 bable they shoulde yeelde vpon a simple Letter. At this time there
 came intelligence, that he who had the charge of Embassadour of
 Portugall, was not onely liuing in Alcazerquiuir (although sore
 hurt) but that the Cheriffe had released him, & was comming with
 the bodie of King *Sebastian* to Ceuta, and from thence within fewe
 daies (being at Christmas, in the yeere 1578) they vnderstoode he
 was arriued at Ciuill, his comming was (by the best acquainted with
 the affaires of Portugall) held verie profitable, for returning to his
 charge, he seemed more sufficient then anie other to treat of so
 waightie

*The deliue-
 rance and
 returne of
 John de Sil-
 na, Embassa-
 dor for Phi-
 lip in Portu-
 gall.*

weightie a cause, being indued (besides his good iudgement) with many other good parts, necessarie for the manning of such a business. For besides that he had good experience of King *Henrie* his disposition, and the humour of the Portugals, he was verie pleasing vnto them, it may be, for that he was of the house of *Sylua*, who being verie noble in Portugall, passed into Castill, during the controuersies betwixt king *Iohn* the first, and the master of the Auis, and being borne of a Portugall mother, they helde him for their countreyman: Besides that, with the fauour of King *Sebastian*, he was married in Portugall with *Phillippa de Silua*, heire to *Aluaro de Silua*, Earle of *Portalegra*, Lord Steward of the Kings house, and one of the principall Noblemen of the Realme: But whilest that euerie man expected his present departure from Ciuill to Portugall, the King called him to Court, saying, that he woulde first instruct him by mouth, of his intentions, and of the present occurrents. In the meane time the Duke of *Ossuna* arriued within the Realme, who seeming to be sent onely to performe complements with the king, he was lodged, and roially entertained at the charge of the Court, where hauing deliuered his simple legation, he went to *Settunall*, to visite *Magdalen Girone*, his sister, widow to *George d'Alencastro*, Duke of *Auero*, but hee returned sodainly, making shewe he had newe commission to treat of the succession, wherewith king *Henrie* was greatly discontented, being vnwilling to haue the presence of a personage so qualified, on the behalfe of *Philip*, as it were a wirnes of his actions, the which did likewise displease all the Portugals, the rather for that (with *Mora*) he began to sollicit the King to declare *Philip* successour of the Realme, shewing vnto him formerly by many reasons that his title was iust.

The Duke
of *Ossuna*
arriues in
Portugall,
and his pro-
ceedings.

Nowe did King *Henrie* at the great intreatie of his subjects, resolue to set the best order he could touching the question of succession, and to content them: For this cause remaining greatly in suspense, hauing consulted the matter with fewe, but of his greatest favorites, they concluded after much counsell, infinite opinions and many disputations, that it was not conuenient at that time to declare any one Prince: The reason was, that the neereft heire vnto the Realme, they supposed to be the Catholique King, whom they hated most, and therefore sought by all meanes possible to flie his

commād, thinking nothing more fit to effect it, then to protract the nomination of the Prince, not meaning to specific any: For naming any other they shoulde procure his indignation against them, and giue him occasion or his heires that should succeed him, to attempt an action better grounded, whereas by delaying it, there should remaine vnto them (at the least) this weake hope, that the Catholique king (although yoonger, yet mortall) might die before olde King *Henry*, which hapning they shoulde be freed from the Castillians, and then shoulde succeed (as it is said) the Duke of Sauoy, of whom they had no such feare, but woulde more willingly yeeld to his subiection. The King supposed that *Katherine* Dutches of Bragance, preceeded all other pretendents, except the Catholique King, aided (as it may be) by his owne naturall inclination, he conuerted all his thoughts in her fauour, and (if it were possible) to giue her the crowne, writing to the vniuersitie of Coimbra, many allegations in her behalfe: To effect this, it was thought necessarie to cite all the pretendents, to appeere and produce their reasons, the which was sodainly put in execution, although in the iudgement of many it was thought out of season, seeming more conuenient first to conclude it in parliament, and then to effect it, whereby it was apparant that the king did gouerne himselfe daily without order, or any constant resolution what he woulde doe: He did yet foresee, that dying before *Philip* as it was likely, the Realme should remaine confused, and without a Gouvernour which shoulde rule the Realme, during the interreigne, and that the Noblemen and Commons shoulde presently sweare obedience vnto them, and after examine the reasons of the pretendents. And although they feared that King *Philip* woulde be displeas'd, yet they hoped to satisfie him, promising it shoulde no way preiudice his title, nor any thing delay it, but onely to proceede with more grounde, as it was conuenient, giuing out, that King *Henrie* woulde marrie, and send to Rome for a dispensation, being a Priest, so as being capable of issue, it was not expedient to sweare a Prince: This matter being concluded amongst fewe, and of the chiefest, within fewe daies after (least it should not seeme to be done in priuate, but with a general consent,) and to choose gouernours *Henrie* called to Court the three estates of the Realme, that is, the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Deputies of the cities, and

King Henry inclined to the pretence of the Dutches of Bragance.

An Embas-
sador chosen
to goe to
Rome, to ob-
taine dispen-
sation for
Henria to
marrie.

The nomi-
nation of 5.
gouernours, &
of the iudges
of the suc-
cession.

The oath to
obey the
electea Go-
uernours.

although God did suffer (it may be for a punishment to the Portu-
gals) that the King held this Councell for the best, yet experience
did shewe, that it was the woorst course they coulde haue taken, for
to put the cause in proceffe, did breed vaine hopes in some of the
pretendents, which after were causes of great ruine to the crowne.
And to the end the motion of the kings in marriage shoulde seeme to
be spoken with some grounde, they named vnto the estates *Edward
de Castelbianco* to goe to Rome, and treat with the Pope for his di-
spensation: they did choose fifteene gentlemen vpon the backe of
the rowle, whereof the King with his owne hand shoulde write five
of them, which so chosen, shoulde gouerne the Realme, vntill it
were decided who shoulde be King. There was also about this no-
mination of the Gouvernours, no small controuersie betwixt the
King and his Councell of estates, for that the king would absolutely
name the five, the Councell woulde not consent vnto it, but they
would do it: And when they were agreed that the Councell should
name fifteene, and the King choose five of them, there grew a newe
discord among them; for the Councell desired to know who should
be these five; some woulde not onely haue them published, but also
during the Kings life put in possession of the government, that after
they might be the better obeyed: but notwithstanding, they resol-
ued to keepe it secret, yet generally they coniectured (and truely)
who they were. They chose also fower and twentie Iudges vpon
the backe of the rowle, of these the King did name eleuen, to iudge
the cause of the succession, if he shoulde not determine it before his
death: This was held, and chiefly by the Castillians a fault of impor-
tance, the king shewing himselfe to be ignorant, that his roiall iu-
risdiction did end with his life, and that this naming of Gouvernours
was to rule after his death, whereof they had an example with them,
of *Elizabeth* Queene of Castill, who in vaine prescribed lawes for
the government of the Realme after her decease. In this sorte the
States ended, and soone after the Duke of Bragance, with the No-
bilitie, and the Deputies of the Realme, sware obedience to such as
the king had chosen Gouvernours, and to him that shoulde be decla-
red king. It would not be forgotten the manner of oath the Prior
tooke, for being called before the king, and commanded to swear
to obey the forme aforesaid, he answered that he would first speake
vnto

vnto him: The King replied, that there was no neede, but that he shoulde sweare, the which he refusing to doe, the king grewe in choller; whereupon casting his eies vpon his friendes, that were about him, as who shoulde say, that he was forced to lay his handes vpon the Euangelist, against the opinion of many, who beleueed he shoulde rather commit some disorder then sweare. The Rowle of the Gouvernours with the nomination vpon the backe of it was locked vp in a coffer, and deliuered to the keeping of the Magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbon, the people whereof were male content, fearing it had beene giuen to the Castilians: The which was apparant, for that a little before there came boldly to the assemblee of the Nobilitie, before the whole Councell, two mechanic officers, of those that representing the people, are imploied to the Magistrate of the citie. The one of them crauing audience, said, *cc* they had vnderstoode, that some of the chiefe of that assemblee, *cc* neglecting their dutie and honour, had spoken slanderously, and *cc* wrought against the publike good, and suretie of the Realme, which *cc* like good Portugals they resolued to preuent, as before the inhabitants of the same citie had done in the times of king *John* the first, and *cc* of other kings: And therefore they required the whole Councell, *cc* (as the chiefe and principall member of the common wealth) to aide *cc* and support them, that they might not loose their honor and priuiledges, thorough partialities and priuate respects: They saide also *cc* that for this effect, and for the defence of iustice, and to chastice seditious Portugals, they were readie, with fiftene or twentie thousand men, betwixt the citie and the countie, which they would assemble if neede were, in two howres, to burne the houses of such as shoulde speake too boldly, or treat against the publike good and quiet of these Realmes, the which they would not put in execution, *cc* hoping to see them punished, and the matter redressed by some *cc* other course: He concluded, that he thought it their dutie to giue *cc* this aduertisement, that with more assurance, they might all treat of *cc* the common good, without feare of violence, or any preiudice, and *cc* to stop the mouthes of those, (who suspected in such a cause,) make *cc* all things impossible, without seeking or procuring of any remedie. *cc* Having ended this speech, one of the wisest of the assemblee made answer, that this counsell was acceptable, for the loue and affection they

The discontentments of the people of Lisbon.

they had to the common good; but there was not any one amongst them which did not desire it with the like zeale, and therefore they should rest assured, that all things should be handled with good order & carefully: Bbut notwithstanding this answere, they returned with threating. This assembly discovered to the Catholique King, not onely the intention of the Portugals in these affaires, but also of King *Henrie* himselfe, for that it seemed vnto him, they rather held a forme of conspiracy against him, then a councill of the states. *Henry* encouraged by his followers, for a time intended to marrie, dayly consulting with his phisitions to see if he were apt for generation, which seemed strange to all such as had knowen him; for euerie man beleued (considering the chaste life hee had alwaies led) that although he had come yoonger vnto the Crowne, he would not haue taken any wife; and now talking of it being decrepit, of age, and a Priest, it seemed, the desire to exclude the Catholique King, from the Realme preuailed so much, that it did estrange him from his ancient disposition. But honors breed in men alteration of manners, although his age made men thinke his inclination was rather forced in him then voluntarie: Some of the wisest said that the Catholique King should haue a special regard, least he were abused in this marriage; for although the age and disposition of the said *Henrie* might well assure him, yet the matter being of such importance, he should suspect some supposed or adulterate childe, or some such like deceit: But hauing (possibly) laboured at Rome that no dispence should be graunted to *Henrie*, he sent into Portugall Fryer *Ferrant* of Castillio, of the order of preaching Friers, and an eloquent diuine, the cause of his voyage being vnknowne, I my selfe being vn-able to search the secret: It was generally thought he went to disswade the King from marriage, with many reasons, and especially saying, that in so dangerous a time by reason of the Heretickees which did raigne, when as Heretickees did tolerate marriage in men of the Church, if he now did it, being Priest and King, he should giue them a verie ill president; and this conceit of his going was confirmed to be true, hauing vnderstood he was neither willingly heard nor presently dispatched. The pretendents had bene cited, which were the Catholique King, the Dutchesse of Bragance, the Duke of Sauoy, the Prince of Parma, and *Anthony* Prior of Crato

*Henrie de-
sired to
marrie.*

*The Catho-
lique King
sends a Iacobin
into Portu-
gall.*

*The preten-
dents to the
Crowne of
Portugall,
cited to de-
clare their
reasons.*

to send & shew their reasons. The Catholike King did not answer in forme, although *Henrie* had written vnto him with his owne hand, but onely sent a certificat with a Secretarie to his Ambassador in Portugall, that he had beene cited: Many disallowed this diligence, and all agreed that the King, causing the Duke of Sauoy and the Pryor to be cited, had not dealt therein iudicially, saying, it was a meane to breed contention, the Prior being manifestly a bastard, and the Duke apparantly after King *Philip*.

Who being cited, framed a new Councell of some of the Lords of his Councell of State, of his Confessor, one other Diuine, and five Doctors of the Councell roiall, which he called the adioining of the succession of Portugall, they were twelue in number, and did onely treat of those things that did concerne that point. At this time *Iohn de Silua* arriued at Madrill, from Ciuill, to be enformed of matters cōcerning his charge, who, although he were graciously receiued of the King, and did often enter into Councell, both to giue his aduise, and to take his instructions, yet did they delay his dispatch, sometimes with one excuse, and sometimes with an other: And although he did earnestly sollicite that he might enter into the manning of so great an action, as was the vnion of this Realme, and after so many trauailes past, goe comfort his friendes with his presence, yet in this particular, he had either many crosses, or small good fortune. For being prisoner in Affrick (although it seemed to these Counsellors, that this charge (as his) shoulde not be otherwise disposed of, vntill they had certaine newes of his life or death:) yet notwithstanding it seemed, that both the Kings meaning, and the disposition of his ministers, were enclined to dispossesse him, not onely when he was present, but euen then when he had most reason to belecue it, for that the King, hauing alreadie discovered himselfe in secer matters to *Christopher de Mora*, woulde not peraduenture reueale them to any other, whereof they were apparent signes, some curriers comming out of Portugall directed to other ministers; then to those that did handle the matters of succession: Besides the Duke of Ossuna (to whose will both the Cardinall Archbishop of Toledo, and other counsellors did conforme themselves) hauing entered into great familiaritie with *Mora*, recommending him to the King, laboured that no other should be sent to treat of this busines,

Philip frames a counsell of the affaires of Portugall.

Iohn de Silua sollicites to be sent backe into Portugall.

busines, seeming as it may be vnto him (as some did suppose) that he would not so easily agree with *Sylua*, being more haughtie: He answered to these obiections, offering not onely to agree with the Duke of *Ossuna*, and with all those that should be sent, but if it were not their pleasure he should deale with those causes of the succession, he would willingly desist and onely treat of that which did simply concerne the charge of an Ambassadour, and after retire himselfe if neede were: But this modestie made him more suspect, for thereby they might iudge he desired nothing more then once to haue an entrie, and after to make himselfe Patrone of the whole cause. At that time *Christopher de Mora* was called to court, who treated secretly with the King of many things concerning the Realme, he laboured to be sent backe with the Title of Ambassador, yet many supposed his commission being ended, he should not returne: But being accounted, (as he was indeed) confident, iudicious, and diligent, although of no great experience in matters of waight, being made gentleman of the chamber, he was sent backe with the Title he desired, & to keepe *Sylua* from returning into Portugall, all his hopes being frustrate, they stayed him, saying it was conuenient the King should retaine him neere about him, to iudge the better of what should be written out of Portugall. And hauing reduced the number of twelue couंसellors of the succession to fower, he commaunded he should be one, the rest being the Cardinall of Toledo, *Lewis Manriques* Marques of *Aguilar* both of the councell of State, and *Anthonie* of *Padiglia*, President of the councell of militarie orders: The generall discourse concerning the election of the one for Ambassador, and the exclusion of the other was diuers, but when as the excluded could not preuaile (according to the counterfeit show of the court) he tooke all for a fauour.

Whilest these things passed in Castil, the pretendents in Portugal both naturall borne and strangers called by citation, framed their reasons, and euerie man laboured to make the King capable of his right: The Duke of *Ossuna* pleaded for King *Philip*: *Charles de la Ronnere* for the Duke of *Sauoy*, *Ferrant Farnese* Bishop of *Parma* for *Rainucius Farnese*. The Queene of Fraunce was not cited, yet did not she desist from her pretention, by the meanes of *Vrbau* of *Saint Gelais* Bishop of *Cominges*, who had some difficultie to be admitted.

Christopher de Mora called againe, and sent Ambassadour into Portugall in steede of *Iohn de Sylua*.

admitted. The King seemed long doubtfull in this point; for on the one side with the inclination he had to the Dutchesse, he would exclude al others, & with the desire he had to frustrate *Philip*, he labored to admit all that did pretend: In this point hatred preuailed before affection: Enduring this infamous allegation of the Queen, who saide that *Henry* (of whom she denaunded iustice) and eleuen other Kings his predecessors, had beene all bastards, and vnlawfull, for that was her plea: And although he doubted of the Bishops procuration, after some difficulties, promising to satisfie him within a limited time by an other commission, he was receiued to plead, appointing him an aduocate in the cause. The principall groundes of the pleaders were these: *Anthony* at the end of fiftie yeeres would be admitted for lawfull, hauing neuer before pretended it, and therefore vndoubtedly the succession of the Realme did appertaine vnto him, for that as a male issued from a male, he saide, with the qualitie of his father, he did surmount his age, wherein *Philip* did surpasse him: that being a male he was before the Dutchesse, and did vanquish *Rhanucius* by his age and neerenes. *Phillibert* Duke of Sa- uoy, did not wholie deceiue himselfe, for as he assisted not for any other ende, but to shewe that as the neereft of kinne he did preceade the Prince of Castill, in case that *Henry* outliued *Philip* he was least importune. They did pleade vehemently for *Ranucius Farnese*, and in his fauour, the Doctores of the Vniuersitie of Padua had written, and to confute the reasons of proximitie, wherein the other competitors did surmount, they alleaged that conformeable to pure and simple lawe, so many sonnes as Kings haue, so many heires of inheritance they do frame, whereof the first line doth inherite whilest it remaines, which being extinct; the seconde doth succeed it, and so consequently in order. That *Edward* the Grandfather by the Mothers side, of the saide *Ranucius*, was chiefe of the second race of the children of King *Emanuel*, whereof the first being vtterly extinct in *Sebastian*, the line of the second ought to succeed, vntill it were likewise extinct, where by descending from braunch to braunch, it came directly to the saide *Ranucius*. And although *Philip* and *Phillibert* were pretendents male, and lawfully issued from an elder feminine stocke, whilest there was remaining any heires descending from the elder feminine males (as he was) they could

*The grounds
of the Prior.*

*Of the
Duke of
Sauoy.*

*Of the
Duke of
Parma.*

not

*Of the Dut-
chesse of
Bragança.*

not inherite, and that the Dutchesse who was a woman, and *Anthony* vnlawfull, ought not to take it from him, although he succeeded them all. The Dutchesse with more liuely hope both of her iustice, and of the Kings fauour, had caused to be written in the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, a long & curious allegation, & the Doctors (who are the learnedst of the Realme) hoping to please the King, handled the cause with all possible care: She laboured to prooue, that they succeed in Realmes by the inheritance of the last possessor, and that in this kinde of succession, the lawes allowe the benefite of representation: and in the difficultie which the Doctors moue in the deciding, whether this priuiledge be allowable to the Nephewes, when they do not ioine with the Vncle, in the inheritance, they ought to follow those which holde the affirmatiue, and that the women doe not onely represent the degree of the predecessors, but also the sexe: She therefore representing *Edward* her Father, sonne to King *Emanuel*, and brother to king *Henrie*, woulde preecead all the other pretendents, both the Catholique king, for that he issued from a daughter, *Anthony* being a bastard, *Ranncius* as being neerer vnto *Henry*, admitting neither degrees, elderships, nor representations, alleaging for that purpose infinite authorities of Doctors. These her allegations were imprinted, and sent to the Pope, and to all the Princes in Christendome, hoping thereby to make a great breach in their harts. The Catholique king saide he was the eldest, and law-
fullest Nephew male of king *Emanuel* then liuing, and that not any one of the others, being not able to make themselues equall vnto him, they sought to helpe themselues with fixions and representations, the which he woulde prooue by some lawes, were not to be admitted in this case, nor amongst these persons, for that going before them all in general by age, he did surpasse them in particular one after an other. *Anthony* by legitimation; the Duchesse by sexe; *Ranncius* by nearenes; & the Duke of Sauioy by the age of *Isabell Augusta* his mother, elder then *Beatrice*, Mother to the saide Duke. The
people alleage that the issue male of their Kings failing, in that case the election appertained to them; fortifying this reason by the example of the election which was made of their King *Iohn* the first: but of this pretention being generall, they made small account. The Queene Mother of Fraunce, with a strange grounde, to the
dishonour

*Of the Ca-
tholike King.*

*The ground
of the people.*

*The Queen
Mother of
Fraunce.*

dishonour of so many kings, woulde come by direct line to the succession of the Realme, offering to prooue by writing out of the auncient Registers of Fraunce, and by the auncient possession of the Earle of Bulloigne, that she was lineally descended from Robert sonne to king *Alphonso* the thirde, and of the Countesse *Matilda*, his first and lawfull wife, and that from that time to this, all the descendants of *Beatrice* the second wife of *Alphonso* haue vniustly reigned, from whom all the pretendents to the succession drawe their beginnings; and therefore they coulde haue no better interest then their predecessors. King *Henry* seemed nowe more colde to determine the question of succession, then the importance of the cause, and the shortnes of his life required: He was greatly pressed by the people, (who be naturally hard to please) seeing his slow proceedings, complained by words and writings dispersed without authors, and were well content their griefes should come to the kings cares: They inferred that the losse of the warre of Affricke, partly restored by his comming to the Crowne, was nowe reuiued, seeing their hopes that he shoulde preuent their imminent dangers, succeeded vainely: They complained that the time which shoulde be wholie imploied to decide the succession was spent in accidentall things, contrarie to their dutie, hauing no other care but to drawe into question such as the king hated, to search by iustice things of small moment, to borrowe money of the merchants to redeeme the Portugals that were in Affricke, to treat of newe impositions, to the oppression of the people and such like (some whereof, as the redemption of prisoners and that which concerns iustice, they could not reiect as euill) they blamed the time, and the meanes that was spent in them: Passing from this discourse, & hauing as it were a desire to speake flaunderously, they touched the ministers of iustice to the quicke, inferring they had corrupt consciences, that the poore were persecuted, the rich fauoured, that all punishments were pecuniarie or barbarous, expressly inuēted to molest the poore innocents, & giue authority to the rich culpable, who are seldome punished: They shewed againe how much a brieue decision of the succession did import, and that it was no sound aduise to cite the pretendents, & assemble the States, being tedious matters, alleaging that if the king to receiue the scepter had no neede of these things, neither had his successour, but that

*The peoples
complaint
against King
Henry.*

» he ought to decide this cause by himselfe, with the aduise of learned
 » and confident Doctors, and according to that which he shoulde
 » finde conuenient treat the accordes and capitulations, with the
 » greatest libertie of the Realme he coulde, giuing contentment to
 » the excluded, and making of many members one body, thereby to
 » auoide the bottomlesse gulfe of ciuill warres. And in truth this was
 » the wisest and most Christian resolution of all others: They did not
 » allow of the making of Gouenours, tearing them bodies without
 » a head, saying, they coulde not after the kings decease, effect any
 » good, iudging there woulde be amongst them diuersitie of opini-
 » ons, the people woulde be altered, the great woulde disobey, and
 » euery one of the pretendents woulde call himselfe king, they did
 » foretell the Realme woulde be deuided in factions, that one would
 » follow one party, the other an other party, & in the meane time the
 » strongest woulde preuaile by armes. The most aduised feared the
 » forces of the Catholique king, being neere, and alwaies readie, and
 » although some trusting in his modestie, belceued after the death of
 » *Henrie* he shoulde peaceably attend the sentence, yet such as (more
 » practised in the affaires of the worlde) knewe that the encrease of
 » kingdomes had neither end nor measure, that they be neuer giuen
 » or taken away by the opinion of Doctors, they feared most of all;
 » they termed it, a diuelish temptation of those, that perswaded *Henry*
 » to take a wife, or once to speake of it, saying, they were not woor-
 » thie that God shoulde now worke miracles for the loue of them.

The king mooued with these reasons, which were partly deliuered
 vnto him, began more vehemently then accustomed, to treat of
 these affaires. And forasmuch as the Prior, hauing taken his oath to
 obey the Gouernours, was retired to Almada, a citie vpon the riuier
 of Tagus, right against Lisbone, where he made his vsual residence,
 the king doubting, that remaining there, and comming sometimes
 to the citie as he did, he might encounter with the Duke of Bra-
 gance, and that as concurrents in one action, and competitors in
 present, there might growe some perillous contention, the which
 was doubted, hearing there was hatred betwixt them, for this cause
 he commanded the saide Prior, to retire himselfe to his saide Priorie
 of Crato, the which he did, and likewise to the Duke (though some-
 what later) to withdrawe himselfe: The Prior was there cited, not
 (without

(without permission) to come personally to the court, but to sende his Attourneies, wherewith being griued, he did write vnto the king, thanking him that he had admitted him to plead, and complaining that he was in a manner banished. He said, that he ought not to forbid him to assist in his owne cause, when as the Duke of Ossuna Embassador for the Catholique king, and the Duke of Bragançe were present at their pleas: For besides the discommoditie hee shoulde haue in deliuering his reasons, whosoeuer shoulde see him banished from the Court, whilst they treated of so weightie a cause, woulde suppose him so farre in the princes disgrace, as he shoulde not dare to maintaine his title: But all this preuailed not, for the king woulde neuer suffer him to depart from Crato, and although he did obey with difficultie, going often from place to place, yet would he neuer admit him to Court. The first processe the king put vpon the file, was touching the satisfaction the Prior pretended to giue for his legitimation, wherein he had secretly all the pretendents opposite, desiring to haue it tried first (as indeed it ought to be) for vpon prooffe of his legitimation, he was either to be admitted or excluded from the succession. And forasmuch as Princes doe commonly execute that carefully which they do affect, for this reason and to the ende the sentence he shoulde pronounce thereupon, shoulde remaine firme, he had obtained secretly at Rome a brieve from the Pope, by the which he gaue him authoritie, absolutely to iudge the cause of legitimation, without any forme or processe, according to the truth thereof: So as hauing strictly examined the witnesses, he allowed some reasons, and reiected others, and duely weighed the processe. Finally, he came to sentence, framed by vertue of the Popes owne motion, wherein was reported in a manner the whole processe. The deposition of the witnesses which were fowre, two conuincd to be false, for they recanted, confessing they had beene suborned by *Anthony*, and the other two were suspected, being neere kinsmen, and disagreeing betwixt themselues: The words of the testament of *Leues*, father to the saide Prior were annexed, wherein he called him bastard, with many other reasons, whereby he concluded, that he declared *Anthony*, (these be the proper wordes of the sentence) not lawfull, but illegitimate. And touching the pretended marriage and legitimation, hee imposed him

The letters of the Prior to Henrie.

The sentence of King Henry against the Prior touching his legitimation.

perpetuall silence, still reseruing to himselfe power to proceede against the witnesses, and himselfe as he shoulde thinke conuenient: This sentence being pronounced, the king sent *Edward de Castellan* chiefe of the Sergeants to Crato, with commission to apprehende the Prior prisoner: But some imagined this was rather a shew of the king to amaze him, then for any other effect, iudging as it hapned, that he would not be found.

*The reasons
of the Catholique
king against
the pretenders.*

Nowe was the Catholique king more effectually satisfied touching the interest he had to this Realme, for although in the beginning the Doctors had resolued him that the succession appertained vnto him, yet desirous to know with more grounde, the opinion of learned men of other prouinces, especially of Portugall, who waighing and disputing the reasons of euery pretendent, with their contrarieties and tearmes, had resolued amongst them that *Philip* was vndoubtedly the successour, being the eldest kinsman that *Henry* had a male and lawfull, and that with these qualities he did surpasse and exclude all the competitours, one after an other. They helde

*Against the
Prior.*

Anthony directly to be vnlawfull, hauing alwaies liued in that opinion, and was so held by his Father *Lewes* at his death (as it appeared by his testament) that although he had demaunded his legitimati- on at Rome, and had obtained it, yet coulde not any roiall or ponti- ficiall legitimati- on serue for the succession of a kingdome. They

*Against the
Duke of Sa-
uoy.*

discharged themselues of *Phillibert* Duke of Sauoy in fewe words, saying onely that he was yoonger of yeeres, and sonne of a yonger sister then the Empreffe, Mother to the Catholique King. They de- nied the reasons of eldership, whereon *Rainucius* did ground him- selfe, saying moreouer, they might well graunt it without danger,

*Against the
Duke of
Parma.*

for that the same Doctors which fauoured this lawe, do not vnder- stande it shoulde take place, if the same person, from whom they would transport it did not enioy it. And forasmuch as *Edward* was deceased many yeeres before *Henry* succeeded, or euer thought to come vnto the Crowne, he could haue no interest nor any considerable hope that might come to his descēdents; so as they made small account of al that *Rainucius* could alleage; touching the linnage, eldership, imaginary degrees, and transmissions, saying, that such as ground thēselues most vpon these subtilities, do leane stil vpon repre- sentations, without the which they are of smal moment, prouing that

Illegitimacy

Rainucius

Rainucius could not aide himselfe with representation, being out of the degree wherein the lawes allow it, and therefore remained inferior to *Philip*. Against the Dutchesse, they alleaged that kingdomes appertaining to the ancient lawes of nations, the succession ought not to be ruled by the Ciuill-lawe full of fictions and subtilities, the which were framed by the Emperours many yeeres since: And although souereigne Princes did bring them in for the good gouernment of their subiects, yet had they not altered the simple naturall rules of the succession, the which they affirmed shoulde be obserued in this case, as it had beene before the birth of *Iustinian*, who was the author of these representations. And although some Doctors would rashly make the succession of Realmes, subiect to ciuill institutions, yet according to this consideration they made *Philips* title vndoubtfull; and those which helde this opinion were learned men, and more curious of antiquitie then are commonly our ordinarie Lawyers. But least they shoulde seeme to take that course to auoide the lawes, they would also withdrawe themselues within the tearmes of the Ciuill lawe, as if it were a matter in controuersie betwixt two persons for a priuate possession. There did they prooue that in Realmes more properly then in any other thing, they succeeded by right (as they call it) of consanguinitie, that is to say, hauing regard vnto the first instituter, and that following this law, they shoulde consider the persons of the pretendents, by themselues without representations or respect of their fathers, as if they were childrē of the last possessor, in which sort *Philip* remained in stead of the eldest vnto *Henry*: They said also, that if they should yeelde that which the Dutchesse pretends, that they succede not in Realmes by right of consanguinitie, but by that which they call inheritance, hauing regarde vnto the last possessor, yet could she not be equall vnto *Philip*, for that the representation wherewith she pretends to helpe herselfe, doth not extend to the Nephew, but in concurrents with the same vncle, according to the most auncient, most approoued, and most grounded opinion. They added moreover, that the succession of kingdomes, not onely by the right of nations (as is formerly related) but also by the same Ciuill lawe, is exempt from al representations, being not brought in by custom: And although the Dutchesse may represent the degree of her Father,

Against the
Dutchesse of
Bragance.

notwithstanding it were impossible she should represent the qualitie of a male, being a harde matter that a woman equall onely in degree, and in all other things inferiour, should pretend to be preferred before a man in administration of Realmes, and that her priuate defect should hurt her lesse, then to *Philip* that of his Mother: It was therefore resolued, that of all the Nephewes of king *Emanuel*, he that should be founde to be eldest, a male, and lawfull, should preceed the rest, and this was the Catholique King. And although the pretention of the people, and of the most Christian Queene were held vaine, and onely inooued to trouble *Philip*, yet did they answer them formally. Against the people they saide, that they had no greater priuiledge of election within this Realme, then in the rest of Spaine, the which all fall by succession, when there is any lawfully descended of the blood royall: And that in Portugal they haue lesse libertie then the rest, growing from the gifts of the kings of Castill, and from the conquest of the kings of Portugall: And forasmuch as the people hath not giuē the realme to their first kings, there could not any thing chance whereby they should name or choose one. And for that which they alleage of the electiō of king *John* the first, they answered that not onely this reason did not serue them, but therby it did appeere that the realme in that case was successiue, hauing (leaving apart, that it was rather a violent crie of cōquering Partizants, then a free election) themselues secretly confessed, that they had no right to choose, whilst there remained any one lawfully descended of the Roiall issue, inferring that *Beatrice* Queene of Castill was a bastard, and that the Realme was in the same estate, wherein other Realmes of succession may choose their King, all the kinsmen of the last deceased being extinct. They pleaded against the most Christian Queene, that her pretention was improbable, and prescribed, seeing that the successours of the Earle of Bulloigne, had neuer made any mention thereof, neither is it credible that since this pretention was incorporate to the crowne of so mightie a Realme, such wise and mightie Princes, as were *Frauncis* the first, and *Henry* the second, would haue forgotten to haue called it in question. But the truth was, the Countesse *Matilda* left no children as it appeeres in her Testament, in the publike Registers of Portugall, making therein no mention to leaue any by
king

Against
the people.

Against the
Queene
mother of
France.

king *Alphonse*, nor to haue had any, and viewing the antiquities of the Realme, they saide that a writer was abused, who reported that a yoong childe buried in the church of *Saint Dominico* in Lisbon, was her sonne; and though it shoulde be so, yet doth it not contradict, since she doth not affirme she had any children, but that he died yoong. They did likewise prooue that *Matilda* had not any, by a formal request found in the same registers, by the which all the Prelats of the Realme did beseech Pope *Vrbane*, that it would please him to disanull the curse which he had laide vpon the Realme; and that he woulde approoue the marriage of *Beatrice* the second wife of *Alphonse*, that he would make their children legitimate, that there might be no hinderance in the succession of this Realme; whereby they concluded, that if there had beene any lawfull children of *Matilda*, they coulde not haue perswaded the Pope to preferre the bastards of *Beatrice*. They added that these reasons were nor vnknowne in Fraunce, and that of late there had beene a booke printed of the genealogie of the houses of Medicy, and Bulloigne, continued vnto *Katherine* the most Christian Queene, whereby it did cleerely appeere, that *Matilda* had lefr no children by *Alphonse* her second husband, hauing beene formerly married to *Philip*, sonne of *Philip Augustus* king of Fraunce, by which marriage she had one daughter named *Iane*, who succeeded not her mother in the Countie, dying before her without issue: So as *Robert* sonne of *Alix*, sister to *Matilda* came to the succession, and this is that *Robert* from whom they would draw the descent of the Queene Mother, being the Nephew, & not the sonne of *Matilda*. So as not being prooued by any meanes that *Alphonse* the thirde had any children by his first bedde, but the contrary by many reasons; they saide the Queene had no reason to pretende, neither had she done it in time. *Philip* therefore being grounded in this action, sendes into *Portugall* for assistants to the Duke, *Rodorik Vasquez*, and *Lewes de Molina*, Doctors of the law, and Auditors of his Councell roiall, with the title of Embassadors, to signifie vnto the King, and to his Councell his apparant iustice, with aduertisement notwithstanding that they should do no acte, whereby they might inferre that they acknowledge any iurisdiction in the king: Being arriued, and all the Agents of the Catholique King consulting together, they propounded the matter

Philip sendeth to signifie his right to *Henry*.

of succession in forme as they were commanded, deliuering in writing vnto the king an ample allegation of the reasons of *Philip*: But for that in the beginning they had founde the kings thoughts bending to the Dutchesse of Bragance, they laboured long in vaine to make him capable of the iustice of their king. They vsed all meanes they thought conuenient, and heerein *Mora* performed great offices, not onely with the King, and his favorites, but with the Gentlemen and Noblemen of qualitie: so as many with liuely reasons, giuing to one, offering to another, by effects, wordes and writings, he drew all he coule to the Catholique Kings deuotion: It seemed that this manner of founding the Nobilitie with money, and promises, did then serue to purpose. And although the course which the king helde, for the attaining of his pretention, seemed vnto him expedient, yet did he not so relie thereon, as (knowing the Portugals to be restie) he woulde omit force, for that seeing the indisposition of *Henry*, he sought to winne time, and so to prepare himselfe, that if he shoulde chaunce to die, at such time, when as the Portugals woulde not yeeld him the Crowne quietly, he might sodainly take possession thereof by force. But hauing learned by experience in the warre of Granado, the losse of Golette, and the defence of Malta, that one nation alone sheweth not so great a courage, as vnited with another, this competencie seruing as a spurre to animate them, he resolved to prepare to warre, with the forces of diuers nations, as if he had beene certaine, that of necessitie he must winne this Realme by conquest. And although the generall opinion were, that fewe men woulde serue against the vnexperienced Portugals, and that he shoulde not finde any resistance against his force, yet knowing that there is not any humaine force but may be vanquished, hee resolved to make an armie of fortie thousand foote, considering, that although the Portugals were such as it was saide, yet being at home, and by reason of the hatred and furie of the whole Realme, they might in one day drawe together aboue seuentie thousand men for any expedition, and therefore it behooued him to be strong. He therefore commaunds *Inico Lopez de Mendosa*, Marques of Moundegiar, then Viceroy at Naples, to keepe in a readines his Spanish foote, with the ships and munition for Portugall, he leuied nine thousand Italians, vnder the commaund of *Peter de Medicy*,

Philip prepares for warre against the Portugals.

Medicy, brother to *Frauncis* the great Duke of Tuscayne, hee brought downe sixe thousand Germaines, with Counte *Jerome* of Lodtore: and although he might haue raised in Spaine a great number of men of all sorts, yet trusting onely to his entertained soldiers, he leuied the greatest forces he coulde, purposing to ioine to those Spaniards that were but fresh water soldiers, some of those that had beene in Italy, and such as were come from the wartes of Flaunders: But these things were effected with more ease and lesse numbers then were appointed. For although the Viceroy of Naples did in the beginning very carefully prouide for it, yet after hee grew colde, abandoning all, hauing intelligence that the King had chosen to succeed him in his charge *Iohn de Suniga*, great commander of Castill, and that he shoulde returne into Spaine: yet the soldiers were inrolled and conducted with armes and munition to Gibraltar, and other places of Andelouzia thereabouts, from whence they marched after to the confines of Portugall, the number chiefly of Italians, being greatly diminished, with hunger, and other discomforties, not without consideration that nine thousand men seeme much in Spaine. And although they arriued a yeere later then the king had commanded, yet came they sooner then necessity required: for *Henry* yet liuing, they were long idle. But this preuention was done like a valiant and wise Prince, maintaining an armie vpon the confines of his owne Realme, without vse thereof, during a mans life, attending his naturall death, when as no man is yet so neere death, but may liue some yeeres. The Catholique King preferring the danger to be vnarmed, and *Henry* deceasing before his expences, gaue this testimonie, not onely of his wisdome, but of the great desire he had to be assured of this Realme, wherein he did surmount his owne nature, and the custome of the Spanish nation, who by their long delaies, doe often faile in their enterprises: The galleies and ships which had transported these men, went to Saint Marie Porte, where the whole nauie by sea shoold assemble.

Henry was still discontented with *Anthony*, who (notwithstanding the Kings late commandement not to approch within a hundred miles of the Court) wandered from place to place, drawing the peoples harts vnto him. The King was desirous to finde some meanes to punish him, with a more rigorous sentence. But the Prior when

when as the cause of his legitimation was in question before the King, by vertue of his holines brieft, mistrusting what hapned, had by the counsell of *Alexander Formento*, then the Popes *Nuncio* in the Realme, sent to Rome, complaining vnto the Pope of the hatred his vnkle did vniustly beare him, beseeching him to reuoke the cause vnto himselfe, and to be the onely iudge thereof, for that the King was suspect vnto him: By reason whereof, the Pope saying that his first intention was not to make *Henry* absolute iudge to giue sentence inlusive; he write vnto him by an other brieft, with defence not to proceede in the cause, for the which he appointed as newe iudges the said *Nuncio*, & *George de Almada*, archbishop of Lisbon, but not with authoritie to giue sentence, but after due information of the processe, to sende it to Rome. This brieft was sent to the *Nuncio*, that he might deliuer it vnto the King, the which he did, by an apostolike Notarie, fearing he should haue refused it. *Henry* was greatly mooued that the Pope had reuoked the cause vnto himselfe, both for that the execution of the sentence did import, as also imagining he was wronged by taking the cause out of his handes, whereof before he had made him iudge. So as greatly discontented with the Pope, and his choler encreasing against his Nephew, he woulde now vse his roiall authoritie, and leauing to proceede as the Popes substitute; he began as King to proceed against the Prior. And although the *Nuncio* (it may be by the Popes commandement, or rather by his own inclination) was fauourable vnto him, shewing himselfe very opposite to the Catholique King: yet *Henry* left not daily, yet coldly, to continue the cause of the succession; for hauing cited him to courte, and he not daring appeere, he caused his edicts and proclamations to be set vpon the pallace gate, whereby he was cited to appeere within twelue daies. The Prior (who had soone a copie of this edict from his agents) was greatly displeas'd, to see the course the King held against him, yet durst he not appeere, fearing if he fell into the kings hands, the hatred he did beare him woulde drawe him to some strange conclusion; he resolued therefore to absent himselfe labouring to appease his wrath by letters, which he did write vnto him, complaining of the manner of his proceedings in his behalfe, striuing to make knowne his better deseruing. He saide that he ioyed in his afflictions, calling him in his edicts Nephew, as
indeed

The suspension of Henry's brieft.

The Priors letters to Henry con-

indeed he was, and sonne to that his brother, to whom this Crowne ^{cerning his} ^{rigor.} hauing so great a bond, he did not belecue he should so soone for-
 get it, although his ill deseruings had bin greater then his fathers
 merits: He remembered the respect the King himselfe, and his pre-
 decessors had vnto his father, and the amasement they should haue
 to see him thus by him vniustly persecuted: He did not attribute the
 blame of the kings inclination to the king himselfe, but to the sinnes
 of the Realme, and to the ill disposition of some favorites, shewing
 on the one side, that he bare with patience, what it shoulde please
 God to impose, and on the other side complained of his vncke, that
 he did execute against him the passions of priuate men: And for-
 asmuch as when he returned from prison out of Affrick, some had
 giuen out that he had fledde from the battaile, and was not taken
 prisoner, he touched likewise this point, lamenting to be so slaun-
 dered: He complained of the King, saying, that to the ende no man
 shoulde haue compassion on him, he was forced to leaue the Court
 by night, hauing only had some speech of his legitimation, shewing
 he was not woorthie of any brotherly reprehension. He did aggra-
 uate his banishment with no small prejudice to his credite, at such a
 time as his competitors were fauoured, inuironed with their kinse-
 men, and demaunded iustice face to face: He alleaged that his holi-
 nes brieve which the king had obtained against him, was ignomini-
 ous and full of discourtesies, nothing agreeing to the honor of his
 father: And although he had obtained an other contrary thereun-
 to, whereby his holines had reuoked to himselfe the knowledge of
 the cause, yet was he resolued not to alter any thing, but to passe his
 daies in miserie and sorrow, whilest the euill deserued passion of the
 king shoulde continue: He lamented to haue beene forced to giue
 in his proofes within two daies, much more time being granted to
 any other that pretended; and that they had giuen no answeere to
 many things he demanded. He complained grieuously of the sen-
 tence and commandement, to apprehend him for subornation of
 false witnesses, the which he denied, although he saide that in the
 kings publike seate of iustice, such as had produced false witnesses,
 were not greatly punished: He seemed to be greatly greued to be
 called disobedient, & a troubler of the publike quiet of the realmes,
 excusing himselfe with most vehement wordes: He lamented that
 the

,, the Realme was ruined, which his predecessors had woone, defen-
 ,, ded, and maintained: He made no mention of appearance, but saide
 ,, it was lawfull for him as to theeues, to hide himselfe and flie the face
 ,, of iustice, adding, that if the faults wherewith hee is charged were
 ,, such, as the lawes of the Realme command the Church to redresse,
 ,, for that he hath no sure accesse, it woulde please his highnes to
 ,, graunt that *Crato* shoulde serue as his sanctuarie. And although (if
 ,, his sinnes so required) that being Nephew to the king, the first per-
 ,, son of the Realme, his humble and obedient vassall, it coulde not
 ,, mollifie his vncles hart, he woulde craue at Gods hands, remedies
 ,, for his afflictions: He required with humilitie that it might be law-
 ,, full for him to appeale from his edicts vnto the king himselfe, better
 ,, instructed, demaunding copies thereof to contradict them, conclu-
 ,, ding that if it might not be graunted, yet at the least his letter might
 ,, be annexed to the proces, for if due respect would haue suffred him,
 ,, he woulde haue caused it to be set vp in the same place of the edicts,
 ,, for the discharge of his honor, and to make knowne to the worlde
 ,, that he was vassall, nephew, & faithful seruant vnto the king. This let-
 ,, ter did nothing mooue the kings hart, but wrought the same effect
 ,, with his choler, as a little water doth to a great fire: For being more
 ,, incensed against his Nephew, he proceeded still against him. So as
 ,, within short time he pronounced a newe sentence, not as a Iudge,
 ,, substitute by his holines, but as an absolute king, that it might not
 ,, be subiect to any appeale, supposing by this meanes (seeing hee
 ,, coulde not cast him into prison) he shoulde banish him the Realme.
 ,, Wherin repeating his faults, his absence, his contumacy, his disobe-
 ,, dience, with the premisses (as was) that he had made to drawe the
 ,, Nobilitie & people to follow his faction; he deprived him of all his
 ,, iurisdictions, preheminences, honors, prerogatiues, liberties, gra-
 ,, ces, and what other recompence soeuer he had from the kings his
 ,, predecessors, commaunding he shoulde be rased out of the bookes,
 ,, and not paide any thing, not holding him for a naturall borne, but a
 ,, forraigne to these Realmes. He pronounced the like against such as
 ,, shoulde aide him, lodge him, or any way treat with him: He com-
 ,, maunded him to depart the Realme within fiftene daies, saying, it
 ,, was expedient for the seruice of God, of him, and the peoples
 ,, quiet. But notwithstanding this sentence so seuer, yet was it not of
 force

*Henries se-
 cond sen-
 tence a-
 gainst the
 Prior.*

force to expell the Prior, for being wel beloued of his friendes, and common people, he remained safely in secret: And although for a shew onely he had retired him selfe into a monasterie of Castill, yet he staid not long there, onely to procure a certificate (as he did) of his departure: whereof king *Philip* being aduertised, he was aduised by sonie to take him prisoner, both to be assured of him, & to please *Henry*; but he thought it not then conuenient, whereof after he repented him, for *Anthony* being returned againe into Portugall, it was generally thought that he was ill affected, and grieued with the king, for the sentence he had pronounced against him. *Henry* grew fearefull he shoulde attempt something against his person, which so encreased, that (besides his ordinarie guard) he raised certaine companies of souldiers for the assurance of himselfe, and his Courte, a thing at any time vnscene in that Realme. At this time the Embassadors of *Philip* had made *Henry* capable of his title: hauing laide before him, both the good and euill which might ensue, by giuing and taking from him the crowne; who being enclined to do iustice, and moeued therewithall, & with the feare of war, hauing wel considered the matter, and laid aside all affection which made him inclinable to *Katherine*, he resolued with all his power to giue it vnto *Philip*, by the best meanes he coulde deuise. And hauing imparted this his meaning to the Duke of Ossauna, and *Christopher de Mora*, he said he woulde ende the cause by way of composition betwixt *Philip* and the Realme, without proceeding vnto sentence: Provided alwaies that the Catholique king shoulde graunt certaine priuileges; not dispose the offices of gouernment and iustice, but vnto the naturall Portugals, and giue certaine graces & exemptions, to the generall good of the Realme. Heere plainly appeered the errour of *Henry*, who hauing cited all the pretendents, and brought the matters to tearmes of iustice; thought it afterwards more conuenient to come to composition with *Philip*, which shoulde haue beene formerly done, if it were to be done. These capitulations were sent vnto *Philip*, to Madrill, whom *Henry* entreated to keepe them secret, as one that feared a contrarie disposition in the people. And although hee were not ignorant, howe hard the quiet execution of this his will woulde be, by reason of the people, and some Gentlemen of contrary faction; yet commaunded he it shoulde be pro-

*Henric
changeth his
opinion to
the benefit of
Philip, tou-
ching the
succession.*

pounded to the states, with all the mildenes it might be. Some hold that father *Leon Anriquez*, of the order of Iesuits, the kings Confessor, was rather the cause of this his v unexpected resolution, then the practises of the Catholique kings ministers, and that from him (in whom the King did greatly trust) proceeded his first inclination to the Dutchesse of Bragance, but fearing the indignation of *Philip*, he turned the thoughts of *Henry* to fauour his title. By means whereof in October 1579. he called againe the deputies of the Cities, and other estates, vpon colour to impart vnto them a matter of importance. *Philip* disallowed this resolution of *Henry*, to assemble the States, for being assured of the small affection the Portugals bare him, he was most assured that assembling them together, they would neuer agree to yeelde him the Crowne, and therefore hee aduised the King, without any other assembly, to declare a successor, seeing in the last Estates held at Lisbon, the whole Realme had giuen him full power, the which if he would vse in this controuersie of the Realme, and not make any new conuocation of Deputies, he should write to euery citie in particular his intention, and aduise, thinking it more easie to perswade them deuided, then vnited in one body: But *Henry* not daring effect it, did sollicite the comming of the Deputies. In Italy (seeing the Catholique King a little before assemble so great forces) they made diuers coniectures thereof, they furnished the places of ordinarie suspect, with newe garrisons: some beleued he that had entred league with the Cheriffe, *Mulei Hamet*, that both iointly together would attempt Alger, supposing the Moores had propounded this enterprise for feare of the Turkes, and that the king with his aide would expell them from thence, being so neere neighbour vnto Spaine. The Pope vnderstanding the contrarietie in Portugall, seeing the Catholique King prepare so greatly to armes, he commaunded *Philip Sega* his Nuncio in Castillia to say vnto him, that although he knewe these preparatiues of warres, were against Infidels; yet seeing the estate wherein Portugall stood, it might bee supposed it was intended against that Realme, and being dangerous to come to armes, and to stirre vppe the humours which cannot be settled at pleasure, hee offered himselfe to be a mediatur betwixt him and *Henry*, and to settle this busines peaceable. The king accepted the Popes offer in generall words, entertaining

The offers
of Pope
Gregory. 13
to the Catho-
like King.

entertaining his Nuncio with delaies, without giuing him any resolute answer, for that (as it was saide) many things did trouble his minde concerning this action. He considered of the one side that being of good yeeres, and his heites but yoong, enioying (except the state of Flaunders) all his countries quietly, it was not fite to stirre vp humours in Spaine; besides, being fearefull to other nations, they woulde not willingly see him augment his dominions, he doubted (that in busying himselfe in Portugall) some woulde then take occasion to breede some alteration in his territories, and therefore hee willingly gaue eare to any treatie of peace. On the other side he was not well assured of the Popes disposition, seeming he shoulde preiudice his title, to put it to compremise: besides, that to former presidents, he woulde not willingly adde this of new, to acknowledge the Apostolike seate as a iudge of Realmes. He thought it lesse danger to attend the sentence of *Henry*, then of any other, for pronouncing it (having not acknowledged him for iudge) he was not bounde to obey, if it were in his disfaour, retaining still the right of armes; by reason whereof in this suspence, he forbare still to giue the Nuncio his answer, vntill that being better assured of the disposition of *Henry*, he made answer, that his interest being so apparant, and the King so well enclined, there needed not any mediation, the which if it were requisite, he woulde accept of this office, & of the good zeale of his holines. The indisposition of *Henry*, and the disquietnes of his minde, did much afflict him, so as he resembled a lampe neere extinct, the which sometimes yeelds " a great light, sometimes seemes quite out: They feared he shoulde " die of an accident which hapned, and therefore his Counsell thought good not to attende his death, for the declaration of the Governours, but to put them as it were in possession, the which was partly executed. For the King being halfe dead, they brought vnto him the coffer wherein the Rowle was kept, with the names of the Governours in the great Church of Lisbone, and hauing opened it, they founde them to be *George Dalmeda* archbishop of Lisbone; *Frauncis de Sada*, first groome of the Kings chamber; *Iean Tello*, *Iean Mascaregnas*, and *Diego Lopez de Sosa*, President of the Counsell of Iustice of the citie, who tooke their oathes to gouerne according to the lawes of the Realme, and to the limited commission;

*A publication
on of the go-
uernors of
Portugall.*

which *Henry* had particularly set downe. This diligence bredde as well in the peoples mindes, as in the Catholique Kings, a ieaousie of the kings death, and the rather, for that two daies before, they woulde not suffer any to see him, supposing they woulde keepe it secer, vntill they had taken counsell, put the Gouvernours in possession, and prepared for defence: And although it were presently knowne that the King was yet liuing, and so amended, that he had almost recouered his former health, yet the generall opinion being, that he could not liue long, all mens mindes were in suspence in this Realme.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the fourth Booke.

The Castillians and Portugals discourse vpon the state of Portugall; the vehemencie of the plague; the estate of Almerin; the death of King Henry; the Regency of the Gouvernours; the practise of Anthonie to be chosen King; the Testament of Henry; the diligence of the Catholique King to vnderstande if he might with a safe conscience make warre; the election of the Duke of Alua as generall of the enterprise, and the priuileges the Catholique King offered if they woulde deliuer him the Realme.



He Catholique King in the meane time kept his armie together in Spaine, with greater paines, and more charge, then he had done else where; for the countrey being not greatly fertile, he was enforced to fetch victuals from other parts, being then about the ende of Nouember, 1579. there was then no assurance of things, whereby they might either dismiss their armie, or imploy it. For although king *Henry* was yet
liuing

liuing and well affected, yet the Portugals being most obstinate against the Castillians, he desired not to liue any longer doubtfull of the succession, as well for the charge as for the euent; and therefore he ceased not continually to importune *Henry* to declare him Successor, obiecing many reasons, why he was bound to do it, and propounding many inconueniences which woulde follow, not doing it, the which was spoken in doubtfull tearmes; whereby it seemed he woulde make the equitie of his cause apparant by force: And although this entreatie seemed somewhat to threaten, yet did it nothing displease *Henry*, suffering it expresly to bee published, that the people might beleue, he was forced to this declaration. The whole Realme was discontented to see *Henry* dying, the Catholique King armed, and the small remainder of time spent in matters of light importance, whereof their discourses and opinions were as diuers, as they were different in passions.

The Priors partisans being in a manner all of base qualitie, hauing their reason darkned, and not fetled in opinion, saide, that he was legitimate, and that the Crowne appertained vnto him; but that the king of his absolute authoritie, hauing him woulde depriue him; and that all his favorites did concurre in this resolution: For the King hauing alwaies persecuted *Anthony* by their aduise, they feared that he conming to raigne, woulde take such reuenge as they deserued, and therefore preferring their owne securitie, before the libertie of their countrey, they woulde take the Realme from him and giue it to a stranger. Many others alleaged, that although hee were a bastard, yet they ought to giue him the Realme, being the neereft allied of the bloud royall: Others in whom hatred to their neighbours preuailed more then any other inclination, saide, that whosoeuer had interest to the Realme, yet shoulde they by no meanes giue it to the Catholique King, but rather come to armes, vaunting themselues to be valiant. They added moreouer that they woulde demaund aide from Fraunce, and England, whereof they were assured, and hauing them, they doubted not to seate a King, at their pleasures: There were some, yet fewe, but of iudgement, who comparing the forces of Portugall with Castill, founde they coulde not flie the yoke of the Catholique King, and although with great grieffe, yet they hoped it might prooue a gentle amitie, and that

The discourse of the Portugals upon the state of the Realme.

these Realmes vnited together, Portugall might reape great profit, by the commerce & traffique. Many spake after their owne humors, saying, that *Anthony* leauing the habite of *Saint Jean* shoulde marrie with the daughter of the Duke of Bragance, and being vnited together, they needed not to feare. Others gaue out, that the Catholique King woulde be contented to giue his seconde sonne to the Portugals, for their king, to be brought vp amongst them, the which they shoulde accept, for were it whosoever, it were sufficient to haue a King alone. And some say, that *Henry* laboured to effect this, but *Philip* soone resolued him, saying, that he coulde not do it, but to preiudice the Prince his eldest sonne, fearing by this meanes to leaue a seminarie of diuision in Spaine betwixt his descendents. The perswasion of the Catholique Kings Agents, with the Nobility were of great effect, by reason whereof there were few Gentlemen, amidst this diuersitie of opinion, but either did willingly encline to the said King, or corrupted held their peace, and retired themselues from Court, auoiding all occasion to declare themselues. Of the five Gouvernours chosen, three were drawne to the Catholique Kings deuotion; and although we should not be amazed, to see the common people (who by custome inconstant and without iudgement) holde the woorser part, yet did it breed a woonder in many, that the Portugals in generall, euery one according to his qualitie, framed in their mindes a resolution, contrarie to that which by reason they ought to haue done, in a matter of so great importance, in the which they should haue taken greater consideration: For that some discoursed without passion, that the Nobilitie (accustomed to be respected of the King) shoulde flie the obedience of the Catholique King, being credible, that *Philip* (according to his custome) woulde with lawes and his power, keepe them vnder, and contrariwise, that the people shoulde embrace him, whom he doth equally fauour, yeelding them equall iustice. And yet notwithstanding the greater part followed the contrarie, for the Nobilitie did embrace *Philip*, and the people fled him: For satisfaction whereof, and to reclaime them from the opinion they held, the Agents of the Catholique King were desirous (besides the diligence they had vsed) to publish throughout the Realme the Kings title, and the mildenes of his yoke, seeming not sufficient (for the content of the common people)

people) to haue priuately imparted it to many. Their aduersaries (amongst the which was the magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbon) would willingly haue taken occasion to publish vnto the worlde their contrarie reasons, whereon they grounded; but it was not tolerated, neither for the one nor the other, to speake publikely in the assemblies of the people: for besides that it was prohibited, euery one durst not freely discouer his intention: For this occasion diuers fell to write the grounds of their partie, by discourse and letters. And although writings breede not so firme an impression in the minde as the voice, yet their discourse published, did perswade with greater efficacie then they had done by speaking; for that writings came to the hands of more men then wordes could haue done, where, reading and examining them, they wrought great effects.

There were many of these letters seene without authors, and although some were friuolous, and without sense, yet the better sorte which followed the Catholique kings partie, tended to satisfie the people, and to terrifie the motiues thereof by the greatnes of the action, and the perill of warre: They did particularly touch one after another, the reasons of the pretendents, and refuting them all, shewed that the Catholique King did preceed. They made no small adoo about the processe of *Anthony*, saying, that he was a bastard, although he had beene declared legitimate, and to preceed *Philip*, yet shoulde they neuer satisfie the worlde, but they woulde furmise some cosinage, deuised to take the Crowne from him who ought to enioy it. They disprooued the reasons of such as maintained the election of the King to be in the people, hauing a lawfull successor, bringing in examples of the Popes authoritie in the nomination of Kings, as well of *Alphonso* the first, as of the Earle of Bulloigne: And if *Iohn* the first were chosen king, it was after a battaile woone; the Portugals affirming, there were no lawfull successors, but bastards & illegitimate: but by their owne reason they said it was apparant, there was now no question of the election, seeing there remained a lawful kinsman. They laboured to make knowne that God hauing called vnto him two and twentie successors, which did all preceed the Catholique king, that his pleasure was by vni-ting of Portugall to the Realmes of Castill, to fortifie an arme of the Church, to resist all the outrageous attempts of Infidels and heretikes:

The Castilians discourse touching the affaires of Portugall.

heretikes. But leauing the iustice and will of God aside, they discoursed, examining the honors and blames, the losses and profits, which by the one or other meanes, might happen: as for honor, they shoulde not take for any disgrace, and obedience which fell by lawfull succession, alleaging that the States of Castill, (when as king *Emanuel* did inherite) being strong enough to defende themselves if they would; receiued him curteously. And when as the Archduke of Austria, (although a Germaine) did succeed him, they did the like. They mocked at such as said that Castill should be vniited to Portugall, but not Portugal to Castill; prouing, that no Portugall euer came neere this Court, but he was embraced & greatly honoured; many of the principall houses of Castill being issued from Portugall. They did contradict with liuely reasons, such as feared to be oppressed, like to the estates of Flaunders, Naples, and Millaine; saying that in Flaunders they had alwaies vsed the people with great kindnes, that they had beene gouerned by their owne nation, & that the Spaniards had no charge there: That many of the principall had rebelled against the church of Rome, & against their king, the which he would not suffer, that in this enterprise (more for that which concerned the good of the Church, then for any other respect,) the King had spent 50. millions of gold, and that hauing for enimies, both Germany, Flaunders, & England, they could not take these countries from the Kings possession, but hauing meanes (graunting free libertie of Religion) to be absolute Lord, and to reape thereby great profit, he would not accept thereof, onely for the remorse of his conscience, preferring the seruice of God before all other respects: They saide that the Neapolitanes and Millanoyes had beene conquered by force, weake of themselves, and enuironed with enimies, that they were not burdened, neither coulde he do lesse then maintaine garrisous, inferring thereby, that if they were peaceably inherited, they shoulde haue libertie like good and faithfull subiects, and maintaine with more force that which their fathers had gotten, without feare of any thing whatsoever; but if they suffered themselves to be conquered by armes, they should be Neapolitanes, Millanoyes, and possiblie woorse. They commended the Portugals, as faithfull, obedient, and indued with commendable parts, blaming the basenes of such as were not
ashamed

ashamed to thinke, they could be ill intreated of any prince what-
 focuer. They said, that since *Philip* was resolute, and that hee had
 written to the cities of the Realme the assurance of his action, see-
 ing that in fourteene. yeeres hee had neuer abandoned the enter-
 prise in Flaunders being farre off, hauing so many kings opposite,
 and the Flemmings suing to be subiect vnder iust conditions, that
 it is not credible he woulde desist from Portugall being so neare, so
 weake without succours, and hauing so great an interest: they repor-
 ted with ioy the deeds of the Spaniards, saying, that when as Spaine
 takes armes, he doth imprison the king of Fraunce, and the greatest
 of Germanie; makes the Turke to turne his backe, takes from him
 Malta, dissolues his armies, maintaines continually in Flaunders an
 armie sounde and lustie, breaking and dispersing his enemies, and
 yet the Noblemen of Spaine remaine quietly in their houses. From
 their valour, they came to the consideration how Portugall woulde
 resist so great a Monarch, entreating them with affectionate words
 to haue regard thereunto. They saide that the comfort of men of
 iudgement, was to see the small force of the Portugals, for if it were
 greater, they might for a time make some resistance, considering
 their obstinacie, iudging that in the beginning of this warre; the
 kings of the Indies woulde presently become Lords of the sea coast,
 the Moores woulde assaile the places of Affricke, the French and
 English woulde attempt the Islands, some woulde vsurpe on one
 side, some of another, not onely to the losse of the Realme, but of
 all Christendome. They brought in the example of King *Sebasti-
 an*, shewing that he was lost for not measuring his forces: And al-
 though the consideration had beene easie, many protesting against
 it, and many foretelling the future euent, yet God tooke from them
 their vnderstanding, as he doth from those whom he meaneth to
 punish, and in this manner he hath deprived them of iudgement,
 who aduise to take from the Catholique King the succession of the
 Realme. They compared the amitie of Castill with that of Fraunce,
 reporting the wrongs and pyracies, which the French being at sea
 had daily done to Portugall, and the small reckoning was helde of
 them that had complained, and contrariwise the concord and rest
 which since the last peace made with the Castillians vntill that day,
 they had enjoyed, without the breach of any one article, blaming
 the

the manner of the French, saying that they sought nothing else but to be admitted, and after to become masters; the which not succeeding, they strived to be admitted to plead, the equitie of their Kings cause, seeking alwaies occasion to complaine. They added, that if the election were in the people, and that the Catholique king had no interest, onely to be free from the French, they shoulde vnite themselues with Castill, that they might liue in peace, and bridle this French surie, which hath often throwne the Portugals aliue into the sea, and slaine their gouernors and the Kings captaines, by their Kings commission; for by this vnion, besides the seruice of God, the French would feare and not spoile so boldly at sea. They commended king *Henry* as iust and holie, saying, that the best resolution they coulde take, was to fall at his feete, beseeching him that seeing the Catholique king was the most honorable, the most neere, and the eldest kinsman that he had, that in the name of God he shoulde sweare him Prince, according with him of the most necessarie points, for the libertie of the Realme, and shewing themselues conformeable to the bequest sometimes made by king *Emanuel*: That they shoulde not loose this occasion during his life, but (laying aside their obstinate intercessions) labour jointly to stie the warre, and not be forced to yeelde to Castill at such time, when as it shoulde not be acceptable, performing the which they shoulde not onely preserue their owne goods, but inherite others, seeing the greatnes of Castill doth indifferently admit all subiects Spaniards, to the greatest dignities; bringing for examples, that the Archbishop of Toledo, and the office of the President of the Councell roiall, which be the highest dignities spirituall and temporall, were not then enioied by Castillians: They protested that if they stopped their eares to the truth, and did open them to apparant lies, they shoulde feele within their owne home warre, with the murders, spoiles, theftes, and burnings it brings with it. On the other side the Portugals made answer to their letters, saying, they desired no warre, but would defende themselues against any that shoulde attempt it: They alleaged many reasons of their iustice and force, with auncient examples of the holie Scriptures, whereas small numbers in a iust cause haue vanquished a great armie. They refused that opinion that God by the vnion of these Realmes would fortifie in Castill

*The Portugals answer
to the Castil-
lians dis-
course.*

an arme of the church, shewing many grounds, wherby they should iudge the contrarie, blaming the sacke of Rome, and some other vnwoorthy actions of the Castillians. They laboured much to prooue that the Prior of Crato was legitimate, & that King *Henrie* had bin a most passionate iudge in that cause. They spared not to touch the reasons of the Dutchesse of Braganee, shewing that she ought to preceed the Catholique King in the succession. They condemned the said King, saying, that distrusting his Title he had prepared to armes: They shewed by a long discourse, that the vnion of Portugall would neither breed them profit, nor honour, but losse and dishonour, were the conditions neuer so ample and good: drawing examples from Flaunders and Aragon, shewing that the behaviour of the Spaniardes in the Low-countries, had beene the cause that those people had rebelled against God, and against their temporall Lord: They did obiekt that all nations subiect to the Catholique King, were reputed his subiects in matters of charge, and burthens of the warre; but in honours, recompences, and exemptions, they were vnknown: They valued not the Kings forces, saying, that if it were fearfull to other Prouinces, yet was it not so in Spaine, beeing apparent, that by reason of the barrennes of that countrey, he could entertaine no great Armies, neither durst he for the weaknes of the places draw in mercenarie souldiers, bringing for example the war of Granado, where incountting but with fower disarmed Moores, there was so great daunger with the losse of so many men. They added moreouer that the King had not at this day, one Captaine of account, naming a number which were of the Seminarie of *Charles* the fifth who were all dead, and not any other which had succeeded them, imitating the Kings humour who loues rest more then armes; by meanes whereof he had not augmented his Realme, but lost Goletta, with the States of Flaunders, and had yet made greater losses, had there beene other Kings liuing in this age, but that in Fraunce, England, and Portugall, the Scepters were in the hands of women and children. They concluded that it was not credible, that the Catholique King, notwithstanding his threatnings, and his prepared forces, would take armes in Spaine, for that his forces being vnited (he was in daunger vpon the least contrarie euent) that some of his Prouinces would rebell against him, and that the French
(being

(being a stirring nation) would embrace this occasion: besides that, being now old and the howres of his death vncertaine, hee should consider, that not inioying the Realme of Portugall in peace, and dying with an Armie in Spaine, hauing no heires but pupilles, hee should leaue them in danger, not onely to be depriued of the possession of Portugall, but also to be much troubled in Castill and his other Kingdomes of Spaine, labouring to prooue, that the Kings were not there beloued as in Portugall. Then began the yeere 1580. a yeere full of miseries and afflictions for the Portugals, not onely by reason of the warre which followed, but also for the dearth and plague; for that the season hauing beene verie drie, the fruit of the earth was in a manner all lost, neither had the husbandmen in many places reaped what was sowne; besides there came not from Fraunce and Germanie such quantitie of corne as was vsuall: But this miserie was supportable in regard of the rest, for neuer was the scarcitie so great, but things necessarie would be found for money: That of the contagion was most cruell, for hauing runne through Italy, Germanie, England, and a part of Fraunce, it came finally into this Realme, from whence it spread throughout all Spaine, but most of all in the citie of Lisbone, hauing begonne lightly the yeere before, it increased at the entring of this spring, and so augmented all sommer, but declined in the fall. This contagious mortalitie (suffered it may be of God for our finnes) proceeded not from any corruption of the Aire, but from infection; and was brought into the Realme, by men and merchandise from countries infected, for the citie being a great part vnwalled, and of great traffique, it could not easily be guarded. The naturall inclination of the aire, the filth of the citie, their feeding of fish (which all generally do vse) and the ill order, nay the great disorder of the magistrate of the health, in separating the sicke from the whole, and in all other things touching his charge, did helpe to increase it. The suddennes wherewith it did infect and kill in a manner all those that did frequent the sicke, as fire doth in powder, strooke a great terrour in the citizens, their remedies and diets were most vncertaine: for although that many did phisicke themselves diuersly, and were gouerned in sundrie manners, yet there died infinite numbers of all qualities, experience did teach that the application of lenitiue things, the drinking of Vni-

cornes

*The plague
in Portugall,
and the pro-
ceedings.*

corns horne, and the Bezars stone were most soueraigne remedies, yet to manie it did no good. The greaest part of the Nobilitie, (and of such as had ability to do it) retyred themselues to their gardaines, and farmes in the countrey, where (although the whole countrey were infected) yet did they seeme to liue more assured, or at the least out of the infection, & from the horrible spectacle of dead bodies, which were howerly scene in the citie, where the mortalitie grew so great that there was nothing to be scene but Beeres with dead bodies, for the buriall whereof (the churchyards being full,) they were forced to vse the streetes and fieldes.

*Bezar stone
excellent a-
gainst the
plague.*

At this time were assembled in the citie of Almerin where the king remained, all the Deputies of the Realme, being called thither: The citie of Lisbonne made election of *Emanuel* of Portugall, and *Diego Sa'cma*, who went not, but were reiected of the King, as seditious, and depriued of their offices, in whose place they made choise of *Phæbus Moniz*, and *Emanuel de Sosa pacheco*: The said *Sa'cma* was not beloued of the king, for that before as Vereador of the citie of Lisbonne, he saide vnto the king, that they vnderstoode he went about not onely to iudge to whom the Realme appertained, but also to make a composition, the which he ought not to doe, without hearing the people: whereunto the King hauing answered, that the people was not capable of this matter, he replied, that he woondered the king shoulde iudge this people incapable, whom he had held to be most sufficient to raise him to the crowne, wherewith *Henry* was greatly mooued. This alteration of Deputies ministred matter of discourse vnto the worlde: for it seemed the King had declared himselfe against the people, and that not accepting their election of Deputies, he woulde drawe by force from the States what he pleased, but such as knewe the true reason, and howe that *Emanuel*, and all those of the house of Portugall, deserued in this case to be repelled, commended this act: These were suspect, forasmuch as *John* of Portugall, Bishop of Guarda, brother to the saide *Emanuel*, alwaies esteemed more then he was, woulde not onely preceed his equals, but did scarce beare any respect vnto the Cardinall before he was king, whereof grew a great hart burning; so as the Cardinall to debase him, hauing drawne foorth a certaine information of his ill behauiour, libertie of life, and ill gouernment in his Bishopricke,

*The States
of Almerin.*

*Henry chan-
geth the
Deputies of
Lisbone, and
the cause.*

sent it to Rome, so as the Bishop (as it were forced) went to his holines to purge himselfe. Hee was much grieued with this crosse, for passing by the court of Castill, the Catholique King being infourmed of his voyage, woulde not suffer him to visite him, although he were entreated: so as now although the Cardinall were come vnto the Crowne, their hatred continued, and hauing no other meanes of reuenge, then to oppose himselfe to his resolutions, seeing him enclined to giue the Realme to the Catholique king, he laboured all he coulde to let it, by meanes whereof, he seemed at one instant to be reuenged of two kings: for the effecting whereof, there conspired together the saide Bilhop; *Emanuel* his brother; *Franncis* earle of *Vimioso* his nephew, (for the cōtrarieties, that both *Alphonse* his father, and he had with the Cardinall) with other their kinsfolkes and friendes, fauouring *Anthony* Prior of *Crato*, they resolved to make him king, trusting to the peoples humors. But King *Henry* hauing discerned the equitie of the Catholique kings cause, resolved, as it is said, to giue him the Realme; & hauing assembled the States, he sent *Paule Alphonse* a doctor, in whom he reposed great trust, to *Villa Vizosa*, whereas the Duke and the Dutchesse of *Bragance* remained, giuing them to vnderstande that finding the succession of the Realme to appertaine to *Philip*, and that they were vpon the point to pronounce sentence in his fauour, he did aduertise them in time, to the end they might make their composition with him: But hauing made small account of this aduertisement, interpreting it otherwise, they did not embrace the occasion, the which was likewise represented vnto them by the Catholique king.

*The opening
of the Estates
at Almerin
by the Bishop
of Leiria.*

In this time the Estates were begun in the pallace of *Almeryn*, the ninth of Ianuary in the kings presence, who (being very sicke) was brought in his chaire, whereas *Anthony Pignero* billhop of *Leiria*, an eloquent Orator, made the oration, enriched with a goodly stile,

„ saying, That the Kings thoughts were bent to procure the generall
 „ good of al Christendome, the preseruation and encrease of our ho-
 „ lie Catholique faith, and the peace and tranquillitie of his subiects,
 „ & for the effecting of that which concernes his charge, & to follow
 „ the examples of kings his predecessors, & progenitors, conforme-
 „ able to the actions of his life passed, considering with sound iudge-
 „ ment, great experience, & wise discourse how much it doth import
 the

the generall good to declare (during his life) to whom the lawfull
 succession of the Realme did appertaine; he did apply all his care
 to the decision of that cause, with so great study and zeale, that not
 suffering himselfe any way to be interrupted with the many graue
 and extraordinary affaires, nor by the trouble of his long infirmity,
 he had with the helpe of God brought it to that estate, that it might
 speedily be declared, as they had required, and ought generally to
 with for: And seeing the finall decision of the cause was brought to
 that issue, it seemed conuenient to the king, to assemble the States,
 and to communicate vnto them some points of great importance,
 for the seruice of God, and the good and quiet of these Realines, as
 they shoulde vnderstande, by that which shoulde be particularly
 deliuered vnto them by his commandement: He exhorted them,
 that vsing the mysteries, which had been presented lately to al faith-
 full Christians, with praiers, sacrifices, workes of deuotion and
 charitie, they shoulde dispose themselues to receiue the light of that
 heavenly wisdome, which God doth alwaies impart to such, as
 frame themselues to receiue it; without the which mans wisdome
 (were it neuer so subtil) coulde not worke as it ought, that dooing
 so, the holy Ghost by his grace woulde inspire their harts, and ligh-
 ten their vnderstādings, making their wils conformable to his loue,
 to the end that all that shall be treated of, may bee to the seruice of
 God & his glory, the encrease of Christian Religion, and the quiet
 and profite of these Realmes, as he still pretended in all things, and
 as he doth especially desire and procure in these present occurrents,
 to the hinderance of his health, but with a most holy zeale.

Hauiug ended this speech, *Emanuel de Sosa pachecho*, Deputie of
 Lisbone, rose vp saying: That since God by his prouidence, (amidst
 so many afflictions hapned to the Realme,) had giuen his Highnes
 for successor, (trusting in his vertue,) they did expect from him a re-
 medie to their eminent dangers: That they were most assured, that
 for the loue and desire of his subiects peace, he did not spare his
 owne health, for which loue and grace they did kisse his handes, of-
 fring him all auncient and firme loialty, loue, and obedience, where-
 with the Portugall nation haue beene woont to serue their Kings
 his predecessors. At the ende whereof, the trumpets sounding, the
 King was carried into his lodging: and for that Alinerny is of small

*The answer
 of Sosa De-
 putie of Lis-
 bne.*

except, all the Deputies were lodged at Aren, which is neere vpon the other side of the riuer of Tagus, assembling at the conuent of Friers, there to holde their councell. The king laboured all hee coulde to drawe some good effect from these Estates, vsing in one case both mildenes and seueritie; but he feared greatly the contrarie: for notwithstanding he supposed that he had drawne the citie of Lisbone, to choose Deputies according to his owne humour, yet coulde he not do the like with other cities, besides he knew not whom to trust. And now was there hapned at Coimbra some small rumour, being aduertised that the Magistrate of the Chamber of that city, with some other citizens, spake too freely in the behalfe of the Prior of Crato, touching the succession of the Realme, whither he sent *Martin Correa de Sylua*, to pacifie these stirres, and to punish the offenders: But they laughed at him, and hee returned without effecting any thing; neither did it preuaile, that the king for that respect did imprison *Aryas Gonzalez de Macedo*, Deputie of the same citie, who was after freely set at libertie. The king receiued great contentment by the answer giuen him by the Clergie, and the Nobilitie, hauing imparted vnto them the interest of king *Philip*, and propounded that it were conuenient to make some agreement with him: they kissed his handes, yet was there great disagreement amongst the Nobilitie, before they coulde resolue, for being all reduced to eight and twentie, and those put to voices, the Catholique king preuailed onely with one voice, to the great discontentment of the contrarie faction; and heerein the diligence and promises of the Catholique Agents preuailed much. But *Henry* was no lesse displeas'd with the proceedings of the thirde estate contrarie to his intent and meaning. It was generally thought that *Phebus Moniz* Deputie of Lisbone was conformable to the kings will, & was chosen to that intent, yet vpon the first assembly of the Deputies the thirteenth of Ianuarie, he plainly discouered his hart, being all assembled, as chiefe of the Councell he spake in this manner. That the Portugall nation was more pleased with deeds then words, and for that he was a Portugall, although some did beleue the contrarie, he woulde speake little: I beleue saide he, that euery one of you in the Masse of the holie Ghost, which hath beene lately celebrated, hath beseeched God to direct all to his honour and glorie; for it is that

*Amutinie
at Coimbra.*

*The speech
of Moniz
Deputie of
Lisbone.*

„

„

that

that we ought to seeke. We haue a most holy king, who being such, it is not credible that he hath assembled vs heere but to doe vs honor, & for the preseruacion of our publike good: The Realme hath chosen vs for Deputies, all menseies are turned vpon vs, to view if they haue made a good choice: Let vs giue them to vnderstande, that they haue attained their desires, procuring as much as we may the preseruacion of our generall good. It doth not displease me to heare some say that God hath referued this cause of succession to be determined in heauen, let vs imbrace this saying: Let vs goe all to heauen to begge mercy at his hands: let vs all make vs readie as at the last houre: let vs forget all things below; I will assure you on his behalfe that doing so, both here & in that heauenly citie he will entreate vs as his best beloued: I relie much vpon you, and I beseech you that if by reason of my sinnes, I decline from the name of a Portugall, you will helpe to support me, that I may not loose it; I will be alwaies ready to ioine in any resolution that shal please you. These wordes spoken with more vehemencie then eloquence, reuiued the spirits of many of the deputies, who doubted of his inclination, so that after the creation of the officers, they alleaged: That seeing that the citie of Lisbon, hauing propounded to the learned whether the election of the King appertained onely vnto them (as the chiefe citie of the Realme) and finding it was a thing incident to the whole Realme, that it were conuenient, before the King should send vnto them, to demaund permission in the behalfe of the Realme, to pretend the election of the King; being all conformable, they sent two deputies to deliuer this Ambassage, who being ioyfully receiued, and with doubtfull speeches, returned with no other satisfaction but that the day following, he would sende them an answer: who being returned to the assembly and making report what they had done, Antonio Pignero a Bishop, arriued, sent from the King, who spake thus in his name: That the difficultie in assembling the States was so great, & the matter treated of, of such importance, that it was fit to touch the point of the conclusion, laying aside many things which were of no moment: That the Catholique King (since that his Highnes had taken the Scepter of these Realmes) had pressed him to declare his successor, saying, that he was assured, both by the opinion of Doctors of his owne Realme, and of others,

The Deputies of the Realme sent to Henrie to be admitted to the election of the King with the answer.

„ that the succession appertained vnto him, but that King *Henrie*
 „ made answere, he must be better enformed, & heare the parties pre-
 „ tending to the same secession, entertaining him in this sort vntill he
 „ had knowledge vnto whom it appertained by right, and being now
 „ satisfied, finding there yet resteth some doubt betwixt the Catho-
 „ lique King and the Dutchesse of Bragance, he knew that making de-
 „ claration by way of iustice, it might breed many inconueniences
 „ and troubles to the Realme, being alreadie exposed to manie dan-
 „ gers: And therefore he found no better course then to determine
 the succession by way of accord, if he should die before the King of
 Castil, for by that meanes he should prouide for all things fit for the
 Realme, giuing satisfaction to him that should haue the strongest
 pretention: And although the matter were still in doubt, yet the
 King had thought it the best course, as they should well finde, and
 if they would consider thereof, being of such importance as his
 Highnes had thought it conuenient to impart it vnto them, and with
 their counsell to determine what should be most necessarie, for the
 seruice of God and the profit of the Realme. That hee did recom-
 mend it vnto them, that with quietnes of mindes, and the onely re-
 spect of the diuine seruice and the common good, they should treat
 and consider of this matter, giuing the King present knowledge of
 their opinions: This Ambassage did greatly alter the councill, who
 expected an Ambassage from the King, whether he would admit
 their demand concerning the election, and seeing they treated with
 them of a matter halfe ended, laying aside what the Ambassador
 had propounded, they resolued to send backe to the King to expo-
 stulate an answere of their Ambassage, which done they profited no
 more then before: But to *Phebus Moniz* (one of those which went,
 who possibly spake without respect) the King made answere, with
 great patience; That he should haue come accompanied with cho-
 ler; whereunto he replied, that it was reasonable, seeing his Highnes
 would giue the Realme vnto the Castillians: Let him giue it to any
 Portugall whosoever, they were all contented. The day following
 the Bishop returned to the assembly, and without any answere to the
 Deputies demaund, hee saide vnto them in the Kings behalfe;
 That his Highnes vnderstood that some of the Councill were mis-
 taken, supposing the accord whereof he had made mention should
 be

be betwixt the King of Castill, & the Duchesse of Bragance; which being contrarie, he thought it good to explaine his meaning, that the accord which he laboured, was betwixt the King of Castill and these Realmes, and to let them vnderstande that sentence was readie to be giuen in fauour of the king of Castill, and therefore they shoulde consider how much more fit it were to ende it by accorde then by sentence, that they shoulde well consider of that which he had sent to be deliuered vnto them, for being a matter so important to the Realme, it was necessarie that all shoulde be capable. The Bishop being departed, many of the Deputies grewe in choler, some of them saying; that the Bishop (affected vnto *Philip*) had forged this Embassage of himselfe, and that it was not credible, the King had deliuered it thus vnto him. Many spoke freely, and some sought to interrupt him before hee had ended, seeming vnto them that the king not answering their demaunde, made small account of this assemblie, saying, that he coulde be no iust iudge of this cause, seeing he had declared his intention: But weighing better if they shoulde confesse that he had pronounced it as a king and iudge, they were bound to obey, they beganne to say, he had made no declaration, holding it in suspence. They sent to the assemblie of the Clergie, to let them vnderstand what had passed, and to complaine, and to the King likewise, to demaund an answer, who (answering them that he woulde sende) did presse them to rest satisfied, and to commit the care of this resolution to some fewe of them; whereunto the Deputies woulde not agree, fearing least the authoritie of the pretendents might force them, or corrupt the iudges, protesting openly that they woulde neither conuent nor accord with the Castillians: But King *Henry* seeing the Deputies obstinately forcing an answer to their demaund, finding he coulde neither drawe them to composition, nor to compromitt the matter to fewe, fearing if hee shoulde pronounce the sentence, they woulde make some exception, resolved to make short, to graunt that which they demaunded: For which cause he sent backe the Bishop the thirde time, who with a more pleasing audience then before, saide vnto them in the kings behalfe. That seeing the accord he had propounded did not seeme pleasing vnto them as vnto his Highnes, he woulde make no other motion; but woulde admit them to pleade the interest they had in
the

the Kings election, giuing them notwithstanding but two daies libertie to produce their reasons; The Deputies glad of this answere, sent to kisse the Kings hand for this fauour, crauing leaue to draw some auncient writings out of the Records, requiring more libertie of time, the which he would not graunt, referring them to the Soueraigne magistrate for the writings. The Portugals were puffed vp with hope, by this permission to elect a King at their owne pleasure, and therefore many more hastily then they should, declared themselves, protesting they would rather yeeld to any then to the Castilians: And not onely the common people, but many of the Nobilitie said the same, whereof many shewing themselves too seditious, were banished the assemblies, whereas such as seconded the Kings will (besides the promises of the Catholike Kings Agents) were fauoured and rewarded by *Henrie*. The pretendents to the succession were discontented with the Kings inclination, some complayned, others dissembled: The Duke of Bragance relied greatly vpon his wiues Title. The Bilhop of Parma comming to the assembly of States, complayned publikely of the King with graue wordes, to whom *Emanuel de Sofa* made a wise answere, assuring him of the Kings intent to doe iustice: whilest the matter stode vpon these termes, the King grew so weake as he could not rise from his bed, giuing signes of a short life, yet did he not leaue to the hower of his death to prouide for all things necessarie. At that time the Duke of Bragance thought it fit to send *Katherine* his wife to Almeryn to visite *Henrie*, & to perswade him to declare her heire to the Crowne, the which he did, with small content to *Henrie* to whom she spake freely: This her comming (the Archbishop of Euora vncle to the Duke, having at the same time giuen a prebend of the same church of great reueneue to *Paul Alphonso*) bred matter of iealousie, in such as were affected to the Catholique King, who not knowing the qualitie of this Doctor, and the obedience, wherewith they keepe the Kings commaundements, charged him not to haue perfourmed such offices with the Dutchesse, as were conformable to *Henries* commission; who drawing neere vnto midnight passed into another life, a thing woorthie to be noted, that he began to die in the beginning of the Eclipse of the moone, he died with the end thereof, as if that the celestiall signe had wrought that effect in him (being

King Henry
sicke.

The death
of King
Henry.

ing a King of a weake bodie) which it doth not in stronger, or at the least, not so suddenly as Astrologians doe write; neither is the hower to be neglected, being the same wherein he was borne, 68. yeeres before. The religious which were at his death, saide, that he was alwaies talking: About ten of the clocke hee demaunded howe the time went, and being told, he desired some rest, and that they should call him before eleuen. So as being turned on the other side, he remained somtime, but being called by the Religious, he asked againe what it was a clocke, & being answered that it was eleuen, O giue me (said he) that candell, for now my hower is come, and taking it in his hand, died soone after, hauing raigned seuentene moneths: This was the last King of Portugall, in whom ended the direct masculine line: And as the first Lord of Portugall, although vnder the Title of an Earle was called *Henrie*, so doth it seeme the last should be so termed: He was thin of bodie, small of stature, and leane of his face; as for his wit it was indifferent, indued, (besides the Latine toong,) with some knowledge. He was alwaies held to be chaste, and did neuer blemish this angelicall vertue, but with the desire of marriage in his latter daies: He was accounted sparing, giuing rather then denying, for he refused seldome, but he gaue sparingly; he was ambitious of all iurisdiction, as well Ecclesiasticall, as ciuil, zealous in Religion, and the faith, yet in the reformation of religious persons, he was more stricte then was conuenient. He was Bishop, Gouvernour of the Realme, Inquisitor Maior, legate Apostolique, and King. But the more he mounted, the more he discovered his incapacie; suffering himselfe in greatest matters to be ruled by his ministers, not being able to determine the cause of the succession. Opinions were grafted in him with great obstinacie, retayning a continuall remembrance of wrongs, so as iustice was in him but an iniust execution of his owne passions: and for this cause a religious man (whom he had pressed to take vpon him a most strict course of life) said vnto him, that he would obey, seeing there was no humaine helpe against his commandements, seeing he had the wil of a man, the authority of a Pope, & the execution of a king. Finally he was indued with great vertues & with fewer & lesse vices, yet were they equal, for he had the vertues of an Ecclesiasticall person, and the defects of a Prince: during his life, he was feared of many, and beloued of few, so as no man lamented

*The life of
Henry.*

lamented his death, onely such as were well affected (desiring the cause had beene first decided before his decease) had some feeling. These things happened in Almeryn, where suddenly the five named Governours did assemble to provide for that, which should be necessarie, tearing themselves Governours and Protectors of the Realme of Portugal: But in this beginning, after the kings death they feared some mutinie of the people, both at Almeryn, and at Lisbon; neither did the governours themselves, nor the Catholique Kings Agents thinke themselves secure: They hated the assembly of the Deputies of the Realme, which were continued at Saint Arem, both for that they held it as a superiour councell, as also fearing it might cause some insurrection of the people, and therefore they did still abuse them with words differing from their meanings: for which cause they sent *Martin Gonzalues de la Camera*, a gentleman of the church, who in the time of *Sebastian*, held the first place in the gouernment of the Realme; which he could not continue: for although he were not covetous of riches, but full of integritie, yet was he seuerer and hard to be intreated, that they held him inexorable: Him they sent being a popular man and contrarie to the Catholike King, whose words they thought should be of more credit then any others: hauing particularly reported the Kings death, hee said that the Governours chosen at the last estates, began to looke vnto the gouernment, and to giue order for things necessarie to the Realme: And although the death of King *Henrie* were a great losse, yet being in heauen, he would mediate for them, and that they should rest assured that with the greatest zeale and loue to their countrey they could, they would indeuour to doe iustice, as well to those of the Realme, in the pretention they had to the election, as also to the pretendents to the succession: That they would deliuer them all writings whereof they had neede, exhorting them to treat with peace, and loue, without causing of any mutinie, were it neuer so small, in any mans fauour; and for the better ordering of that which concerned the common good, they were well pleased they should put them in minde of any thing which they thought necessarie. Hauing ended this speech, all men keeping silence, *Phabus Moniz* answered that they were all assured, that of the five Governours three were suspect: for when the King laboured to bring the States to make

agreement

The regencie of the governours.

Martin Gonzalues sent to the deputies of the Realme.

The deputies answered to Martin.

agreement with King *Philip*, they were not onely conformable to the will of *Henrie*, but did vrge them, and commended this resolution without respect of the libertie of the Realme, seeking onely to please the Kings humour, and their owne interest: which being, it was not reasonable to suffer such suspected Governours, whom they were not bound to obey, and this was the opinion of them all. *Martin* replied that he was not of opinion they should then alter any thing, for instead of helping, they should heape danger vpon danger, and trouble vpon trouble, that for a while, they should be lookers on, and if intime they should finde the Governours not to doe their duety as they ought, they might then helpe with the same remedie, seeing they had alwaies authoritie to doe it: whereunto, although *Phæbus Moniz* answered, that this remedie could not alwaies be applied, for that the counceil could not stil be vnited, for the great charges they were at; yet the reasons of *Martin Gonzalues* were of such force, that they resolued not to alter the Governours, as a matter scandalous, but accepting what they had sent to be said vnto them, that they should aduise what they thought necessarie, they began suddenly to set downe in writing such Articles as they would haue perfourmed by the Governours: The which were, that leauing the aboade at Almerin they should goe to Saint Aren, to be neerer neighbours, more in quiet and in greater safetie; that for the auoiding of charge and scandall, they should discharge the Souldiers as vnecessary: That presently they should sende Ambassadors to the Catholique King, that as Governours of the Realme, they would do iustice to the pretendents in the cause of succession, the which his Maiestie should beleue, not suffering within his Realme any attempt against Portugall: That they should presently prouide for the fortresses of the Realme, as well vpon the sea, as in other places, sending trustie Captaines, garrisons, and necessarie munition, and to euerie Prouince men of great authoritie, to force men to defend and succour the weaker parts, that they should send some vnto his holines, giuing him to vnderstand the Kings death, their succession to the government of the Realme, for the defence thereof against any one that would vsurpe it, contrarie to equitie, against the sentence which should be pronounced touching the succession, beseeching him to write to the Catholique King to rest satisfied,

The resolution of Gonzalues, ambassador.

» tisfied, and to be bound to stand to iudgement: They did vrge them
 » to take information by way of Iustice, against those, that in the cause
 » of succession did suborne with promises of money & honours, and
 » also such as were suborned, hauing knowledge that there were ma-
 » ny such: Whereunto the gonernors answered, that they would pre-
 presently depart from Almeryn, but whicher; it was not expedient then
 to say, and that it shoulde be conformable to the demaund of the
 citie of Lisbone. They saide that they woulde not discharge the
 souldiers being leuied by the commandement of King *Henry*, for
 the guard of his Court, and of the pretendents: That some hauing
 refused to carrie this Embassage into Castill, yet in the ende they
 had chosē *Gasspard d. Casale*, Bishop of Coimbra, and *Emanuel de
 Melo*, who prepared to go: That alreadie they had commaunded
 al Captaines to remaine in their fortresses, & where there were none
 they were prouiding, as also of armes, both in the fortresses vpon
 the riuer, as in all other prouinces: That it seemed not necessarie to
 send to Rome, but if king *Philip* made shewe to stirre, they woulde
 beseech his holines, to doe as he hath beene accustomed, and that
 they woulde proccede with all the rigour against such as shoulde be
 found culpable in the matter of subornation. Now had the Agents
 of the Catholique king sent newes into Castill, of King *Henry* his
 death, and were remaining still at Almerin, fearing some alteration:
 but this people accustomed to a heauie yoke, without knowledge of
 libertie did not stirre. The Duke of Bragance saide vnto the Go-
 uernours, that he was readie to obey, and that they should proceed
 to sentence for the succession: He sent to the Duke of Ossuna, and
 the Catholique Agents, willing them not to feare any thing, that
 he woulde assure them from danger, offering them his lodging, the
 like did the Gouvernors.

*Anthonyes
 course to
 obtaine the
 Crowne.*

Whilest these things passed in Almerin, *Anthony* Prior of Crato,
 who at the Kings death was not far from thence, ran vnto Lisbone,
 lodging himselfe in a garden neere vnto the citie: he did write vnto
 the Magistrate of the chamber, and to many of the chiefe, signifying
 vnto them that hee was there, and that they shoulde come vnto
 him: The which the Magistrate vnderstanding disdained, sending
 him worde that he shoulde retire, but making no reckoning there-
 of, he sent both into the citie and places of pleasure thereabouts,
 some

some of his followers, who, both in priuate and in publike gaue out, that the king was dead, and that the Prior expected them there, beleeuing by that meanes (for the affection the people bare him) they woulde all iointly proclaime him king: which being done in that citie (which is the principall) all the rest of the Realme (for he was greatly beloued) would follow their example, yet he was soone deceiued. And this may serue as an example to those which relie too much vpon the vulgar sort, for there was not any one that durst come vnto him but in secret; and as for gentlemen there were none by reason of the plague: As for the new Christians which are there in great number (whereof a part was likewise abroad) they wanted courage, and being rich, feared to doe that which might cause the losse of their goods. The people (most base) of themselues had no commander, that could mooue them or lead them, so as hauing labored by diuers meanes to draw men to his deuotion, & finding his practise not to succeed, hauing spent some time there, he went to the Monasterie of Belem, from whence he did write to the Council of States, with words more conformable to the qualitie of time, then his intention; saying, That hauing intelligence of the death of the King his Lord, vnderstanding likewise that his bodie should be transported to that Monasterie, and that not to faile of his duie, he was come thither to attend it, seeing he could not be in time to accompany it, the which he had done that perfourning this last office, he might doe them the seruice he ought: but vnderstanding that he was not brought thither, he had assisted the fathers in their sacrifices and deuotions recommending him vnto God: And as a true Portugall, and mindfull of the bond, which (as sonne and nephewe to his father and grandfather) he had to the quiet and preferuation of these Realmes, he thought it good to aduertise them, that he was readie to expose for this cause, not onely his life, and receiue the lawes which they should please to lay vpon him, but also in all present occasions to liue in submission & due obedience, not any way transgressing their commissions: He protested to shew the innocencie of those crymes imposed vpon him in the sentences, which it had pleased his vncle to pronounce against him together with the interest hee had to the succession of the Realme: Hee promised to yeeld himselfe into their hands and protection, relying vpon those

*Anthony
his letters to
the states of
Alascrin.*

„ persons, who by the special grace of God in so afflicted a season, had
 „ been chosen as a remedie to restore this Realme, referring himselfe
 „ for the rest to *Lewis de Brito* who should deliuer it by mouth : To
 this letter the which was receiued in counsell, cōtrarie to the aduise
 of some who said it ought not to be accepted, *Brito* added that the
 Prior would be there with speede, that they should cōmaund where
 they pleased he should lodge : They answered that he might come
 when he pleased, yet they would not intermeddle with his lodging,
 but leaue it to his owne choice: But almost all in generall were plea-
 sed with his cōming. He staid not long but presently vpon his arri-
 uall, he presented the Popes Bull contayning the suspension of the
 Kings sentence, he began to renue the pretention of his legitimation
 (without the finall decision wherof they said they could not treat of
 the succession) wanting no hope to obtaine by the counsell of States
 that which before he did expect from the multitude at Lisbone: The
 Deputies of the Realme did assemble daily at Saint Aren, without
 effecting any thing of imporrance : They spent some daies onely in
 sending to visit the pretendents, and their deputies, & to make vnto
 them offers of iustice, and likewise to receiue from them thanks for
 their good dispositions, wherin al laboured to shew themselues pro-
 tectors of the libertie of the Realme, and most of all such as least de-
 sired it : And for that the going and comming to Almeryn was very
 incōmodious, being forced to passe the water without a bridge, that
 by this reason in communicating the affaires to the rest of the States,
 that is, to the Cleargie and nobilitie, & by treating with the Gouver-
 nours they lost much time, it was propounded in counsell to reduce
 all together, yet could they not effect it, for manie of the Deputies
 began to want money for their ordinarie charges, desiring rather to
 be dismissed, then vnited: They desired to depart, saying, that they
 were not furnished frō their cities, but as they were not discharged,
 so were they not relieued with money : & although *Balthasar de Fa-
 ria* Deputie of Barcellos, the Pryor of Saint Steuens, and the Bishop
 of Parma, euerie one apart did offer money to such as wanted, that
 the assembly might not be dissolued, yet the Deputies vnfurnished
 would not accept thereof, not willing to be bound in their owne
 proper names, for that their cities were bound to furnish them: Be-
 sides in this assembly the opinions were diuers & few inclined ro fa-
 uour

*The States
 answere to
 Anthony,
 and his ar-
 riuall.*

hour the pretention of the Catholike king; many knew not what to resolute, & a great part were affected to the Prior, but all in generall feared the Governours & mistrusted their proceedings, so as besides the aduertisements they sent daily vnto them, they did sollicite the execution, making new demands & pressing them aboue al to discharge the soldiets: They demanded a copie of the authority to gouerne left them by King *Henrie*, & the words of his will which concerns the point of succession, the which were wholly deliuered vnto them; his wil was made 8. moneths before, & cōtained these words: Seeing at the time of my will making I haue no descendents directly to succeed to the Crowne of these realmes, and haue called my nephewes which may pretend, and haue put the matter of succession in Justice, I do not at this time declare who shall be my successor, but leaue it vnto him to whom by right it shall appertaine, & him I doe declare my heire & successor, except that before my decease, I shall name him that hath this interest: And therefore I command all men within these my realmes of what quality soeuer, that presētly after I or the iudges appointed shal haue named him, to acknowledge him for heire & lawful successor, & so to obey him. There followed many other words in recōmendation of iustice & religiō, but they serued not to this purpose. And although his wil contained these words, yet they say the King at his death would haue resourmed it, & declared the Catholike king successor of the realme: But the Governours desirous to hold the gouernment for a time in their own hands, did diuert him, saying, That whether he made any declaration or not, no other then the Catholike king could succeed both by law & force: that it was not expediēt to nominate him, to the end that the realme might with greater aduantage capitulate & agree with him: Many supposed that they did not dissuade the king from this declaration so much for these reasons, as fearing it would breed som popular sedition to their hurt, being held as autors of the said declaration. The limitation which he had left to the Governours contained, that they could not create Dukes, Marqueesses, Earles, Barons, Bishops, nor Archbishops, nor giue any commandery nor reuenuē which passed 125. duckats: But in matters of war & reuolutions they might doe & giue any thing with the aduise of the council & not otherwise. The deputies being satisfied with these writings, whilest they debated the

*The clause
of King
Henries
testament.*

*The speech
of the De-
putie of Por-
talegre.*

reasons of their pretended election, *Stephen Lopez* Doctor & deputy of Portalegré, spake publicly amongst them, who hauing shewed how fit it were to giue God thanks for the quiet they now enioyed, said it was not necessary to continue so many deputies stil together, » with so much trouble & so great charge, that they should be redu- » ced vnto few, & the rest returne to their houses. And for as much as » they were aduertised that the Catholique King began to arme, they » should surcease from the cause of succession, vntill the said King had » dismissed his forces, and the preparatiues for war he had made, for » by that meanes the free libertie to treat of the cause, and for the pre- » tendents to alleage their interest was taken away: That by the sus- » pension of the cause, they shall discouer the Catholique Kings dis- » position in laying aside armes: If he doe it, it shall breed these good » effects: That in the meane time they shall haue leisure to provide » for things necessarie, to gather in the fruits of the earth, and the pre- » tendents shall liue in peace and quiet: if he refuse it (which we » ought not to belecue of so Christian a Prince) then shall they be » satisfied, and both the States and the pretendents (vnited in one bo- » die,) may the better defend themselues, and when as all things were » quietly serled, then to determine the cause, disabling notwithstan- » ding before all things, the saide Catholique King (who vsing force » when as iustice is offered him) for being King of these Realmes: » And this he said was the disposition of the lawe, that in the meane » time they should commaund the Pretendents to the Crowne to » make their residence in diuers places, the one at Elues, and the other » at Begia, as fronter townes, swearing not to attempt any thing one » against the other. The reasons of this Doctor as a man of small ac- » count were not followed, but the councell being resolued with two » others of the States to send six Deputies to Almerin to treat of mat- » ters of importance with the Governours: Thither they sent them » with instructions different from this fournie of speech, videlicet, » that the Governours should passe to Saint Arén, and there make » their residence to take a view what armes, men, and munition the » citie of Lisbonne had for their defence, & to supply what wanted, to » take notice what Captaines be appointed in the fortresses vpon the » riuer of Lisbonne, and being suspected, or not valiant, to place others » with men and other necessaries: That they should send armes to all » cities

*The states
send to the
Governours.*

cities of the Realme, and traine vp their men with exercise thereof; that they should beseech the Pope by his Ambassadors to perswade all the pretendents to take the course of iustice, and lay aside armes vpon paine to loose the interest they pretend, requiring that *Emanuel de Portugal* puruey or of the fortresses of the Realme might be restored to the same office, whereof the King had suspended him, and that they should do the like to *Diego Salema*, and to *Aluaro de Morais* in their offices in the Chamber of Lisbon: And for that they found themselues to be vnfurnished, they would haue all the ships & vessels staied throughout all the ports of the realme for the conducting of things necessarie for the war. The Governours made but a cold answer to these demands, as they had done before to all others, saying, that being matters of so great importāce they would consider of them first, & then aduertise them what should be done.

The *Cheriffe* had as it is said before in the life of King *Henrie*, and at the instance of the Catholique King deliuered the Duke of *Barcellos*, who hauing passed the streight to returne into Portugall, being arriued at *Gibraltar* where (as afterwarde at *Saint Lucar*) the Duke of *Medina Sidouia* Lord of those places did him great honour, by meanes whereof he spent sometime in sports: At this time the newes comming of King *Henries* death, the Duke of *Medina* thought it a matter importing the Catholique King, to detaine the saide Duke of *Barcellos* as eldest sonne to the Duke of *Bragance*, and of *Katherine* chiefe pretendēt to the Realme, vntill the cause of the succession were decided, so as the sports before shewed vnto the saide Duke in courtesie were now redoubled for this other intent, detayning him expressly, vntill he might receiue answer from the King, so as shewing him first one place, and then another, this yoong Prince was taken vnawares: But the Duke of *Medina* hauing staied certaine carriages, vnder colour to shew him some feastes, he then conceiued the cause of his detaining, and wrote forthwith vnto his father in Portugall, that he should not then expect him, and that his detention should not any way preiudice the rights of the Realme, preferring iustice before his owne life: This letter being come into Portugall was by the Duke his father sent vnto the assembly of the States, shewing on the one side a griefe for the detayning of his sonne, and on the other side a contentment,

The duke of Barcellos detained by the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

that in so yong an age, he was so great a louer of his countries good, offering if need were to sacrifice him for the seruice of the Realme: Yet this feare of the Dukes continued not long, for hauing written to his son that he should labour to come away, or they should make declaration of his staie, he was suffered free lie to depart; for so the King had commaunded. Some say that *Philip* had long before this consideration, hauing meanes to stay him, not onely in Spaine, but also in Affrique, but fearing to incense the Portugals, and desirous to make the Duke his friend, he had procured his release in Affrick, and suffered him safely to depart from Andoluzia into Portugall: yet the said Duke of Barcellos or his father, by whose commaundement he was directed, was noted of some ingratitude, for being inuited by *Philip* to passe by his court as desirous to see him, the iea- lousie of the State of these Realmes preuayled so much that he did not satisfie his desire, but tooke his direct way to Villauizosa, fearing perhaps a new detention.

These things passed in Portugall when as in Castill the Catho- lique King beeing aduertised by his Agents of the death of King *Henrie*, of the small affection the Portugals bare vnto him, of the liuely pretention of *Anthonie* and other pretendents, and to what estate the matter was brought, was greatly discontented, seeming he should be forced to take armes for the obtaining of the conclu- sion of his interest. But desirous to satisfie his conscience in the ef- fecting thereof, he had formerly the aduise of *Diego de Chiaues* of the order of preaching Fryers, being his confessor, and of some other principall Diuines of that order, and yet not well satisfied with their opinions, least he should seeme onely to follow the aduise of the dominical Fryers; he desired likewise to treat with other orders of religious persons, and to that intent he sent one to acquaint the chiefe Deuines in Spaine with the cause, and to demaund their aduise: This care perfourmed, not only with the chiefe prelates and
 ,, readers in Diuinitie, but with the Iesuits and the Fryers of Saint
 ,, Francis, all agreede that the Kings right being so apparant he was
 ,, not bound to represent it otherwise then out of iudgement to King
 ,, *Henrie*, as he had done, and to make his councill and the rest of the
 ,, Realme of Portugall capable thereof, such as with sinceritie of hart
 ,, would vnderstand the truth, and by the mildest meanes, procure (as
 he

*The dili-
gence of the
catholique
King to as-
sure his con-
science for
the Realm
of Poringall.*

he had done) that *Henry* should declare him successor, & if these diligent proceedings were not sufficient to perswade the King and the Realme; that then *Philip* had sufficiently iustified his cause, and that he might assure himselfe by armes, without thrusting the succession (which was due vnto him) into euident perill, his person being as it is saide, soueraigne, exempt, and free from all reprehension, and onely bound to iustifie his right before God, and to signifie it to the King and the Realme, saying, that this point was now without all doubt, since the death of *Henrie*, no man liuing that could pretend any interest in the decision of the cause. It appertained not to the Pope, being a matter wholly temporall, nor agreeing with the circumstances, which may giue him any right ouer temporall matters; and lesse to the Emperour, beeing no way acknowledged by the Realmes of Castill and Portugall, and much lesse to certaine Iudges named by *Henrie*, for besides that he could not choose any after his death, they were now become the materiall partie, and the thing it selfe whereon they pleaded: Besides that all the Realme was become insufficient, when as making themselues a partie, they pretended power to choose a Prince, & although all this ceased, yet would they prooue that no Portugall but was suspect in this cause, & to be excepted against for the manifest hatred they bare to the Castilian nation: They found likewise that he was not bound to submit himselfe to any compremise; for besides the difficultie and impossibilitie to finde a trustie person in so dangerous and iealous a cause as this is, the bond of compremise is not incident but in a matter of doubt, and the definition of doubt is when as the aduocate and Doctors conclude, not for any partie finding equiualent reasons for either: but in this, all being of one agreement, the cause is not doubtful nor to be compremitted.

The King being resolu'd to take armes (having no possession deliuered vnto him) provided for it, for this cause he writ to the gouernors, to the three estates, and to the five principall cities, to all of one subiect, but in diuerse formes; after he had lamented the death of his vnclē, he required them to receaue and sweare him King, as King *Henry* had resolu'd, and declared him to be; he thanked the nobility and clergie for their good affection showne, when as *Henrie* had said that the succession appertained vnto him; he made

*The Catho-
lique Kings
prepara-
tions a-
gainst Por-
tugall.*

made offer to all and threatned cunningly; he sent to the gouernors a copie of the priuiledges which King Henry had required in the behalfe of the Realme, offering to graunt them more amplie then they had bene demaunded, protesting, if they would not obey to vse force: But all these things were receiued and reiected according to the humors of men. The gouernors made aunswere they could not resolue vntill the returne of their Ambassadours which they had sent vnto them: At this time there was readie at sea as well in Spaine as in Italie about threescore galleis, (whereof *Aluaro de Bassan* Marques of Saint Croix was generall) the which should faile towards Portugall, as the occasion of the time should serue; there was yet no generall named for this enterprife, and euerie man greedilie expected who should be chosen, for that few were thought fit for so great a burthen. The Duke of *Alua* was generallie held most sufficient, yet few beleueed that the King would willingly free him from prison: the Marques of *Mondegia* (who was returned from the gouernment of Naples) affected this charge, & many beleueed he should preuaile, in recompence of the discontentment he had to be drawn from Italy: Many beleueed the King would goe to this war in person, both for the inclination they see in him, as for some other signes which were apparant, for he not only caused his armes and pauillions to be readie, but also commaunded *Ferrant de Silua Conte de Cifuentes*, *Guidon Maior* of Castill with the Standard Royall to furnish himself; the which in that Realme is not accustomed to be carried, but in the Squadron where the King is in person: but in this case it behooued him to remaine irresolute, and to gouerne himselfe according to the necessitie and occasions which time should disclose: In this hope of things the King commaunded a Secretarie of the councill of warre to write to the Duke of *Alua*, demaunding of him if he were able to serue in this enterprife, whereunto making answere that in that which concerned his Maiestie, he neuer made reckoning of his health, hee was commaunded to prepare himselfe within three daies and to goe to the campe, the which he putting in execution, he went to *Barrazas*, a village ten miles from the court, (which was at *Madrill*;) hauing no leaue to come thither: but that which caused admiration, the king hauing at the same time caused the Prince *Diego* his sonne to be sworne by all the estates in a Chappell,

The duke of Alua chosen generall of the army in- to Portugall.

The Catho- lique Kings Letters to the Duke of Alua.

pell, although with ordinarie ceremonies, yet with lesse pompe then of custome, did not admit the saide Duke to the oath, being so neere and so great a personage: He did neither write vnto him, nor treated with him concerning these warres but long after: So as the Duke marching with the armie, finding himselfe not fully released from the prison wherein he had beene, saide that the King had sent him to conquer Realines, drawing after him chaines and fetters; such was the seueritie of *Philip*, and the obedience of so great a minister. All Spaine was pleased with this election, for besides the deliury of the Duke which followed, they esteemed not the valour of their soldiers, without a Commaunder to their mindes, and in the Dukes person they helde any armie good. The Generall being dispatched, the King provided all things for his iourney into Portugall, he caused a daughter borne at that time, to be secretly baptizd, and hauing made the saide prince of Castill to be sworne (without calling, or the presence of *Ferrant de Sylua*, to his great discontentment) the King went to Guadalupa, being now the time of Lent, vnder colour to performe the obsequies of King *Henry* there, and so to draw neere vnto Portugall to giue encouragement to his affaires; and thus did he write to all the principall cities in Spaine. He departed from Madrill in coach almost all alone without giuing order for the Queenes departure, or for the officers of his Courte, notwithstanding cherishing her dearly. After he had passed two daies (seeming conuenient, and a great signe of amitie that being now to enter into Portugall) he shoulde be accompanied with his Queene, he called her vnto him. The Duke was now gone to Gli-
 erena where a part of his armie lay, being in farre lesser numbers then had beene leuied, for that discommodities and sicknesse had consumed many, and many places were voide by the Captaines pollicie, being in all but fower thousand five hundreth Italians, three thousand five hundreth Germanes, and three thousand Spaniards come out of Italy, and other seauen thousand newly raised, with fifteene hundreth horse, which being a body long before prepared, for a matter so well foreseene, seemed to him but small. But the Duke trusting more to the qualitie then the quantitie of his soldiers, desired to haue them fewer, and of more experience, and these seemed in a manner all without knowledge, and therefore the
 King

*The Catho-
 lique King
 goes towards
 Portugall.*

*The Duke
 of Alua
 arines at his
 Army.*

*The num-
 bers of the
 Dukes Ar-
 my.*

The coming of the Ambassadors from the Governours to the Catholique King, and their negotiation.

King at his entreatie commanded, that all the soldiers which were come out of Flaunders into Italy, should passe into Spaine, being such whom he knew, and had tried in the warres, yet they arriued not in time but returned backe. The Duke saide that surmounting the enimie in horse, he would vndertake this warre with twelue thousand foote well experienced, neither did he value the great number of the Portugals which assembled, as it was giuen out, making reckoning to waite them by policie, & to conquer them without battaile. The King being come to Guadalupa, there arriued the Bishop of Coimbra and *Emanuel de Melo* Embassadors from the Governours of Portugall. The King with his Councell were doubtfull in what sort to honor them, some would haue them treated like subiects, without respecting them as Embassadors: Others

» would not haue any thing altered of the ordinarie course obserued
 » in those causes; yet not to discourage them, it was resolued they
 » should be heard as Embassadors with their heads couered, and that
 » the King should put off his hat, yet the King had written before to
 » the Governours, that he would treat with their Commissaries as with
 » subiects. These laboured by a long speech to perswade the King to
 lay aside armes: they saide that King *Henry* had greatly desired to end the question of succession, by the ordinarie course of iustice, but that death had prevented him: he had in the States held at Lisbon in the yeere 1579. not onely chosen Governours and defenders of the Realme, but the States had also named fower & twentie Iudges, (whereof the King had chosen eleuen) to iudge definitiuelly the cause of succession, if he died before the effecting it; the which after hapned, and that the matter being brought to that passe, the realme remained quiet and peaceable, resolute to obey, and acknowledge for their Lord and King, him in whose fauour sentence should be giuen, conformable to the oath which the whole Realme had taken in the said estates: the which was after ministred to the same Governours in the great church at Lisbon, when as the coffer (which contained the nomination) was opened, and therefore they were readie to administer iustice, and to acknowledge for King, him vnto whom the realme shoulde be iudged by right to appertaine: and being thus affected, they beseeched his maiesty to command his embassadors to assist iudicially to the cause in the conclusion thereof:

of: But the King being assured of his right, provided of forces, and seeming no blot to his conscience, made answer that he was well pleased with the shew of zeale to the publike good of these realmes; and that he was perswaded that what they had propounded, proceeded from a good inclination: that he would haue bin glad their demand had bin such as he might haue satisfied them, the which he wil do alwaies in matter that shall be iust, & tending to the generall or particular good of these realmes. But the equitie of his cause being so apparant to the world, & remaining no lawfull or competent iudge, they neither ought nor could performe the oath which they saide they had taken, seeing it were an apparant prejudice to his title, and a damage to his owne realmes: and therefore he entreated them presently to resolue, to receiue and sweare him for their king and lord, as God would haue it, they themselues knowing (chiefly touching this matter) what king *Henry* thought, determined, and had resolued, and the bond whereby they were tied to obey his will: in dooing whereof he would grant vnto the realme not onely the priuileges which he had set downe (the which the Duke of Ossuna should offer in his name) but any other they should require, being iust and reasonable, & hoping they would take that course which was to be expected from wise men, and Christians, he would continue his determination. The Embassadors seemed not satisfied with this answer, but demanding leaue to impart it to the Governors, they accompanied the king vntill he came to Merryda.

Now were the Governots in Portugall (wearied with the Council of the States) desirous to dissolue them; and hauing first required a prolonging of the government the King had left vnto them, and not obtaining it, they did signifie vnto them that the States were ended, & that the Deputies might returne to their houses, leauing only ten of them to treat of matters which should fall out, for so small a number might lodge any where, being now forced to leaue Almeryn, and to take some small place neere the citie of Lisbon, being greatly entreated thereunto: but the Deputies (who had sent *Iohn de Noghera* to the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, to studie the point of their pretended election) hauing received answer that the election belonged to the States of the realme, they would by no meanes be dissolued, perswaded thereunto by the bishop of Parma, the

The conclusion of the States at Almeryn.

Prior

Prior, the chamber of Saint Aram, and many particulars, offering money to supply their wants : but they opposed in vaine. For although they had sent to the Governours to alleage their reasons in law, labouring to prooue that the States were not to be dissolved, & that their procurations were of force; yet the Governours did againe disable them, saying, their authorities were of no force, so as many began to separate themselues, and returne to their houses. The Governours prepared to defend themselues, for although the greatest part of them were not of that opinion; yet to content the people, and to please the other Governours and gentlemen of the popular faction, it behooued them so to do. For this cause they armed their gallions, they brought armes from other countries, they mustred men for the warre, they sent gentlemen throughout all the prouinces of the realme, and laboured to imploy such as (contrarie to the Catholique Kings faction being present) hindered their resolutions, who willingly accepted of these charges, seeming to haue greater confidence in them then in any other. *Diego de Meneses* was sent into the prouince beyond Tagus; *Iohn de Vasconcellos* into Beira; *Emanuel* of Portugall into the mouth of Tagus; and many other to diuers parts of the Realme: *George de Meneses* had charge of the armie at sea; so as they were all dispersed, and the Governours had good meanes to effect their desires: yet *Martyn Gonzalues de la Camera*, no lesse popular then the rest, remained in court, of whom the Governours grew ieaalous, that hauing imployed him as a mediator betweene them and the States of the realme, he was become a superior. But the prouision and preparatiues that were made (although some vsed all care and diligence) seemed rather done for shew and fashion sake then to any effect.

The Governours prepare for defence.

The manner of the enterprize of Portugall.

In Castill they discoursed vpon the manner of this enterprize, seeming impossible vnto the Duke to gather together so many cariages as was necessaric for the conduct of victuals and munition, and therefore deuised to transport his forces by sea: He determined with few men to keepe them busied in Extremadure to diuert them, and vnder colour to hasten the armie, to march towards Andalouzia, and speedily to imbarke his soldiers at Saint Marie Port, to assaile the entrie of the mouth of Lisbone, in despite of all the fortresses that were there: making account to loose some ships which

which should by chance touch. But receiuing certaine aduertisement, by men expressly sent into Portugall, that there was about six thousand chariots to be founde, he left this dangerous resolution, more for the regard of the sea then the enimies. He determined to march to Settuual thinking it necessary to win a port of the sea of so great importāce, for the harboring of the nauie: for cōming thither laden with victuals, & he not able to carrie with him by land about a moneths prouision, it seemed necessarie to ioin the forces & prouisions of the sea to them of the land, and that therein consisted the victorie: with this resolution he went to Merrida, where the King remained, of whom being receiued with a cheerefull countenance, they treated what course the armie should take. There grew some diuersitie of opinion betwixt the Duke and some others, who (perswaded by some confident Portugals) would haue the armie march to Almeryn, and there passe Tagus at a foord, or at Saint Arem vpon bridges: that they should force that place being but weake, and so they might passe safely to the wals of Lisbone, the which without attending any batterie would yeeld presently, or (it may be) before their arriuall: for taking from them the victuals from the plaines of Saint Arem, they should not onely besiege them by famine, but they shoulde so furnish their armie with corne, that they shoulde haue no neede of prouision from the flecte, the which they should better receiue at Lisbone then at Settuual, without hazarding the enteprise, and the armie by the dangers of disimbarking, which (going to Settuual) they must be forced to do against the forts vpon the mouth of the riuer, and with losse of time in winning of them: This opinion seemed so grounded, that it required no lesse authoritie or arte to disprooue then the Dukes, who being chiefe of this enteprise, and to hazard his reputation, drew the King to his opinion. *Philip* had likewise enuironed (as a man may say) all the realme of Portugall with armes, though not with mercenarie soldiers, yet with such as they coulde assemble together; he commanded all Noblemen, whose liuings ioined to the confines of this realme, that hauing enrolled the greatest number of their subiects able to beare armes, they shoulde be readie at his commandement, yet in the meane time they shoulde receiue gently in his name the cities and subiects of Portugall that woulde obey him. In Galicia *Peter de*

Castro Earle of Lemos, and *Gaspard de Fonseca* Earle of Monteré had the charge: against the prouince behinde the mountaines, *John Pimentel* Earle of Benneuent, and *Diego de Tolledo* Earle of Alua: In Estremadura, *Beltramo de la Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque, and *Ferrant Anriques* Marquesse of Villa Noua: against Vera, *John Pacheco* Marquesse of Seraluo; and in Algarues, *Frauncis de Suniga* Duke of Bessar, and *Alonso de Gusman* of Medina Cidonia. In the armie where the Duke of Alua was commander of all, both at sea and at land, the places were thus deuided: The Italians had three coronels, *Prosper Colonna*, *Vincent Caraffa*, and *Charles Spinelli*, hauing for Generall *Peter de Medicy*, brother to *Frauncis* the great Duke of Tuscaine, with whom was sent by the saide great Duke *Lewes d'Onara*, whom the King had made one of his Councillers at warre. *Sanches d'Auila* was Lord Marshall of the field: There was no commaunder of the horse, the Captaines being all Noblemen and men of account, they could not conueniently make them subiect to any one of their companions, the place requiring a man of such qualitie, as he could not be inferior to the Duke, and superior to the saide Captaines, although after in time of necessitie *Ferrant* of Tolledo, sonne to the saide Duke, was made their leader: Count *Ierome* of Lodron commaunded the Germanes, *Frauncis d'Allana* had his ordinarie charge as Generall of the artillerie, but although the preparations were brought to this point, yet the King daily protested by his ministers to the Gouvernors, of the inconueniences of the warre, if they deliuered not the realme in peace vnto him; neither did they cease to treat many things in Portugall concerning an agreement, & for that the King rather desired to shew his forces, then to vse them, to conquer by gentlenes then by rigor, he offred vnto the realme many graces and priuileges deliuering him peaceable possession, and the Gouvernors (the greatest part whereof enclined thereunto) had already debated with the Agents of the Catholique King, what conditions the King shoulde graunt vnto the realme, the which were published by the Duke of Ossuna, and signed with his hand, offering that the King should graunt them, in giuing him the crowne, and they were these: That the King should take a formall oath to obserue all the customes, priuileges, and liberties, graunted to these realmes by the Kings his predecessors:

That

The state of
the Duke of
Alua his ar-
mie.

The condi-
tions that the
Catholique
King offred

*if they would
deliuer the
realme qui-
cily.*

That when there shall be neede to assemble the States for the affaires of Portugall, it shall be done within the realme, and that in no other assemblie of States whatsoeuer: They shall neither propound nor resolue vpon any matter concerning these realmes: That appointing a Viceroy to gouerne, or any persons with what title soeuer, they shall be Portugals. The like is to be vnderstood in sending of a Visitor or Iudge, with this condition notwithstanding, for as much as concernes the authoritie of the realmes, and to do them a greater fauour, his maiestie and his successors may send for Viceroy or Governour one of the bloud royall, be he sonne, vncle, brother, cosen, or nephew to the King: Besides, that all superior officers or inferior, belonging either to iustice, or to the reuenues of the crowne, shall be distributed to Portugals, and not to strangers: That all offices which haue bene in the times of former kings both of the court, and of the realme, shall be bestowed vpon the naturall borne, such as shall deserue the same when as his Maiestie or his successors shall enter into the realme: And the like is to be vnderstood of all other dignities of what qualitic soeuer, either at sea or lande, which are at this present, or shall be hereafter created: The garrisons which shall remaine in any forts, shall be Portugals. Moreouer they saide that the traffike of the Indies, Ethiopia, and other places, appertaining to these realmes, being discouered, or to discouer, shall not be dismembred from the same, neither shall there be any other alteration made then is at this present: And that the officers and their ships which shall be employed in these traffikes, shall be Portugals, and shall saile in the ships of Portugall. That the golde and siluer which shall be coined in these realmes and their dependancies, and all that which shall come from those prouinces, shall be coined with the armes of Portugall without any other addition. That all Bishopricks, abbeies, benefices, and pensions shall be giuen to Portugals: And the like is to be vnderstoode of the office of Inquisitor, Maior of commaunders, of the offices of militarie orders, of the Priorie of Crato: and finally of all other ecclesiasticall liuings, as hath bene formerly spoken of the temporall. He did yeelde there shoulde be no thirds exacted of ecclesiasticall goods, neither subsidies nor crosades, and that for any of these causes they should procure no buls: That they shoulde not giue either citie, towne,

» place, iurisdiction, nor roiall prerogatiue to other then to Portu-
 » gals: And falling any vacancie of the liuings of the crowne, his Ma-
 » iestie nor his successors should not reține them for themselves, but
 » giue them to the kinsman of him that did enioy him, or to other
 » Portugals that shall deserue them: Prouided alwaies that the Ca-
 » stilians and strangers which now liue in these realmes, and haue
 » beene seruitors to the Kings deceased, shall not be excluded: That
 » in militarie orders nothing shal be altered of the state it now stands
 » in: That gentlemen shall be paide their pensions amounting to
 » twelue yeeres, and that his Maiestie and his successors shall yeerely
 » entertaine into his seruice two hundreth Portugals, to whom he shal
 » giue that paie which they call Moradia; and those which haue no
 » title of gentlemen shall serue in the warres of the realme: That when
 » his Maiestie or his successors, shall come into those realmes, they
 » shall not take vp their lodgings as they vse in Castill, but shall ob-
 » serue the custome of Portugall. Moreouer his Maiestie in what
 » place soeuer he shall be, shall carrie with him a man of the Church,
 » a Superintendent of the reuenewes of the crowne, a high Chaun-
 » cellor, and two Disambarcadours of the court, which iointly shall
 » be called the Councell of Portugall, by whose meanes all matters
 » shall be dispatched, with them shall go to clarkes of the reuenewes,
 » and two of the chamber, for all occasions incident to their charge,
 » all shall bee written in the Portugall toong, and all shall be Por-
 » tugals: And when his Maiestie or his successors shall come into
 » Portugall, he shall retaine the saide Councell and officers, which
 » shall be vnited to such as shall treat of the gouernment of the
 » realme: That all correctors and other officers of iustice, with all
 » other inferior offices, shall in the Kings absence be disposed of in
 » the realme, as they be at this present: & the like shall be vnderstood
 » of the officers of purueyors, auditors of the reckonings, and others
 » of the like qualitie, concerning the reuenewes of the crowne: He
 » declared likewise, that all causes and charges appertaining to iu-
 » stice of what qualitie or summe soeuer, should be definitiue ended
 » and executed in these realmes, as they be at this present: That his
 » Maiestie and his successors shall entertaine a chappell in manner
 » and forme as the kings of these realmes haue formerly done, the
 » which shall be resident at Lisbone, that the diuine seruice may be
 continually

continually celebrated with the accustomed ceremonies, except the Kings person, or in his absence the Viceroy or gouernour shall make his residence in some other part of the realme; and would haue there the saide chappell remaine: That his Maiestie shall conformably admitte Portugals to the offices of his house, according to the custome of Burgundie, without any difference betwixt them, the Castillians, and his subiects of other nations. That the Queene shall likewise entertaine into her seruice, Noblemen, and the chiefe Ladies of Portugall, whom she shall fauour and recompence, marrying them in Portugall or in Castill: That for the good of the people and generally of these realmes the encrease of trafique, and the good correspondencie with those of Castill, his Maiestie shall be pleased to open the barred hauens on both parties, that the marchandize may passe freely, as it hath formerly done before the impositions of such customes as are nowe paide: That he would command that all curtesies possible may be done for the bringing in corne into Castill for the prouision of these realmes: That he shall command to be deliuered three hundred thousand duckats to be imployed for these causes following: First sixscore thousand for the redemption of captiues, at the disposition of the house of Pittie at Lisbone, the one halfe to be imployed for the redeeming of poore gentlemen, and the other halfe for ordinary persons, all Portugals: one hundred and fiftie thousand to make the ground of a stocke to be lent without interest whereas neede shall require, as it shall be disposed by the magistrate of the chamber of Lisbone, and the thirtie thousand remaining, to cure the infirmitie that now raignes, which shall be distributed by order from the Archbishop and chamber of Lisbone. They saide likewise that touching the prouision which shall be made for armies sent to the Indies, the defence of the realme, the punishment of pirats, and defence of the frontiers of Affricke, his Maiestie shall take such resolution as shall be conuenient within these realmes; although it be with the helpe of his other countries, and the great expence of his roiall treasure. That in recompence of the loue, which the naturall borne of these realmes do beare vnto their princes, it would please the King to make his ordinarie abode there: And although the gouernment of his other realmes which God hath subiected vnto him,

,, hinder the effect of this his desire, notwithstanding he promiseth to
 ,, make the most aboad he can in this realme, and hauing no cause of
 ,, hinderance, he will leaue the Prince in his place, that being brought
 ,, vp amongst the Portugals, he may knowe, esteeme, and cherish
 ,, them as his Maiestie doth. This role was published throughout
 all the principall cities of the realmes, by the ministers of the Ca-
 tholique king; adding thereunto, that if the Portugals desired more,
 the king would grant them any thing, supposing that as Christians
 they would require nothing but iust and godly things, inferring (it
 may be) seerely, that they would not yeeld to points of the Inqui-
 sition and of iustice.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the fifth Booke.

*The fortification of the Driehead, the confusion of mat-
 ters within the Realme, and of the Gouvernours: The
 Catholique Kings answere to the Ambassadours of
 Portugall, his expedition in the Uniuersitie of Alcala
 touching his entrie into the Realme: The contrarietie
 of opinions whether the King should march with his
 armie in person or not: The recouerie of Eluas and
 of Olliuenza: The creating of Antonie for King:
 The Gouvernours flight: The embassage of the Duke
 of Bragance to King Philip, and his answere: The
 taking of Villauizosa: The entrie of the Armie into
 Portugall: The yeelding vp of Stremos.*

The

THe Portugals did not generally accept the offers made by the Catholique King: for although three of the Gouvernours, the Nobilitie, and the Clergie, did in their hearts like of them, yet the third estate did blame them, saying, it was a rowle of deceits, and a discouerie of *Philips* small force: And that such as had framed these cōditions, were more inclined to their owne priuate profit then the good of the realme; desiring still the cause might be ended by iustice. The Gouvernours therefore stil continue the preparation for defence, and had secretly sent *Francis Barretto* into Fraunce, to let the Christian King vnderstand their right, and the wrong the Catholique King did them, seeking to possesse the Realme by force, and to demaund the succour of six thousand foote, giuing commission to *Barretto* to goe from thence to Rome to beseech the Pope, to mediate with the King a suspension of armes, and to binde himselfe to iudgement. They sent *Elizee* of Portugall into Germanie, to satisfie the Emperour, and other princes touching their defence, with manie iustifications, such force had their desire to choose a king after their owne humour, that seeking succours from forreine princes, it was the greatest care they vsed to shake off *Philips* yoke, for that (the which would seeme incredible) euen in the life of king *Henrie*, some gentlemen that were prisoners in Affrick, had required aide of victuals and men from the *Cheriffe*, although there were no likelihood he should graunt it, seeing that (besides the diuersitie of lawes) there was no amitie, nor other respect of state whatsoeuer could binde him vnto it. For although the vnion of these Realmes vnder *Philip* discontented him, yet being wise and of iudgement, it was not likely he should discover himselfe against so nightie a neighbour, nor trust to the weake Portugals, being offended, and (as a man may say) having their hands yet died with their blood: They proceeded slowly with the preparation of their armies and fortifications both for want of money, and for the often disagreement of their ministers: And *Lewes Cesar* chiefe purueior, enclined to *Philip*, cared not greatly to hasten the affaires, yea expressly (sometimes with one let, sometimes with an other) delaid them, so as they onely repaired the fortresses vpon the mouth of the

The Gouvernours sollicite their defence.

the riuer of Tagus, and made new rampiers, in places where they might descend, putting greater garrisons in all places then was accustomed, and throughout all the citie of Lisbonne, they began to build many platformes, to plant arrillerie, for the defence of the sea, making readie their gallions, and such other ships as they had: Yet *Emanuel* of Portugall either not well satisfied with these fortifications, or being naturally enclined to seeme to haue more knowlegde then the rest; resolued (against the opinion of many well skilled in that acte) to builde a forte in the midst of the riuer, at the mouth thereof; for that being large in that place, ships should not passe but within shotte of their artillerie: it seemed vnto him that he had good meanes to effect it, for that neere to the place whereas it runs into the sea, there riseth a small flat hill of Sand, but little discovered of the waters, the which they call *Cabeça secca*, the which deuides the nauigation or entrie thereof into two parts, the one lying betwixt the Iland and the left shoare (hauing but a shallow channell) is not nauigable but at a full sea, and with small vessels: but the other which lies betwixt the Iland and the banks on the right hand, is likewise deuided into two chanelles by a shelve which they call *Cacippo*: That which lieth betwixt the right banke and the shelve, is defended by the rocke or castell of *Saint Iulian*: the other which is betwixt the shelve and the sandie hill, which they terme *La Carrieria d'Alcaçoua*, is not defended by any forte, neither can the artillerie of *Saint Iulian* reach so farre. *Emanuel* woulde builde a forte in the Iland to defend this passage: And although hauing digged deepe in the sand, he could find no firme ground to settle his foundation, yet woulde not *Emanuel* desist from his opinion, but hauing no meanes to builde it of stone, he raised it of woode, filling it with earth, the which he supplied with artillerie, and many other things necessarie, yet could he hardly furnish it with water, for that his caske burnt with the sunne and the reuerberation of the sands, (which is vehement in those partes, although they were couered with sailes) did breake, and woulde holde no water. At that time the Governours did an acte of great consideration to animate men to the defence of the Realme, for by a newe and dangerous example, they vsed religious men as instruments to execute their intention: commaunding all religious houses that they should

*The Drie
head, forti-
fied.*

*A confu-
sion of the
affaires of
Portugall,
and the Go-
uernours.*

should not onely in their sermons, but also in their confessions, commaund their preachers and confessors, to animate the people to defence, in that sort as they preach the Croisado against infidels: And for that the Portugals are too ambitious of honor, they commaunded them to vse this encouragement, that such should be most honoured, who did most readily prepare for resistance, so as their preachings which should haue beene religious, were become furious orations of soldiers: This was greatly blamed by the good and wise, and was the cause of great hurt to the whole Realme, for besides the imploying of priestes in a prophaned action, they did animate the poore people to this defence, the which afterwarde did thrust them rashly into armes. It was likewise very hurtfull to the religious houses: for as it is dangerous to stirre vp the mindes of religious persons, these being by the death of king *Henry* growne more then before, adding thereunto this other libertie to speake publikely; whilst they did animate others, it bred in themselves warlike affections, so as hauing passed the limits of their profession, in a manner all the Ecclesiasticall state ran into mightie abuses and disorders, as we shall hereafter see: There wanted money to furnish the charge for this defence, and therefore they desired to borrowe one hundred thousand duckats of the marchants, the which (although they would not agree vnto) they were forced to pay: These things were practised at Lisbone more then in any other parts of the Realme. In the meane time the Gouvernours were in diuision, and irresolute, loosing still of their reputation: For the Prior continuing still in the cause of his legitimation, and seeming daily a more obstinate pretendent, threatned such as shoulde contradict him: The ministers of iustice began to decline from their accustomed authoritie, and euery man presumed to speake and do what he pleased, shewing well that it was a realme without a king, the which was remarkable in two points, which then hapned, as well amongst the religious as the secular. The one was that the religious of the order of Saint *Jerome* in our Ladies monasterie of Belem, being desirous to recouer their libertie which the king had taken from them, who with consent of the Pope, and of his authoritie had bound them (notwithstanding the rules of this religion) to chuse superior officers at his pleasure; that is, one of the fower or fve religious men that

The disorder of the religious of Belem.

» that he should name to euerie office: Frier *Emanuel d'Euora* being
 » then Prouinciall, all the Religious went vnto him, saying; That he
 » was not iudicially chosen to that charge, and therefore he shoulde
 » renounce his office, and they would choose another according to
 » the Statutes: The Frier (to whom this seemed of harde digestion)
 opposed himselfe to their demaund, with many reasons, and multi-
 plying many words, both of the one side and of the other, they did
 forceably put the Prouinciall prisoner in a Seller, vsing him some-
 thing hardly in their choler: The kinsmen to the Prouinciall hea-
 ring of this disorder, ranne for remedie to *Alexander Formento* then
 Nuncio for his Holinesse in that Realme, who vnderstanding the
 reasons of both parties (although the Religious protested he was
 nor their Iudge) yet he commaunded the Prouinciall should be de-
 liuered, and restored to his charge, citing some of the Religious men
 of the Monasterie before him as seditious: The Friers (to whome
 this sentence was signified by a publike Notarie) would not obey;
 So as the kinsmen of the Religious prisoner, crauing aide from the
 secular power, the Gouvernours sent the officers of iustice of the
 citie of Lisbone to the Couent, with three Ensignes of soldiers, to
 see this sentence put in execution by force, who being come to Be-
 lem, the Friers shut their gates, leauing the Church open; where
 notwithstanding the grate of wood which shuts vp the great Chap-
 pell and the Sepulchres of kings was close, they went into the quire
 singing their Letanies: But after the officers of iustice had knocked
 a while at the Couent gate, and no man opening it, entering into
 the Church they burst downe the grate of wood, so as the soldiers
 comming into the Cloister of Friers, they laide hold of such Reli-
 gious persons as they met, with small respect of their priestly order:
 And although the elders came with their Crosses, Bulls, and excom-
 munications, it nothing preuailed, for they must of force deliuer
 the Religious man, and restore him to his former estate, the which
 they did, protesting they had vsed violence, and that they woulde
 complaine to the Apostolique seate. The other case was that *Fer-*
nand de Pina a Doctor and Citizen, being chosen in the place of
Diego Salema (whome *Henry* had deposed) *Vereador* of the Cham-
 ber, which is the highest degree of magistrate; that hath charge of
 the citie; he was at noone day in the market place, wounded in the
 head

Doctor Fer-
nand de Pi-
na slaine.

head with a Curtelax, by *Anthony Soarez*, whereof he died soone after: the which the Prior had caused to be done, for that *Pyna* in his office, had not onely spoken ill against him, but also laboured to draw the officers, and all the Councell of the Chamber, to the Catholique Kings deuotion: *Anthony* desired to reuenge himselfe in this manner; and the offender (who knew better how to strike then to flie) being hurt by the Sergeants, and retired into a Church, without the citie, was taken prisoner by the Iustice, and after some daies of imprisonment was hanged; and quartered, the which execution was done with trouble and feare, least the people shoulde deliuer him: For the authoritie of the Governours declining, the ministers of iustice were not respected: And for that they knew this murder was committed by the commaundement of *Anthony*, the people were inclined to saue him. The Religious for the like respect (alleging, that the secular power could not iudge him being taken in the Church) came running likewise to the place of execution to succour him: And had not *Damain D' Aguiar* (a seuerer and resolute officer) had the charge thereof, who suddenly put this sentence in execution, there was so great a concourse of people, crying, and of religious men with their crosses, and excommunications, that the offender had been easily rescued. These disorders displeas'd the louers of religion, and quietnes, who blaming somewhat the Friers, for not suffering their Prouinciall, quietly to ende the terme of his charge, yet did they attribute more fault vnto the governours, for suffering in such a season so publike and rigorous an execution, against the religious, and chiefly vpon a Monasterie seated vpon the banks of Tagus, saying, that if for no other reason, yet shoulde they haue forborne, in respect that many English and French ships anchored there, whose men infected with heresie, would reioyce to see the religious in the hands of Sergeants. The death of *Pina* was held for an indiscreet and cruell resolution of *Anthony*, for being but a matter of small moment, to be reuenged by so foule an example, vpon an olde man, a lawyer, and of meane condition, he had thrust himselfe into an exigent either to be held vnthankfull in suffering of *Soarez* to die as he did, or else to doe violence vnto iustice. But for that princes hate the executioners of their follies, for in their life doth liue the remembrance of their errors; euen so the Prior hated

hated this man, after the offence committed, neither did he labour to saue him, although his death made him contemptible to the people. The said prior was thē at Almerin, laboring the cause of his legitimation, & solliciting the iudges to decide the same, who excused themselves that they could not do it, (observing the lawes of the realme) if he retired not himselfe 25. miles from the Court, that in so doing they would looke into the cause; But for that the Duke of Bragance and the Ambassadors of other princes were there present, he would not depart, & for this reason the matter surceased: at this time *Emanuel* of Portugall, who remained at Belem, laboured ambitiously that *John Teglio*, one of the gouernours, his brother in lawe, conformable to himself in opinion, (principally in the exclusion of *Philip*,) should be sent to Belem, with authoritie from the other gouernours to prouide by his presence for all things necessarie, seeming a matter hard to effect at Almeryn: The other gouernours desirous to be rid of his companie, and not daring to contradi&t any thing that seemed to concerne the defence, gaue him authoritie, and suffered him to goe to Belem: There he consulted with *Emanuel*, and receiving with some difficultie, the money borrowed of the merchants, he resolved (for the gathering together of a greater summe) to sell the iewels of the Crowne, the which were there, and therefore causing them to be brought forth, he dealt with some merchants vpon the price. The Duke of Ossuna was then returned into Castill, leauing *Mora* in Portugall, with the other Ambassadors that were Lawyers, who vnderstanding the iewels were vpon sale, the saide *Mora* in the name of the Catholique King, required the said gouernours not to sell them, as appertaining to the King, protesting both against them and the buiers, that they should be bounde to restore the price at their owne charge, so as they found not any that would deale with them.

Philip being at Merrida as it was saide, hauing by a long protestation required the gouernours to deliuer him the possession of the Realme: The Bishop of Coimbra and *Emanuel de Melo* returned the second time, making the like proposition to the King as they had done at Guadalupa, offering to put the cause to arbitrement, and complaining he had giuen them too short a time to resolve: But *Philip* being now well resolved what he would doe, and in four-
med

*The answer
of the Catholique
king to the
Portugals.*

med of the aide the Portugals demaunded from other princes, he made them the like answere as before: Many iudged the proposition of those Ambassadors to be ill grounded, saying it was an vnseemely thing to require the King to make himselfe subiect to the iudgement of nominated iudges, seeing that King *Henry* himselfe (who with more appearance of reason, might pretend to be lawfull iudge in this cause) did neuer require the King to acknowledge him for iudge, neither did he euer declare him contumax, in the cause debated with the pretendents for not acknowledging him.

The Catholique King came to Badagios the 20. of May, where the Portugall Ambassadors laboured to perswade him, making suite, that before the taking of armes he should admit an assemblee to the estates, but they were no more admitted to audience; the king resolved to send his answere vnto the gouernors, and to publish it throughout the whole realme in the name of his Councell, the which he did as followeth: That experience had taught that by two examples of the estates last held at Lisbon, and at Almerin, they wrought no good effect, in fauour of the apparant right of his Maiestie, but in the one, and the other, they had still laboured to trouble it, seeking lets, and delaies, which might haue bred the losse thereof, and therefore it seemed a treble error to attend againe a new assemblee of these estates: That they haue no reason to complain that his Maiestie had giuen them too short a time to resolve, accounting from the day of the receipt of his letters the xiiij. of March, (by the which he required them to swear him) saying they made no good computation, if they supposed he were dispossessed of the realme, but from the time that he demaunded it, appertaining vnto him from the hower of King *Henries* death: but that his Maiestie had expressely contained himselfe a moneth and a halfe without making of any motion, to the ende they should not loose the thanks, by calling him to the succession whom God had called; and might haue leisure amongst themselues to make cleere this bond by which they were tied, and giue satisfaction, making the pretendents capable of reason, to the ende they should not hinder the publike quiet, and that they might be intercessors for them and for the realme, which course the king himselfe had taught them: That their excuse might be taken in two senses, saying, they could not

» receiue his Maiestie but in a generall assemblie of estates, their
 » meaning is, either that they cannot doe it by right, or that they may
 » not doe it, for that they dare not: In the first case they are deceiued,
 » for there needes no assemblie of estates, when a king makes his en-
 » trie vnto the realme, although he succede not to his father, but to
 » his kinseman; neither were they necessarie when as *Henry* succee-
 » ded to his nephew. In the other case that they cannot doe it, because
 » they dare not; the excuse is good, but not to binde the king, neither
 » in iustice, nor conscience, to desist from taking the possession of his
 » goods, if the delaies make the meanes difficult. That this deceit
 » should grow from the opinion they haue conceiued, that in the end,
 » all that they can doe for his Maiestie, is to consigne him the realme
 » by accord and composition; not remembring that he receiued it
 » not from their hands, but from God and by his owne right, so as
 » these words of capitulations, transactions, and accords be neither
 » proper, nor fit; for if they looke vnto the preseruacion of their sta-
 » tutes, and priuileges, they should not be called accords, but bonds,
 » the which his Maiestie must accomplish, as lawfull king of Portu-
 » gall: And if they referre it to that which is newly to be graunted
 » them, much lesse doe they deserue that name, but rather of the libe-
 » raltie, greatnes, and incere grace, whereunto his Maiestie, for the
 » bountie and loue he beareth them will binde himselfe, with all the
 » assurance they can demaund, so as the estates were necessarie, when
 » as the realme might dispute vpon these graces, and choose another
 » king whom they pleased; but hauing no authoritie, but to intreate
 » for the augmentation of these fauours, the estates had nothing to
 » doe with his entrie: That they deliuered all these things onely to
 » make plaine the matter, with the rigour of truth, without any mea-
 » ning of his Maiestie, to refuse such graces, as had beene offered on
 » his behalfe, or to giue the assurance they should require for the ac-
 » complishment thereof; neither doth he stande vpon the meanes,
 » termes, or words which shall be requisite, to giue full contentment
 » to the realme, although they be in effect the same with capitulations
 » and accords: That as the inconueniencie they alleage wants sub-
 » stance and reason, so those which are presented in his Maiesties
 » name were so precise and necessarie, as they admitted no more de-
 » lay, although that he desired to satisfie their demaunds, as he al-
 » waies

waies fought to doe by effect in any thing he could. That it is apparant, the armie now marching and approching so neare, it cannot turne head, nor entertaine it selfe, for that the victuals in the countrey are consumed, and that which they haue in store would be spoiled; besides it is a dangerous matter to entertaine an armie obedient so long time at sea, and therefore were most reasonable to discharge them of this burthen: That although his Maiestie be easily persuaded that the greatest part of those which require him to stay, doe it with a good and sincere intention, yet can they not denie but another sort of people desire and labour to hinder him by the accidents that may happen, and to cause him to loose the opportunitie, wherein he might imploy his galleys vpon the coast of Portugall, knowing the season for vessels that goe with oares to bee quickly past: That since his Maiestie came from Madrill, he hath sought all possible delaies, hauing (as they know) spent three monethes in his voyage, to the end they should want no time, to vnderstand, agree, and accommodate themselues; but although the time had bene continued a whole yeere, it is apparant the businesse had bene nothing aduanced, hauing spent so many daies in superfluous replyings, during which they might haue assembled their estates, and forgotten them: And whereas on the one side they offer to holde them with breuitie, on the other side (being now the moneth of Iune) his Maiestie vnderstandeth, that neither the Prelates, the Nobilitie, much lesse the Deputies of townes are arriued, and that the elections are not yet made in many cities, hauing intelligence that they delay them by cunning and subornations; whereby it is apparant, that these estates would rather breede a confusion, then any good effect: And although the small fruit they may hope for hereby, be euident; yet doe they not beleue his Maiestie will hinder them vntill his entrie into the realme; but being entred, hee will ordaine that which shall seeme fit for the seruice of God, of himselfe, and of the generall good of this crowne, bee it by meanes of the estates or otherwise, seeking alwaies the most profitable, for the naturall subiects of the same realme: That his Maiestie cannot (although he should shut his eyes) rest fully assured of their propositions, seeing his good subiects in these realmes, oppressed and afflicted, vnder colour of an vniust resistance, which they cal defence,

» and those onely persecuted, and ill intreated, which follow his par-
 » tie, and acknowledge the truth of his Title, whereas contrariwise
 » those which are passionate and slanderous perturbers of the peace;
 » good and publique quiet, are fauoured: That to conclude, his Ma-
 » iestie would haue their workes conformable to their wordes, for
 » other wise they cannot blame him, if he proceede cunningly: And
 » that they may vnderstand with how great reason he distrusteth their
 » delaies, he did signifie vnto them, that he had certaine and late ad-
 » uise from many prouinces, that at the same time when as they in-
 » treated him with faire words to stay and attend, they did with great
 » instance demaund succours from other nations, making secret pra-
 » ctises most hurtfull to the good of the Church, and the peace of all
 » Christendome, although God would not suffer them to trouble it:
 » That although with the helpe of God his Maiestie would soone
 » enter into Portugall with mightie forces, yet should they not be-
 » leue that he came to make warre against them, but would labour
 » all he could that none should receiue hurt, but such as did oppose
 » themselues obstinately to his iust possession, hoping they would
 » not any waies hinder him, but would willingly make easie all diffi-
 » culties, to the end that by their good succours, his Maiestie might
 » this sommer turne his force against infidels.

*The gover-
nours incor-
stancie.*

The gouernours viewing this graue and wise answer: with the
 kings resolution, by the which the whole realme was assured to haue
 warre, both within and round about, being odious vnto the people,
 who blamed them for the slacke and euill execution of all matters,
 and of the weake resistance they prepared; they were doubtfull
 what to doe: They would haue left Almerin, for the plague begin-
 ning to raigne, and the season hot (the place being sandie) would
 not suffer them to stay: And hauing intelligence that *Anthony* ani-
 mated the people against them in his fauour; they desired to retire
 into some place of strength, as well to assure themselues against the
 rising of the people, as for the warre, for that Almeryn was without
 walles. They iudged Settuall (whither they had called the estates,
 although with small hope to holde them) more fit then any other,
 being a walled towne and a port of the sea, and therefore desired to
 withdraw themselues thither: They had deuised (at the least three
 of them) to assist the Catholique King, for his entrie into the realme,

in despite of such as should prepare for the defence, esteeming this strong place fit for that effect, there to bring in the kings armie at sea, and so to frustrate the fortification which *Emanuel* of Portugall had made in the mouth of the riuer of *Tagus*: but they could not bring their purpose to passe, for the deputies of the last estates remaining, discovering their intention, said, it was fit they should all stay at *Saint Aren*, so as fearing to giue greater cause to suspect, they could not depart: They added inoreouer, that leauing the *Prior* there with the deputies, in a time when as the *Catholique king* should begin to take armes, they might in their absence vnder colour of defence erect a tyrannie. So as ignorant what course to take; or how to redresse things, they did (being friends) by their irresolution more hurt to the *Catholique king*, then they could haue done being enimies: for the king (hoping these would haue deliuered him the crowne) proceeded slowly with his armie. At that time it chanced that *John Gonzalez de Camera*, Earle of *Caglietta*, died of the plague at *Almeryn*, so as the *Gouernors* tooke this occasion to depart from thence, and went to *Serruual*; with the *Duke of Bragance*, the Agents of the *Catholique King*, and others of their faction; for hauing created captaines, & placed a garrison, they commanded the gates to be guarded. The *Catholique King* hauing assembled his armie neere to *Badagios*, & receiued aduertisement that his nauie was at *Saint Marie porte*, ready to set saile, before they should enter into *Portugall*, nor yet well satisfied with the diligence he had vsed (as it is saide) with many *Diuines*; desired to consult againe in the *Vniuersitie of Alcalá*, where the profession of *Diuinitie* flourisheth most in those realmes, vpon his entrie in armes into the realme, and the proposition made by the *Portugall Embassadors*: And to that effect hauing assembled all the doctors, being in number aboue thirtie, hauing made their praies and supplications vnto God, in their sacrifices; and the matter considered by euery one apart; it was disputed of in three sessions: For although the matter were not hard to decide, yet was it graue and new: All, without any disagreement, concurre in opinion with the first, with whom the *King* had consulted; & without viewing of their reasons, they sent a publike decree vnto the *King*. There was propounded vnto them three articles: The first, that the *King* being certaine to succeed by

The diligence of the Catholique King vpon his entrie by force into Portugall, made by the Diuines of Alcalá.

right, after the death of King *Henry* to the realmes of Portugall: whether he were in conscience bound to submit himselfe to any tribunall iudge, or arbitrator, who might adiudge him the realmes, or put him in possession thereof. The second was, that the realme of Portugall refusing to acknowledge him for their Prince, vnlesse he woulde first stande to iudgement with the pretendents: Whether he may of his owne authoritie, take possession thereof by force, against such as shall make resistance, presupposing that there is no doubt or scruple of conscience in his title whatsoeuer. The thirde was, that the Governours of Portugall, alleaging that they and the whole realme, haue sworne not to receiue any for King but him that shoulde be iudicially so declared, and that they may not receiue the King otherwise, the rather for that the pretendents complaine and offer to stande to iudgement: He desired to know if the saide Governours, and the whole realme, may pretend this oath for an excuse

„ not to receiue him for King. To the first they answered, that the
 „ King was not bound in conscience, to submit himselfe to any Iustice
 „ or arbitrement, seeing that he had of himselfe priuate authoritie to
 „ adiudge vnto himselfe those realmes, and to take possession: They
 „ excluded (especially from this authoritie of iudging,) all Princes,
 „ and such as might pretend to take any knowledge thereof. And first
 „ humbly saluting the Pope, and the Apostolike see, they denied, that
 „ this iurisdiction did appertaine vnto him, the cause being meerely
 „ temporall, and nothing concurring whereby his holines should vse
 „ that indirect authoritie which he hath in temporall causes, so farre
 „ forth as they concerne the spirituall good: They shewed he was
 „ not bounde to the censure of the Emperour, for that the Kings of
 „ Spaine were soueraignes, not acknowledging the Emperour in any
 „ thing, and much lesse to any other King. They prooued he was not
 „ subiect to the common-wealth, nor the realmes of Portugall, saying,
 „ That when as common wealthes doe choose their first King vpon
 „ condition to obey him and his successors, they remaine subiect vn-
 „ to him to whom they haue transferred their authoritie, no iurisdic-
 „ tion remaining in them, either to iudge the realme, or the true suc-
 „ cessor, seeing in the first election, all the true successors were chosen:
 „ Being therefore most apparant there is a true successour; it follo-
 „ weth that the common wealth of Portugall hath no iurisdiction to
 iudge

iudge of him that doth truly succcede, and that the King hath as great a warrant not to be subiect to the censure of this common wealth, as he hath to be true successour. And as touching the cleuen persons of the fower and twentie which King *Henry* had named; they saide that *Henry* himselfe could not be iudge of him that did succcede after him, for that after his death the office of administering iustice was expired, and all his authoritie and iurisdiction past vnto his lawfull successor. Against arbitrators they spake little, onely that the bond of cōpremise had no place, when as the equitie of the cause was not doubtfull, as it was supposed. They answered them which saide, that the King had no interest to the realme of Portugall as King of Castill, but as kinseman to King *Henry*; by reason whereof, he could not in this case challenge the preheminance he hath as King of Castill, saying, that this imaginarie diuision cannot bee made in the person of the King, for it is so annexed to the dignitie royall, that his person cannot be wronged, but the dignitie woulde suffer. And seeing the Prince may lawfully make war vpon an other Realme, for iniuries done to his brothers and friends confederats, with greater reason may he do it, in taking possession of a Realme which appertaines lawfully vnto himselfe. They made answer to such as said, that (observing the ciuill & canon law) a matter litigious, should be iudged where it happeneth, and therefore this shoulde bee decided in Portugall, saying, that these decisions speake of particular persons, who haue their superiour Iudges, and not of soueraigne Princes and their dependancies. To the seconde article, they answered with more reasons then vnto the first, saying, the King was not bound to any thing but to signifie vnto the Gouvernours his Title and certaine interest to the Crowne, and if notwithstanding this demonstration, they should make resistance, then the King by his owne authoritie might take possession of the Realme, (vsing if neede required) force of armes, for that in this action it can not bee termed force, but a naturall defence of the Realme which is his owne; and a iust punishment of Rebels. To the third, they said that this oath could not binde them that had vndertaken to obserue it, seeing it is most certaine, that neither in Portugall nor else where, any iudge may determine this cause with the King. Moreouer, that this oath is to the preiudice of his prerogatiue

» gatiue royall, and as this oath did not binde such as had taken it, so
 » coulde it not excuse them from the bonde by the which they were
 » tied to receiue him for King; and that the allegations of the preten-
 » dents, and their offer to stand to iudgement did not binde the King
 » to acknowledge for iudge, such as were not. The Catholique King,
 hauing viewed these reasons; resolved to stay no longer frō taking
 possession of the Realme, and therefore he caused his whole Armie
 to march to Cantigliana three miles from Badagios, there to passe
 into Portugall, where hee himselve with the Queene would see it
 lodged; for which effect he commaunded a scaffold to be made in
 open field, where being mounted, he set downe all the orders, dire-
 cted by the old Duke of Alua in the habit of a yoong souldier: And
 although it seemed the King had resolved to stay at Badagios; yet
 this matter was disputed amongst the curious with diuers reasons;
 and besides the generall opinions of some, who did maintaine that
 Kings ought to be personall in their enterprises, they did alleage
 some other speciall reasons, which did binde the king to goe with
 his atmie: They distinguished three qualities incident to the en-
 terprise, whereby the King should go in person: that is, the impor-
 tance of the pretention, the hope of happie successe, and the diffi-
 cultie to execute it by a minister: shewing that all three did concur
 heerein, seeing it was a question for a realme of importance, rich,
 and bordering vpon his other countries, head of many rich estates,
 and then in the way of greatnes. That the hope of victorie was in all
 humaine consideration certaine, both in regard of his iustice, and
 force, as also for the weakenes of his aduersaries: That the difficulty
 to vnderrake it by a minister was great, and proper in that case; the
 King not entering into Porrugall to subdue cities, but to winne their
 harts; not playing the part of a conquerour, but of a lawfull Prince;
 who entreteth with necessarie forces to suppress the ordinarie alte-
 rations of realmes, newly gotten, as he had protested to the Gouver-
 nors and estates of the realme; that such offices for so important
 causes coulde not be committed but to the person of the eldest
 Prince, being a commission vnfit for any childe or nephew, much
 lesse for a captaine Generall, being a Castillian of nation, most in-
 perious both by nature, and for the great and important affaires
 which he had managed; besides being for his owne particular hate-
 full

*The Catho-
 lique King
 takes posses-
 sion of Por-
 tugall.*

*A question
 whether the
 Catholique
 King should
 go with the
 armie in per-
 son.*

full to the Portugals: They saide it was most certaine if the King entred the realme in person, of friends he shoulde make faithfull subiects, of newters friends, and of enimies newters; whereas contrariwise, the Duke woulde make his friendes newters, his newters enimies, and his enimies obstinate rebels: With these reasons and others, such as iudged the Kings presence necessitie in the enterprise, fortified their opinions: On the otherside it was saide, that when the resolutions of the one side haue so great difficultie, as they draw neere to impossibilities, there is no disputing what is convenient, but of force they must obey necessitie: that the question of the Kings entring into Portugall was of this nature, seeing that by diuers accidents the strength of the armie was so weakened, that it was both in quantitie and qualitie most different from that which had beene set downe, for there wanted aboue fixe thousand souldiers of them which had been leuied, the number of the Spaniards which came out of Italy was greatly diminished, and there wanted halfe of those that were new raised, and the bands that came from the lowe Countries could not arriue in time. If these which were the strength of the armie had beene ioyned, and the number appointed in the beginning assembled, the King might wel haue perfourmed the enterprise in person, for then had he made the way open for the succours of men & munition, from the frontiers vnto Settuall, leauing garrisons in al places to receiue & conduct them. But wanting horse and foote necessarie for the action, there was no other remedie but to runne the fortune of two great daungers: The one was to conduct all the victuals with the armie, which would cause a new and monstrous forme of Campe, wanting horsemen to couer their carriages: The other of no lesse importance was, that the life of these men depended vpon the inconstancie of the sea and winde, which shoulde conduct the armie from Andelouzia to Settuall, with the other victuals and munition to serue the want of those whom they transported. And although the Duke contented himselfe with the number of his souldiers, he did it trusting to his owne dexteritie, and the ignorance of his enimies: And if he hoped to surmount these dangers, he grounded his opinion vpon the Portugals vnskilfulnes to preuent him, entertaining him behinde with continuall skirnishesto conuoy him, the which if they could effect were

*The Kings
army was
sted.*

were dangerous, for thereby they should force him to turne backe and fight with disadvantage of the place, where they might be defeated, or staid from passing the armie ouer the riuer of Tagus, the which were to put a battaile in compromise, for the humours which might daily arise; besides there were some difficultie to ioine the two parts of the armie, the one being at sea, the other at land, & vneasie to ioine thē at a limited time, & the delay of 20. daies would hinder the effect for a yeeres imploiment; so as they concluded that neither by reason of war, nor of state, the King ought to hazard his person in this enterprize, for that neither industrie, nor fortune be sufficient warrants for the safety of Princes, who ought not to ground their resolutions vpon an others weakenes, but vpon their owne proper forces.

*Confusion
in Portugall.*

Whilest that matters in Castill stood on these termes, and that the Portugals grew daily more arrogant and confused, it was apparant with small insight how this realme ranne headlong into ruine: For al being confounded with vanitie, no man knew what he would do, no man was resolute what he shoulde execute, and if any were yet blinded, they knewe not what course to take: The Gouvernours being at Settuall, assembled the estates, being amazed to vnderstand the Duke of Alua was in fielde, resolute to inuade the realme presently: On the otherside that *Anthony* was at Saint Arem, incensing the Deputies, that they shoulde not go to the Estates, practising the disorder which hapned after. The Duke of Bragance pressed them, shewing his griefes in publike, it may be for not proceeding according to his humour: The Embassadors of the Catholique King gaue them no time to breath. *John Teglio* was at Lisbone, preparing for defence, with whom they had no good intelligence: They desired to content all men, yet feared the peoples furie; they laboured much and prouided for nothing. The cities cried for armes to defend themselues, or to haue permission to yeeld; they answered in generall tearmes without any effect; they receiued letters from the Duke of Alua, who accused them of crueltie, saying, they obserued not the custome of all nations, which is, that when an armie enters
 „ master of the field, they commaund all places which cannot defend
 „ themselues, to yeeld, to the end they may auoide the violent course
 „ of warre, to slaie all such as make resistance, whereas not vsing of
 this

this rigour they shall be forced to bring the cannon before euerie cottage, and make the warre perpetuall, & yet this letter neuer induced them to set a resolute order to any towne. They were well resolved to giue the realme to the Catholique King, yet could they not conclude for the effecting thereof. They feared in a manner to be stoned if they discouered this intention; and therefore they would not hazard themselues, loosing daily all hope to bring the matter to that passe, that the King should acknowledge the crowne from them as they pretended: Besides the King being wholie of an other minde, they knew not what they could do, if they had would. The people (who flatter themselues much and endure little) supposed the defence was easie, euery man shewed himselfe a lion, for the defence of his owne house, yet would they not go armed to field. Those of the house of Portugall, and the other aduersaries to the Catholique King, were in no lesse confusion then the Gouenours; for hauing beene obstinate in their opinions, they found they had moued the indignation of *Philip* against them without profite: And although they were more confident in the defence then they ought to be, yet did they feare the kings protestations; by the which demanding possession of the realme, he threatned such as should withstand him: The Agents of the Catholique King laboured to suborne those as they had the rest, yet it preuailed not, for being in the beginning obstinate, confident in the midst, and distrustfull in the end to obtaine pardone, they would neuer agree: yet left they not to hope, that the more they proceeded in the defence, the better they should let the King vnderstand their forces, and might compound with greater aduantage: And for that the warres continued, the Gouernors supposed, that in this sorte the King should acknowledge the crowne from them: But he being well enfourmed of all these matters, and hauing treated with many frontier towies of Portugall to yeeld, hauing imparted vnto them the equitie of his cause, by ample allegations, entreating them not to be the cause of the ruine of the realme, hauing caused *Peter de Velasco*, soueraigne iudge of *Badagios* to write to some particulars, he first attempted *Eluas* as neereft vnto him: The Citizens fearing they should either indeed or worde be first set vpon, attended daily this Embassage; They were deuided as it often happens into two contrarie factions; the

*The taking
of Eluas.*

the one enclined to the obedience of *Philip*; the other, vnder colour of liberty, & fidelity to the Governours, would by no meanes receiue him for their Lorde. The heades of the first partie were *George Passano*, and *Iohn Rodrigo Passano* brothers; followed by many Citizens, whom they call *Esquires*; On the other side was *Anthony de Melo* capitaine of the citie, whose opinion was followed by the greatest part of the Nobilitie, but in farre lesse number then the rest; whereas euery man spake his minde openly. *Diego de Meneses* had bene there a litle before to fortifie the citie, and seeking to enlarge their ditches, he found it a matter of some difficultie; so as he departed without effecting any thing, saying, that he would returne with armes, which the Governours shoulde sende; whereof failing, the Citizens knew well they coulde not resist. True it is, that the King had long before prepared their mindes by the meanes of *Frier Vincent* of *Fonseca*, a preaching Frier, kinsman to the *Passani*, a noble familie, and well followed, enclined from the beginning with all their followers to the deuotion of *Philip*; he vsed all meanes to drawe the rest vnto him; yet the day of Th'annunciation of the blessed Virgin, this religious man preaching, labouring to perswade the people to the Kings obedience, they did not willingly heare him: So as now when he sought to take possession thereof, hauing dispatched many messengers to the Bishop, and *Anthony de Melo*, in the ende he sent *Peter de Velasco* with letters to the principall of the towne, and procuration to receiue this citie to his obedience. Being arriued at *Eluas* the xvij. of Iune, with eighteene men vnarmed, although the gates were shut by reason of the infection, yet was he presently let in by the iudge of the towne, and going to the church of pittie, he caused the Bishop, the Magistrate of the chamber, and the Nobilitie to be assembled; to whom he deliuered the letters which the King had written, containing in substance, that the matter being apparant that the succession of the realme belonged vnto him, he had sent the saide *Peter* with procuration to receiue it vnto his obedience, if they woulde yeeld it, adding vnto his kinde wordes many offers: And although the Bishop, *Melo*, and the Magistrate of the chamber, receiued these letters and read them, yet the Nobilitie did not accept them so easilie, for that some feared to commit an error, and others debating who shoulde receiue them, they did

The Kings
letters to
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uas.

not

not accept them, yet they agreed that Frier *Anthony de la Cerda*, Prior of the Monasterie of Saint Dominick shoulde receive the letters for the Nobilitie, and bring them to the cathedrall church; so as all letters being read, *Melo* and the Magistrate (who preceeded the rest) demaunded eight daies libertie to consult, and to giue their answer, intending in the meane time to sende to the Gouvernours: the which *Velasco* woulde nor graunt, but saide vnto them, that he woulde presently returne, wishing them to aduise, and not to cause the armie which his Maiestie had so neere to march to their losse: yet they sent *Gaspar de Britto* to Stremos, where *Diego de Meneses* generall of that prouince remained, to aduertise him of what had passed, remaining thus in suspence vntill the next day. When as the *Passini* enformed of *Melo's* intention, contrarie to their will and authoritie, resolued to kill him, if he refused to yeelde, and had already incensed the people against him, causing many to giue out publicly, that they woulde be Castellians: *Velasco* went after to the castell to perswade *Melo* in priuate, to make the matter more easie, and not to shewe himselfe (without reason) enemie to the King: But it was in vaine, for he saide, that he had receiued this place from the Gouvernours, and that he woulde not yeelde it to any man without their commandement: If it were adiudged to appertaine vnto the King, he woulde presently yeelde. Standing vpon these tearmes, there appeared by the commandement of *Velasco* about the towne ditches, neere sixe hundreth horse armed, who seased vpon the wels and conduits of water, which serued the inhabirants for their watering, putting the Portugals into great feare; so as nowe the women began to crie, and to curse *Melo*, and all those that woulde not yeelde obedience vnto the king. Some yoong men induced by *Phillips* partisans, seeing into what danger the captaine had brought the safety of the citie, resolued to kill him: and going to the Cathedrall church where they were all assembled, they attended at the doore to effect it when he shoulde come forth; but discoursing with the Bishop who perswaded him, ignorant of the danger where in he was, a nephew of his named likewise *Anthony de Melo*, vnderstanding in the castell in what danger his grandfather was, came forth with certaine Harguebusters to his succour, and came in time before he was yet issued out of the church: Old *Anthony*, seeing this



yoong man enter armed, was amazed, not knowing the cause, but vnderstanding it afterwards, and withall the hazard whereunto he was brought by such as did watch for him, he sent to *Velasco* that he shoulde compound with the magistrate, that as for him he was content to yeeld obedience to king *Philip*, by meanes whereof all was pacified, for the Magistrate had alreadie yeelded: At the taking of their oathes the Citizens (ill aduised) required *Velasco* that in the Kings name, hee shoulde graunt vnto the citie many priuileges and exemptions of customes and impostes, throughout the realme, with many other things of importance: And hee liberall of that which he could not giue, graunted all that was demaunded, but these promises were not obserued by the King, saying (as it was true indeed) that *Velasco* had exceeded his commission. These things ended, they were aduertised that *Gaspar de Britto* whom the citie had sent to *Diego de Meneses* was returning with three hundred men, horse and foote, ill appointed, to guard this place; to whom they presently sent word that he should turne back, and hauing discovered the Castillian horse of himselfe, he fled with al his troupes. The day following (the vsuall ceremonies perfourmed) in proclaiming a newe King, *Velasco* returned, hauing staied there but three daies: The principall of *Eluas* went after to *Badagios* to kisse the Kings hande, of whom they had better reception then he is accustomed to giue vnto such people, sending *Garcia de Cardenas* nephewe to the Duke of *Alua*, to the citie, to thanke the Citizens for their good wils.

Eluas being reduced, *Peter Velasco* for the same intent tooke his way towards *Oliuenza*, whither he had before written, labouring that *Nugno Alvarez*; some to the Earle of *Tentuguell*, being captain of the place, shoulde depart, the which he easily obtained: for the Citizens who had their affections enclined to the Catholique King, were resolued to yeelde vnto him, hauing entreated the King that it woulde please him not to make this place the first whereof he shoulde take possession, seeing that he had woone their harts, desiring rather to deserue lesse by obtaining late, then to be accused of inconstancie by hastening much: For this cause they not onelie thrust forth *Nugno Alvarez*, but also *Diego de Sosa*, a knight of the order of *Saint Iohn*, who had succeeded in his place.

The reduction of Oliuenza.

The

The newes of all this and of the successe of Eluas came presently to Saint Aram, whereas *Anthony* remained, labouring with the people to be proclaimed King: He was alwaies impatient in his pretention, notwithstanding the persecutions that king *Henry* inflicted vpon him, labouring still by all meanes possible to aspire to the crowne, intreating, threatning, and suborning. He treated by his Agents with the Catholique King, in diuers manners: Sometimes he seemed ialous of the Duke of Bragance, and would ioine with the King against him: Sometimes he treated to resigne his interest to *Philip*, if he would make him a good composition, carrying himselfe as his hopes increased or diminished: So as it hapned vnto such as mannaged his affaires with the king, when they found themselves to haue concluded a matter, they found their authoritie reuoked. The King in the end, caused *Christopher de Mora* to talke with him, and to make offer of all he should demaund, for the great loue he bare vnto him, without naming either summe or any thing else whatsoeuer, but for that he hated *Mora*, he would not by his meanes treat of this matter of agreement. Notwithstanding when as the Duke of Ossuna deliuered vnto the Governours a copie of the kings minde, as is before set downe, he deliuered vnto *Anthony* a letter from the King, wherein he did write vnto him: That forasmuch as he was not ignorant many yeeres since of the good will he had alwaies borne him, the which he had laboured to make shewe of in all occasions, he was assured he woulde not prooue ingrate, but shew himselfe answerable vnto that whereunto reason did binde him, & the neerenes of bloud that was betwixt them: He said moreover, that hauing vnderstoode the right and apparant title hee had to the realmes of Portugall, he entreated him most hartely to shew himselfe one of the first to receiue, and to sweare him for his King and naturall Lord, as God had appointed; that by his example the rest might do that whereunto they were bounde, assuring him that for his owne particular, he woulde holde that regard of him, to recompence and grace him, as was conuenient, referring the rest to that which the Duke of Ossuna and *Mora* shoilde deliuer vnto him. But this letter wrought no effect, for he then saide vnto the Duke, that he woulde neuer agree, making answer vnto the King that he could not satisfie him; for that being vnder the peoples protection,

The Catholique king his letter vnto Anthony.

*Anthony
proclaimed
King of
Portugall.*

he must gouerne himselfe according to their mindes; and therefore vnderstanding that the Castillians began to enter within the realm, he made haste to dispatch this busines with the people & the Deputies; and making his profite of the possession the King tooke, seeing the necessitie they had of a commaunder to make resistance, he induced them to choose him Protector, or King: And although this resolution was made by the most seditious and arrogant, who by force seeke to execute what they please, who would needs proclaime him King, yet were there many that would not yeeld vnto it, many helde it more fit to call him Protector. The Prior himselfe was not well resolued of this point, suffering himselfe to be ledde (as in all other his actions) by the greatest number, and his most fauorites; who to induce the people to performe this acte, in despite of some that would not assent, being then in question to builde a fortresse a little without Saint Arem, where there standes a small chappell dedicated to the inuocation of the Apostles, they spred foorth a rumour that *Anthony* shoulde go thither the 19. of Iune, to lay the first stone, and that all the people shoulde worke in that fortification, labouring in such an assembly to effect their desires. But there needed no great arte, for the people desirous of inuouation, ranne all thither that morning. The Bilhop of Parma being innocent, and he of Guãrda of set purpose, came to the chappell where masse was celebrated, in the midst whereof they exhorted the assemblie to defence, and with darke speeches to make an election: But *Anthony* arriuing soone after, making his praier a little without the doore of the chappell, the two Bilhops went out to meeete him, with their Rochets to hallow the foundation of the fortresse, but the ceremonie was no sooner begun, but that *Anthony Barachio* an impudent fellow, (holding a handkerchiefe vpon the point of his sword) proclaimed *Anthony* King, being followed with great noise, and acclamations almost of all the companie, who to assure themselues of such as were not of that faction, or to shew a certaine valour drewe their swordes: At that time *Anthony* faining a certaine modestie, or thrust forward by his owne irresolution, cried no, no, and stept forward as it were to stay the people. *Peter Coutigno*, captaine of that place with choler would haue stopt their cries, saying that the Prior desired not to be called king; but this preuailed nothing, for

Barachio

Baracchio bending his pistol against the captaine, put him to silence; by reason whereof he departed. *Anthony* whether it were for feare to see so many naked weapons about him, or that raised by such a meanes to that dignitie, brings feare with it, he was amazed and trembled, giuing notable signes to his followers, who helping him to horse at the first steppe he stumbled and almost fell, in signe of presaging ill. All the Nobilitie that was present followed him on foote, bare headed as King: And although a great part of the people were vnadvisedly come thither, yet all followed him: From thence the Prior went to the church, and from the church to the house of the Magistrate, where finding the gates shut, he brake them open, and was there solemnly confirmed King, with ordinarie actes and writings, the which were signed by all the Gentlemen Portugals that were present, and *Emanuel de Costa Borges* with a standerd in his hande, pronounced with a loude voice these wordes, *Reale, Reale*, as their custome is: Being then returned to his lodging, he prepared to go to Lisbone, there to be proclaimed King, as the principall place of the realme.

In the meane time *Velasco* was come to Oliuenza, where entering without stay by night the xix. of Iune, he was lodged by *Diego de Vasconcellos* at the request of the *Passani* of Eluas, and hauing the day following, requested the magistrate, and the Nobilitie, to assemble themselues in the Church of Pitie, there to receiue certaine letters from the king, being all assembled, he deliuered them; the which were publikely read, finding them full of curtesies: The conclusion was to sweare him king; *Velasco* pressed them to answer briefly. But as of light occasions sometimes grow important matters, so did it here, for the Nobilitie of this place being diuided into two contrarie factions; the one was called *Loby* and *Gama*, the other *Mattos*; it chaunced that the letters which the king had written vnto the Nobilitie, were by meere fortune first deliuered into the hands of the *Loby*, whereof the contrarie faction made a sinister construction, and the rather for that *Velasco* was lodged in the house of one of that faction: They resolved to contradict all, their aduersaries should propound: And for as much as at that instant there were more of the familie of the *Matti* in office, then of the *Loby*, seeing their enemies inclined to giue place vnto the king,

Two contrarie factions in Oliuenza.

they began to oppose themselves, and without making answer to the letter, they sent with all speede to the gouernours, and presently after going to the lodging of *Velasco*, they saide vnto him, that they could not giue answer, in a matter of so great importance, without good aduise and aduertising of the gouernours, demanding fower daies libertie, whereunto *Peter* answering, that he could giue them no longer time then the next day morning, they departed vnsatisfied, saying that they feared nothing, for that God would succour them: wherewith *Velasco* discontented, would haue sent *Fratyn*, an Italian Ingeneur (who was then with him) to the Duke of Alua to request him to sende some troupes of soldiers within the view of the place to terrifie them; yet being aduised by his friendes that were Portugals, and finding the people affected to the king, he staied: The faction of *Loby* with all their followers seeing the contradiction of the magistrate, assembled themselves in councell, making an acte in writing, signed by them all, whereby they protested that they were readie to obey the king. In this rime *Marke Antonie Iustinian* a gentleman of Genoa, friend vnto *Velasco*, and kinsman to the *Loby*, aduised him to leaue his lodging, and to talke to the people in the streetes, winning them with faire words, the which hauing effected, and gathering a great multitude about him, hee made vnto them a long discourse, shewing the profit they should receiue, in yeelding obedience vnto the king, and the hurt in following the opinion of the magistrate, seeing there was a mightie armie so neare them, wherewith the people who were easily changed seemed content, and following him to the Church of the holie Ghost where the Nobilitie was assembled, *Velasco* entred and saide vnto them: My maisters what shall we doe? To whom Frier *Aluaro* in the name of the whole assemblie answered, that they were readie to serue his Maiestie: Then *Iustinian* (raising *Velasco* from the ground) proclaimed the kings name, the which was followed by the whole Nobilitie, and likewise by the people, who going to the house of the magistrate, they called for the Iudge and the Vereadors vpon great penaltie, who vnderstanding the people was mutined, and that *Philip* was proclaimed king, they were afraide, and went to yeeld their obedience, the which the castell did likewise, performing the ordinarie actes and ceremonies; *Velasco* offering

The Catho-
lique king
sworne at
Olmuenza.

in the kings name many exemptions: In this manner but more quietly in other places, all this frontier did yeeld, as Serpa, Mora, Campo maior, Arronghez; Portalegre, and in other places about the realme, they vsed the like diligence.

At this time *Anthony* was gone from Saint Arem to Lisbone: the Governours seeing that succeed which they had long foretolde, did fortifie at Settuual, with the Duke of Bragance, and the Embassadors of the Catholique King, fearing the new King would march to them. They neglected the defence of Lisbone, supposing that *Peter de Cugna*, captaine thereof, and *Iohn Teglio*, who as is said, was at Belem with their procuration, would provide for it, as they had commanded them, and had sent two officers of Iustice, to perswade the Citizens to make resistance: But the said *Teglio* (who it may be with greater zeale then iudgement) was one of those that would haue the cause determined, vnderstanding that *Anthony* was proclaimed king, was greatly discontented, for that of force hee must leaue the gouernment, and make his peace with King *Philip*, with greater difficultie, if he should now seeke it: Besides that, *Anthony* did not acknowledge the crowne from him, and therefore greatly mooued, seeming also vnto him, that as Governour he did wrong his companions, (they being at Settuual and he at Belem) to suffer the Prior so easily to become Lord of Lisbone without blowes; he treated touching the defence thereof, being perswaded thereunto by the Magistrate, who requested him to enter the citie to that end, protesting that if the Prior tooke possession it should not be their fault, which could not hinder it, but his who could and would not: By meanes whereof, although but coldly, he assembled many companies of peasants thereabouts, the which he sent for the guard of the citie, and to hinder the Priors entrie. He commaunded *Peter de Cugna* to take care for the defence thereof, being resolute not to enter himselfe, and hauing called to Councell, the Gentlemen that were present, they resolved to send with speed to *Anthony*, *Diego de Sofa*, and *Frauncis de Menezes*, entreating him not to enter into Lisbone, nor to call himselfe King, but onely Protector, being a name more fit for all occasions that might happen: And although they went with this commission, yet many aduised *Teglio*, that notwithstanding all these demonstrations, he should not hinder the course

The governours neglect the defence of Lisbone.

of

of the Priors good fortune, so as wauering in his opinions, not resolving in any thing, he was cause that the souldiers or peasants that were raised about the citie, hauing neither order nor commission from the Gouvernors, knew not what to do, whether to accompanie the Prior, or hinder his entrie; for that *Emanuel* of Portugal who had projected to make the Prior King, laboured to preuent all their resolutions, and hauing resolved, he purposely made their executions vaine. *Peter de Cugna* saide, that if *Iohn Teglio* would not oppose himselfe in person, that he would not accomplish it being his inferior; whereunto *Teglio* replied, that it was the captaines dutie, either of them excusing themselves vpon the other, both with feuerall intents.

The Prior drew neere to Lisbone, but he was in danger neuer to come there, for neere to *Sacaben* which is sixe miles from the citie, staying in the fielde to speake with *Frauncis de Almeda* his friende, there was a Harquebuse discharged at him, wherewith *Frauncis* was slaine, and no man able to discouer from whence it came, they supposed it was intended against the Prior himselfe. Soone after he arriued at the citie with a small troupe, especially of the Nobilitie, hauing fewe other with him but *Diego de Sosa*, and *Frauncis de Meneses*, and therefore they suffred him freely to enter, being of al those that mette him proclaimed king. There were fewe at that time within the citie, both by reason of the plague, and for that many helde not themselves in safetic, seeing the realme in diuision, on the one side the Catholique king entred with a mightie armie, on the other side were the Gouvernors in a manner conformeable to the saide King: lastly was the Prior being poore alone, & ill aduised, made King, by a handfull of the base people: So as there was not any of the Iustice or Nobilitie that went to visite him, and of the superior magistrates there was but one Vereador to be founde, the rest being lidden: Notwithstanding, he went to the pallace vpon the riuer, wherof he tooke peaceable possession, as also of the Atcynal and storehouse of armes, he created a newe puruicior, and newe officers of Iustice, and newe Vereadors, supplying all other offices that were voide: From thence he went to the Towne-house to be proclaimed King with ordinarie ceremonies, all the principall of the citie being assembled, to whom *Emanuel Fonsequa Nobrega*, a doctor of a bolde
spirite

*Ambronic
 arriues at
 Lisbone, and
 proclaimed
 King.*

spirite spake in this manner.

I see grauen in your countenances the ioy and content which is conceiued in your harts, hauing attained to this so happie a daie, wherein you sweare him king whom you so much desire: I account all words friuolous to animate you thereunto: I may speake vnto you with courage, for that your desires exceede my eloquence: I know that euery small delay doth not onely grieue you, but also greatly displease you, that any other shoulde effect that first, which you haue so much wished, and which was fitte you shoulde haue done, seeing that from this citie as principall, the rest of the realme shoulde take their lawe. But be as ioyfull and willing to this acte as you please, be my wordes neuer so superfluous, yet encouraged by dutie and loue, I must briefly deliuer vnto you my aduise; I will not make any particular repetition of his afflictions, nor with what iudgement he hath surmounted them being infinite, and the time shorte: Let it suffice you to vnderstande as you doc, that by a fatall destinie he hath alwaies encountred against the proud arrogancie of this world: For as vertues be (by reason of our sinnes) most commonly hatefull to princes in this age, and vices cherished, as vertuous and nobly minded, he hath alwaies bene hated and oppressed: So as sometimes tearing him a bastard, somtimes preferring those whom he shoulde preceed, they laboured by all meanes to blemish that glory that did shine in him. I will lay aside the disgraces he suffered with king *Sebastian*, at his departure for Affricke, which others would haue taken for an excuse to staie, yet acquainted with the frownes of fortune, although he did iudicially foresee that he went to his ruine, he chose rather (with so great danger of his person, following the rashnes of an other) to remaine a slaue vnto the Moores, then to blemish his honour with any reproch, how small soeuer. He remained prisoner as he had foreseene in that vnhappy day; King *Sebastian* his nephew died, before whom many other princes all heires to the crowne were deceased, there remained none but Cardinall *Henry*, who for the ripenes of his age, and indisposition of his body, was thought to be of short life, so as the realme was in a manner without heire. But the King of kings although he seemeth sometimes slacke, yet doth he equally weigh and execute al things, prouiding so, that whilest king *Henry* enioied

The speech of Fonseca for the creation of Anthonic.

» the realme, in those fewe daies of his life which remained, he mira-
 » culouſlie deliuered from the hands of the Moores, him whom he in-
 » tended ſhoulde be our true king: I ſay miraculouſlie, for in truth it
 » ſeemed impoſſible that mans wiſedome coulde deliuer him, as it
 » followed, for that according to the cuſtome of thoſe infidels, he be-
 » ing a prince, he ſhoulde haue bene preſented to their prince, and
 » there kept in perpetuall priſon, or at the leaſt redeemed for the ex-
 » change of cities and fortrefſes, or for ſome great ſumme of money,
 » yet (ſee if this were not a miracle) in ſhort time he was deliuered,
 » and without raunſome. He returned into the realme, where for-
 » tune not yet wearie of him, croſſed him with a thouſand afflictions,
 » all which he hath ouercome and ſurmounted by his vertues: be-
 » hold him now heere, and although he ſeeme to be inuironed more
 » then euer with enemies, yet doth he relie vpon your valour, and I in
 » his wiſedome, that he will vanquiſh all things: Reioice then that he
 » doth accept of this ſcepter, againſt his competitors, for the loue of
 » you doth more encourage him thereunto, then the deſire of rule, of-
 » fring to entreat you perpetuallie not as a King, but as a father, and
 » brother to you all: Whom doe you eſteeme him to be, to whome
 » this day we giue the empire ouer vs? It is the true ſtocke, the
 » lawfull line and the onely plant which remaines of our Kings, he is
 » nephew to king *Emanuel* of famous memorie, borne of *Lewes* his
 » ſonne, the greateſt and firmeſt pillars, that euer Portugall had, to
 » him theſe realmes appertaine by right: but if it were not ſo as it can-
 » not be otherwiſe, yet ſhoulde we, ſuying the reſt, caſt our ſelues into
 » his boſome, for by that meanes we ſhould haue aſſured libertie, and
 » by the reſt a moſt certaine bondage and tirannie. At the end of this
 » ſpeech, there was great reioicing, and all cried out, a King, deliue-
 » ring into his hands the ſtandard of the citie: *Emanuel Fonſeca* pro-
 » nounced from the windowes theſe words, as they were accuſtomed
 » to doe, *Reale, Reale*; for *don Anthony* king of Portugall, the which
 » was accepted by the people with great ioy: And hauing made de-
 » claration in writing of this acte, the Prior returned to the pallece,
 » where ſoone after taking the ordinarie oath to obſerue the priui-
 » leges, and liberties of the realme, and all that other princes were
 » wont to doe, he diſpatched his meſſengers with letters to all other
 » cities, and places, commaunding them to ſende vnto him to yeelde
 » their

their obedience. He made many offers to the Duke of Bragance, and to the Marques of Villa Reale, entreating all other Noblemen to come ynto him to consult of matters concerning the realme: But the Duke perswaded likewise by the Deputies of the realme, to compound with *Anthony*, woulde not do it, the Marques went not, and fewe others did acknowledge him. But *Teglio* seeing the Prior now become king without his helpe, making thewe to go from Belem (where he remained) to Lisbonne to kisse his hands, and having agreed with *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, captaine of three galleyes that were in the riuer, he imbarked himselfe in one of them with the Bishop of Leiria, *Anthony de Castro*, Lord of Cascaies, *Martin Gonzales de Camera*, *Emanuel Teles Barretto*, *Frauncis de Menezes*, *Lewes Caesar* purueior of the Arcynal, with some others, carying with them fortie or fittie thousand duckats in golde, which he had caused to be brought from the mine at Lisbonne, vsurping them from *Iaques de Bard*, a Florentine merchant, who was the owner. And in his departure, whē most men beleued they should go to the citie, they tooke their course towards the sea, and went to Settuual, where the rest of the Gouvernours remained: yet two of the three galleyes disobeying their captaines, woulde not followe the foremost, but went to the citie. *Teglio* being arriued with his galleyes at the mouth of the forte of Settuual, the guard of the towne woulde not suffer him to enter, but kept him off with their cannon, being disimbarked a little on the one side, he went by land towards the Gouvernours, to discharge himselfe, but he was not receiued nor acknowledged of them as a companion, who both in their writings, and their speeches with him, vsed him as a priuate Gentleman, and not as a Gouvernour, for punishment of that which he had done at Belem, and at *Anthony* his entrie at Lisbonne: And this was the only thing wherein the Gouvernours shewed their authoritie, for in all other things they discovered their feare and inconstancie: The Prior seeing these men, whereof he helde some of them to be his confident friendes to flie, to carrie away the money, and to ioinc themselves with the Gouvernours his aduersaries who began to fortifie Settuual, discovered plainly that they had intelligence with the Catholique King: that they woulde entertaine themselves in that place, vntill the galleyes of Italy, which they vnderstood had beene trimmed at Saint Marie Porte, should arriue

The flight of Teglio.

arriue in those quarters, to giue them entrie at Settuual, whereby might ensue his ruine, for that the Catholique King entring there with a great armie, the citie of Lisbon should be in a manner besieged, and therefore hauing first imprisoned some that were suspected vnto him, and demaunded money in loane from the merchants, he resolued with what speed he could to recouer this place, either by loue or force, induced to make this haste by the proceeding of *Tristan Vaz de Vega*, captaine of the fortresse of Saint Iulian, at the mouth of Tagus, to whom hauing written, he made answere that he could not consigne him the castell, nor hold it in his name, alleaging that he had taken an oath not to deliuer it but to such as had put it into his hands, which were the Gouvernors; so as *Anthony* reseruing this for a second enterprise, hauing hastily and by force assembled the peasants about the citie; the artisans, slaues, and other people gathered together, which in all came not to fifteene hundreth, he transported them to the other side of the riuer: but before he himselfe would passe, he sent *Frauncis* of Portugal, Count of Vimioso to Settuual, to treat with the Gouvernors, and to perswade them to yeelde to his obedience; to whom he did likewise write, that they should not dishonour and vndoe themselues, seeking rather to giue the crowne to a stranger, then to him who was their countreyman, that they should come vnto him, and he would freely forgiue all things: But the Gouvernors trusted neither to this letter, nor to the wordes of the Earle, being greatly bounde to the Catholique King, whereof some of them as favorites to king *Henry* had assisted to the sentences that had beene pronounced against him: Therefore consulting with the Embassadors of the Catholique King, they resolued to defend themselues vntill the conning of the kings armie, the which they expected howerly. But this practise succeeded not, for the windes were still so contrarie, that the galleis could not arriue, the which the Duke of Bragance considering he would not attend but departed: The Counte of Vimioso, desirous to expell them from thence, hauing incensed the people to sedition, & aided by the guard of Halberdiets of the court, he tooke armes, and became master of the Porte, many ranne armed to the Gouvernors lodging, threatning with iniurious words to kill them: where-
with being feared and amazed, not onely the Gouvernors, but like-
wise

*The flight of
the gover-
nors.*

wife the Embassadors of the Catholique King, and all the Nobilitie of the citie, which followed *Philips* faction, some fledde secretly out at the windowes, some by sea, some by land, except the Archbishop of Lisbon, and *John Tegio*, who onely remained, the one trusting in his calling, the other in the workes which he had formerly done in fauour of the Prior, and in his kinsmen. The Embassadors retired themselues the next day into Castill. This act in truth was full of compassion, for although the Gouvernors for their irresolutions and priuate interests deserued punishment, yet mens harts were moued to see these graue olde men, in whom not two howres before the roiall authoritie remained, fastned to ropes creepe out at windowes, to auoide the furie of a yoong licentious man, who had mutined the people, and the guard it selfe against them: Such of the Nobilitie as abandoning their houses in those partes, retired themselues, were *Fernand de Norogna*, *Peeter de Meneses*, *Edward de Castelbianco*, *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, *Anthony de Castelbianco*, *Lewes Cesar*, and some others. *Anthony* hauing aduertisement of their departure, passed the riuer, and went thither: Where he was receiued vnder a cannapie with signes of great ioy, & hauing giuen order to the fortification, & guard of that place as it seemed necessarie, he returned to Lisbon, against the aduise of som, who persnaded him to assemble his forces to resist the enimie, & not to repasse *Tagus*: But he did it not, saying, he woulde retorne presently, fearefull (as many supposed) and not holding himselfe assured on that side the riuer: *Calcaies* and the fortresse of *Saint Iulian*, did not yet obey him, yet vnderstanding that *Anthony* was possessed of *Settuual*, the wife of *Anthony de Castro* went from *Calcaies*, after whose departure the citie yeelded, and the captaine of the fortresse of *Saint Iulian*, being written vnto by *Anthony*, that he woulde giue him fower thousand duckats a yeere rent, made answere, that seeing the Gouvernors had abandoned the realme, and that he was proclaimed king, he would hold it at his deuotion: By reason whereof, *Bastien de Britto*, who serued as sergeant maior of the citie of Lisbon, in the place of *Peter de Cuona*, turned head, who with certaine men gathered together, went by the commaundement of *Anthony* to encampe about this fortresse, so as all places of importance about Lisbon, remained at his obedience: So did all others in those parts except the

Anthony
arrived at
Settuual.

Calcaies &
S. Iulian
yeelde to
Anthony.

citie of Porto, which obeyed not yet.

*The Duke
of Bragançe
sendes to
Philip.*

The Duke of Bragançe hauing foreseene the sedition which was practised at Settuual, being departed as it is saide, a little before the Governours flight, and gone to Portel, a place belonging vnto himselfe, neere the frontiers of the realme towards Castill, seeing iustice reduced to armes, and himselfe disarmed, he thought it nowe high time to treare with the Catholique King: He sent therefore a Gentleman to represent vnto him, howe peaceable he had alwaies caried himselfe in the persuite of Iustice for *Katherine* his wife; that he had neuer troubled the publike quiet, nor in any thing surpassed the ordinarie tearmes of Iustice and reason, and if he had not compounded with him, the cause was, for that he vnderstood his reasons were great, neither had he meanes to do it, by reason of the people who woulde haue withstood him: Notwithstanding he was nowe resolute, if his Maiestie woulde make him a good composition, to yeelde vnto him all the rights of the saide *Katherine*, and that being agreed, he woulde publikely sende one to treate with him: He alleaged that his subiects being the thirde part of the realme, he coulde make easie, or greatly hinder the enterprise. He saide that the Deputies of the realme had made offer vnto him, that they would procure *Anthony* to leaue the title of King, and vnite himselfe with him, for the defence of the crowne, and that in the end they should agree: And that the said *Anthony* had sent to make great offers vnto him, the which he woulde not accept, not seeming reasonable vnto him. He requested his Maiestie to commaund the armie not to endamage his countrey: Heerein he spake truth, for although he were a quiet and religious man, yet the Philipins saide, that although he had beene otherwise, the King had no cause to feare his forces, for albeit he had many subiects, yet were they not all obedient vnto him. That the Nobilitie abhorred his rule more then any other, and that some of his kinsmen did him more hurt then good, by reason of the emulation amongst the Nobilitie. He relied much on the equitie of his cause, yet feared he to bee forced by the kings power, which he saw prepared, supposing he would not receiue iudgement in the cause from any man. This feare had induced him to write to all the great Potentates in Christendome, shewing his reasons, and demanding succours. The like office had he done with some Cardinals

dinall at Rome. He had sent into Fraunce diuers copies of his allegations, to the end they might be disperfed into England and other places, making great instance to the two Queenes to succour him with mony,munition,& captaines: But his weakenes being knowne to both, although hee gaue them to vnderstande he went to ioinc with the Gouvernors in defence,they returned him nothing but courteous words. And some say,that not content to vse this diligence, to such as were enuious of the kings good, he did likewise write to his enimies and rebels,desiring to treat with the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Alançon. These things caused him more losse then profite, as it happens commonly to those that will contend with mighty Princes, and builde their foundations vpon the succours of their enimies illwillers, who wil not commonly declare themselues; except their companion be strong. Heereupon it grewe, that the King returned to the saide propositions so ample, and artificiall an answer: for (as it was reported) some of his letters had bene surprised by the Agents of the Catholique king, and some other, especially those he had written to Rome, were sent to the King by them, to whom he had written them. He answered, that he reioiced, that in time he had auoided the sedition at Settual, being troubled with the danger and indignitie he might haue suffred: That he knewe it to be true that in the persuite of the right of *Katherine*, he had carried himselfe with due modestie, but by refusing to agree with him were growne the inconueniences wherein now they were, the which he would gladly they should rather haue foreseen, then haue made triall of, with so great disquietnes, and dishonor vnto themselues, for the which he was sory in regarde of the neerenes of blood, and affection, he bare vnto the said *Katherine*; That his offer to yeelde him his right was acceptable vnto him, but he woulde haue them to vnderstand that there was no necessity, to adde new actions to those which God had giuen him; apparant to all the worlde. That he had then wished for two reasons they coulde haue accepted of his liberalitie, in recompence of their pretention: The first was, that he hoped by this meanes, he shoulde not haue bene forced to enter armed into the realme, and to make warre vpon his owne subiects, which is one of the things that doth most trouble him: But that good which might haue bene reaped by composition; was nowe

*The Catholique kings
answere to
the Duke of
Bragance.*

extinct by their slacknes, seeing that his armie was alreadie entred the realme: The second reason was, the desire to encrease and prosper his house, to do good to his children, to auoide the ruine of the estate, and the hazard to ouerthrow it, whereof there was yet some remedie, for being so desirous of his good, that onely was sufficient to mooue him to doe them good: He said moreouer, that he was much amazed to heare him confesse with his owne mouth, that they had daily practised with *Ant'ony*, that they treated with a rebell who had committed so horrible a crime, aduising him in signe of loue, heereafter to abstaine from all such treaties, so contrarie to that fidelitie whereunto they were bounde, and so vnrworthy of their authoritie and reputation, shewing likewise, that he manieued they would suffer themselves to be informed from the Deputies, who promised to cause *Anthony* to forsake the title of a king, which he hath vsurped, as if it were an offence capable of repentaunce, whereas they shoulde well vnderstand, that they be ordinary practises and discourses of rebels, to deceiue them as they had formerly done: And whereas the Deputies call it an accord or vnion for the defence, let them take heede that it prooue not a league, and a conspiracie, framed to make him partaker with *Anthony* his offence, from the which God had yet preferued him: He concluded that he would alwaies giue a gentle audience to that which shoulde be propounded on his behalfe, with intention to doe him all the grace and fauor possible in his demaunds. This answer being receiued, the Duke sent certaine gentlemen to treat an agreement with the king, the which continued long, making vnseasonable demaundes on the Dukes behalfe: Notwithstanding the King desiring that before they proceeded further, he shoulde acknowledge and sweare him for his Lorde: The matter remained in suspence with small content to the Duke, who found not onely the hope of his Iustice to fall out vaine, but likewise not to be fully reconciled to the king, who rooke possession of his countries, hauing alreadie lost Villauizosa, one of his chiefe places, and of great importance, where hee made his aboad, although he had well fortified it.

The which hapned presently after the reduction of Eluas, by the meanes of a Castillian whom he had left within the castell; either trusting in him, or neglecting of it. This man hauing intelligence

gence with captaine *Cisneros*, who was in the Dukes campe, treated to deliuer vnto him in the night, one of the gates of the castell, the which descends into the ditch, thereby secretly to bring in the kings forces, the which he did effect. The night appointed for this enterprise being come, the Duke commanded *Sanches d'Anila*, to go with the soldiers he had about *Eluas*; and take possession of the fortresse, who hauing taken their Harquebusiers behinde them, marched so that night, that in the morning they came to *Villauizosa*, and approaching the gate that was promised them, they founde that although it were open, yet coulde they not enter, for that being farre from the ground, the ladder which they had brought was too shORTE, and coulde not reach vnto it, so as in dispaire to put it in execution, the day growing neere, they were readie to returne, fearing to be discovered. But as many times thinges are fitted to the violent course of fortune, the Castillians founde within the castell ditch an other ladder, which the soldiers within the forte had by chance left there, the which bounde to that they brought, reached vnto the gate, so as all the soldiers entred the castell, without being discovered, hauing neither guard nor centinell, but were all laide to sleepe, hauing a mightie armie of enemies within tenne miles of them, so as in this manner the Duke of Bragance lost the best and strongest furnished place he had.

The taking of Villauizosa.

Many were then of opinion, the King shoulde not go in person with the armie, for although some helde it was necessarie he should goe, alleaging the former reasons, yet such as helde the contrarie opinion, added vnto their reasons, that throughout all the way vnto *Lisbone*, and in the citie it selfe, they died most violently of the plague, although the aire did not seeme corrupted, that it was not conuenient to hazard the life of a Prince, who was a pillar of the Church, and Lord of so many Realmes. That they might answer vnto the reasons of conueniencie, which was spoken against this opinion, that it was like vnto all other humane things which haue two reasons, for waighing the one it importes much, and regarding the other, they seeme light: The importance of the enterprise is verie great, considering the valour of the realme, and his interest; but if you consider that they oppose against the person of so mightie a king, that of *Anthony* a rebell, who doth scarce deserue the name

Reasons why the King should not goe in person.

of a tirant, and that with the Duke of Alua, and so many Noblemen, Italians and Spaniards, you compare the Count of Vimioso, yong, without experience, and all the rest of their traine, and that against so valiant soldiers of all nations, there come peasants gathered together from the villages about Lisbon, and the slaues of Ethiopia, you may easily iudge the great indignitie the king shoulde suffer being present in this expedition. They alleaged the like reason against the hope of good successe; for although it seemed a matter easilie to be effected, considering the qualitie of the enimies, yet regarding the difficulties alleaged, the matter was in suspence, remembering the examples of King *John* the first of Castill, & *Alphonse* the fifth of Portugall, either of them entring at diuers times with an armie, into other countries, and both returned flying and broken. As for the sweete content it seemed the Kings entrie should bring, and contrariwise the sharpenes of the Duke of Alua, they saide it was well considered; yet the King remaining at Eluas, or in any other place vpon the frontiers, hee shoulde giue a generall content. This opinion seeming the better, and with most grounde, not onely pleased the King, but bred such an impression in the mindes of many, that it passed the limits, for that the cōsiderations of safety

„ are limited with feare, so as they began to apprehend too much,
 „ saying, the king was not sure at Badagios, and that he shoulde retire
 „ himselfe to Ciuill, vnder colour to dispatch away the armie, seeing
 it had already entred the realme: for the Duke marching from the frontier, the King shoulde lie open to all attempts of the Portugals, who might make their courses euen vnto the walles of the citie. That *Anthony* seeking to make this diuersion, he might easilie effect it with so great force, as the king shoulde be constrained to retire himselfe with small authoritie, and recall his armie, although it were about the wals of Lisbon; yet woulde not the king by any meanes heare speake thereof, but perswaded such as were of that opinion, that for a worlde, no, for his owne life, he woulde not retire a foote backe, but was resolued to staie in Portugall, in some place of the frontiers, which shoulde be thought most conuenient, and for that effect retained certaine troupes for his guard.

*The Kings
 army entred
 into Portu-
 gall.*

The Duke of Alua who had assembled his armie at Cantigliana passed the 27. day of Iune, by the kings commandement, the small
 riuier

riuer of Caya, which diuides the two realmes, entring into Portugall with great quantitie of munition and baggage, by reason whereof, he carried with him aboute fixe thousand chariots, and five and twenty peeces of canon; and passing vnder the walles of Eluas, there was nothing to be done, being already yeelded: In three daies march he came to Stremos, receiuing all places thereabouts to obedience, which might be amazed at the bruite of the armie: But for that he laboured to assure the kings person aboute all, being entred two daies iourney within the countrey, he sent backe *Peter Manrique de Padilla* a knight of account, and well experienced in the warre, with two companies of men at armes, and *Peter d' Ayala* Marshall of the field, an old soldier, with a regiment of Spaniards, who lodged at Eluas, assuring those quarters from all reuolutions that might be feared: within Stremos was captaine *Iohn Dazguedo* Admirall of the realme, yoong and hardie, who put himselfe in defence, and was cause that the armie made longer stay there, then at any other lodging: He (whē as the gouernors were yet at Almiern) had obtained by the meanes of *Martin Gonzales de Camera* somewhat allyed vnto him, the Captainship of that place, and after being written vnto by *Anthonie* asking, he would not obey him, saying that he did not acknowledge any other superiour then the gouernours, to whom he had giuen his oath: At this time the Duke being arriued, he sent vnto him *Peter de Luna* a captaine of horse, with letters from the king, requiring his obedience, but he refused to yeeld it, for the same reasons he had giuen to *Anthonie*; he trusted more to the defence of the place, then the force thereof would warrant; and the rather for the diligence of *Diego de Meneses*, who when he had speech of the fortifying of Eluas, seeing it could not be effected, he had retired himselfe to Stremos, thinking there to make head; and hauing animated the people to defende it, he promised them great succours; so as all agreeing with the Admirall, they were resolute to fight. At this time *Christopher de Mora*, who went from Settuual to Badagios, passing through the citie, he perswaded the *Landini*, chiefe citizens to yeeld obedience vnto the king, and for that it was easie for them to turne the people as they pleased, they induced them soone to obey: So as the Admirall remained alone in his obstinacie, within the castell with some of his friends and familiars:

*The taking
of Stremos.*

familiars, and although they laboured to bring him to obedience, yet would he not yeeld, excusing himselfe, that it appeered not vnto him, that the king was heire to the realme; neither did the coming of the Prior *Ferrant de Toledo* sonne to the Duke of Alua preuaile; who discovering him to be a man of small consideration, made offer vnto him, that the Duke should be bound, that whensoever it should appeere that the realme appertained not vnto *Philip*, hee should restore him to the place he now enioyed: neither preuailed it to let him vnderstand that he could not resist, making answer obstinately, that when he had done his last endeuour, hee would abandon the place with the losse of his life, seeming that he could not otherwise saue his honour. But this resolution lasted little, for discovering from the castell, that the Duke had already planted his artillerie, that those of the citie which had promised to defend him, were all against him, and that some Castillian soldiers were entred the citie, being all amazed, he resolved to retire himselfe, and leaue the fortresse, wanting courage to defend it; but in issuing forth the Castillians tooke him prisoner, and led him to the Duke, who was in doubt whether he should punish him corporally, to terrifie the rest by his first example; but he pardoned him, and sent him prisoner to *Villauizosa*, writing vnto the king, that he tooke pitie of him, being yoong and without experience. When the magistrate and the citizens had taken their oath, and done the accustomed ceremonies to obey the king, the armie marched towardes *Mounte maior* by the way of *Arraialos*, leauing *Euora* on the left hande, a citie of importance, but then greatly afflicted with the plague: But to the ende it shoulde not remaine behinde vnyeelded, the Duke sent thither *Henry de Guzman* with twentie horse to take possession thereof, both for that hee knewe it was vnpeopled, as also vnderstanding that *Diego de Castro* (who was Captaine there) and the principalles of the citie (who were retired to their gardens thereabouts) desired to yeeld their obedience, by reason whereof, the saide captaine and Magistrate being assembled together a mile from the citie vnder the Portall of our Ladies church, there *Constantine de Brito* a Notarie, receiued a publike acte, whereby they deliuered the citie to his Maiesties obedience, the which they all assigned. The Duke beeing now arriued, in fower daies

*Euora yeeld-
ded.*

daies march at Mount Maior the new, where hauing found no resistance, although the Counte *Vimioso* had beene there a little before, taking possession thereof, he came within fower daies to Settuall, without wasting the countrey as is vsuall in warre; for he neither slewe nor spoiled the inhabitants of townes, nor suffered them to tread downe the corne which was then ripe: It seemed that *Diego de Meneses* had not shewed the fruits, that were expected of his valour within that prouince, nor of that heate wherewith hee vnderooke the defence, hauing for that cause refused the place of Viceroy of the Indies, which is the greatest charge given in that realme: For hauing first from the Gouvernours, and after from the Prior, receiued charge to defend the saide prouince; hee not onely neglected the defence, but also retired himselfe. He excused this weak resistance, saying, that the Gouvernours had deceiued him, in not furnishing him with armes, and other things necessaric, and that hauing no other armes with the people, but wordes, he was enforced to retire himselfe. But whatsoeuer the cause was, all that part beyond the riuer of *Tagus*, which is the most fertile within the realme; remained disarmed and in pray to the enemie.

*The taking
of Mount
Maior.*

Anthony being returned from Settuall to Lisbonne, he was receiued with great ioy, being the first time he had entred as king: And although the infection with the diuision of the Nobilitie had much vnpeopled it, yet inade they deuises with great shewes of ioy. I will not leaue to report as a thing remarkable, that there was a cōpany of poore women which sell thinges in the market place, the which marching in order like soldiers with their armes, she which was their captaine in steade of a Halberd carried a fire panne, seeming to remember the auncient battaile of *Algibarotta*, betwixt the Castillians and the Portugals; where these being conquerors, they vaunted that a Bakers wife had flaine seauen Castillians with a fire panne. The Gouvernours who were fledde from Settuall to a castell, where as *Ambrose de Aguiar* was then captaine, imbarqued secretly, and their feare was so great, as not holding themselues assured in any part of the realme, they were conducted to *Ayamont*, a citie belonging to the Catholique king vpon the frontiers, where being better aduised, they returned into the realme, putting themselues in *Castromarin* with great discontentment: There they made a decree

*Anthony his
entrie into
Lisbone.*

*The decree
of the Go-
vernors.*

cree repeating the deedes of *Anthony*, from the time of king *Henry* vnto that day, confirming the sentences which the said *Henry* had pronounced against him, calling him rebell, and troubler of the publique quiet. They declared (giuing testimonie of the intention of King *Henry*) that king *Philip* was the true successor. They commaunded all cities, places, Noblemen, and ministers of iustice, to obey him, resigning all their authoritie vnto him: And although it seemed that all Iustice was now reduced to armes, and that the King had no neede of this dectee, yet was it of great importance both to iustifie his cause with the people, as also for that it made many cities to yeeld.

*Antonies
preparation
for the de-
fence of the
kingdome.*

But *Anthony* made no reckoning of this sentence, preparing for defence vpon the right side of the riuer of *Tagus*, hee had yet no other nation but Portugals; and such as he coule gather together, wherewith he could not frame a campe vpon any necessitie; for that the peasants and the people, which were not entertained for the warre, coule not abandon their trades to goe to fiede, and therefore he desired to haue mercenarie soldiers, and finding that *Frauncis Baretto* staid long to bring any from Fraunce, he dispatched *Peter Dora*, then Consul of the French in that realme, into Fraunce, giuing him money to leuie two thousand men, he named *Diego de Meneses*, his Lieutenant generall, and gaue the charge of his armie at sea, to *George de Meneses*: He vnderstoode well the course of the Catholique armie, but trusting as well in the people as to the passage of the riuer, he seemed to be well able to defend himselfe: Hee grewe doubtfull (being ill aduertised) that whilest the Duke marched by small iourneies towardes *Settuall*, seeming to go thither, he should take the way to *Saint Arem* as some would suppose, there to passe the riuer of *Tagus* with more ease, being narrow, and after to march by land against *Lisbone*, without regard of smaller towns; Hauing therefore grounded a great part of his hopes vpon the defence of the passage of the riuer, being amazed with this newes, he sent to furnish it with men and armes: But vnderstanding afterwards that the Duke was in truth approached to *Settuall*, that he had taken *Aleazar*, which is neere vnto it, he called back the men which he had sent to *Saint Arem*, and with some others which hee had forceable gathered together, he sent them to *Settuall*, forcing the Gentlemen

one after an other, and all in generall to go thither, sometimes with punihments, sometimes with entreaties, and sometimes with promises of exemptions and priuiledges: But for all this no man went willingly, and such as were forced complained greatly. The Nobilitie was small in number, and such as were there, nothing resolute, the people easie to change vpon euery light occasion, were slothful, hauing conceiued an opinion that it was not lawfull to fight against Christians, so as some fled, some hidde themselues, and some complained. The kings ministers being newe, men ill affected, and not fashioned to commaund, as those which had the reines at libertie, did tyrannize with absolute authoritie, forcing al men with an vnacustomed rigor, to fight against their wils. At that time they did tolerate within the citie infinite disorders, and thefts to draw money from the marchants: they imprisoned some which woulde not presently paie that which was demaunded of them; If any tooke horse to goe out of the citie about their busines, sodainly they saide they fledde into Castill, and with this slander they seased vpon their persons and goods. Hee was vnhappy that did commend the Catholique kings forces, for he was either stoned, imprisoned, or condemned in a great summe of money, they tooke from all men by force their horse and armes, who so had little credite or no acquaintance with these new officers, were ill assured: Such as had reckonings to make with the Courte were in ill case, for they were forced to paie what they did owe, without compensation of what was due vnto them: For this cause, and for that they seemed friends to quietnes, some of great meanes, and verie honorable were imprisoned. The barbarous decrees, the commaundements that were made to surcease the payments and rents, to binde euerie man to retire into the citie, and stande to the defence, the opening and spoiling of houses that were shut vp were infinite, there was nothing but rigour, and rudenes, and all was executed by men who with their ignorance & bad inclination, expressly to cause disorders, made commaundements inobseruable, the crosses of militarie orders, especially those which carrie the title of knights of Christ, sometime held in reputation, were now giuen to many base and vnwoorthie persons, by the intercession of one or other. The new Christians who were neuer admitted to these orders, nor to the degree of Nobilitie, nor to any

*Disorders
at Lisbonc.*

royall

royall offices, were sodainely by the fauour of this man mounted to what degree they pleased, not for that he was beholding to anie that had succoured him in the time of his necessities, but for that he was easily perswaded by whōsoeuer. The black Negroes to whom (for the great number there is of them in the citie of Lisbone) armes were defended, were sodainely all armed, and as it were free, commaundement being made, that all such as woulde serue in this warre vnder captaines, likewise Moores assigned for that purpose, might do it against the will of their masters, and without paying; for which cause, all the slaues being assembled, and conceiuing the Kings commaundement to be more in their fauour then it was, shaking off the yoke, leauing their patrons, they ranne vnto the citie, where taking horse and armes by force where they found them, they committed a thousand insolencies. They coined money in the name of *Anthony*, a quarter lesse then it was woont to be, the reue-new of the crowne was watted, for besides that he extorted from the treasurers what he coulde, he laide handes vpon the iewels of the crowne, and vpon that most renowned (by the Portugals) saddle and furniture for a horse, enriched with stones brought from the Indies, which was of great value. The money which *Henry* had gathered together for the raunsome of the Portugals, which were slaues in Affricke, was consumed and wholly spent: And this liberty proceeded so farre, that they sought into religious houses, for the money which they thought had beene there laide in guard, and ha- uing founde some, although it appertained to friendes, and faithfull persons, to orphans, and pupils, yet was it seased on, without number or weight, together with the siluer vessels of the same churches, the which was violently carried away in some places, and in other places with the consent of the religious men themselues: Neither were the iewels and treasure which *Marie* the cousen of the said *Anthony* left, more assured, being giuen to godly vses, for the good of her soule: For notwithstanding he were greatly bound vnto her, yet he tooke them, & conuerted them to his own vse. They gaue liber- tie to religious men to arme themselues, imploying them in milita- rie charges, to the scandall of the people, and all good and religious men, and without any fruite. Many of the better sort remembring the time past, and that wherein king *Sebastian* raigned blamed them- selues,

selues, for then they complained of the arrogancie of his fauorites, who they saide had neuer done any harme: They blessed king *Henrie* saying, that although he knew not, in the small time of his raigne how to gouerne himselfe as hee ought, yet did hee neuer erre in will, or suffred himselfe to be so easily seduced by any to the hurt of another. They cursed the Gouvernors who had beene so slowe to resigne the gouernment, concluding that rashnes had raigned with *Sebastian*, irresolute arrogancie with *Henry*, confusion with the Gouvernors, and iniustice with *Anthony*. Some excused this last with weake reasons, saying, there was nothing done amisse by his commandement, being curteous & wel enclined; but that the greedy cōtousnes of many of his followers caused this excesse, who hauing long suffred whilest he was persecuted, cōming now to rule they satisfied thēselues, making things vnlawful tolerable, & that the Prior durst not deny their demaunds, nor punish the offenders, both for that the time was vnfit, as also to auoid the name of vnthankfull, in punishing such as had aided and succoured him, when he was abandoned of all the world, for the seuerc sentences of King *Henry*.

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the sixth Booke.

The conquest the Catholique King made of Settuual, and of the fortresse: The arriuall of his sea-armie, there: The thoughts of Anthonie: The voiage of Cardinal Riario into Spaine: The passage of the armie from Settuual to Cascayes, And the retraite of Diego de Meneses, with his Portugall soldiers: The confusion of things in the citie of Lisbone: The taking of Cascayes, and of the Castell: The death of Diego de Meneses: Anthony marcheth with his troupes to Belem, & to Alcantara: Apardon sent by king Philip vnto the Portugals to draw them vnto him: The treaties of Pacification: The deliuerie of the rocke of

Saint Iulian, and of the fort: Of Cabesa Secca being abandoned, & the taking of the towre of Belem.



He Duke of Alua drew by small iourneies neere vnto Settuual with his armie, marching with small order, and without feare, as they are accustomed to do in their friends countrey: But approching neere, calling the chiefe commaunders he saide vnto them; That although they had hitherto neglected all militarie discipline, being so farre distant from their enemies, now approching neere vnto them, they ought not to contemne them, chieffie hauing Settuual so neere, a citie of importance, wherein it was likely, there was a great garrison: and therefore that euery one heereafter shoulde carefully doe his dutie, lodging his campe within the gardens on the north side. He presently sent a trumper to signifie vnto them of the towne, that he was come in the name of the Catholique king to take possession thereof as his owne, that they shoulde open him the gates, threatening them if they did otherwise, with all the miseries that did followe warre, offering both to the inhabitants and to the souldiers, to leaue their persons and goodes free, if they would obey. Those within irresolute and deuided, demaunded time to aduise: And for that we doe vsually regard our owne priuate profite more then any other thing; the Citizens viewing from the wals, the soldiers to cut their vines, and spoile their banks of salt, whereof there is great aboundance in that place, would presently haue yeilded vpon any cōdition. The marriners & some few soldiers made a cold shew of resistance: Yet *Frauncis Mascaregnas* who was captaine of the city, & *Diego Boteglio* the yonger, who commaunded the soldiers, (hauing well considered the weakenes of the wals, and fearing the enimie neere, whom they little regarded a farre off) were more enclined to yeeld then to anie thing else, neither did it behoue him to linger long vpō this resolutiō: For *Lewes Donara* had practised with a Frenchman, who was captaine of a cōpanie within the citie, to deliuer him in the night, the gate which he had in guard, the which he had performed, but the citizens being formerly resoluēd, sent *Simon de Miranda* vnto the Duke, to offer him obedience, but he could not execute his Embassage: for the soldiers

*The taking
of Settuual.*

diers of the citie, who were priuie to the resolution of the commaunders, being issued forth to go to Lisbon, they found the said *Simon* without the gates, & saying that he had betrayed them, they led him by force to *Anthony*, who kept him in prison; notwithstanding presently after, the soldiers of the armie were brought in without condition or order. It is true that in this time the Duke had planted his cannon, & was resolved to batter it, & for a punishment of the slack resolution of the inhabitants to yield, their suburbs were spoiled, so as we may well say, that one of the most important cities of the realme was taken by threatenings, neither did the wars seeme yet to haue any beginning. The Portugal soldiers (as I said) departed free, only *Diego Boteglio* not trusting to the Duke, or seeming to be one of those that had actually serued *Anthony*, would haue fled secretly by sea, but he was taken & kept prisoner: The towre which keepes the entry of the Port, remained yet in the hands of the Portugals: The which, for that it was a place of hard access, & vncasie to bring the cannon to it, although it were small and weak, yet was it held by the Portugals to be strong, the rather being backed towards the sea with three gallions armed, which had beene sent from Lisbon, vnder the command of *Ignace Rodriguez Volofo*: And although it were manned with few soldiers, yet had it no need of any great number, not being capable of many: It was well furnished with Cannoniers, sufficient artillerie, and a captaine, who amongst the Portugals was counted valiant. They attended at Setnual the armie at sea with great deuotion: For besides that the short season for galleies to liue in that sea began to weare away, if they had made any longer stay, the armie at land had presently fallen into great want of victuals and munition: For this reason the Duke desired to make himselfe with all speede master of the fortresse, & therefore he greatly entreated *Mendo de la Mota*, (for so the captaine was called) to consigne it vnto him; the which he refusing, the Duke added some promises in the Kings name, but they preuailed not: And for that *Aluaro de Bassan* Marques of S. Crux, captaine of the said Catholique armie by sea, being departed from S. Marie Porte, hauing run all the coast of Algarues, and reduced many cities of that countrey to the kings obedience, was now arriued in this sea, with threescore galleis, and some round vessels; to the great contentment of the campe. The Duke was forced,

*The arriuall
of the Mar-
ques of Saint
Crux, with
the armie
by sea.*

ced, hauing with great labour made his platformes, to plant fower peeces of cannon, and to lodge his footemen for the force thereof, to the end the galleies hauing no other porte of retreat, should not be forced by the windes to runne any other course, whereof he gaue the charge to *Prosper Colonna*: But the artillerie was no sooner planted, whereas it might annoy one of the gallions, that was approached neerer land then the rest, the which being subiect to the Castillians cannon, which slew three or fower of their men, they presently hoised sailes, entring the porte to yeeld; where they were in great danger; for those within the tower seeing them goe to the enimie, discharged all their artillerie against them: *Colonna* turned the artillerie against the forte, and beginning to batter, the assieged fainting, chiefly hauing viewed the armie at sea, yeelded, vpon condition to depart with their liues, and bagge and baggage, the which were stricter conditions then had beene formerly offered. But the Duke although hee were well pleased with the successe, yet did he not seeme to allow that *Prosper* should receiue it with these conditions, seeing they had indured the cannon, seeming that the assieged that had not obeyed vpon the first shotte of the cannon were not woorthie of pardon: Then the galleies drew neere, and hauing quietly taken the other two gallions, they entred within the Porte.

The yeelding of the forresse.

They had some intelligence at Lisbone of the taking of *Settunal*, yet not assured thereof, but by hearefay and coniectures; so ill was the Prior informed; that by this meanes hee was subiect to beleeue many lies: whilest he was yet in suspence, three poore women with their haire about their eares, came to the palace, weeping and crying, that for the loue of God he would cause their husbands to be succoured, who alone fought vpon the wals of the citie against the whole armie of the Duke of Alua, not being rescued by the soldiers, nor any other, being all traitors: And, for that we more easily beleeue what we desire (although it be not likely) then what reason telleth vs, he beleeued that what these women had reported was true, and moued with their teares and lamentations, turning to the Counte of *Vimioso*, who had already made offer to goe, without any further aduise, hee commaunded him to assemble what forces he coulde, and for the honour of the Portugals bloud, goe succour that place. To that end they assembled the whole people by ringing

Three poore women crying to Anthony to succour Settunal.

Anthones care to succour Settunal.

of

of the bels with other diligence; so as they imbarqued some by loue, some by force, some armed, some vnarmed, without knowledge who shoulde leade them, howe they shoulde march; or what they should do: Feare did nothing reteine them, for as yet they had neuer seene the enimie in the face, and therefore not onely the youth ranne thither, but old men armed with heades and handes shaking; imbarqued, themselues not pressed thereunto (being freed by their age) but vpon a certaine naturall hatred: Many religious men ranne through the citie on horsebacke with their naked weapons in hande, encouraging the people to imbarque. The women of base condition made the aire deafe; the churches were full of sighings and lamentations, which they powred foorth with their foolish praiers, whereby it seemed they knewe not what they demaunded, for they praied for Christendome, as if they had beene besieged by Infidels: It was the 19. day of Iuly, the heate being extreame, and these poore wretches who were imbarqued, (attending the course of the water, burned with the sunne, not yet a span from the banke) began to suffer thirst, so as many repented, and would gladly haue returned if they could. But they remained in this estate vntil fowre of the clocke in the afternoone, reckoning after the French manner: at what time *Anthony* going alongst the riuer, reioicing to see so many readie to do him seruice, there arriued a Carauell from Settuall, which brought certaine newes of the successe; the which although it pleased these people, who (halfe dead with suffring) disimbarqued againe; yet it greatly displeased the Prior, who hauing beene there in person, and furnished it with armes and munirion, as much as he coulde possiblie, and as he thought was conuenient, he had conceiued an assured hope, that it shoulde holde out long, but seeing it nowe so shamefully lost, he grewe amazed: And although he durst neither in worde nor deede, make shew of any feare, yet as it were foretelling the mischiefe he was greatly troubled with himselfe: And for that in the counsels of such as be afflicted, such seemes alwaies best, as cannot be executed; hauing lost the occasion, he began now to consider, that he had done ill in not following the counsell of such as aduised him not to take vpon him the title of King, for with the name of Protector which he might haue taken, it seemed vnto him that he might at al times haue made an honorable

The counsell of Anthony and his resolutions.

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peace. But that nowe being king proclaimed and sworne with subscribing it in so many places, although he had not suffered any one to kisse his hands, nor taken the scepter, it seemed vnto him difficult, and almost impossible to leaue the title but with his life, yet hauing well considered by the euent, that his affaires were weake and vnstable, he found the enemie to be mightie, and so farre aduaunced in the enterprise, that he had no meanes to staie him, nor make him relinquish armes: He founde himselfe abandoned, as a man may say, of the whole realme: For the Duke of Bragance the greatest of all the nobilitie, hauing made an agreement with the Catholique king, had retired himselfe expecting the euent: The Marques of Villa Reale, who had giuen him hope to ioine, appeered not, and almost all the other great personages of the realme, and a great part of the Nobilitie, had followed the examples of these, for that some went openly to Badagios, to acknowledge the Catholique king for their Lorde; some others staid, to suite themselues according to the occurrents, so as the least part came to him, and these were such men, as neither loue, nor their owne desires, but feare, shame, and their owne priuate considerations had drawne vnto him; for some filled themselues with vaine hopes, by reason of the great familiaritie they had with him; some others being present, coulde not but followe him; and others for the rigorous commaundements he had made, that euery man should come and acknowledge him, came fearefully, whereof some stood more in awe then others, for such as had their goods and persons any thing retired, made small account of his commaundement; and such as were neere, as more subiect to the execution thereof, came of force, faining great affection: From these counterfeit lookes of the rebellion of cities, of the retraite of some to Badagios, of the report daily made vnto him, of thinges which bred doubt in him, sometimes of the fidelitie of one, sometimes of an other: he grewe iealous that he shoulde one day be deliuered into his enemies hands, by such as he fauoured most, to warrant their persons from the great danger wherein they were: And this iealousie did so encrease, that he imprisoned *George de Meneses*, captaine generall at sea, hauing wrongfully beleued, that he had treated to yelde the armie to the enemies, and to conduct them within the Porte of Lisbone. Heereunto they added that halfe the
realme

*Antonies
searc.*

realme was lost, for all that part of Tagus towards Auidelouzia was possessed by the Castellians, and if there were any corner thereof where they had not beene, as at Begia; and some other places of the realme of Algarues, either they made no reckoning thereof, or they had compounded; and the other moitie of the realme, where the enemies had not beene, was almost all in suspence, for the citie of Porto which is the principall, and almost all the rest which lie betwixt the riuers of Doro and Migno, did not yet fully obey, desiring since they were come to armes, to see who shoulde haue the better, onely Coimbra was more at his deuotion then all the rest; and shewed it selfe more of *Anthones* faction then the whole realme; for in the beginning of Iuly it began to rise, at the perswasion of *John Rodrigues de Vasconcellos*, a gentleman and a priest, whom *Anthony* had sent thither, expelling *Peter Guedez* gouernour thereof, who fledde with the *Corygidor* in great hazard of his life, and if the plague had not then afflicted the citie, the disorders had beene greater; yet this was but one citie onely: whereas contrariwise *Saint Arem*, the first place where he was proclaimed king, beganne to rise against him; for the pacifying whereof, he sent *Emanuel de Sylua*, one of the first moters of this popular humour which made him King; so as he had scarce any citie remaining but *Lisbone*, whereof he had no great confidence, although the common people by their accustomed braggings, shewed him great affection; in this so apparant danger hee founde not any of so many Poterates enclined to succour him, who in reason should not willingly haue scene his enimie aspire to such greatnes. So as afflicted with these thoughts, he had easily followed the counsell of an accorde, although the fidelitie of the Portugals, and the name of King would not suffer him, yet hee had no man about him that could perswade him, but was cured by contrarie remedies: For taking counsell with *Diego Boteglio* the elder, his familiar, who had followed him in all his disgraces; and with those of the house of Portugall; although his flight, if he would haue attempted it; were stopped, and small hope of victory in bataille, yet could he not agree and yeeld to fortune, but resolved to defend himselfe: In which resolution he was confirmed by the Bishop of Guarda, who as a bolde man would haue his opinion passe in all things: For he saide the Catholique king was not so mightie

The resolutions of Anthony, and of his counsell.

The Bishop of Guarda seconds Anthony.

as was supposed, that his Spanish soldiers, were new and vnttrained, that he woulde not drawe foorth of Italy his trained men; fearing that being busied in Spaine, the realme of Naples, or the state of Millaine shoulde reuolt: That the Italians and Germaines were few in number, for besides there were many dead, it was not safe to bring any great numbers into Spaine, a prouince that is weake, and hatefull to all other nations: That at this present when as the brute should be of his taking armes, the States of Italy, of Nauarre, and of Arragon woulde rebell: That the Turke woulde descend vpon his realme of Naples: That Castill it selfe being greeued and ouercharged with impostes, woulde reuolt: That Fraunce, England, and a part of Germany, would come presently with many men to his succours, or at the least in assailing the other prouinces of the Catholique king, diuert the warre, saying, it had not yet succeeded, the time being too short to giue them notice of his election, or receiue an answer: That the realme was mightie enough of it selfe to defend it selfe, on this side the riuer, vntill his friends had meanes to succour him: These things being deliuered vnto him by his friends with so great efficacie, and faining to haue receiued aduise, they did somewhat encourage *Anthony*, besides that, the desire to raigne makes the vnbeleeuing, credulous; These men besides their aforesaide priuate passions, although they did well vnderstand the weakness of the realme, and the lightnes of their reasons, were blinded with two things, whereby they perswaded *Anthony* from composition.

*The counsell
of Anthony
is grounded.*

The one was, that knowing the offence to the Catholique king to be so great, that although they shoulde obtaine their pardon, yet should they neuer receiue grace nor fauour, but remaine still in feare of their liues: The other was to enioy in the meane time the gouernment of the realme, the which in a manner was all in their hands, attributing vnto themselves the principall offices, so as for the affection they shewed vnto the crowne, it seemed that *Anthony* bare them respect, and in a manner subiection, so as the feare of life, and the sweetenes of rule, made them obstinate. Amidst these doubts, the Prior was not without hope of some succours from Fraunce, for that *Frauncis Baretto* being first of all sent by the Gouernors, and then the Consull of the French by himselfe, with some little money, he expected at the least one of them shoulde appeare
with

with men, although the Gouvernors had sent *Baretto* more to please the peoples desire, with this shewe, then for any will they had hee shoulde worke it in effect, being dispatched with ample commiſſions, they daily by their messengers restrained, and in a manner reuoked them, so as he effected nothing of importance: And although that *Anthony* had written vnto him, yet was it late, and the Consull of the French hauing receiued money, staid still in Fraunce to take his pleasure, so as they expected succours from those parts in vaine, chiefly by reason that the Agents of the Catholique king laboured greatly that court, to keepe the Portugals from their desire. True it is, that when *Anthony* founde them so slowe in comming, and that the Catholique Kings galleies were masters of the sea, he began to be out of hope. Then grew a confusion and disorder in all thinges, and forasmuch as their mindes were greatly troubled, all without rest, and all terrified, it chaunced that the night following the daie, when as they had receiued newes of the losse of *Settuall*, by reason of the flight of some Castillian marchants, who held not themselues secure within the city, they tooke an allarum, with great amasement, crying that the enimie entred by many places, and as there was no ordered discipline, nor any man that knew what they should vnder- take, the feare was so great, the confusion such and so vnreasonable, the running of people vp and downe to demaund what it was, and to seeke for flight, adding therewith the terror of the night, in so great and well peopled a citie, that there coulde not be seene a greater confusion. And although at the rising of the sunne hauing discovered the truth, this feare vanquished, yet did there a greater feaze vpon euery mans minde: for vnderstanding in truth the Duke to be strong; they began to heare newes of the soldiers insolencies, which disbanded and drewe daily neerer, giuing no small astonishment to see certaine Negro slaues returne wounded, who hauing rashly passed with their ensignes to the other banke, were ill entreated by some horse and shot of the enimie: They founde that *Anthony* made no preparation, neither had he any forces to resist, governing himselfe with small iudgement, and therefore he neither knew how to fight, nor which way to flie, neither yet how to yeelde himselfe: He was daily in counsell with his men, but as he suffred himselfe to be gouerned by many, whose authorities were equall,

and

*An allarum
at Lisbon.*

Anthony offers to compound.

and their opinions diuers, so did he neuer resolue any good thing, as it hapneth often in the like accidents. They then propounded more plainly then before the treatie of an accorde, and although some, who before did seeme brauest, shewed themselues nowe more milde, yet for that the Counte of Vimiõso being a yoong man, perswaded to warre, no man durst contradict him: He affected the charge of generall, but hee knewe not by what meanes to displace *Diego de Menezes*, who enioied it; so as contrarying one an other, they prouided slowly for things necessarie, whereunto was a great hinderance, the credite that *Anthony* gaue to *Edward de Castro*, a rich yoong man, to whom he was bounde, hauing furnished him with money, who desirous to shew himselfe valiant, obtained a commission to assemble what horse he coulde vnder his corner, imploying him in matters of greater authoritie, then was fitte for his base qualitie.

Cardinall Riario sent Legat into Spaine.

His holines hauing intelligence of the refusall the Catholique king had made, touching his entemedling in the cause, doubted least the wars of Portugall shoulde alter the quiet of all Christendome. In the beginning hee had shewed himselfe newter to both Kings, seeming to bee doubtfull in himselfe to whether part hee should encline: whether vnto *Henry* that woulde giue the crowne vnto the Dutchesse of Bragance, or to *Philip* that sought it for himselfe; for by reason of state he should not be wel pleased to see these two realmes vnited, whereby the Catholique king shoulde become more mightie and superior in forces, to all other princes: yet did he not willingly seeme to oppose against him, fearing to displease a Prince that had deserved well of him: But vnderstanding that the two kings were agreed, and that *Henry* had changed his minde, and laboured to giue the realme to *Philip*, he then made it manifest that he would fauour *Anthony*, and the Portugals, the which was more apparant after the death of King *Henry*, when as hee laboured to haue the cause of succession ended by sentence: But *Philip* in regard of the qualitie of the iudges, detested this decision. But his Embassadors hauing laboured in vaine in this respect (*Philip* growing iecalous, and not greatly trusting the Popes good meaning) woulde not put to compromise, that which he seemed to holde certaine: His holines determined to sende a Cardinall into Spaine, expressly

to treat vpon this busines: Therefore before the Prior was proclaimed king, he dispatched Cardinal *Alexander Riario* his Legat vnto *Philip*, with commission to disswade the king from armes, and from thence to passe into Portugall, to fauour this busines, with commission likewise to offer himselfe for iudge in the Popes behalfe vnto all the pretendents.

There were diuers discourses in Spaine vpon the comming of this Legat; and although the Castillians feared not his sentence, seeing hee shoulde not offer himselfe alone to determine so great a matter in Spaine, if he had no meaning to pronounce it in fauour of *Philip*; yet they helde it not conuenient to put the matter into his hands, being of opinion that the Pope vnder colour to perfourme the office of a generall father, came (as it is saide) to make himselfe absolute iudge of realmes: that besides the extraordinarie authoritie he shoulde draw vnto the Apostolike see, hee shoulde binde the king vnto his house, by giuing him a kingdome. For this cause the King hauing intelligence of his departure from Rome, desirous to take possession of the realme before his arriuall, hee commaunded throughout all Spaine where he shoulde passe, that he shoulde be entertained and receiued with all possible pompe, whereof the Legat taking no heede, he accepted of all their kindnes. For this cause, and for that the voiage was long, he spent much time; being arriued at *Badagios*, he found that the affaires had taken an other forme then when he was at Rome: For he vnderstood that *Anthony* was King, and that *Philips* forces were entred Portugall, being then at the wals of *Settuall*: Finding therefore the matter he had to treat of thus altered, he sent to his Holines for new direction, being in the meane time lodged without the citie in a cōuent of religious men which go barefoote, he sent *Traian Mario* Apostolike Prothonotarie, to visite the King, who receiuing him with great fauor, said vnto him, that he was right sorie, that by reason of his sicknes he could not go to meete the Legat, as he was bounde; but when God should giue him health he woulde then performe it, supposing by this meanes to entertaine him the longer, that the Cardinall (desirous to enter with accustomed ceremonies) would attend his recouerie, and in the meane time the Duke of *Alua* should take possession of the realme. But the Legat seeing his indisposition, & finding how

The discourse of the Spaniards upon this Legation

*The Legat
visites the
King.*

how much delay did import, craued leau to come to him by night priuately in coach, the which with great difficultie was graunted, comming vnto him one night, accompanied with the Duke of Osuna, and the Earle of Chinchion: But this audience was of small effect, for the Legat by the alteration of the affaires being irresolute, and the Catholique King most resolute to proceede in this enterprize, trusting more to armes, then wordes, there was no agreement, the king saying, that the matter was so farre aduanced, as it coulde admit no treating. The Cardianll was lodged in the house of the Marquesse *D'Oignon*, not being receiued at his entrie with the ceremonies accustomed for a Cardianll Legat: Hee remained a while without doing any thing, but to effect the Popes cõmission, he would passe into Portugall. The King who desired to stay him, entertained him all he could, supposing that the Legat being within Lisbone, it woulde be scandalous to goe against him with an armie: Moreouer, he had no great confidence in the Legat, but held him as suspect, for that being before in Portugall with Cardianll *Alexandryn*, he had entred a strict league of amitie with the Duke of Bragance, one of the pretendents, who had lodged and entertained him: So as to delay his departure, the King being now recovered of his sicknes, sent vnto him, that he woulde not haue him take his iourney before he had made his entrie with the ceremonies accustomed to a Cardianll Legat; and therefore requested him to go out of the citie, and he would meete him with due ceremonies, the which he did: By meanes of which delay, causing some to aduise him not to depart, he entertained him so long that he went not.

*The sundrie
opinions for
the passage
of the army.*

The Duke of Alua hauing nowe taken Settuall, he hastened forward: for the realme of Algarues and many other cities in those parts, hauing sent him word that Lisbone being taken, they would obey, he held all that reduced, that lieth on this side Tagus towards Castill, meaning to passe his armie on the other side of the riuer, and so march against Lisbone: He stode in suspence where he should passe, whether beneath Lisbone towards the mouth at Cascayes, or aboue against Almeryn, and passe at Saint Arem, or else to sende the galleis, although with some daunger within the riuer of Tagus, coasting along the left banke, and he himselfe to goe to Almada or Casillas, there to imbarque with his armie, and so to passe to the
other

other side: The passage of Cascaies albeit it were neerer, yet was it more dangerous: For although hee might well passe from Settuuall with his galleis, yet was there not any shoare, or conuenient place to lande, which was not fortified and furnished with artillerie, soldierts, and forts, whither the galleis could not approach without great danger; besides hee was aduertised that *Diego de Meneses* was there in fielde with many men. To goe to Almeryn hee considered that he shoulde finde no barkes, being all drawne to the other side; if hee carried any with him, they were but few, and to builde them there, it was a matter of long delay, and the largenes of the riuer woulde not suffer him to make a bridge: And although possiblie in some places hee might wade through, yet the march was long being aboute threescore myles, that to doe it in so hotte a season, in a drie countrie, without water, with a great armie, and much baggage, was a painfull thing: It might prolong the warre, and loose their reputation by turning backe, besides they doubted resistance vpon the passage in those parts: To goe to Almada and sende the galleies within the riuer, it was a Counsell approoued of the greatest part, and especially of *Lewes Donara*, saying, it was a most assured thing, that from the banke they might batter the enemies armie with their cannon, passing their armie easily, and so become master of the citie without any losse; proouing that neither the rocke of Saint Iulian, nor the fort of Cabesa Secca, could greatly endamage their galleies. But the Duke preferring the shortnes of the perill, enclined rather to passe at Cascaies, then at any other place; and therefore hauing taken aduise of the Portugals, who had fledde out of Portugall into Castil, & were then come with the armie, chiefly of *Anthony de Castro*, Lord of Cascaies, who knew the countrey well, hauing againe viewed the sea-coast, resolued against the opinion of many to passe at Cascaies, and hauing made shewe to march with his armie to Saint Arem to deceiue the enimie, hauing in a nianner imbarqued all his foote in the galleies, he tooke that course. And for that *Diego de Meneses* was at Cascaies preparing for the defence, the galleies being within view of the citie, they made shew to turne their prooes to that place which is called S. Anthonies shoare, the which the Portugals had fortified, fearing the enimie would come

*The armie
passeth at
Cascaies.*

*The disim-
barking of
the Dukes
armie.*

thither, as a conuenient place for descent: They made this shew to draw *Meneses* from all other parts to come thither, to make resistance, the which succeeded happily for the Duke; for such as were in guard in other places, assembled themselves there: The galleies hauing a while runne this course, the castell of *Cascaies* discharging some cannon shot against them, turning their stems to the place which they call the old shoare, which was rough and vnaccessible, finding it vnfurnished, it was easie to disimbarque; although before hee were in some doubt whether he should proceede or returne backe, both for that the winde was growne contrarie, as hauing discovered vpon the hilles some armed men, doubting the successe would be but badde, yet he resolved to passe on. It is said, that at that time one of the Dukes eldest captaines, and verie familiar with him, drawing nere vpon colour of some other conference, saide vnto him in his eare, that this disimbarque, was rather fit for a Generall of foue and twentie yeeres, then for one of his age, who houlding him by the shoulder answered, that he could not denie it, neither could he omit to do it; not withstanding his enemies were without experience; when as the galleies discharged their artillerie, the place remained without defence, and the armie landed without contradiction.

*The disposi-
tion of the
Dukes ar-
mie.*

The first soldier that went a shoare was a *Hargabusier*, who hauing chosen a place of least danger, turned his face to the enimie, leauing behinde him sufficient space to fourke a squadron: Two others which followed him were on each side, a little behinde him in equall distance, making a triangle equilaterall, besides these two came three others, and then sixe, and so the number still increasing, they went in ranke, the one greater then the other, stretching foorth themselves behind the point of this triangle, making the bodie still greater without loosing the forme, so as it grew to as great a proportion as the place coulde containe, the which were all put into this forme, after whom the Duke disimbarqued: Before this shoare was a mountaine of harde accessse, behinde the which lay *Diego de Meneses* with his troupes, hauing planted vpon the toppe thereof, and betwixt certaine rockes, some small peeces of artillerie, to hinder their descent, but they coulde not vse them, for they were not planted in any place to endamage the galleies; the which being

disco-

discouered by the soldiers which landed, some of them disbanding from the triangle with their muskets, seized vpon the cannon, abandoned by their cannoniers, which were retired behinde the mountaine, where the rest of the Portugals stood: The triangle being finished, the Duke thrust foorth the point thereof, and stretched out the soldiers as well as he could in a square forme to march, hauing ascended the mountaine by the easiest way, seeing the enimie amazed, neither to flie nor to defend themselues, & without any forme of lodging: He sent about fowerscore shotte to entertaine the skirmish, which followed with great disaduantage to the Portugals, who being lesse experienced in shooting, and vnsurnished of muskets were often and a farre off beaten by the enimie; when as their shot coulde not reach them. So as amazed with the death of some of their men, all the rest began to retire, with no small disorder towards Cascayes, from whence *Meneses* saide they should returne to charge the enimie: by reason whereof the Duke remained master of the fielde with greater facilitie then he expected; the which was a great signe that all the other things should succeed fauorably, seeing in this of so great importance, hee had so happie successe. Euery man supposed, (and the Portugals more then all the rest) that the Duke shoulde haue founde more trouble in this passage then hee had; for besides the fortifications made in diuers places, they trusted to the discommoditie of the shoare, and in the valour of the saide *Meneses*, who (hauing beene a captaine at the Indies) had (but most by his liberalitie) gotten reputation amongst this nation. But foras much as the Portugals deceiue themselves most of any nation in iudgement of themselues; the like happened in the opinion they had in this their captaine: yet were they not deceiued in their iudgement touching the vneasie descent, for so it was; but these discommodities are easily surmounted, where there is no resistance: Many Portugals hauing seene this vnhappy successe, accused the captaine of cowardise, who durst not attende the enimie vpon the banke to defende him from the shoate, or to ascend the hill; some (seeming vnto them impossible that a man of that account shoulde haue so small valour) charged him with disloyaltie, saying that he would not fight, hauing beene corrupted by the Catholique Kings ministers. Hee excused himselfe weakely,

They charge the Portugals, who retire.

The blames of Meneses, and his excuses.

saying, that the soldiers he had, being gathered together of all sorts, and fearefull, woulde not fight, but doubting against reason of his fidelitie did mutine against him, and would not obey.

*A confu-
sion in the
citie of Lis-
bone.*

These things did greatly amaze both the Prior and the whole citie of Lisbonne, for Cascayes being but fiftene miles from the citie vnwalled, and weake, they feared the Duke being master of that place, that the enimies might make their courses daily euen vnto the
» pallace gates. And this feare, which often worketh the like effects in
» cowardes by dispaire, that inconsideratenes doth in rash heads be-
» ing mingled with choler, did so trouble *Anthony*, that hauing rung
» the bells, and giuen the allarum, with great disorder and confusion,
he assembled the whole people within the pallace yarde, some on horsebacke, some on foote, some armed, some vnarmed, saying, he would go to field against the enirie. But at the same time there arriued at court two religious men, who saying they came from those parts, confirmed the enimies discent, and with all affirmed that they had bin in skirmish, and that the Castillians had the woorst, hauing lost many of their men, and some of their principall captaines: The which being beleueed, turned their sorrow and ringing of bells, into feasts, and sounding of trumpets, and shooting of artillerie, the which they discharged for ioy: yet soone after they vnderstoode the truth; but for that it was late, they deferred the departure of *Anthony* with his men vnto the next day morning. In the meane time all things were so troubled, and so full of libertie, that a false brute being spred abroad, how that *George de Menezes* (who was prisoner within the castell) practised to escape, all the people armed, yea the women ranne thither, whom if a Iudge had not defended; although they found him there, and not attempting any thing, they had murdered. The day following, returning to assemble the people in furie, hauing still newes of the enimie, without consideration whither they marched, or what they had to do, *Anthony* departed with these men towardes Cascayes, but hauing marched three miles, being arriued at Belem, his choler somewhat qualified, returning backe to viewe such as followed him, hee founde his number lesse, and in woorse order then hee expected; for who so had a pike had no sworde, and hee that had a Harquebuse, had no march, and altogether were not aboue a thousande foote, and five hundred

*Anthony
goes towards
Cascaies.*

hundreth horse, after the Genette manner : For although they had assembled a great number within Lisbon, yet many vpon their departure were retired to their houses : Standing a while in this estate, with the Count of Vimioso, he called all the nobilitie he had about him to councell, demanding of them what they should do: Sodainly there grewe a mutinie amongst this people, who cried out that they shoulde march on, vowing to kill any that shoulde speake of their retraite, before they had gotten the victorie, and chased away the Castillians : For this cause some lesse blinded, who perhaps woulde haue shewed the Prior his weakenes, and aduised him to retire, durst not speake : But the sunne setting, necessitie made his troupes feele some part of those inconueniences, whereof they were yet ignorant, for desiring to eate, there was not any bread to be found; so as the vaine presumption of this people being vanquished by hunger, in a few howres, they all returned backe full of confusion.

The Duke being lodged this night neere vnto our ladies church of Guida, the day following hee went to Cascaves, which place being vnprouided of defence, was spoiled by the soldiers, against the promise which the Duke had made to *Anthony de Castro*; yet the inhabitants had in a manner abandoned it : There did he passe his horse in galleies from Settuall, with the rest of the armie, artillerie, munition, & baggage, incamping round about the castell of the saide towne, into the which *Diego de Menezes* had retired himselfe, vnknown to the Duke : And although this seemed no fortresse of defence, yet the Duke hauing sent a trumpet thither to will them to yeelde, these miserable wretches trusted so much in themselves, that breaking the law of nations, they shot at the trumpet, and prepared for their defence, saying, that they were all resolued to die. Sodainly the artillery was planted, and for that the wals were weak, hauing with fewe shot made a great breach, they found their owne fault too late, resoluing to yeeld: And although they made certain signes from the wals, yet those without woulde not vnderstande them, so as lifting vp a white cloth in signe of peace, he which helde it, being discovered vpon the wals, the soldiers that were in guard, made many shotre at him, and slew him, which gaue small hope of helpe to the assieged: Yet making an other signe, and seeing the bat-

Cascaves taken and spoiled.

The castell taken.

terie ceased not, the which had now made a great breach, despairing of pardon, viewing the ruined wals, without any other embassage or composition, they opened the gates, where the soldiers entred without any resistance: There they founde *Diego de Meneses*, who with a Portugals confidence, supposing he had not greatly offended, sent to tell *Anthony de Castro* who was with the Duke that he was there, that as one gentleman ought to do for an other, he shoulde obtaine his pardon, and take him into his charge, proctuing him a barke to go vnto the Prior. But the Duke had him no sooner prisoner, but hee cut off his head, and caused *Henry Pereira* captaine of the forresse, with some other of the principals to be hanged, to terrifie by this first execution the captaines of other forts, that should be obstinate in resisting. The furie and confusion which the newes of these euent caused in the citie, was incredible; so as, if by chaunce the Peasants tooke any of the enemies prisoner (as it often happens, with such as for desire of pillage straggle from the campe) hee was most miserable: for whilest they ledde him bound, such as were armed with their armes, religious men with their stauces, women and children with stones, did so pitifully handle him, as happie was hee that coulde strike him, and their licentious libertie was so great, as it was lawfull for any one (though most base) and for euey slaue to wrong any stranger whatsoeuer, to imprison him, and sende him to the galleies; for charging him to be an enemy, the whole people at the least motion would rise and execute what they pleased, were it right or wrong.

Anthony seeing nowe all hope of defence vpon the passage of the riuer lost, and a mighty enemy so neere him, sought some remedie for his affaires. All conditions presented vnto him, were most hard: For to issue forth and fight he iudged it a folly, finding his defect of men to vanquish; much lesse to bring the battaile in question: To defend the citie it was impossible, for the greatnes thereof being without wals and weake: His flight by sea was stopped by the galleies, he woulde not hazard to escape by lande, being vnable to carry with him many iewels, and some money which he had gathered together; and to compounde with the Duke was brother vnto death: So as wauering in these thoughts, the magistrate of the chamber of Lisbon went vnto him, saying, That seeing the enemy

was

*Diego de
Meneses
beheaded, &
Henry Pe-
reira han-
ged.*

was so neere and so mightie, they would not bring the safetic of the citie in question, nor to gouerne themselues, that being weake it shoulde be a praic to the soldiers: that therefore hee shoulde prepare to issue forth and defend it, the which if he did not, the citie coulde do no lesse then prouide for her owne safetic. He answered, that the time was nowe come when as they shoulde aide him with men, entertained at their owne charge, which doing, he hoped with many others which hee had assembled, God would giue him the victorie: but the magistrate excused they coulde not do it, for the great charge they had beene at by reason of the plague; whereunto he replied, that within two daies howsoeuer, he would frame his campe, and march against the Duke: For this cause, hauing let passe the fourth day of August, most vnhappie to the Portugals, for the losse of the battaile in Affrick, and hauing left some of his most precious things in certaine religious houses, he commaunded that all soldiers which had beene long before inrolled, and all the people of Lisbone without exception of person whatsoeuer, should march towards Belem; the which was executed with great rigour, forcing many to go in person: For although the hatred against the Castillians were in generall, yet the tailor, the shoemaker, the handicraftsmen, and the peasants, who bragged, that they alone would conquer the whole world, did not willingly leaue their houses, but fainting daily, they chose rather to encounter with wordes then bullets, besides, being accustomed to an other trade, and unfit for warre, they had not beene trained to shoote in a Harquebuse, vnapt to carrie, much lesse to mannage a pike: So as of this forced and tumultuarie people they had assembled eight or ten thousand at Belem, whither in the ende *Anthony* went, who still doubtfull, and ill aduised, without any resolution, expecting what time would counsaile him. The resolution whereon he most depended, was, that if the Duke came against the citie, to meete him vpon the waie, with some aduantage if he coulde, and giue him battaile, propounding like a desperate man, either to vanquish or to die: yet soone after, when the occasiō was presented, he could neither effect the one nor the other. His troupes lay not encamped, but were dispersed heere and there, within the houses of that small place, vnder the porches of the monasterie, and other such like, without either forme or strength

*Anthony
marcheth
towards Be-
lem with his
men confu-
sedly.*

strength of a lodging. He had no captaine of experience, no marshall of the felde, nor sergeant that coulede commaund the soldiers, lodge them, and put them in battaile if neede were. *Sforce Orsin* a yoong man, and valiant, but of no great experience, was come out of Italy, at the brute of these warres, yet being a stranger and alone, he was not obeied, neither did they greatly trust him: The priuate captaines of companies had no experience, and there was so great want of men, that some friers were made captaines of the Moores, and of the scum of the people, carrying in one hande their crosses, and in the other their armes. It is not to be forgotten (as a thing not accustomed) the mutinies growen in religious houses, where being deuided into factions, fewe were affected to the Castillians, few remained newters, and infinite were those that affected the rule of *Anthony*, for the fauouring of whose cause, they committed manie disorders: The priests were no more temperate then the rest, many whereof hauing left their priestly habite, were gone to field armed: In this confusion *Anthony* remained three daies at Belem, whilest the Duke approached slowly: The fourth day, hee considered that although there came still vnto him some soldiers which had beene leuied in all the cities of the realme, yet the armie diminished daily, for that the inhabitants of the citie left him, who hauing their houses neere, nor accustomed to the discommodities of warre, fled from him, therefore he sent to Lisbone, commaunding vpon great punishment to bring vnto him by force, al such as should be found armed, or vnarmed, defending that no man shoulde retire to anie other place, but where he was, desiring that as well the cowardes as the valiant, shoulde runne the like fortune with him; supposing (as king *Sebastian* had done to his losse) it were possible to force men to fight that were both vnskillfull and vnwilling: And forasmuch as his onely hope consisted in the peoples fauour, to the ende they shoulde follow him more willingly, he graunted vnto all (but especially to those of his traine, free libertie, the which carrying with it confusion, was cause of great harme; for as the whole citie was filled with Negroes and Peasants, the quieter sorte had more feare of the people thē of the enemy, yet was there not seene any one to powre foorth his hate, or commit any priuate reuenge, of small or great importance, not for that there are not many dissentions and facti-

*Religious
men deuided
into factions.*

ons amongst them, but being more apt to reuenge themselves by the tooing then by sworde: All rigour to force men to the field preuailed little, for feare encreasing with this diligence, they hidde themselves the more, the which *Anthony* perceiuing, finding himselfe in no assurance at Belem, hauing the enemies campe so neere, and a conquerour, he was aduised to passe on, and to lodge about the wals of the rocke of Saint Iulian, supposing that two good effects woulde grow thereby, the one, that his armie should be more safe vnder the fauour of the cannon, and of the tower, the other that he should assure this forte; being the only defence of the whole realme. But this aduise being disallowed of the greatest part, hee retired himselfe by the counsell of *Sforce Orsin* to Alcantara, a mile neerer the citie, putting a riuer betwixt him and the enimie, the which hauing the banks high on that part, serued him as a fortress. And although this retraite was rather caused, by the inconsideratenes, wherewith hee went to Belem, then by any newe feare of the enimie, yet was it iudicious, the place being strong by nature, and fitte for *Anthonyes* intent, who desired not to retire farre from the citie, to keepe it in obedience.

*Anthonye
retires to
Alcantara.*

The Catholique King who remained still at Badagios, vnderstanding the Dukes proceedings, being on the one side glad, and on the other side troubled to see this people attende the scourge of warre, besides that he did incense them against him, whom he desired much to entertaine as friendes, for this cause hee sought all meanes possible, as he had euer done, to winne them with the least shewe of hostilitie; and therefore he thought it good to graunt a generall pardon to all portugals, that had bene imployed in this action against him, seeking by clemencie to make his enemies friends, the which he published, being thus in effect: That being informed that in the rebellion that *Anthony* had raised, vsurping tirannouslie the name of a king of Portugall, many of them which had followed his faction, had done it, being oppressed, forced, and deceiued, and that seeking to prouide that such should not be punished with offenders, and that the people more easie to be abused then the rest, should not bee chasticed with that rigour which lawe doth inflict; his pleasure was, That al such (as leauing the part of the said *Anthony* and embracing his, as of their King, and naturall Lorde,) should

*The Catho-
lique kings
pardon to
the Portu-
gals.*

come

» come vnto his seruice within a certaine time prefixed, to that effect
 » by the Duke of Alua, shoulde bee freely pardoned all their faultes,
 » whereinto they had runne by taking and following the voice of
 » the saide *Anthony*: He excepted notwithstanding the Prior and all
 » the seductors, and authors of the rebellions, committed at Saint
 » Aram, Lisbone, and Sertuual, and all such as had receiued from him
 » any charges, offices, and recompences as King, and such as did serue
 » him actually, all which, shoulde not enioy the saide pardon. And
 » although this latter point was not approoued of all men, yet the
 rest seemed to be done with great iudgement; for thereby they did
 not onely discouer the kings good meaning, but also his great wise-
 dome, vsing clemencie to pardon, and martiall policie to procure
 the Portugals to abandon the Prior: But this writing (although
 there were many copies dispersed, thorough the realme) wrought
 small profite to *Philip*, and little hurt to *Anthony*; for neither did any
 greater number follow the Catholique Kings partie then before,
 neither did any man for feate abandon *Anthony*; his fauorites only
 were a little greeued, who examining the forme thereof, seemed to
 be excluded, as those that had receiued offices, honors, and recom-
 pences: so as they did see their offences, become daily more capi-
 tall, together with the example they had scene by the death of *Diego*
de Menezes. Many nored in this pardon, that besides it was written
 in the Portugall toong, it beganne with the name of King onely,
 with the ordinarie titles of kings of Portugall; and being accusto-
 med to signe with these words I O E L R E Y, now he only subscribed
 R E Y :: pointed with fīue points, called by the Portugals the fīue
 wounds, after the same manner the kings of Portugall had vsed: so
 as some said, that in matters of small importance, he began to shewe
 himselfe a Portugall.

*The Duke
 marcheth
 against the
 rocke of
 Saint Iulian.*

» The Duke of Alua marched easilie towards Ociras, to the rocke
 of Saint Iulian, seeming so to doe expressely, that the Portugals
 might haue leisure to resoluē: being incamped so farre from the
 fortresse as their cannon coulde not annoy them, he presently sent
 a trumpet to demanda obedience: But being the very same whom
 he had formerly sent to the castell of Cascayes, at whom they had
 » shot, he durst not approach neere to the forte, fearing they woulde
 » doe the like, so as onely hauing made a signe a farre off, without
 attending

attending any answer, he returned, saying that they would not yeelde: For this cause hauing planted their artillerie on Saint Lawrence day, they began their batterie with tenne cannons, encreasing the number vnto fower and twentie: The galleies could not approach, for that the forte stode vpon the sea, and therefore the Portugall gallions drawing neere to the lande, did greatly indomage the Castillians with their culuerings and other great artillery, but hauing planted three caunons in the night, they forced the gallions with a fewe volleies, to retire themselues higher vnto Saint Katherines shoare.

Anthony was now at Alcantara vpon a hill, being but fiue miles distant from the fortresse, where he remained an vnprofitable behoulder of this battery, wheron it seemed his whole fortune depended; for that the whole realme of Portugall had no other forte but this, that could make any resistance; so as loosing it, his greatest hope was vanished: but for that he might well succour it by sea, both with men and munition as he did, he hoped well it shoulde not be forced; or at the least holde out, vntill that either winter shoulde draw on, or some prince (taking pittie of his miserie) should relieue his estate, before the winning thereof; without the which he did see himselfe helpelesse, and the rather for that he had intelligence that the citie of Lisbone (being griued with the great insolencies committed daily by the soldiers disbanded from the enemies campe thereabouts,) were resolued not to giue him entrance within the citie, vnlesse he returned with victory, or had compounded with the enemie, fearing otherwise the Duke would be displeas'd, and being weake, giue it in spoile vnto the soldiers. Some were of opinion that the Prior in whom desire of rule was of more force then religion, or other respect whatsoever, should (finding all hopes lost) procure that this citie (which is in a manner the whole realme) shoulde remaine as a praie to the auarice and voluptuousnes of the Castillians, desiring that the Portugals being forced to yeelde, the realme shoulde be so entreated by the Catholique Kings men, as there might remaine no hope of peace or amitie; to the end, that if heereafter he shoulde pretende the recouerie of the realme, the people (in regard of the hatred that such losses engender, together with their naturall inclination) shoulde remaine still enemie, and be
more

more willing to yeeld to his deuotion: For this cause he sought daile with all his force to reforme the magistrate of the chamber, and to place men, in whom he had great affiance, as well to haue entrie into the citie if need were, as also to dispose of things at his pleasure: But forasmuch as the greatest part of those magistrats were mechanicke men, in whom feare hath a more interest, then the respect of a King, he did not greatly trust them: When he was proclaimed king, there followed him a gentleman of Castill, who serued him as the first vallet of his chamber, seeing the warres to grow betwixt the Portugals and Castillians, hee craued, and obtained leaue to retire himselfe into his countrey. This man going to King *Philip*, made offer (for the great familiaritie hee had with *Anthony*) to treat an accord with him, being in great hope to effect it; so as hee was sent to the Duke of Alua, with order that he should suffer him to goe and conferre with the Prior: For the effecting heereof hee came to Lisbon, at such time as the Duke tooke *Cascayes*, and hauing discoursed at large with the Prior, he enformed him of the Kings forces, and aduised him to compound: The Prior gaue eare to this treatie, and *Diego de Carcamo*, (for so this gentleman was called) did greatly presse him to giue him a letter of credite vnto the king, with commission what he had in charge. That such as had bene their mediators, were the cause that he had not serued him as he desired, but as much as the time would suffer him, he was ready

” to do it: That if it pleased him to sende any person as Embassador

” to the three Estates, that hee would perswade them to yeelde him

” obedience, and that he would say he had defended them so much

” as possible hee could, but his succours from Fraunce and other

” Prouinces failing, he could no longer resist, and therefore he aduised

” them to agree. In this letter which he had written to the King,

” he did signe *Rey*. But repenting him afterwarde, he did write it againe, at the perswasion of *Carcamo*, and subscribed it *Anthony*: hauing receiued the letter & his charge, he seemed to haue ended his busines; but being with the King, he was returned backe to *Anthony*, with a resolutiō which he supposed should haue succeeded; but with certaine letters to the Duke of Alua, whereby he was commanded to gouerne himselfe as the estate of the affaires should require. Hee arriued at such time as the Duke was encamped before the

rocke

*A treatie of
agreement
with An-
thony.*

*Anthony his
letter to the
King.*

rocke of Saint Iulian. Now did there lighten forth a great hope of peace, the which soone after vanished away : For although the Duke seemed to be well pleased with this practise, yet may we well say, it did not content him, seeming happely vnto him, that being so farre aduanced, hee shoulde haue more honour to conquer it by armes, then by agreement. For which cause he returned *Carcamo* to the Prior with this aunswer: That he was glad of his resolution to serue his maiestie; but there was no reason to sende an Embassador to the States, seeing hee helde not the crowne from them; but from the people, to whom if hee pleased hee would sende, and grant the like graces vnto them, which other cities had receiued by their yeelding. These words were deliuered him in writing, but by mouth the Duke added, that he had beene an affectionate seruant to *Lewes* his father; and that as he had now taken armes to depriue him of the realme; so would he take them in hande againe to conquer him an other; so as it were not any of those that belonged to his King and Lord. *Carcamo* was not yet without hope to conclude the busines, but nowe the Spanish grauitie hindred the effect of so great importance: For the Duke supposed he shoulde not giue vnto *Anthony* any greater title then Seignory, and hee that was mounted from Excellencie to Highnes; held himselfe contemned, and so much disdained it, that both for the cold answere, & for this respect, he was assured the Duke would haue no agreement. He therefore made answer by mouth, that seeing he would not agree, if his people would obey him, and be conformable to his will, they would either vanquish or all die in that place. Vpon this answere, the Duke (repenting his manner of writing, or it may bee, fearing the King would not like of this kinde of proceeding, sent backe *Carcamo* to say vnto *Anthony*; that he should send one by sea, or by land, and he would sende another, and that in the midde way they should conclude all thinges: But the Prior who had small confidence in the Duke, being greatly moued, made no other replie; but that Kings were Kings, and captaines, captaines; but that victories came from the hands of God; so as the Duke despairing of the matter, deuised for his discharge, that *Anthony* had sent him worde, that he desired to confesse with him by night in a barke; and the better to induce men to beleue it, he went publikely to lie aboard in a galley, and being

disimbarcked in the morning, he seemed discontented that *Anthony* had not come to conference with him, it may be (with this apparant iustification) to haue more cause to make warre; and not to com-
pounde; and so to lay the faulte vpon *Anthony*; but in truth they did
neuer treat of any meeting.

*The rocke of
Saint Iulian
battered, and
the aduise of
the Inginers:*

Now had they battered the fort of *S. Iulian*, touching the which
there was before growen some difficultie amongst the Inginers, vp-
on what part they shoulde make their batterie: Some woulde haue
him plant their cannon at the strongest place, but most conuenient
to giue an assault: Others would batter the weakest part, although
most vneasie to enter; for that their defences being taken away,
their place of armes shoulde remaine open to their artillerie; where-
vpon the Duke to quiet this controuersie, went himselte; allowing
the opinion of *Fratino*, and of *Philip Terzi*, where it hapned that ha-
uing battered neere two whole daies, and made but a small breach,
the soldiets fainting; (although they had good meanes to entrench
themselues) their armie neere at hand, and the hauen alwaies open,
Tristan vaz de Vega, captaine thereof, was in doubtte, whether hee
shoulde yeelde, or defende it so long as hee coulde; but enclining
more to yeeld, then to fight, he was in suspence, what meanes to vse
to treat secretly, not trusting greatly to some that were about him.

*A poore wo-
man cause of
the yeelding
of Saint Iuli-
an.*

But fortune made the way for him, for at that time a poore woman
neere to *Ociras*, hauing her daughter and sonne in lawe within the
forte, amazed with the noise of the artillerie, came crying to the
Duke, beseeching him to giue her leaue, to drawe her sonne in lawe
and her daughter out of the forte which he battred: The old Duke
who sought such occasions, embraced this, and saide vnto the wo-
man that she should go in safetie, causing the cannon to cease in the
meane time. He willed her to say vnto the captaine of the forte, that
he had done ill to make so small account of the Dukes message, and
that he shoulde not wilfully cast himselte away; she deliuered her
ambassage, & being returned with her daughter to the campe, she
said vnto the Duke on the behalfe of *Tristan Vaz*, that he defended
himselte, hauing not as yet scene any messenger from him, whom
he woulde haue heard and entertained, and that if he woulde assure
him vpon his word, he woulde go to the campe to speake with him.
The Duke sent this woman presently backe to the captaine, saying

by his word

T

vnto

vnto him, that he might not onely come in safety, but if he woulde, he would sende him hostages: But relying vpon the Dukes promises, hee went vnto him, and was curteously entertained: The captaine excused himselfe for not admitting of the trumpet, saying, there had not beene any one with him, nor spoke with any one that was within that place, the which if he had done, he would haue made answer with that curtesie which was conuenient; by reason whereof, the trumpet was in danger of hanging. The Duke exhorted *Tristan Vaz* with many reasons to resigne the forte, as appertaining to his king, shewing vnto him the danger wherein hee was: The matter being a little debated betwixt them, the captaine saide vnto him, that if he woulde promise in the name of the Catholique king to performe such recompences as *Anthony* had graunted him, he woulde yeelde it vp; which the Duke freely offering, they were agreed. So as being returned, leading with him some Spanish captaines & soldiers, he resigned the fortresse, where the assieged were so decayed, as they seemed to issue forth of a deadly prison: And although some did esteeme the captaine for this action to be treacherous, and others a cowarde, yet (as he saide) the rocke with such vnexpert soldiers, was not defensible: besides, the Governours had declared *Philip* successour. A little before the yeelding of S. Iulian, the Duke had sent to *Peter Barba*, captain of *Cabessa Secca*, willing him to yeeld the forte, the which he hauing refused, when as he vnderstood the fortresse was yeelded, and that the Duke brought in his galleies he woulde no longer attende, but hauing abandoned the place with the consent of the Prior, and saued certaine artillerie, he fledde to the campe at Alcantara.

The rocke of Saint Iulian yeelded.

Cabessa Secca abandoned.

By these losses feare encreased in the citie, chiefly amongst the principalls, who fearing to be spoiled, were daily more disposed to yeelde to the Catholique King; besides they did see small helpe in the Priors affaires; and they hoped by their yeelding to obtaine some priuilege from his Maiestie, and had before this made offer of themselues, if the respect of the Prior (who was in field and so neere) had not deteined them: At this time they had intelligence of the arriuall of fower ships at the Illande of Terceraes, which came from the Indies, very rich, and of great importance for the citie, the losse whereof, if the galleies should seaze on them, woulde cause

The feare of them as Lisbon.

great hinderance, both in the particular, and generall, and therefore the greatest part wished that one of the armies would yeelde to the other, before the ships should arriue: For this cause the citie sent againe vnto *Anthony*, to shewe vnto him the danger, and as it were the siege wherein they were, hauing the entrie of the sea shut vp, that the Duke hauing so great numbers of men, and he so fewe, he ought not (though he might) to hazard the fortune of a fiede with so great disadvantage. They did secretly aduise him to compound, seeming the best way to ende these troubles, and then the ships might safely enter: Moreouer they did suppose, that if in fighting the Duke should remaine victor so neere the citie, they should hardly saue it from the spoile of the soldiers: Notwithstanding *Anthony* for his small experience being irresolute, disdainning the Dukes speeches, and ill aduised by his friends, these reasons could not draw him to resoluē; but the next day he sent to the magistrate the Count of Vimioso, the Bishop of Guarda, and *Emanuel* of Portugall, to intreate the citie to defend it selfe, and to send him more men to the campe, encouraging them, sometimes deuising that the French succours were on the way, sometimes shewing the Priors forces to bee greater then they were, and the enemies lesse. But as the words of the magistrate did nothing mooue the Prior, no more did the speeches of the Prior alter the inward minde of the Magistrate, so as all remained in suspence, euery man with his owne intentions: True it is, that as well the saide Prior as some of the magistrates, had easily agreed with the Duke vpon certaine conditions: But the Priors will was forced by those of the house of Portugall, and especially by the Bishop, and the Citizens, by many new officers, who had their places in perpetuities; the which were woont to bee graunted but for a time: These men arrogating to themselues more authoritie then was giuen them, would not suffer the execution of any thing, but what pleased themselues: But for all this *Anthony* was not without feare that the citie would rebell against him to his vtter ruine, trusting in fewe, he could finde no better remedie, then to place continually at the gates of the citie, and in the armie at sea, a number of religious men of diuers orders, to garde the entrie with the soldiers, and to keepe the keies, trusting deseruedly more in them, then in the captaines that were there imployed: For in the assemblies and

counsels

counsels of State that were often held, there appeared more hatred against the Castellians, and more will to fight in the religious men then in the secular.

The Duke was now returned to the same lodging of Ociras, a place both by nature and arte strong: For besides the great number of artillerie and rampiers, the countrey was rough & stony, whereas the horsemen could hardly fight, in whose force the Portugals relied much: He made no shewe to dislodge, for supposing now (as in effect it was) that from thence he helde all the realme assieged, and principally with his galleries, hee supposed that both the Prior and the citie, would soone yeelde vnto him: Besides that, to march on, considering his craftie nature and slowe disposition, and the Portugals armie being so neere, he thought it not conuenient; he laboured with all possible deuises to be cōquerour without fighting; and had now almost corrupted the captaines of the galleies, and of the tower of Belem, who shoulde soone haue deliuered vnto him both tower and armie; the which had been effected, if *Anthony* himselfe had not gone in person, who hauing dispossessed in a manner all the captaines of their charges, and placed others, without giuing them respire to execute their practises; but he was nowe growen so icalous of euery man, finding in all men so great feare, and so little faith, that hee knewe not whom to trust, if he were not a religious man, a marriner, or of the baser sort. And for that it seemes alwaies to such as feare that they are betrayed, it hapned that fire being kindled by chaunce in certaine straw which lay about the castell wals of the citie, where his roiall tapestrie lay, he grewe suspicious that this fire had beene some signe vnto the enemies, and that the marchant strangers whom he had placed there in guard, had made it, for that they would not goe to fielde to fight, and this feare was so violent, that without examining the fact, without considering they were *Flemings*, whose nation for the most part were the most obstinate enemies, that euer the Catholique King had, thrust forward by his owne feare; and that of *Emanuel Saues* one of the newe *Veriadors* of the chamber, hee displaced the strangers from thence, and being not yet well assured, hee commaunded that all strangers shoulde depart the citie, and soone after he decreed, (although it were not executed) that they shoulde be spoiled. These

two armies remained eight daies in this estate, neere one to the other, without moouing, and little skirmishing; at the end whereof, the Duke sent foorth *Sanches d' Auila*, with a hundreth and fiftie horse, and some fewe foote, to discouer the countrey, and plot the meanes to batter the tower of Belem, they were encountred by three hundreth horse, and fiue hundreth Portugale foote, who without order ranne towards them: But for that the Castillians pretended nothing but to discouer, being but weakely charged by the Portugals, hauing skirmished a while, with the losse of fewe men they returned to their lodging, and the day following, they issued foorth with a greater number, and hauing entred skirmish of the one side, the Castillians of the other hauing planted three peeces of artillerie, which the night before they had drawen neere vnto the tower, they forced (after some fewe cannonadoes) first the armie of galleies to retire to Lisbonne, and then the tower to yeelde, by meanes whereof, the kings armie at sea, might safely enter into the port of Belem, as presently they did.

*The yeelding
of the tower
of Belem.*

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the seventh Booke.

The route at Alcantara: The taking of Lisbonne: The sacke of the suburbes: The praise and dispraise of the Duke of Alua: The sicknesse of the Catholique King: The voyage of Sanches d' Auila into the Prouince which lieth betwixt Doro and Migno: The winning of the cities of Auero and Porto: The flight of Anthony: The taking of Viana: The death of Queene Anne: The Kings progresse to Eluas: The resolution of the inhabitants of the Terceraes: The Popes offer to send an armie against England.

Betwixt



Et wixt the two armies there was no other let then the rockes of the brooke of Alcantara: The Duke finding that *Anthony* supposing himselfe in safetie, would not come to the field, resolued; for that he woulde not force him in so defensible a lodging, to seeke some other meanes to defeate him quite, or at the least to make him dislodge, and free the citie from such a curbe; the which he vnderstoode came not to his obedience, for that this armie was so neere them. But hauing not yet viewed the enimie, nor his lodging, but from farre, trusting little to the report of others, woulde first himselfe see the seate, and howe they were lodged, before he woulde attempt any matter of importance, and therefore on Saint Bartholomewes day he issued foorth of his lodging with his whole army, onely with an intent to discouer: The left banks of Tagus, whereupon these armies were encamped, is hilly, but yet easie, and is deuided by the brooke of Alcantara, as it were into straight lines; the which takes his name of a small village seated vpon the right angle, where it dischargeth it selfe into the riuer: There vpon the brooke is a bridge of stone; the bankes of both sides, beginning from the mouth of the riuer, running a mile vpward, are very high and vneasie, yet vpwarde there lieth a champion ground, although somewhat vneuen, yet very commodious for lodging; vpon the left banke was the Portugals campe, in a manner vpon the triangle, where the rocke is highest fortified toward the enimie with ill fashioned trenches, and much artillerie: The Duke marched to the right banke, with his whole armie, right against the Portugals; where hauing made a long stande, considering well the seate to be naturally strong, but little helps by arte, he see the enimies (perceiuing his approach) to put themselues into squadrons, within their rampiers, standing still, without any shew of issuing foorth, labouring onely to endomage them with their cannons: So as hauing wel resolued what to do, after some skirmish, he returned for this night vnto the place from whence he came, and for the day following gaue this order, that after midnight they should giue a hot allarum on al sides, to keepe the enimie on foote, to wearie him, and to cause him to put his men in order, as hee had done

done the day before : He enioyned *Frauncis d'Alua*, Generall of the artillerie, that before day he shoulde plant vpon the hils, which discover the enimies lodging, and their trenches, some great artillerie, with sufficient munition, to batter the Portugals rankes, to scoure their defences, and the place where they shoulde stande to defende the bridge, when it should be assaulted : He commaunded to thrust into the army at sea a thousand Harquebusiers, five hundreth Italians, and five hundreth Spaniards, with order to the Marquesse of Saint Croix, to charge the enimies when a certaine signe should be giuen vnto them : He called all the chiefe Commaunders of the campe, and saide vnto them, that he hoped to driue the enimie that day by force from his lodging, that he desired them to be obedient, » to obserue the directions which he had giuen, and shoulde giue, for » as by that and their valour, the enterprife was easie; so without order » and obedience it was most difficult : That one of the chiefe points » his Maiestie had commaunded, was to saue the citie of Lisbone, the » which the king had in so great regard, that he had rather leaue to » vanquish, then by vanquishing to spoile it : And therefore hee did » presse them to promise, that if they were so happy as wholie to » breake the enimie, they shoulde not onely forbear to spoile it, but » defend it from such as would attempt it; assuring them that the king » would be more pleased with the defence thereof, then with the vic- » torie it selfe : He added moreouer, and that with great vehemencie; » that if his ill happe were such, as that they shoulde not satisfie him in » this, he beseeched God, that the first shoote the enimie shoulde » make, shoulde rather depriue him of life, then to see a thing so much » against the seruice and will of his Maiestie. These words being ended, and al things executed, the Duke a little before day (leauing in his lodging a reasonable guard of all nations) marched against the Portugals in this order, notwithstanding some of the chiefe were of opinion, they shoulde first trie this armie with courses and light charges, being a generall opinion by the aduertisements they had receiued, that fewe men woulde put them to flight. The Duke deuided his armie into three bodies, two of foote, and one of horse, the which marched not one after an other, but as it were in front, as the hilly countrey would giue them leaue : In the middle was the Duke with the greatest part of the Spanish foote, & some Germaine pikes, deuided

*The Duke
of Alua his
speech to the
soldiers.*

*The order of
the Dukes
armie.*

deuided into fowre squadrons, which marched not all in fronte, nor one after an other, but scattered as the place would suffer them, being in al about sixe thousand: On the right side were all the Italians, the rest of the Germaines, & some few Spaniards, ordered in three squadrons, one, a side of an other, by *Prosper Colona*, which should amount to the like number: On the left hand, which was the thirde body, were their horsemen, cōmanded by *Ferrant* son to the Duke, in the first ranke whereof marched their Harquebusiers on horsebacke, in the second their genneters, in the thirde their light horsemen, & behinde, their men at armes, where *Ferrant* himselfe remained; vpon the riuer which lay on the right hand (the which in that place is about three miles broad) was the Marquesse with threescore and two galleies, and fiue and twentic ships, the which lying but musket shot from their foote, serued as a wing to the armie on that side, to answer the horse which were on the other. :

In the meane while *Anthony* hauing viewed the enemies the day before, and how little they had effected, beleued (notwithstanding the great allarum which he heard in the night) it would fall out as the day before; and that after some light skirmishes, the enimie (he not issuing foorth of his lodging) should retire the second time; yet desirous to put his men in order as the day before, he could not doe it, for being ynaccustomed to suffer, wearie with the trauaile of the day, and disquietnes of the night, they did not execute that which was commaunded; besides their number was greatly diminished; for many being accustomed to lie in the towne all night, and returne in the day, were not yet come, and others amazed, were quite fledde away: And therefore he commaunded the Bishop of Guarda, who plaied at Lisbone (as a man may say) the part of a king, to sende with all diligence to the campe all such men as were within the citie, who with drums and bells ceased not all night to sound, and with sericants armed, to driue the citizens and handy crafts men by force out of their beds, compelling them to go foorth armed, with some few whereof, the saide Bishop went to the campe that night. But heereof followed no good effect, for such as were sent foorth against their wils being fearefull, fled to other places, so as the Portugall armie neither encreased in number nor in order.

Anthony his preparation against the Duke.

The Duke in the meane time presented himselfe on the right banke, opposite to the Priors armie, vpon the hils where hee had planted his cannon; where viewing the Portugals scattered in their lodging, hee founde himselfe deceiued in his conceaued opinion, that vpon the allarum giuen they should ranke themselues into squadrons: Hee now perceiued that this intent to batter their ranks with his atullerie could not succeed; as hee had presupposed, and disordering them to charge them on all sides, supposing in this manner he should easily breake them: But hauing changed his resolution, according to the occurrants, being willing to hazard a battaile, he did endamage them all he coule with his cannon, and so did the Prior likewise on his part: He commaunded *Prosper Colona* to attempt the bridge with his men, that were in the squadrons on the right hand, striuing to passe it, and to winne as much ground as he could: He gaue order to *Sanches d' Auila* with two thousande Harquebusiers, which he had drawne out of his middle Battalion, hauing passed the brooke aboute whereas the bankes are lowest, and easiest to ascend to draw the eninie to combate, with all the advantage he could: charging them in flanke euen vnto their trenches: He gaue commission to *Ferrant* his sonne, who taking a greater compasse, should passe the brooke, whereas the bankes were not high, vnto the other side with his horse, and go against the enemie, but if he should not issue forth of his lodging, as it was supposed, they should then assaile them on all parts at one instant, hee remaining behinde with the rest of the foote, to succour where need should require, in a place more eminent then the rest, from the which he might discover both armies, where hauing left his squadrons a little behinde him, he sate him downe, viewing howe the assault would succeed, & making necessaric counter signes: *Prosper Colona* came to the bridge before that either *Sanches d' Auila*, or the horsemen could attaine to the other banke, it may be for that it behooued them to make a longer march, or for that the Italians (as the Duke said) to winne honor, made too great haste: They found it not vnfurnished, for the Portugals had there planted their souldiers of most esteeme, who at the first assault made great resistance: For although the Italians fought valiantly, yet was it long ere they preuailed any thing; for the place being narrowe, defended and

guarded

guarded in flanke with some Harquebufiers which had fortified themselves within a mill, to the which they could not approach by reason it was inuironed with water, they came to fight with great disadvantage, so as hauing in a manner won it, they were repulsed with some losses. But *Prosper* hauing caused his soldiers to moue vp on a narrow causway, which kept the water of the mill, by the which they might (though vneasily) come vnto the house, hauing with the losse of some fewe assaulted it, those within were all cut in peeces, so as such as guarded the bridge, wanting their succours in flanke, being endamaged from the same mill, by the Italians, *Colona* charging them with greater force at the same instant on the bridge, he woone it, and passed to the other banke, wherein *Lewes Douara* did good seruice, who seeing the Italians repulsed, hee caused them to be succoured, almost against the Dukes will, with some Germaine pikes, the which he obtained from the Generall: There did they long endure a hot fight, for the Portugals being as yet ignoraunt that they were charged in any other other part, all the force of the armie with the Prior himselfe ranne to the bridge, where *Prosper* repeld them valiantly, and put them to flight: The Duke behelde what *Sanchez d' Auila* shoulde do, being most assured that if he obeyed him, all the enemies campe were broken, but he feared, that seeing the Italians in fight (being cholericke) he shoulde be impatient, to take so long a course as to go charge them in flanke, but woulde assaile them at the first encounter; the which he esteemed dangerous, but seeing him obedient, he helde the battaile woone, so as coming to the other bank with his Harquebufiers, and *Ferrant* with his horsemen, they founde no resistance: For although that *Anthony* being scarce arriued at the bridge, came to this other side, the Portugals beginning now to vnderstande the successe of the bridge, being fearefull, presently fled towards the citie. At this instant the Duke gaue signe vnto the galleies, who without their masters rowed towards the citie with the rest of their armie, discharging their artillerie against the Portugals fleete, the which being a little retired, without any place to flie vnto, set saile, but without any resistance they became a pray vnto the enimie.

Anthony being vnexpert, neuer supposed the Duke woulde charge him within his lodging; seeing himselfe at one instant so

The flight of Anthony towards the ci-

much

tie, his de-
feate and
hurt.

much endamaged with the artillerie, the bridge to be forced, which he held for very strong, his men to flie, and their horsmen to make way to cut off all way of retreat, he grewe amazed: Notwithstanding, being accompanied with Counte *Emanuel* of Portugall, with *Diego Boteglio* the elder, & *Edward de Castro*; he fledde likewise towards the citie, without order, or without any resistance, amidst the prease of his people, where at the entrie of the suburbes, he was hurt in the head by a soldier on horsebacke, and if he had staid but a little longer, or the horsmen made more haste, hee had beene taken prisoner, by some Italian aduenturers; who were aduanced verie farre. In this haste hee passed with the rest of his broken armie through the citie, whereof a part, yet the least, following him, entered by one gate, and went foorth by an other; and the other parte which was the greater, hauing cast away their armes, hid themselues in their houses, where they had their wiues and children, and such as were come from other parts of the realme, assembled themselues in churches with grear feare. In passing he commaunded the prisons to be opened, so as with a great number of offenders that were deliuered, there came foorth such as were committed, as affected vnto *Philip*.

The Dukes men hauing slaine many of these miserable wretches with their shot and launces, who fledde by fower and sixe togither, making but a weake and vnprofitable resistance, came to the citie; *Ferrant de Toledo* as chiefe, marching before the rest, vnder whose authoritie the whole armie was gouerned, seeing the bataile woone, fearing the soldiers furie should do more hurt then he wished, did expressly keepe them backe, causing them to stay, supposing there might remaine yet some men to conquer; and being come to the gates of the citie, hee staid to parley with the Magistrate of the chamber from the wals, who was come thither to that effect: But their treaties were shorte, and little disagreeing, for the Portugals seeing themselues before the Castillians soldiers, their miserable king hurt and fled, and their army in route, they seemed to be now reduced to their last exigent; And *Ferrant* (although a conquerour) yet desirous (according to the kings meaning) to saue the citie from spoile, they soone agreed: *Ferrant* demaunded the citie, the Portugals desired to know in what sort, and although some answered

answered at discretion; yet the Magistrate offering to yeeld as other cities had done, it was graunted they shoulde haue their liues and goods saued, least by longer stay the soldiers should haue occasion to cōmit some disorder. Notwithstanding some of the Magistrates being let downe from the wals, were carried behinde some Castilian Cavaliers to the Duke, who granted them their demaunds with better acception, and more freely. Then began the soldiers against the Dukes will to disband and spoile that part of the citie, which is without the wals, the which is greater, nobler, and fairer, then that within, and is so spacious, as many great cities are not comparable vnto it: So as although this body in the midst of Lisbone was not spoiled, yet the suburbs were and all places thereabouts; and likewise some houses within, the which vnder colour to appertaine to rebels, were giuen in pray to the soldiers, whom they coulde no otherwise withstand, seeing they had sufficiently obcied, in preserving the citie from spoile three daies: Many innocent citizens lost their most precious moouables, the which by reason of the plague which then raigned greatly in the citie, they had transported to their farmes, and other possessions neere thereabouts, where they were spoiled. The extortions the soldiers committed were not great, but the riches that fell into their hands were infinite. The galleies did great harme, for besides the spoiling of the bankes of Tagus, and the ransacking of all the ships within the Porte, where they founde infinite store of merchandise; they serued likewise vnto the soldiers that were on lande, as a meanes to hide and carrie away all things were they neuer so great, not being forced to discharge themselues of their baggage, to sell them at lowe prices vpon the place, as it often hapneth. The custome houses, that is to say the generall, and that of merchandise of the Indies, alwaies full of pretious wares, although they were without the citie gates, yet were they not spoiled: For by reason of their great riches, *Alonso de Lena* Generall of the galleies of Sicily, sent a guard of priuate soldiers to haue care and defend them: The religious women, whose monasteries were all without the wals, were preserved; and withall much wealth that was kept there, yet much of that which was left in the houses of religious men was stolen away; but most of all in that of Saint Rocke, whereas the Iesuits remaine; for certaine Italian

The yeelding of Lisbone.

The spoile of the suburbs of Lisbone.

soldiers being first entred; were expelled by the Spaniards, who being sent thither by their commaunders, vnder colour to preferue them being friends, they committed greater excesse then the other, being enimies, would haue done; for the Italians being departed, the Spaniards hauing searched out the most secret things, and finding them, they carried them by night into the galleies, and into their houses. The diuersitie of nations which were at the spoile, caused more respect to the women, and holy things then had beene otherwise; for the Spaniards most insolent in other countries, were here against their nature very continent, least by their example the Italians and Germanes in Spaine shoulde grow woorse. The boorie of moouable and other precious things, which this citie in so many yeeres peace, and by the traffique of the Indies had gathered together was infinite. The number of such as were slaine in the battaile was small, in regard of the little defence they made, notwithstanding there died not aboue a thousand of the Portugals, and not aboue a hundreth of the Dukes armie, of so small force were the peoples armies, rusted with ease. The Duke when the citie was yeilded, came himselfe in person for the defence thereof; where hauing made some stay in one of the houses neere the suburbes, hee returned to lodge from whence the Portugals were departed. *Anthony* hauing dressed his wounde at *Sacabem*, sixe miles from *Lisbone*, marched easily toward *Saint Arem*: The Duke standing doubtfull whether he remained still within the citie, or were fled, for that the Portugals for his better safetie gaue out false rumours. This victorie was of great importance, and had beene greater if the Prior had beene taken prisoner, for in his safetie, the realme (which shoulde haue beene in quiet) remained in suspence, all men supposing that he should repaire his forces, and trie his fortune a newe. The Duke was blamed of many for not vsing of greater diligence, saying, it was a great errour, in all other things to haue set so good an order, and to haue omitted it in this of such importance, some did attribute it vnto negligence, others vnto malice, especially for that *Anthony* had made so great a stay betwixte *Sacabem* and *Saint Arem*; so as he might easily haue suppressed him, and this was the issue of the battaile of *Alcantara*.

*The number
that were
slaine in the
battaile.*

*The Duke
blamed.*

In the meane while the ships which came from the Indies, were
disanchored

disanchored from the Ilands of Terceraes, & sailed towards Portugall, ill aduertised of what had passed. And for as much as they had former intelligence of their arriuall at the Ilands, it was thought good they shoulde staie there, being valued at three millions, many doubted they should be lost: For on the one side the Duke had sent some ships armed to seeke them, on the other side the Prior had sent certaine carauels with aduise to go to Penichie, a place vpon the coast twentie miles from Lisbone, towardes the north, and therefore it was feared they coulde not escape the one, or the other, either to be taken by the kings ships, or to follow the direction of *Anthony*, and in what sort soeuer, they shoulde bee lost: For falling into the hands of the Castillians they shoulde bee spoiled, and going to Penichie, the Prior woulde become master of priuate mens goods, and employ them for the necessitie of the warres. And some ignorant of *Anthonies* commission, supposed they should either go to Fraunce or England, and that the Prior (finding the weakenes of his force, by the euent of this battaile) shoulde followe them; notwithstanding fortune did so second the beginning, that two daies after the battaile, they appeered in safetie, without any intelligence of these troubles within the realme, or any encounter vpon the way; such was the Catholique kings good fortune, that they arriued safe at Lisbone; where he receiued what appertained to the crowne, and deliuered to euery priuate man his owne.

All this while they were in suspence at Badagios, expecting whether this enterprise shoulde be ended by armes or agreement, and so doubtfull euery man was, for that there appeared on either side great difficultie; the rather, for that the Duke could not stay long from entertaining one of these parties so different. But the xxvj. day of August, in the morning, there arriued a Spanish merchant without any letters from the Duke, who brought newes of the successe: This man following the Spanish campe, when he saw the Priors armie in route, presently passed the riuer in a small barke, and tooke poste before him that brought aduertisement from the Duke, who presenting himselfe vnto the King, deliuered what hee had seene, whereof he receiued such contentment as may bee supposed: This newes was presently spred throughout all the court, with the incredible ioy of all men, and to the great honour of the Duke, and with

such kinde of commendations, as the force of truth doth vsually draw vpon the sodaine, euen from the mouth of enimies: But the confirmation of these newes, staying longer then was conuenient for the neerenes of the place, and the importance of the action, they began to doubt with so great perturbation, that there was no lesse shewe of their generall desire, then of their receiued content: The which was after confirmed by the Arriual of *Ferrant de Toledo*, the Dukes nephew, whom he had dispatched with a priuate relation, not onely of the successe, but also of the reasons which had induced them to fight, and his direction giuen vnto the captaine, the which was generally approoued of all, with no small honour to the Duke, saying, that he had now satisfied mens mindes, who held him alwaies to be too cunning and watchfull, to assure his enterprize by aduantages of lodging, and stratagemes, auoiding the battaile by all meanes possible without great aduantage, following amongst the auncient Captaines *Fabius Maximus*, and amongst the later *Prosper Colonn* the elder, whom he sought to imitate: And this commendation of the Dukes proceeded from his two resolutions: The one to passe from Settuual to Cascaies, and the other to fight at Alcantara, seeing in the first he alone did contradict his counsell, and contested both against sea and enimie: And in the second he resolved to fight dangerously with the Portugals, within their owne trenches, hauing a well peopled citie behinde them; and against the aduise of some of the principall of the armie. They did highly commend him to haue kept Lisbone from spoile, and at one instant to play the conqueror and protector, attributing vnto him for this respect more honour, then to haue retired his armie from the wals of Rome in the yeere 1557. hauing not fought there, vnto the gates of the citie, as he did at Lisbone.

But these reasons with other, were dashed by a sodaine cruell accident, which so troubled the mindes of all men, as there was no time to thinke nor speake of any thing, the which was that vpon the newes of this happie successe, the king fell most dangerously sicke, the which so encreased, being brought to that point, that there was small hope of his life; and euen his Phisitions themselues almost gaue him ouer: vpon this subiect was all their discourses; for the king dying, it was supposed that the protector of Christendome should

*The commendations
of the Duke
of Alua.*

shoulde faile, and if there were any doubt, that his death in time might cause any alteration, it was then most of all to be feared: for besides that the affaires of Flaunders were troublesome, the humors of the French ill disposed, Portugall yet in ballance to incline to a contrarie partie, and the rest of Spaine was not well assured: The opinions were diuers what course to take, but all was confused, and all full of feare. The Duke of Alua whose opinion many of the berter sort did follow, thought it fit, that the king dying, the Queene with the prince should presently enter into Portugall, and goe to Lisbone, thinking by this meanes with the forces he had there readie, not onely to keepe the realme in peace, but also to assure the other estates of Spaine: He now laboured to stablish the affaires, for deprivuing from the office of the magistrate of the chamber of Lisbone, such as had been installed by the Prior, he restored such as had bin before; calling them vnto him, he said; it was now time that in the cities behalfe, they should sweare obedience vnto the king, and proclaime his name in the publique streetes, with accustomed ceremonie; whereunto they willingly offered themselues, demaunding leaue for this cause to make publique feastes, and that withall, the priuileges of the citie might be confirmed: Whereunto he answered, that there was then no neede, but they should reserue it, vntill the prince were there present to be sworne, whome his Maiestie had resolved to send vnto the citie to be bred vp amongst them; and as for their priuileges, they were very small, that he woulde graunt them more amplie. So as the eleuenth day of September in the Dukes lodging, they tooke their oath in forme, and the next day after dinner, the magistrate going thorough the citie with the standard and their Attaballes, they proclaimed the name of King Philip after the accustomed manner; yet with a weake voice, and small assemblie of people. And as in the proclaiming of other kings there appeared nothing but feasts and ioy; here was nothing to be seene, but secret sighes and hidden sorrow with flatterie: The Dukes armie was lodged vntill the tenth of September betwixt the citie and Alcantara, at the same lodging where the Portugals had lodged, without any resolution what to doe, still expecting sonie newes of the Prior. At which time there grew (as a companion to warre) not onely in the campe, but likewise in the citie a contagious infirmitie

*The Catho-
lique kings
sickness, and
the discourse
vpon it.*

*Lisbone
swears obe-
dience to the
king.*

*A contagi-
ous Catar.*

of Catarre, so dangerous, that it did no lesse harme then the pestilent contagion; few were free from this disease, and many of them died, especially of the soldiers, for that to a new disease, ordinarie remedies helpe little: *Anthonie* soone after arriued at Saint Arem, where the magistrate of that place, (being the selfsame,) who a little before with so great ioy had proclaimed him king, would not giue him entrie, so are mens mindes turned with fortune; yet hauing promised to depart presently, they suffered him to enter vpon that condition, and the day following, he went towards Coimbra.

*Saint Arem
yeelds obedi-
ence.*

Soone after the citie of Saint Arem sent to yeelde their obedience, and whilest they expected that Coimbra should doe the like, they had newes that the Prior was there, that he fortified himselfe in those partes, that he repaired Mount Maior the olde, and brake the bridge vpon the riuer of Doro: And although there were no doubt, that he could assemble men sufficient to terrifie the Duke, yet hereby they vnderstood that the warre was not ended, and that they could not dismisse any part of the armie, which they had resolved to send backe, with the galleies of Italie; so as by a little stay, they lost the season of sailing in that sea with their galleies; but for that the countrey is not fruitfull, and that victuals grew very deere within the citie, they lodged the Germanes at Settuall, resolving to send the Italians to Saint Arem: But hauing the newes confirmed, that the Prior assembled forces, the Duke woulde not separate his troupes so farre from him, but lodged the Italians and Spanyards in the suburbs of the ciuie (which place had beene spoiled) to defende them from the daily raine which began to fall.

*The Prior
assembles
new forces.*

At this time the Prior with his traine tormented the inhabitants of the prouince betwixt Doro and Mignio, assembling men of warre by force, and for that many (doubting sinister euent) feared that in fauing of him they should preiudice themselues, he forced obedience vpon greuous paines, which he imposed vpon such as followed him not: So as some for feare of their persons, others of their goodes, came vnto him; yet were there others, who of their naturall inclination would not leaue him vntill death: In this sort, he gathered together fower or fiue thousand men, with the which he held the citie of Coimbra in awe, so as it could not yeelde to the Catholique king: Hee went with them to Auero, where hauing found

found some resistance, he vsed his greatest force: For hauing with some small peeces of artillerie battered the wals, he gaue a confused assault; but profiting little, his friends within did so weaken the defence by words and force, that the Priors men entred: The succours which *Pantaleon de Sada* brought from Porto, coming too late: There he imprisoned diuers persons, he slew, spoiled, and ruined all he could: By these actes (which seemed vnto them most glorious) his peasantlie soldiers were growne to that arrogancie, that armed with hookes, and staues, they threatned to goe to Lisbone, to free the realme from the hands of the Castillians: And this foolish presumption was not a little furthered with the newes, that *Anthonie* had of the kings sicknesse, whome they gaue out to be dead, being attired all in blacke the better to perswade them.

The Duke was well aduertised of all these things, finding still more plainly of what importance the flight of *Anthonie* was: There wanted not some that charged him to haue forborne too long, in sending men after him, yet hauing care to assure that which did more import; he would not deuide his forces, vnill he did see an end of the kings infirmitie, who hauing long laboured in the extremities of death, he began with an vniuersall ioy to recouer, and encreasing daily the signes of health, he grewe well; wherewith feare which troubled the mindes of men being taken away, they began to talke againe of the victorie, and of the Dukes actions: But this commendation which was attributed vnto him (as it hapneth in all worldly actions) continued little, and rarely shall you finde so apparant an example of the inconstancie of the people, and the force of enuie as this was: for sodainly his praises were turned into murmurings, and open slaunders, searhing so many reasons to deface the Dukes merits, as two daies before they had alleaged to extoll his actions. The Dukes reprehensions grew from the proper ministers of this warre, or from such as followed the enterprise, who offended with him for the diuersitie of their opinions, or for their own priuate practises, or else (as some would haue it) desirous to creepe into the kings fauour by like reports, did write that the sacke had beene very great, and freely suffred for three daies, wherunto they would attribute the Portugals disobedience, and their discontentment against the Castillians, labouring to prooue, that if the Duke had

Auerotaken.

The Duke blamed.

had pleased, by his authoritie hee might haue staid it, but being partaker with his kinsmen (who were more imploied to spoile then to fight) of a good part of the bootie, hee did tolerate it; leauing outrages and thefts vnpunished, although complaints were made vnto him. That the termes of conquest, taking of cities, and route of armie, were vaine and vnproper, seeing that in no place they had founde any resistance; and that this multitude of Portugals, as simple people (deceiued by their priests in confessions and preachings) could not be termed an armie, nor their route called a victorie: And so blinde is enuie, that two armies encoutring with many peeces of great artillerie, fighting on the one side for the passage of a bridge, on the other side in their trenches, the Portugals foote and horse broken, the enimie put to flight, the standard roiall taken, with many other coulors, and aboute a thousand men slaine, and yet they woulde not haue this a battaile: Some which did charge him with negligence saide, that seeing hee had an intention to dislodge this armie (after he had attempted the bridge & the trenches) he should haue stretched forth his horsemen further on the left hande, to cut off the enimies way, and to take him prisoner, if he woulde flie; but to keepe himselfe so farre off as he coulde not ouertake him, was an vnexcusable faulte in so great a captaine: Others saide, that it was not credible, but he shoulde haue taken him, if hee had pleased to place his horse in a conuenient place for that purpose, which euerie ignorant captaine woulde haue considered, but that hee willingly suffered him to flie; that by meanes of *Antonies* libertie, the warre shoulde not seeme to be ended, a thing which captaines doe commonly with, preferring their owne authoritie, and their priuate respect, before the publike good: Others did adde that if hee woulde haue taken him after his flight, and the battaile woon, hee might well haue done it, for making no haste to flie, he might so speedily haue followed him with his horse as the importance of his person did require.

*The Dukes
excuses.*

Amongst so many accusations, fewe durst speake for the Duke, yet some of his friendes laboured to iustifie him, saying, that time, place, and desire to assure the victorie, doth often hinder the execution of those things which the captaine wisheth: That it was not then conuenient to follow the Prior: For considering the ineuitable disorders

disorders of the soldiers, in sending many; hee had contrarie to the kings pleasure wasted the countrey, and if hee had sent fewe, they had not bene safe; and therefore he desired to temper this heate of victorie in the soldiers mindes; meaning after to send a part of the armie in good order; but when as hee ment to effect it, the Kings sicknes hapned, whereof he desired first to see the issue; before he would be vnfurnished of his forces. That touching the inuiting of the enemies campe with his horse, besides that they had no sufficient number to do it, it had not bene the resolution of a wise captaine to make a fearefull enemy desperate; and to force him either to fight or become a prisoner. Touching the sacking of the suburbes, they saide it was no small good happe to haue so many houses without the wals of the citie; for other wise they should hardly haue kept the soldiers from spoiling it, and that it was in a manner necessarie for the sauing of the citie to haue something to quench this desire, which they had brought with them. And as there was some difficultie to saue the citie from the sacke, so was it impossible to keepe the suburbes from spoile, seeing the barraile was giuen within the limits thereof. They laughed at such as saide the Duke was partaker of the spoile, seeming vnto them a matter farre from his qualitie. They shewed that although they would not haue it saide that the barraile were glorious, but vnwoorthie, against a small number of seditious monkes, apostataes, and fugitiue slaues, yet coule it hardly be concealed, for it coule not be denied but that *Anthony* had a great number of men in a strong lodging, amongst the which were many of the Nobility, and that which most supplied their want of experience, passionate against the Catholique king, and most affectionate to the Prior; that in armie where such things happen, it is not credible they so easily yeeld or flie of themselves, if they be not encountred with a captaine that is both valiant, & of iudgement, who by force or cunning doth breake them & put them to flight. They did prooue by liuely reasons that it was not credible that the Duke with a resolution so hurtfull to his king, should prolong the enterprise, & seeke to continue his commaund, by meanes of the warre, saying, that although in auncient common wealthes, noble citizens were desirous to be imployed in expeditions, and governments of armie, to free themselves from the subiection of the Senate,

Senate; yet was it not so in the government of later princes; whereas such as be neere the king haue more authoritie, then such as bee retired. They added vnto these reasons, the consideration of the Dukes age, fidelitie, and experience, with auncient and newe examples; concluding it was likely, that without any priuate subiect, hee had laboured with his best endeouour wholie to serue the king: But although he were vehemently defended, yet could they not wholly roote it out of the mindes of men; so is the chance of this worldly Tragedie tossed vpside downe, that the captaine which the weeke before had beene triumphant and glorious, lay now in his bed sicke with sorrow, slandered with his Prince, and his armie halfe defeated, languishing with hunger and want, infected with the plague, infamous for excesse and violence; some part whereof was true, and some false: so as the soldiers were troubled, melancholy, and angry; and although with the insolencie of conquerors, yet seemed they like men vanquished: Their commaunders of the armie were likewise in dispaire to reape any recompence of their seruice, so as the captaines which resolved to plant them selues in Portugall, and receiue great recompence by confiscations, were deceiued of their hopes: For the King who had an other meaning, resolved to forget all the wrongs the Portugals had done him; and not onely to pardon their disobedience, but also reward and cherish them as his children. It was generally spoken, that vpon the Priors defeate and yeelding of the citie of Lisbon, the King shoulde presently go thither in person, and by graunting rewardes and pardons, labour to winne the Portugals loues; and to qualifie that bitterness which the spoile and insolencie of the soldiers had bredde. But although there had beene already speech of his going to Eluas, and that he desired to make his entrie asking of Portugall; yet did he not effect it, for that as it is saide before, the plague was dispersed into many parts of the realme. He laboured to become master not onely of all places within the realme, but also of all others that depended thereof: when as the armie began first to enter the realme, he had sent into Affrick to demaund obedience of those places, but for as much as *Anthony* had preuented him by former letters vnto the captaines, his busines being in better estate, then they prooued afterwarde, the inhabitants would not agree to acknowledge *Philip*; by reason
 whereof

whereof, the battaile being woone, he sent againe vnto them; for being of great importance for Spaine, he feared, that remaining vnder the Priors commaund, he shoulde rashly dispose of them, so as promising recompence to the captaines, they did acknowledge him for their Lord, but with greater facilitie in one place then in another; so as without any innouation, hee confirmed the same captaines, and the same garrisons.

The yeelding of the places in Affricke which the Portugals held.

The Ilands of Terceraes were not neglected by the Duke, the assurance whereof seemed greatly to import, and therefore vpon the brute of the victorie, hee sent a messenger thither, with letters from the king, and the citie of Lisbonne: but the matter being first well debated at Badagios, it was supposed by the Councell, the Portugals alone to be more fitte to mannage that busines, then if the Castillians shoulde entermiddle; and therefore the King did write vnto Lisbonne to *Edward de Castelbianco*, that conferring with the Duke as a Portugall, he should go thither: But he resolved not, for being newly created officer of the chamber, he founde that *Edward Borges* whom the Duke had appointed to sende, remained accountable to the crowne for certaine money, so as hee thought not good to imploy him, nor to choose any other in his place. The Duke vnderstanding of the Kings recouerie, leauing the care of the Ilands to him that had it, would no longer delay to send against the Prior, and although the time was vnfitte; yet the xxij. of September he dispatched *Sanches d' Auila* into those parts with fower thousand foote, and fower hundreth horse, who marched directly towards Coimbra, but vnderstanding soone after that many of his soldiers died by the way, that many fledde into Castil, and that with great difficultie, (by reason of the great aboundance of raine), he shoulde conduct fower peeces of artillerie, the Duke sent after him other fifteene hundreth foote, vnder *Diego de Cordoua*, and prouided shipping to sende the cannon by sea: *Sanches d' Auila* tooke his first lodging at Loures, from thence he marched to Torrez Vedras, where hauing broken one of his carriages, he was forced to leaue a peece of artillerie there, from thence he went directly to Coimbra, passing by Gibarotta, where hee did see the spoiles of that famous victorie, which the Portugals had against the Castillians; from thence hee sent two companies of horse to Coimbra, the which

The Terceraes.

Sanches de Auila against the Prior.

vntill

*The yeelding
of Coimbra.*

untill they had discovered them woulde not yeeld their obedience; yet vpon view of the horse, they mette them with the keies of the citie, and *Emanuel de Sofa Pacheco*, commissarie general of the campe, entred to receiue their allegeance. The Prior hauing newes of these things at Aueto, woulde not attende *Sanches d' Auila*; remaining in suspence, whether he shoulde imbarque himselfe, and abandon the realme; but hauing receiued letters from some of Porto, who promised to obey him, he marched thither wardes with all the troupes he could make, whereof hauing yet made no mention, being a place of importance, we will digresse a little to reporte the estate thereof, during these troubles.

*The estate of
Porto and
the reduc-
tion.*

The inhabitants thereof doe account themselues the wisest amongst the Portugals, who hearing the Catholique king began to arme; and that the Gouvernours did rule, sent to court, demanding armes and munition for their defence if neede were: But their Embassadors arriuing at Almeyra, they founde the Gouvernours were retired to Settunal, and that the Prior was proclaimed king; so as the Embassage they had in charge to impart to the Gouvernours, they deliuered to the newe King, without warrant from their superiors, who gaue vnto them such artillerie and munition as they required; The Embassadors being returned therewith to Porto, there grew a diuision amongst the Citizens, for some (affected vnto *Anthony*) approoued the Embassage; others being more seuerer said, that being sent to the Gouvernours, and deliuering their Embassage to the Prior, they were woorthy of blame: So as one part woulde receiue the munition, and artillerie, and vse it at their neede, saying, that they shoulde receiue it, although it came from their enimies; the rest woulde by no meanes accept it, seeming that thereby they did acknowledge him for king, and make themselues suspect to the Catholique king; the which they woulde by no meanes do, but entertaine themselues as newters and lookers on: but the pluralitie of voices refusing to accept the armes, the Embassadors (by the aduise of *Pantaleon de Sada*, *Ferrant Nunes Barretto*, and *Iohn Rodrigo de Sada*, who were the most famous men that gouerned the citie) left the artillerie and munition within the castell of Fiera, a little from thence, leauing the citie vnfurnished. But the Duke disimbarquing at Cascaies before the battaile of Alcantara, they sent to yeeld their obedience:

obedience. When as the Prior came into these quarters he seized on this artillery and munition, and therewith battered Auero; from thence he went to Porto, where although some had giuen out most flanderous speeches against him, so as it was likely they would haue no agreement nor conuention with him, yet the greatest part, enclined to obey him: hee was ioyfully receiued of all vnder a cannapie: and *Pantaleon de Sada* with his companions, (foreseeing the humour of the people) without seeking of any remedie, excusing themselues, if they were not obeied, would not stay there but imbarcking themselues in a carauell they went into Gallicia, and from thence to Lisbone.

The Prior staied tenne daies in this citie, spoiling some priuate mens houses, that were his enemies: he tooke sugars and other merchandise from the merchants, and sent them into Fraunce; hee demanded to borrow one hundreth thousand duckats of the people; and being aduertised that *Sanches d' Auila* approached, and that Coimbra, Mounte Maior, and some other places, had deliuered vp their keys, he sent the Bilhop of Guarda to Viana, and to Ponte de Lima, to assemble more forces, and to stoppe the passage of the riuer.

The Duke of Alua was now at Lisbone with a troubled mind, for seeing the Portugals become more insolent then before, & to disagree with the Castellians; he had no authoritie frō the king to punish them, or to do such execution as was conuenient, and had beene accustomed to do in other places; that the Prior yet kept the field with his forces; that daily there grewe quarrels within the citie, betwixt the Castellians and the Portugals; and that the nations were so incensed one against an other, that it was to be feared it would breede some great disorder. And although the Castellians had expresse order to endure all things, yet had they not the patience: For this manner of the Dukes proceeding, (misconstrued by the Portugals to proceed from feare) growing daily more proud, they forced the Castellians to quarrel with great discourtesie: For redresse whereof, the Duke hauing somewhat fortified the castell, which is seated vpon a small hill neere the citie, a most auicent building, drew thither the greatest number of his soldiers, artillery, victuals, and munition, taking them from the guard of the citie gates, where they grewe

The Portugals and Castellians disagree.

odious; by meanes whereof he was more assured, and lesse hatefull, and the Portugals choler somewhat qualified.

*The yeelding
of Auero,
and other
exploites of
Sanches d'
Auila.*

At this time *Sanches d' Auila*, approached neere to Auero, where hee was mette without the wals by the principall of the citie, who wept for ioy, but chiefly amongst the rest, such most reioiced as had beenc kept in prison, in danger to loose their liues for resisting the Prior. Hauing there receiued the oath of fidelitie from the Magistrate, vnderstanding that *Anthony* was gone to *Porto*, hee followed after, desirous to encounter him with all the speede he could: *Diego de Cordona* being now arriued at the campe, with troupes which the Duke had sent after him; the which by death and the flight of many were diminished to five hundred: Hee made diuers lodgings, molesting the countrey little, being arriued at *Rifana* of *Santa Maria*, the which is fifteene miles from the left banke of the riuer of *Doro*, vpon the right banke whereof, *Porto* is seated, hee deuised by what meanes hee shoulde passe the riuer; supposing hee had no greater difficultie then this to vanquish the enimic: Hee knewe it was verie violent, running betwixte high mountaines without any forde; hee carried with him vpon carts, some small boates to cast into the riuer; the which although they were fewe in number, yet did hee meane to runne alongst the shoare, and to take others; but the ioints thereof were so shaken and open with the waie, and carriages; that hardly could they serue: Hauing therefore passed the monasterie of *Griso*, towards the riuer, hee sent to the shoare to search for other boates, but hee founde not any; for besides the Priors commaundement, that no barke should passe from the right shoate, three or fower being armed scowred the riuer vp and downe, to hinder their passage; whereupon he sent with great expedition, as well to places neere, as a farre off, to search for some; whereof he failed not; for although there were none neere the citie, yet in places further off vp the riuer, where the Portugals supposed the Castillians would come, they founde and tooke many; whereunto ioyning those of *Massarellos* (a place vpon the left banke) the inhabitants whereof (discontented against the Prior, who had burned their houses for not duly obeying his commaundement) were fled with their wiues and boates vnto the Castillians campe. It did also somewhat helpe, that *Anthonie Serrano* one of

The statagem of Anthony Serrano to reconner a boate.

of

of the captaines which *Auila* had sent to discover, having runne almost to the mouth of the riuer, and not found any, discovering one, whereunto he durst not approach, putting his men in Ambuscado, stripping himselfe halfe naked, seeming to haue been robbed by the Castillians, and calling the water men to him by the voice of a Portugall spie, which he had with him, he caused the boate to draw neere, and being entred into it, he discharged a pistoll, which was hidden vnder him, by meanes whereof he did not onely amaze the marriners, but gaue signe vnto the ambush, which discovering it selfe, the boate was presently taken, with two or three others (although but small ones) that were thereabouts; so as all together made fise and thirtie, with the which he supposed to passe a good part of his armie. *Sanches d'Auila* desired much to hasten his passage, supposing that he had men sufficient, but this resolution was helde rash, by the captaines that were about him; seeming vneasie to passe with boates any where but at *Pietra Salata*, where lieth the ordinary passage, the which was fortified; for in other places the steepenesse of the banks would not suffer it, so as they could not deceiue the enemie, as they doe commonly, making shew to passe in one place, and goe to another. They objected there were few barks, and ill provided with marriners, and although they would containe a great part of the footemen, yet could they not hold the horse, the which they must leaue behinde them, which was not thought conuenient; forasmuch as on the other side, they did not onely see the place of their disembarkment fortified with artillerie, and rampiers, but also the banks replenished with foote, and good store of horsemen; so as it seemed they coulde not attempt this passage, without great losse, saying that it was better to seeke meanes to prouide victuals, and to behaue themselues more discreetly vpon the passage, seeing that their safetie was of more importance to the king, then their speede. *Sanches d'Auila* waighed well all these inconueniences, yet two things pressed him greatly to passe; the one was want of victuals, and the difficultie to recouer them, the which encreased daily: the other was to vnderstand that *Edward de Lenos*, *Martin Lopez d'Azuedo*, and *Anthony de Sousa Coutigno*, who followed the Prior in this prouince, had assembled men to come to his succour, the execution whereof they sought to impeach; adding to this the smal

we battered the rocke of Saint Iulian, and forced it to yeelde, not declaring once to succour it, or issue forth to any small skirmish: and thinke you that the weakest part of this armie, and the most timorous, being retired on the other side of this riuer, shall make a greater resistance, then it did vnited? In this action we ought to strue for two things; the kings seruice, and our owne honours and reputations; the which fortune seemes to frame, as is most conuenient for vs: For if the enimies we haue in fronte, were so lodged, that there remained no let betwixt vs, we should doe the king small seruice, and winne our selues little honour by the conquest; but our good fortune will haue it so, to the ende our praise may be the greater, that *Anthony* had taken (as a buckler against vs) this riuer and these bankes, and that there he shoulde shewe vs his forces; that the general opinion is, that there hee may trouble his Maiestie in the iust possession of the realme, so as chasing him, wee shall deserue the greater recompence, by performing an enterprise that seemes vncasie, the which in my iudgement wil prooue no more difficult, then the rest of this realme hath beene, if you be the same men you were few daies since: Yet suppose not that I acknowledge these victories wholie from your valour, for I thinke I may attribute it better to his Maiesties right, & the iniustice of *Anthony*. Who is he but knoweth that the realme appertaineth by iust title vnto our king? what iudgement seate is there in the world which hath not of themselues giuen sentence in his fauour? And contrariwise, who is ignorant that *Anthony* hath tyrannously vsurped the title of a king, that he hath neither right nor title to the realme? that hee is a bastard, insufficient, and vncapable of this degree; which things are knowne to all men, and therefore the iustice of God will make vs instruments to punish him that deserues it: So as neither rampiers, riuers, nor fortresses, can serue him that is in the wrong, for that a guiltie conscience, not onely weakens the hart, but makes all forces vaine. The equitie of the kings cause, and your valour, are not to be encountered by so weake enimies, but will surmount greater difficulties then this, as you haue scene, and shall see to morrowe, if it please God. These words with the authoritie of the captaine most renowned amongst these soldiers, made all men iudge that his resolution was well considered, and therefore *Sanches d' Auila* for the night and the day

following, did thus order the armie: He caused them to plant vpon the banke, directly against the towne, such artillerie as he had, in a place conuenient, both to scoure the passage, & to endamage the other side; leauing his lodging guarded with Germanes and Spaniards, he tooke the thirde parte of his foote, his boates and horsemen, & went by night vnto the passage, where he had been, there to imbarke & passe to the other banke, meaning to charge the enimie in flanke; the other two thirds of the armie vnder the charge of *Rodrick Sapatta* shoulde imbarke at *Pietra Salata*, in the rest of the barkes, and draw after them so many horses as they coulede, tied by the reines, making shew to passe there, to the end to keepe the enimie busied with this feare; yet commaunding them not to passe, vntill they shoulde see the enimie charged by the other thirde part, which had beene transported at the other passage. All these things were duly executed; for the Portugals being vnexperienced in warre, coulede not prouide for so ordinarie a stratagem; so as *Sanches d' Auila* being come to the towne side, he founde so weake resistance, that although some companies of soldiers were runne thither, yet he landed easly: And whereas their boates were not able to transport all their soldiers together, the first which landed, hauing entred skirmish with the Portugals, before the coming of the rest, hauing slaine tenne or eleuen of them, they put them all to flight.

The Prior beleued not the Castillians shoulde so soone haue passed, but vnderstanding what they had done, and the small resistance of his men, being not yet generally published, hauing assembled many and of the chiefe, he spake thus vnto them: Tyrants vse in their pretentions, when they distrust their right, to flie vnder other colours, to force, vsing this in steede of iustice, to obtaine
 ,, their desires; but iust and louing Princes, not onely submit them-
 ,, selues to iustice, but do continually striue to be conformable to the
 ,, will of their subiects: As for me, at such time as the succession of this
 ,, realme failed, I was resolute to obey him, that by right shoulde bee
 ,, declared king: I remained quiet, vntill that *Philip* despairing of his
 ,, iustice, and taking armes, it pleased you to name mee your king and
 ,, protector: I accepted this burthen more (as God shall preferue our
 ,, libertie.) not seeing any one that coulede gouerne you with true
 loue,

The stratagem of Auila to passe the riuer.

The oration of Anthony to his soldiers.

loue, then for any desire to rule: howe I haue behaued my selfe, “
how euery thing hath passed, you knowe, who haue beene alwaies, “
and in all things, not my subiects but my companions: want of time “
woulde not suffer vs to prouide many things necessarie for the “
warre; for I was no-sooner named king, but the enimie prepared, “
hauing before plotted many ambushes, and resolute what to doe; “
inuaded vs with his forces, the which was cause that the munitions “
appoiinted, & the succors promised by Christian princes, could not “
come in due time; the which hath made our successe vnhappy: we “
haue (in a manner disarm'd) already tried the hazard of a battaile, if “
you thinke good to aduenture it againe, against an enimie that fol- “
loweth vs, do as you please, but I am not of that opinion, for hauing “
hitherto aduentured my person, and made this breast a buckler, I “
am not now resolued, except you do otherwise aduise me, to thrust “
both you and my selfe to the hazard of a doubtfull battaile; by “
the victorie whereof, although it shoulde remaine on our sides, “
there could not succeed the intention we haue, to expell the enimie “
out of this realme, & by loosing it, I should be frustrate of the hope “
I haue conceiued, to free you soone from the yoke which hangs “
ouer you: God is my witnes, that al which I haue done, and shall do, “
neither hath beene, nor shall be to any other ende, but for the loue “
of you, and to make equall this ballance of iustice, the which is “
now forced by the might of the greatest enimie that euer Portugall “
had. I know well you will beleue me, but if any amongst you doth “
distrust my words, let him consider, that if I had not regarded your “
profite, but mine owne priuate interest; I had beene now quiet, rich, “
and reconciled with the Catholique king, who hath often sought “
me, by offers, and large promises; and you had beene tyrannized “
ouer, and in a manner slaues, as those be that haue no kings of their “
owne countrie: But God forbid that euer I shoulde preferre mine “
owne profite before yours, or mine owne benefite before the “
realmes, whose people haue so much loued my progenitors: I may “
well at this time, yeeld vnto the vniust forces, that doe oppresse me, “
yet will I neuer renounce the realme, nor my title, but with newe “
armes and new force, I hope againe to trie mine action; so as this “
sorrow which I now see in your faces, shall be soone turned to ioy; “
those armes, that munition, those men, which are not now arriued in “
time,

time, shall serue hereafter : And if it be a humaine thing to take
 „ compassion of the afflicted, I hope, being so vniustly molested, to
 „ moue pitie, not only in the most pitifull, but also in the cruellest na-
 „ tions of the world. I knowe that this loue which you haue alwaies
 „ borne to me, and my predecessors, shall no waies be diminished by
 „ any sinister euent, and I am so well assured, that although we shall
 „ be now separated one from another, that shortly we shall be assem-
 „ bled againe to your great benefite and profite, and to the shame
 „ and dilhonour of our enimies. These words did mooue the harts
 „ and eies of many, no man answering him a word; so as being retired
 with his faithfull followers, he departed as it were in secret, without
 publishing his departure, and going to the Monasterie of Aronca
 by the vnknown way of Vairam and Barcellos, hee came to
 Viana.

*The flight of
 Anthony to
 Viana.*

Sanches d' Auila hauing passed all his troupes, and put the Portugals, that kept the passage to flight, he came against the towne, the which being ignorant of the Priors intent, manned with many soldiers, resolved to defend themselves, keeping the Castellians all they could from approaching with their artillerie : Being come to the enimies cannon, *Rodericke Sapatta* arriued at the same instant with his boates, who landed without any contradiction, but the Portugals preuented them with their flight; so as there remained not any one : *Sanches* did long pursue such as fled, and caused his horse to followe them; but the rainie day and the diuersitie of the waies, gaue them good meanes to escape; so as the Castellians returned with the slaughter of few. The conquerors beleued, that the Prior was yet remaining in the citie, seeing them make shew of defence, and continually to play with their artillerie, the which did small hurt : But whilest that *Sanches* looked about who made resistance, and sought out the fittest lodging to force the towne, the citizens discovering the Priors flight, changed their resolutions, making a signe of peace with a white cloth from the wals, which was an assurance of the victorie, and of the Priors flight; by reason whereof, diuiding his horsemen into two parts, he caused them to pursue him, by two diuers waies, and the magistrate of the citie, issuing forth, yeelded his obedience, who offering to open the gates, *Sanches* commaunded him to the contrarie for feare of the soldiers, who

*The flight of
 the Portu-
 gals.*

*The citie of
 Porto yeel-
 ded.*

who were greedie of the spoile : But notwithstanding this order from the captaine, the city was in danger to be sacked; for remaining yet within some of the Priors soldiers, as some of the chiefe of the Castillians entred by one of the gates, the inhabitants let forth the Portugals by an other; the which they coulde not do so secretly, but they were discouered by some of the companies, that lay abroad; who suffering them to passe, entred by the same gate, and began to spoile some houses, on that side of the towne; and so had continued with the rest, if before the arriual of the other companies, *Sanches d' Auila* hearing the noise, had not runne in person with the officers, and staied them by his authoritie.

In the meane time the Prior entring Viana, finding he coulde no longer make resistance within the realme, resolued to imbarke and saile into Fraunce, and for that cause did furnish a ship; but forbore to imbarke, by reason of the contrarie winde. At this time there arriued at Viana one part of those horse which persued him, hauing intelligence of his being there, against whom the citie put themselues in armes: But the captaine saying vnto them, that if they refused to obey, they should be spoiled by the armie which approached, and would arriue that day or the next, they grew amased; and yeelded vpon condition, to haue their liues and goods saued. Vpon the view of these horsemen, the Prior finding himselfe in so great danger, in a place of small trust, and disarmed, resolued rather to contest against the waues, and windes, then against the enimie; and therefore he imbarked with the Bishop, and some other of his traine, hoping, that whilest the citie made resistance, hee lying there concealed, some small winde would driue them from the lande: But fortune (to speake after the common phrase) seemed not yet wearie of him, for the sea swelled more, and the windes encreased, and continued so long; that the Castillians being entred, and demanding for him, they had intelligence he was in the shippe; making preparation to go take him, wherof they seemed to be assured. But the Prior vnderstanding thereof, seeing into what danger he was now brought, hauing deuided his treasure (which was not great) to such as were about him, hee attired himselfe like a marri-ner, and accompanied with the Earle and Bithop, and some of his other fauorites, with the most pretious things that he had, he tooke
boate

*The taking
of Viana.*

*Anthony
saues him-
selfe on the
other side of
the riuer
Minio, in
danger to
be taken.*

boate in great danger of drowning, landing vpon the other banke of the riuer of Minio, the which is directly against the citie. The which the Castillians discouering, made haste to pursue him: But for as much as the riuer is not to be passed there, before the Castillians could imbarke, he had time to saue himselfe, loosing all his seruants, and some things of price, yet had hee all his most precious iewels sowed in his garments. True it is that since there was found in Castill some peeces of the rich caparison, whereof I made mention, in a souldiers possession, who said, he had then taken it from one of the Priors slaues; but the King suspicious that *Anthony* had bene his prisoner, and deliuered for that ransome, kept him long in prison. It seemed that Fortune did accompanie the Prior to preferue him; it may be for some greater affliction for this Realme, for at the same instant he left his boate, and went to lande, there arriued on the same side that other troupe of horsemen that pursued him, who had easily taken him, if they had once suspected he had bene there; but discouering on the other side a troupe of horse, imbarking to passe the riuer, not able to discerne (by reason of the distance) whether they were friends or enemies, not for what reason they passed, they were in doubt what to doe, during which time the Prior retired himselfe: And although by their approach they found by their colours who they were, yet before the one could vnderstand the others resolution, the time was spent and they effected nothing.

*The death of
Queene
Anne.*

*The King
enters into
Portugall
by the citie
of Eluas.*

The king did now beginne to recouer his health, after so dangerous a sicknesse, at which time *Queene Anne* his wife fell sicke of a rotten feuer; the which in few daies brought her to another life; wherewith the king was much grieued, being a Ladie wholly conformable to his humour, and indued with singular bountie. Hauing recouered his former health, forbearing to enter the realme, vntill all were reduced to his obedience, seeing now the Prior to be defeated, and to hide himselfe, he went to *Eluas* the first citie of the realme, where the Portugals receiued him with great ioy; for that in this citie and others, bordering vpon Castill, their hatred is not so mortall against the Castillians, as in other places: There he did open the barred hauens, that is, he disanulled the imposts, which were paid, as well in Castill, as in Portugall, of all such merchandize

dize as passed from realme to realme; the which amounted yeerely to 150000. duckats; he set a tax of 80000. duckats vpon the Priors person, as a rebell and disturber of the quiet of the realme: He proclaimed a parliament at Tomar, the fifteenth day of Aprill, where he would assist in person, with the generall opinion and great hope of all men, that all Portugals that had offended, should there receiue their pardon, and the obedient haue reward; and that to all in generall, he would giue great recompences, graunting to the cities of the realme whatsoeuer they demaunded. There remained neither citie nor place, within the maine land of Portugall, that had not yeelded their obedience to the king of Spaine: For after the Priors flight from Viana, all was in the Castillians power; the places of Affricke were obedient, and so was the Island of Madera; as for the places further off, time would not yet suffer them to haue any certaine newes.

There remained the seuen Islands of Terceres, which had not yet made their submission, hauing aduertisement that (only S. Michaels excepted) all the rest refused to obey; and for as much as they were of no account, this disobedience made them famous: Although they be seuen in number, yet are they for the most part small and ill peopled: That of Saint Michael (a hundreth miles neerer Spaine then the rest) is the best: There the Bishop of all these Islands hath his residence: They call their principall towne Punra Delgada, the next vnto it is called Tercere, whereof all the rest take their name: This is fertill, and by nature more strong then the rest: Angra is their greatest dwelling, whereof the saide Bishop taketh his name: The rest, as Saint Marie, Fayale, Pico, Coruo, and Flowers, be lesser, and some of them wholly vnpeopled: The inhabitants of all in generall be superstitious, and vaine; grounding their discourses vpon fancie; for since the battaile of Affricke, they would neuer beleue that king Sebastian was dead: And although this opinion was helde long throughout the Realme, yet hath it beene more confidently beleued there then in any other places; for notwithstanding they had seene the innouations which happened in the time of King Henrie, and of the Gotiournours, yet did they still hope he should appeare: But when the Prior was proclaymed King, it seemed they were somewhat satisfied; for hauing presently sent vnto these Islands

The description of the Islands of Terceraes and the inhabitants thereof.

Ilands to take possession, with letters vnto all the Magistrates; hee was there sworne and willingly obeyed: and to performe this Acte of obedience, they sent as Ambassadors vnto him, *Stephen Siluera* and Fryer *Melchior* of the order of Saint Frauncis, who arriuing at Lisbon, could not execute their charge; for being defeated at Alcantara hee was fled towards Porto, yet making no account of the enimies victorie, they followed the Prior, & there in the name of all the inhabitants of these Ilands yeelded him obedience. After in the month of Nouember in the yeare 1580. they returned to Tercomes, giuing an account of their charge, adding that notwithstanding *Anthony* had beene broken at Alcantara, yet he began in the Prouince betwixt Doro and Mynio with 30000. men, to be reuenged vpon the Castillians: And although they had after intelligence of *Philips* absolute victorie, and of the flight of *Anthony*, yet they continued firme in their opinions, wherein they were daily confirmed, for that (as it is said before) the Kings ministers had neglected to send vnto them; whereas contrariwise *Anthony* and the Earle of Viniosa did still sollicite them by curriers and letters to continue firme: the said Earle, hauing sent *Anthony Scalyn* a Frenchman vnto them with letters, whereby in the Priors name hee did commende their good affection; they so far passed the bounds of ioy, as they receiued him into Angra in procession, and vnder a cannapie, conducting him to the Church of pitie, where the saide Fryer *Melchior* preached, applying their intentions to the will of God: and Fryer *Blaise Camello* did sing Masse, who in his prayer, with a loud voice praied for two Kings, that is, *Sebastian* and *Anthony*, saying vnto the people which demaunded newes of *Sebastian*, that the fourth of August he would satisfie them. The inhabitants of the Iland of Saint Michaell, which had no such seditious firebrands, as that of Tercera, being by nature more peaceable, furthered by the Bilhop who followed the Kings party, did not runne into so great disorders, but shewed themselues daily more obedient vnto *Philip*, who hauing intelligence of all these things, desired to trie if hee could by gentle meanes draw this rebellious nation to his obedience, and at the last, remedie the error of his ministers; for to conquer them by force was supposed difficult, the Terceraes being naturally strong, and intironed with high rockes, besides the sea going so high in those

those parts, as no ships can liue aboute three or fower moneths in the yeare: This enterprife was then supposed to be of more importance then it had beene, not so much for the qualitie of the place, as for the situation, beeing an vnauoydable passage for the ships that come from the Indies, and the new found lands, as well from the East as from the West, where the Frenchmen harbouring, they might greatly endamage Spaine: for this consideration the King sent *Ambrose d' Aguiar*, with a letter and ample pardon in a manner to all offenders, if leauing the part of *Anthonie*, they would follow his. But arriuing neere vnto Angra and sending his letters to land, the Islanders tooke counsell what to doe; but the people being then mad and without gouernment, did not approoue the opinion of this counsell. The richer sort regarding their priuat profit would obey, for hauing all their rents in corne, the which they commonly send vnto the realme, they could not make sale in any other place; but being few, and not daring to speake their mindes, they deliuered it doubtfully: The poore, (who finding the lesse corne were transported from the Ilands, the better cheape they shoulde buie it,) not caring to haue any trafficke with Portugall, would by any meanes follow the voice of *Anthonie*. Many kindled with rage, aduised they shoulde suffer *Ambrose d' Aguiar* to enter the citie, and after cast him in prison and punish him as Ambassador to a Tyrant. Some held they should send him away without answer: Some of the chiefe (who feared they were not comprehended within the pardon) did what they could to preiudice the Kings part, for despairing to obtaine it, they laboured that no man should follow his voice, but so to wrong *Philip* as they should lose all hope euer to bee reconciled: wherein they preuailed so much, as that *Ambrose d' Aguiar* (who was appointed to be Gouernor of the Iland of Saint Michaell) was sent backe. They caused a Masse to be saide, where all the people did sweare to die for *Anthonie*: In which humor they were still confirmed by false reports that were blowen abroad: For although the Prior were yet hidden in Portugall, yet the shippes which came from Fraunce, and England, to trafficke at the Ilands, to the end they might be the better fauored and receiued, brought newes that he was in their countrey, raising a great Armie: The people being in this humour easie to take any impression, there sudden

The resolution of the inhabitants of Terceira

denly steps vp a Smith of the basest sorte, who followed by the multitude, plaid the Southfayer; saying that the tenth of March without all doubt, King *Sebastian* shoulde come into that Iland. The day being come, with great expectation of the people, there appeared a great shippe at sea, the viewe whereof, did so much alter this people, that the Smith crying, this was the shippe wherein the King was; euery man raune to the shoare to see him, as as it were expecting *Sebastians* landing. But although the shippe followed an other course, not drawing any thing neere to the Iland, yet the people left not their vaine hope, but some of them affirmed, that the shippe had put three men into their cockboate, the which
 „ were entred into the couent of Saint Frauncis; supposing it shoulde
 „ be King *Sebastian*, *Christopher de Tauora*, and the Cheriffe. And al-
 „ though this lie might easily be deciphered, yet their offences would
 „ not permitte it, but running from one scruple to an other, it seemed
 „ they were destinate to liue in suspence: for these friers of Saint
 Frauncis, against the truth of priestthoode (vnderstanding the peoples opinion, that the King was in their couent) did confirme it, giuing them to vnderstand it was true, and the better to induce them to belecue it, seeming on the one side to keepe it very secret; on the other side shewing they had guests of importance, they demaunded secretly (but so as it might be knowen) to borrow beds of silke, siluer vessels, and other things fit for a kings seruice: They caused also garments to be made, and kept their gates more strictly then of custome, saying in their sermons, that they would giue them two naturall kings; and some hearing them in their masses to praie for *Sebastian* and *Anthony*, supposed he was in their monasterie, and not *Sebastian*, seeing that since his departure from Viana, there was no certaine newes of him. In this Iland *Ciprian de Figueredo* (sometimes seruant to the Counte of Vimioso) being sent thither for iudge, was become ringleader of all the rest: This man (being contrary to the Castillians, and agreeing with the monkes) did countenance their practises, remaining in their couent, from morning vntill night: He confirmed the people in their foolish beliefe, that the King was there. This nation was not well settled in matters of religion, for growing insolent by their libertie, some preachers attributing vnto themselues more authoritie then they had, promised absolution,
 and

and many things which they ought not, making shewe they would builde a church after their owne fashion, and for that the Iesuites had opposed themselues, or at the least were not of one consent, they were walled vp within their monasterie.

*The Iesuits walled vp at the Terce-
raes.*

And although these Ilands were not al obedient, being a slow enterprise, yet the warre seemed as then in a manner ended, that Philip hauing great forces in Spaine, knew not how to imploy them; & forasmuch as the soldiers (returned from the warres in the lowe Countries) were now vpon the way, comming from Italy towards Portugall, with some others newly leuied, they saide the King (adding some fewe forces thereunto) might raise a great armie to bee imployed vpon that occasion, for the which they vnderstoode the Pope as carefull of his charge, had renewed the practizes to bende these forces against England, the which woulde not obey the Romish sea, and therefore hee propounded to king Philip, that if hee woulde leuie an armie and sende it to this conquest, he woulde assist him in this enterprise with the treasures of the church; offering to graunt vnto him Croisades, exemptions, and subsidies, and to acquite him of a million of golde, which hee saide was due vnto the church, for the reuenewes he had receiued of the Archbishopricke of Toledo, by title of sequestration, when as the Archbishop was suspended from his charge. But the King hauing newly taken possession of the crowne, seeing the Portugals not well quieted, sought first to pacifie the realme, before hee woulde vndertake any other enterprise: Notwithstanding at the Popes motion, who saide, that arming in those parts, hee shoulde not onely keepe Portugall in awe, but all Spaine and Fraunce likewise. It may be he woulde not haue refused to send a good part of his forces, if not into England, yer into Ireland, if the Popes ministers had beene more resolute, or had beene furnished with a more ample commission; but the sufferance of the soldiers, and the great charge, admitting no delay, Rome being so farre off, they agreed not, but the King dismissing the Italianes, caused the soldiers vpon the way to returne backe, and deuided his armie into garrisons.

The Popes offer against England.

THE EIGHT BOOKE.

The Contents of the eight Booke.

The soldiers complaints: The Catholique King visites the Duchesse of Bragance: The Kings voyage to Tomar: The generall pardon: The estates wherein they sware fidelitie vnto the King, and vnto the Prince Diego: The demaunds of the estates: The kings entrie into Lisbonne: The vnhappy successe of Peter de Baldes his men, at the Ilands of Terce-raes: Anthonie his departure out of the realme, and his arriuall in Fraunce: The arriuall of Lopez de Fegueroa at the Ilands, and his returne without effect: The preparation of the flands: The estate of the affaires of Fraunce, and of the lowe Countries: The recompences which the King gaue vnto suiters: The opinions of the manner of giuing them: The enterprise of the Ilands: The preparation to warre by King Philip and the French, and the departure of their armies at sea towards the Ilands both from Fraunce and Portugall.

IN these warres, amidst the cares of the realmes disquiet, and imminent perils, *Frauncis de Villafagna*, doctor of the lawes, and Auditour of the Council royall of Castil, which is the soueraigne seat of that realme, came to Lisbonne; sent by the King with letters vnto the Duke, whereby he was commaunded to fauour him in the execution of his commission; the which being presently published, containing no other matter of importance, but a simple commaundement, with the rest of
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the ordinarie officers; to examine the accounts of the armie, and to signe the warrants for paiments, it seemed a sleight charge for so great a personage; the which ministred matter of suspect, that vnder so simple a shewe, there was hidden some mysterie of importance; and the generall opinion was, that he came to censure both the armie, and the Duke himselfe: And although the Duke should haue beene best informed, yet he made no shewe to know it, but fauoured the Doctor, admitting him to the Councell of warre, and to other graue matters, which did not concerne him: The rest of the Captaines & Spanish soldiers, which could lesse dissemble, spake with more libertie, and lesse patience then the Duke; saying it was a new manner of Iustice, neuer heard of; seeing that of necessitie the trouerisie must bee betwixt the captaine generall and his armie; or betwixt the armie and the enimie, not able to discern which should be the contrarie parties, for it seemed the soldiers, neither could nor ought to make themselues parties, against their Commaunder, neither ought the enimies to be admitted against a conquering armie. And if so strange a thing shoulde happen, it might likewise be supposed, that the enimie shoulde be declared faithfull, and the armie which had conquered the realme pronounced rebels. They inquired wherein the Duke had offended; if as a Gouvernour, or as a captaine; for saide they, he coulde not erre as a gouvernour, hauing neuer resolued the smallest matter, without the kings aduise, besides that hee had not gouerned aboue two moneths: If as a captaine, what had lawes to doe with armes, and the militatie stile with the ciuill? But for all this discourse, they did not greatly weigh the Dukes offences, supposing in the ende that his greatnes and innocencie shoulde protect him: Their owne priuate interest did most of all trouble them, loosing all hope of recompence for their former seruices, saying, that for this last and notable exploite, they did rather see punishment prepared then rewards: They imagined the king did not well conceiue howe they had conquered him a kingdom in eight and fiftie daies, after the same manner (to followe their owne phrase) as the kingdom of heauen is woone, that is to say, in fasting, with bread and water, and without taking from any man; the which they said, being furnished with nothing but bisket, & hauing no libertie to spoile any towne: They could not endure to

The complaint of the Dukes soldiers.

be flandered by idle courtiers, and bachelors, (for so the soldiers in hate and derision of lawes & iustice, terme the greatest Doctors of the Councell) saying, that those men remained at Badagios to drinke coole in sommer with ice, scorning those that suffered these dangers. They remembered their labours suffred at sea, comming out of Italy; the famine of Spaine; the intolerable heate of Estremadura; the plague of Portugall; the seuerer discipline of the Duke, and the gibbets set vp for euery small disorder: they added, that to the end the victorie gotten at Porto shoulde not remaine unpunished, the King (to speake plainly) had sent another Doctor against *Sanches a' Auila*, and that part of the army which had made an ende, and assured him the realme. And it was true that *Frauncis Tedaldo* Auditour of the seate of iustice, which remaines in Gallicia, was sent thither, who did strictly informe of all manner of excesse imputed either to *Auila* or his soldiers: They saide it was apparant in this courte, howe much, letters were preferred to armes, seeing that all such as followed this action vnarmed, had wrested from the soldiers the frutes of their labours, and the price of their blouds; seeing the King had satisfied their desires in the greatest measures they coule wish, not giuing any recompence vnto others; the which they prooued in setting downe particularly, the offices the King had giuen to the Duke of Ossuna and other Embassadors; for they did assure, and it is true, that the greatest in Spaine aspire to no other charge, then to be Viceroy of Naples, whereunto they labour to come by many degrees, and that the King had reserued this for the Duke of Ossuna. As for other Noblemen and Gentlemen, they fought for nothing more then to be of the Kings chamber, which place he had giuen to *Christopher de Mora*, together with the best offices of the realme of Portugall. They touched likewise the Lawyers which be of the Kings Councell, saying, they coule not aspire higher then to be of the Councell of the Chamber, the which is a tribunall of three or fower Doctors elected, who determine with the King of pardons, and other matters of grace; and that this office which *Rodorique Vasques* enioied, he had likewise giuen to *Lewes de Molina*, preferring him before his auncients. These speeches with others more inconsiderate, were spred amongst the soldiers, with a soldier-like libertie. And although they erred not much from
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The auditor
of Gallicia
sent to Auila
las campe.

The Councell
of the
Kings chamber.

the truth, yet men without passion, iudged that this aggrauating was vniust and flaunderous; being no great maruaile, that a King, who ought to haue regarde to infinite matters the which passed the consideration of private men, shoulde giue care to the many complaints that were made against this arme, and force them to their purgation; and that it was not likely that *Villafagna*, or *Tudaldo*, had power to iudge in this case, but onely to examine the truth: That whereas *Villafagna* had in a manner carried his commission secreete, it was an argument of the Kings respect, and modestie; who sought to procede with the more mildenes, and without any blemish to the Duke, or his captaines, although it was not reasonable the soldiers shoulde treade this realme vnder their feete, as the rebellious cuntry of Flaunders, or of a King that were an enimie; or giue vnto the Portugals the odious titles of rebels and disloyal, although they deserued well the name of troublesome and transported subjects, yneasie to yeeld vnto this new yoke. This mutinie continued long; but for as much as the Commissioners did not punish any, nor as I beleue, made any triall, their humours grewe more calme, wherein the wisdom of *Villafagna* preuailed much, together with the sinall subiect they founde, when as they came to examine the truth of such complaints, as had bene made to the King.

Now the day appointed by the King, for the assemble of the States grew neere; but before he shoulde goe to Tomar, the place appointed for their assemble, he went to visite *Katherin* Duchesse of Bragance, who for that cause was come from Villauizosa, to Villa Boim, whither he went to her, accompanied with all the chiefe of his Courte; and having staid with her halfe a day in great familiaritie, he returned to Eluas, and from thence departed towards Tomar: He did not there so sodainly dispose of rewards as the Portugals expected; having (as it is saide before) made a Councell for Portugall, of speciall men, to whom he referred all matters, not admitting the Castillias, to entermeddle with any cause of the realme; no man was heard nor dispatched as he pleased; for the King made no haste, & his ministers were confounded in the quantitie, & qualitie of their requests; not able to resolue in so intricate a busines, so as the care of expedition was delaied; by reason whereof the Portugals saide, that although the King, in his letters, words, and habite, seemed

*The King
visites the
Duchesse
of Bragance.*

seemed courteous, & altogether enclined to Portugall, & had promised great rewards; yet in particular (whether it were his fault or any others,) they yet see no recompence. To the Duke of Bragãce who aspired to great matters, as then they gaue nothing, being excessive in his demaunds, he had onely confirmation to be Constable of the realme, they gaue him the order of the golden fleèce, and the King fauoured him extraordinarily; taking him to masse with him behinde the curtaine, without any other recompence, which might either breede him profite or power. Before the entrie of the Parliament, the ceremonie of swearing the King was perfourmed, and soone after, of the Prince in the monasterie of religious men of the order of Christ (a religion which is not any where else) where he was lodged in the same sorte, as was said of King *Henry*, but with more pompe, being in an assemblie of estates, and with lesse noise being done with lesse loue; yet was it woorth the sight; both for the great number of the Nobilitie, and the goodly representation of the King, in his habite of cloth of gold, which *Henry* had not, being a Cardinall. There he graunted the pardon expected with so great desire, the which although it had the name of generall, yet was it helde by the Portugals to be limited artificiall; and conditionall: It

» did pardon generally all such as had bene imploied for the Prior
 » against him, but particularly he did except many, and namely two
 » and fistic, the chiefe whereof was the Prior himselfe, the Counte of
 » Vimiosa, and the Bishop of Guarda: hee pardoned no religious
 » man; he made all such as had serued the Prior, receiued honor from
 » him, profite, charge, or office whatsoever, vncapable euer after to
 » beare office, or to exercise those they had enioied before; so as they
 » saide, this pardon serued none but such as had made light faults, or
 » had nothing to loose. This did much incense the mindes of the Portugals, who found themselues deceiued of the hope they had conceiued by this pardon all to remaine freed; the which although they much disliked, yet could they not get it reformed; but soone after all such were cited by proclamation as were not pardoned; to the end their processe might be made: The Deputies of the realme being now assembled, the Estates began the xix. day of Aprill, where *Anthony Pignero* Bishop of Leira, made an oration before the king,

» saying, First, that the Estates, seeming to haue the assistance of the
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*The King
sworne at
Tomar, and
the Prince
Diego.*

*The kings
pardon to
the Portugals.*

*The beginning of the
parliament
at Tomar.*

holie Ghost, by the profite which shoulde redounde to the subiects, that *Philip* following the custome of former Kings, had assembled them, to the end that with wisdom, love, and fidelitie, they should represent vnto him, what they thought conuenient for the generall good of these realmes: He did greatly amplifie the graces done by his pardon, terming it the fruits of his clemencie, he did shew, it was a ground of hope of greater good: he concludes, noting the greatness of the Kings loue & goodnes, promising to encrease al their honors, recompences, & fauours conformable to the loialtie and obedience they shoulde carrie to his seruice: Whereunto was briefly answered by *Damian d'Aguiar* Doctor, one of the Deputies of the citie of *Lisbone*, saying, That in the cities behalfe, and of the whole realme, he did thanke his Maiestie, both for the grace of his pardon, as for assembling the Estates, offering him obedience: All the Deputies both in generall and paticular demaunded what they pleased, to whom they graunted many things, as titles of knight hood, rents for life, offices, and to some present money: there were eight or tenne of the meaneest gentlemen, chosen of the order, and enobled with such other like things, the which was done rather according to the vse of *Castill*, then after the manner of *Portugall*; for in this realme it is not the custome to giue any thing to Deputies: He gaue greater recompences to the whole realme in generall, graunting in a manner al those former things mentioned, which the Duke of *Ossuna* had promised the *Gouernors* in the Kings name, if the realme shoulde yeelde peaceably (except it were to the garrisons) libertie to saile to *America*, and the west *Indies*, and to participate with the affaires of *Castill*, as if they were borne there; saying, that it was conuenient, before hee shoulde graunt them, to impart them to the Estates, being preiudiciall vnto them. The Deputies deliuered vnto the King a liste of what they demaunded, and aduised touching the gouernment; whereof the principall were, that the King shoulde take a *Portugall* borne to wife; that he shoulde sende the yong prince to bee brought vp within the realme: that the States of *Portugall* shoulde be separate from them of *Castill*, with their coine apart; and many things touching the abatement of imposts, the displacing of garrisons, the ordering of iustice, and such like, whereof fewe were graunted at that time of any importance; and

The demands of the Estates.

and to all the rest, they made answer with doubtfull hopes: The Nobilitie, the greatest part whereof (not hauing borne armes against the King) supposed to haue deserued much, appointed thirtie amongst them to make petition vnto the King, for manie things, in the name of the whole Nobilitie: First, that hee shoulde
 ,, graunt them iurisdiction ouer their subiects: That such Doctors as
 ,, had beene imploied in matters of iustice shoulde not bee censured
 ,, but by gentlemen: That the King should make no man noble, but
 ,, for the good deserts of some notable seruice, and that it should not
 ,, passe vnto his heires, but vpon speciall grace: That the chiefe offices
 ,, of the realme, as the chiefe Captaine-ships, the three Purueiors
 ,, of the Arcinall, the store-house of the Indics, and of the custome
 ,, house, with such other like, shoulde not bee giuen but vnto Noble
 ,, men, whereof nothing was graunted. Many did not attribute this
 refusall of their demaunds vnto the kings owne nature, nor vnto
 the iniustice of their requests, but most complained of those Portu-
 gall favorites which gouerned.

Touching
 the Vniuer-
 sities of Co-
 imbra.

Many were of opinion the King shoulde suppress the Vniuer-
 sity of Coimbra, and thought it necessarie by all reason of state,
 saying, that it was not safe in a realme newly incorporate, to suffer
 an assemblie of three or fowre thousand yoong men, in a manner
 exempte from the iurisdiction royall, the which might wel be called
 a Seminarie of seditions, and *Anthony* his disciplined soldiers, readie
 to follow any other naturall rebell of the realme whatsoever: That
 the auoiding of this euill shoulde cause a greate benefite, that the
 Portugals shoulde go studie in the Vniuersities of Castill, where
 passing the heate of their youth, and growing familiar with the Ca-
 stillians, they shoulde returne into Portugall more roially affected,
 and more sufficient to administer iustice then they were: They al-
 leaged moreouer that those lawyers had both by wordes and wri-
 tings, wilfully opposed themselues against the Kings right, chiefly
 when as *Henry* was enclined to the Dutchesse of Bragance; that
 some of them transported with this passion, had in their publike let-
 ters wrested against *Philip*, not onely the imperiall lawes, but also
 the holie canons, interpreting them contrarie to their true sence,
 and contradicting themselues, and therefore they were woorthie
 of punishment. But although this opinion seemed grounded and
 confirmed

confirmed by many Portugals; yet the King either by his bountie, or the assurance of his justice, or of his absolute authoritie, or else, withhelde by the naturall inclination, hee seemed to beare to the Portugall nation, not onely preferred this Vniuersitie, but also tooke it into his protection, confirming their liberties and priuileges; hee not onely receiued the Doctors which had read and writ against him, with great mildenes, but also with a noble resolution; confirmed them in their lectures, and preferred others to them that were yoide.

In the meane time the Pope discovering the Priors weakenesse to maintaine Portugall, and that there was no meanes of agreement, hauing called home his Legate, he seemed well content with *The Pope seems content with the successe of Portugall.* Philips successe, saying, that his onely intention was to auoid wars; so as hauing obtained great rewardes for his sonne or at the least assured hopes, he graunted vnto the king, that *George de Taida* bishop of Viseu, who was his first chaplaine, shoulde be iudge without appeale of all causes, concerning the Ecclesiasticall rebels, and of the proces of their confiscations; so as the Prior, in a manner doomed to sentence of death, with the Bishop of Guarda and others, were againe cited by edicts, to be deprived by iustice of all spirituall liuings they held within the realme. There was yet no newes of him, notwithstanding the reward promised, and the great care the Castilians vsed through the realme to finde him, yet were they daily lesse certaine, for that disguised in a base habite, hee went vnknowne oftentimes amongst those that sought for him. He had intelligence that the Counte of Vinióso was come by land into Fraunce, labouring to moue the French to warre against the Catholique King; promising great succours by the people in the matters of Portugal: By reason whereof; and for the Priors concealement, the King kept in a manner his whole armie dispersed in the fortresses and cities of the realme; and although hee had dismissed the Italians, and sent the greatest part of his galleies into Italy, yet they gaue out, that he after repented, the realme seeming daily lesse peaceable; and that the French in those parts might arme a good number of ships of warre and more conueniently in that sea then the galleies; whereof *soure* being in Algarues, had taken a French pirate with great slaughter, who being a knight of Malta had fought valiantly: By reason

The Portugals animat-
ed, and
wherefore.

reason of these garrisons, of the rigor of officers, of the small recompence that was giuen them, and of the conceite that the Prior was yet within the realme, the Portugals hearts begaune to turne, some of them assembled at times, lamented the miserie wherein they seemed to be, by their not agreeing to defend themselues, or not yeelding in time; yet the greatest part held opinion, that vnited together they might haue made resistance. They could not endure, that the Castillian officers shoulde intermeddle in matters of iustice as they pretended to do; neither was the Portugals disdain appeased, in saying, that the King hauing commaunded *Iohn Andrew Doria*, Prince of Melfy, to conduct the Empreffe his sister into Spaine, whom he had caused to come out of Germany, was for no other cause but to leaue her Gouvernesse in Portugall, and so returne into Castill, and that as a woman she shoulde raigne with greater mildenes then the kings of Portugall had done: for although this was the common discourse, yet many helde opinion that the king should not depart, being constrained to keepe garrisons, the which he would nor dismiss, vntill he were better assured of the Prior, of whom they spake diuersly; for some helde, that he was dead, and spoiled by the Castilians, who for that they would yeelde no account of the iewels he had about him, kept it secret: Others saide, that he had sent into Fraunce, and England, from whence hee expected great armies, at whose arriual, he would discouer himselfe: Many supposed that he shoulde keepe himselfe secret within the realme vntill the death of *Philip*, who according to their discourse, could not liue long; and yet was there small difference betwixt their ages, at what time shewing himselfe as hee did vpon the death of king *Henry*, hee shoulde againe take possession of the realme, the kingdomes of Castill remaining in the handes of pupilles. And although some beleued that he was departed the realme, yet the greatest part helde that he was there yet; labouring to escape as couertly as he coulde, fearing to be taken prisoner, the which was true indeede; as it appeared by some of his friends that were taken in the porte of Lisbone; who sought to imbarke with some prouision of victuals they had made, who confessed vpon the racke, that he was in the realme; amongst which was *Peter d'Alpoe* Doctor of the lawes, who since for that cause and others of high treason lost his head at Lisbone.

The Estates were now ended, and the king desirous to goe to Lisbon, but for that the preparations, and triumphs which the citie pretended, were not yet ready, he went to Almada, which is directly against the citie, vpon the other banke of Tagus, to giue them time to finish their preparations: At what time the King hauing intelligence that those of the Ilands of Terceraes, notwithstanding the letters which *Ambrose d'Aguiar*, had carried stode firme in their first resolution of defence, hee sent *Peter Baldes* with fower ships, sixe hundreth Spanish foote, and some cannon, with commandement to assure himselfe fully of the Iland of Saint Michael, which was obediēt; to spoile the ships which should come from the Indies, & not to attēpt any thing by land vntill he had sent a greater supply of men. The Court was ill appointed at Almada, and the needfull ministers for dispatches, could not all bee lodged there. The King desirous to enter the citie, would not attende after Saint Peters day, when passing the water with his galleies, he laded in the city, vpon a bridge of wood, framed for that purpose, without giuing them time to finish their arches, & statues prepared for his entry: But the sloth and ignorance of the workemen was in parte cause, yet did they make a sumptuous preparation: Vpon the bridge he was met by the Magistrate of the chamber, where Doctor *Hector de Pyna*, one of them, spake thus in the behalfe of the citie, shewing the ioy they had conceiued of his entrie: That as this citie was the greatest in the worlde, so God had deseruedly giuen them: conformeable to their owne desires, a great monarch to bee their Lorde: Hee excused the people saying, That if they had no sooner obeyed, it was done rather by errour, then their owne free will; and that remaining in their owne power to chooise a king, they would haue made election of no other then himselfe. And touching the death of *Ferrant de Pyna*, hee saide that this citie had first of all shedde bloude for his seruice; seeing that the saide *Ferrant* when as *Anthony* caused him to bee wounded, was a member of this Magistrate: He excused likewise the sleightnes of their ioyes, by the afflictions of the warre, the spoile of the citie, and the plague, remembering their losses of Affricke; concluding that they hoped by his Maiesties fauours, this realme shoulde not bee saide vnited vnto Castill, but that all the other realmes were ioyned vnto Portugall.

*The Kings
entrie to
Lisbone.*

*The speech
of the Ma-
gistrate of
Lisbone to
the king.*

Hee then went on horsebacke vnder a canopic of cloth of golde,
 vnto the Cathedrall church, the streetes being richly hanged,
 were full of people, who made shewe of great ioy for the Kings
 arriuall, where hauing done his deuotion, hee went in the same
 fort vnto the pallace, accompanied with all the nobilitie on foote.
 » This realme within the space of two yeeres, had (asa man may say)
 » fiue kings, a thing seldome or neuer happened in any other place,
 » and it seemed that God in so short a time had thus altered the state
 » of things for the peoples punishment, for all of them wasted their
 » poore subiects: *Sebastian* by his rashnes; *Henry* by his irresolution;
 » the gouernours by feare, and their priuate interest; *Anthonie* by
 » tyrannie, and *Philip* by armes. But when all was in a manner quiet,
 he entred this citie, the proper seate of their kings: It was supposed,
 the sorrowes and troubles passed, shoulde now be conuerted into
 ioy and quietnes; but for that it is an equall punishment to a people,
 either to haue tyrants ruling by force, or to make a bad election of
 gouernours: The Portugals were scourged with this last rod, desi-
 ring rather to be commanded by *Anthonie*, being of so small might,
 and with all other disgraces that proceeded from him; then by the
 great power of *Philip*, impatient to see him so slacke, in deuiding
 amongst them the dignities, cominaunderies, and reuenues of the
 crowne; whereby they grew out of hope euer to draw such recom-
 pences from the Court of Castill, as they had vsually drawen from
 that of Portugal. And although he had giuen vnto *Frauncis de Sada*,
 » sometimes gouernour, the title of Earle of Matosignos, to *Ferrant*
 » *de Norogna* that of Lignares, which his father enioyed, made as it is
 » said, *Christopher de Mora* one of his chamber, and established *Peter*
 » *d'Alcaoua* in his office of Chamberlaine, contrarie to the decree of
 » king *Henry*, wherein although the king of himselfe were well incli-
 » ned, and resolued to dispatch euery one, with greater liberalitie,
 » then the kings of Portugall had euer done; yet this distribution ac-
 » cording to the new decree, appertaining to the Councell of state
 » of Portugall, wherein as it is said, their opinions being diuerse, and
 » the respects of hatred and loue, diuers, nothing was resolued, and
 » the abundance of petitions caused these delaies, for that euerie one
 » either iustly or without cause, demaunded recompence, so as the
 » whole realme did not seeme sufficient to content them: the which
 being

*The Portu-
 gals discon-
 sented.*

being ill considered by many, they said he would stay from giuing vntill he were assured of the Ilands; and of *Anthonies* person. But the king finding, that these difficulties, and the slacknes in proceeding, grew by the excessive number of Counsellors, resolved (according to the custome of former kings) to referre the dispatch of such as demaunded recompence, vnto two persons alone, the which were *Anthony Pignero*, Bishop of *Leiria*, and to *Christopher de Mora*: It may be seeming vnto him, that these two amongst the other officers were most free from all private respects, the Bishop for that he was neere his graue, by reason of his age, and infirmitie, although of a sounde iudgement, and without kinsmen; and *Mora* being a creature of the kings, bredde in *Castill*, and helde for vertuous, and fearing God.

The counsell
of state of
Portugall
reduced
vnto two.

The estate of the *Terceraes* grew daily woorse, with whom all trafficke was interdict, there was newes that this people being verie obstinate, called in forraine succours, resolving in no sort to obey *Philip*: They vnderstood that *Peter Baldes* was arriued, and that the Kings letters with the rewarde he had carried for that nation, were not receiued but contemned: By reason whereof, the King desirous to subdue them, before the ende of this sommer, and iudging the enterprise easie, for that they had no trained soldiers, armed certaine ships, and furnished them with soldiers vnder the conduct of *Lopo de Figueroa*, who staid not long before he departed with commission to attempt with *Baldes* to become master of the Ilands: *Baldes* lay nowe about the Ilands, expecting the Indian fleete, his martiners had often both by day and night landed with their boates to steale grapes which were then ripe, & drawing sometimes neere the rockes, vpon the which the Portugals had planted behinde a small rampire three or fower iron peeces, they parlied often with them; the one not fearing the other: *Peter de Baldes* finding the Portugals carelesnes, and being aduertised that some within the Ilands (amongst a great multitude) were well affected to the Catholique king; had often resolved to sende some men on lande, to the end that such as followed the kings partie, who were saide to lie in the mountaines, might ioine with them, and altogither set vpon the citie of *Angra*, or at the least so fortifie themselues at land, as they shoulde not be repulsed: But for as much as this resolution, with so

Baldes attempt
vpon
the *Terceraes*.

small a troupe was dangerous, and against the Kings commission, the which knowing well he did not execute; yet hauing intelligence that *Lopo de Figueroa* was to be sent from Lisbon, to vndertake this enterprise with a great number of men, who being arriued, hee shoulde be commaunded to obey; he did confidently beleue that at his comming, either by loue or by force, he woulde be master of this Iland, and winne that honour whereunto he aspired. So as (such force hath the desire of honour,) hauing ill measured his forces, & against the Kings commaundement; he made haste rashly to trie, whether the resolution which hee had formerly conceiued woulde succeed well; whereunto he was likewise perswaded by some of the Iland, who as vnskilfull, had their wils more ready then their power: So as early on Saint Iames his day in the morning, hauing shipped in a manner all his soldiers in their boates, hee sent them to lande, whereas the marriners had beene accustomed to go, betwixt Angra and Praia, the which they call the house of Salga, where hauing founde small or no resistance, they landed easily, and the Portugals who had the garde of this artillerie; fearefully fledde away. The Castillians being now become masters thereof, began to builde a small rampier of stone; to the ende they might holde a more firme footing on lande, and retire such as followed the Catholique kings partie; but they had no time, for the inhabitants of Angra, hearing the Castillians were landed, had giuen the allarum by bells and other great noise, so as many of their stoutest issued forth to skirmish; and although they did no matter of importance, many returning terrified or hute; yet did they keepe the enimie from fortifying; who remaining in that place from the morning vntill afternoone, there went not any one Portugall vnto them; for although there were some disposed thereunto; yet durst they not, distrusting both the one and the other; being chiefly terrified by the example of *Iohn de Betancour*, one of the principals of that place, who hauing conspired with aboue a hundreth citizens, vpon a certaine day to runne armed through the citie, and proclaime King *Philip*, he supposed with his authoritie, and the followers he expected, to mooue the people, against *Ciprian de Fegueredo*, and make himselfe Lorde of the Iland in the Kings name: But hauing not duely examined the iudgement, valour, and constancie of such as he had chosen for his

The preparation of them of Angra against Baldes.

Iohn de Betancour affected to the King.

companions (things necessarily required in them that are to execute matters of such importance) being deceived he did not effect this enterprife; for although he had many friends and copartners with him, being at the howre appointed come vnto the place, calling the rest, and proclaiming the kings name, he was not followed of any man, but was inuironed by the people and beaten, outraged, in danger to be hanged, and therefore no man durst stirre. In this space the number of Portugals, which the Gouvernour had assembled to goe against the enimie, was little lesse then two thousand, who treating in what manner they shoulde issue foorth, they left not to consider, that although the Castillians were fewer in number, yet were they more experienced, and better armed: A religious man of the order of Saint Augustine (for here as well as in other parts of the realme, religions men deale in matters of warre) advised that before their men, they shoulde driue a number of oxen, and chase them with all force against the Castillians, the which being put in practise, was the safetie of the Portugals, and the defeating of their enimies; for that raising a great dust, they were not discovered by the Castillians; they defended them from their shotte, and disordred the enimie: for the Castillians hauing by their long skirmish with some of the citie, spent their shotte and powder, being now charged by so many, they thought to retire themselues to their boates, and so to imbarke, which they resolved too late: For that the Portugals approching neere, couered, & in safetie, hauing the oxen as a rampire, they draue them against the enimie with such violence, that they were forced to disbande, and to quite them the place; at what time being charged by the Portugals with fewe shot, and many launces, they fought a while with disadvantage: For the Portugals being many in number, the Castillians could make no great resistance; besides that, being minded to saue themselues by their boates, they retired towards the sea; the which being then rougher then when they landed, their boates could not come neere the shoare, and the marriners which were in them were likewise fearefull to approach, for that the Portugals shotte at them from lande; so as the soldiers to saue themselues, waded vp to the uecke in water, and yet hardly could get to their boates, suffring the punishment of their rashnes; for the enimie seeing them now flie without resistance,

A stratagem with oxen made by a religious man.

The ill successe of Balades soldiers.

fell to killing, without pardoning of any, and not onely followed them vnto the water, but made an ende of such as being already entred, the sea had cast vp againe to thoare halfe dead, not hearing any that cried for mercy: Bur the Portugals being nowe growen inexorable, not onely slew the soldiers, but pages and vallets, so as there died aboute fower hundreth, and not thirtie Portugals, (whereof some of them were but hurt) in this action; hatred preuailed more then any other respect, for hauing reserued onely two aliue, which termed themselues Portugals, the extraordinarie rage of these men shewed it selfe, who grieued with those few that were saued, turned with crueltie to mangle the dead bodies; for cutting them in peeces, one caried a head in triumph, one, one member, another, another, dragging whole bodies through the streetes with a thousand indignities. The day following, there remained not within the citie, childe, man, nor religious person (except the Iesuits) that went not to the campe to see the slaughter of the enimies, with instruments and dauncing, taking pleasure to cut and mangle these insensible bodies; and some affirme, that there were of them, who tearing out the harts of the dead, woulde feede vpon them. The Gouernour hauing put the armes of the dead men into wagons, and drawing their colours after him, entred the citie with great ioy of the people: *Baldes* hauing hitherto beene a better marriner, then he seemed now a soldier, founde by this vnhappie euent, with how much more iudgement, he shoulde haue vndertaken this action: but as one mischiefe is followed by many, grieffe did so blinde his vnderstanding, as hee coulde not succour his soldiers as easilie he might, and giue them meanes to retire to their ships, if drawing neerer to lande hee had discharged his artillerie against the Portugals, who were the first that gaue the name of bloudie vnto this warre.

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king.*

This important effect, did greatly preiudice the Catholique kings affaires, for this nation being growen more cruell and more rebellious; founde there was no hope of agreement, nor remission, whereby the King (who liued in some hope they woulde be reclaimed) grewe nowe wholie desperate by this vnhappie successe: and the rather, for that seareching the Prior throughout the realme, they had intelligence by letters from Flaunders, that hee was arriued in
England,

England, from whence hee shoulde go into Fraunce to demaund succours, vnderstanding also that there was hope hee shoulde obtaine them: By reason whereof, they did fortifie the seacoast of Portugall, and especially the rocke of Saint Iulian: And although this storme seemed yet faire off, yet they regarded it the more, for that the king was vnfurnished of men, and the people generally of the realme, little inclined to his deuotion; so as it seemed, if the Prior would againe hazard his fortune, that at the onely sight of his colours, the people would take armes: There was no restraint could hold them, seeing the Italians had beene discharged, the Germanes and Spaniards, whereof many being dead, and many growing rich, fledde away; there remained in all not aboute fower or fiue thousand, whereof one thousand was already imployed with *Lopo de Figueroa*, who was sent vnto the Ilands: for although there were fiftene hundred appointed, yet the Germanes went vnwillinglie; and for as much as the ships after their departure, which was in Iuly, returned more then once backe, by reason of the contrarie windes, many of them stole away, not returning to the armie, the which greatly diminished their number: the rest were deuided into garrisons, in the Prouince of Doro and Mynio, and other places; so as there remained scant a thousand men within Lisbone, which seemed a small guard for so great a citie. This departure of *Anthony* The Priors was in truth strange, and it seemed both in this & other like things, good fortune. that hee was either happie, or had an extraordinarie gift of nature: For remaining captiue in Affricke, after that vnfortunate battaile of *Sebastian*, he was the first of so many prisoners that was freed, being likely for the qualitie of his person, to haue beene the last: but he coulde so well hide himselfe, and conceale what he was, that he was deliuered without discouerie: And euen when as he departed from Viana in October 1580. vntill Iune, 1581. he remained still within the realme so secretly, as he was neuer discovered, the which is the more woorthie of admiration; for that the diligence the King vsed to finde him out was admirable, for all Iudges, all Captaines, and all soldiers, were carefully imployed: And although they had sometimes aduertisement of the place of his aboad, and did follow him in a manner by his foote, yet could they neuer finde him. *Ierom Mendosa* with the help of *Emanuel* of Portugal (in whom it was like-

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Ierom Mendoza treateth an agreement with the Prior.

lie that *Anthony* should trust) treating an agreement laboured much to speake with him: But although some of his familiar friends came vnto him somtimes at Alanquer, somtimes at Vidigueira, with hope they should meete, yet did hee neuer discouer himselfe vnto them; but the sleight execution of the punishment inflicted vpon such as did cōceale him, did greatly preiudice their search; for many therby did boldly receiue him. The Duke of Alua his officers, in the end of Lent, had like to haue surpris'd him in Lisbon, where the Duke had so many spies, & corrupted so many of his friends, that it seemed vndoubtedly he shoulde fall into his hands: but when as with greatest heate he shoulde haue pursued it, he grew cold. For vnderstanding that the king helde some regard of *Mendoza* his practise, who with doubtfull hopes gaue him to vnderstande, that the weeke before Easter the Prior woulde cast himselfe at the Kings feete, hee feared to amaze him, but the said *Mendoza* laboured in vaine: For as it happens to him that feares *Anthony* distrusting all men, performed nothing of what he promised; neither went hee to any person where hee had appointed, so as there neither followed the effect that was expected, but they lost all hope to do any good: Yet was it apparant that the affection which this nation bare vnto him was of great force, for although that fortune preuailed in many more then faith, yet in his afflictions, and hauing so great an imposition laide vpon his person, there was neuer any one amongst so many, in whom he must of necessitie trust, that euer sought to betraie him for hope of recompence; although some laboured to saue themselves, amongst which was *Edward de Castro*. And therefore hee went safely throughout all the portes of the sea, he was at Lisbone as it is saide, where the king himselfe remained, not finding meanes to imbarke; some of his men being surpris'd, hee went to Settuual, where by the helpe of a woman, hee hired a Flemmish ship for sixe hundreth crownes, with the helpe of a religious man, of the order of Saint Francis, and with tenne of his faithfullest seruants, he imbarked by night, and so went to Caleis, where wee may truely saie, that God had not yet withdrawne his hand frō punishing of this nation, and that this was as a scourge; for by reason of the affection this people bare vnto him, it was necessarie to keepe this people in awe with garrisons, to the great hurt and ruine of the subiects.

Anthony arrives at Caleis.

Now was come the yeare 1581. at what time they expected the ships from the Indies, Brasil, Saint Thomas, Cape Vert, & all other new found landes, the which staied somewhat long, and put them in some feare, being looked for with greater desire, then euer anie were: Some feared they woulde not come, others wished they should come, many helde opinion they should willingly staie at the Terceeres, and from thence go into England, the which if they should not willingly yeeld vnto, touching vnadvisedly at the Ilands; they should bee forced thereunto by the Ilanders. They were wished for, both for the riches they carried, as to vnderstande by them howe the people of those parts were addicted to the obedience of the Catholique king, whereof many doubted: Such as helde opinion they should safely arriue at Lisbone, saide, that the Indies and other prouinces could not maintaine themselues without Spaine, and should bee forced to yeelde obedience to whomsoeuer that should be Lorde of Portugall: that they needed not feare the Terceeres, although they had spoiled some ships which they had taken, or that had anchored there of their owne free will; yet now the Castillian armie being master at sea, vpon their discouerie they woulde conduct them to Lisbone, not suffring them to approach the lande: Such as supposed they woulde not come, saide, that the saide ships were departed from Lisbone in the yeere 1580. after King *Henries* death; during the *Gouernours* raigne, and that *Lewes de Taide* Earle of Toghia, Viceroy of the Indies, knowing there was a space-gouernement, with likelihood of warre, woulde attende the euent without yeelding obedience to any, for that he woulde then shew it when he had intelligence, who were king, to be the more acceptable vnto him, or hoping that amidst these tumults, there woulde something remaine to his share: But if notwithstanding he were resolved to sende them, hee woulde appoint a captaine of his owne making, and conformeable to his owne will, with commission to obey him to whom he were most affected, and that it were hard to iudge whom he wished most to be King: besides that *Emanuel de Melo* being captaine Generall of the same armie when it departed from Portugall, being a deuoted seruant to the Prior, and had made shew to be of his faction, it was likely that if he returned, & had any intelligēce of the Priors being in England, the which he

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might

might easily vnderstande at the Ilands, that he woulde saile thither, the which if he coulde not performe in the same ships, hee woulde then lande in the Ilands, and after saile in other boats, whether hee pleased with hope of gaine and bootie: And although it were true that the Indians coulde not maintaine themselues, yet Fraunce and England might more aboundantly furnish them, and with greater profite then Portugall. But for as much as in discourfing of matters which depends vpon an others will, we cannot cōsider all causes of their errors, a matter priuate to the diuine knowledge, it fell out in an other manner then had beene discourf: For the Earle Vice-roy of the Indies, hauing by the same ships receiued letters from the Catholique King, who enformed him of the equitie of his cause, and of his intent, with large promises, whereunto (and by the meanes of others which he receiued from the gouernors) he gaue credite, preferring them before such as he had receiued from *Anthony*, resolued to obey the King; so as the ships departed, and being arriued neere to the Terceres, they came sailing without euer discouering of the kings armie; for that *Baldes* discouraged with his ill successe at the Ilands could find no fit place to encounter thē. True it is, that after they had remained a whole day amongst those Ilands, they were encountred by a French Barke sent from the Terceres, who entreated the Captaines to go to Angra: The Portugals demaunded the state of the realme, that they might thereby know howe to gouerne themselues, but for that there were none but niarriners, they coulde neither perswade, dissemble, nor speake the truth; but contradicting themselues, those of the fleete coulde drawe nothing from them, but was confused: For one saide that the Catholique king was master of the realme, an other, but onely of a great parte of it; and that *Anthony* with a great armie made warre to expel him, whereby there grew some controuersie in the fleete: For some (especially such as had little to loose) woulde lande in the Iland; others woulde haue them hold togither vntill they had certaine intelligence of the state of the realme; others without expecting any further information, woulde haue them go to Lisbone, and yeeld themselues to him that were king. The Captaine generall being retired into his chamber to parley with certaine Portugals and French men, entertained them with these practizes; but the niarriners doubtful of some euill,

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*The Indian
fleete met
with a
French ship
neere the
Terceres.*

the rumor being appeased, directed their course towards Lisbonne, where remained their wiues and children, although some opposed themselves. It seemed that these ships being of such importance to the Prior and his disseines, he should haue vsed more care to intercept them, then it seemed hee did; but in truth he omitted no diligence, for he wrote vnto the Captaine generall of the armie, that at his arriuall at the Ilands, they should be deliuered vnto him, where by he entreated him with large promises to remaine there, and to consigne him his armie, and not to the Catholique King. But the too great diligence of the Gouvernour, as it often hapneth, did him harme, for hauing sent forth a Barke with these letters, to attende the ships, they did not encounter them, so as sayling towards Portugall, vpon the mid way, they met with the armie of *Lopo de Figueroa*, who woondring at the negligence of *Baldes*, whom they denied to haue seene, he furnished them with water and other refreshings: They arriued after at Lisbonne, to the great contentment of the king, and yet they staid so long vpon the way, that it was constantly beleecued they were gone into England, and nowe the merchants began to assure their goods with the losse of the fifth, and the Captaine was extraordinarilie fauoured by the King.

The diligence of Ambony to haue the fleets.

The fleets arriues at Lisbonne.

In this while *Lopo de Figueroa* arriued at the Terceres, where he vnderstands of *Baldes* his misfortune, hauing viewed the Iland fortified on all parts where he might descend, and by nature vnaccessibile, finding himselfe to haue fewe men, the enimic victorious, and the season of the yeere farre aduanced, the seas swelling berimes in those parts, he resolued (and with iudgement) to returne to Portugall, without attempting any thing by force. Hee first sent one to aduise the citie of Angra, to yeelde obedience vnto his Maiestie, promising them pardons, recompences, and many fauours, but they measuring the assurance of his promises, not by the Kings clemencie, but by their owne merits, arrogantly made him answer, that he should say in what part hee would descend, and they would open him the passage; by reason whereof *Figueroa* returned into Portugall, with *Baldes*, whom the King presently committed to prison; yet he was after deliuered, shewing the instructions that had bene giuen him, to be doubtfull, and not to prohibite him to fight. This returne of the armie encouraged the Ilanders; perswading themselves

The arriuall of Figueroa at the Terceres, and his returne to Lisbonne.

Baldes imprisoned in Portugall.

selues, that *Figueroa* had greater forces, then indeed hee had, and seeing him fearefull to descend, they supposed he made great reckoning of theirs. They wrote the newes of all these things vnto the Prior being in Fraunce, who thanked them with curteous letters, and sent them artillerie, harquibusics, powder, and other munition, promising to furnish them with men: Hee commaunded them to seaze vpon the goods of all such as arriued there, being subiect to the Catholique king, and send them into Fraunce, so as they sent him all the merchandise which they had taken in fower or fiue ships come from the west Indies. And for as much as it seemed to many, that this could not continue, that the King should send from Portugall a great armie against them, so as they shoulde not bee able to make resistance, they dispatched into Fraunce one *Anthony Aluarez*, and an other base officer, to vnderstande what the Prior did, what forces he had, and what they might expect from thence, who being returned with the orders, the one of Saint Iaques, the other of *d'Anis* which the Prior had giuen them, they reported, at his entreatie, that he had a great armie readie to descend into Portugall, the which in truth was not so, bringing letters to the Governour, whereby the Prior gaue vnto them likewise a collar of the order, with a thousand duckats of reuenew, the which mooued some others to go into Fraunce, from whence, as also from England, there came some fewe soldiersto the Iland in ships which sailed into those parts, yet they were neuer three hundreth in number, being often of opinion to sende them backe, for that the winter was at hand, and to cal them backe in sommer, the which the people would not yeeld vnto, saying, that since the King had sent them, they would entertaine them. The Iesuits being walled vp within their monasterie, to whom they gaue meate but twise a weeke, greewing to be thus wrongully imprisoned, vpon a certaine day they opened the doores of the Church, and hauing placed the sacrament in the midst, they would trie by this meanes, if they might remaine free: The ministers of iustice went vnto the couent, to demandaund the reason of this innouation, to whom it was propounded by the fathers, that if their offences so required, they shoulde punish them, but holding them as suspect, they shoulde suffer them to depart into Portugall. The resolution was (after some speeches vsed beyoud the termes of modesty) that

The prepara-
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the fathers shoulde be walled vp againe, and a certaine person who said that in iustice they should burne these priests, with their monasterie, the which they had deserued for the affection they bare vnto the Castillians; he staied not long to acknowledge his error, for departing from thence, he fell sicke vnto the death, and God woulde haue him confesse (as he saide) that this grieffe hapned vnto him for that occasion: All the other religious men did what they coulde to wrong these fathers, who being of a contrarie opinion, and practising profession of war, could not endure that these should be Castillians in their harts, refusing to enioy that libertie: They imprisoned the Vicar, who gouerneth the spiritualtie in the Bishops name, which remaineth in the Iland of Saint Michael, and chose an other after their owne humour. These things did much displease the Catholique king, whereupon he resolved to vndertake this enterprize the sommer following, although hee doubted it for many causes, which behooued him to prouide for, together with the new ieałosities which grew, hauing intelligence that the Turke prepared an armie at sea, to send to endomage Christendome. That *Lucciali* a famous pirat, and Captaine generall of the Turkes armie, was come from Constantinople to Alger with threescore and tenne galleies, and although it were to no other end, then to visite the state of Africke, and to prouide for it, fearing that the king of Spaine, by reason of the newe Acquisition of Portugall, and the warres wherein the Turks were busied against the King of Persia, might trouble this prouince; yet he ministred matter of suspect, for the Catholique King hauing treated with the Cherrisse to yeeld vnto him Alarache in exchange of Mazagon, and not agreeing, for that the Moores are great deceiuers in their promises: It was suspected the Turke vnderstanding this practise, had sent *Lucciali* to diuert this exchange, to fortifie Alarache, and to furnish it with Turkes; so as being so neere neighbour vnto Spaine, and a conuenient port for galleies, it might greatly annoy him: But hee returned after to Constantinople, being called backe at the pursuite of his competitors.

A miracle performed by the Iesuits.

The State of Flaunders ministred matter of consideration, for although the Prince of Orenge had long enioyed the greatest part of those prouinces, yet the king had great hope, especially now vp-

The estate of France and Flaunders.

on the conquest of Portugall, that this people would be aduised, and that one day he should reclaime them; but this hope soone failed, for that *Frauncis de Valois* Duke of Alançon, brother to the most christian King *Henry* the thirde, being entred with armes into Flaunders, and hauing succoured them that were in Cambrey, he forced the Prince of Parma Captaine generall for the king (being at the siege thereof) to retire: And although being master of the citie, he presently returned, yet the state of Fraunce seemed troublesome and readie to attempt some newe and important alteration; the rather, for that the French were animated by *Anthony* Prior of Crato, who was come thither out of England, being embraced by the Queene mother of Fraunce, and visited by the whole Courte. They had intelligence likewise of a practise which displeased them, that the saide Duke of Alançon should marrie with *Elizabeth* Queene of England, and for that he had passed and repassed aboue once into that Island, it was giuen out the marriage was secretly cōcluded, but whether it were so or otherwise, the death of the said Duke of Alançon ended that combination; but men of the greatest iudgement, beleueed that her Maiestie of England was not married to the saide Duke, bicause she had refused so many great Kings and Princes in former times, and had liued with the reputation of a most chaste, & vertuous Princeesse. The Catholique king complained to the most Christian king, that he had receiued the Prior his rebell into Fraunce; of the succours giuen to Cambrey, and blamed the marriage with England, labouring to diuert it all he coulede, saying, that he ought by no meanes to yeelde vnto it, for the difference of religion. The King of Fraunce, as they said, made answere to these propositions by his Embassador: That as for the marriage, he left it to the Duke, who was thereunto enclined, with all the Nobilitie in Fraunce, and that hee was not master of their wils: That the Prior had beene receiued by the Queene mother, who being Queene (as she beleueed) of that realme, had receiued this her vassall: That he had opposed himselfe to his brother, touching the succours of Cambrey, but his admonitions were of no credite. This answere confirmed the Catholique king in the opinion hee had conceiued, that these expeditions which had beene made in the name of Alançon, were all lets proceeding from the King, and couered
with

with this maske, seeming impossible that the Duke (contrary to the Kings will and pleasure) shoulde raise so great forces in Fraunce. The which although it seemed incredible, yet Fraunce had continued long in such an estate, that it was no maruaile, for that King *Henry* and his predecessor *Charles* the ninth, hauing beene molested by their subiects vpon the points of religion, all was in disorder; and although the state seemed somewhat better pacified, yet their mindes, by the meanes of these former troubles, remained still enclined vnto warre: And for as much as Fraunce, Englande, and Flaunders, did somewhat assist in these matters of Portugall, for the better vnderstanding of things that follow, it may be lawfull for me to digresse a little to speake some thing of these countries.

In Fraunce liued *Katherine de Medicy*, mother to the king, whose age and valour all Fraunce obeyed: she seemed to be discontented with the Catholique king for diuers respects, but that she made most shewe of, was, that he had taken the realme of Portugall by force, refusing to submit himselfe to iustice, saying, that she had more interest then hee; whereupon it was supposed, that (mouued with this disdain) she shoulde labour to make warre against Portugall: with whom agreed the said Duke of Alãçon her son, no lesse enemy to the Catholique King then the mother; mouued thereunto, for that hauing demaunded one of the daughters of the saide King in marriage, he was refused, for that he required with his wife, a portion fitte for her qualitie: He was followed by the whole Nobilitie of Fraunce, whom he might easily lead where he pleased; although it were against the Kings liking; the which grewe, for that remaining the third sonne to *Henry* the second, with small hope euer to aspire vnto the crowne, hauing two brothers *Charles* and *Henry* his elders, hauing a great minde and stirring; he gaue eare to all such as discontented with the king, or desirous of innouation (whereof there are numbers in Fraunce) laboured to alter the quiet of Christendome, with whom he had often resolved to conquer himselfe some newe estate out of Fraunce. Perswaded to this resolution by such as were about him, he supposed for a time, that his brothers were opposite vnto him, and that by no meanes they woulde like of his greatnes: so as that which was giuen him by the wisest for good counsell, he did interprete to the ill affection they bare him; and that they

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Fraunce dis-
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sought to obscure the glorie whereunto he aspired: And this iea-
lousie encreased when as his brother *Henry* was called to the
crowne of Poland, by not giuing him presently such places as hee
enioied in Fraunce. By this and such like, those which followed him,
tooke an occasion to settle in his conceite, a hatred against his bre-
thren, giuing him to vnderstande, that they detested his greatnes,
the which they could so wel effect, that although the said *Henry* did
afterwards come, by the death of *Charles* the ninth, from the crown
of Poland to that of Fraunce; yet the Duke continued still his first
desires, and that with greater traine then before: For some conside-
red that *Henry* being sickly, and without children, he shoulde one
day be king: It was therefore no woonder, if without the kings con-
sent, yea contrary to his liking, he attempted many things, although
there were some shewe, that the king his brother had intelligence
with him. And although his forces, ioyned with the Queene Mo-
thers, were of importance, & might well cause the Catholique king
to feare, yet it seemed, that those of England woulde likewise ioyne
with him: For it was giuen out, that *Elizabeth* doubting the Kings
force, and knowing the Popes intencion against her, hauing seene
the prooffe thereof in the affaires of Ireland, sought to secure hir-
selfe, that they might not wrong her, and to that end she entred into
an agreement (as it was said) with the Queene and her yoongest
sonne, to the preiudice of *Philip*, whereof the effect was soone seen.

*The Duke
of Alanson
sworn Duke
of Brabant.*

The saide Alanson being returned againe into England, being al-
readie agreed with the Prince of Orenge, who was the instrument
of all these practizes, he passed from thence to Antwerpe, where the
peoples humours being before disposed by the saide Prince, he was
receiued in all these places with great ioy; and the xix. day of Febru-
arie, in the yeere of our Lord 1582. they did sweare him Duke of
Brabant, the which caused a generall admiration for many reasons:
It seemed strange, that the Prince of Orenge, in a manner absolute
Lord in those countries, the which he had so long defended, woulde
vpon the end of the worke spoile himself of the state, & giue it vnto
a stranger; without constraint, without profit, & to the preiudice of
his honor: And although it seemed he had done the like to *Matthias*
Arch Duke of Austria, & afterwards sent him back into Germany, it
was not credible that he hoped euer to do so vnto the Duke; for be-
sides

sides that he was entred in a manner by maine force; his power, the neernes of Fraunce, & the fauor of England, might wel induce men to beleeuē that he woulde so establish himselfe, as he need not feare to be expelled. There wanted not such as woulde excuse the Prince, saying, that the people were nowe wearie, and vnfurnished of money, by reason of so great warres, that they coulde not relieue him as hee had neede; and therefore it behooued him to seeke some one that should aide him against the Catholique king, who hauing now recouered the realme of Portugall, should be able with greater ease to molest those countries, & seeing that he was forced to seeke for succours, there was no greater person then this, making in a manner an inuincible vnion of these estates with Fraunce and England; besides, the Prince should attaine to the wished ende, which was to deprive the Catholique king of the whole possession, and many did so much relie vpon the Princes foresight and iudgement, that they supposed hee woulde likewise expell Alançon when hee pleased. Many blained the manner of the Dukes proceeding, who sought to vsurpe an others patrimonie without any title: others excused him, forging lawes of state after their owne humours, saying, that the priuileges of the countrey did allow, that if the Catholique King did not obserue them; they might choose a Prince of themselves, the which the King hauing broken, they had sought out another Lorde. The effect of the league was not yet ended in those parts; but to diuert the Catholique King from making warre in those countries, at the mediation of *Anthony* to trouble the state of Portugal, they prepared a great armie in Fraunce: Some said it was to be imploied against the same realme, hoping the people woulde rise against the Castillians: some supposed it shoulde be sent to succour the *Terceraes*, the winning whereof, *Philip* threatned to attempt; and some beleued that they went for no other intent, but to surprisē certaine ships that came from the newe navigations, charged with golde and spice. There hapned at that time in Flaunders, a matter of admiration and seldome scene: For the Prince of Orange being in Antwerpe, quiet, and in the greatest fortune that he was euer, was shot in his house, rising from his table, in the midst of all his seruants; with a pistoll, by *Iohn Scaurigni*, a yoong man, a *Biscaine*, mooued thereunto by zeale of religion, as he pretended:

Preparations of the french against the Terceres.

The Prince of Orange wounded by a Biscaine.

the bullet hitting him vnder his right iawe, passed forth through the window; and although he was supposed to be dead, yet was he cured and liued, and the offender was presently slaine by his guard, and all such as were founde accessarie, were executed.

The kings
recompence
to the Por-
tugals.

Whilest these things were determined in Fraunce and the low Countries, the king (who remained still in Portugall) sought to giue contentment to the Portugals, who hauing long, and with importunitie sought for recompence, were in the ende all in a manner dispatched, giuing vnto many of them orders of knighthoode, much of the reuenewes, and all the offices that might bee giuen, to the great griefe of the Castillians, who saide, that this realme with more right appertained vnto *Philip*, seeing he had inherited it, bought it, and conquered it. This distribution was made by the two Deputies with great bountie, yet wrought it no good effect in the Kings fauour, neither was it acceptable; for finding two kinde of Portugals, which sought for reward; that is, those to whom *Philip* in the time of *Henry* and the Governours, had promised monie and honors to follow his partie; and such as faithfully without promises, yea, refusing them, had loially serued him: It was in a manner impossible to equall their recompences, so as one of the parties should not be discontented; but they proceeded so, as some were grieued, and others proude: For besides the errors that were committed by reason of the ignorance of the officers, being more easie to promise then to performe; the kings Agents had made large offers not onelie to such as coulde helpe, but also to many of small meanes, and lesse countenance. The King desired in any case to satisfie these bonds; and although he woulde haue rewarded the most faithfull aboue all others, yet could he not performe it, for that by reason of their excesliue promises, all the reuenewes of the crowne had not bene sufficient; so as it often hapneth in Courts, they gaue not vnto them that deserued; with the like proportion, as to such as were vnworthie: So as the loue of the subiects was nothing encreased by this meanes, for the most trusty were discontented, seeming against reason to bee woorse entreated then those, which had bene lesse faithfull, but with rewarde in hande, alleaging also that many of them had not performed that, for which they were payde; seeming sufficient vnto many to remaine newters, and to some that had
serued

serued *Anthony*, to say, that they were forced, and such as were least faithfull (for that their harts were not so firmly serled to the Kings seruice) they supposed to haue carried themselves wisely: They esteemed euery small matter to be of great importance, and (supposing the king to vnderstand wel what neede he had of them,) in contempt of the rest they grew insolent. These were the generall causes for the which the greatest distribution that euer was within the realme, was not pleasing; but the nature of the Portugals is vn easie to content, in this respect, for being enuious, they doe feele with greater grieffe an other mans profite, then their owne losse: Those of the baser sort, although they expected no answer, hauing enriched themselves in their trades, by the great multitude of Courtiers; yet could they not suffer the Castillians to be superiours, and as it is vsuall with the common people, they desired innouations; the which the King discovering, did greatly trouble his minde, finding himselfe to faile in that, which he supposed should haue bred him a quiet enioying of the realme. He did appoint (as it hath been *The Em-
saide before*) that his sister *Marie*, widow to the Emperour *Maximilian* the seconde; being then in Germanie, should come into *Liabone.* *Empresse Mary
comes to
Liabone.* Spaine, with *Margaret* her daughter: And although the discourse of her comming were diuers, for that some supposed she should remaine at Madrill, with the kings daughters; others, that she should come into Portugall, where the King would leaue her as Gouvernesse of the realme; to go vnto the States of Aragon, wherunto he was called; yet in the ende she came vnto Lisbon: Notwithstanding, whether the rumours of Fraunce increased, by reason whereof the King would not depart; or that it was not fite that of an Empresse she should become Gouvernesse of a small realme, the King for that time did not depart; neither did she gouerne at all. True it is that hauing resolved to leaue Cardinal *Albert*, Arch Duke of Austria, the Empresse for in the government of the realme, he beganne to acquaint him with the dispatch of affaires, and hauing one day assembled the Councell of estate, he saide vnto them, that for that hee was burthened with the government of many *The Cardi-
nall of Au-
stria made
Gouernour
of Portugal.* realmes, whereof hee had the care, hee desired somewhat to discharge himselfe; and for this consideration hauing thought the saide Cardinal fite for the government of the saide realme of Portugal, he

he would leaue the charge vnto him, and therefore heereafter they should holde their Councell in his presence.

The Terce-
res in con-
fusion,

In this space the Portugals of the Terceraes within the city of Angra were in no small cōfusion, for after they had imprisoned *John de Betancour*, walled vp the Iesuites within their Colledge, taken diuers ships, and committed extortions vpon diuers Citizens, which followed secretly the Catholique kings partie; there grew among themselves some difficultie, for that it seemed vnto many that *Ciprian de Figueredo*, chiefe gouernour, did not continue with that vehemence he had begun. And as it happens to him that rules, all the seditious did malice him; so as vpon any smal matter, they tooke occasion to slander him & acuse him of infidelitie, although the cause may only be imputed vnto him, that this Iland was not obedient vnto King *Philip*: by reason whereof, being desirous in the beginning of winter, to dismisse certaine ships which were there detained, and likewise to deliuer the Iesuits from the prison wherein they were, all the obseruers of his actions opposed themselves, and chiefly the other religious men, as those in that place, being more seditious then the rest, feared most, and were most watchfull of the affaires; so as hee that in a manner had beene absolute Lorde, the people being nowe incensed against him, hee founde that hee coulde no more execute those things, which had beene before tolerable. And although he laboured so, as the ships were dismissed, yet coulde hee not deliuer the Iesuits; for hee must of force, with greater rigor, trie the peoples inconstancie, and the distrust of Princes: For hauing aduertised *Anthony* being in Fraunce, of the estate of the Iland, and of the authoritie that many tooke vpon them against him, demanding when hee woulde come into the realme, adding withall, that this Iland was ruined, and that it coulde not long continue in this estate; *Anthony* grew in iealousie of him, furthered by the letters he had receiued from his enemies, the which saide plainly that he was a traitor, and therefore he resolued to sende from Fraunce; vnto the gouernment of these Ilands, *Emanuel de Sylua*, whom he had newly made Counte of Toresuedras, one of his chiefest fauorites, who arriued there in March, with as ample commission as might be giuen in that place, and hauing dispossessed *Figueredo* from his charge, he began with a barbarous tyrannie to molest both friends & foes for
the

The cari-
age of E-
manuel de
Sylua at the
Terceres.

the recouering of money: Before his arriuall, a shippe laden with meale departed from Angra, with shew to go vnto Brazil, the which being not farre from the Iland, tooke her course for Lisbonne: Some supposed that this was a practise of *Figueredos*, and that by this meanes by his letter, hee had demaunded pardon of the Catholique King, and offered to deliuer him the Iland, aduising him what course to take; for afterwards an other shippe departing from Lisbonne, it was knowne, they not onely carried the kings letters to *Figueredo*, but also to many of the better sorte, the which tooke not the effect that was expected; for the saide shippe arriued after the comming of *Emanuel de Silua*, so as *Figueredo* being dispossessed of his place, coule not execute his practise, if he had any such thing in hande.

During these stirres, they made a slowe preparation at Lisbonne for the Ilands, for that the King was not yet well resolued to attempt it in the yeere 1582. his Councell varying in their opinions: Some aduised him, presently with all his power to force them, alleaging that the longer he delaid it, the more daungerous the enterprife would prooue; for both the French, and English, who (as it was saide) were bounde thither, woulde, if they landed, fortifie, if they had time; so as hardly afterwards they shoulde finde any entrance: They did likewise weigh this enterprife with regard of honor, saying, that it was a thing of small reputation and dishonorable, that so weake an Iland, shoulde dare in the view of Spaine, resist the forces of so great a King: They shewed of how great consequence it was, being (as they saide) seated in a place which was the onely refuge of all the ships, which came from the east and west Indies, and from all the new navigations, into Spaine: for although there were other Ilands in this sea, yet was there not any so commodious as this, the rest being very vnfitte; and if the French and English became masters thereof (as it was to bee feared if they protracted time) and lodged their armies there, they might from thence encounter the ships of those navigations, the which by reason of their long voyage returne home wearie and torne, and (being of themselves indefensible) spoile them, to the great losse and dishonour of al Spaine: They made the enterprife easie; saying; that besides that from Fraunce they had receiued no great prouision of armes and munition;

The preparation at Lisbonne against the Terceres, and the aduise upon this enterprife.

tion; in the Ile it selfe, the greatest part of the Nobilitie, and many other would obey the king, but they were forced by the multitude, and durst not discouer themselves; yet when the Kings colours shoulde with a mightie armie be discouered, there woulde appeere in a manner as many friends as enemies: Others, that were of a contrarie opinion, said, that this enterprise was woorthie of great consideration, the which they ought not rashly to vndertake, for attempting it aduisedly, it was most assured; but going to it hastily, it were dangerous: They shewed that the Iland was by nature verie strong, by reason of vineasie landing, beeing of all parts rough and inaccessible, but in some fewe places, which it was likely they woulde fortifie and guard: They saide, that the garrisons of strangers which they vnderstoode were there, were they netter. so fewe, with the inhabitants of the Iland, were sufficient to hinder their landing: They made great reckoning of the roughnes of the sea, the which commonly suffreth not any ships to ride there about two moneths in the yeere, concluding it was better deferre it, then attempt it in vaine, as they had wise done with small honor: They said, that the assurance of the enterprise consisted in delay, for that the Iland shoulde bee neither stronger nor better furnished then it was at that instant, seeing their strength is by nature, & that a great garrison cannot long liue there; that by delaying, the inhabitants themselves will be aduised, for (besides the insolencie of the French) wanting their traffique with Spaine, they shoulde growe so poore, as they will soone acknowledge their errors: That the ships from the Indies made so small stay at the Ilands, as they had no neede of them, but onely to take in fresh water, wherewith they may furnish themselves at Saint Michaels. These reasons helde the Catholique king in suspence, and for that he was a friend to peace, he enclined to delay: but as the newes from Fraunce, Flaunders, and England, did varie, so did they hasten or slacke the preparation for the enterprise.

*The Catho-
lique King
armes in all
places and
the cause.*

In this sorte, and with no small trouble of minde, the three first moneths in the yeere 1582. passed away, but hauing intelligence at the spring, that they did arme many ships, both in Fraunce, Flaunders, and England, and that they were meant for Portugall; that the Turke (notwithstanding his warre against the Sophy) threatned

to send forth his galleies; that certaine troupes of foote were come out of Fraunce vnto the *Marquisat* of Salusses; the King thought it expedient to arme, both to performe this enterprife of the Ilands, as for the garde of many places, where he might be endomaged: He thought it a hard thing, and vnwoorthie, to suffer the states of the Low-Countries, to be wrested from him by the Duke of Alancou, without reuenge: He did foresee that the charge would be verie great, and that he was furnished with little money, and lesse credite; for by meanes of the decree he had made against the merchants, he was cause of more hurt to himselfe, then to his creditors: The prouisions it behooued him to make were all forced, for hee could not doe lesse then prouide for Italy, as well in regarde of the French as of the Turke: Hee must of force entertaine an armie in Portugall, for although the Realme were in shew quiet, yet the Portugals being of a stirring humor, he could not auoide to arme a nauie sufficient to encounter the Flecte: He thought it necessarie to prouide for Flanders, if not wholly to recouer those estates, yet for feare he should loose more. But that which troubled the King more then all the rest, was the shippes which hee expected this yeere from the Indies, and New-found-lands; fearing that the French hauing the aduantage of the Ilands, might spoile them, finding that some Pirat had not onely passed into that sea, but also threatned to assaile the Iland of Saint Michael, and that of the Maderes: And therefore the King began to preuent all these dangers in this manner. He mustred all the foore he could in Spaine, and caused them to march towardes Portugall; especially to the Prouince betwixt Doro and Minio, to the gouernment whereof he sent *Ferriant de Toledo*, Prior of Saint Iean: He sent the Marquesse of Saint Croixe to Seuille to arme all the great ships hee could, and to prepare some galleies: In Biscay he commaunded eighteene Biscaine ships to be furnished, to make their randeuous in Andelouzie, where they prepared their galleies, and built a good number of great boats to land their souldiers: He wrote into Italy to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Gouvernor of Millaine, that either of them should leuie 6000. Italian foote: He gaue order in Germany to bring downe 10000. Germanes vnder colour to sende these two nations into Flaunders: And for to be assured of the Iland of Saint Michael, although

*The kings
order in pre-
paring.*

although that *Ambrose d'Aguiar* were there with one Galeon, hee sent thither *Peter Peixotto* with five other shippes, who arriued there in good time; for certaine French Pirats were assenbled to assaile it, the which they did not forbear to attempt, for *Peixotto* with his ships lying at anchor, before the city of punta Delgada, three French ships leauing other sixe behinde shewed themselves, supposing that with his five ships he would not faile to fight with them three, and as hee should retire the other sixe comming to succour them, they might conquer them, and after this victorie assaile the Iland being weake and vnarmed: But this deuise succeeded not for *Peixotto* (who desired not to fight, but to preserue the Ilande all hee could) would not come foorth against those three French ships, the which hee forbare the rather, for that the other sixe shippes which remained behinde, discouered themselves, so as the Frenchmen finding they could not deceiue the Portugals, and their ambush (as one may say) being discouered, being loath to retire without some booty, they resolved to charge *Peixotto* as he laie at anchor: But the winde grew scant to approach to land, and the artilerie from a certaine weake forte, would not suffer them to ioin: But the Captaines shippe, being of better saile then the rest, drew so neere, that hee grappled with a Portugall, where they fought aboue three howers, with great slaughter on both sides; but the French had beene victors, if *Ambrose d'Aguiar* who was at lande, foreseeing that the losse of the ships would be the ouerthrowe of the Iland, had not succoured *Peixotto* by boats, sending him aboue an hundred & fiftie men, with the which he defended himselfe, and the French shippe, vnloosing it selfe, retired to the rest, woorse handled then the Portugall; but it was supposed that if the winde had beene any thing stronger, so as the other French ships mought haue come vp to the Portugals, they had beene taken in the viewe of all the Iland. And for that soone after there arriued eighteene Biscaine ships at Lisbone, which the king had commaunded should be armed in that Prouince; he sent fower of them with sixe hundred men, for the assurance of that Iland, the which arriued soone after the departure of the French. Sommer was nowe come, and there was still newes from Fraunce, that they made greater preparation for war; arming many ships in all their ports at the instance of *Anthony*

Peixotto
sent to Saint
Michaels,
fought with
by certaine
French ships.

thoy: The Catholique kings affaires went slower forwardes then the importance of the cause required; for that it seemed the Spaniards were not yet well assured, whether the French would turne against Portugall, and not goe to the Islands; yea, some beleued; that making shew to do so, they would take their course for Flaunders, seeming more to importe wholie to assure those countries, and to expell the Catholique Kings forces, then to vndertake an other enterprize of greater difficultie: And the assurance of this opinion did helpe the French, for it did diuert or at the least deuided the Spanish forces, and was cause that in Spaine they prepared not their armies with such expedition as was conuenient: But hauing after assured intelligence, that the French prepared to encounter the ships that came from the Indies, and the newe founde lands, the prouision for Flaunders went slowly forward in Italie: And in Spaine they made greater haste of their nauie, for the which there was want of sailers, and other necessaries, yet with some trouble they had prepared in Andelouzia about twentie ships and twelue galleies. The Marquesse was returned to Lisbone, giuing order to the nauie to goe to Cape Saint Vincent, and there to attend their charge: At his arriual he found within the riuer of Tagus twenty other ships ill appointed, comprehending the Biscaines and some Flemmings, hired in a manner by force, where hauing shipped sixe thousand Spanish foote, vnder *Lopo de Figueroa*, the Marquesse imbarked with many noble men, *Ferrant* of Toledo, going as a priuate soldier, with some other gentlemen. This was not the kings first intention, being resolued to assemble the body of his armie in Andelouzia, whither the ships of Biscay at their departure had commaundement to reparaire: but in sailing, being come to Lisbone, and hauing hired some others with the gallions of Portugall, the king supposed the greatest number was there, & that he should spende time to cause one parte of the armie to goe seeke the other; supposing they shoulde meete, he commaunded both the one and the other to saile towards Portugall, as they did, labouring to ioine by the way: And although all this was slowly executed, yet had it bin more, if the king by his owne presence had not hastened their departure, the which was not before the x. of Iuly, in the yeere 1582. so slow are the Spaniards by nature in the execution of their

*The Mar-
quesse of
Saint Cruze
embarkes
for the Ter-
ceres.*

businesse: At that time the French armie departed with *Anthony*, and all his followers, being in number aboute threescore and ten faile, and seuen thousand foote, whereof *Philip Strozzi* and *Monsieur de Brisack* were commanders.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the ninth Booke.

The description of the Iland of Saint Michael: The arriuall of the French armie there: The arriuall of the Spanish armie: The battaile at sea: The death of Philip Strozzi, and of the Count of Vimioso: The voiage of Anthony to the Terceres, and his manner of proceeding: The sentence of the Marquesse against the prisoners, and his execution: The death of the Duke of Alua, and his praises: The new estates where Prince Philip was sworne, by reason of the death of Prince Diego: And how the Cardinall Archduke of Austria was made Governour of Portugall.

The hopes of the French armie at sea with Strozzi.



Whilest the French and Spanish armies failed towards the Terceres, both Courtes were in suspence, and in diuers hopes of successe: but in Fraunce they conceiued more assurance then in Portugall; for the French not esteeming the Spanish forces, helde themselues superiours, in number both of ships and men, and hauing the Ilands at their deuotion, they stood assured that their armie should both spoile the Indian fleete, sacke the Iland of Saint Michael, and ouercome the enemies armie, if they ioined with them: And they relied so much thereon, that extending their hopes farther, furthered by the promises of *Anthony*, and of what he said, that he had followers in Portugall,

gall, they hoped to approach the realme, and to put men on land; and to arme the vnarmed Portugals; for which cause they carried great quantitie of armes, and to set so firme a footing vpon the maine lande, as they should easily maintaine themselves, so as with this intention many Noble men and gentlemen imbarcked with the Armie, both for that the French are easie to mooue, as also heerein to please the Queene mother. In the Court of Spaine, their thoughts were not all so conformeable, nor so ioyfull; for the Portugals, being now as contrarie in their humours to the Castillians, as they had beene euer; making hope equall to their owne desires, seeing the affaires now in equal ballance, many wished they should make no resistance, and many expected the comming of *Anthonie*: The rest of the Portugals, more content with the present stare of the Castillians, shewed great hope the warres should now ende, saying they were assured, they should defeat this Armie, take *Anthonie* prisoner, and either by loue or force subdue the Ilandes; yet inwardly they were not well satisfied: For seeing their armies deuided, without hope to ioyne, it seemed vnto the wisest the victorie was not so assured as some supposed, and that the Spaniards by giuing battaile should hazard to lose much and winne little, and contrariwise the French to winne much and loose little; for that the greatest mischief that could seeme to happen to the enemies, was the defeating of the Armie; and taking the Ilandes from their obedience, which things although they should all happen, yet were they not of any great moment to Fraunce; but if contrariwise the Spanish Armie should be defeated, their losse would be equall to the French; for besides the ships, they should with all lose with the Iland of Saint Michaell, the hope to recouer the rest; the Indian Fleet withal their treasure should serue as a Pray to the French, and the realme should be stil in doubt, subiect to all those inconueniences, which so great a losse should bring with it, chiefly vnto a realme newly conquered: This feare was augmented, for that their Armie, which consisted of good ships, and was manned with good souldiers, was notwithstanding vnprovided of matiners, and wilde fiers, whereof some were drawn by force; and the Marques himselfe went with sadall contentment; not for that hee feared, but hauing beene at his departure, somewhat discountenanced by the King,

The hopes of the Court of Spaine touching the Armie at sea.

blaming him to haue beene too slacke in the dispatch of the Arnie; besides going, in Flenmish ships, and with Germane soldiers, little acquainted with the sea, increased these doubts: yet outwardly these men shewed a great confidence, grounding the rests of their hopes, vpon the qualitie of the Spanish souldiers, and the greatnes of their ships. Manie woondred how the wordes of *Anthony* could so preuaile in Fraunce, as in a maner to moue all that Court to vnder-take his protection, with so great vehemencie as they had done, not shewing any pretention he had vnto the Crowne, hauing no great hope to make him Lord, nor to imploy such forces as he pretended to haue, seeing, that such as faouered him were kept vnder in Pottugall with great garrisons: And this readines of the French, seemed to them the greater, for that before they had shewed themselves more slack to succour the Portugals against the Castillians, when as they had a fitter occasion and a more grounded hope of good successe, then now they could haue; for in the yeere of our Lord 1466. *Alphonse* the fifth King of Portugal, going into Fraunce to demaund succours of *Lewis* the eleuenth, for the warres which he had against the Catholique King *Ferdinand*, he obtained nothing at all, but hauing spent some time in vaine returned home in dispaire. But laying aside all olde examples, it seemes that if the French should haue risen in fauour of *Anthony*, either to aide him sincerely, or to vse him as an instrument; to set footing in Portugall, they might haue done it with better meanes in the yeere 1580. when possibly they might haue disquieted *Philip* in taking of possession; or at the least kept him that yeere from passing the riuer of Tagus; so as it seemed strange to see Fraunce send forth so great an Army out of season, in fauour of *Anthony* a fugitiue: But the estate of worldly affaires considered, it seemes there are new reasons; whereby the French should be more easily induced then they had beene then; for to haue a brother to the King of Fraunce, in a manner to possesse the states of Flaunders; and the Queene mother to pretend to the inheritance of the Realme of Portugall, and to be moued against *Philip*, were all subiects to draw the French readie against this Realme, and diuert the Spanish forces.

*The arri-
uall of the
French ar-*

In this while the French army arriued at the Island of Saint Michaell the fiftene of Iuly before the Spanish, and drawing nere the
village

village of Laguna there they cast anchor, and landed aboute two thousand foote. This Iland hath not aboute an hundred miles in circuit, it is in forme so long and narrow, that extending it selfe from East to West aboute fortie miles, it hath not aboute twelue in breadth; that part which looketh to the South is most fertill, and best inhabited; for towards the North, except one village which they call Riuiera the great, there are fewe dwellings. Vpon that part which is towards the South, beginning from the East, and at the Cape which they call Morro, running towards the West, there are diuers habitations: The first which is fiue and twentie miles from Morro, they call Villa Franca; wherein there are fiue hundred houses: The second Acqua de Palo; the third Laguna, all smally peopled: The fourth is the towne which they call Punta Delgada, greater then the rest, the which hath vpon the West a small Castle. Betwixt these dwellings there runne into the sea some promontories; the first before you come to Villa Franca, is called Punta de Garza; the second La Gallea, betwixt the saide place and Acqua de Palo; betwixt Laguna, and the citie, there are two others, but lesse, that is Pugnette, and Teste de Chien: At the point of Pugnette, towards Laguna, as I haue saide, the French landed, and hauing spoiled the village, they marched on to seeke for greater Pray.

mie at the Ilande of Saint Michael, and the description thereof.

Or the dogs head.

A little before *Ambrose D' Aguiar*, who had the place of Governour, was decessed in the towne, and although his wiues sonne would haue succeeded in the Governement, yet it seemed that *Peter Peixotto*, Captaine of the fiue ships, was amongst the Portugals of greatest authoritie; but *Laurence Noghera*, a man of courage and valour, was Captaine ouer the Spanish souldiers, in that which concerned matters of warre: All the inhabitants being fearefull, had already transported their wiues and goods vnto the mountaines; and hauing discovered the Armie, this feare increasing, the towne remained empty of all things. The chiefe beeing assembled in counsell, they resolved to run their ships on ground, that the enemy might haue no vse of them, and goe to field with their Spanish souldiers, with the Biscayne marrines, and such Portugals as would goe; the which was not fully executed, for the Biscaines would not suffer their ships to be broken; and *Peter Peixotto* was vnwilling to

The death of Ambrose D. Aguiar.

haue his men defeated; yet the souldiers put themselues in order to march against the French, led by *Noghera* and *Peixotto*: They had gathered together aboue two thousand Portugals, who with the Castillian souldiers and Biscaine mariners, made neere three thousand: but *Lawrence Noghera* being doubtfull of the Portugals, before their departure exhorted them with milde wordes to fight; making shew of feare that they would abandon him; but they made answer, offering themselues with such willingnes, and courage, as he hoped to preuaile, and therefore issuing forth against the enimie, he hoped to force them to retire.

The first encounter of the French.

The French drew neere vnto him, but hauing intelligence by their auant courtiers, they resolved before they approached neerer to leaue the right way, and goe to the citie and castle without fighting, hoping to finde all ynfurnished: for this cause hauing left the sea shoare, they went more to land, which being knowne to *Noghera*, altering his course he went to encounter them: The skirmish being begun, when as the captaine hoped to vse his men, hee saw his Portugals flie, so as being vnable with his Castillians and Biscaines, to withstande so great a force of the enimie, he retired himselfe to the castell being wounded, with the losse of some of his men, where soone after hee died; the remainder being in hope (amongst the which the Bishop *Peter de Castiglia* behaued himselfe wisely) to be able to defende themselues, although they had more hope in the comming of the Catholique armie, then in their forces: *Peter Peixotto* although he were in credite amongst them, yet fearing that all was lost, stealing foorth by night with a carauell, hee went to Lisbon, to aduertise the Marquesse; but it was not his happe to meete him; yet was he for all this being a Portugall, faouered of the king: There appeared at this time, amongst the Ilands, one of the Indian ships, very rich; yet the French were not so happie as to meete with it, although it sailed almost in viewe of the *Terceres*, for hauing intelligence by a French shippe of the occurrents of those parts, hee left his right course and went to Cape Saint Vincent, & from thence to Lisbon in safetie.

The newes of these things which *Peixotto* brought to Lisbon, did more confirme the hopes of the *Anthonians*, then trouble the Castillians, or their followers; for those varied in their thoughts

vpon

vpon euery small euent; and to those who were more settled, it seemed, that hitherto the French had not onely done any thing of importance, but contrarie to that which good soldiers ought to doe, they had assailed this Iland: For that it seemed their principal intention being to seaze vpon the Indian fleet, or to cause a tumult within the realme, they shoulde not busie themselves, and spende time in any other action, with small hope of gaine: for that the Iland being weake, and the towne without wals, it was apparant, that to be masters thereof with trouble, were to labour in vaine; for although they did subdue it, yet the weakenesse and facilitie of landing will alwaies force them to obey whom soeuer shoulde bee master at sea: besides they were in danger, the Spanish fleet arriuing, whilest they were troubled on land, their armie founde at anchor, might easily be defeated; yet the French seemed little to feare it, for that they remained long carelesse at land, at what time *Anthony* was lodged in the couent of Saint Rocke neere vnto the armie, labouring both by wordes and threathing to haue the forte, and being after come to the towne, hee wrote generally to all that were within, requiring them to conaigne it into his handes, as his owne, offering to suffer them to depart freely; but hauing no answer conformable to his desires, he caused some peeces of artillerie to bee landed from the ships to batter it; but there followed no effect, for the Spanish armie arriued.

Which hauing sayled cleuen daies with varietie of weather, hauing discovered the Iland not being ioyned with the ships and galleyes, which were parted from Andelouzia, but onely the number which came from Lisbon, whereof there remained sower ships and some carauels behinde, three of them (let with the tides) could not get out of the riuer of Tagus with the rest, and the fourth returned backe vpon a great leake, so as the Armie consisted but of eight and twentie ships; for although the other three got soorth the next day, yet they arriued not with the rest at Saint Michaels, but before them, where hauing intelligence of the French, they went to sea, without ioyning afterwarde with the armie: The first place the *Marques* discovered was *Le Morro* the one and twentieth day of Iuly, and arriued the two and twentieth at *Villa Franche*, without hauing any intelligence of the French Armie: In this arriuall the

*The arriuall
of the Spanish
armie at
the Ilands.*

Spaniards

Spaniards had some disadvantage, for that the enemies lying close to the land with their ships, and in a manner couered, sawe them come a farre off without being discouered by them. The day before the *Marques* had sent forth Captaine *Aguirre* with two caruelles armed to discouer, with instructions what course he should take, if he found the enimie, to whom he deliuered letters for *Ambrose D'Aguiar*, of whose death he was ignorant, whereby he did aduertise him of the coming of the armie, of the number of men and ships he had, and how he did howerly expect the ships and galleies prepared in Andelouzia, demaunding newes of the French armie; if it were passed, with how many saile, and for what place; saying, that his intention was to fight with them, and therefore hee should will *Peter Peixotto* prepare himselfe with his ships to follow him. As the *Marques* had cast anchor vnder Villa Franca, one of the three caruels, which had staied behinde and after passed them, being laden with horses came vnto the Captaines ship, assuring them, that the three ships which had remained within the riuer of Tagus, were arriued two daies before at the Ilande, and were returned backe, and that certaine French ships had taken two other caruels laden with horses, and that they did hardly escape them. But the *Marques* gaue no trust vnto their words, although the French armie were there; he sent other men to lande, to learne the truth, who returned soone without knowing any certaintie, for that their approach to lande being defended, they had contrarie reports made vnto them: Notwithstanding the *Marques* did still see more apparant signes of the disobedience of the Ilande, especially vpon the returne of one of the caruels of Captaine *Aguirre*, the which reported that the saide Captaine with the other had bene taken by a French ship: for this cause the *Marques* called *Lopo de Figueroa* Marshall of the field to counsell, where they resolued betwixt them to land some men, both to take in fresh water, to haue certaine intelligence of the affaires, and to approach with the armie to some more conuenient place for that effect. But they remained not long in these doubts, for they had no sooner appointed some to discouer some better anchoring place, the armie being vnder saile, they began to discouer towards the towne certaine ships, the which increasing still in number came against them, iudging what it was, as in

truth

truth it was the enemy, laying aside what they had treated of, having assembled *Peter* of Toledo, the marshall of the Campe generall; the Marques of Fauara, *Peter Taxis* Commissarie generall, *Frauncis Bouadiglia* Marshall of the field, and some other gentlemen and Captaines, they called a new councill, where it was propounded, whether they should fight or take any other partie. The Castilian armie had no place of retreat, to returne backe they could not, without great danger, to get the winde of the French there was no meanes, for with their lighter shippes, and easier to turne into the winde, they might chase, flie, fight, and retire themselues from fight at their pleasure: So as the Spanish Captaines framing their opinions according to the necessitie, the matters standing so as the free election remained not in them, resolved to fight: *Anthonie* having (by the letters, which the Marques had written to *Ambrose d' Aguiar*, taken in the carauel with *Aguirre*) intelligence what forces they had, and what they expected, and with all of his intention, for this cause he had resolved with *Strozzi*, *Brissac*, and the Counte *Vimioso*, that it was fittest to fight with this armie, consisting of so small a number of ships, before the other part which they expected should arrive; and therefore having imbarqued with all possible speed, they came in battell against the Marques, having first laboured but in vaine to take the Castel by new threatnings. Then did the Marques appoint what order hee would haue the armie keepe in the fight: Vpon the right side of his gallion called *S. Martin*, he placed that of *Saint Mathew*, wherein was *Lopo de Figueroa*; and on the left, that of *Frauncis Bouadiglia* with fower other ships of succour, all the rest were put in order, onely *Christopher d' Erasso* remained behinde, with a great ship of importance, for that having his mast a little crased, he durst not vse any force; so as the Marques had but seuen and twentie ships, in all the which, especially in the two gallions they gaue verie good order for the fight: For having deuided the souldiers into their ranks, and appointed diuers commanders, they provided not onely for all necessities, but also for any thing that could chaunce with great iudgement; but it was in vaine, for at that time the armies came not neere one another, by seuen or eight miles; both for that the winde was scant, as also for that the night approached; so as after the Marques had discharged a peece of artillerie as

The Marques resolves to fight.

The Marques order for his battell.

it were in signe of Battell; the French bent towards the citie, and the Catholique armie turned to sea, not having any intelligence of what had passed at lande, neither should he haue had it so soone by any other meanes, if the same night *Iohn de Castillio*, who had succeeded *Laurence Noghero* in the castell, had not aduertised the Marques what had happened in the Iland, and assured him that the fortresse held yet, both to the ende he should haue care to succour it, and to haue succour from thence if need were: For this cause he sent by night one of the patrons of the Biscaine ships in a boate with his letters, aduertising him of all the successe since the arriual of *Anthony*, vntill that time. He saide that the enemies armie consisted of eight and fiftie saile, whereof eight and twentie were great shippes, with sixe thousand fighting men, that if the Catholique armie were not strong enough to encounter them, he should retire vnder the fortresse, where the one might succour the other: The Marques made answere vnto him by the same messenger, that he should be of good courage, that his Maiesties armie was strong enough to vanquish the enimie, as he hoped to doe the next day: So as the morning being come, the French came with great ioy to encounter the Spaniards, who for that effect had put themselues againe in battell, but although the French had both wind and sun fauourable vnto thē, yet the calme was so great as they could hardly approach; so as the two armies continued one against the other vntil the afternoone, when as the winde growing somewhat stronger, the French began to make shew to charge the Spaniards: But seeing them in order without any shew of feare, they did not effect it, but continued vntill night, sayling equally towards the Iland of Saint Marie, fiftie miles from that of Saint Michael towards the south, sometimes vpon one boord, sometimes vpon another, the French making often shew to ioyne with them, being in their power to doe it, the wind being fauourable to them, and contrarie to the Spaniards: But night being come, the French resolving in any sort to fight, the day following they sent ten ships alongst the Ile; with intent to follow the enemies armie, and to charge them in the dawning of the day on both sides, but the winde grew calme and they could not sayle. The day following, which was the sower and twentieth, the Spaniards likewise desired to fight, although it seemed with some disadvantage,

uantage, wanting that part of their armie, which was prepared in Andelouzia; yet they greued to haue their enimies before them not being able either to flie or fight but when they pleased, the which increased their desire, and thinking it would so fall out by changing of their sailes from one side to another, imagining the French would also follow the like aduantage: but although the enimie did then make more apparant show to charge them; then before; yet nothing followed, but only the generall ships, with others that were neereft vnto them on both sides, spent many volleies of great shot, whereby the French had greatest losse by one of their ships which sunke presently: Having spent the whole daie in this sort towards the euening, the Marques, to trie if hee could get the winde, commaunded all his fleete, vpon the nights approach, should turne rowards the Ilande of Saint Michaell, to get the winde of the enimie, giuing them to vnderstand that the Admiral ship that night (least the enimie should discover their intent) should not carrie his ordinarie light, but about midnight discharge a cannon, to draw the rest of the ships neere vnto him: This order was giuen; and duely obserued, by all the fleete except two Easterlings, who not being aduertised by the negligence of him that had the charge, strayed so farre from the fleete, that hauing lost the sight they could not recover it, and hauing within them fower hundred Germaine souldiers; it seemed this armie decreased dayly both in number of ships and men: And for that the winde grew somewhat high, the Marques thought it conuenient after midnight hauing discharged his cannon, to hang out his lanterne as he did, the which succeeded well, for the getting the winde of the enimie: yet this deuise preuailed little, for vpon the breake of the day, it was the feast of Saint James the Apostle the five and twentieth of the moneth, whom the Spaniards call vpon in their battels; they discovered the French armie scattered a farre off, as well to succour the shippe that did sinke, as also to repaire some other hurts receiued the day before by their cannon: But some affirme that the French woulde not willingly fight vpon this Saints day: And although the Spaniards might well haue charged them, yet did they forbear, for that the ship of Christopher D' Erasso which had his mast crased strooke sailes, and discharged a peece; so as finding that it was wholly broke, they were in-

The Marques gets the wind of the French armie.

forced

forced to enuiron her with the army, least in this danger she should be set vpon, whereby the French recouered the winde they had lost: and the ship of *D' Erasso* being repaired, so as they might carrie halfe their sale, the Marques hauing tied her with a cable towed her at his sterne, and so this day passed without any other effect, but spending of some great shot.

The French disagree.

These shewes of fight, which the French had so often made, were not altogether counterfeit, for although the first time, and peraduenture the second, they did it onely to sound the enimies disposition; yet after they resolued to fight, but their opinions were not so conformeable in this Armie, as in the Spanish; for although *Philip Strozzi*, *Brisack*, the Counte of *Vimioso*, and some others desired to ioyne, yet many were loth to see it; and therefore seeing the Admirals ship not to begin the fight, the rest did not force of it: *Strozzi* & the Earle, who were both in one ship, were more willing then all the rest, yet had they not charged the enimie; for that the shippe wherein they were imbarked, was a woorse sailour, then many others: For this cause being not able to make such speed as they desired, they coulde not beginne the battaile, so as their friendes which were in other ships, supposed the fault to be in them, and not in their shippe, and that they might, if they had would: Which opinion was furthered by the small desire they had to fight; the which *Strozzi* finding, hee resolued to change his shippe, and to take an other of more speed; and therefore hauing passed with the Earle and his men into that wherein was *Monsieur Beamont*, marshall generall of the campe, being of better faile, he resolued therewith to charge the enimie; the which hee did the day following, being the xxvj. Saint Annes day: vpon the dawning both armies being at calme, not aboute three miles the one from the other, and 20. miles from Saint Michaels, they sailed gently towards the Iland, vntill the winde growing somewhat fresh in fauour of the French, towards noone both armies approched, being not aboute tenne miles from the Iland: Being there set in order, in the vangard of the French marched the generall shippe with *Strozzi* and the Counte of *Vimioso*; the admirall with *Mounsieur Brisack* accompanied with three English ships, followed by all the rest of the flecte, some neerer, some farther off: In the Spanish, the hulke wherein was

The beginning of the fight at sea.

Frauncis

Frauncis de Bouadilla, went before the rest, there followed the gallion Saint Martin, wherein the Marques was, who towed after him the ship wherein was *Christopher d' Erasso*, then followed that of Saint Mathew, wherein was *Lopo de Figueroa*, these went before as a buckler to the rest of the fleet which followed. The French had deuided amongst them the Spanish ships, wherewith euery one shoulde grapple, but it was a matter that coulde not succede, for the winde, the sea, and the order which had beene so often altered, hindered that resolution: The gallion Saint Mathew staid somewhat behinde, the which was cause it was first set vpon, for the captaine and admirall of the French, with other three ships turning their prooes vpon her, went to charge her, and the captaine with great dexteritie to auoide the shotte, ioyned with them towards the prooe, and boarded the gallion from the middle forward, leaving place for the rest to approch, the which inuested her rounde with a great streame of fire and shotte: *Lopo de Figueroa* being vnder their lee, not able to vse his sailes as he woulde, seeing such, and so great ships come to charge him, staid for them. There beganne a cruell fight, their artillerie did much harme, especially the Spanish, being the biggest, so as two of the French ships being sorely beaten therewith, and with their small shotte, after some fight, fell vpon the gallion, which remained betwixt the captaines ship the admirall and another, who being succoured with fresh men in small boats from the other shippes, troubled *Figueroa* much, especially hauing his shippe fired by the enimie in many partes: But being a man of great valour, accompanied with expert soldiers, hee made an honorable defence, and with great resolution preuented all inconueniences. He remained in this estate about two houres without any succour, at the ende whereof, a Biscaine ship of *Peter Garagarza*, wherein were two companies of Spanish soldiers, drawing neere, succoured him much: The Marques seeing in what danger this gallion was, would gladly haue succoured it, but he could not so sodainly performe it, as neede required; for being forced to returne backe, and saile directly against the winde, a matter impossible, but by turning on the right and on the left to gaine a little way, hee feared in the meane time she shoulde bee vanquished: Against the faide gallion Saint Martin, wherein the Marques was when as the Saint Mathew was

charged, there came likewise two great French ships, but they were so beaten with the cannon from the saide gallion, and from the ship wherein *Frauncis de Bouadilla* was neere vnto the captaine, that one of the enemies ships was like to sinke, & so passed on, so as the Marques being freed, he caused all the armie to turne towards the gallion Saint Mathew, and with all possible speede drewe neere vnto him; vpon the turning of the armie the areergard fell to be vanguard, as it hapneth in the like case, so as the shippes of *Michael d'Oquendo*, of captaine *Villauiciosa*, & an other Biscaine, which were the first to succour him, remained in the fronte, and all three inuested the French admirall, who being ill intreated in this cruell fight, fell from the gallion Saint Mathew. Another shippe, wherein was *Michael de Benesa*, passed on forward, and valiantly grappled with the French captaine on the outside, so as the gallion Saint Martin wherein the Marques was, could not approch neere any one of the enemies chiefe ships, being enuironed with his friends, so as he was forced to turne about and passe on: The French admirall defended himselfe with great courage against the three ships; that of *Villauiciosa* which fought in the prooe, did endamage him greatly, but the captaine thereof was slaine; that of *Oquendo* which fought in the sterne had boorded her, with his men taken prisoners and ensignes, and began to spoile: But the captaine finding that his shippe by reason of a shotte, was in danger of sinking, fell from her to repaire her leake, so as being in a manner freed from theemie, hee tooke his course towards Saint Michael, yet hee coulde not get thither, but

Mounfier
Brisac sines. sunke by the way, being spoiled by the artillerie; and Mounsier *Brisac* saued himselfe in a sniall boat: But these two armies did not so ioine as it was expected; for that the Frēch army, although they had a full wind, yet would they not willingly grapple with the Spaniards as they might haue done; but many of them stooode idle, discharging only their great shot: And although some of them laboured to boord *Frauncis de Bouadilla*, and *Christopher d'Erasso*, yet the artillerie kept them off, so as they durst not approch: A Biscaine shippe wherein were captaines *Michael de Cardona*, and *Peter Pardo*, boorded a French man, which was fallen from the S. Mathew, and forced her to yeeld, being already weake, hauing spoiled and abandoned it, she after fledde: Captaine *Villauiciosa* the elder; with his shippe wherein

wherein was the company of *Lepes de Gueuara*, boarded an other, and after a long fight vngrapled herselfe, and one or two ships more boarded her, and the rest fought passing onely by, and discharging their artillerie. The gallion *Saint Mathew* made a great resistance, two of those ships which had fallen from her, battered with the cannon, sunke; and although the generall of the French were succoured with many men, yet was he so beaten, that they within began to yeeld, but for that there were many Spaniards dead, and manie hurt, so as there remained within the gallion not aboue seuentie able men to fight, *Lopo de Figueroa* would not suffer them to enter, & make the victorie absolute, the which the French finding, and receiuing presently a new supply of three hundred men, they vngrapled hoping to saue themselves: But the Marques who stood vpon his garde, sayling first on one side, and then on another, pressing the enimie with his artillerie and smal shot, when he saw his ship fall off, he charged her, and so did another *Biscaine* ship on the other side, wherein was *Captaine Bastida* and *John de Viuero*; but the fight continued not aboue one hower, at the ende whereof the Spanisli generall became Master of the enimies ship with the losse of aboue 300. French: there found they *Philip Strozzi*, whom presently they transported into the Marques gallion, but being wounded to the death, he died presently, without speech, to the great grieve of all valiant men: The Counte of *Vimioso* was taken prisoner by *Coronell Mondenaro* an Italian aduenturer, but being wounded vnto the death, he liued onely two daies, embraced by the Marques as if he had beene his kinsman. Such was the ende of *Frauncis* of Portugall Counte of *Vimioso*, more honourable then any one of those which had followed *Antonie* vnto this day: He was yoong, indued with good parts, both of bodie and minde, if they had not beene accompanied with a certaine childish vanitie, which made him thus obstinate; besides such as knew him lamented his death, beeing by nature amiable: There found they also with no small admiration fourescore gentlemen, whereof thirtie were Lords and had their subiects, with many other persons in number aboue three hundred: The fight had continued fiue howers, when as the French seeing their generall yeelded, their Admirall lost, two others sunke, and many broken with artillerie, they began to flie; but the Marques,

The death of
Strozzi and
of the Count
Vimioso.

by reason of the night, pursued them not, fearing for that they were better sailers he should not boord them, and being separated hee should be forced to diuide his armie, the which he would not willingly doe; besides he should be constrained to leaue the gallion Saint Mathew behinde him in danger, being vnable to sayle without tackling, sailes and anchors, the which the enemy had burnt and thrown into the sea: There was one thing woorthie the obseruation, that being within this gallion a Priest called *John de Iaem* Chaplein vnto the Marshall of the field; a man which had seene the warres, during the fight being vnder the lowest decke of the gallion, when he saw so much wilde fire cast by the French, hearing their shot, and finding the hurt the cannon did, hee died, onely of feare and amasement, hauing receiued no wound: The Spaniards recovered one of their carauels with horse which had bene taken, and had taken more of their French ships, if they could haue manned them with mariners to conduct them; but for this cause the Admirall (which was cast away) abandoned, and some others torne and abandoned by the French were not kept; for this consideration the Marques burnt two, which had been abandoned and some others ranne vpon the Iland: In this battell the French lost seuen or eight of their best ships; and there died in the fight about two thousand of their men, with many hurt; as for the Spaniards there died about two hundred, and about five hundred wounded: The Portugals, pertisants vnto *Anthonie*, say, that the French fought not at all, for that the Captaines were corrupted by King *Philip*, and this opinion encreased, for that after *Anthonie* caused *Edward d'Castro* to lose his head in the Iland, supposing him to be the meanes thereof, but they were deceiued; for although that *Castro* had promised many things vnto the Kings ministers, when as they deliuered him out of prison, whereunto hee was committed when they rooke him flying out of Portugall, yet could he neuer effect any; but the cause of his death was for certaine practises begun after this defeate, and for that he had committed murder vpon the person of *Anthony Baraccio* a deere friend vnto the said Prior, and one of them that had proclaimed him King. Behold the issue of the sea fight, at the Ilands, which possibly is one of the greatest that euer happened within the bounds of the Ocean; for although in the Low-Coun-
tries

*A priest dies
for feare.*

*The number
of the dead
in the battel.*

*Edward de
Castro be-
headed by
Anthonie.*

tries there hath bene like factions, in these last warres, yet were they not truely within the Ocean, but in chanel and riuers neere vnto the Ilands of Holland and Zealand, rather at land then at sea. But the issue hereof besides the greatnes of it was of more importance then euer any: for besides that not onely the Realme of Portugall by this victorie remained settled, but also all Spaine; if the contrarie had fallen out, all had bene full of confusion, for that the French, pursuing their victorie, might with these forces, their good fortune, the presence of *Anthony*, and the inclination of the people, renew the warre in a suspended kingdome, more dangerous for the Spaniards then euer, seeing the great number of vnexpert Portugals vnited with so many French souldiers, might giue them great hope of happie successe.

Anthony who remained in a small barke, light and well furnished, the day before the battaile, when as they had resolved to fight, although his whole fortune depended in a manner on this day; not finding himselfe secure in this place, retired with two other small barkes to the *Terceres*, where in the citie of *Angra*, they had prepared for him a sumptuous entrie, with arches, images, and all triumphes, commonly vsed at the ioyfull comming of Princes: But deuining, it may be the unhappie successe, these preparations seemed out of season; for hauing forborne to passe to a bridge of woode, which they had built onely for his comming, whereby hee shoulde enter the streets that were garnished, he landed farre from thence with small companie and more sorrow then ioy: There did he howerly receiue sundry newes of the armie, and by little and little he vnderstoode the successe thereof, with an incredible griefe, the which encreased the more by the intelligence giuen him of the death of *Strozzi*, and the Earle, and now caring for his safetie, waering in his thoughts, hee knewe not howe to behaue himselfe in so rough an accident: for although he relied much in the inhabitants of the Ilands, and in the strength thereof, seeming to be safe in this place, yet feared he least the Marques pursuing his victorie, should assaile him, and that his men hauing their harts vanquished with this losse, shoulde not be able to make resistance; and therefore he enclined rather to abandon then defend it: He was somewhat assured of this feare vpon the arriual of seueenteene French and English

*Anthony his
voyage to
the Terceres and his
achievements there.*

glish ships to that place, of those that had fledde from the battaile to repaire their hurts receiued, to cure their wounded men, and to take in water: with these men he thought himselfe able to defende it, yet had they all but fewe soldiers, hauing in the battaile succoured the Counte of Brisack and *Strozzi* with all their men; yet there arriued still more, for at that time there returned but eightene French ships into Fraunce, with Brisack, and five other English: *Monsieur de Landes*, captaine of nine ships flying from the battaile, went to Fayale, where his soldiers began to spoile, & although it were not his meaning, but hauing auoided the sacke, retired to Angra, yet for this cause they woulde not suffer him to enter, or else that *Anthony* doubted his safetic.

The Marques as it is saide, the day being ended, resolving not to pursue the enimie, he drew neere to the Iland of Saint Michael to repaire his shippes, to looke to his hurt men, and to water; but the winde being contrary woulde not suffer him; keeping him three daies off at sea, the fourth he drew neere to Villa Franca, where he landed his hurt men, and prouided what he needed, the inhabitants of all parts of the Ile hauing yeelded their obedience. The first of August *Frauncis de Bonadilla* landed with fowre companies of soldiers, in the middest whereof vpon the sea shoare, hee put all the French prisoners, leading them to the market place of Villa Franca, vnto a scaffolde built the height of a man, where with a loude voice was read the sentence of the Marques, whereby shewing that the Catholique King hauing peace with the most Christian King, against the saide peace publicly sworne, an armie of many aduenturers was come out of Fraunce in fauour of *Anthony* Prior of Crato, with an intent to take the Catholique Kings flecte, which he expected from the Indies, and the new founde lands, and to spoile the Ilands, as they had already done that of Saint Michaels; and that the same armie hauing tried a battaile against his Maiesties, the French had beene broken and overcome; in the which being taken eight and twentie noble men, and two and fiftie gentlemen, and manie other marriners and soldiers, he declared them taken as enimies to the quiet, and publike good; disturbers of the traffike, and fauourers of his Maiesties rebels; that as such, and as publike pirats hee commaunded the Auditor generall of the armie, that for their chastice-

The sentence of the Marques against the French prisoners

chastisement, and for the example of others, hee shoulde execute vpon them the punishment of naturall death, beheading the Gentlemen, and hanging the rest, which passed the age of seuentene yeeres, being so conuenient both for the seruice of God, and of the two kings. This sentence seemed cruell to all such as heard it, and chiefly vnto the Spanish soldiers, both for that they feared the like might happen vnto thē an other day; as also for that they would not lose the profit which many expected by the raunsome of the saide prisoners; or else for their owne good inclination, so as some of the soldiers laying aside all respect, saide it was not well grounded, for that there was no firme and inuiolable peace betwixt the Catholique King and most Christian, but warre; and that those were neither pirats nor theeues, but valiant soldiers: That there was no peace, they prooued it by the warres of Flaunders, more hot then euer, where the French did in a manner possesse all the Catholique Kings patrimonie: And that they were no pitats, they prooued by the letters patents they had from the King, vnder the which the ships and soldiers were enrolled; besides, the number and qualitie of these men were such, as it appeared cleerely, they would not haue attempted it of themselues, if the king had not sent them: And although betwixt the two crownes they dissembled many things, the Christian King excusing himselfe sometimes vpon his mother, sometimes vpon his brother, that they were all deuises of Princes; but for all that, they were not without open warre, the lawes whereof (they saide) was not so stricte, as to commaund them to hang all their prisoners. And this execution did so mooue the hearts of many, that some of the principall soldiers being assembled together, went (with a commendable example) vnto the Marques to make intercession for the life of their enimies, who answered, that the most Christian King had expressly commaunded, that all Frenchmen that shoulde take armes against the Catholique King, shoulde be corporally punished; so as the same day these Gentlemen with a generall pittie, and great seueritie were beheaded vpon the scaffold, and the marriners and soldiers hanged in diuers places, and the pittie was the greater, being apparant that they were all not onely valiant soldiers, but Catholique and deuout Christians: The blame of this seuerie execution; was not imputed to the Marques, supposing

The Spaniards discontented with the sentence and the reason.

The Spanish soldiers entreat for the French.

The French beheaded and hanged.

supposing that he had expresse commaundement from the King, whom likewise they excused, for hauing so determined, seeing it was not to bee presumed that so many personages of importance, should come with such an armie and remaine prisoners, especially knowing that *Philip* by his owne inclination was not cruell: yet on the other side, they considered, that the King in his minde shoulde haue conceiued a cruell disdain against the French, seeing that vnder the shadow of amitie, peace and alliance, Kings writing daily one to the other, greewing and reioycing at their troubles and contents, did not onely aide his rebels, but also tooke his countries, and sent so great an armie to endomage him: And although that Princes do vsually dissemble, and counterfeit in many things, yet it seemed the French vnder a new kinde of dissimulation, would make warre, whereby they did inferre that this execution did nothing displease the King. The armie being a little repaired here, the Marques went to the Ile of Coruo to meete with the Indian flecte, and hauing past in view of the citie of Angra, he put *Anthonie* and all the people into confusion: for although the Marques content with the victorie, would not thrust himselfe into a new danger; yet *Anthonie* doubted that in the heat of the victorie, he would pursue and assaile the Ilande; in the which although he had men enough both of the nation, and of the French, yet were they fearfull and disordered; and *Anthonie* himselfe at the same time provided a light ship to imbarke if neede were. These newes came slowly to Lisbone, for the which they were in great care, hauing newes of the fight, by the meanes of a *Zabra* of Biscay, but a French ship which had beene fore beaten by the gallion *Saint Mathew*, being fled from the battel, gaue assurance of the euent; for beeing arriued disguised at *Setruual*, he was discouered, finding within her some Spanish souldiers dead; in the bosome of one of them was written all that had passed in the arnie, since their departure from Lisbone vntill the time that he was slaine: The Marques attended long about the Ilands for the Indian flecte, whereof two being arriued, the seas growing high he came with them to Lisbone, to the great ioy of all the court, where he was extraordinarily fauoured by the King.

Anthony after the Marques his departure remained more quiet in minde, supposing that for one whole yeere he need not feare any enimie:

* A kinde of
small ship.

The carriage of
Anthonie after
the sea
fights.

enimie:

enemie: He greatly grieved for the death of the French prisoners, fearing it would preiudice his cause in France: But *Emanuel de Silva* pressed him to reuenge in hanging about fittie or threescore Castilians, which were there taken prisoners at diuers times, the which he woulde not suffer, being better enclined: He was ill furnished with money, although hee had great store of armes and munition: For this consideration he daily (all by the inuention of the saide *Silua*) made rigorous commandements to draw money from the people, and from such as did not follow him willingly: He caused gold to be coined, which hee valued at five and twentie roials, although it weied but eight: He made testons of siluer, weighing a roiall and a halfe, the which he made currant for halfe a ducket; and the copper money which was woorth three in Portugall, hee valued at tenne: And for that many were retired to the mountaines, to be free from troubles within the citie, hee commaunded euery one to returne, and if any deferred his comming longer then the time limited by his commaundement; they presently seazed his goods: Many for feare of the souldiers had carried and hidden their goods without the citie, and therefore he commaunded euerie one to bring them backe againe, whereby he gained much; for he demaunded a loane of money of such as came and brought it backe; and if any one obeyed not, he sent Souldiers to search their goods, and to spoile them, with a thousand indignities: It was a lamentable thing to see how the Church causes were handled, for the religious men (except the Iesuits) imploied in militarie actions, retayned nothing of a priest, but the habit, and the name; as for sermons, confessions, and such like things, they came from them, as from men which had not God before their eies: And *Anthony* himselfe during these afflictions, had not his minde free from lasciuiousnes, for the women of honour could hardly be free from his lustes, hauing 100 familiar accessse into the monasterie of religious women: amongst whom, as well as amongst the men, raigned the passions of the affaires of the Realme, with no small scandall and great disorder, and many of his, as also of the French followed this his example. *Anthony* liued this kinde of life vntill the moneth of October, irresolute what to doe: To goe into Fraunce after the losse of so great a number of the nobilitie, he helde it not safe, neither knew he how he should be looked on,

on, for he feared as much the disdain of particulars, as he hoped in the protection of the Queene mother. To remaine there, he saw it a thing not able long to subsist with so great garrisons, not hauing wherewithall to pay the souldiers, nor in a manner how to furnish his expences: He resolued therefore with such shippes as he had to depart for Fraunce, but first would goe towards the Madera, and the Iland of Canarie, that by spoyling of some weake places, hee should content the souldiers with some weake pray. For this cause hauing prepared about thirtie saile, he not onely shipped his souldiers, but with a new denise he commaunded all the citizens which he suspected, and all religious persons affected to the contrarie partie, as the Iesuits and others to imbarke, making this commaundement most rigorous to those that could least obserue it, to the ende they should redeeme this voyage with money: But all as vnprofitable in sea causes, excused themselues with liuely reasons and entreaties; but it preuailed nothing, making answer to the yoonger, that he had neede of them for his garde, and to the olde, for counsell; so as many sought to content him with money as hee desired, euerie one according to his abilitie, by meanes whereof they were freedde from his commaundement. But this inuention was soone counter-checkt by another, for many desired to leaue the Iland & to imbarke, not with intention to follow the armie, but to saile into Spaine: Some of the Capraines of the shippes, vnderstanding their mindes, agreede with the Portugals, not to deliuer any money to *Anthony* for their stay in the Iland, but paying them the like summe and much lesse, they would land them in Portugall, so as many trusting to the French, and English, not paying any thing to *Anthony*, imbarked with them, agreeing for a certaine summe to be set on land. *Anthony* departed with this armie from the Terceres, leauing *Emanuel de Silva* in his place, with five hundred Frenchmen vnder the charge of *Baptiste Florentin*, and *Charles* a French man their Captaines: He arriued at the Iland of Saint Michael, where hauing staid long thereabouts, fearing the Spanish garrison there, he durst not land, being forced to leaue it by a storme that rose: Then some of his English and French ships, left him, keeping promise with the Portugals, that were imbarked with them. In the meane time they had newes in Fraunce of the defeat of the armie, and the death of so

many

The departure of Anthony for France.

Emanuel de Silva staid at the Terceres.

many prisoners, which caused both in court, and throughout the Realme a great grieffe and disdain, and enflamed the French to re-
 uenge, and as they had Flaunders neere, and matters in that estate
 (as hath beene said) there they discharged their choler; neither did
 they forbear, after the returne of *Anthony* to treat of a new prepara-
 tion, of an armie at sea for the sommer following.

*The French
 displeas'd at
 their over-
 throw.*

It was giuen out in Spaine, that the faction of *Anthony* and the
 French against Portugall, was dashed; and that they had weakned
 their forces, yet did they not dismisse their hired ships: At that time
 two galliasses being arriued from Naples, it seem'd the king would
 assemble a great armie for the next yeere, and make himselfe abso-
 lute Lorde of the Ocean, both in respect of the affaires of *Anthony*,
 as to assure his ships, from the Indies, and newe founde landes, from
 the French and English, and to force the Iland. The Catholique
 King desired to returne into Castill, both for that he was called by
 the states of Arragon, and to finish the marriage of his daughter
 with the Emperour; as also for other busines of the realme, and was
 vpon the point to effect it, in Nouember 1582. but he woulde first
 extend his pardon graunted at Tomar to such as had followed *An-
 thony*: For this cause hauing excepted the religious persons and
 tenne others; hee pardoned freely all the rest that shoulde present
 themselues within a certaine time; but this wrought no effect, for
 there came fewe, and many said, that the King being yet displeas'd,
 could not make a free pardon. This departure was after staied by
 the newes of the death of *Diego* his eldest sonne, who as hee had
 beene sworne Prince of Portugall, at the estates of Tomar, hee
 woulde likewise that the same oath shoulde bee made in the person
 of *Philip* his second sonne being then sicke. And for that he had no
 other issue male, the succession masculine of these Realmes remai-
 ning in the breath of one only, together with the kings age, and the
 disposition of the affaires of the world, both the quiet & seditious
 were in care: But for the swearing of him he assembled the estates
 at Lisbone, in the moneth of Februarie, resolute to accomplish this
 ceremonie before his departure.

*The amplifi-
 cation of
 pardon to-
 wards the
 Portugals.*

At that time the Duke of Alua (consum'd with a continuall fea-
 uer) died, in the p'allace of Lisbone, in the Kings owne quarter, be-
 ing of the age of threescore & fourteene yeeres. During his sicknes
 he

The death
of Duke of
Alva & his
commen-
dation.

he was greatly fauoured of the King, who did visite him a little before his death: There is no doubt but the King apprehended the losse of such a seruant, which bred no lesse discontentment in him, then pleasing to his enemies: But the Portugals obserued, that the day following he went publikely to masse, without any shew of discontent, contrary to the custome of their kings, who vpon the death of men of lesse qualitie (hauing done any notable seruices to the crowne) retired themselues for a time; the which seemed the more strange, for that King *Emanuel* vpon the death of a notable Pilote » withdrew himselfe three daies: But the actions of great Princes, are » so subiect to the censure of the vulgar, as the wisest minister matter » of discourse to the curious and malicious to flander them. With him died (as a man may say) all the warlike discipline of Spaine, for there remained not any one captaine equall vnto him: He was of a goodly stature, of visage leane and graue; hee had rare gifts of nature, and fortune, the which he augmented much by arte; he was of a noble minde; of a readie and subtile spirite, assured in iudgement, and peaceable: He was not greedy of worldly wealth, sparing in giuing, but honourable in the expences of his house; hee was a great dissembler of the disgraces of the Courte, and cunning in their secret practises, for so it behooued him to be, to preuent such as were his competitors: He was generally hated, for that he treated proudly with his inferiors, and his equals hated his greatnes. The ambition to purchase the Princes fauour (a shelve wherein proude mindes cast themselues) was great in him; for this respect it may be, or for the preheminance and greatnes he pretended aboue all other officers, the which made him odious; hee was not much pleasing to *Charles*, and lesse to *Philip*, although from their birthes vntill their » later daies, he had serued them 60. yeeres: But Princes loue them » better whom they haue rewarded, then such as haue serued them. Hee was greatly enclined to warlike discipline, wherein hee was so cunning, as there was not any captaine of his nation, in long time comparable vnto him; and to conclude, for his many yeeres, and great experience, there was not in a manner any one in the worlde but yeilded vnto him: He was of great iudgement, and dexteritie, to encampe and make choice of a lodging, so as alwaies with lesse forces then the enemies, he kept them in awe; he was so well experi-
enced

enced as he neuer refused battaile wheresoever he came : Hee did willingly hazard his owne person, but his soldiers with greater consideration, trusting more to policie then fortune : He was a rough & inexorable executioner of the seuerelawes of war, of whose pitifull crueltie depends the health of armies, and the conseruation of States: He was by nature enclined to vanquish without effusion of bloud, and was imploied in warres conformable to his inclination; for the greatest part of them, being defensue, wherein a wise captain should rather temporize and suffer the enimie to consume by the difficulties of watre in a strange countrey, then to hazard an estate vpon so vnequall a game, as is the winning of a battaile against him that hath but men to loose. To this effect hee answered the counsell of warre, in the kingdome of Naples, in the yeere 1558. when as the Frenchmen being expelled, they woulde haue charged the enimie retiring, hee saide, hee woulde not hazarde the realme against a cassock of golde, for such was then the habite of the Duke of Guise, Lieutenant generall to *Henry* the seconde King of Fraunce; yet some did blame him, to be too warie in the execution of matters of importance in warre: He serued his King in greater charges, and with greater authority then euer any of their subiects, and it may be, there hath not beene in many ages a captaine, which hath so long managed armes, nor displaid his ensignes in so manie countries: For he hath made warre in Italy. Spaine and Fraunce, in Hungarie, Germanie, Flaunders and Affrick; although he were accustomed to say, that he had done nothing, seeng that he was neuer so happie as to see a Turkish armie: But the last wars of Flaunders did somewhat obscure the glorie he had gotten; for although as captaine he did warre valiantly, yet he knew not, (as it hapned to him in other places) howe to vse the victorie, but arrogating too much vnto himselfe, he caused a statue of brasse to be erected for him in the Cittadell of Antwerpe, which the king caused afterwards to be beaten downe. It appeeres that he could better carrie himselfe in aduersitie then prosperitie; for in the one he had great force, in the other too much conceite, so as he reaped more commendations by afflictions, then by victorie: Hee shewed in dying the magnanimitie he had in his life, and that which is of great moment, hee shewed tokens of a religious Christian, being happie that Frier

*The blames
of the Duke
of Alua.*

Lewes of Granata, that famous preacher (whose diuine writings are pleasing to the worlde) was present at his death: They did substitute in his place *Charles Borgia* Duke of Gandia, a man of greater vertue then experience.

The obsequies of Sebastian and other Princes Portugals.

The King had caused the bones of King *Sebastian* to be brought out of Affricke, the which with King *Henries* that were at Almerin, he would before his departure see solemnly interred in the church of Belem, neere to the other Kings of Portugall; and for that cause remained there three daies: He caused also to be brought from diuers parts of the realme vnto the saide monasterie the bodies, or at the least the ashes of his kinsfolkes, the children and nephewes to King *Emanuel*, who (as a man may say) dying, resigned him the crowne, that they might bee all kept together: There was made a most sumptuous obsequie, with great shewes, and all the religious persons in the name of *Henry* were present, for the rest had beene performed before, and in the funerall sermon *Sebastians* actes were likewise touched, and *Henry* extremely commended, the which was more pleasing being dead, then the praises of *Philip* liuing and present, wherein the Orator dilated much, hauing first in particular set downe the branches of King *Emanuel*, and brought the succession to the said *Philip*.

A reformation of the Kalendar.

I will not leaue heere to make mention as of a rare matter, although it be somewhat from our purpose, that in this yeere of our Lorde 1582. they did reckon ten daies lesse then in others: for by the Popes decree, all Christian princes obeying the Romish sea, gaue commaundement to cut off ten daies in the moneth of October, so as for the fift day, they should generally write 15. the which was done to fitte the times to the meanes and principall aspects wherein the heauens were, when as our Redeemer Iesus Christ suffered, that they might celebrate Easter, and the other feasts vpon their proper daies. The which they had not formerly done; for that the true course of the sunne, which makes the yeere, being certaine minuts of an hower lesse then the time, which they vntill then had taken for a yeere, it seemed that in the course of so manie yeeres so small a difference had mounted vnto ten daies, so as by this equalitie, it was made conformable to the time past.

The King beganne to vnburthen himselfe of the affaires of Portugall,

Portugall, for to go into Castill; and therefore the xxvj. day of I-
 anuary in the yeere 1583. hauing assembled the estates of the realme, A new as-
 sembly of
 estates at
 Lisbonne,
 where the
 prince Phi-
 lip was
 sworne. they began in the pallace of Lisbonne, where after *Alphonso de Castel-
 bianco* newly made Bishop of Algarues, had briefly made the pro-
 position, shewing how much the King was grieued with the death of
 the Prince, and the necessitie there was to sweare a newe: *Melchior
 d' Amaral*, one of the Deputies of the citie of Lisbonne, made answere
 in the behalfe of the whole realme, shewing the desire and readines
 they had to performe this acte: Whereupon the yoong Duke of
 Barcellos, as Duke of Braganca, beginning (for his father with sword
 in hande did supplie the office of Constable) kneeling downe be-
 fore the King, held foorth his hande to take the oath after the accu-
 stomed manner, the which being likewise performed by all the rest,
 this ceremonie was ended. He procured that the assemblie of De-
 puties for this effect shoulde not be called estates, to the ende hee
 might take away all occasion of demaunding new things, or to re-
 demaund those which had beene required in the former estates,
 and not graunted; and therefore hee had contrarie to the custome
 sent into all places, briefes of the procurations the Deputies shoulde
 bring with them, so drawne, as they shoulde not extend further then
 the swearing of the Prince; and although it were so executed, yet
 the estates did not forbear, especially he that was for the Deputies
 of the realme, to reuiue the demaunds made at the estates helde at
 Tomar, with some others; and especially that it would please his
 Maiestie to shewe magnanimitie and clemencie in giuing a generall
 pardon to all such as were culpable of *Antonies* offence; saying, it
 shoulde greatly profite, and do little harme: But whatsoever the
 cause was, he neither satisfied them in this point, nor in any other of
 importiance. He dispatched some Portugals which sought reward,
 for although hee had giuen vnto many, yet were they not content:
 But notwithstanding all this care and diligence, whether it were his
 faulte or his ministers, or else the disposition of the suters, or of all
 together, there remained many of them discontented, part of them
 for that they were not recompenced, and others for that they did
 not seeme to be recompenced according to their merits. The Duke
 of Braganca at the assembly of the estates, hoped to haue receiued
 recompence from the King, which he supposed to haue deserued,

for although hee were rewarded, yet was it not according to his expectation, for aspiring to greater offices, & greater authoritie then he had, it seemed the Kings wil was therein directly contrarie, so as, for that the recompences were small in regard of the greatnes of his hope, they were not published, but hee was suffered to repleie that they might be after specified. The Marques of Villa Real receiued likewise no contentment to his liking, so as both remained ill satisfied, and the Duke leauing the Court, being long before sicke, died soone after, although the Portugals say, that the grieffe he conceiued of the weake recompence hee receiued from *Philip*, hastened his daies. The King at the time of his departure reformed the state of iustice, publishing many newe lawes, suffering the Portugals to attire themselues more freely with silke then other kings had done: He made Cardinall *Albert* Archduke of Austria, gouernour of the realme in his absence, leauing him notwithstanding accompanied with three counsellors, that is, *George d' Almada* Archbishop of Lisbon, *Peter d' Ascafona*, and *Michael de Mora*, who was Secretorie of the realme newly created Notarie, which they call of the puritie, so great a charge as yet had neuer beene giuen, but to the chiefest personages of the realme, whereunto since the time of King *Iohn* the third, that *Michael de Silua* Bishop of Viseu, who was after Cardinall, went to Rome in disgrace, there was neuer any aduanced. The King gaue procuration to the said Cardinall, causing him to take an oath in the presence of the counsell of State, and of the magistrate of the Chamber of Lisbon, to gouerne with iustice, and to resigne him the realme at his returne. The Empresse his sister, who was to goe into Castill, visiting first the Nunnes of the monasterie of Santos, who may lawfully marrie; she tooke forth and carried with her *Julian d' Allan castro*, of the age of thirreene yeeres, who by the decease of *Maudlyn Gironne* her mother, remained Dutchesse of Auero: The Portugals were much grieued with this acte, for although she said, the King woulde prouide she should not marrie but with his liking; yet notwithstanding she seemed to be rauished, and manie feared that he woulde not marrie her in Castill.

*Cardinall
Albert
made gouernour
of
Portugall.*

*The kings
departure
from Por-
tugall.*

When these things were ended, the king departed the eleuenth of Februarie, in the yeere 1583, the which greatly displeased the

the quiet, and did glad the seditious; for those feared, least there should grow some controuersie betwixt the people and the garrisons; that the soldiers ill paid would mutine, and that the Cardinals authoritie, was not of such force as the kings presence, to redresse it; and contrariwise the rest hoped, that the kings absence, the small affection the people bare vnto them, the oppression of the garrison, and the great dearth, would in the spring (considering principally the army which was prepared in Fraunce) minister matter of alteration; although it now seemed that things succeeded in fauour of the kings intention; hauing intelligence that in Flaunders the Duke of Alonçon seeking to assure himselfe of the citie of Anwerp, wherein he was as Lord and Protector, hauing his armie lodged thereabouts, it had not succeeded, for forcing of a gate, and hauing drawne in three thousand French, they were by the great valour of the Citizens repulsed, and the one halfe slaine; so as it seemed the Flemmings would no more trust the Duke but compound with the King. Such Portugals as had receiued no answer to their demaunds, doubted of all dispatch in the Kings absence: but this feare was qualified by the opinion which they had conceiued, that the Cardinall remaining gouernour, they should be no lesse fauored by him then they had beene by the King himselfe, albeit this hope soone vanished after the Kings departure; for the Cardinall did not onely forbear to vse the authoritie which hee seemed to haue left him, but hee refused to signe the commaundements or other writings which concerned the affaires of the realme: And although some beleued that he had forborne to do it, for that the king was yet vpon the way, and not out of the realme, vpon a respect of soueraignie, yet they were deceiued; for the King being out of the realme, he did not signe, the which bred a great disdain in the Portugals, who pretended to holde the realme distinguished from that of Castill, it seemed that this manner of gouernment which the king vsed from Madrill was a more strict vnion then they desired, besides the troubles of their expeditions for the distance of the court: And this disdain was much augmented, for that the king had placed in the councell of the reuenues of the crowne which they terme *d' Hazenda*, two counsellors, Castillians of nation, a doctor, & a merchant, saying, that it was vnseemely & against their priuileges.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

The Contents of the tenth Booke.

In this last Booke is contained the death of Sanches d' Auila : The sacke of the Ilands of Cape Vert: The carriage of Emanuel de Silua Gouvernour of the Terceres: The preparatiõ of king Philip to force the said Ilands: The succours sent thither from Fraunce: The fortification and the garrison. The departure of the armie from Lisbone : The description of the Iland of Terceres : The arriuall there of the Spanish armie : The assault , skirmishes and taking of the Iland: The yeelding of the French: The taking of the Iland of Fayale, and the obedience of all the rest: How that Emanuel de Silua lost his head , and many others put to death : And the returne of the armie to Andelouzia.

THE estate of the Realme after the Kings departure remained all that winter quiet; and although the people had their mindes yet disquieted , and some of the nobilitie not fully satisfied , hauing left the kings court , and the Cardinals likewise, retyred themselues to their castles and houses, yet no man durst shew any discontent. The greatest part , although they loued peace and desired the tranquillitie of the Realme, yet were they in their hearts contented to see the Terceres make resistance, and continue in the deuotion of *Anthonye*, and the French supposing that whilest the King had any warres , he would entreat them better , and beare them more respect, then they thought hee should doe, if all were pacified: neither preuailed it, that the Portugalles were made much of in Castile, and admitted neere the

the King as they had woonte to bee when hee was in Portugall, nor yet that the saide King had (it may bee to make the present gouernement conformeable to that was passed,) obtained from the Pope the authoritie of the Legate, for the Cardinall euen as *Henry* enioied it, the which bredde a great benefite to the realme: for as it hapneth to passionate mindes, they were not remooued from their opinion: for the Cardinall being made Legate for two yeeres onely, they feared that the time being expired, they woulde take an occasion to recall him into Castill, and so the Realme should be reduced into a prouince, and that the king remaining at Madrill, shoulde gouerne it. At that time *San-ches d' Auila* died, being stroke with a horse, for that leauing chirurgerie, he woulde be cured by a soldier with certaine blessings, the which caused the Castillians to mourne: for although he were but marshall generall of the felde, yet remaining, after the death of the Duke of Alua, of greatest knowledge amongst the Spaniards, in the arte of warre, there was not any man neere the Duke of Gandia of so great experience: Hee was a man without feare, and happie in warre; esteemed by the Duke of Alua about all the soldiers of his time; but this life which he had vnto his olde age so happily aduentured at the cannons mouth, was nowe taken away by death, vpon a small mischance.

The death of Auila.

In Fraunce it seemed that all the French were turned vnto the affaires of Flaunders, affecting them more then Portugall: and although there were an intent at the Priors instance to set forth some ships of warre, yet founde they therein coldenes and want of money, whereby it appeered, that whereas they attempted something, it should not be to offend, but rather to prouide for defence: And although they had now intelligence that certaine French ships guided by the Portugals, and especially by one *Emanuel Serradas*, had inuaded the Ilands of Cape Vert, and spoiled some part of them, yet they made no account thereof, vnderstanding they were but small barkes of pirates. At the Terceres *Emanuel de Silua* was still gouernour, who shewed himselfe an obstinate enimie to the Catholique King, a faithfull minister to the Prior, and a cruell persecutor of the *Philippines*: Notwithstanding ill disposed, of small iudgment, and little experience. With these his qualities he afflicted the

The French spoile the Ilands of Cape Vert.

The carriage of Silua at the Terceres.

poore

poore people in diuers manners, for the meanes which he inuented to borrow money, to molest and condemne many persons, were insupportable: The pride & arrogancie whereunto he was growen, (as it hapneth often in him that is not accustomed to commaund) made him seeme inuincible, and immortall; the wrongs he committed were so infinite, that iustice had lost her place; the libertie his friendes and seruants tooke vpon them was without restraint; the subiection and seruitude of those that did not flatter him was such, as the slaues were more free. I leaue the executions he committed vpon such as would haue compounded with the Catholique king, and coulde not conceale their mindes; for vsing many stratagemes to discouer their affections, wherein as he founde any one lesse obstinate then himselfe, hee was miserable, being cruelly punished both in body and goods: And for this occasion he caused manie to be slaine, betraied by one *Amador Vieira*, who hauing beene secretlie sent into this Iland by King *Philip*, to continue his followers in their fidelitie, to sounde the disposition of the people, and to drawe all he coulde to his deuotion; after he had wel executed his charge, he reuealed vnto *Silua* such as had discouered themselues, by whom they were miserablie afflicted. And as tyrannie taught him, he daily made newe ordinances and lawes in the name of *Anthony*; the officers and ministers of iustice in the citie, which were vsually chosen by voices, he alone woulde haue the naming of them. He was not onely contented to obserue those lawes which treated of high treason, but also made a new lawe more seuer, that such as did but talke of that matter shoulde suffer death, and that such witnesses should serue, although lesse in number then the auncient lawes had ordained: He would haue the sentences in such cases registred by the Magistrate of the citie, for a perpetuall memorie to all to terrifie and tyrannize the more. There was within the Iland little aboue seauen hundred French soldiers, one onely company of English, and about three thousand Portugals; it was fortified on all partes where they might lande, with aboue thirtie fortes, and many trenches made, with such arte and diligence, as it seemed impossible to enter, if they were guarded: And although these thinges with the other qualities of the place, made it vncasie to force, yet *Silua* iudged it stronger then it was, and did trust (as a man of no experience)

more

more in the defenders then was conuenient.

In the meane time they prepared an armie for sea at Lisbon, and assembled the Spanish soldiers, to imploy them against this Iland, vnder the command of the Marques of Saint a Croix, being more in number, both in ships and men, then the yeere before: besides there was speech to sende fowre galliasses and twelue galleies, for which cause they shortned their yarges, prouiding square sailes, and of a thirde maste which they call the meane. In Spaine there were diuers opinions concerning this armie, making diuers discourses thereon, both by worde and writing: Such as were not to be imployed in this action, to whom no part of the honour or praise did belong, made it easie, saying, that the people were already so wearied, poore, and oppressed by the garrisons, as the armie should no sooner appeere, but they would bee at the Kings deuotion: And the cause why they did no sooner yeeld, was the subiection wherein they were held, and although they neither would nor could come to composition, yet were they easie to force; for the citie of Angra and all other places being dismantled and weake, they had no other defence then the landing, the which they supposed were impossible to hinder, proouing by ancient and latter examples, that in warre there was no meanes to stoppe the course of passage of riuers and landing in Ilands, seeing that to keepe so great a circuit, there was an infinite number of men required; and being once landed all the rest were conquered: On the other side, such as imbarcked with the armie to make it more glorious whatsoeuer euent were, laboured to make the enterprize of greater difficultie then it was, saying, that the Iland was little, well peopled, aboundning with victuals, rocked rounde about, and seated in the most inconstant sea that is, where they could hardly ride three monethes in the yeere, whereof one part before they could arriue would be spent, that they had not any port where to retire themselves, the which made it easie to be defended; adding thereunto the obstinate disposition of the people, the despaire they had of any assured pardon, the fortifications made by the French (in that point very diligent) with the prouision of munition, soldiers, and captaines, made the place inexpugnable: They added, that it was likely the French, (if it were but to diuert the Spanish forces, and continue this moate in their eyes,) would labour to support

The Kings preparation against the Terceraes.

The discourse in Spaine upon this enterprize.

support the Iland, which shoulde be of lesse charge to them then to the Spaniards in raising their armies to force it.

But whilest they prepared this armie in Spaine, and that they discoursed vpon the occurrents, *Anthony* imploied all his forces in Fraunce, so to furnish the Iland as they might bee able to defende themselues: And although the Queene fauoured him, yet whether the heate of the yeere past were growen colde (it may bee through the vnhappy successe of the French armie, or that the Prior founde himselve bare of money, or whatfoeuer it were) they made a weaker prouision then was expected; yet at the Queene mothers instance, *Monsieur de Chattes* a knight of Malta, who was gouernour of Deepe, being experienced in these later warres, went with fewe more then twelue hundreth French men, although the report was fifteene hundreth: He carried letters to the Magistrate of the citie, not onely from the Prior, whereby he did greatly commend and encourage the citizens, shewing that on them he did grounde all his hopes to returne into the realme; but also from the most Christian King, and the Queene mother: The King by his letters reioiced at their constancie, shewing how much he desired to aide them against those enimies, who sought to suppressse the libertie of the realme of Portugall, for the pretention (those be his verie words) that his mother might haue to their conseruation; and therefore he sent vnto them this gentlemau with ships and men, giuing them manie other termes of loue. The Queene referred them to the Kings letters, with assurance neuer to abandon them in their iust warre, referring herselfe, and so likewise did the king, to that which the commander shoulde deliuer vnto them. Being arriued and ioined to the rest, and with the Portugals of the Iland, which in all were neere sixe thousand; *Silua* supposed that although he had many fortes to keepe, yet shoulde he easilie defend them, and the better, for that the ships which had spoiled Cape Vert, were returned and brought much arillery with them, the which ioined with that which *Chattes* had brought from Fraunce, and so much more which they had before within the Iland, both for the guard thereof, and taken in ships, which they had spoiled, amounting in all to three hundreth pieces, whereof many were of iron and very small: But notwithstanding all this, and that the Portugals shewed their accustomed ouerwee-

*Monsieur
de Chattes
sent to suc-
cour the
Iland:*

ning, yet as men that feared, they left not to conduct their wiues and children to the mountaines, and to hide that which they helde most precious. *Chattes* as a warrior, hauing viewed the seate of the Iland, the fortifications, garrisons, victuals, and munition within it, doubted of the defence; for all seemed sparingly furnished, and the soldiers to be fewer in number, and of lesse experience then the place required; neither was the Iland so rockie and inaccessible as was described: whereupon being retired with *Emanuel de Silua*, he desired to knowe whereon he grounded his defence: But he, whether blinded with the tirannie he there vsed, or else with his sinnes, did so augment the number, and extoll the valour of the Portugals, that he woulde haue them not onely beleeeue they shoulde easilie defend themselves, but that the French were in a manner superfluous. The French man helde not himselfe for all this satisfied, labouring to remedie that which he thought remediable, esteeming still more of the number and valour of the Portugals then was conuenient: The fortification seemed vnto him ill directed, for he perswaded them to bring into their chiefe castell all their munition and victuals, that if the Spaniards shoulde chaunce to land in any part, their whole forces might retire thither to make resistance, vntill that winter comming, the armie shoulde be forced to retire; for as much as without this retrait, the enimie setting foote on land, the towne with all other places being vnwalled were lost. *Silua* did contradict these reasons with wordes contrarie to his meaning, saying, that when the soldiers had a second place of retraite, they woulde make a weake resistance at the first, and that the shoare was so fortified as there was no feare that the enimie coulde lande. But in truth he made no account of any of the castels, for three reasons: One for that he wanted victuals to furnish it for any time, and for so manie men: The other for that he woulde not willingly shut himselfe into any, hauing a meaning to flie: And the thirde was, that distrusting the French, hee woulde not trust them with any strong forte, least they shoulde become masters: In this sort the captaines disagreed, whereupon they not onely ceased to treat of this practise, but hauing before resolued to abandon all the other Ilands being weake, and hauing no superfluous men to sende thither, they tooke a newe resolution to sende vnto *Fayale*, as most inhabited, fowre hundredth French,

*A discourse
betweene
Chattes and
Silua upon
the strength
of the Iland.*

French, vnder the conduct of Mounfier *de Carle*, with the which and the inhabitants of the Iland, hauing a small castell, they hoped to defend themselues.

*The kings
armie de-
parts from
Lisbone*

Whilest these things passed at the Terceres, they had put the Catholique Kings armie in a readines, the which departed from Lisbone the ceue of Saint Iohn Baptist, being in number aboute threescore ships, besides Zabres, Carauels, and barkes; for there were twelue galleies, and two galliasses, for the other two came not in time from Naples, five gallions, and aboute thirtie great ships of diners nations: there were fewe lesse then ten thousand souldiers, the greatest part Castillians, hauing no other nations but a thousand Germaines, two companies of Italians, and two of Portugall aduenturers. The Castillians were ledde by their marshall of the field *Lopo de Figueroa*, *Frauncis de Bouadilla*, and *Iohn de Sandoal*, the Germaines by Counte *Ierom* of Lodron: the Italians obeyed *Lucio Pignatello*: *Felix* of Aragon was captaine of the Portugals; and the Marques ouer all had charge at sea and lande. This armie although it were not verie great in number, yet we may say the Catholique king had neuer so many trained Spaniards as in this: For besides that the greatest part had beene in Italy, such as had beene in the battaile at sea of the league against the Turke, were there, and likewise those that remained at the warres of Flaunders. As the fleete went out of the riuer, a shippe striking against a shelve was made vnfitte to saile, and an other hauing not sailed farre lost her helme, but hauing transported their soldiers into other ships, they went to harbour. This fleete sailing al together, the swiftest shippe of saile was faine to staie her course for the slowest, and the galleies being of all other swiftest, were constrained to linger for the shippes, but for as much as this was the first time that euer these kinde of vessels with oares had beene within the Ocean so farre from land; the Marques wished that they should not lose the occasiõ of faire weather, which they had to passe the gulph, fearing, that euery small storme might endomage them; he therefore desired rather to dismember them from the armie, then to retaine them with peril: For this cause the xxvj. day, vnderstanding the Patrons desire to goe before, he suffered them to depart alone towards the Iland of S. Michael, with order to attende him there, so as sailing more at ease with scant windes

windes, the thirde of Iuly they discovered land: And for that the winde woulde not suffer the armie to approch, the Marques sent a Zabre vnto Punta Delgada, commanding *Augustine Iniquez*, coroneel of two thousand Spaniards, which had remained there the yere before for the guard of the Iland, to shippe all his men within the galleies, which had arriued there before in safetic: he shoulde likewise take with him certaine peeces of batterie, and moiles to vse at lande if neede were, with other prouisions: and therefore setting vp all his sailes, the winde growing somewhat better, he drew neere with his ships to Villa Franca, and from thence went in a galley to Punta Delgada, where likewise a part of the armie had cast anchor: hee set all things in order, but the windes growing contrary, he coulde not depart before the xxij. day, when as setting saile hee came the xxiiij. to the Terceres.

This Iland is scituated as is said in the fortieth degree of latitude, and three hundreth & forty two of longitude; it hath fortie miles in circuite, extending it selfe in length from the east vnto the west, so as it is not much aboute twelue miles broad; & although it be rough for the most part and stony, yet is it in a maner all inhabited towards the south, for the commoditie of the shoares it is more populous then the rest, for comming from the west, you first discover the citie of Angra, a place in a small bosome of the sea, but not greatly secure from the windes, whereof it takes the name, for Angra in their language is a bosome: Ioyning to this citie there is a castell begun in the time of King *Sebastian*, and made defensible for the garde of this porte: Sixe miles towards the east, neere vnto a dangerous shoare, which they call the port of Mole, is *Saint Sebastian*, a place smally inhabited, and three miles farther is that of Piaggia, so called being the best landing place of all others. This place is neere vnto Punta de la Serra, which is the last promontorie towards the East, behinde the which turning to the North, is another place which they call Agua Alua, sixe miles from that of Piaggia. This coast towards the North, although it be as we haue saide, inhabited; yet doth it not containe any places of woorth, being replenished onely with peasants houses; neere to the point of the West there is a small assembly of inhabitants, which they call the Altari.

The description of the Terceres.

The Marques being arriued at this Iland, he discovered within

*The arrivall
of the kings
army at the
Terceres
and their
proceedings.*

that small bosome of sea of the citie of Angra, those ships which had brought the succours, and some others assembled for spoile, with some merchants. He cast anchor at Saint Sebastian, beginning visiblie to finde, that the Iland was no lesse fortified then had beene described vnto them. The fleete lay onely a cannon shot from land, so as there was many a shotte spent at them in vaine from the forts, not suffering his men to discharge one volley (it may be) for that it seemed vnto him a vaine diligence, or rather as he saide, the better to iustifie his Kings cause. Hee commaunded fower galleies to lie before the towne, to serue as a bridle for those ships, and to keepe them from conning forth, the which was helde too much ouerweening, some holding opinion that he should in dissembling giue them meanes to depart, rather then to force them to dispaire: Hee sodainly sent a trumpet to lande, offering to all such as were in the Iland a generall pardon in his Maiesties behalfe, if they woulde yeeld, but approaching to land, he was vnkindly kept backe by their artillerie: The pardon concerned the succession of the King to the crowne, the disobedience of the Iland, and the clemencie of his Maiestie, he offred vnto all such as were naturall borne, their liues and goods, if they woulde yeelde obedience, and to strangers, ships to transport them into their countries, with their goods, armes and ensignes: But being not able to publish it by this meanes, he sent two Portugals secretly to land, who deliuered a copie thereof to *Emanuel de Silua*; but making no account thereof, hee concealed it, least others should see it, supposing (it may be) that it was nowe too late to vse it, and therefore hee not onely refused to accept of this pardon, but also threatned to hange them that brought it, if they disco- uered the cause of their comming, least the Ilanders should likewise embrace it. The armie spent all the xxiiij. day and the next following in discovering the circuit of the Iland, with the places and fortifications, in consulting where to land most fitly, and what course to hold: The Marques himselfe, the marshals of the fielde, with other of the chiefe commaunders in a small barke ran alongst the shoare, they found they had fortified more carefully then elsewhere, in the citie of Angra, and Piaggia, as places most fit for landing, and it seemed that the French did watch there with greater care then in other parts: Some Portugals of this Iland, who going to discover had

had beene taken prisoners by them of Saint Michaell, and now brought vnto the armie,saide,there was no fitter place to land then at the port of Mole, neere Saint Sebastian; but whether they spake it to deceiue the Castillians,the place being more rough then it seemed, or that they deliuered their opinion faithfully, the Marques had still his eie vpon that part; for finding it rather lesse fortified then the rest, although the shoare were not so commodious there as in other places, enclining rather to fight against the difficulties of Nature, then Rampiers made by Arte, he resolued with the aduise of the greatest part to bring his armie thither vpon Saint Annes day in the morning, being the sixe and twentieth of the saide moneth, happily by reason of the victorie the yeere before, sending in the meane time his galleies and other small barks by night & by day to keepe the enemies in Allarum at diuers places, but most of all at Piaggia thereby to disquiet them,and to draw them thither.

In the meane time within the Iland, both *Mounseieur de Chattes*, and *Emanuel de Sylua*, laboured to deuide the souldiers and munition into their seuerall places, appointing the greatest force at Piaggia, supposing the Marques would lande there as most conuenient. *Sylua* although in show he seemed conceied of his forces, yet had he provided a great barke readie within the port, and some boates at Altary, to flie if he found it needfull: *Chattes* was not yet satisfied, for although he had men sufficient to keepe a great rowne, yet hee held them few, for the defence of an Iland with thirtie forts; the one so farre from the other, as the first could not succour the last, nor yet that in the middest as well for the distance of the way, as also for the discommoditie and roughnes of their situation: He thought it conuenient to haue a squadron of men so placed, as vpon any accident he might succour where need required, the which could not be effected; for there were so many forts and trenches to garde, that hauing diuided his souldiers but sparingly, there remained none, but rather wanted: He found also, that hauing sufficient for that purpose, he had no conuenient place to lodge them, and to succour any place distressed; for that placing himselfe in the middest, hee were too farre from all quarters, and approaching to any fort, it were impossible to succour the rest. To provide for those defects, according to that which was possible, they set certaine bels vpon the hills, that

The diligence of the Ilanders for their defence.

the found thereof might be a signe of succour, and such as were not charged in their fortes, and trenches shoulde repaire thither.

The Marques hauing now chosen out of his armie 4500. of his best foote, amongst which was a good number of the Germanes, the Italians, and the companie of Portugals, the regiment of *Lopo de Figueroa* and *Augustin Iniguez*, the night before the sixe and twentieth day he imbarqued them vpon his galleies, and in many other small barkes, being the greatest calme that was euer, and hauing giuen the allarum in many other places with greater vehemencie then before, he went towards port Mole giuing order that soone after the whole armie should follow: He arriued there at the point of day, not being in a manner discouered by the Ilanders, for that the darkenes of the night had couered them, where he found they had three forts with their trenches and artillerie, but ill furnished with souldiers: As the galleies approched, they often discharged all their artillerie against the defences, to the ende that at the same instant, the souldiers might more safely land, the which caused more terror then hurt, although they dismounted one piece of artillerie, which the enemy had often discharged: And although they shot often from the forts, and that the place was naturally vneasie and full of rocks, where their discent was broken; yet these nations one in enuie of another contemning all perill lept to lande, and he that could not easily attaine thereunto, cast himselfe willingly into the sea for more haste, although the ground vpon the shore were soft, and those fewe Portugals which were there were not the last, but in the point shewing greatest courage. There was within the forte (whither these men marched) three ensignes of souldiers, whereof two were Portugals, and one French, which made in all but two hundred men, against whom all these souldiers marched, running furiously without order to the assault, for that the fear and the neernes of the enemy, gaue them neither place nor time to put themselves in order. The French resisted valiantly, but for that they were fewe preuailed little: In the beginning they slew a Captaine and an ensigne bearer of them without, with fise and twentie or thirtie other souldiers; but some within being wounded, the Captaine of the French slaine, one of the cōpanies of Portugals left the defence,

*The landing
of some of
the Mar-
ques his men*

*The first as-
sault giuen
by the Mar-
ques his
men.*

defence, where they had a litle, but fearfully, fought. The other company which remained made some more resistance, but hearing the bells ring, & no succors come, seeing also some of their friends dying, they abandoned the trench, so as the French remaining all alone, some of them being already dead, they were not able to make resistance against so many assailants; so as in lesse then an hower, the Marques men were masters of those forts & trêches with small losse. The newes of this assault being bruted throughout the Iland, the French, the greatest part whereof remained towards Piaggia, hearing the sounde of the bells, and viewing the signes of fire, ranne to the succour, and were followed by *Emanuel de Silva* with many Portugals: But the way was so long and vneasie, hauing fower or five miles to march, that they were not come halfe way, before the enemies were masters of the fortes and trenches, so as hauing made a stande vpon a little hill neere vnto Saint Sebastian, they put themselves in order to march against the Castillians. But on the other side the rest of the armie during this assault landed, & being mounted to a small hill, they framed a confused squadron of all nations together, for the more dispatch, and to be readie against the succours that came, but there was small need; for the French and Portugals would not approach, and such as had abandoned the trenches, turned not vntill they were ioined to the rest: So as the Marques hauing more respite then he expected, changed his esquadron into a new forme, deuiding euery nation, and hauing marched a litle forward, they began the skirmish on both sides with great courage; and fortune after her accustomed manner did long plaie her parr: For although the French were so fewe in number, yet they did wisely recouer from the Spaniards, their first rampiers, & at the third time they came to the second: But the Marques finding that the want of pikes was cause of this disorder, hauing placed some Germanes, and encreased his strength against the French, they did better withstande their furie, the which notwithstanding continued not long, for being noone before that *Emanuel de Silva* had made prouision of victuals, they were so wearied with the watches of the last night, with the way they had marched, and with fasting, that they could not continue; yet the skirmish lasted, sometimes with more vehemencie; sometimes with lesse, vntill night. Neere vnto them the

The second landing of the Marques with his men and their skirmish against the French.

Portugals had gathered together about a thousand oxen, thinking to force them against the enimie, to breake them, and to make prooffe of that which they had tried two yeeres past, against *Peter de Baldes* his men: but *Chattes* did not allowe of this stratageme, holding it for a refreshing to the enimie without any profite; for it was not likely that that which had casuallie chaunced against sixe hundreth men, would succeed in the like sort against twelue thousand, whereupon they sent them backe. As the Marques had viewed this troupe of beasts, hauing reinforced the point of his armie with *Germaine* pikes, commaunding them, that if they came, they shoulde quietly suffer them to come on; so passed this day, the French not ceasing to disquiet the enimie with certaine peeces of artillerie, they had planted vpon those hils: Then did *Emanuel de Silua* resolute to flie, the which hee could not easily effect, for that euerie man kept a watch ouer him, and therefore hee caused a false brute to be spredde abroad, that he had threescore saile of French ships at sea which came to their succour; and seeming that he would sende to meete with them, he caused the prepared barke to goe out of the port, that it might attend him at *Altary*; but when they came at the mouth, the artillerie from the fortes would not suffer them to passe, either ignorant of their intention, or for that the authoritie of *Silua* began now to decline, so as returning backe, the flight of *Emanuel* was preuented. During this time, the Spaniards were distressed for water, beeing forced vntill then to furnish themselves from their armie, whereof the French had great store, and therefore the Marques consulted that night to amend (if it were possible, the next morning) the seate of their lodging, the
 „ which was helde somewhat difficult; but for as much as both good
 „ fortune and badde hath no limits, he found lesse difficultie then he
 „ expected; for the same night the greatest part of the Portugals vnder *Emanuel de Silua*, terrified with the skirmish of the day, the number of the enimies seeming too great, hauing abandoned the French, retired themselves confusedly to the mountaine, although woorthie of admiration; for being the very same obstinate rebels which esteemed themselves so great warriors, as they would neuer heare motion of accord, peace, nor pardon, it seemed strange that now, when as (laying a side words) they needed effects, they departed

*Silua his
 flight hindered.*

ted so shamefully, and changed their mindes so sodainely; for in their flight they saide, that this Ilande appertained to the Catholique king, and that it was reason to yeeld it vnto him: But we ought not to value the constancie of the peoples harts, nor their valour. The Generall of the French, seeing the Portugals departure, and that *Emanuel de Silua* (who had so highly commended their valour) stoode in a traunce, he resolued to saue himselfe with his men; the day drawing neere, he beganne likewise to retire to the mountaine of our Lady of Guadalupa, with hope that *Silua* had giuen him, that there in a certaine place of strength, he should be able so long to defend himselfe, that the kings armie (winter drawing on) shoulde be forced to retire, and that afterwards if they coulde not recouer what they had lost, they shoulde haue an easie meanes to returne into Fraunce, but for that the quitting of their lodging was not verie safe, fearing least the Marques standing vpon his garde, shoulde charge them, he caused as many of his soldiers as he could spare, to march before, leauing some behinde to maintaine skirmish with the Spaniards, and to entertaine them a litle if they approached. But the Marques hauing soone discovered the enemies departure, aduanced with his whole armie, putting those few that remained to flight, he recouered the water, and Saint Sebastian with some peeces of artillery, where the soldiers hauing refreshed themselves, and all the French departed, he tooke his way towards the citie of Angra, distant about tenne miles, finding no let in his march, for that the enimie fearefully had taken a contrarie course. This citie being nothing fortified to the lande lay open, and therefore was abandoned, not onely of the soldiers, but also of the inhabitants themselves, who fledde as well out of the castell as the towne. The armie arriued there after great labour, for the season being verie hot, the countrie drie, not finding vpon their march one droppe of water, the soldiers endured much, and some of them (especially of the Germaines died for thirst. Being arriued, the spoile of the citie continued three daies, although the houses were for the most part empty, so as the greatest number of men that were founde there, were prisoners, whom they set at libertie: By meanes of their entrie into the citie, all the other fortes were taken, for being onely made against the landing, they were towards the lande open and indefensible:

The Portugals abandon the French.

The Marques takes S. Sebastian.

Angra put to be spoiled three daies.

sible: As the armie marched against the towne, so did the galleies in like sort, against those ships that lay in the harbour, & drawing neere vnto them, they woulde haue forced them to obey with their artillerie, but they shot in vaine; for being abandoned by such as were left in them, there was not any man left to make answer, which the galleies discouering, they boarded and spoiled them. The bootie both at land and sea, was not verie great, for besides the artillerie they found not any thing of great importance. The slaues which were in number aboue fifteene hundred was the greatest recompence they got: The citie being spoiled and other places thereabouts, the Marques desired that the inhabitants should returne to their houses; for although the souldiers which were retired into some place of the mountaiues, had carried with them some prisoners both men and women, the which after they deliueted freely, yet the greatest part returned not; and therefore he caused a generall proclamation to bee made, that euerie man (some excepted) should freely returne vnto his house; but the Portugals beeing distrustfull they were few that came at that time, although after by little and little they grew more confident. Things being reduced into this estate, although the French remained still in the mountaine, the Marques thought it fit to send vnto other Ilands to force them to obedience, especially to Fayale where there remained a garrison: For this consideration hauing imbarqued in his galleies and some other small vessels 2500. foote drawn out of all nations, hee sent them to the said Iland, vnder the conduct of *Peter de Toledo*.

Whilest these went vnto that other enterprize, the French remaining in the Iland of Tercerae, although they had somewhat fortified themselues in the mountaine, being ill provided of victuals and munition, & woorse succoured by the Portugals, resolved with the most honourable conditions they could to make their composition with the Marques: *Monsieur de Chattes* remembred that he had knowen beeing in Malta, *Peter de Padiglia* a gentleman that came with the Marques an expert Marshall of the Spanish campe, to whom (remembring their familiaritie) he did write his minde, demanding free passage not only for himselfe and his troupes, baggage, Armes, artillerie, and ensignes; but also would haue passage graunted for all Portugals that would imbarke with him. This letter

*The Portu-
gall shippes
spoiled.*

*The Mar-
ques sends to
Fayale.*

*The French
compound
with the
Spaniards.*

ter in some sort pleased the Marques, being in hope to come to agreement & to remaine an absolute cōquerour without effusion of more bloud, before the sea shoulde grow more rough: But this demand seemed vnto him vnreasonable, refusing to heare talke of any Portugals to be transported into Fraūce. Amongst the principal of the armie there were diuers opinions what should be done: Some would presently haue marched against the French men to winne time, & charge them without any further accord or condition what soeuer: Others discoursed with greater iudgemēt, saying, that it was conuenient to make an agreement with the French, both for the shortnes of the time they coulde staie there, as for the difficultie they shoulde finde to goe vnto them; for they made an account to spende fīue daies in that enterprise, two in their march, one at the least in conquering, and two in retiring, and that they had no commoditie in the armie to carrie victuals by land for aboue two daies, wanting waggons, bottles, and such other necessaries: But these difficulties were surmounted by the courage of the soldiers, who growen proud, could not endure that so small a handful of French, being so neere, shoulde make shewe to defende themselues against so great a number of old soldiers and conquerors, whereupon they did offer to endure all discommodities to go vnto them: And although he were not resolved to do so, yet this Brauado caused the enemies to haue straighter conditions, then otherwise possibly they had had, the which after long treatie was thus concluded. That the French shoulde deliuer vp their armes and ensignes, retaining onely their swordes, that they shoulde bee lodged in a quarter of the towne: that they shoulde giue them shippes and victuals to returne into Fraunce: The accomde was no sooner made, but it was put in execution, for the thirde of August the French came from the mountaine, and without the citie deliuered vp their armes with eighteene ensignes, their drums, and phifes, as it had beene agreed, and entred disarmed into the citie, passing thorough the Marqueses troupes which were armed and in guard, where the commaunder *Chattes* with the Lorde of Carrauaca marshall of the field, and other principall officers did visite the Marques, by whom they were kindly entertained.

The condition of the accomde.

Chattes doth visite the Marques.

In this time the galleies and other vessels were arriued at Faiall with

*They of
Faiall kill a
trumpet that
was sent vn-
to them.*

with the men that *Peter de Toledo* carried, and passing with them, *Gonza'lo Perera* a Portugall, who had wife and children in this Iland, the saide *Peter* thought it good to send him before as a trumpet, to entreat the people to yeeld, supposing that being of that countrey, he shoulde haue credite amongst them, to let them vnderstand the Kings forces, and the dangers that approched, to the ende they might the more easilie yeelde obedience: But *Anthony Guedez de Sosa*, who was captaine of this Iland, neither respecting the messenger, nor the reasons which he deliuered, nor yet regarding the example of his stronger neighbors, hauing outraged him, both in worde and deed, in the ende he slewe him, as if in giuing him this notice he had touched him in his honour. *Peter de Toledo* seeing the messenger not returne, surmising what had hapned, resolued to disimbarke his men, and finding the Iland not so rockie, and lesse fortified then the *Terceres*, the second of August he landed his men almost without resistance, and marching against the towne, he was encountred by fower hundreth French, and many Portugals, where the skirmish began, the which encreasing, the French and Portugals were faine to retire into a small castel, whereinto they had drawen the greatest parte of their artillerie and munition, where after they yeelded in the same manner as those at the *Terceres* had done, and *Sosa* suffered the punishment of his inhumanitie, being hanged by one arme after his hands were cut off. It is strange to see the confidence of these men, the which (nothing terrified by examples) did induce them to cruell excesse, and yet did not force them to fight it out vnto death: but the Portugals vnexperienced, do not account of dangers they see not, and when they see them, they feare them more then they are to bee feared. There was no more to be done in this iland so as hauing spoiled it, leauing *Anthony* of Portugall for Governour, with two hundreth soldiers, *Peter de Toledo* returned with his galleies and other ships to the *Terceres*, where the rest of the Ilands of *Saint George*, *Pico*, and *Gratioufa* came to yeeld their obedience. The Marques hauing agreed with the French, caused a diligent search to be made for *Emanuel de Silua*, who intituled himselfe counte of *Torres Vedras*, Governour and Generall of the Ilands, but being retired to *Altary*, and finding that such as had the charge of certaine boates, in whom fortune had

*The landing
of Peter de
Toledo at
Faial, and
the sacke
thereof.*

*Anthony
Guedez de
Sosa hanged
by the arme,
and where-
fore.*

more

more force then loialtie, had broken them against the rockes, hee founde all hope vaine for his safetie, hauing no meanes to free himselfe by the French composition, being attired in a base habite hee hidde himselfe in the mountaines. But it seemed the heauens had decreed, he should suffer punishment for his offences, by the hands of his enimies, for that a moorish slaue, who hoped by that meanes to saue himselfe, discovered him to a Prouost marshall, who seeing him before his eies, knewe not what he was; so as hauing taken and brought him to the citie, he was kept with some other of the principall rebels and seditious, vntill the processe of their death were made, by the auditour, in the name of the King and the Marques, as generall of the armie, specifying all their faults that were executed vpon the prisoners. The Germanes first put themselues in battaile in the chiefest part of Angra, keeping the entrie of euery streete, and there causing a fire to be made, they did burne all the money they founde to be stamped with the coine of *Anthony*, the which although it was not little in quantitie, yet was it nothing woorth, being for the most part of base mettall, with small mixture of siluer: After they cutte off *Emanuel de Silua* his head with a sworde, after the Germane fashion, to the generall grieffe of all the assistants: For being of a louely countenance, and hauing in this last houre with great resolution confessed himselfe culpable, and to haue deserued this punishment; hee demaunded pardon of one after another, of all such as present or absent he thought to haue wronged, saying, that he alone had bin the cause of the miserie of this Iland, & that he alone ought to suffer the punishment; the which ioined to the contrition he shewed, did mooue the harts euen of his enimies: And in truth we may well saie that he framed himselfe to the speech of *Dionysius* the tyrant, that to leaue a tyrannie they must not ride poast, but staie vntill they be forced, for in truth he attended vntill hee lost his head. His head was set vp publikely in that place, from the which that of *Melchior Alphonso* was taken, whom a little before he had put to death, for being affectionate to the Catholique king: And it was obserued, that being required by the kinsmen of the dead, to take it from thence, he made answere it shoulde be removed when his stood in the place, which he ment shoulde be neuer; thus do men sodainly foretell their owne miseries. *Emanuel Sarra-*

Emanuel de Silua taken, and executed with others.

*The French
men sent to
the galleies.*

das, who as we haue said spoiled the Ilands of Cape Vert, and Amador Vieira (who with the title of Embassador to his Maiestie, had betrayed such as trusted in him, did likewise lose their heads. They did hang many, and many (especially of the French) taken prisoners before the capitulation, were sent to the galleies: The Marques was commaunded to dispatch with all speede, and to goe with his armie to Cales, and some saide the King woulde tuine his forces against Affrick, and sease vpon Alarache, and possiblie attempt the like vpon Algier, being fitter to vndertake those enterprises in Autumne then in any other season of the yeere: And therefore hauing left *John de Urbina* with two thousand Spanish foote for the guard of the Ilands, he sailed with the flecte and the rest of the soldiers towards the porte of Andolouzia: and in the meane time both in Castill, and in Portugall, they made great ioy for this victorie, with publike feasts, but not so great as was the grieffe of *Anthony* his followers, whereof many (hoping that the strength of this Ilande should yet be a subiect for *Anthony* to returne into the realme) were discouraged, so as there remained no grounde, whereon to settle their hopes, although many expected that *Anthony* suruiuing *Philip*, the estate of things might so change, as they might yet attaine the accomplishment of their desires.

F I N I S.

A Table of the especiall matters contained in this Historie.

A

A *Bdala*, sonne to the Cheriffe, pag 14
Aduise of Iohn de Silua touching the voyage of Africke 35
Aldama sent by *Philip* to discover the fortresses of Africke 21. arriveth there at the Portugall campe 37. is slaine 49
 Aide demanded by the Portugalles from the French King 139
 Alarm at Lisbon 189
 Ambassage from *Henrie* to the Catholike King 56
 Ambassadors chosen to goe to Rome touching *Henries* marriage 78
 Ambassadors for the Governours to *Philip* and their negotiarion 130
Ambrose d' Aguiar sent by *Philip* to the *Terceres* 241. he dies 281
Anthony Prior of Crato taken by the Moores 49 pretends to the crowne of Portugall 62. his grounds for his pretention 83. his letters to King *Henrie* 87. declared illegitimate 89. his course to obtaine the Crowne 120. his letters to the Estates at Almerin 121. his arrivall there 122. proclaimed King at S. Aram 160. comesto Lisbon and is proclaimed there 164. received at Settuuall vnder a cloath of Estate 169. received into Lisbon with ioy 176. prepares to defend the realme 179. importuned by poore women to succour Settuuall 184. his counsell and resolution 185. his feate 186. his counsels ill grounded 188. he offereth to compound 190. he marcheth towards *Cascaies* 196. he marcheth

towards Belem with his men confusedly 199. he retires to *Alcantara* 201. his letters to King *Philip* 204. he prepares against the Duke 213. he flies towards Lisbon 215. is ouerthtowne and hurt 216. he gathered new forces at *Coimbra* 222. his speech to his souldiers 234. he flies to *Viana* 236. he saues himselfe over the riuer of *Minio* 238. his good fortune 259. he arriveth at *Cales* 260. his care to haue the Indian fleet 263. his voyage to the *Terceres* 293. his carriage after the sea fight 295. his departure for France 298
 Angra giuen to be spoiled three daies pag. 319
Anthony Guedez de Soza hanged by the arme and wherefore 322
Anthony Sealin a Frenchman received into Angra vnder a Canapie 240
 Apparition of a Comet 22
 Armie parts from France with 70. ships and 7000. men 278
 Armie of Spaniards part with 6000. men 277. they arriveth at *Saint Michaels* 283. defeat the French 291
 Arrivall of fower ships from the Indies 219
 Aucto taken by *Anthony* 223. and recovered by *Auila* 230

B

B Atrell betwixt the Portugals and Moores pag. 44. famous by the death of three Kings 52
Baldes his attempt vpon the *Terceres* 255. his soldiers ouerthrowe there with oxen 257. his ouerthrow prejudiciall to the kings seruice 258. imprisoned in Portugall 263

THE TABLE.

<i>Bezars</i> stone excellent against the plague	109	rin	131
Beginning of the fight at sea	288	<i>Conte</i> of Vimiofo seconds the King of Portugals wil 35. he is wounded to the death.	291
Bishop of Guarda seconds <i>Anthonie</i> pag	187	Counsell touching the Ambassage that king <i>Philip</i> sent to <i>Henrie</i>	69
<i>Brisac</i> flies from the battell	290	Counsell of the kings Chamber	246
C		Counsell of Estate in Portugall reduced to two	255
C Abessa Secca fortified 140 and abandoned	207	Crueltie at the Terceres	258
Calender reformed	302	D	
Cardinall <i>Riaro</i> sent Legate into Spaine	190	D Ecree made by the Gouvernors for <i>Philip</i> against <i>Anthonie</i> pag.	178
Cardinall of Austria made Gouvernor of Portugall	271.304	Demaunds of the Estates at Tomar pag.	249
Cascaies & Saint Iulian yeeld to <i>Anthonie</i>	169	Description of Lisbon	3
Cascaies with the Castle taken and spoyled by the Spaniards	197	Deputies of Portalegre their speech pag.	124
Catarre most contagious	221	Deputies of the realme demaund of <i>Henrie</i> to be admitted to the Election 113. their answer to <i>Martin Gonfalues</i>	118
Castillians discourse of the affaires of Portugall	103	Description of Portugall	2
<i>Christopher de Mora</i> sent into Portugall in the place of <i>John de Silua</i>	82	Description of the reuenues of Portugall	17
<i>Chattes</i> sent to succour rhe Terceres 310. he and <i>Silua</i> discourse vpon the strength of the Iland 311. he visits the Marquesse	321	Description of <i>Molues</i> armie	39
Conditions of their accord	ibid.	<i>Diego de Meneses</i> beheaded	198
<i>Charles Borgia</i> Duke of Gandia succeeds the Duke of Alua	302	Discontentments of the people of Lisbon	79
<i>Catherine</i> Dutchesse of Bragance visits King <i>Henrie</i>	116	Discourse touching the precedence of <i>Philip</i> and <i>Henrie</i>	66
<i>Ciprian de Figueredo</i> Gouvernour of the Terceres put from his charge pag.	307	Disorders at Lisbon	179
Clause in King <i>Henries</i> will	123	Duke of Auero and Aldana slaine	49
Conditionous offred by <i>Philip</i> to the Portugals if they would quietly yeeld the realme	134	Dutchesse of Bragance pretends to the Crowne of Portugall 61. her grounds	84
Confusion of the affaires in Portugall	140.154	Duke of Sauoy pretends 62. his reasons for it	83
Confusion in Lisbone	196	Duke of Parma pretends for his sonne <i>Rainuctus</i> 62. his reasons	83
Coimbra yeelded	228	Duke of Ossuna sent to <i>Henrie</i> 66. his proceedings in Portugall	75
Conclusion of the Estates at Alme-		Duke of Barcellos detained cunningly	ly

THE TABLE.

ly by the Duke of Medina Sidonia
 pag 125
 Duke of Alua imprisoned and
 the cause 70. made Generall a-
 gainst the Portugals 128. he ar-
 riuies at the Armie and the number
 thereof 128. the estate of his armie
 134. passeth his armie at Cascaies
 193. lands there, and the dispositi-
 on thereof 194. marcheth against
 the rocke of Saint Iulian 202. his
 answere to *Anthonie* 205. his
 speech to his souldiers 212. the or-
 der of his armie, *ibid.* blamed for
 slacknes 218. his prayses 220. bla-
 med, and his excuses 223. his sould-
 iers complaine 245. his death,
 with his prayse and dispraise 300

E

E *Dward de Castro* beheaded by *An-*
thonie 292
 Eluas taken 155
Emanuel de Silua staies at the Terceres
 298. his carriage there 307. his
 flight hindred 318. taken and exe-
 cuted with others 323
 Empresse *Marie* comes to Lisbone
 271
 Estates at Almerin 109. begon by the
 Bishop of Leiria 110
 Estate of Fraunce and Flaunders 265
 Euora yeilded 175

F

F Actions in Oliuenza 161
 Feare in the citie of Lisbone 207
 Flight of *Teglio* 167
Figueroa arriuies at the Terceres, and
 returnes to Lisbone 263
Fonsequa his speech for the creation
 of *Anthonie* 165
 Fortresse of *Settuuall* yeilded 184
Francis de Tauora slaine in the battaile

pag. 48
Francis de Melo Earle of Tentuguell
 writes to king *Sebastian* 18
Francis Barretto sent by the Portugals
 to the French king for succors 139
Francis de Valois Duke of Alanfon
 enemy to king *Philip*, and why 266.
 sworne Duke of Brabant 268. seeks
 to be master of Antwerpe, but in
 vaine 305
Francis de Villafagna, Auditor of the
 Councell of state, sent to Lisbone
 by king *Philip* 244
 French armie arriuies at S. Michaels
 280. their first encounter 282. they
 disagree 288. they are beheaded
 and hanged 295. displeased with
 their ouerthrowe 299. they spoile
 the Ilands of Cape Vert 307. they
 compound with the Spaniards at
 the Terceres 320. sent to the gal-
 lies 324

G

G Allies arriuie at the Terceres in
 safetie 312
 Generals ship of the French taken by
 the Spaniards 291
George de Meneses generall at sea, im-
 prisoned by *Anthonie*s command
 pag. 186
 Governours of Portugal published 99.
 they prepare for defence 132. their
 inconstancie 148. they neglect
 the defence of Lisbone 163. they
 flie from *Settuuall* 168. their de-
 cree 178

H

H *Amet* proclaimed king by the
 Moores 52. his couetous-
 nes 53
Henry Cardinall called to the crowne
 of Portugal 55. sworne king 57. his
 resolution

THE TABLE.

resolution coming to the crowne	14
64. he fauors the Dutcheffe of Bragançe	76.
he desires to marrie	80.
his sentence against the Prior touching his legitimatiõ	87.
he changeth his minde in fauour of <i>Philip</i> ,	
97. he falleth sicke and dies	116.
his life	117
<i>Henry Pereira</i> banged	198
Hopes of the French armie at sea with <i>Strozzi</i> .	278
Hope of the Spanish court touching their armie at sea	279

I

I <i>Ean de Beranconr</i> affected to <i>Philip</i>	
pag.	256
<i>Ieron Mendoza</i> treats with <i>Anthony</i>	260
Iesuits called Apostles in Portugall, not able to redresse the corruptions of the Portugals	9.
blamed as moters of <i>Sebastians</i> voiage into Africke	11.
walled vp at the Terceres	243
<i>John de Silva</i> Ambassadour for <i>Philip</i> in Portugall, deliuered and returns out of Africke	74.
he labours to be sent backe into Portugall	82
<i>John d' Austria</i> gouernour of Flaunders for king <i>Philip</i>	23
<i>John d' Azenedo</i> admitall of Portugall taken prisoner by the Castilians	176
Iland of the Terceres described	313
Iland of Saint Michael described	280
Inhabitants of Fayall kill a trumpetter that was sent vnto them	322.
are taken	323
Itishmen demaund succouts of the Pope against their Prince	27

L

L Awes made betweene <i>Mahumet</i> Cheriffe, and <i>Hamet</i> his bro-	
--	--

ther touching the succession of the realme	14
Legate visites the king	192
<i>Leon Henriquez</i> Confessor to <i>Henrie</i> supposed to haue drawne him to fauour <i>Philips</i> title	98
Letters and a present from the Duke of Alua to king <i>Sebastian</i>	38
<i>Lewes Dataide</i> Cont of Toghia sent Viceroie to the Indies by <i>Sebastian</i>	25.
obeies king <i>Philip</i>	262
Lisbone chiefe citie of Portugall	3
yeeldes to the Duke of Alua	217
sweares obedience to <i>Philip</i>	221
<i>Lucciali</i> comes to Algier with seuenty gallies	265

M

M Agistrate of Lisbone perswades <i>Anthony</i> to compound	208.
<i>Mahamet</i> sonne to <i>Abdala</i> kills his vn- cle	14.
is expelled by his vn- cle <i>Moluc</i> , and seekes for succour of <i>Philip</i> and <i>Sebastian</i>	15.
diswades <i>Sebastian</i> to go in person into Africk	26.
despeares of the victory	36.
diswades the battaile	41.
is drowned in Mucazen	51.
his skinne fleied off	53
Manner of the enterprise of Portugal	pag.
	132
Marques of Saint Cruz arriues at Setruuall with an armie by sea	183.
he imbatkes for the Terceres	277.
he resolues to fight with the French, and the order of his battaile	285.
he defeats them and giueth sentence against the prisoners	294.
he landeth some men at the Terceres	316
his skirmish with the French	317.
taketh <i>S. Sebastian</i>	319.
sends to Faiall	320
<i>Martin Gonfalues</i> sent to the deputies of the realme	118
Messenger sent to Cardinall <i>Henrie</i> from king <i>Philip</i>	55

Meneses

THE TABLE.

Meneses blamed and his excuses 195
Mulei Moluc prepares against the Portugals 31. his meanes to defeat them 34. his aduise to the king of Portugal 36. his speech to his brother 38. his armie 39. the ordering thereof 42. his oration to his soldiers 43. his feare and death 47
 Mutinie at Coimbra 112

N

NAmes of the chiefe men slaine in the bataile of Africke 52
 Number of the Christians & Moores slaine in the battaile *ibid.*
 Number slaine in the battaile at Alcantara 218
 Number slaine in the battaile at sea pag. 293

O

Offer made by *Moluc* to the kings of Spaine and Portugall 31
 Oliuenza yeelded to the Catholique king 158
 Opinions touching the passage of the riuer of Tagus 192
 Order of the Portugals and Moores armie 41, 42
 Originall of the hatred betwixt the Portugals and Castillians 5

P

PArkeameur at Tomar 248
Peyoxto sent to Saint Michaels fought with by French ships 276
Peter & Alcazoua sent ambassadour to *Philip* 16 punished by *Henry* and the cause 64
Peter de Medici generall of the Itali-ans 134
Peter Dora Consul of the French sent into Fraunce for *Anthonie* 178. he

remaines there with the money he received 188
Peter de Toledo landes at Faiall and spoiles it 322
Philip king of Spaine meeres with *Sebastian* at Guadalupa 15. perswades him to accept of *Molucs* offer 20. labors to diuert *Sebastian* from Africke 24. accepts peace & *Sebastians* bodie 56. claimes the crowne of Portugal 61. writes to the city of Lisbon 72. fendes a Iacobin into Portugall 80. erects a councell for the affaires of Portugall 81. his reasons against the other pretédents 81 his reasons for his pretétion 81. he giueth *Henry* notice of his right 91. he prepares to war against the Portugals 92. his care to assure his conscience for the realme of Portugall 126. his answer to the Portugals 144. he takes possession of the realme 152. his armie is wasted 153. his letters to the inhabitants of Eluas 156. his letters to *Anthonie* 159. proclaimed at Oliuenza 162. his answer to the Duke of Bragance 171. his pardon to the Portugals 201. he falleth sick 221. he enters into Portugall by Eluas 238. he visits the Dutchesse of Bragance 247. sworne king at Tortias with the prince *Diego* 248. his enttie into Lisbon 253. his recompence to the Portugals 270. he prepares against the Terceres 273. he armes in all places, and the cause thereof 274. his order in preparing 275. he departs from Portugall 304. his armie departs from Lisbon 312. arriues at the Terceres and their proceeding 314
 Plague in Portugall 108
 Places fortified by the Portugals 140
 Portugals conquests at the Indies 4. they prepare for the warre of Africke

THE TABLE.

Africke 25. their armie landes in Africke and their proceedings 30. the qualitie of their armie 37. their conceite to fight 39. the order of their battaile 40. their aduantage of the Moores 41. their armie at sea returnes to Lisbon 54. their sorrow 56. their ceremonie in bewailing their king dead 58. they pretend election of their king 62. their demands 66. their reasons for the election 84. they complaine of king <i>Henrie</i> 85. their discourse vpon the estate of the realme 101. they answere the Castillians 106. they disagree with them 229. they are discontented 252. they abandon the French 319. their ships are spoiled 320	king should goe in person with his armie 152
Pope pretends election 63	Queene <i>Anne</i> died 238
Pope <i>Gregorie</i> the xij. his offer to the Catholike king 98. he fauours <i>Anthony</i> 190 his offer against England 243. seemes content with the successe of Portugall 251	R
Porto yeilded 236	R Eason of the Portugals by way of discourse touching their future King 66
Preparations at the Terceres 264	Reasons and grounds of king <i>Philip</i> to the realme of Portugal 67. examined by diuines 126
Preparations of the French for the Terceres 269	Regencie of the Governours 118
Prince of Orange wounded by a Biscaine 269	Religious men diuided into factions 200. they holde militarie charges 180. and keepe the keies of Lisbon pag. 208
Pretendants to the crowne of Portugall and their descent 60. cited to declare their reasons 80	Resolution of <i>Gonsalues</i> charge 119
<i>Prosper Colonna</i> , Colonell of the Italians 134. he passeth the bridge defended by the Portugals 215	S
Q	S Aint <i>Arem</i> yeeldes obedience pag. 222
Q ueene mother of Fraunce pretends to the crowne of Portugall 62. her reasons for it 84. shee is discontented with <i>Philip</i> , and the cause 267	<i>Sanches d' Aula</i> Marshall generall of the Spanish camp 134. he is sent against <i>Anthony</i> 227. he passeth the riuer of Doro at Anintes 232 his speech to his soldiers, <i>ibid.</i> his stratageme to passe the riuer 234. hee dies 307
Question whether the Catholike	<i>Sebastian</i> king of Portugal his life 10. his first voyage into Africke 11. his enteruiew with <i>Philip</i> at Guadalupe 15. hee is perswaded to make war in Africke by Mahamer <i>ibid.</i> lands his armie at Arzille 30. hee fights valiantly and is vanquished 50. he is slaine by the Moores and carried to <i>Moluc</i> s tent 51. his funerals at Madril 66. his obsequies with the Princes of Portugall 302
	Settuall taken 182
	Summarie of an oration made at the assembly of Estates 77
	<i>Sosa</i> Deputie of Lisbon his answere pag. 111
	Spaniards

THE TABLE.

Spaniards discourse vpon the Cardinals legation	191	600. Italians serues King <i>Sebastian</i>	
Spanish souldiers discontented with the sentence giuen against the French prisoners 295. they intreat for them	ibid.	pag.	27
Spaniards discourse vpon the enterprize of the <i>Terceres</i>	309	Tower of Belem yeilded	210
Stratagem with oxen diuised by a religious man	257	Tower of <i>Settuall</i> taken	184
Stremos taken	175	Treatie of accord betwixt King <i>Philip</i> and <i>Anthony</i> by the meanes of <i>Carcamo</i> a <i>Castillian</i>	204
Strozzi slaine	291		
Suburbes of Lisbon spoiled	217		

T

T erceres 227. the description thereof 239 the resolution of the inhabitants 241. their confusion	272
Testament of King <i>Henrie</i>	123
<i>Thomas Stukley</i> an Englishman with	

V

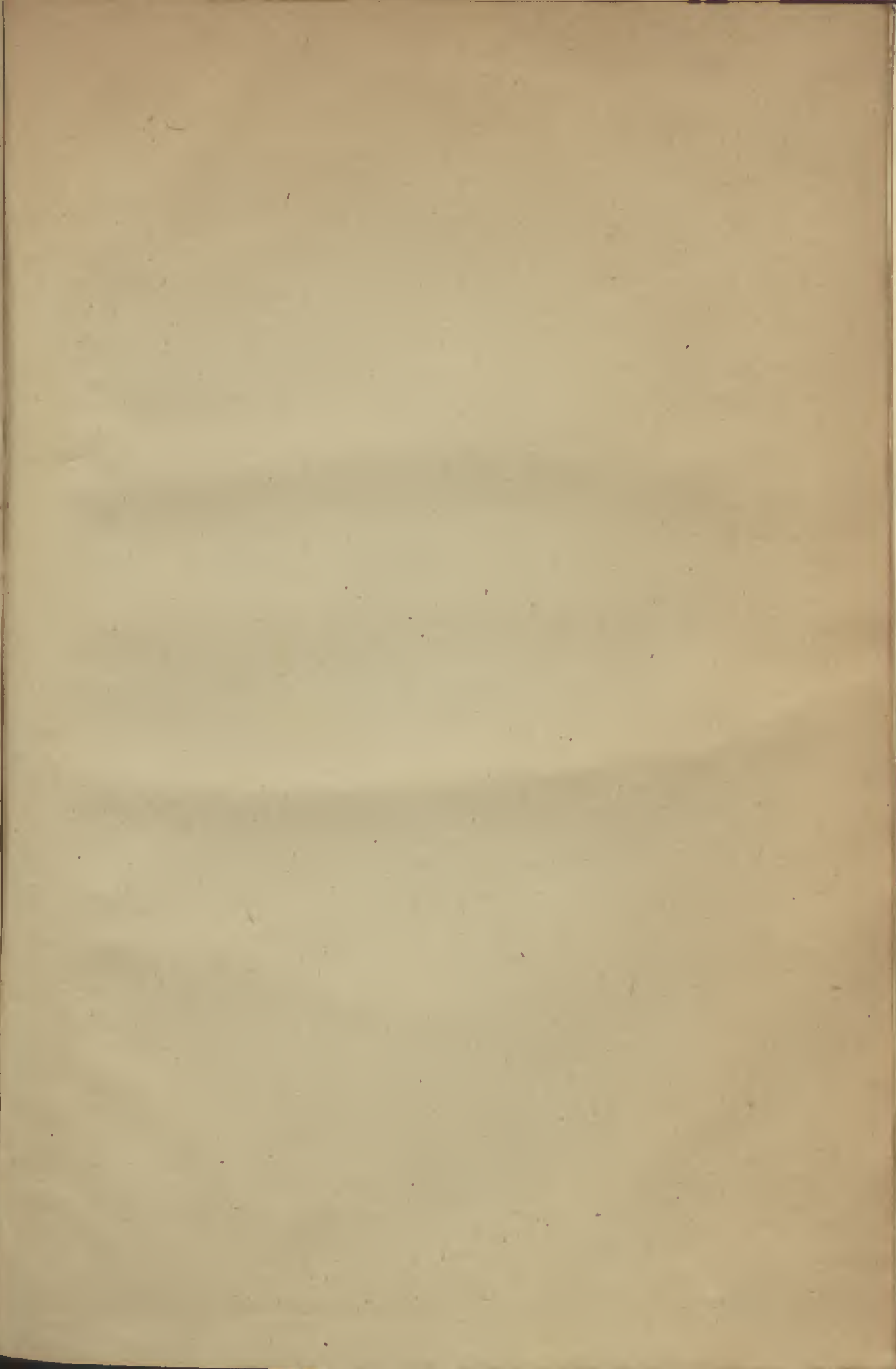
V alour of the Italians and Spaniards	49
Valour of King <i>Sebastian</i>	50
Viana taken	237
Villauifosa surprised	173
Vniuersitie of <i>Coimbra</i>	250

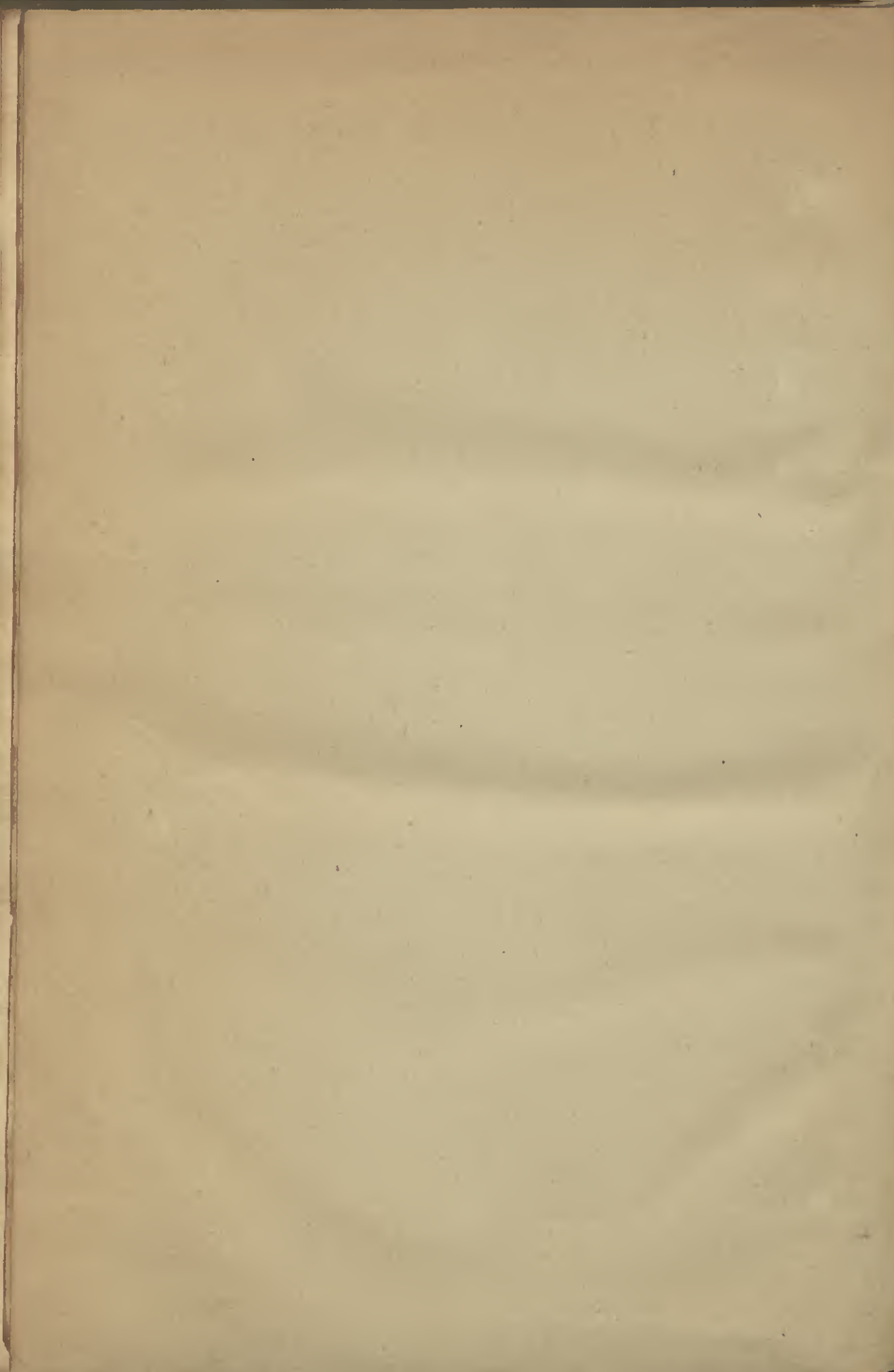
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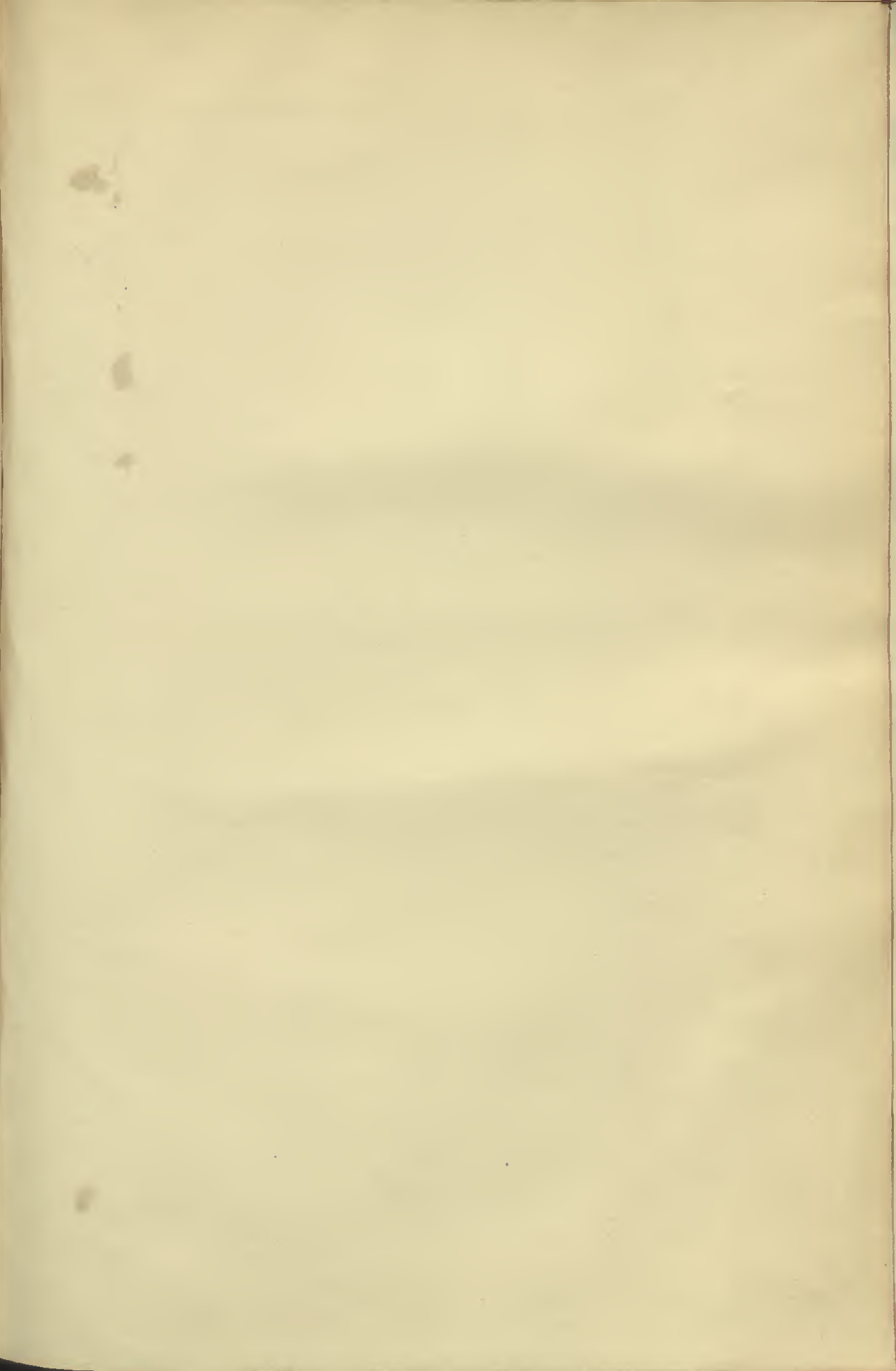
W omen at Lisbon arme like souldiers	178
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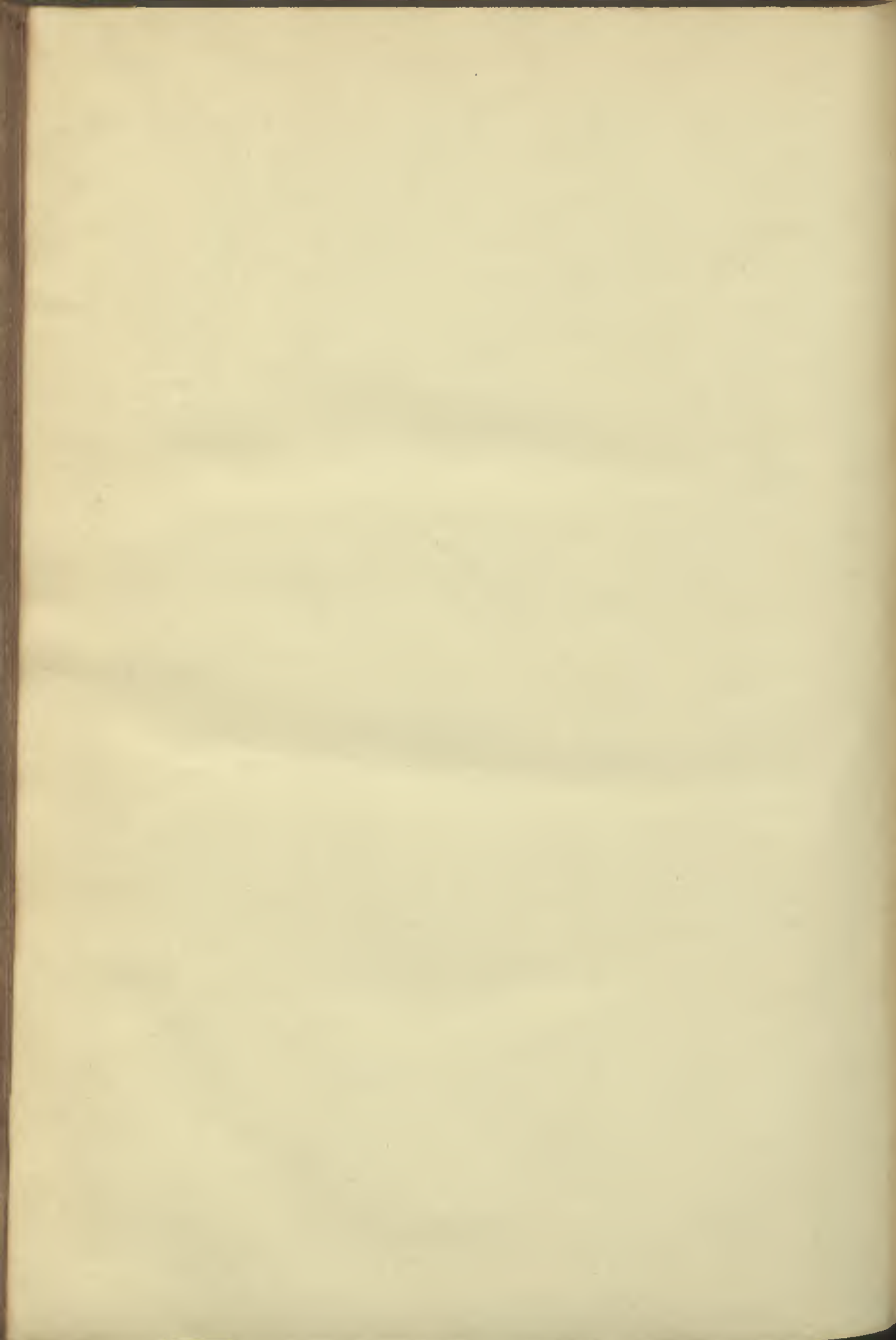
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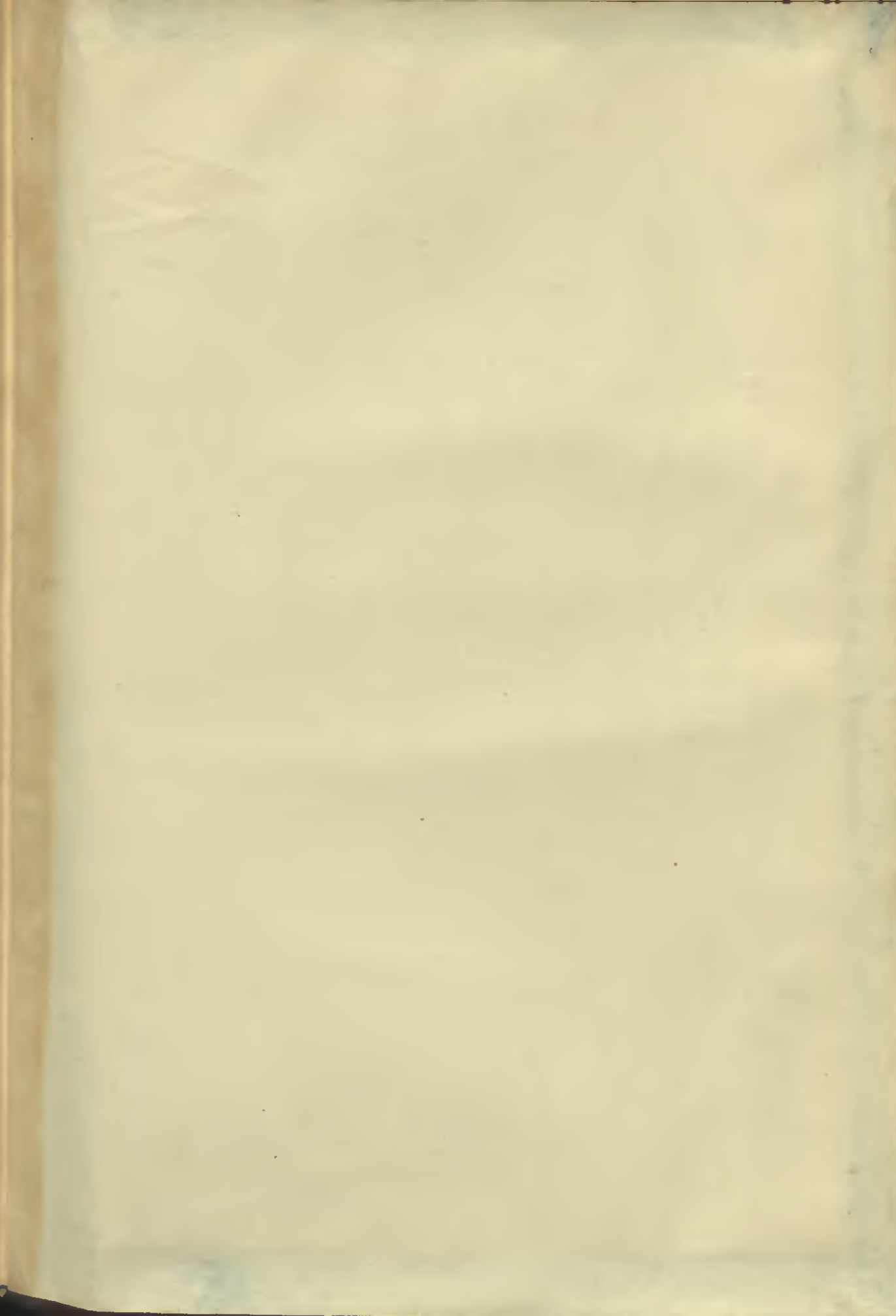
















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