

JOURNEY
INTO
SPAIN

ATV
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LONDON
1670

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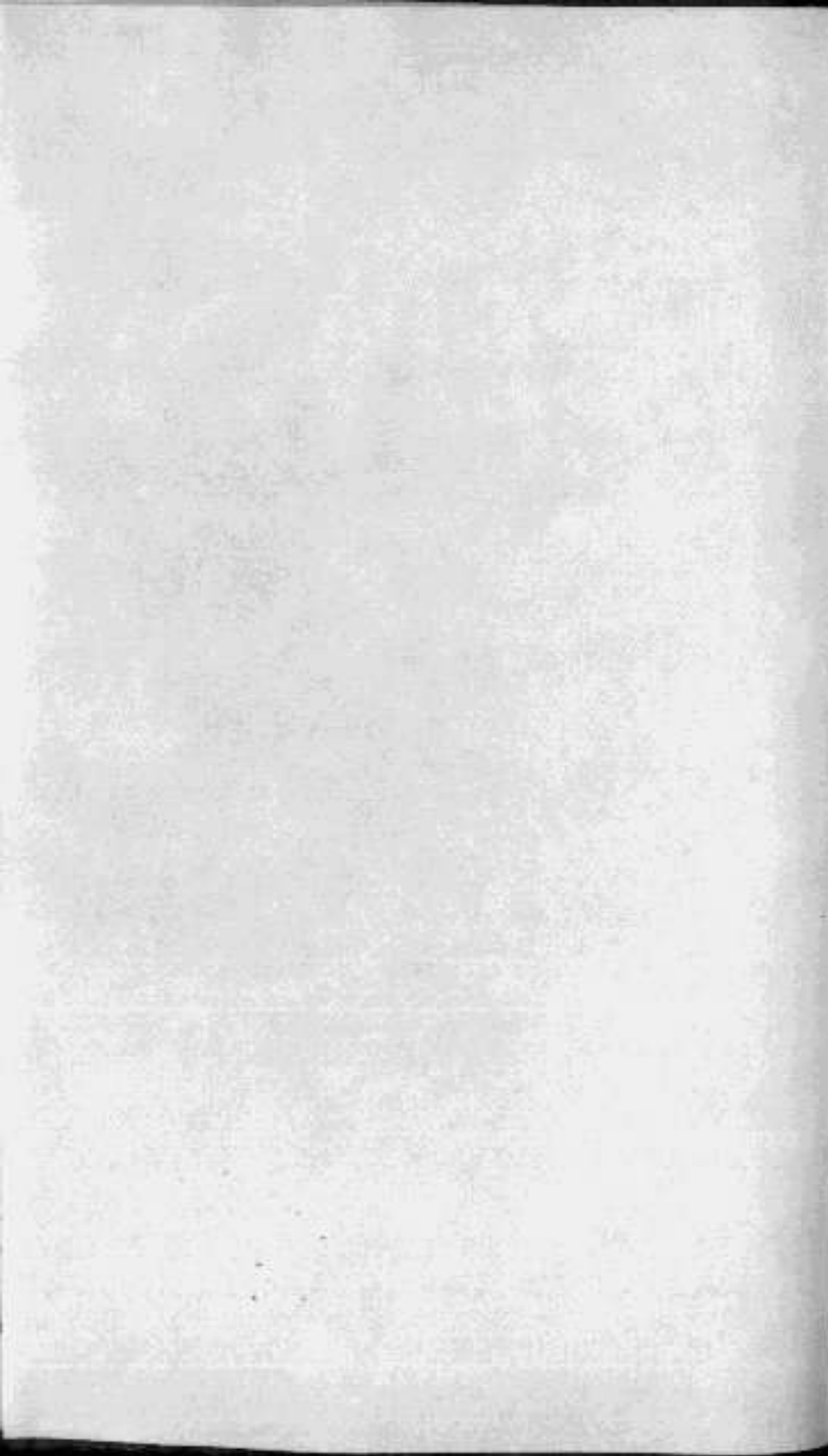
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En la ciudad de ...

Yo el ...

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A Journey

INTO

SPAIN.

Nec ille qui voluptatem probat sine contemplatione est; nec ille qui contemplationi inservit sine voluptate est; nec ille cuius vita actioni destinata est sine contemplatione est. Sen. de Vita beata.



LONDON,

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at the Sign of the *Blew Anchor* in the Lower
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A Journey

INTO

STEPHEN READER

THE first of the three parts of this work is a history of the English language from its origin to the present time. It is a history of the language as it has been spoken and written by the English people, and is not a history of the language as it is spoken and written by the English people in the present time.

THE second part of the work is a history of the English language from its origin to the present time. It is a history of the language as it has been spoken and written by the English people, and is not a history of the language as it is spoken and written by the English people in the present time.

THE third part of the work is a history of the English language from its origin to the present time. It is a history of the language as it has been spoken and written by the English people, and is not a history of the language as it is spoken and written by the English people in the present time.



TO THE
READER.



I Present you the
 vast body of the
 Spanish Mo-
 narchy, which,
 though it hath spread its roots
 into many and distant Pro-
 vinces, is but of late growth,
 having but little before the last
 age first aspired, not only to a
 competition with the two anti-
 A 2 ently

75 The Epistle

ently ballancing powers of
Christendom, England and
France (for two they were
when France depended not on
England) but the Empire of
the World. Our near concern-
ments either in peace or war
with it, rendring it very neces-
sary to be known to us, I am wil-
ling to shew it you in such par-
ticular remarks of the people
and Countrey, as I think you
have not yet seen, with some-
thing of observation on its
sodain advance, and almost
as sodain decay; so that it
is no longer a competitor
with the other two, but
so

To the Reader.

so much fallen from it, it could scarcely any longer subsist, did not the moderation and justice of one of those Monarchs, oblige him rather to joyn in supporting its Throne, then enjoy his share of the many advantages, his maritime power and scituation of his Dominion, might reasonably promise by the fall of it; especially in regard by sending abroad he shall not need to fear such a depopulation as it suffers under, when his doors shall be opened by Acts of Naturalization and Registers, to admit and secure
such

The Epistle

such was (out of consideration of the fertility of his Countrey, temperature of its Air, and convenience for Trade) will abundantly supply what may be so exhausted.

The time of taking this survey sufficiently discovers it self in it, and though some years since relates to several very modern transactions of Christendom of the highest concern, as the English rebellion, renunciation of the Queen of Sweden, and imprisonment of the Duke of Lorrain; neither have any changes very considerable since happened to Spain,
either

to the Reader.

either in its Government, Customs, or Negotiations.

You have in it a clear prospect of decay of Power, with increase of Wealth, which shews you are not undone by scarcity (whether real or pretended) of those adored Metals for which this People have sold themselves and abandoned their Countrey, whilest you abound in all things else that contribute either to use or pleasure, and they (though Masters of the Fountains of them) are indeed as indigent and miserable as you fancy yourselves to be in the want of
them

The Epistle, &c.

them alone. It makes no less evident that when a Nation (especially its Nobility and Gentry) contemns or neglects Arms, it is at the highest, if not declining. If it be a little Satirical as to the haughtiness and singularity of that People, it hath also something of Panegeric as to several of their Virtues, without which yet I suppose it might be tolerated, our Press having formerly made as bold with most of the other Nations of Europe, as they with us.



A

JOURNEY

INTO

SPAIN.



When we left *Italy*, we resolved for *Spain*; but because *M. P.* intending his Son should take that Journey with us, had ordered him to expect us at *Monpellier*; whither he had commanded him to repair, from the house of a Gentleman of *Xaintonge*, where he had resided some months, we were obliged to tarry for him. He came not till the later end of *December*, the extremity of which season pressing us to spend the Winter there, we deferred our departure till the Spring: and the weather in *Languedoc* being pleasant in March, we went away the 6th of that month. I shall not concern my self in describing what we saw in that most agreeable Province, nor in repeating what we learned that was considerable, whilst we traversed it almost from one

B

end

end to the other; nor yet say any thing of *Gascony*, through which we passed; nor of *Bayonne*, where we took our leaves of *France*. Having travail'd those parts only as they lay in our way to *Spain*, I shall reserve all my curiosity for it, and not charge my Table-book with any observations till I come to the Frontiers of that Kingdom. That I may not neglect many particulars I learned of the Government, Customs, and present Condition of the Imperious Nation that inhabits it, I will here make an Extract of what I scattered in several Papers during our abode at *Madrid*: to put which into method, were to unravel confusion it self; every thing shall therefore have its place, as I saw or heard it; and if some be repeated more than once, it is because I design not a polished work, but to give liberty to my discourse according to Time, Place, Persons, Companies, and Entertainments, and such reflections as have presented from them; not confining my self to what I saw, or happened to me, or my Company, but enlarging to what was told us, having ever endeavoured to get the best informations possible. It ought not to seem strange if in some places I happen to speak untruths without lying, and in others to wander without knowing I am out of the way, and devoting my Book to those only that have seen its foundations laid, and materials gathered together, to serve us as memorials of part of that time which for six years we employed in studying the World in its great School, which is Travail: The mistakes and errors made either by me, or such

as I conversed with, will not to them appear very considerable or uneasy to be effaced as soon as discovered : and if it accidentally happen into other hands, they may make choice of what is weighty and certain, leaving what seems light and doubtful, without any just cause of complaint against me on account of that which I write not for their sakes. I have nevertheless endeavoured to make as few errors as possible, and what I set down at night according to the several Objects and Companies of the day, I overlook'd next morning, and made farther enquiry of such persons as I thought likely to disabuse me if ill informed, and give me clearer light if what I had received were imperfect. According to this method I have (better or worse) satisfied my curiosity in examining this grave and haughty Nation at its own home, since it seldom goes abroad unless to command others, and secure its King of their obedience by Garrisons and Colonies sent into all parts of his Dominions in the new and old World, and by the Governments and Magistracies he bestows upon it, with an intire exclusion of the Inhabitants of those Countries to which he distributes them.

Resolving to enter by way of *St. Sebastian*, which is the most easie, we lodged at the last Town of *France* called *St. John de Luz*. It is the Seat of Commerce between the two Frontiers, and may pass for a good City, being large, well built, and rich : Its Mariners are esteemed and employed in fishing for Cods, and Whales; a we found Dutch men there that had hired fifty

4 *A Journey into Spain.*

be made use of at *New-found-land*.

As soon as we had passed *Baione* we perceived the humour of the people to incline to that of their Neighbourhood, being insolent and little complying with strangers: the women in passing the Streets cast their Coats over their heads, and so to cover their cheeks discover their buttocks. The next day we wanted but two leagues to the *Spanish* Dominion, and at a good distance discerned *Fontarabia*, a Fort at the falling of *Bidassao* into the sea: This River, or rather Torrent, separates the two Kingdoms; it is pretty broad at the Ferry, the Country thereabouts being fenny, and ebs and flows with the Sea: at low water it is in many places fordable. *Andaise* a little Town or Village is seated on its bank, right over against *Fontarabia*, and separated from it only by that stream: but we were fain to go higher to seek the Ferry-boat, and were troubled how to find it, having been wrong directed by the Postmaster, who does all ill offices he can to those that travail on their own horses: The Toll paid by the Boats goes half to the *French*, and half to the *Spanish*; one of them receiving it of such as pass into *Spain*, and the other of those that travail into *France*, but both of them equally squeezing the Passenger. These Frontiers have no less communication than if there were no war between the two Nations; and it is well for them so; for otherwise an universal desolation would follow. The Country is barren and mountainous, producing nothing but Iron, as well that belongs to *France*, as that which is possessed

essed by the *Spaniard*, which is the greatest part. It is called *Biscay*: the language is understood only by the Inhabitants, and so poor that one word hath diverse significations, so that it cannot without difficulty be made use of in Commerce: None write it, and the Children at School learn French or Spanish, as they are subject to either King.

It does not a little surprise, when having passed *Bidassay*, one is no more understood without speaking Spanish, when a moment before French was intelligible. Half a quarter of a league further is *Airon*, the first Town belonging to the King of *Spain*; they neither demand Passport nor Account of any's business; and one would think there were neither warr nor distrust; only the *Alcalde* came for two Reals as a due belonging to him: but such as return and pass into *France* are not used with the like indifference: We were entertained at the Posthouse, much as we had formerly been in *Italy* on the way to *Naples*, but more slenderly: little Dishes with little bits of meat, made us despair of filling our bellies; but at last one after another enow were brought to satisfy us. When the reckoning came they fleeced us, and we were forced to give four Crowns for a Meal that was not worth one. Over several Mountains, and by a way very rough and stony, we got that night to lye at *St. Sebastians*, where we arrived before we were aware, it being covered by a great bank of sand, which passed, the Town appears at the foot of a Mountain that keeps off the sea, though she embraces it almost

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on all sides, and enters far enough to make a Haven; but for greater safety to Ships, there is a Redout in form of a Basin, they riding at the Town side, and foot of the Mountain, where they seem secure from storms, though we were told some have risen to that height that they have broken in pieces such as anchored there.

Greater Vessels cannot enter, the water serving only for Barks and Shallops: Ships of Warr ride a quarter of a league lower, towards *Fontarabia*, where is the Arsenal for the Oceans Fleet, at present in no very good condition. It returned from *Bourdeaux* much weather-beaten, and for want of money nothing is done towards refitting it.

Before *St. Sebastian* there is a great Ship on the Stocks intended for Admiral: it will be a stately Vessel if ever finished: we were told it had been long in the condition in which we saw it, and that more money had been spent about it than would have served for a dozen such Fabricks, of which the greatest part became a prey to the Overseers.

Bilbo and *St. Sebastian* are the principal Havens the King of *Spain* hath on the Ocean; *Corugna* also is spoken of, where the Marquis of *St. Cruz* tarried somewhat too long, whilest revolted *Bourdeaux*, for want of his Succors, was ready to return to its Kings obedience: he could not have chosen a fitter place to refresh his Fleet, none on that Coast abounding more with Limons and Oranges, which from thence are transported into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*; and if he

was

was better pleased there than he should have been in fighting Monsieur *de Vendosme*, he payed dear enough for it, having been detained prisoner ever since his return from so famous an expedition. *St. Sebastian* is seated in a very little Province called *Guipuscoa*; Traffick draws to it a great concourse, though the Town be but small, it is very compact, and extremely populous, one house containing several Families. A Merchant Stranger is there forced to lodge with some Citizen, it not being permitted him to be a House-keeper: many Dutch men are obliged to live in this manner. The custom was thus introduced; strangers at the first settling of Traffick out of meer liberality gave their Landlords as a Gratuity one in the hundred of all the Commodities they sold; and the Inhabitants to preserve this profit made such an Order, which hath caused some that would not observe it to be sued at Law. That which most pleased me in this Town, was, that the Streets are wide, streight, and very well paved with a broad stone, like that of *Florence*. The principal Revenue of the Country is drawn from Iron-mills, some of them of a very pure mettall, and so rich they may furnish all *Europe*: Wools of old *Castile* are also shipped here, sent in good quantity by the Merchants of diverse places. The Baron of *Batteville*, a Gentleman of the *Franch Comté* (who was then present) is Governor, and with it of all *Guipuscoa*. Though he hath rendered very many good services to *Spain*, particularly in the Troubles of *Gasconie*, and so seasoned himself with Spanish Customs, that he

hath forgotten his own Language and Country; this employment, to which that of Admiral is joyned, draws on him no little envy. We waited on him, and he received us well, but returned not our Visit, and we went away without bidding him adieu. Here we stayed three dayes, and kept our Easter: we had been recommended to a worthy Merchant, who after Dinner carried us to a Nunnery, where we heard most pitiful Musick. This Cloister is on an Eminence, from which the Town that is overagainst it may be very well battered; and the Castle or Citadel which is on the top of a hill, at whose foot the Town stands, seems rather a Sentry-house to watch, than a Fortrefs to defend it.

On Tuesday in Easter-week, having been treated by our Merchant, we took the way of *Madrid*, 84 leagues distant. The Country we passed through is mountainous and barren, and we perceived that we traversed the tops of the *Pirenean*, which almost divide *Spain*, as the *Apennine Italy*. Necessity quickly taught us the Mode of the Country, which obliges Travailers to buy in several places all accommodations necessary. We tarried a while at *St. Sebastians*, partly to provide us a *Moco de Mulas*, that is a Servant or Guide, to bring us to *Madrid*, to whom it belongs to buy victual, and carry other provisions: Forty Crowns were demanded of us for the attendance of one of those Rascals, which being so dear, we resolved not to take any, and to guide our selves as well as we could. The part of *Moco de Mulas* fell to my share: I shall give
you

you the particulars of this imployment, and of travailing in *Spain*. At the first arrival at an Inn you ask for Beds, which being provided, you either give the meat you bring raw with you to the Host to be dressed, or go your self and buy it in the Market: if you find any Capon, Pullet, or Partridge you seek to make sure of them. We were told we should meet plenty of the last, fatter, larger, and better than those of *France*; but in all our Journey we found but one, neither had it all those advantages. The best way is to carry your provision along with you in Wallets, and provide what you find on the place to be made use of the next day. Coming to your Inn, you go abroad to buy bread, wine, and eggs; for something of those is usually to be had, but none allowed to sell them except such as have that Priviledge: Excise goes so high, that the King hath a *quarto* upon every egge. These Inns are sad spectacles, and the sight of them gives one a belly full. The fire is made on a hearth in the middle of the Kitchen, choked with so thick a smoke, that you would think your self in the Kennel of a Fox that the Hunters would drive out: a man or woman all in rags like a begger, and no less lowlie, measures the wine to you, which is drawn from a Hogs, or Goats skin, in which it is kept, and which is to it both Barrel and Celler: the best wine out of these is a very unpleasant liquor, having a most abominable taste of the pitched hide. The White-wine is as fiery as *Aqua-vite*, yet bears not water, the least drop being mixed with it, becoming insipid and without spirit.

spirit. By what I have said may be gathered how ill living is in *Spain*; yet I found it not so bad as I expected, especially in *Biscay*, though a Country less fertile then *Castile*. It is true indeed, that being a Frontier, it is not so much taxed, and the People enjoy greater liberty, and some provisions may be found in the Inns, but at double their value.

About a day and a halfs Journey from *St. Sebastian* we passed over a pretty high Mountain called *St. Adrians*; it is none of the steepest or craggiest, but that which I found most remarkable, is that on the top of it runs a ridge of rock, which hinders passing; one would think it placed there by nature, as a fixed and insurmountable separation between *Biscay* and old *Castile*, in such a manner, that they have been fain to open a way with much difficulty; for the rock is cut thorough thirty or forty paces: In this there is one house, which must needs be very well roofed, having so great a Mass of the quarry to cover it. Freed from this wonderful passage, we descended into old *Castile*, something more plain, though not much more fertile. We found here no less trouble than on the *Alpes* at the Mountain of *St. Godard*, night surprising us in the middle of the descent, and for increase of our misfortune, we could get no lodging at the next Village: this the more incommoded us in regard one of our horses had lost both his shoes before: notwithstanding which we were forced to seek entertainment in another miserable Village (to which the Host was our Guide) which afforded us only bread and wine,
and

and two wretched Beds, whose Sheets and Mattresses could not oblige us to put off our cloths.

We begin now to approach the heart of *Spain*, having entred the old *Castile*, where stands the City of *Valladolid*, for a long time the Seat of its Kings, the Country is all sand, and little hillocks of unfertil earth, often interrupted by Mountains hooded with rocks, unless in some few places where small Plains and Valleys appear, that afford the Inhabitants such provisions as sustain them. But never did I see any Country less beautified with Gardens: I know not whether by reason the soil affords them not, or that the people are not industrious enough to take care of them.

Coming near *Vittoria*, the first City of *Castile*, we passed through the fairest and best cultivated Plain we had till then seen: that little City is seated at the end of it, as seemed to us, very pleasantly: we rested there half a day, as well to shoe our horses, as to deliver a letter we had for the Master of the Custom-house, from whom we hoped addresses necessary to continue our Journey securely. We heard rumours of Theeves, and beyond *Burgos* a great Robberie had been lately committed. This Letter was very useful to us, for till then we had not been any wayes molested about our horses or baggage, but we were assured, that had we only passed the Gate without a Ticket from the Custom-house all had been confiscated. It fell out very luckily for us to have a letter to him that is the Kings Farmer, who as soon as he had received it, visited us, and not only
caused

caused a sufficient Passport to be given us, but made us a Present of Wine, Capons and Neats-tongues, with which furnishing our Knap-sacks, we had recourse to them in case of necessity. The civility of this Spaniard was very pleasing to us, and made us judge this Nation more generous than the *Italians*, though they be equally for their particular interests, and one of them as little communicable as the other.

The first of *April* we dined at *Pancorbo*, and lay at *Miranda*, and the next day did the like at *Barbiefea* and *Monasterio de Rodillas*; the Third we arried at *Burgos*, the chief City of *Castile*, and so considerable in both *Castiles*, that it possesses the first place, though disputed by *Toledo*: we were not at all troubled with heat on our way, but not a little that day with cold; a sharp wind caused a hoar frost, and in some places Ice: *Burgos* is the coldest City of *Spain*, being seated at the foot of a high Mountain; it hath formerly enjoyed a considerable Trade, which of later days is almost lost; it is not very great; and the most remarkable things in it are the Church and Arch-bishops Palace, admirable Fabricks for *Spain*, where generally they build ill; in some places because they are poor, and in others for want of Lime and Stones, so that in every part, and even in *Madrid* it self, many houses are made of earth; and the best Fabricks cimented with Clay instead of Mortar. Another ornament of *Burgos*; is a large and very convenient Bridge, passing from the Suburbs to the City: its inhabitants are
thought

thought to speak the best *Castilian*; this Territory, of a certain breeds the best soldiers, and very few afford the King a greater number; we received extraordinary civilities from a Merchant, to whom we were recommended by the Customer of *Vitoria*. He did not only inquire us out company for our journey to *Madrid*, because of the danger of Thieves; but finding us in a lodging where we could not be well entertained, after shewing us the Town, carried us to his House, where he Treated us at Dinner with a frankness, much more valuable then his good cheer; it was served in *Jdish* after dish, and began by a slender potage, with two or three slices of bread in it; every one of us had an earthen porringer of it presented him, but the Saffron and Pepper gave such a hogo, it could hardly be eaten. It was on a *Saturday* and according to the custom of that Countrey to eat on such days, the heads and intrails of Sheep and Oxen, we had such meats, so that we fared much better then we should have done by hunting among the Taverns and victualing houses to make our own provision: besides, the gallantry of his manner of Treating, surprized us, conducting us with a great deal of freedom into the chamber where the Cloth was laid, and his wife lay sick abed of a *Quartane Ague*; that day I spurred up my memory to furnish me with all the Spanish, had lain dormant there, since I studied it at *Florence*, and lighting on any expression of civility, repeated it so often, that it was very evident, Compliments were scarce with me; *M. P.* spoke
now

now and then a word, and *M. S.* was continually silent, so that the burthen of the entertainment lay all on me, who knew not very well how to acquit my self, especially, when the wife began to speak from the bed; I knew not whether I was to Treat her with *Vuestra Merced*, or *Vuestra Sennoria*, which so confounded me, that often supposing, the first belonged onely to men, I blushed as if I had committed some hainous crime, and recalling my self, brought out the second, due only to persons of eminent Quality, for *Vuestra Merced* is of all genders, and so common, that Grooms and Footmen honour one another with it: To bring my self off, I drank her good health, saying, *Sennora a la Salud de x x x x* and there was gravell'd, not knowing which word to chuse, and I think I made use of both, *que dios le dia prompta guarison*, I cannot tell whether she understood me, for I have since been told, the last word is not Spanish; but this I am sensible of, that I committed a great incivility by putting off my Hat, which is never done there at Table: Having made better use of our teeth then tongues, it was at last time to be gone; the Master of the house, according to the custom of the Countrey, leading the way, for as they button contrary to other nations, they are also contrary in this particular; and they say, that in accompanying the stranger, the Master of the house goes first to leave the other in possession. I forgot to give the woman a parting Compliment. Coming back to the Inn, where we alighted, we found
the

the widow that kept it, drunk, on which I must take occasion to say, that I never saw so many women drunk in *Germany*, as on this side the *Pireneans*; this was the second that gorged with wine, which they send for to Taverns, came to piss before us all in the Stable. Though we had almost resolved to lie at *Burgos*, as soon as we had left our Merchant, our minds alter'd, because we were told that three Leagues from thence we should find a very good Inn, but our servants being walk'd abroad, had like to have hindred our putting this in execution. One of them having enter'd a Church with spurs on, the Gates were shut upon him, till he payed money exacted as on shipboard, but at last he freed himself; we presently took horse, and as soon as out of Town, missed our way; after which, making use of a Priest we met with for our guide, we happened to be very ill lodged: the next day cold and rainy, we dined at *Lerma*, where having lit on a good Inn, we continued till the morning after, we went to see the Palace of the Lord of it, next the *Escorial*, esteemed the fairest in *Spain*. It is a vast Fabrick, but ill contriv'd, without either Garden or Plantation for Walks: being holiday, the inhabitants were together, drinking in a large Hall, into which, as soon as we enter'd, they very civilly presented us Wine, and the Corrigidor, or chief Officer of the place, entertained and shewed us several rooms of the Palace.

Leaving *Lerma* the 5th, we arrived at *Madrid* the 9th. where we were very glad to be, as
wel

well to rest our selves as to enjoy a milder Clima, for in *Castile* we were tormented with continual cold wind and rain, and a Countrey so Steril, that we could not but rejoyce to approach one something less savage. An inexpressible number of *French* pilgrims pass to and from *St. James* in *Galicia*, the occasion of the Spaniards calling them *Gavachos*, this makes evident that *France* abounds in people, and those very idle, in such a manner to pester the roads of *Spain*. Ignorance, poverty and abuse in matters of Religion, cause this disorder, and that a great many poor pilgrims (not entertain'd here as in *Italy*, the Hospitals affording only house-room) die every year in *Spain*. The best Town we saw on the way was *Aranda de Duero*, where we provided our selves to pass the 7th the Mountain of *Samosierra*, which separates Old *Castille* from New, in which *Madrid* stands. These passages are called Ports, as if there were Rivers to be forded or ferried over, and at first deceived us with the expectation of some rapid and difficult Torrent. This day we suffered by rain, hail, snow, and wind, and found not *Spain* hotter then other Countreys, being almost frozen in so advanced a season, and between the two *Castiles*. We were not free from the Mountains, till within Three or Four Leagues of *Madrid*, the snowy tops of which are discerned at it: the Plain in which it is seated is somewhat uneven, rising and falling every halfe quarter of a League: it is not adorned by any one tree, the Land on that side by which we went towards it is tilled, yet
seems

seems very barren, consisting onely of Sand and light Earth, unless some few eminences; no wood, and abundance of stones: the way all along good, as is usual where Land is bad; and when we enquired after it, we were answered with a Spanish Rhodomontado, that we could not possibly miss it, because the greatest high-way in the world. On the side we enter'd it appears not much, but on that where *Buen retiro* stands, gives a very agreeable Prospect. It is not walled, the Streets are large, but foul, and stinking They which calculate all the ordures cast into them, say they are daily perfumed by above a hundred thousand Close-stools; the Pavement is so defective, and the Coaches so ill hung, that to ride in them over so uneven ground is to be broken on the Wheel. House (as well as all things else) are very dear here. They build only with brick and clay, having little lime, and no stone but what is brought seven leagues from about the Escorial. A House that in another place were very inconsiderable is sold here for 20 or 25 thousand crowns. Whoever builds is concluded to have a Purse very well lined. They which return from Governments beyond sea, demolish their Houses and build Palaces, which make appear they have either been Viceroy of *Naples*, or Governors of *Flanders* or *Milan*. In this manner this Town, which is new, and the greatest part very slightly built, according to the abilities of the Inhabitants, becomes every day more beautiful, as the better part of the Kings Revenue, is appropriated to those that have the managing of it.

La Plaza Major is very fair, something more long than large, the houses on all sides uniform, and the highest in *Maarid*. They are all encompassed by two or three ranks of Balconies, which serve to see the Feasts of Bulls, the famous-est Ceremonies of *Spain*.

Report speaks this Divertisement to have been derived from the Moors, and indeed it favours not a little of their Brutality : It suits so strangely with the Genius of this People, that no Town is so mean but it hath its peculiar Feasts, and think a Curse would follow should they omit solemnise them. The King cannot absent himself from those of *Madrid* without the murmurs of the People. His Palace is at one end of the Town, on an almost indiscernable rising, that side on which we went to it enjoys the prospect of a little River, and part of a Valley in which are some trees : by it he can pass to *la Casa del Campo*, a wretched House of Pleasure, without other Ornament than a few Walks in a Wood.

On this Brook, rather than River, *Philip* the Second built a very great and broad Bridge, some of its arches not touched by any water : And I believe it was rather made for a more commodious passing the descent of the Valley, than to be a great Bridge to little or no River. The Kings House hath nothing magnificent, yet is not so mean as was reported to us. There is a very fair Piazza before it, to which it represents no unhand- some Frontispice, were the building higher, and a defective Tower finished. It hath two Quadrangles very large : All Councils meet in the
Palace,

Palace, and the King by private Galleries can go to any of the Rooms where they sit. There is a great Concourse, and no less noise, when any of them are assembled : But in the Kings Apartment all is very still, and no body appears till he goes to Mass, the only time of seeing him : His Halberdiers are then drawn out on each side the Gallerie, by which he passes ; These are *Germans*, *Burgundians*, and *Spaniards*, about two or three hundred, wearing all Liveries of yellow trimmed with red Velvet. When he comes from his Apartment the Captain of the Gard goes before him, and he is followed only by two or three Persons. Passing between these Halberdiers he receives such Petitions as are presented him. One day as he went to Chappel we would have gone in before, the better to view him, but a Door-keeper (as formerly happened at *Ratisbone* on such an occasion) told us, that none were to enter unless clothed in black. I liked no House in this Town so well as the Prison, where yet I would least desire to lodge : It is a massie solid building, the Windows fortified with great bars of Iron, as much for ornament as security : they are artificially wrought and gilded, so that my mistake will not seem very strange, who at first thought it the habitation of some Grandee of *Spain*.

All agree that no City of *Spain* is so populous as this, and excepting *London* and *Paris* I never saw so many Coaches in any ; they are drawn by Mules only, and none but the Kings and the Masters of his Horse with more than four : They are

no wayes magnificent but in some slight guildings of the Iron-works, and about the Boots : the greatest part of them are covered with waxed cloth. On one side of the Town is the *Prado*, a large Walk made use of for the *Tour*, near it is a great Fabrick, but low, called *Buen Retiro*. The Duke of *Olivares*, during his administration, spent many Millions on a Structure that is not very considerable : I saw but part of it, where a Comedy was preparing with Scenes, that would amount to a great expence ; a *Florentine* was the Undertaker. For ordinary Comedies here are two Theaters, where they act every day : The Players have to themselves not above three half pence for every person, the Hospital as much, and as much the Town-house ; to set down it costs seven pence, the whole amounting to fifteen pence. I can say little to the Lines or Plots, not being skilful enough in the language to understand Poetry, nor the figurative fashion of speaking that belongs to it : but know they play their parts ill, few or none having either the meen or genius of true Actors. They present by daylight, so that their Scenes appear not with advantage : Their Clothes are neither rich, nor appropriated to their Subject ; and the Spanish habit serves where the Scene is *Greece* or *Rome*. The Playes I have seen have but three Acts, called *Jornadas* : They usually begin by a Prologue in Musick, but sing so ill, that their harmony resembles little Childrens whinings : Between the Acts there is some little Farce, Dance, or Intrigue, the most diverting of the whole Piece : The

People

people are so taken with them it is hard to get place, the best being bespoke, and the excessive idleness of this Country, as that of *England*, is made evident in that in *Paris* it self, though there are not Playes every day, there is no such crowding to them. Having with some exactness reported the particularities of such places as we saw, I will now acquaint you with what I in general observed of the Spanish humor and Government. This Nation is thought to be very proud and disdainful, but is really neither so much as it seems: its meen doubtlesly is deceitful, and they which frequent it find not all the vanity imagined, and may perceiv it to be a vice proceeding rather from erroneous Morals than an insolent temper. To Hector it both in words and gestures, seems to them a syptome of a great soul; and visiting other Countries, little or not at all they discover not this defect, derived to them from the first milk they suck, and the first Sun gives them light.

Some *Spaniards* are so ignorant that they believe not there is any other Country than *Spain*, other City than *Madrid*, or King than their own. When I speak of ignorant *Spaniards*, I mean those meer *Castillians* who never having quitted their Threshold, know not whether *Amsterdam* be in *Europe*, or the *Indies*. The Nobility and *Grandees* go little out of *Madrid*, neither as Soldiers nor Travailers, unless commanded and employed. They have no information either by Gazetts or other news written or printed, and I never more admired any thing than that this Na-

tion we esteem so politick, and imperious, Masters of the secret of the universal Monarchy, and capable of imposing fetters on the rest of Christendom, hath so very few able heads, amongst whom it is thought the Earl of *Castiglio*, Viceroy of *Naples* is none of the meanest: *Pignoranda*, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and *Don Fernando de Contreras* govern all. The Earl of *Ognate* is a great head-piece, but the Favourite is jealous of him, and as much as possible keeps him from affairs. The *Grandees* of *Spain* appear such only at a distance: here they seemed to me very little, and without any other advantages than to put on their hats, and sit down in the Kings presence; in other particulars I never observed less inequality in the most popular Republick. A Shoemaker when he hath laid aside his Awl and Last, and hung his Sword and Dagger by his side, will hardly give the first salute to him he wrought for in his Shop a moment before. You cannot speak to one of the most inferior of the rabble without giving him titles of honor; and they treat one another with *Senores Cavalleros*. If a Beggar seeks an Alms, and you refuse him, it must not be without a Compliment, *Pardone Vuestra merced, no tengo dinero*: pardon me Sir, I have no money. No other Prince lives like the King of *Spain*, his employments are continually the same, in such a manner, that he at all times knows how every day of his life is to be passed over: You would think some indispenfible Law prohibited his omitting to do according to custom; so that neither weeks, months, years, nor hours change any thing

thing of his manner of living, nor present him any thing new. As soon as he rises and recollects what day it is, he knows what businesses he is to dispatch, or what pleasures to enjoy. He hath certain hours for forain and domestick Audiences, and for signing all that tends to the expedition of his Affairs, disposal of his Treasure, Meals, and Devotions. And I have been assured that whatever happens he continues firm in such a manner of acting. Every Saturday he goes to a Church at the farther end of the old Pardo called *Atocha*, where he hath a most particular Devotion to the Holy Virgin, saying it is from her he hath received so great favours, and admirable assistances in his greatest extremities. *France* also imputes all its successes to her mediation, and the advantages of these potent Kingdoms, having been so long diametrically opposite, it seems something inconsistent, that (little happiness coming to one without the others misfortune) they can both boast to have her propitious. Every year at the self same time he goes to his Houses of pleasure, and they say nothing but sickness can prevent his retiring to *Aranjuez*, *Pardo*, or the *Escorial* in the Months he had wont to enjoy the Air of the Country. In a word, they which have spoken to me of this humor, tell me it is very conformable to his Meen and Port, and they that are near him assured me, that when they speak to him he changes neither look nor posture, but receives, hears, and answers them with the same countenance, nothing in all his body being moveable but his lips and tongue. This gravity, whether

natural or affected, is in this Country so essential a part of Majesty, that we were told that the Queen one day, transported at dinner to a more than ordinary laughter, at the ridiculous postures and discourses of a Buffoon, was put in mind, that to do so became not a Queen of *Spain*, who ought to be more serious; at which surpris'd, being young, and but newly come out of *Germany*, she said she could not help it unless that fellow were taken away, and that they should not have brought him thither if they would not have had her laugh at him. Two dayes in the week he gives publick Audiences, principally to receive Petitions and Memorials of such as beg any favour of him. He answers not immediately, but causes them to be all carried into a certain place, where they are perused by a Secretary of State, who distributes them to such of the several Councils, as their contents relate to; after which he that would be dispatched, must enquire at the Secretaries Office what answer is returned, but seldom finds any, especially if the pretence be arrears or reward; and when he hath lost all hope of hearing what is become of his Petition, it is permitted him to present as many more as he pleases, but to little purpose, for the King seldom sees any, and all are carried to the Council that received the first, which having no intention to satisfy him, returns neither Petition nor Answer: For this reason *Madrid* is ever full of pretenders, who with the attendance of whole years, lose their ink and Paper. His Majesty hath also certain hours in which he signs all ex-

peditions

petitions of State, and of his Treasurie; so that nothing is done, nor one penny given out without an Order signed by him, whereas in *France* the Secretaries of State have the Seal and Signature of the King in their power, which would give them opportunities of doing many things on their own accompt, should they abuse it. It is true yet, that neither here nor there the Secretary signs or presents any thing to be signed, but by consent of the Favourite or chief Minister: and *Don Fernando de Contreras*, principal Secretary, who with *Pigneranda*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* governs all, causes nothing to be signed but what is approved by the later, and the King intirely confiding in him, signs all he presents without reading it: for never any Prince was more easie, nor put greater confidence in his Ministers: When delivred from *Olivares*, he was no longer without a Favourite then till the Queens death, which happened very sodainly after the disgrace of that chief Minister: Then he received into his privacy (as they call it here) the Nephew of the former, at present the most powerful in this Court: He is also one of the richest, and possessing the great wealth he inherited from his Uncle, contents himself to enjoy his fame, and neglect his maximes, which would probably be attended by the publick hatred, his politicks having been thought very corrupt and biassed. It is believed this Favourite makes no use of his Masters coffers, and it is but necessary he spare them, they having never been so exhausted; for besides the Monthly Pensions of the Prince of *Conde*, and those that follow

follow him, which are very ill paid, this Court is obliged to an extraordinary charge in *Catalonia*, and its forces being very weak there, to treat for three or four thousand *Wallons* and *Germans*, of which the poorest foot Souldier will stand it in six score crowns. The Marquis *Serra* a noble *Genovesse* (who on that condition returned to *Barcelona*) is promised a hundred thousand crowns a month to maintain that Army, and to resist the *French*. The *Indian* Fleet was expected, which brought but 800 thousand crowns on the Kings accompt the last year; what it would then bring was very uncertain, though it was given out to be very rich, and that it had aboard it two years Revenue.

Before the King went to *Aranjuez*, he assembled the Estates of both *Castiles*, which consist of the Deputies of 22 Towns, each Town sending two. Such Assemblies are called *las Cortes*. The King made them a Speech, and told them, that of the ten Millions of Gold, his Kingdoms yearly supply him with, not above three came into his Coffers, and necessities of State considered, it was his pleasure they should consult of ways to bring the entire sum into his hands. That to this purpose every Town and Province should take care themselves to bring their proportion into his Exchequer, where he willed them to suppress many of the Officers that managed his Revenue, and devoured the greatest part of it: after this he also demanded some augmentation. The *Cortes* met, and laboured in this affair, but it was much feared they would not consent to such

such a suppression, which would undo many, and some of their Relations; for the augmentation, it was believed they would not think the people able to pay any more, the miserie and poverty of the Country considered. In the mean time this King, (his ten Millions of crowns excepted) draws little or nothing from the People; and *Navarre, Arragon,* and the Kingdom of *Valencia,* (not united to the *Castiles*) are not thought to bring up above two Millions.

The great expences to which his Warrs oblige him, are known to all the world, but some nearer home consume the best of his Revenue: these are many Pensions, there being hardly any Grandee of *Spain,* Duke, Earl, Marquis, or Knight that hath not something from the Publick: not in recompence of service in War; but because the most of them are extremely necessitous, in so much that I have been assured that many of them compounding with their Creditors, have assigned them their Pensions, reserving only some small sum towards a wretched subsistence. Neither are any accompted rich (the three Favourites above-mentioned excepted) but the Duke of *Alva,* the Marquis of *Leganes,* the Earl of *Ognate,* and two or three others whose names I have forgotten; the rest of the Nobility wanting wherewithal to supply their ordinary expences. But did the King allow no Pensions to them, he payes enow to others to divert a very considerable part of his Income. His Armies abound with Reformadoes, who receive pay as if actually in service: it is true indeed that these are so il paid, that I cannot
 imagine

imagin how they subsist, and I spoke with an *Alfieres* that came from *Portugal*, whose Pension is twelve crowns a month, that protested he had not recived six in six year.

The Jesuits have of late been obliged to bring sixty thousand crowns into the Kings Coffers, which very much disgusted them, and allayed their zeal in these quarters for the House of *Austria*. This Sum was shipped by them on the Indian Fleet, without registering it, and upon discovery confiscated according to the Law. The Jesuit to whose care it was entrusted, playd his part so well that the Kings Officers could not find it, but that which belonged to other Cloysters, being seised, they peached, and it became the Kings, notwithstanding the good Fathers alleged it designed to build a Church in *Navarre*, in the Town where the Saint the Founder of their Order was born.

This King spends nothing either in Buildings or Gardens. Much of ornament might be added to his Palace, and its height require a Wall in form of a Terrass, to support its declining, that increases daily. A Wood below it, that serves only for a Shelter to Rabbits, and a Nest for Crows, brought by *Charles* the 5th out of the *Low Countries*, might be converted into a fair Garden. The river that passes by it is called *Maucanarzes*, not so broad as its name is long; its Channel is gravelly, and it self in Summer so low, that in *June* and *July* Coaches at the *Tour* go through it. The Bridge, or rather Causey, by which it is passed, is both long and large, and cost I know

not how many thousand Ducats, and he was no fool, that being told that *Philip* the Second bestowed so much cost on so poor a River, said it was fit either to sell the Bridge or buy Water.

Gentlemen here contrary to the customs of *England, France* and *Germany* live in Cities; few of them having any priviledges for Hunting or Hawking, neither Mannors or Vassals as with us, where they are most of them Lords of the Parishes they dwell in: and indeed the quality of a private Gentleman is here scarcely intelligible, the people having respect only for Orders of Knighthood, and such as are *Titulados*, which comprehends Dukes, Marquisses, and Earls. Here are yet some Families whom they call *Solariegos* or *de Solar Conocido*, who alone are true Gentlemen, and can derive pedigrees, of which they may have testimonies, called *Cartas Exccatorias*, and on accompr of them, enjoy some inconsiderable priviledges. The most antient of their Titles, was that of *Riccos Hombres*, very different from *Hombre Ricco*, which last implies no more but a rich man, but the other antiently were the great Lords of *Spain*, before Dukes, Marquisses and Earls were heard of: They were covered in those days in presence of their King, and alone had deliberative voices in Assemblies.

Neither Governments, nor Military, nor Civil Charges are here sold, which is not altogether so commendable as it seems at first sight; for unworthy persons (if well looked on by Favorites)

rites) may more easily attain them then if they paid for them, and several of ancient extraction and great abilities are willing to lay out their money to put themselves in a condition to serve their King with honour: neither in Countrey where Charges are most vendible, are they so to all Chapmen; but to Gentlemen only, and such as are qualified for them.

All the while *Olivares* was in favour, he caused an ill understanding between the King and his wife, *Elizabeth of Bourbon*. In order to which (as some report) he sought to corrupt his Master with an abominable opinion of certain graceless People who in *Madrid* joyned together in a Sect, and called themselves *Alumbrados*, as much as to say illuminated, or (if you please) Phanaticks; these seeking to countenance themselves in their villanies, that they might commit them with the greater liberty, held it out as a Maxim, that part of the Gospel was mis-understood, and that it was an error to believe Copulation with a woman (on what account soever) could render a man blameable before God.

This King is supposed to have had natural issue by several, but none is owned but *Don John of Austria*, whose Mother was a *Comediant*. Of legitimate Children none grew up but the Prince and the Infanta, the rest dying very young. The Prince seemed couragious, but, as was conjectured, of a nature violent and cruel. Some report he was taken from so many Kingdoms (as whose sole Heir he was considered

by an accidental connivence of *Don Pedro de Aragon* first Gentleman of his Chamber, who one night giving way to his lying with a Curtezan, he so overhear himself that next morning he fell into a violent Feavour; and the Physitians ignorant of what had passed, by letting him blood so extremely exhausted his Spirits, whose dimunition was the only cause of his Disease, that they hastened his death. *Don Pedro* either for not preventing or not discovering this to the Physitians, continues in disgrace, and though Brother of the Favorite, may not yet return to Court: Permission only being given him to dwell at one end of the Town, where he neither receives nor returns Visits with any Splendor.

The fall of *Olivares* hath been very publick in *Europe*, and made appear that Favour, which hath no other foundation than the Princes affection, nor supports it self otherwise than by the dexterity of him that possesses it, cannot be so durable, as his that established on the Basis of his good service, renders him necessary to whom he is agreeable, and it is reported that this man did sometimes buoy himself up in the Kings good affection and opinion, by the very same inconsiderable Artifices, that at last sunk him. Amongst other inventions this is discoursed; Complaint having been made that Bread was very dear, and so scarce it could hardly be had in *Madrid*, because he had taken money of all the Neighbouring Villages, to exempt them from an Obligation lay upon them, to bring a certain quantity every day to Market, he gave Order that all
that

that was in the Town dispersed among several Bakers, should be brought and exposed in the street, by which the King was to pass to our Lady of *Atocha*. They to whom he gave this command performed it so well, that the Shops and Stalls were laden. The King at sight of such plenty said he perceived that they which had told him of scarcitie of Bread were impostors and lyers: For better Confirmation the *Conde Duke* Ordered they should bring every day into the publick Market place all the Bread, they were obliged to, notwithstanding the Exemptions, upon which the complaints ceased, and the King a longtime believed that what had been told him was an effect of the Malice, of such as emulated and envied his Favourite: But the Queen by her Wisdom and Patience, at last ruined him, and by degrees entred on part of the Government, from which his Ambition and Jealousie had so long excludet her. As soon as she had gotten credit with the King her Husband, she made him understand the disorder of affairs, and danger of the Crown by his Favorites ill conduct: and this with so much Prudence that he was banished the Court; and at last preparations made to bring him to this trial. The Queens chief Councellour on this Extraordinary occasion, was the Earl of *Castriglio*, a very near Kinsman of him she designed against. They could not without great difficulty bring the King to condescend, but at last the Inquisition concerning it self, and charging him with that accurs'd Doctrin of the *Alumbrados*, and an endeavour to Corrupt the King

King with it, he was very neer being abandoned to it, but this was prevented by his death, suspected to have been hastened by poison, and that good turn done him by his relations, that they might the sooner possess his wealth. *Don Lewis de Haro* inherited the best part of it, and to so great a value that I was told, by one that had it from his own mouth, his yearly Revenue amounts to 130 thousand Crowns: it is not therefore to be wondered if he contents himself with the quality of Favorite, or Chief Minister, without a greedy hunting after all advantages he might acquire by it: but though by this he exempt himself from the clamors raised against his Uncle; he is yet supported by very few creatures, not endeavouring to make any, according to the *Pasquil*, comparing him with his Predecessor. Two persons have ruined *Spain*, one by doing ill to all, the other by doing good to none.

Before he came into favour, he was in the Coach with *Villa Medina*, when he was ponierded. This Gentleman was the gallantest Courtier, and greatest wit of *Spain*: the Curious relate many of his Reparties, of which this is none of the worst; coming into a Church, a Bason was presented him, the usual receptacle of Money to redeem souls from Purgatory; and he (demanding what sum served to deliver one, and being answered, what he pleased) put in two pistols; withal, desiring to know if the soul were free, which the other assuring him, he took again his two pistols, telling him he had

done enough; the soul being in no danger of returning. Of all his Gallantries, none cost him dearer then that of a Mask: he was in love with the Queen, which he managed with so little caution; it occasioned him to be censured rash and indiscreet; the goodness of this Princess inclining her to favour men of parts, caused her (altogether ignorant of his folly) to look well on him. This hastened his fall, for besides that he could not forbear to mention his Mistress, which terms better becomming a gallant then subject, he appeared in a Mask, in a Suit embroidered with pieces of Eight, with this word *Mis amores son reales*. This, though equivocal, gave occasion of discourse to all the world, because it was very evident, that he rather designed the eminent object of his love, then the avarice of which he accused himself. The violence of his passion, made him provide a Comedy with scenes, in which he spent 20 thousand Crowns, which (to gain an opportunity of embracing the Queen, whilst he carried her out of the danger) he set on fire, and with them burnt almost all the house. Subjects that incite their Masters jealousy, stand on precipices. This man was stabbed in his Coach at noon-day when accompanied by *Don Lewis de Haro*.

One may very reasonably inquire the occasions of the great expences of Spaniards, and how they undo themselves, little of pomp or luxury appearing amongst them, and few of them going into the wars. They which are well acquainted with *Madrid*, assure, that most

Families are ruined by Women: every man keeps a Mistress, or is belov'd on a Curtisan; who (none in the world being more witty, impudent, or better skilled in that accursed mystery;) as soon as they ensnare any, plume them to the quick; they must have Robes of 30 pistols price, which they call *Gardepies*, other accoutrements answerable, Jewels, Householdstuff, and Coaches. To deny any thing to that Sex, is accounted dishonourable. I was assured that the Admiral of *Castile* (none of the richest) gave at once to one of these Galleys, Four score thousand Crowns. One of the *Palavicini* of *Genova*, told me, that not long before, an inclination cost him Two thousand Crowns, and finding himself delayed by the Baggage to whom he made his Addresses, he abandoned her, without obtaining any thing. Here are four Processions without the Town, whereas at so many Solemn Rendezvouses they endeavour to set out themselves. All Gallants then present them, which if any neglect, they are lost, and no more thought persons of Honour; this makes all with emulation strive to adorn these infamous Creatures, and glory not a little in it. No Town in the World offers so many to publick view ever at all hours of the day, all Streets and Walks are full of them; they wear black Vails with which they hide their faces, but discover one eye. They accost all men boldly, being no less impudent, than dissolute. In *Italy* they are more modest, not seeking Men as here; and as the disorder is universal, so the mischief caused by it is almost infallible.

bands that desire to have their Wives live honestly, begin so arbitrarily, that they treat them almost like Servants, lest by a handsome liberty, they should pass the limits of Chastity, little understood, and worse observed by this Sex. In *Andalusia*, they say, the Husbands are yet more violent, using them like Children or Slaves. If at meals they suffer them to approach the Table, it is not to eat, but serve them; with which if the more Civil dispence, they give them meat from the Table on the ground, where they sit on Carpets or Cushions, like *Turks* or *Taylors*; in which manner, they also sit in Churches, and in most Houses, instead of Chairs, you see only a few Cushions set one on another, by the walls side.

The Tour of Coaches when in Town, circulates in the high street, otherwise in the *Prado*, near *de Retiro*, or by the Rivolet below the Palace. The greatest Lords appear with little splendor above the rest, only their Coaches are drawn by four Mules, and attended by some few Footmen more than ordinary; the Pages have place in the Boots of the Coaches. They wear not Liveries, but most commonly are clothed in black; scarce any of them have coloured Lace, except on the Sleeves: The Kings are still worst clad, and worst paid. In all Great mens Houses, they every Night eat up all that remains, and burn all the Candles, consuming also the Oyle and Salt, the Servants otherwise taking it as Vails.

Grandeess of *Spain* are of two sorts, this Honour being sometimes personal, sometimes hereditary. The first, the King bids be covered themselves; the second, themselves and Heirs for ever. This is all the Ceremony in making a Grandee, neither do any other priviledges belong to it; so that it is but a Chimerical and Airy Honour, without any profit; they which marry the Heiress of a Family of a Grandee of *Spain*, that is such hereditarily, become Grandeess in right of their Wives.

This is all I could learn concerning Grandeess, but Spanish Books mention three sorts, one of which the King commands to be covered before they speak to him, another after they have spoken, but before he answers; and the last cover not, till they have spoken and he answered. When the King creates a Duke, he is also a Grandee, and the consequence is good; he is a Duke, therefore a Grandee; but not he is a Grandee, therefore a Duke; many Marquesses and Earls being also Grandeess. Their Wives sit in the Queens presence, and she rises at their coming in. The King in all Edicts and Letters calls them Princes: In his Chappel, they have a Seat called the Grandeess Bench, where, without regard to Antiquity, they sit as they come promiscuously. The Title of *Sennioria* belongs to them by parent of *Philip* the Third. These are, in a manner, all the advantages they have above other Gentlemen, who, as well as they, are exempted from all Taxes, unless when the Publick is in danger; at such times, they have been so heavily

vily burthen'd, that they have paid near half their Revenue. They are not oblig'd to quarter, unless when the Court goes a Progress; but to speak in general of the Spanish Nobility, they have a very considerable priviledge (at least if it be made good to them) which is, that how great soever their Debts be, the Revenue only can be attached, the rest being in *Mayorazgo* (as I understand it) entailed, which goes farther; so that when the Revenue is seized on, the Judges will appoint the Gentleman, whose Quality obliges him to keep Servants, Horses, Coaches, &c. a Stipend sufficient to support him according to it; and though he owes as much as a Revenue of 50 thousand Crowns can be worth, and hath but 30, his Creditors can pretend to no more, than the overplus of what is ordered for his subsistence.

Here are very few Knights of the Golden Fleece, nor many pretenders to that Honour, because difficult to be obtained, and bringing no profit. It was lately sent to the Archduke *Leopold*, eldest Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Third. The other Orders are *Calatrava*, known by a Red Rose worn on the Cloak, and *Alcantara* by a green one, *St. Jago* wears a Sword gules or an Arrow, these are near of an equal esteem and dignity; these Knights have sometimes profit by the Commands they now and then obtain by the Kings favour. A great number of them were slain before *Lerida*, since which time it is not believed there are above 1800 in all the three Orders, whereas before there were above

4000. *Alcantara* is most esteemed, which they that pretend to, must prove themselves Gentlemen of four Descents, two being sufficient to either the other.

In the second Court of the Palace, are Chambers for several Councils. The Council of State assembles under the Kings Apartment, where the welfare of all his Dominions is consulted. There is also a Council of War, where the wayes of executing what hath been resolved in the Council of State, are taken into consideration: Near these is the Council of *Castile*, called *Royal*; it is very powerful, and consists of Seventeen Counsellors and a President. Many Affairs of the other Councils are referred hither, especially of the Council of the *Indies*, in which the people of both *Castiles* are very much concerned. *Arragon* hath also its Council, *Italy* and *Flanders* theirs. The Council for the *Indies*, and the Kings Revenue called *de la Hazienda*, sits in another place; so doth that *de las Ordenes*, which determines the differences of the Orders of Knighthood, and Judges of the proofs of Gentry of such as pretend to them. All these are within the Palace Walls. That of the Inquisition hath its Tribunal in the House of the President of that holy Office: That of the *Cruzada*, which gives Dispensations to eat Flesh on Saturdayes, and some other priviledges granted by Popes to the King, is also held at the Presidents. None of these pretend to be so absolute, as the Inquisition. I have been assured, that it is not alwayes in the Kings power to free those that are accused there:
And

And though this Jurisdiction derives its Authority from the Pope, in some Conjunctions it hath had no regard to his Orders. It extends not only to those which in matters of Religion go contrary to the Church, but is a sharp curb to all whose temper gives jealousy to the State, and dispatches them without noise, as was intended against *Antonio Perez*, and the Duke of *Olivares*, had he not dyed. All resolutions of these several Councils, pass through that of State, before put in execution, which examines whether there be anything in them, contrary to the general good of all the members of the Crown.

A Mornings, because then all the Councils assemble, there is a great crowd in the Palace, yet only below in the two Courts, whither they which have Business or Suits (as they say here, *para pretensiones*) come to follow them. Amongst others, you may see many undertakers of Levies of Souldiers, soliciting their Disbursements. When Horse are raised, all the Horses are brought into the *Piazza* before the Palace, where one Ear of each of them is cut off. By this mark they are made known to be the Kings, and a Trooper selling one of them, or one of them being found in the possession of a man that serves not the King, he may be seized, and carried away without any formality of Law; but the Troopers sometimes cut off the other Ear, and then presenting the Captain some Dollars, obliged him to depose before the Commissary, that the Horse is dead, after which he is sold without difficulty. This is one of the greatest profits of Captains

Captains of Horse in *Catalonia*, as they which have served there informed me.

It is not only very difficult to raise men for *Catalonia*, but to maintain them, when brought thither: enduring much hardness, they quickly die, *Flemings* and *Germans* especially; *Castilians* and *Neopolitans* disband and run away, the latter getting into *France*, present themselves there to the General, who usually gives them a piece of money to bear their charges to their Country, the other coasting to the *Pireneans* on the side of *Languedoc*, return into *Castile* by *Navarre* or *Biscay*. Old Soldiers, of what Nation soever, know the Country, and will certainly escape, young ones, besides that they are of little use, last not, as being unaccustomed to so great fatigue.

The War here is more troublesome to the King of *Spain* than any where else, and more important, being in a part of his Dominion, of which he is very jealous, and where he would redeem any loss by twice the value in *Italy* or *Flanders*. They which penetrate into the secrets of this Court, assure that it hath a kind of contempt for losses in other places, but those in *Catalonia* touch to the quick, and are as so many wounds the State seems to receive in its heart, by which it appears, that they which have concluded the certain way of shaking the Spanish Monarchy, to be by making war upon it in its own Country, have doubtless very well discovered where it is weakest.

To defend it self, it must be at a vast expence,
for

for very small forces, because in great want, not only of Victual and Amunition, but much more of men In this it is become defective but in this last age; for by what *Cicero* said of it, we find it otherwise in time of the *Romans*, who giving the epithite of couragious to *England*, gave that of populous to *Spain*, reserving to themselves that of Piety only. This alteration is easily understood by those that consider, how the falling of the *Gothes* and *Vandals* into this Country, with the irruption of the *Moors*, that immediately followed it, scattered the greatest part of the Inhabitants: and when these strangers had so well settled themselves, that the Citics again abounded with people, *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, that conquered all *Spain*, destroyed a great many, and exiled more.

The discovery of the *West-Indies*, that happened soon after, drew away great Colonies, and peopled the new World with the *Spaniards*, as well by the great concourse of such as (finding it a better Country than that they abandoned) seated themselves there, as by a necessity of furnishing Navies, and transporting Soldiers to form an Army, and Garrison Forts and Cities; and this in such manner, that the best of *Spain* is now in the *Indies*, the Kings wants having obliged him to sell his Subjects for gold, though neither the Mines of *Potosi*, nor all *Pern*, are able to supply the expence he is fain to be at for want of men; neither do the Gallions ever bring wealth enough to discharge the States debts; for besides that the greatest part of it belongs to parti-

particular persons of *Flanders, Holland, Genoua,* and *France*, that which comes on the Kings account is due to several that have assignations upon it : So that *Spain* is no more than the channel by which the Gold of the *Indies* passes to discharge it self in the vast Ocean of other Countries : and therefore in that similitude, where the world is compared to a living body, *Spain* is the mouth, which receives, chaws, and prepares the nourishment, but immediately conveys it to other parts, retaining nothing to it self but the favour alone, or the little that accidentally sticks between the teeth. And he had reason, that considering *Spain*, where little Gold appears, all other Nations abounding with her Pistols, said she serves them as the *Damnati ad Metalla* did the ancient Emperors; or else that she is like the *Ass* of *Arcadia*, that laden with Gold, fed on thistles. But that which completed her desolation, was the general expulsion of the Moors. There were many reasons for the quitting her self of so cursed a Generation, and poisoning the waters thereby to destroy all the Christians, having been imputed to them, and their continual correspondencies with the *Africans, Turks*, and other Enemies of the Kingdom discovered, *Philip* the third possibly could not have taken a better resolution, than at once to free himself from the continual apprehension of them : Though it may well be objected, that a good Polititian ought as little as may be to make use of such universal punishments, by which a State is more enfeebled,

than

than amended; and that when with the dagger at the brest, we go about to free our selves from some ill we apprehend, we act rather as desperate than as courageous and prudent: that it is ignorance of lenitives that forces so soon to cut and cauterise: That it is a greater vertue to instruct the vicious, and convert them, then to drive them from their homes, and shut the doors against them: In a word, that we may oppose errors without destroying persons. It is very certain that this Edict cost the King of *Spain* a great many rich and good Subjects, of no turbulent principles, and that with time might have been made sensible of the truth, and profession of Christianity. But they were altogether deprived of the means of it; for if they embraced Christianity, dissimulation was objected against them; and that it was only to avoid the rigour of the Edict. This gave opportunity to the avarice of those that executed it to play its game, passing by without molestation such as bribed them, and suffering them to continue quiet in their houses.

What discourses soever are made on this extraordinary rigour, which some have admired as a policy very high and generous, and others blamed as a most unnatural cruelty, it having deprived a King of his Subjects, and almost a Nation of its native Country: It is very certain, that since that time *Spain* hath been a desert, and could never recover the loss (as is reported) of some millions of people: But besides this her voluntary depopulating her self, the Indies prevailing

prevailing either on the necessity or inclination of her Subjects, draw them still away, by frequent and numerous Colonies, in such manner that it is believed more people have left *Spain* than at present remain in it.

After these misfortunes (at first looked on as incomparable felicities by those which boasted the possession of the West-Indies, and expulsion of the Moors) Wars arose, and so violent, that it is computed, that in twenty years they consumed a million and a half of Inhabitants, and that the Plague, which often afflicted this Country, carried away near another million; so that ever since *Philip* the third, *Spain* hath extremely wasted both in men and money: this is very true, and in so extraordinary a manner, that if its Enemies had understood it, and those that were left behind had not after their separation differed amongst themselves, the *Spaniards* would have been altogether unable to have resisted them.

Besides this great ambiguity of good or evil, which they which judge according to the event or their own sense, observe in the discovery of the Indies, and expulsion of the Moors, another policy is spoken of, which not directed against the Kingdom in general, attacks only that part of it which is most noble and illustrious. *Philip* the second, stiled the *Solomon* of his age, apprehending that the Grandees and Nobility might at some time or other make use of their wealth and power against his authority, or that of his Successors; and remembering that they had

discovered

discovered their turbulent inclinations under *Charles* the fifth, in such a manner, as had like to have given him great troubles, thought he could not better secure himself against such of them as meant ill, than by the weakness of that whole body; to which purpose he cast the seeds of vanity and envy amongst them, increasing the number of *Grandeos*, *Dukes*, *Marquises*, and *Earls*. The smoke of this drove from their Families all thoughts of profit, and their honours, redoubled their expenses, by every ones endeavouring to surpass his Companion.

When he saw them deeply engaged, he gave way to attacking their Lands, and deprived them of the Privilege of *Mayorazgo*, the most considerable that belonged to them; and that they might not have in their hands any places of strength, or houses to retire to when they had a mind to be troublesome, he forbade them to repair their Castles: and such as have travailed between *Valentia* and *Madrid*, observe many ancient Castles advantagiously scituated for commanding the Country, that decay and fall to the ground. Thus by heaping honours on them he took away their power, and obliged them to a greater charge; and by sparing them that of keeping up their Castles, deprived them of the submission and respect their Tenants formerly had for them: Since this they have lost daily, and complain that that Prince did not only clip, but cut off the wings of their Predecessors, reducing them to that inconsiderable condition they are in at present; which, like original sin, so closely follows,

follows, that it destroys such of them as find not remedy, by obtaining some employment at a distance from the Court, by means of which the publick Treasure may pass through their hands. Then they neglect not to fill their baggs, and enrich themselves and Posterities. It is reported, that besides those which endeavour to repair their fortunes in *Italy* and *Flanders*, by some employment suitable to their birth, many return rich from the *Indies*. I speak not of Viceroyes, who are changed every 3 years, and lay up millions. it being sufficiently known, that very many Officers under them make great advantages, and that in *Madrid* they hide the Treasures they bring home even from the Sun that gave them birth, lest their discovery cause an account of their administration to be demanded, or they be obliged to lend the King a good part without any hope of ever being paid: so that they neither dare put their mony to use, nor buy land with it, but choose rather to eat up the main Stock than to hazard it: Thus by little and little they consume what they so sodainly amassed, of which their Family sometimes enjoys nothing beyond the second generation.

They which are employed in the Kings Councils or Treasurie, have a certainer and securer way of enriching themselves, because seated at the helm of Government. These men surviving without any apprehension of being molested, and demanding account of others, themselves not obliged to render it to any; make use with splendour of what they have acquired, building
Palaces

palaces of extraordinary expence in a Countrey where Stone and Mortar are excessive dear. Their plenty alone is with ostentation, that of others so reserved, and as it were bashfull, that it often pretends necessity that it may avoid being really reduced to it: and some Dutch Inhabitants in *Madrid* told us, that some few years before, a Tax had been laid upon them, only because they were thought to be rich and at their ease: The manner of doing it seems very severe. A rich Merchant being sent for to a Committee of the Council, was told that the King commanded him to bring three or four thousand crowns into his Exchequer; if he went about to excuse himself as unable, or by reason of mony due to him from the King, it signified nothing; and he was sent away with notice, that if he paid it not in three dayes he must go six leagues from *Madrid* in custody of the Ministers of Justice on his expence. That time expired without paying, he was sent 20 leagues from the Court. They which paid at first freed themselves from this charge and trouble; they that were obstinate against what appeared so unjust to them, suffered both, and were at last constrained to pay what had been imposed before they were permitted to return to their houses.

Gown-men and Pen-men are here the richest, and none spoken of but Councillors, Senators, and Secretaries, who from very poor beginnings sodainly become wealthy: They which manage the affairs of the *Indies* are thought to sur-

pass all others: and the Earl of *Pigneranda*, who served his Master so well in the negotiations of *Munster* and the *Low-Countries*, and is the Favourites Favourite, chose rather to be President of the Council of the *Indies*, than of that of *Flanders*, which questionless had been more proper for him than any other.

That Council advantages it self as well by the employments of which it hath the disposal, as by all Merchandise that passes to and again. Amongst which wine makes a very profitable and speedy return, none but Spanish being suffered to be transported, which is sold with so great gain, that that which in *Andalusia*, or other part where it grows, costs one crown, is worth 6 or 7 there.

That this may be continued, planting Vines is there prohibited on pain of death, though that soil would as well bear them as any part of *Spain*. Traffick in general (as I before observed) is not equal to what it hath been; for which (amongst many other pretended here) this reason may be given, that the profit made on occasion of it by the King and his Ministers hath discouraged Merchants, to the loss of a very great Revenue to the Crown: whatever is shipped for the *Indies* must be registred, and pay the tenth penny for fault of which it is confiscated. By this the wealth of the Fleet is known to a farthing, as well what belongs to the King as to particular persons. Some years since his Catholic Majesty (wanting money) laid hands on that which appertained to Merchants, under the no-

tion indeed of borrowing, but (besides that such forced lones suit not well with Merchants affairs) it was never returned: For which reason many do not register their Gold and Silver, but chuse rather to combine with the Captains (though it cost them more) than to abandon all for fair words. Before the Fleets arrival at Cadis, *English* or *Holland* Ships meet it either near that Port, or that of *St. Lucar*, and receive there from such Captains as they correspond with, that which is on account of those that send them, and carry it away before it enters any *Spanish* Haven; and even the Merchants of *Sevil* and other *Spanish* Cities send their money into those Countries, where they may freely dispose of it without fear to have it seized on. It is said that the Fleet comes this year more rich than usually; but that the wealthiest ship is stranded, and uncertain whether the silver all saved. But they which will have nothing lost report that more Gold and Silver hath been recovered than was registred, if so the King will have the advantage of it by confiscation.

If we consider the general Government of these Kingdoms, it seems to move so steadily, that it declines not at all from those bold Politicks which are never disturbed, and that trample on the sharpest thorns as resolutely as if they walked on roses: but going to particulars we shall discover, that the *Spaniards* who give much to appearances and the exterior, use no fewer means and grimaces in their publick affairs, than in their particular comportment.

In the Streets, at the Tour, and in the Theaters, where many eyes are upon them, they seem very grave, serious, and reserved: but in private, and to those that are familiarly acquainted with them, they act in a manner so different, you would not take them for the same persons, being as vain, wanton, and humorous as other Nations.

The Politicks of every Country are of a temper and genius like that of the people that inhabit it; and the *Spanish* considered by an unbiassed judgement, are so as well as the rest.

At first view they seem firm, constant, resolute, and entirely swayed by reason and judgment; but coming nearer, and examining them, piece by piece, we may discover weaknesses we could not have imagined them capable of. Their pace is sometimes so unsteady they stumble in the smoothest way, and sometimes so positive, on account of Reputation and Interest, they hazard all for trifles; but always so slow, that of a thousand of their Artifices, scarce any one succeeds: I shall not give such examples as I might of this truth in times past, particularly, in the revolutions of *Flanders* under *Philip* the II. and what happened during the League in *France* in the same Kings Raign, being provided of later in the insurrection of *Catalonia*, and revolt of *Portugal*, both foreseen, without application of necessary remedies, not only, because of obstinacy, but of irresolution and slowness. I will mention no more here then what is discussed of at *Madrid*: opinions very much differ

differ about Sequestration of the Goods of the Genoueses, some declaring it to have been very just and prudent; others the contrary: but all agreeing, that having been so vigorously begun, it ought to have been continued in the same manner, and being an affair of reputation and interest, that so great a Monarch should not have boggled at going through with it, or an accommodation appearing necessary, by reason of the prejudice this Rupture gave to affairs, they should not have moved so heavily towards it, because in that interval they suffered for want of returns from *Genova*, which during such a suspension they could not supply with the Money they had seised.

They which negotiated in this Court for that Republick, endeavoured to make understood that the Siege of *Arras* failed the year before, because the Merchants recalled the Bills of Exchange they had drawn on *Antwerp*; but the Spanish Ministers would not acknowledge this, though it was evident they began to have some light of it. In the mean time, punctilios only span out a year before matters could be accommoded, though the Spaniards were no less desirous of it then the Genoueses; though these many demurs had no other end but to save the Spanish reputation, they failed peradventure of that effect; what had passed was nullified by the agreement; what had been seised, released, and the dispute about *Final*, which had caused it, referred to arbitration.

They had long been agreed of all that was substantial; but a punctilio of honour caused the execution to be delayed, it was this: The Republick would not set at liberty the prisoners taken before *Finale*, unless the King asked them to do it, and the King would have them sent home before he made any proposal: all being like to break off an expedient, was found (by means of Marquis *Serra*, brother of him that commands in *Catalonia*) that the Ambassador should visit the Earl of *Ognate*, and ask him, if he thought the Republick might oblige his Majesty by setting the prisoners at liberty, and the other answering yes, all should be ended; but they add, that this Earl, who is both high and crafty, and that at his return from *Naples* had been the first cause of the misunderstanding, soundly ratted the Ambassador: In this proceeding, appears to me a very great zeal in the Spanish Ministers, in resenting the affront done them by the Republick, but it continued not, and the honour of it was blemished by useless delays, all at last being concluded on conditions, that might have been obtained at first.

The good understanding that hath continued several years between the French and Genoues, caused the first of these to offer their assistance to the other towards righting them against the Spanish violence; on account of which the Republick held it self so much obliged to the French King, that it sent *Lazaro Spinola*, a Noble Citizen, in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassador

bassador, to return thanks for the assistance and protection offered; that difference gave the Genoueses such distaste of the Spanish Alliance, that it moved them to do this to those they had formerly looked on as the greatest enemies of this liberty. If we except such in *Genova* as by Alliance and Interest are bound to the Spanish party, the rest of their inclinations are very contrary to what they were in their Fathers days during the Reign of *Francis* the I. of *France*, and the Genoueses have at present no other kindness for the Spaniards, than a Creditor for a Debtor, out of whose hands he would fain recover what belongs to him; after which they would little value them: but however the Genoueses comport themselves, their patience will never oblige their debtors to satisfy them, who think they do enough when they pay the interest without any longer considering the principal, which the Spaniards are well enough content to be thought unable to discharge, whether it be so to free themselves from being demanded it, or that the necessity of their affairs obliges them to it.

This in the mean time is a good caution to the Genoueses, by little and little to free themselves from the Spanish clutches. All strangers, what services soever they may have done them, ought to fear them, they considering themselves and interests only,, in such manner that the *Italians* and *Flemings* that are this Kings subjects, are used no more favourably then if born under another Master: If they pretend to imploy-

ments, either at Court or in the Armies, they are told they are not natural Spaniards, who engross all, as well to keep up the glory of the Nation, as out of diffidence of others, whom they in a manner declare incapable of all trust because not born in *Spain*: this Countrey are nevertheless abounds in strangers, but they only Artificers and Mercenaries invited by gain, and that meddle with nothing but their pedling traffick. It is thought that there are above 40 thousand French in *Madrid*, who wearing the Spanish habit, and calling themselves *Burgundians*, *Walloon*s and *Lorrainers*, keep up Commerce and Manufacture; it concerns them to conceal their Countrey, for if it be discovered, they are obliged to pay a daily Pole-money of about a penny to the Town, and, any bad success happening to the publick, appearing in the streets, are liable to a thousand insolencies, even to blows.

They that know what number of strangers are in this Town report, that would they undertake it, they might make themselves masters, and drive out the *Spaniards*.

Such as have business, or intend to stay any time, habit themselves after the manner of the Countrey, which we must have done had we been *para pretensiones* (as they call it;) we must then have put on the Cassock and all the rest of the Castilian Harness, none being welcome to the Court without it: nor can any speak to the King unless clothed in black, in which they are so punctual, that an Envoye from the Prince

of *Conde* was fain to wait till he suited himself in that colour before he could have Audience; even Women, and of those the loofest, least desirous to appear such, immediately solícite strangers to quit the habit of their Countrey, which causes them to be the more observed when they make their visits. The Spaniards wear a Cassock with deep skirts which fits very close to the body from the neck to the hanches, a black leather Girdle, which buckles on the Breast, or toward the Navil; their Breeches are so streight, that for more easie putting them on and off, they are buttoned at the sides towards the bottom; their shooes are shaped exactly to their feet, with narrow soles; and a little foot and large calf of the leg, are in such request, that Gallants bind their feet about with Riband, to their no small torment, whilst by quilted stockings they put themselves perfectly in the mode: their silk stockings are knit very open, almost like Net-work, which they stretch very streight upon white, that is seen through them; they wear no longer broad brimmed Hats, but very narrow ones lined with Taffata; they esteem it very gallant, and of more then ordinary magnificence. to wear Hatbands of many broad black Bone-laces, which doubtlesly cost as much as Plumes, they sending for them to *France* or *Flanders*: they are not curious in their Linnen, using little Bonelace on it.

The reason of their beginning to dress themselves from above, and to button from below, is not to be contrary to other nations in all
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they do, but because the Air is so penetrating, that if they be not very careful to keep their breasts warm a mornings, they hazard sickness, many for neglecting this, having suffered terrible accidents, and lost the use of their Members; this hath also happened to others by leaving their windows open a nights: Black Bays and Rattin is their Winters wear; In Summer they use Taffata Suits, but leave not off the Baize Cloak and Cassock.

The first of *May* we saw the Tour of Coaches without the gate of *Toledo*, this is one of the most celebrated, and at it appear many of all sorts, some drawn by four Mules, if Dukes or great Lords, with a Postillion, and the former Mules fastened by long Harness; such as have six Mules, you may conclude belong to persons very eminent, who are not allowed this Magnificence but without the Town, which prohibition was occasioned by the Kings being told that the Tour was little frequented, by reason of the vanity of such as unable to appear with six Mules, forbore it, that they might not seem less then those with whom they pretend equality.

No Coachman sits before the Coach, but on one of the foremost Mules; this having been forbidden by the Conde Duke, who had a secret revealed by the Coachman: they almost all use Mules, since the Coach-horses were either effectually taken away, or threatened to be sent into *Catalonia*. The breed of horses is by this means so neer lost, that if something be
not

not done to prevent it, *Spain* will be entirely disfurnished, the greatest part of Mares being reserved to bear Mules, the profit of them being great by reason of a quick and advantageous Market. The King of *Portugal* hath remedied this, by forbidding the use of Mules, and the Clergy refusing to obey under pretence of certain priviledges, he gave them exemption, but on pain of death forbad the Farriers to shooe any Mule, by which means he easily reduced them to observance of his order.

The glory of this solemnity principally consists in the bravery of the Ladies, who are extraordinarily industrious to appear with splendor, putting on their richest accoutrements, they forget not Ceruse and Vermillion: they are seen in divers postures in their servants Coaches, some making a half discovery of themselves, others with open Curtains, exposing their gallantry and beauty; such whose servants cannot or will not accommodate them with Coaches, stand in the streets that pass to the place where the Tour is made, or at one end of it.

Part of their liberty, or rather licentiousness consists in an indifferent demanding of any to pay for Lemons, Wafers, Sweet-meats or Perfumes, which are carried up and down to be sold; they give intimation of this by those that sell them, and it is accounted a great incivility to refuse, though for six penny worth of ware one pay a Crown.

Here appear also many fair Horses with rich Saddles, and their Mains and Tails tied with Ribbands; the Riders are either such Gallants as have lent their Coaches to Ladies, or such others as having no Coaches, are willing on horseback to enjoy the pleasure of the Tour. After many circuits, and the view of the several files of Coaches; evening coming on, all make a stand, and in their Coaches eat such provisions as they have brought with them. This custom is not peculiar to this solemnity, but almost every day, especially Sundays, you walk amongst Bevers and Collations; so much the Spaniards are pleased to Feast in the field, though but on an Onion, a Salad, or a few hard Eggs.

Hither also come some Women of Quality with their Husbands, and Gallants with their Mistresses, who being under their eye comport themselves so modestly, they hardly looke on any, or return a salute. Ordinary Citizens are dispersed about the fields, or sit on the River side, or some corner of the Medow or green Corn: they feast on very slender provision with much Majesty and Jollity, accompanied by some friend, or their Wives and Families. I have been assured, that besides these slight debauches, the Spaniards in their houses seldom or never Treat one another: and they which have been at their Feasts add, that the dishes, as soon as set on the Table, vanish, each guest seising one with this word *Con licencia*, to send it to his Mistress, in such manner that the company is sometimes

sometimes without any meat, and almost ever without so much as tasting the best.

At this time the King is usually at *Aranjuez*, from whence he often comes to view the Tour, and having ridden about, returns without entering the Town, which at first seemed to me but a poor diversion, it being Seven long Leagues from *Aranjuez* to *Madrid*; but considering how swiftly he passes them, with Six Mules, ever driven at their best speed, and changed at half way, I could neither think it tedious nor inconvenient, the seven Leagues being dispatched in little more then three hours; but I could never apprehend what pleasure he can take at the Tour, since as he passes by, all Curtains out of respect, are drawn, so that he sees nothing but the Coaches, though the design of it is only to appear with splendor, and enjoy the view of all that is gallant: Respect here questionless destroys the pleasure it augments in other Countreys, where at the Princes approach, all make a stand, and Women unmask,

The 5th of *May* we went to *Aranjuez* to see the Court; this pleasant seat where the King every Spring resides a moneth, is certainly very agreeable, and the Spaniards that see nothing equal to it, mention it no otherwise then as the *Elisian fields*: their Poets call it the Metropolis of *Floras* Kingdom, and her Treasury; in the way to it we passed the River *Tagus* by a wooden Bridge, which hath a Gate at one end of it, that is shut when the Court

is not there, then people Ferry over, paying some Duties, which are part of the Rents of *Aranjuez*. The first thing presents it self is a Park with Earthen walls, called *Tapia*, it is large, and beautified by divers Allies; in the Heath on each side the passage to it, are Cony-Warrens: by the Park side is a very large Walk, from which several others like it, extend to the right and left, it leads to a Gate at the end of a bridge over a Canal, drawn thither from the River; this forms an Island in which the Garden is, very fair and neatly kept, its entrance is from the Palace, and as soon as the Bridge is passed, two Statues of Brass appear, from the cut off Arms of one of which, water distils; hard by these is the Cistern of the Fountain of *Diana*, which stands in the middle of a Mount raised of Stone, Wood, Moss and Earth; many Figures of several Creatures are joyned to it, who pleasantly spout out water as they receive it by Pipes from the River; in all this Garden I saw not any Fountain that derives its stream from a Spring; round about the Cistern stand Eight Ships (if I mistake not) of Mirtle, whose Branches are so accommodated, that the poops, prows, and all the rest of the hulks are well shaped; on each of these is a little Statue that spouts water against the Beasts that are on the top of the Mount. We came next to the Fountain of *Ganimes*, who is mounted on an Eagle at the top of a Pillar; at the Cistern side stand *Mars* and *Hercules*; a little from it is the Fountain of the *Gelofia*, or
small

small Lattice, so called, because at the top of it, the water represents the form of one of those Lattices or Gelosias that are usually set before windows: near it is another, called the Golden Rowel, and at the entrance of the middle Ally, that of the Harpies, the fairest of all; its Cistern is square, and at the four corners on four Pillars, stand those monstrous Creatures, vomiting water against the statue of a man, that sitting on one of the middle Columns, seeks a thorn in the sole of his foot: in the same Ally not far from the end of the Garden is the Fountain of Don *John of Austria*, whose Statue is placed on the top of it, water distilling from his hair; it is made of a stone that was found in a Turkish ship after the battle of *Le-panto*, it hath two Cisterns, and below four *Cupids* with several Emblems: this Garden is very pleasant, as well in it self, as by reason of its particular ornaments which are not yet equally taking; the Walks are almost all too narrow, and one would think they had been niggards of ground for the parterres; the Arbors are low, and upheld only with Laths instead of Deal spars, which would not have been spared by a rich private person; round about the Isle by the River and Canals side is a large Walk, well kept and swept, shaded by tall Elms; this is the fairest, and in which their Majesties most delight, in it is one Arbor, looking into the highway of *Madrid*, in which the Queen was the day the Bulls were fought, to see them pass by, after the King and his Court had brought

brought them from the Heard from which they had separated them: the day of this sport is made a great secret, the King never declaring it till the night before he sends away the *Herzadores*, or markers of the Bulls, then also giving notice to the country people to bring them in: we had the first news of it in the great walk, of which I will speak anon, where we met the Queen going to take the Air; as soon as her Coach and that of her Maids of Honour were passed by, a man on horseback, said to be the Guardian or overseer of that Sex, taking us for Dutchmen, calling to us told us, that one of those Ladys or Maids of Honour had a Cousen married in the *Low-Countries*, and would be glad to enquire of him, we turned back and after some short discourse, she acquainted us, that possibly the sight of Bulls might be the next day, not daring positively to declare it: this caution is to prevent too great a concourse: immediately the Ladies Guardian interrupted our small entertainment, bidding us go off from the Coach, having talked long enough with the Ladies. we returned, admiring no less his incivility, then the impertinence of the Queens Buffoon, presenting one of us a pipe of Tinn to speak to him with, because deaf as he feigned; this great Walk is beyond the Village of *Aranjuez*, so wretched, it scarcely affords any lodging, so that at our arrival there we were fain to go farther, and though the Moon shone, and we had guides, lost our way; in the place where we stayed we had much ado to get Stable-room for our

Horses

Horfes, and shelter for our selves, and were very well contented to sleep on Chairs and Benches. This is not occasion'd by reason of a great Court, for almost all the Officers are lodged in the Kings house, though very small; but the Village affords but one Inn, which was taken up by the Emperours Ambassadors, so that we could have no place there till next morning. That day we resolvod to make an end of seeing *Aranjuez*, and when we had been where the Camels are kept, where there was only one Female, and a young one, the rest being abroad to carry wood, as we returned by several fair Allies, our guide told us, that after a birth the Females are two years before they again bring forth: He said also, that they sometimes bait them with Dogs, and that it is very pleasant to see how dexterously those ill shaped creatures defend themselves against Mastiffs; and that their fury sometimes break through the Rails and discharges it self on the Spectators: coming near our lodging, he mentioned a rare Waterwork with so many circumstances, that he incited our curiosity to go and see it, by we discovered his simplicity, it being nothing but a Mill to saw boards. This confirmed our opinion that what is very common in other places, passes often here for miraculous; in the afternoon we went to see the great and magnificent Walk at the end of the Village, neer the way to *Alcala de Henares*: on each side it is a double row of fair young Elms, towards whose better growth, they can

at pleasure let in water between the ranks: it is very long and large, and in two or three places are wide circles where Coaches may wheel about as at our Tour in *Hidepark*: at the end of it is a bridge over *Tagus* with a door, in such manner, that the King when at *Aranjuez*, either without Guards, or only with 10 or 12 Halberdiers, is as within an entrenchment, not to be passed but by these bridges; on the right hand is another Walk leading to a Grange where three Asses are kept to cover Mares for production of good Mules: in my life I never saw any so big, the youngest being as high as any Mule, the two other not much lower; the First cost Two and twenty thousand Reals, which amounts to 600 *l. sterling*, they are exempted from Duty but two days in the year, that is, on *Corpus Christi*, and the *Feast of the Ascension*; at other times, as we were told, the Male Caresses the Female twice a day, by this appears that most of the Mares being made use of to bear Mules, the breed of Horses will by degrees be lost here, and they would have much ado to raise Cavalry, were there occasion for it. Rumours have been spread that Mules should be prohibited, but this was found difficult; I know not whether by means of the Clergy, if so, it had been easie to have applied the remedy made use of by the King of *Portugal*; Though above the folly of those Travailers, that mind no more of the Courts of the Countreys they pass thorow, then to see the Princes Dine or Ride. Our little stay in

Spain, and difficult access to the Court, by reason of its great privacy, obliged us to amuse our selves with what takes the eyes, but little satisfies the intellect. On *Ascension day* by means of Sir *Benjamin Wright*, we were permitted to stand in a corner of the chamber where the Queen dined; she is of a middle stature, rather inclining to be low; over against her stands a Lady that presents the dishes, and doth the Office of Carver; on each side of her stands another; she on the right, presents the Glass, she on the left, the Napkin; she drinks very little, but eats well; she was served with many dishes, but as we thought, few good ones; she hath a Buffoon that talks continually to endeavour to divert her; four or five youths of the best families in *Spain* bring in the meat out of the next chamber, these are called *Meninos*, all habited in Gray, yet with difference in the Colour: we wondred to see the Spanish gravity suffer such neglect of Majesty; these *Meninos* using very little respect in the Queens presence, they often prated and shared a dish of Apples with the Buffoon, and some of them at the door pushing one another, made a great noise, without any reprehending them; none are admitted to see the Infanta dine, and upon our expressing a curiosity for it, it was rumoured that the Duke of *Savoy* was *incognito* at *Aranjuez*: an honest Spaniard after the fight of Bulls, brought me into a Garden where I saw her take Coach: she is low, of a sprightly meen and quick eye, her face rather long than

then round. It is pity the custom of the Countrey obliges her to paint, for with less red she would certainly appear more lovely, though the Queen and she seem less inflamed then the rest of the Court, whose cheeks are Scarlet, and that so grossly laid on, it seems rather to aim at disguise then beauty; and indeed the most of them are so ill favoured, that all the paint in the world made use of with the greatest Art, cannot help them. The Maids of Honour take the first three or four Coaches: and the Dueñas: (who are old Women clothed in white, and almost covered with Vails) the last; the Queen and Infanta follow in a Coach with six Horses, an old Lady sitting in the Boot; their wide Farthingales extreamly fill the Coach, and one would take their thick and knotty Elstocks for Hemen stuffing, broke out of an old pack-saddle.

Their Whisks or rather Cravats are made of great points, which doubtlesly cost a great deal, though unhandsome: almost all of them have Looking-glasses, Watches or Pictures hanging at their Girdles; I saw none Court them but the Marquis of *Aytona*, who walked by a Coach side talking with one that sate in the boot; but I was told this is done with freedom enough in the Queens withdrawing room; and whensoever they appear at windows by signs agreed on between them and their servants in order to so gallant a conversation. When they marry, the Queen adds Fifty thousand Crowns to their portions, which are very well paid

paid; besides these Ladies and some Querries, the Queen hath no attendance at her going abroad but her Buffoon, with some mean Officers and Footmen: she hath no Guards, and I admired her being publick with so little state. The King hath about a dozen Firelocks that wait daily at his Stair-head; these are either *Flemings* or *Burgundians*, the Duke of *Arcos* is their Captain. On the Guard they wear the Kings Livery (which at other times they lay aside) and an odd Kind of Sword or Hanger called *Cuchilla*: They are in all 150. There wait also daily sixteen *Spanish*, and as many *High-Dutch* Halbardiers. This Guard was first introduced in *Spain* by the House of *Austria*: and we were told there are besides these two old Companies of *Spaniards* formerly the Guards of the Kings of *Castile*, which are but ill payed, and the rest not much better. The morrow after Ascension day *Don Lewis de Haro* arrived, the King having sent for him to the Solemnity of the *Herradura* or marking of Bulls: a little after which his Majesty took horse at the point of the Island of the Garden, and having commanded the people to go without the rails, went with all his Court to the end of a great Alley, to drive the Bulls into that part of the field that is inclosed: Men on horseback with great cudgels enrage them, whilst others behind drive them forward with shouts and blows. Then comes the King with his Court, and the sport is at an end.

Their Majesties having heard Mass, the Governor of *Aranjuez*, the best Torreador, that

is Champion against Bulls, of all *Spain*, begins the second hunting of these beasts, to drive them into the innermost partition, where they are to be marked with a hot iron: There they remain till 3. in the afternoon, at which time all Windows and Scaffolds abounding with Spectators, their Majesties take their seat, and give order to begin: within the Barricadoes stand several young Country fellows (whom they call Heradors) expecting the Bulls to grapple with them, and two or three being let loose, the bravest run and seise their horns, or tails, and seconded by the rest endeavour to cast them on the ground, whilst others with hot irons mark them on the thighs, some the mean while flitting their ears. Much agility is necessary in this action, as well in performing it as afterwards, the Bulls being very furious. To deceive them, the assailants present each a Cloak or Hat, and the Beast shutting his eyes when he gores, one of the boldest leaps upon his neck, and catches hold of his horns, the rest doing the like to such other parts as they can light on, but he overthrows and hurts many, and it is strange that he kills not the most, for oftentimes running right upon them, he casts them down and passes over them, but those one would think dead (I know not how) sodainly rise again. They are indeed very nimble in avoiding their horns, and ready in falling to let them go by. This sport may be very pleasant, but not to the actors, and I admire so great a King vouchsafes to look on it, and conceive he does it not

ther out of policy to comply with the custom, then invited by any delight, he takes in it; but that something extraordinary might be done for his diversion; *Don Lewis de Haro* caused his Fool or Buffoon to enter the Lists, who clad in all manner of colours, and mounted on a white Steed, was with it tossed into the Air, and afterwards trampled on the ground: Twenty two or twenty three of the Bulls were marked, which will be made use of at the Festivals of *Madrid*, amongst which we hope to see that of *St Isadore*, the Patron of the Town.

A while after we went to the *Escorial*, which to give it no less then its due, may in *Spain* pass for an admirable Structure, but where building is understood, would not be looked on as very extraordinary. In a general consideration, it seems a mass of stone of great perfection, but going to particulars, scarce any of them but falls very short of the Magnificence imagined, and that so much, that if *Philip* the Second who built it, and was called the *Solomon* of his age, did no more resemble that wise King then this edifice does his Temple, to which it is often compared; the copy comes very short of the Original: in the mean time to stretch the comparison, they please themselves in saying, that *Charles* the Fifth like another *David* only designed this Holy work, which (being a man of war and blood) God reserved for his Son. Ignorant strangers are entertained with this tale, but such as are versed in History tell us, that after the battle of *St Quentin*, *Philip* the

the Second made two vows, one never to go in person to the wars, the other to build this Coy-ster for the Order of *St Hierom* instead of that which had been burnt, it cost him neer six Millions of Gold, though out of consideration of parsimony and convenience of bringing stone, he made choice of the worst scituation in nature, for it is at the foot of a barren Mountain, and hard by a wretched Village called *Escurial*, that can hardly lodge a man of any fashion; this may seem very strange to those that know the Court is there twice in a year: the place it stands on, is by transcendence called the Seat, because it was levelled in order to build on.

The Fabrick is very fair, with four Towers at the four corners, but coming to it, one knows not which way to enter, for as soon as out of the great Walk, in a kind of Piazza, you see only little doo's, which when you are over it, lead into two Pavilions that contain Offices and Lodgings for some of the Court; when you have well viewed this side of the square, you come to that which is towards the Mountain, where is a very large Magnificent Portal, on each side beautify'd with Pillars; by this stately Gate you enter a Quadrangle, where right over against it stands the Church, ascended to it by a Stair of five or six steps, as long as the Court is large, extending from one side of it to the other; very fair Columnes support the Porch, and on the top of the wall stand six Statues, the middlemost of which are *David* and

and *Solomon*, by whom they would represent *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second. About the Church are many Pavillions, all comprehended in the exact square which environs that building. Report mentions many Bascourts, but we could not reckon above 7 or 8. That this is a very fair Cloyster for Friers cannot be denied, neither can it be allowed to be a Palace Magnificent enough for such a Monarch as *Philip* the Second, who having built it in One and twenty years, and enjoyed it Twelve or Thirteen, boasted, that from the foot of a Mountain and his Closet, with two inches of Paper, he made himself obeyd in the old and new world.

The King and Queens apartment have nothing in them that appears Roial, they are altogether unfurnished, and they say, when the King goes to any of his houses of pleasure, they remove all to the very Bedsteds: the rooms are little and low; the Roofs not beautiful enough to invite the eyes to look up to them: its many pictures of excellent Masters, and especially of *Titian*, that wrought a great while there, are very much vanted, yet there are not so many as report gives out. The Spaniards have so little understanding of pictures, they are alike taken with all, and the *Marquis Serra* a Genouese that accompanied us sufficiently, laughed at the foblishness of a *Castillian*, who willing to have us admire the slightest and wretched Landskips of a Gallery where we were, told us nothing could equalize them, because
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in a place where their King sometimes walked. There are yet in the vestry some good pieces, especially a *Christ*, and *Mary Magdalen*; and in the Church, others very estimable. For paintings in *Fresco*, the Quire done by *Titian* is doubtlessly an excellent work, and so is the Library. I think by the same hand, where amongst the rest is represented the antient Roman manner of defending Criminals, who stand by bound hand and foot; *Cicero* is also there pleading for *Milo*, or some other, I not being sufficiently acquainted with his meen, to be positive and without apprehension of mistaking: this Library is truly very considerable, as well for its length, breadth, height and light; the Pictures and Marble Tables that stand in the midst of it, as for its quantity of choice and rare Books, if we may beleve the Monks; they are certainly very well bound and gilded, and if I mistake not, but seldom read. In the Vestry they shew Priests Copes, where embroidery and Pearl with emulation contend, whither Art or Matter renders them more rich and sumptuous; they shewed us a Cross of very fair Pearl, Diamonds, and Emeralds; it is a very pretty knack, and would not become less such if it changed Countreys, I would willingly have undertaken for it if they would have suffered it to pass the *Pyreneans*, had it been only to shew my friends a hundred thousand Crowns in a Nutshell. The Library I have spoken of; the high Altar and Monument of their Kings, which they call *Pantheon* (though I know not why, unless because

a single round Arch like the Pantheon at *Rome*) are certainly the best pieces of this Magnificent Fabrick. The high Altar is approached by steps of Red Marble, and invironed by Sixteen pillars of Jasper, which reach the top of the Quire, and cost only a matter of 50 or 60 thousand Crowns cutting, between these are Niches with Statues of gilded Brass, and so there are on the side of the Tables, and Praying places. the Pantheon is under the Altar, and descended by stairs, though narrow, very light; at the entrance of this rich Chappel, a Marble shines, whose luster is heightned by reflexion of the Gold, with which, all the iron work and part of that fair stone are overlaid: In the middle of it, and right against the Altar is a fair Candlestick of Brass, gilded, and in six several niches, 24 Sepulchres of black Marble to receive as many bodies: above the Gate are two more. This stately monument is small, but sumptuous, it was finished by the present King, who about six months since placed there the bodies of *Charles* the V, *Philip* the II, and *Philip* the III. The first was most intire; in the niches on the left, lie the Queens, and the last of them Queen *Elizabeth* of *Burbon*. He that preached the day that these seven Tombs or Sepulchres had bodies laid in them, began by his apprehension to speak in presence of so many Kings who had conquered the world, and expressed himself so well, and so highly pleased the King that he got a yearly pension of a thousand Crowns. Nothing attaining such perfection as

to secure it from the Teeth of Criticks, the three pieces I have now mentioned, have been attacked by them. It is objected against the Library, that its entrance suits not with its Magnificence and Grandeur, and that it stands as if stoln in, and not of the same piece with the rest.

Over against the great Altar, where all is so well proportioned, they wish away a silver Lamp, whose size corresponds not with that of the place it burns in, which is vast and large. In the pantheon they find great fault, that all the steps by which it is descended are not Marble, and that the sides of the walls are not incrusted with it, the Chappel being all so, and a like Magnificence requisite every where: In the brazen Candlestick, the inner part which is not gilded is discerned amongst the black and foul branches that extend from it. It cost 10 thousand Crowns, which is ten times more then it is worth; but it is common in this Countrey to boast things of excessive price, which they would have admired on that account, as if because they are foolish Merchants, the ware they buy too dear, were therefore the more valuable. These are my observations of the so famous Escorial, adorned only by some smal Parterras and Fountains; one side of it affords a handsome prospect, but the ground near it is the greatest part Rock or Heath; some Walks and Groves are planted about it, but being cold and windy, trees thrive not. There are some Deer in a kind of Park, ill designed, and with
very

very low walls; the way to it is nothing pleasant, and the King who goes thither thrice every year, one of which times is in the Winter, cannot certainly find any great diversion in those journeys, for during three months, all is covered with snow. I have no more to say of these two wonders of the world, *The Escorial for Art,* and *Aranjuez for Nature,* *The parallels of the Son of Austria,* (as is here said,) according to times and fancies.

The Twentieth of this month, all *Madrid* assembled in the great Piazza to see the Bulls fought; they mention this solemnity so advantageously, as if it were to be compared to the Noblest Spectacles of the antients: every Town of *Spain* hath several days set apart for it, and not any one of them but enjoys this pleasure about Midsummer. The people have so great an esteem for it, that they think you extremely injure them if you prefer it not to all others, and if you seem not to admire all its circumstances, you may as safely deny their King to be the greatest in the world.

The prospect of the Piazza this day must needs be very agreeable: People of the best quality adorn all the Windows and Balconies, hung with Silks and Tapestrys of divers colours, with the greatest ostentation possible: Each Council hath its Balcony hung with Velvet or Damask, with a Scutcheon of the Arms belonging to it. The Kings is gilded, and under a State, the Queen and Infanta sit by him, and the Favorite or chief Minister in a corner of it; on his right hand

hand is another great Balcony for the Ladies of the Court, the rest are promiscuously taken up by others. Both men and women set out themselves to all advantage possible, paying very dear for the Balconies; those on the first and second stories cost Twenty or five and Twenty Crowns, though the first rank cannot contain above five or six persons: the King pays for those of such as are considerable to him, as Ambassadors and Envoies of forreign Princes. Before the Balconies are Scaffolds that extend some feet into the Piazza; they are extreamly croud- ed, all the people taking places dearer or cheaper according to the posts they make choice of.

Though these solemnities are very frequent, three or four being yearly celebrated in *Madrid*, the meanest Citizen will not once neglect to see them, and rather pawn his Goods then fail for want of Money. This takes its name of distinction from *St Isidore*, protector of the Town, which therefore bears the charge; the reason it passes not for a Royal Spectacle; it costs the King nevertheless something, and I was told, he gives every Council that day Three thousand Crowns: those at *Midsummer* and *September* are most esteemed, when several enter the Lists a horseback, whereas at this of *St Isidore* all do it afoot. There are four passages to the Piazza, which is strewed with Sand, and freed from those moving Shops or Booths that at other times pester it; some ride, others walk about it till the King appears, then his Guards
break

break through the croud, and place themselves on each side to attend him: as soon as their Majesties are seated in their Balconies, all go out of the Piazza, which being cleared, fully discovers its beauty. At the same time four or five *Algazils* well mounted, and better then becomes ordinary catchpoles, attend bare-headed, and as soon as the King gives the word, he of them that hath authority over the Waggon, causes them to move from the place they stand ranged in, and the barrels and sheepskins that are in them, distil water so artificially, that the whole Piazza is equally bedewed: after which, they immediately depart by the four Gates, which are shut as soon as they which are to fight the Bulls are entered; amongst these gallant champions was a fellow of *Valladolid*, mounted on a Bull, he had managed and accustomed to bridle and saddle; one a foot carrying his Lance by him: he rid streight up to the King, and after a profound obeisance, endeavoured to shew his own and his Bulls address; he caused him to trot, gallop, and turn every way, but that undisciplinable creature, weary at last of the tediousness of the mannage, fell a kicking and bounding so fiercely, he threw the poor Peasant, who not at all daunted at his misfortune, ran after his Bull that made away, attended by the hooting of all the assistance till he had retaken him; but these quickly began again, for as soon as an *Algazil* had received the keys of the place where the Bulls were inclosed, which *Don Lewis de Haro* threw to him

him in observance of the custom, which requires the Kings giving them to his favorite, and his casting them from the Balcony to the *Alguazils*; and that those wild beasts were let loose, and furiously attacked one another; his, though so well managed and harnessed, set on a running without regard either to spur or bridle, making it impossible for his Master to engage, who stood prepared to that purpose with his Lance in Rest; so without any other effect then the laughter of the assistants, after several attempts, he retreated without striking stroke, though his Bull and he had received many from those that avoided not the shock, but ran to it. At the beginning of this sport they usually let one Bull loose after another, who according to his greater or lesser fury with precipitation attacks such as are within the Lists, whom he soon drives away; but such as are slower then the rest, when they can no longer avoid him, fall flat at their lengths, or present him their Hats or Cloaks; he passes by those that lie on the ground without hurting them, because when he gores he shuts his eyes, and commonly strikes nothing but the Air; they which present their Cloaks or Hats, by them, put a stop to his rage, which lighting on any thing, is satisfied. What I have hitherto mentioned, is but the farce; the serious part, and that in which the activity consists, is the darting certain Arrows or little Javelins, which the skilful fix between the Bulls horns, with admirable dexterity, without which they would be torn in
pieces.

pieces. A Barber signalized himself, the Bull feeling the smart of these little Javelins, (which for their better support through the Air are winged with red Paper) grows to a higher rage, whilst by his struggling and tormenting himself, the iron heads pierce farther. It is said, that between the horns of these creatures is a little place, so very tender and delicate that the smallest wound there is mortal; at which some of the Champions can aim so well, that they kill a Bull at the first stroke; when he seems almost tired and spent, the Trumpets sound, the signal to hamstring him: then with Swords and Hangers they endeavor to cut the sinews of his hinder legs, after which, thrusts and flashes which they call Cuchilladas showre on the poor beast. In this the common people make their bloody inclination apparent, for such as can come at him, would scarcely think themselves sons of honest Mothers, did they not plunge their Daggers in his body, after which, *quasi re bene gesta*, they march off triumphantly: When he moves no more, Mules come a gallop to draw him out of the Lists, and another is let loose. About a score were killed that day, the skins so pinked, they could be of no use but to make Sives; Dogs are sometimes set against them when it is too troublesome and dangerous for men to joyn them, and the pleasure would sure be greater, if when the dogs have fastened on them, they forbore wounding them on all sides: the only horseman that appeared this day, was the Buffoon of Don Lewis de Haro, the same that

shewed himself at *Aranjuez*; he made one carrier with his Lance handsome enough, but the King unwilling he should get mischief, caused him to retire. This manner of fight is to be performed with short stirrups, otherwise a leg may be easily spoiled; not with manag'd horses, but such only as are fleet, and have tender mouths: when the Bulls are to be attacked on horseback, such as have horses proper for it, cannot handsomly refuse to lend them, nor with honour pretend to any satisfaction, if (as it often happens) they be spoiled in the service.

This days sport properly belonging to Peasants, one such, in affront to Cavaliers, came mounted on an Ass, which the Bull at first overthrew, but the fellow having recovered his courage, and silly animal, attacked the Bull with good success, that he gave him a great wound between the horns, which bled extremely: after so gallant an exploit, he begged the Bull of the King, which being given him he went away with his famous prize, better satisfied than if crowned with Laurel. The Bull oftentimes falls upon the Guards, who stand ranked on one side of the Piazza with Darts and Halberds; if they kill him he is theirs; he twice charged them through, and overthrew some of them; nothing of gallantry appearing on their side, who suffered the Bull to trample on their bellies, instead of killing him at their feet. The Aljezils or Serjeants are very conspicuous, with their embroidered Saddles, and their horses adorned with Ribands, and tassels; they were very nice

ble in quitting all places the Bulls approached, and it had been the best of the sport to have seen them charged home, at least this was most wished, but by the readiness of their flight, they escaped these horns, though probably not those which are so common in *Madrid*.

The grand solemnity begins not till the afternoon, but five or six Bulls are attacked in the morning, for the sakes of such as cannot be present afterwards: at this, order is not so well observed, which sometimes occasions mischief. I was told that this day in the morning several were hurt, and one kill'd by a horn that entred by his eye. They end not but with daylight, and every Gallant gives his Mistress a Balcone and Collation. In all the circumstances of this diversion, a certain inveterate cruelty derived from *Africk*, and hat forsook not this Countrey with the Moors is very remarkable: for the pleasure of ordinary Spaniards is not fighting the Bulls, the rabble delighting in nothing so much as shedding his blood. At *Tunis* and *Algier* are the like solemnities, but (as they say) with greater splendor.

As the publick sports, the Moors introduced in *Spain*; whilst they possessed it, continue after their exile; the Church also retains something of their superstition, especialy on *Corpus Christi* day. The Twenty seventh of *May* we saw all its Ceremonies, which are many, and last long; they begin by a procession, whose first ranks are intermixed with several Hoboies, Tabors, and Castanettas; a great many habited in par-

ry coloured clothes, skip and dance as extravagantly as at a Morrice. The King goes to *St Maries* Church not far from his Palace, and after Mass, returns with a Torch in his hand, following a silver Tabernacle, in which is the Holy Wafer, attended by the *Grandes of Spain*, and his several Councils. This day to avoid dispute, they observe not order, so that the Counsellors *de la Hazienda*, joyn with those of the *Indies*; before these Counsellors and certain other persons, move Machines, representing Giants; these are Statues of Pasbord carried by men concealed under them: they are of several shapes, some very hideous; all of them represent Femals, except the first, which is only the Figure of a great head painted, within which is concealed a little man that gives it meen and motion: it being a *Colossus* over the body of a Pigmie. Amongst these chimerical Monsters, there is one which represents two Giantesses, Moors, or *Æthiopians*, such having really been if we may beleve the vulgar, who call them *Hios de Vecinos*, that is, neighbors children. The people are so taken with these Gothick figures, that there is scarce any Village without them. They report the Giantesses to have lived in the time of King *Mammelin*, and on that account sometimes call them *Mammelins*, after the name of that Gothick or Moorish King, who once Reigned in Spain. I was told of another terrible Pageant which they call *Tarasca*, from a wood that was formerly in *Province*, where at present stands the

City of *Tarascon* on the banks of *Rosne*, over against *Beaucaire*. They fancy that in this place was once a Serpent (no less enemy of Mankind, than that which seduced our first Ancestors in Paradise) called *Behemoth*, and report that *St Martha* by oraisons triumphed over it, leading it prisoner in her apron strings. Be this History or Fable, the *Tarasca* is a Serpent of enormous greatness, in form of a Woman, moving on wheels, the body covered with scales, a vast belly, long tail, short feet, sharp talons, fiery eyes, gaping mouth, out of which extend three tongues, and long tusks. This Bulbagger stalks up and down and they which are under the pastboard and paper, of which it is composed, by certain Springs, cause it to move so dexterously, that it puts off the Hat to the Sots that stare at it, and sometimes lays hold on Countrey fellows, whose fright moves laughter amongst the people. Such as please themselves in telling wonders of this foppery, relate that a certain Town having sent to some of its neighbors six of these paper Giants, two Pigmies, and the *Tarasca* to be made use of on *Corpus Christi* day, they which give them their motion being entred, to divert themselves in the passage, caused them to dance as at processions by couples: they were met by certain Muliters or Carriers, who (Moonshine discovering at a distance, these imaginary Monsters,) marching with a great deal of prattle and loud laughter, for their merrier passing two

or three Leagues) not recollecting what was to be done the day after, were so affrighted, that the terror still augmenting, by their contemplating those fantasmies, they at last run away with all their might. The conductors of the Monsters perceiving this, casting off their Vizards, went out of the Machines to disabuse them, running after them to cause them to come back to their Mules and charges; this increased their astonishment, and hastened their pace, which aided by the wings of fear, soon transported them cross the fields to a village, which they alarmed to free the Countrey of highway men, so hideous, they could be little less than Devils; the other in the mean time slipping their cases, and perceiving themselves masters of the the spoils, the muletiers had abandoned, began to visit the baggage, and finding Wine, drank so much they fell fast asleep till morning. The Muletiers after their raising the Village, and bringing the Justice to the place, perceived their mistake, and the Countrey fellows laughing heartily at them, drank the remainder of the Wine in recompence of their trouble. The Village of the solemnity, a great while waited for those grim Puppets, which came too late, and by their excuse and relation of what had happened, disordered the whole procession, changing it into a Ring of such as abandoned the Cross and Banner, to hearken to their story. The pleasantest posture of the Mammelinas that I saw was, when they made their salutes before the Queens Balcony, besides

sides some seats of activity by address of those that dance them. The King passing by it, salutes the Queen with a smile, and the Queen and Infanta rise a little before he comes at them, to return his compliment; The Procession having filed to the Piazza, returns by the High street or Calle Major, adorned by many Tapestries waving on the Balconies, filled with men and women of all conditions: the croud is so great, one cannot pass without difficulty, and we had much ado to return to *Sz Maries* Church where the procession ended. As soon as free from it we went to the Palace, and there saw the King, Queen, and Infanta, return with all the Court Ladies: I think I have mentioned all that is worth notice, unless it be that as on this day all the men put on Summer cloaths, so do all the Ladies, and those new and very rich, of several fashions and colours. In the afternoon about five a clock, *Autos* are represented: these are ghostly Comedies, with interludes, very ridiculous to give relish to what is serious and tedious in the pieces themselves.

The two companies of Players that belong to *Madrid* at this time, shut their Theaters, and for a month represent these Holy Poems: this they do every evening in publick on Scaffolds erected to that purpose in the streets before the houses of the Presidents of several Councils. They begin at Court the day of the Solemnity, where a seat under a State is provided for their Majesties: the Stage is at the foot of these Scaffolds, and little painted Booths

rowled to it, environ it, and serve as tiring houses. This is continued certain days, every President having one, and a Stage and Scaffold erected before his house: before these *Autos* begin, all the foppery of the Procession dances, and the Gigantine Machines make the people sport; but what I most admired in that which I saw at a distance in the old *Prado*, is, that in the streets and open air they use Torches to those pieces, which in the daily Theaters, and within doors, they represent without other light than that of the Sun: all these antick ceremonies appeared much more ridiculous to those that beheld them, then they can possibly do in my describing them, and confirm me in what I often observed, that the Spaniards, and other wise and grave nations seem fondest in their diversions, as Misers at their Feasts sometimes become most prodigal.

The next day the Alguazils came to the house where we lodged to demand account of our hoste of his provision of victuals and what Poultry he fatted. They were very inquisitive, what he did with such abundance, and where and why he had bought it; he told them we gave him Money to be our Caterer, but this would not serve his turn, because so great store is forbidden by Law, and gives a jealousy that the Master of the house keeps an Ordinary or Pension, which is not allowed: besides all which certain witnesses deposed that he sent victuals abroad to some of the company that lay sick, and that he bought some at the private Kitchens

chins of Don *Lewis de Haro* and others, all very streightly prohibited. The reason why neither Ordinaries nor Pensions are allowed in *Madrid*, nor any part of *Spain*, seems very strange, when they tell you that consideration of the sterility of the Countrey, gives apprehension of Famine, and an entire disfurnishing the Markets by those that keep such houses; for it appears to me, that liberty being left to every one to buy what he pleases, and as much as he pleases, provided it be by his Domestick, the same inconvenience will no less follow.

However, it is good to keep out of the Laws clutches in *Spain*; especially, in occasions where the Catchpoles interpose; for, for a matter of nothing, they seize and carry away all, and the Master to prison, from whence he escapes not without the aid of Money, be his cause right or wrong; especially, if he be thought rich; false witnesses are never wanting, and here the neighbors had deposed against our hoste out of envy; but his good luck was to be Tenant to an Alguazil; this Serjeant mediating with his Comrades, assisted by four pistols, the Information was cancelled, and our Host not carried to prison as they had intended: by this, all here appears vendible, though had this cheat of the Alguazils been complained of, they had run hazard of being sent to the Gallies. This was almost the only punishment inflicted in those times by reason of want of men to be employed at the Oar.

An Assentista, that is a Patentee or Farmer of Levies of soldiers, or of the Kings Revenue, was a little before assaulted in his chamber by Theeves, one of which being taken, discovered his confederates; amongst whom, (though they set daggers at his throat, and wounded him in the head) was a Frier; the first with his Comrade was whipped and sent to the Gallies, and the Frier condemned to pass the remainder of his days between four walls with bread and water. This man being a stranger, little befriended, and ignorant of the customs of the Country, had much ado to obtain this Justice. He was born at *St. Omer*, but resides ordinarily at *London*, from whence he sends Irishmen to serve in *Catalonia*. Such French as they take at Sea are in like manner sent to the Gallies, from which none can be freed, without putting one in his place, which costs dear, there being no other way but to find out some *Negro Slave*.

The Commerce of the Indies hath restored rights of servitude in these Countries, and in *Andalusia* there are few other Servants. The greatest part of these are either Moors or perfect Blacks, which gives occasion to the Proverb, *No asfi tratan los hombres Blancos*: White Men are not be so used. Christianity requires, that such as embrace it be enfranchised, but this is not observed in *Spain*, and those wretches are not made freemen by becoming Christians. They are much more cruelly used in the *Indies*, where inhumanity hath so long prevailed, that all imaginable rigor is exercised on those unhappy creatures,

tures, who are only such by occasion of their Mines of Gold and Silver, to which their Masters owe all their fortune and greatness. An incredible number of them found their graves, whilst they digged for those Metals, so that scarce any remain to pursue that fatal employment. Besides this destruction made by the Mines, it is said the Wine sent thither, occasions so many diseases, that the greatest part of the Indians die. They are passionate Lovers of this liquor, and spare nothing that may obtain it; and the Spaniards to discover the Treasures they may have concealed, sell it them, to the ruin of their goods, health, and strength for labour; and I remember to have read a Book intitled *Las Excellencias del Espannol*, in four or five Chapters where the Author makes appear the prejudice the King and Traffick of the *Indies*, receive by the Vines planted in *Pern*; and often repeats, that the vice of the West-Indians being Drunkenness, many of them perish by Wine, not like their *Chica*, made of Maiz and more agreeable to their Constitutions; besides that, the Spaniards to get more, and by selling it cheap, to make quicker returns, falsifie it, in such a manner, it is little better than poison. On these occasions the Indians are so much wasted, that for some years there have not been enough to work in the Vine-yards nor Mines of *Pern*. Negro's are therefore made use of, bought in *Guine*, or the Kingdom of *Angola*; by which means the profit is much lessened, a Negro costing 50 or 60 Crowns, and since *Portugal* hath

re-established their true King, and that all those Countries of the *Indies* that are strongest in Colonies, have acknowledged him, Negro's are not had so cheap; for besides the 60 Pieces of Eight they cost, the King of *Portugal* hath laid an Impost equal to the Price, so that a Negro comes not to *Carthagena*, where they land, till he stands the Spaniards in above 200 Crowns. The profit the King of *Portugal* makes by this, is incredible, those that understand Trade, assuring it amounts yearly to some Millions of Gold. The consideration of this and some other things before mentioned, make evident to me what I was often told at *Madrid*, that the great wealth of the *Indies* belongs more to particular persons and strangers, than to the King of *Spain*, and that at this time when the Gallions are expected richer than in many late years, because of the return of the Viceroy, it is thought 3 quarters of what it brings is on account of Merchant Strangers, and that there will not come to the King and natural Spaniards above Three Millions of Gold.

They which manage the Affairs of that Countrey, very prosperously advance their own, and the Earl of *Pigneranda* President of its Council, draws vast sums for Licences to French Merchants; One I knew, that for leave to bring a hundred Hides from *St. Domingo* by the Gallions, gave Ten Pistols. Notwithstanding all which, much deceit is used in that particular, and the greatest part of the French that trade into *Spain*, import and export at their pleasure all manner of

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Commodities, by pretending to be Walloons, Burgundians, Lorrainers, or Flemings. For this reason the King was counselled to give freedom to trade, and to abolish the Fees of Licences, and Impost of the Tenth Penny on all French Merchandise; representing that his profit would be greater, because the usual duties would be paid without any fraud; whereas to avoid this Tenth, the Merchants combine, and they that have French Goods, get one or other to attest they are English or Flemish, and so (at most) pay but the ordinary Custom, of which also they are sometimes crafty enough to deceive him.

The Commerce of these is principally in *Andalusia*, where they have found a place of freedom as convenient as *Cadis*; this is the haven of *Santa Maria*, a little Town belonging to the Duke of *Medina Cæli*, who protects them, and draws great Trade to the prejudice of *Cadis* and *Sevil*.

When *Spain* and *France* were at peace, Traffick was more difficult then at present, little Merchandise arriving that was not confiscated under pretence of coming from *Holland*. There never wanted two or three Knights of the Post to swear this, but time and care have given remedy to this mischief, and false swearers escape not, Merchants by presenting a Bever, or some other Knack, putting themselves under the protection of some Grande.

By this is evident that *Spain* cannot well be without Commerce with *France*, not only on the
Frontiers

Frontiers of *Biscay* and *Arragon*, where it hath been almost ever permitted, but through the whole Countrey where it is prohibited, for *Provence* hath ever had correspondencies in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, by its necessity of the others Commodities; and for the same reason *Britaign*, *Normandy*, and other parts on the Ocean have continually sent theirs to *Cadis* and *Bilbo*. I speak not of Corn and Stuffs of all sorts brought from that Countrey, but even of Iron-work and Sword; by which it appears a mistake to think that in these dayes the best come out of *Spain*. No more being now made at *Toledo*, few but forrain are used, unless a very small quantity that come from *Biscay*, which are excessively dear.

It is moreover hard to imagine how much *Spain* suffers for want of manufactures: So few Artificers remain in its Towns, that native Commodities are carried abroad to be wrought in forrain Countries. Wools and Silks are transported raw, and being spun and weaved in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, return thither at dear rates. The Land it self is not tilled by the people it feeds. In Seed-time, Harvest, and Vintage, Husbandmen come from *Bearn* and other parts of *France*, who get a great deal of money by sowing and reaping their Corn, and dressing and cutting their Vines. Carpenters and Masons are (for the most part) also strangers, who will be paid treble what they can get in their own Countrey. In *Madrid* there is hardly a Water-bearer that is not a Foreigner, such are also the greatest

greatest part of Shoemakers and Taylors, and it is believed the third of these come only to get a little money and afterwards return home, but none thrive so much as Architects, Masons, and Carpenters. Almost every house hath wooden windows (here being no glass) and a balcony jutting into the Street. Once in five years all Fabricks are re-built, of which the Frontispiece only is done with Lime, the sides and back-parts, being usually earth.

Every house in *Madrid* pays duties to the King which mount high, the first floor of every one is his, which if not redeemed, he may sell at his pleasure; This the Proprietors usually buy, to do which if they be not able they build no more but it alone. This is the reason there are so many little houses in *Madrid*, with only one stair to get up to the Garret. The most considerable Architecture is that which is adorned with some Tower, only one of these is allowed, and he that will build more, must have permission to do it: A fellow that thought he should have much ado to obtain this, begged leave but for one, which being easily granted, he built one on account of the permission, and another because one had never been prohibited. Nothing is more notorious, then that *Madrid* wanting both some Rivolet to void its filth and Vault to receive it, casts all into the Street; but it is admirable to see that by vivacity and penetration of the Air, all is consumed in a moment, it being as drying and corrosive (if one may so call it) as lime that devours a body before the
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corruption discovers it self, and I have found dead Dogs and Cats in the Streets that smelt not, by which we may perceive they had reason that chose this place for the Seat of their Kings, the Air being not only hard to corrupt, but takes away even the cause of corruption, by dissolution of Elementary qualities as sudden as imperceptible. In antient times their Queens repaired hither to lie in, that the Princes might at their births breath an Air whose purity is not to be equalized. The Waters of this place have been weigh'd against several other, and none have been found so light. The Cardinal Infant had them carried with him into *Flanders*, and great care was taken to ship for him Tuns of the same the King drinks, the Fountain of which is a little without the Town. The Streets here being Common Shores, one ran great hazard, were it allowed at all hours to cast out at window what the people will no longer keep in their houses; but from day break til ten at Night this is forbidden under a pecuniary mulct. Once I remember I saw a Woman that had forgot this, whom the Serjeants, that wait on such little advantages, immediately caused to pay the Fine, which is Sixty Rials, about 25 s. of our Money. They which walk a Nights, carry neither Torch nor Lantern, which I never saw born before any, whether in Coach, a horsback, or a foot; Ladies of quality only make use of these, such as belong to the Court especially, who then muster all their Footmen. Women here go abroad with much more splendor than their Husbands,

for besides a great number of servants about their Sedans, a Steward or Master of the Horse still follows them on horseback; in great houses, Footmen neither enter their Lords chamber, nor yet his apartment, they being served by their Gentlemen, Pages, and other Officers; when called, they kneel, receiving their Commands; this cullom hath gone higher in the Favourites family, for I have been assured, that when Don *Lewis* gives Audience, and his Secretary serves as Interpreter, he kneels; and what is stranger, that *Fernando de Contreras* (none of his Domestick, but the Kings servant, and the most considerable of his Secretaries of State, as having charge of the *Despecho Universal*) pays him that honour. For what concerns the respect due to the King and all such as are near him; they have many little customs very extraordinary; amongst others, that no man ever mounts a horse the King hath once made use of: and they say, that after the taking of *Barcelona*, in the Cavalcade his Majesty made to *Atocha*; the Duke of *Medina de los torres*, sent to present him his most beautiful horse that was so famous in *Madrid*; but the King returned him, saying, *Scrina lastima*, that is, it were pity, since by that means he would become useless, and rid only by Querries: and indeed no horses are so little rid as the Kings, who almost burit with fat, acquired by continual standing in the Stable, which is not very well furnished, because he gives away the best; he lately sent the Queen of *Sweden* Twelve of the

greatest value; the wars have made horses very scarce and dear in *Spain*, especially in the beginning of winter, when all provide themselves to ride about the streets of *Madrid*, whose dirt is so troublesome, it can neither be avoided nor got out of any thing it lights on.

They are cheaper in *June*, people going afoot during the fair weather, which lasts till the end of *September*.

We were told of another custom, no less extraordinary, that no natural Son of the King, owned to be such, may enter *Madrid*; and that *Don John of Austria*, who at present, Commands in *Catalonia*, was never there, he was bred at *Ocanna*, some Leagues from the Court where the King sometimes visited him, and not long since he was within a League of this Town where he also met him. It is believed this King hath more such issue, but being by Ladys of quality, he owns them not; he seldom attempted any without success; yet a certain Lady of *Madrid*, is reported to have been inexorable to him, though she was not so to all the world; she still excused her self with protestations of as much esteem as respect for his person, but that she could not without horror apprehend to become a whore of History.

I enquired the reason why the Kings natural issue may not come to *Madrid*, but found none could satisfie me; for that which is generally received, that it is to avoid disputes of the precedence between them and the *Grandes* of

of Spain, is of no validity; since I have seen a Letter of *Don Lewis de Haro* to *Don John of Austria*, which treats him, not only with Highness, but most Serene Highness; but whatsoever the cause may be that the Gates of the Court are thus shut against them, and of the jealousy real or imaginary, might be occasioned by their presence there; it is most certain that this nation hath a great deal, for whatsoever in the least concerns it in love or Honour, of which, many little stories of daily passages in *Madrid* are related, where the extravagance of Women produces various passions in the commerce of criminal Gallantry, which hath its punctilios of honor as well as a knot of highway men, its justice within it self; They which keep *Amancebadas*; that is, Mistresses maintained at their charge, are more jealous of them than of their wives; and such of these as have a servant that ordinarily visits them, call him Infidel and Traytor, if they ever know he goes to others, and to this purpose I have been told that the King himself being with a Lady the Admiral of *Castille* kept, that young lord transported by jealousy, forgetting all respect and consideration, having knocked violently at the door, gave the Mother of that wench who opened it, many boxes on the ear, saying, Jade, thou makest me Cuckold, but if I could get up, I would strangle both thee and thy daughter, were it in the Kings presence.

Though the Profession of Curtisans admits no conceptions but of interest and design for rapine,

they are sometimes excellent Counterfeiters of Passion, and borrow the transports of real affection. The Earl of *Fieschi*, who at his first arrival at *Madrid*, passionately attacked that Sex, tells as a Gallantry, his usage by one of those Cattle, who openly at the *Tour* fell upon him with reproaches of infidelity, calling him *Traitor* and *Picaro*, because she had heard he had a new Mistress.

And Mr. *de Mogeron* was not a little surprized, by a Womans treating him in the same manner one Evening, pulling him by the hair with reproaches and injuries; because he had not visited her according to a promise made her at the *Tour*, where he met her the day before. They do a thousand such extravagances, and are really Mistresses of the Epithite *Bizarre*, which in their Language is understood in so good a sense. They are ridiculous in their habit, and wear their richest accoutrements under others very homely, so that you would not take any of them to be braver than the rest, unless you see them at some Festival, or that as they pass by, they let the Glinquant of their Wastcotes appear; their Linnen is Cambrick most generally used and best esteemed in *Spain*: they paint not their faces only, but change also the colour of those parts that least appear. Their Smocks are also laid with Bonelaces, where visible only to their Gallants, indeed of those slight ones that are made in *Provence* or *Lorraine*, those of *Flanders* being unknown to them, unless when they force some bits of them from Strangers, tearing their Bands or Cuffs.

Besides

Besides the great numbers of loose Women that are to be found up and down *Madrid*, there are others in certain fixed quarters, countenanced by Publick Authority, for accommodation of any that will go to them. These are called *Cantonera's*, perhaps *Bulkers*. They have a Salary from the Town, for which cause so infamous an employment is sought after, and when one of the Jades dies or is disabled by the Pox, the Magistrates are sollicitated for the vacancy. What their Pension is I could not learn, but those which assured me of this beastly establishment, told me that every one that visits them is obliged to pay them 12 *Quarto's*, about 6 Pence of our Money. Physitians are see'd by the publick, to take care they be free from those Pestilential Diseases that are gained by so honourable a Profession. A Matron also belongs to them, who is obliged to advertise the Magistrate or Physitian, as soon as she discovers any thing amiss. They which described to me the lives of these miserable creatures, told me that when they are accompanied, a second man is never admitted, on which account there never happens any disorder; the first enterer leaving his Sword and Dagger at the Door, which when they which come after perceive, they retire without more ado. Sinning thus with impunity and toleration of Publick Authority, they seldom forsake the vice they so openly professe, though one day in the year is devoted to exhort them to repentance: On a Friday in *Lent*, they are by an *Algnazil* or two conducted to the Church of Penitents, and

there seated near the Pulpit, where the Preacher does his best to touch their hearts, but seldom with success; after many vain exhortations to amend their lives, descending from his Pulpit, he presents them the Crucifix, saying, *Behold the Lord, embrace him*; which if any does, she is immediately taken away, and shut up in the Cloister of Penitents; but usually they only hang down their heads and shed a few tears, without laying hold on what is offered, and after their grimaces continue their deboshed life; neither can the Story of *St. Mary Magdalene* so often inculcated to them, move them to imitation of her.

In this antick of remarques which I have dabb'd with so many colours, I must not forget what concerns the imprisonment of the Duke of *Lorraine*. He failed but very little of an escape, and that news had not come of his being entered the Frontiers of *Portugal* when he was thought still in the heart of *Castille*. As soon as he arriv'd in *Spain* he was confined to *Toledo*, without being admitted to the Kings presence. When misfortunes of War or State cast one Sovereign into the hands of another, methinks he ought not to be treated altogether as a Prisoner, but that his Captivity should be made use of, to work upon him and gain his affection by Offices of honour and civility. Of the two French Kings that were taken Prisoners, it is notoriously known that *Francis* the First left *Spain* intirely possessed by thoughts of hatred and revenge on account of his ill usage by *Charles* the Fifth;

Fifth: and that *John* returned from *England* so well satisfied, that he was ever afterward careful to live with *Edward* as with a Friend and Brother: but the Spanish austeriti suffers not a Maxime that may be deceitful, and graspes hard whatever it laies hold on to prevent escape: She would never let Duke *Charles* taste the air of her Court, and notwithstanding his many instances, ever treated him as a simple prisoner of State, though she suffered him to go abroad under good Guard both to Church and to take the Air, which incited him to attempt greater liberty. Thus he laid his design, One of the Kings Coaches was appointed to attend him, whose Coachman happened to be a Lorrainer, and consequently his subject. He supposed this mans affection to his natural Prince, would oblige him to be assisting towards his liberty, and resolved to have him sounded. I could not learn whom he made use of to engage him, nor in what manner he set it a foot, but it is said, that having gained him, he several times left Tickets under the Cushions of the Coach, and the place he fate on, which the Coachman very carefully took away, and by means of a Lorrain Embroderer, sent to those that had the principal management of the Affair. This went so far before its discovery, that the Coachman had received instructions to drive the Duke very often beyond a ruined Building that was near the part he usually frequented, and one day, when least suspected, 50 Horsemen were appointed to lie concealed behind it, who having killed his Guards and set him at

liberty, were to convoy him to the Frontiers of *Portugal*, where 500 Horse should be ready to receive him. A Ticket, and perhaps the last that was necessary to this Negotiation, discovered it; for whether it were that it was not handsomely enough conveyed under the Cushion, or whether the Captain that then commanded the Guard, and was in the Coach with him, observed better what was done than others, or that he was more jealous, going out of the Coach, searching the Cushion, he found the Ticket; upon this the Duke was more straitly shut up, the Coachman imprisoned, and the Ticket sent to *Madrid*, where the Dukes Secretary and the Embroiderer were secured; the last of these was racked, but the particulars of what he deposed never published. The light that appeared at the bottom of this Affair, moved the Spaniards themselves to say, *That to hold the Duke faster at the very time his liberty was most earnestly solicited, they persuaded him he would have made an escape*; whatever may be of it, it is certain the Duke was not afterwards allowed to go out of *Toledo*, and that this unfortunate Prince might justly complain, *That if the French Neighbourhood was a smoke that drove him from his House with tears in his eyes, the Spanish Friendship was a fire that burnt him alive.* Which if we may believe publick report, was his own expression to the Captain that guarded him. All that hath been given out of the causes of his imprisonment hath divulged but part of the mystery, and I sought at *Madrid* to inform my self of the real motive.

motive. They which speak and judge most solidly say, *That this was rather done on account of reason of State, and to spare money, than that he had indeed betrayed his party;* and truly the taking quarters in the Land of *Liege* that Winter, rendered him no more culpable that year, than his seeking them at his Swords point had done in those that went before: but the conjuncture differed, and the Elector of *Cullen*, who had made himself absolute Master of that people, desirous to give them a more powerful protection, clamored much at the Diet of *Ratisbonne*, from whence, as misfortune would have it, he retired dissatisfied with the Emperour, for having decided to the advantage of him of *Mentz*, the Dispute that was between them about the Function of crowning the King of Romans. As soon as he arrived at *Cullen*, he wrote to the Emperour, that without speedy succors, according to the Laws of the Empire, to free his Countrey from the devastations of the Lorrainers, he must have recourse to the protection of some foraign Prince. This Affair being taken into consideration, the Emperour only wrote about it to *Brusselles* and *Madrid*. The Elector in the mean time took heart, and resolving no longer to expect the event of those delays, raised forces, treated with *France*, and gave her opportunity of re-assuming the Black Eagle in her Colours, and renewing the Title of *Preserver of the German Liberty*. Cardinal *Mazzarin*, who during his retirement had been so well received by this Elector, lost not the opportunity of making his acknowledgments,

ments, and sent him Troops under the Command of Monsieur *Faber*, which joyned to his own, forced the Lorrainers to discamp, whom it was resolved to pursue even into *Brabant*, to revenge the havock they had made in the Land of *Liege*, and assist the French in some Conquest. This bold proceeding, awaked the Emperors jealousy, who perceived that in that very moment he had re-established his Authority in the Empire, and when he had given an end to a Diet, in which he had caused his Son to be crowned King of Romans, one of the powerfullest Princes of *Germany*, sought other protection than his, and gave example to all his Neighbours to do the like, as often as they should be oppressed by Troops entertained by *Spain*. These considerations obliged the Emperour to send the Earl of *Furstemberg* to the Elector of *Cullen*, to work him, and prevent his going farther in the Treaty with the French, promising him an effectual and real satisfaction for what was passed, and for the future to establish such order, he should no more need to apprehend the like visits. At the same time he wrote to *Madrid* and *Brusselles*, with all possible efficacy, to represent the dangerous consequences of this Affair, how prejudicial it was to him, and necessity of the remedies he proposed, which were to satisfy the Elector of *Cullen* with Money, so to oblige him to lay down Arms and dismiss the French, to make sure of the person of the Duke of *Lorraine*, that he might be no less so of his Conduct, the cause

of all these inconveniences, and to use his Brother Duke *Francis* for continuing the Army in the Spanish Service, which he thought might easily be prevailed upon, by giving it a Head of the same Family, and presenting the Chief Officers with money. These reasons and expedients were the better relished by the Spanish Ministers, out of apprehension of the Storm that began to gather against them. The great Services the Duke had rendered the House of *Austria*, were of no advantage to him in their Council, nor anything examined but his avaritious and unequal Politicks, his irresolutions alone were represented, and the times in which he had declined their Service, when they might have obtained great advantages, if he would have acted with his forces.

The account was also cast up of the great Sums he had cost the King of *Spain* yearly, by a crafty selling him his Army as if at an outcry, so that if they would make use of it in the beginning of a Campaign, or continue it at the end of it, he must be paid at his own rates. It was at last concluded as well at *Madrid* as *Brussels*, that for a certain remedy to all these mischiefs, to prevent falling again into the like inconveniences, and put a stop to the preparations making at *Liege*, the Elector was not only to be indemnified, and the protection of the Duke of *Lorraine* abandoned, but his person to be seized on and sent into *Spain*. Thus this Prince saw himself treated as a Soldier of fortune, and not like a Sovereign, by a Family
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whose friendship caused the loss of his Countrey, and reduced him to the sad necessity of living like a vagabond at the Head of an Army that subsisted only by his industry. If what hath been reported of the first heats of his youth be true, and that he then lamented he was not born a private Gentleman, to try how far his wit and courage could carry him; one would think he had devested himself of his Dominions, only to shew what he could do without them. That he had very eminent parts, is undeniable, but overshadowed by such uncouth Policies, and in such a manner intermixed with humor and vanity, that one would think he had but one Maxim sacred and inviolable to him, *To prefer what was profitable above what was honourable or honest.* It is not therefore strange that he built his ruin on so bad foundations, nor that after his imitation of that crafty *Lewis* the Moor Duke of *Milan*, and all his shifts and flights of hand, he is caught in a trap, from whence his deliverance is very uncertain, and whether he end not his dayes in the Castle of *Toledo*, as the other did in the Tower of *Loches*; though it is believed here, that were his Army disbanded, his liberty might be obtained without much difficulty, because the Spaniards are confident they need apprehend nothing from this Prince, who loves his money too well to employ it in his revenge, and the 200 thousand Livres a year he is reported to have within the Dominions of the King of *Spain* to forfeit them. To which they adde, that were he desirous to take Arms, he needs the

support of *France*, which he will probably fail of obtaining, without an entire giving up *Lorraine*, which they will either keep still, or restore on conditions but little better, and such as he will never accept, for fear of depriving himself of what belongs to him for so small an advancement towards his particular satisfaction. On these grounds they adde, that even the Ministers of *Spain* wish the destruction of his Army, which in the fashion it subsists and is disciplined, costs them very dear, but they would gladly gather together its ruins, and incorporate them with their other Troops, that their Enemies might not profit by them, the fear of which hinders their undertaking it. This makes evident that Princes are incommoded by Auxiliary forces that serve in a Body, and under a Head they own as their absolute Master, for it is alwayes hard to oblige them to do well, and no less difficult to disband or be quit of them, and therefore the wisest Princes, that have been necessitated to make use of such, have at first endeavoured to separate and mix them with their own, to prevent their correspondence, and diminish the Authority of those that brought them. The Venetians once endeavoured to deal in this manner with the Marquis of *Roquelaure*, and the Prince of *Orange*, at relieving *Berghen ap Zome*, would have obliged *Mansfelt* to suffer such a separation: but neither of them would consent, but made appear that this is not to be propounded or obtained, but of a Soldier of fortune, that hath
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drawn together forces he is not able to make subsist.

The most publick curiosity, whilst we were in *Spain*, was to divine the designs of that Fleet *Cromwel* sent into the *Indies*, and at our arrival at *Vittoria*, being saluted by a man of good presence, who enquired what was spoken of it in the parts we came from, when we told him it was believed those great preparations were made to subdue the Isle of *Hispaniola*, he assured us that if the *English* began there they would fail of success, that he knew that Country very well, having lived some time in it, and that this Island was one of the strongest and most populous of *America*. That after the year 1586. in which *St. Domingo* (its Capital City) was sacked by *St. Francis Drake*, it was put in such a posture as could no more apprehend the like misfortune, and a very fair Citadel raised adjoyning to it, whose situation is so advantageous; it seems, destined to command the neighbouring Sea. When we came to *Madrid*, I found that those little Cabals, as well of *Spaniards* as Strangers, that met a Mornings in the first Court of the Palace, usually entertained themselves with the assurances *Cromwel* had given the Spanish Ambassador, that the Fleet he had sent into the *Indies* should attempt nothing against his King: that they therefore made no question but it was to drive the *French* out of what they possessed in *New France*, and that it was there he would begin a Warre against them, and break that Treaty of Peace from which he had often declined,

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and again complied with, the better to amuse them. But the clear sighted easily judged so considerable preparations aimed not at so slight a Conquest. Computing his charge, they found that all the *French* possessed, whether Islands or Continent in those quarters was not equivalent to any considerable part of his expences, and therefore concluded he had some vaster and more important design. These men seemed to me to flatter themselves least, and to be most reasonable, for I had often heard such as had negotiated with *Cromwell* say, that if they had any judgement, they assured themselves they mistook not in this observation, that he had a particular passion for some great Enterprize in the *Indies*. After he had made all *Europe* admire and fear his Naval Power by a War against *Holland*, which yet was more glorious than profitable to his Country, it is probable he contrived how to imploy his arms in some part where he might reimburse part of his charges. Although of all his Neighbours he at that time used the *French* worst; yet it may easily be judged it was not his interest to come to an entire rupture with them; because their Traffick for the most part making use either of *English* or *Holland* Vessels, he should by that means displease either his own Merchants, or those with whom he had lately made peace, besides that the *French* had for some years been Masters at free-booting against whom if he sent a Fleet, they would easily avoid it, their design being only to pillage; so that he should be at a great charge against them that would at

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ways flye from him, and waiting for his Merchants, oblige him to convoy's; unless he would lose all the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, and part of that of the Ocean. *Cromwells* interest therefore requiring a War, and a War by sea, that may yie'd him profit proportionable to the great equipage of Men, Arms, and Ships he is obliged to maintain, to make himself feared, by which he hath obtained the Command of both Seas, he will not attaque *France*, who having all within her self, waits till Strangers bring home to her that she can be without, and fetch from her that which is absolutely necessary to them. For it hath been observed that her greatest and wealthiest Cities are not scituated near the sea (though two wash her Coasts) but in the middle of the Country. By this appears that her Stock of wealth is within her self, and that (according to the Politicians rule) she is rather *Vendax* than *Emax*, selling more than she buys. Her soil being so rich and fertile, it is no wonder she hath in all times abandoned the Ocean to be plough'd by her Neighbours, who employ a great part of their art and labour to send her as tribute the fruits of it. To make a war therefore against *France* with profit, it must most certainly be done by land; but if we consider the present condition of *England*, a War of this nature seems not to agree with it; for we may easily judge that *Englands* design now aims at no more than to maintain her self in her present posture, and to become redoubtable to all the Princes of *Europe* by a power suitable to her situation, which

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hinders their attempting any thing against her, and obliges them (though against their wills) to approve what hath passed, by owning her Republick. To this purpose she resolves to be continually potently armed both at home and abroad, one of which puts her in a condition to concern her self in all the affairs of her Neighbours, without their interposing in hers, whilst she is invironed by a prodigious number of invincible moving Castles, which when she pleases she joyns for her defence, and causes to fly for her advantage to what part soever seems good to her; by the other she thinks securely to fix her innovated tyranny, in continual danger of an insurrection of the people, to restrain whom her Militia is a curb, as it is lightening to destroy those that attempt to war upon her. In fine she can make use of these winged coursers both near hand and at a distance, and nothing confining them to her Coasts, where there will always remain snow; for Guards and Rounds exact enough to justify her *Media insuperabilis anda*, the rest may seek their fortune abroad, and either wait for the *Indian* Treasures in their way to *Spain*, or seize them in their mines. But it is not thus with her land-forces, who must ever be at home to keep up her usurped power, which will be hazarded by the first shock she receives from the many male-contents that have much ado to suffer her.

A War by land must needs therefore be prejudicial to *England* in the present Conjunction, and with *France* destructive, it being the most

potent Nation of Christendom in this age, its Forces the most united, and that may with the greatest ease be drawn to any part where there shall be occasion for them, so that it cannot be attacked, but by great and courageous Armies; of which if this pretended Republick make use, she must disfurnish her self of her trustiest Commanders, and stoutest Souldiers, which she cannot do without danger of losing her new form of Government. Neither is it very much to the purpose to say, that for securing it she can make new Levies, to supply the places of the old ones she sends abroad; for to an unsettled power, supported only by the boldness of the Usurpers that raised it, such a change is very dangerous. It cannot be denied that *England* uniting with *Spain* would turn the ballance that way; but besides that, to do so would be of little advantage to her, there would be an incounter of the same inconveniencies. For she must either joyn her Forces to theirs, and then *France* that is so great a nursery of Souldiers, having put an end to its civil warre, minding only that which is forraign, would not need much to strain it self to oppose Armies belonging to several Masters, and of divers interests, which seldom succeed in any thing they undertake; or else send an Army of her own, against which *France* would immediately unite all its power, and be the mean while only on the defensive against *Spain*, who to make a thrifty use of such a conjuncture, would move but slowly and weakly to assist her. However she might proceed, this is most certain, she would

would be constrained to weaken her Land Forces, the only Supporters of that New Republick. Should she act only by Sea, and furnish the Spaniards with Money, to recruit their Armies, it hath been already shewed she would make no advantage by the former, and that a War attended by such Booty and Conquest as may countervail the charge and labour is only proper for her: for the second, it is sufficiently known that the Treasure of *England* is much exhausted, and that she owes large sums both to her Land and Sea Forces; and that to prevent her over-charging her People, by the great Expence she is obliged to, the Gold of *Peru* is more necessary to her, then to supply from her own Treasury those that are Masters of it.

During these Discourses, Letters came to *Madrid* that cleared all Doubts, for after a long amusing the World with expectation of the Fleet and the great Treasure it was to bring withit, and after knowledge that what was on the principal Gallion, which had been wracked, was for the most part saved, a rumor arose that it had been met with by the English, who made no difficulty of attacking it, but that after a vigorous defence, in which it sunk two or three of their Ships, it had retired into the *Havana*, the Chief City of the Isle of *Cuba*. I know not whether this particular was true, but am certain it was written from *Cadis* and *Sevil*, and from that time believed that *Cromwell* intended to have his share of the Treasure of the *Indies*. More to confirm this, the English Merchants

that resided in *Spain*, began to send away, and as well as they could to conceal their Goods, fearing a Confiscation in case of Rupture; a little after which it appeared that this Pre-caution was not useless, for Admiral *Blake* who had passed the Spring and part of the Summer in the *Mediterranean*, returned into the Ocean just at the time the Gallions were expected. It is said he desired to careen, which not being permitted, but on certain conditions, he seemed offended; and having taken aboard him several English Merchants with their Consul, put out to Sea, and scouted about Cape *St Vincent*. It was then quickly understood that he looked for the Gallions, with intention to fight them if they escaped *Pen* and *Venables*, who were in the *Indies*; this caused several Advice Boats to be dispatched from *Cadis* by Order of the Council in *Madrid*, to give notice to the Gallions that they should not leave the Haven they were retired to, till farther Order: at the same time a resolution was taken to fit up some Ships, partly at the Kings Charge, and partly at that of the Merchants, that were concerned to watch the motions of this Admiral. Great part of the Traffick of *Europe* depending on the arrival of the Gallions, many Ships are ever about *Cadis* at the time it is expected. Of these and some others a Fleet was quickly made ready, and sent to anchor near *Blake*, yet without hostility, if the other began not, and only to endeavour (in case the Gallions had not received the advice sent them) to secure them from him. These

two Fleets contemplated one another two or three moneths without any act of hostility, either general or particular, and whilst one of them thus waited for his prey, and the other to secure it from him, news came that the *Spanish* Fleet was advertised of the design against it, and would not leave the Haven it had retired into without exprefs order. At the same time also it was said that *Pen* and *Venables* had attacqued *St. Domingo*, but with so bad success, that after loss of many of their men, they went off for the Island of *Jamaica* and conquered it.

This proceeding of *Cromwell* changed the discourses of those that looked on him as one of the nearest and faithfuller Allies of *Spain*, who had first of all acknowledged him: For as soon as an execrable Party of the scum of this Nation, violating all Laws divine and humane, had possessed themselves of its Government, and (by an attempt so horrible it cannot be paralleled in foregoing times, nor scarce mistrusted in the worst that shall succeed) at one stroke deprived their King of his Crown and head, the *Spanish* Ambassador received order from *Madrid* to endeavour to make advantage by it, and court the friendship of that new Republick for his Master, by giving it in his name all such titles and rights of a legitimate Power as it should desire: it was very likely he might succeed in this, there being probability enough of a league against *France*, who not only received the exiled Family of the King of *England*, and refused to own *Cromwell*, but seized all his Ships, and gave freedom of
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his Havens to those that remained faithful to their King.

The hopes of so advantageous a Treaty increased in *Madrid*, not only by *Englands* giving Letters of Reprisal against *France*, and landing forces hostilely in *Bretaigne*, but by her being so kind to *Spain*, that she caused her Fleet to take those ships *France* sent to succour *Dunkirk* besieged by it. All these fair appearances of Amity proved insignificant, and the Usurper that governs in *England*, who seems no less crafty than bold so well understands the interests of his infant Republick, that he by degrees accommodates all to them.

She is Mistress of many strong and populous Isles situated on the passage to the *Indies*, and that are keys to the Gates that may lay open a way to so rich a Conquest, by means of which, she may surprize its treasures as they pass by, if she will not take the pains to dig them out of the Mines, of which she may certainly make her self Mistress: she knows that all the great extent of Land the Spaniards possessed there, adheres to their Dominion, more out of apprehension of their violence, and because none hath vigorously attempted to deprive them of it: then by any real power they have established, capable of preventing this, *England* thus understanding the advantages she hath towards getting her share of the new world, with the weakness of those who pretend it discovered for them alone; it is not strange if she endeavor to profit by both of them; especially

cially in a time, where they which sit at Helme are obliged to be powerfully armed, and to employ their many Fleets in some profitable war, that may make them subsist without the peoples murmuring at their great charge in entertaining them: and the Spaniards, as quick sighted in their politicks, as slow paced in their enterprizes, very well foresee, that if the French Negotiations with *Cromwel* effect a peace between them, he will pursue his interest, and forget all advances *Spain* hath made to gain his friendship. This they think they ought the firmer to believe, when they remember they could never get satisfaction for several prizes taken by the English, especially, for the money designed for a whole Campagne which they sent by sea to *Flanders*, not knowing how to make it over by Bills of Exchange, by reason of their difference with *Genova*: however, that they might not in so considerable a conjuncture, be wanting to themselves, and out of consideration of the advice, *Philip* the II gave his Son at his death, to be in peace with *England*, that he might be able to make a war with all the world; they neglected nothing that might oblige *Cromwel* to a good understanding with them. *Alfonso de Cardenas* their Ambassador in *England*, and who having resided there since the beginning of the troubles, is looked on as very able in managing those affairs, endeavoured all means of a good understanding, and to thwart the French Treaty, but his politicks being apprehended at *Madrid*, to be less under-
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taking then those of *de Bourdeaux* the French Ambassador; a resolution was taken to send thither out of *Flanders* the Marquis of *Leda*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, as Extraordinary; these two persons joyned all their adrefs to bring *Cromwel* to some friendly composure of differences about the complaints the Spaniards made against him, and his against them; but finding no favourable Audience of their many proposals, the last of these resolved to be gone, with regret, to have done nothing for his Masters service, but to have given him clearer light of *Cromwels* bad intentions against him: it therefore began to be more publickly discoursed in *Madrid*, that the many delays in his Negotiation with *France*, were but tricks to lull the Spaniard asleep, whilst he sent to attacke his *Indies*; and that the Treaty which he sometimes seemed ready to break off, and again to renew, had been agreed on, and privately signed three moneths before. *Spain* now beleev'd *England* intended a breach with her, and though the passion of the *Castilians*, inveighed sharply against the avarice and ambition of *Cromwel*, which moved him to invade their Treasure; the moderate sort reasoned otherwise, and in what was passed, sought the causes of what was present and to come. But by such discourses, one could not judge of the whole secret, or entire cause of the war they apprehended; the thoughts of such as sit at the Helme of Government being covered with a cloud of appearances, which disguise them even to those that have the nearest prospect;

prospect; for the most part discovering nothing but the pretences; their actions being like great Rivers, of which, though the streams are viewed by all, the heads are invifible. They yet at last easily perfwaded themselves, that whilst their King had so many irons in the fire, that he knew not where to find either Wood or Coals to heat them, *Cromwel* would make use of the occasion to attacque him both in the new and old world, where expecting little resistance, he needed not doubt of a certain profit, more considerable to him then the jealousy of the French progressions or cautions given by the maxime, *Decreseat Iberus nec crescat Gallus.*

On these grounds they concluded, that *Cromwel* fearing a peace between *France* and *Spain*, and standing in need of an advantagious war to justify his continuing in Arms, would attacque the weakest, and let the future safety of his estate give way to the present necessity, and on that account agree with *France*, that he might share in her victories by leaving Land enterprizes to her, and applying himself to those of the sea, which better suit with his affairs and the support of his power.

But if all this discourse be grounded on conjectures, by which they which are curious in *Madrid*, seem to divine of the future, and fancy reasons perhaps very different from the English Councils; it is not so where it concerns what they say of the right the English may have to attempt the *Indies*. Such amongst them as are most reasonable and least scrupulous

ious freely confess, that by the law of nations, Countreys that have made no Treaty or Compact, may be assaulted by them that on other accounts are in peace with those which appropriate them: So that the King of *Spain* having in all Treaties he ever made with the Kings his neighbors, declared, that whoever goes to the *Indies*, either to settle or traffick, not being natural Spaniards, shall be used as enemies, cannot complain of such acts of hostility, as are made by other nations, since himself hath chosen a perpetual State of war, owning neither friend nor ally beyond the Line, especially in *America*.

To this purpose the answer of a great Spanish Minister is remarkable, rallying on two heales were drank to him, one to his Masters Wife, the other to his Mistress: *America* says he, is my Master wife, and the *East-Indies* his Mistress, for the latter he is not so jealous as to think himself concerned in honor, if any of his friends too freely caresses her; but his Wife he would keep chaste and reserved, without suffering any to court her. Questionless when he called *America* his Masters Wife, he alluded to the Popes Bull, which gave him power and propriety in this intended Marriage; but it is generally said that a Rape merits not such a benediction, since he possesses *America* without either her own consent, or that of her relations, *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*.

To speak seriously, the Popes donation is a ridiculous title to those that own not his Authority; besides, that a great number of those

that do, believe not that it extends to things of this nature; so that if *Spain* have no other right than what is derived from *Rome*, she is not well invested in the possession of the new world, neither can they which dispute it against her be accused of injustice. since some of them say they owe him no obedience, and others that he cannot dispose of that which belongs not to him. Nothing then appropriates it to *Spain* but the first discovery, to have landed Colonies here and there, to have built Cities and Forteresses, subdued the *Barbarians*, and given names to Rivers and Havens: But all this cannot have acquired a possession absolutely general, and without exception; and since it made its seizure by the law of such things as are *Nullius & que sunt primi occupantis*, it hath right to no more than it inhabits, cultivates, and hath entirely conquered. Any Nation may with justice take his part of the remainder, and (*Spain* going about to hinder) make use of force, and by force drive away him that hath settled himself only by force.

When *Philip* the second fortified himself by the Popes Bull, for invading *England*, he added to that title the most considerable forces that had ever appeared on the Ocean: What is spiritual thus stands in need of what is temporal, one of them well seconding the other, without which admirable conjunction it is very hard to seize what belongs to others.

The *Spanish* Council spared neither wit nor industry, nor the wealth of the whole Kingdom for

for this redoubted Fleet, in which they neglected not to send fetters to enslave the Inhabitants of *Great Britain*; but their Forces both spiritual and temporal had very ill success, and that prodigious Navy which could hardly be compleated in two years, was lost in two hours, part of it the sea swallowed, and the rest fell into the hands of those it went to subdue, and of all that proud Armado, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news into their Country: by which it is very discernable that Heaven does not alwayes correspond with the visible Head of the Church. If he disposes of what belongs to the *Indians*, because Barbarians, one would think it ought to be restored as they become Christians; but their Conversion is to little purpose as to recovery of their Country; and the *Spaniards* very exactly imitate Ecclesiasticks in their acquisitions, like so many dismembings of the Patrimonies of the Laity, from whom whatsoever is taken returns no more; and if they well keep what they have once laid hands on, they can as well cause themselves to be obeyed. Their Empire is formidable, and he that doubts of this truth, may be convinced of it in their Cloysters, where such religious persons as have neither dignity or parts to set them out, are rather Slaves than Brothers in Christ to the other. If within their walls they exercise so absolute a power, on those which are as it were their fellow prisoners, and make the same profession, what will they not do to such as are of a different condition, if they obtain the authority they desire,

desire, and which some of them know so well how to make advantage of under pretence of Religion and directing consciences, without fear of punishment, forsaking the functions of legitimate Confessors, to creep into Families, and make themselves arbitrators of their affairs and interests.

But to return to this Papal Donation, it is very dear, that this imaginary propriety of a world as yet not well known, and of which probably not so much is hitherto discovered as we are ignorant of, cannot, nor ought not to hinder other people from trafficking there, because it belongs to the first finder, and that the *Spaniards* acquired those parts of it they possess, without any consent of other Nations to enjoy the propriety and sovereignty of the whole as heirs of it.

If then the *English* now attacque the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, such as are just acknowledge that this is not so much to begin as to continue a War, since they alwayes (more or less) molested them there, and that no formal Treaty concerning that Country was ever made with them. I have heard some very curious persons examine what good or evil might by it accrue to either of these Potentates; and they hold that the *Spaniards* would be the first gainers, by an immediate seising all that belongs to the *English* in their Dominion. They would find considerable summs in the hands of Merchants of that Nation, as well at *Bilbo*, *Cadis*, and *Sevil*, as in many

ny other of their Port Towns, which might assist them towards the first charge of the War.

For we may remember that *England* hath for many years been possessed of all the Trade of *Spain*, *Hollanders*, during their War, and the *French*, since their breach, trafficking only by her interposal. So that the *English* have established themselves very considerably, and possessed themselves of much wealth in a Country that abounds in money, and is poor in Commodities, and that cannot receive from its Neighbours what is necessary for it but by their hands.

We cannot oppose against this Confiscation of the goods of *English* Merchants in all parts of the *Spanish* Territories, the like to be done to the *Spaniards* in *England*; for as they never go abroad to serve any forrain Prince in his Wars, they have a Maxim for security of their Commerce, not to exercise it but in Countries where their King is Master. They go not therefore abroad how great soever their Trade be, but content themselves to deal at home with Merchants Strangers, who for want of correspondence are forced to settle amongst them, which they do the more willingly, because having to deal with people not very well understanding their Commodities they make the greater profit.

We see now the King of *Spain* without danger of a retaliation on his Subjects, when he shall seize what belongs to those of *England*, inhabiting here and there in his Dominion: But this small and inconsiderable advantage, prejudicial only to private persons, is not to be compared

to that the *English* will obtain, by cruising in both seas, and attacquing what ever is sent to *Spain* from its Neighbours, without which it cannot without difficulty subsist. *Genoua, Naples, Amsterdam,* and *Antwerp*, whose Commerce with it is so great, will then be able to send little or nothing that shall not run hazard of falling into their hands; and if they ever make Conquests in *America*, or take the Plate-fleet (to which it seems they are forward enough) the *Thames* will be covered with the spoils of both worlds.

To all these considerations of particular loss one of State is to be added, which is, that by a War with *England*, the vast and scattered body of the *Spanish* Monarchy will lose its ligaments, and all communication with its remoter Members. France leaves her little liberty but by sea, of which this potent Nation, that attributes to it self the Empire of it will deprive her. It is true, some object that shift will be made to open a passage as was done in her War with *Holland*, but others observe great difference between those powers, for besides that *England* is so advantageously scituated, that it can without difficulty break all correspondence between *Spain* and *Flanders*, the *Hollanders* Naval Power appeared not at its height, till the War was grown old, and the first animosity decayed, where as now *Spain* will have to do with a Nation, that does not raise forces to fight, but fights to employ those that are already raised. Besides all which, the King of *Spain* was not then so drained of men and money, as at present, but
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could set out considerable Fleets to oppose the *Hollanders*, who making Traffick alone the end of their Navigation, rather sought for themselves free passage through all seas, then to deprive their enemies of Communication by them; and this so much, that though they have sometimes attempted the *Spanish* Fleets, and taken some of them, we may perceive they were not very greedy of such Conquests, because their own Merchants were concerned, and received almost as much prejudice as those of *Cadis* or *Sevil*. It is well known that at the same time their ships cruised up and down to interrupt the *Spanish* Traffick, their Merchants passed and repassed between *Flanders*, *Genova*, and *Naples* in favour of it, and carried thither the secretest intelligence, and best ammunition, whereas in a War with *England* all will go in a more serious and real manner, and *Cromwell* little caring to advance his Nations Trade, will vigourously fall on, and aiming directly at Conquest of the *Indies*, endeavor every where to incommode *Spain* in order to it.

About this time two Books were published in *Madrid*, which clearly and ingeniously discovered the great exigencies of the State. This was admired by such as could not imagine a natural *Spaniard* would ever own its spirits spent, and it in a languishing condition. The Author of the first was one *Don Philippo Antonio Alofa*, a Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, of the Kings Council, and his Secretary in the Council general of the Holy Inquisition. It contained

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an Exhortation to Ecclesiasticks to supply the King by voluntary Contributions, in the so very pressing necessity of his Kingdom; of which having first declared the Causes, which he derived from the time when *Philip* the Second engaged almost all his Revenues, for aiding the French League and building the *Escorial*; and represented how under *Philip* the Third his Son, occasions of expence augmented, by reason of the Wars of *Ita'y* and *Flanders*, removal of the Court from *Valladolid* to *Madrid*, with his great Charges in entertaining the Princes of *Savoy*, and Reception of the English and French Ambassadors; and that which compleated the ruin of the State, and drew on it the extremest misery, the raising the value of Copper Money, by which *Sajavedra* says more mischief happened to *Spain*, than if all the Serpents and Monsters of *Africk* had attacked it: he makes out, that the present King at his Succession received the Crown so poor, it was admirable there could be found wherewithal to resist so many Enemies as at once proclaimed War against it; and concludes, that after the many shocks it hath sustained, it will hardly any longer prove able to defend it self, without recourse to some sudden supply, though it be useless to fancy New Impotts, or augmentation of the old ones, there being a general incapacity in the subjects to pay what is already laid upon them. This pre-supposed, he continues that applications ought to be made to the Clergy only, who have ever kept their doors open to all manner of

acquisitions, and closely shut against the least alienation, and who with little or no expence possess the greatest wealth of the Kingdom, till a more learned Pen make evident, they may justly be compelled to contribute to the Kings urgent occasions, he declares his design to be no more but to oblige them to a voluntary loane, which he shews will be to their advantage; because if the Kings necessities force him to press the Laity with rigor, they will abandon Tillage and the Country, in such manner, that Ecclesiastical Rents, deduced only from the hands of the other by Tythes, and the like, will fail.

Going on he adds that such a liberality is more especially due to the most Catholick King, who aims only at the Churches good, and requires assistance for continuing the War only in order to an advantageous Peace, neither does he demand any thing that he first gave not, all of them having received their benefices and dignities from his Majesty as their Patron; That they need only spare part of their Plate, Jewels, and rich Moveables, abating something of their great Trains, entertained questionlesly by them, shew that grandeur, they will more handsomly make appear by assisting their King: afterwards he says that to give this greater efficacy, the King may please to make choice of one of his great Ministers of State, to whom the Clergy have some kind of obligation on account of their preferments, and from whom they may reasonably expect more, by his report to the King and Council of their forwardness and liberality:

rality: he advises farther, that addresſes be not made to the Body or Convocation, but to particulars, and an exact register kept of the willingeſt, which will on all occaſions be uſeful to them, towards acquiring greater favors. By this method, which is nothing elſe but a Collection of State, he ſuppoſes the King may amas a conſiderable ſum towards paying his Troops, that periſh for want, and re-eſta bliſhing his Affairs, which the ſame neceſſity hath ſo much diſordered.

The Second Book was a Memorial drawn up by a certain Captain called *Joſeph Puteol*, in which he repreſented to the King, that by eaſing his people he would be the better enabled to make War, *Como aſſiſtiendo a todos ſe pueda lograr el hazer mejor la Guerra.*

The Expedients he propounded, ſpoke him a man of parts to ſuch as knew him not, but in others prejudice, raiſed a contempt of his reaſons becauſe he was not in an eminent condition; as if the validity of a medicine depended on the quality of the Phyſician, & *aliquando etiam Olor commode poteſt eſſe locutus, &c.* but paſſing by theſe, I will here recount what the former look on as moſt judicious in his Book, which will alſo very much tend to the better underſtanding the condition in which I ſhall leave *Spain*. After particulars of all the Revenues his King draws from his Kingdoms of *Caſtille* and the *Indies*, (which in groſs amount to no more than Eighteen Millions of Gold, and of which *Philip* the Fourth when he came to the Crown found but

Eight Millions two hundred seventy four thousand Crowns without incumbrances, which to supply his Wars against *France*, he was immediately necessitated to engage, and afterwards to alienate, (for reducing *Catalonia*, appeasing the troubles of *Naples* and *Sicily*, defence of the Dutchy of *Millain*, recovery of *Portolongo* and *Piombino*, and many Towns in *Flanders*; besides assisting such Princes as had sided with him in the French revolutions:) he concludes a very exact and parcimonious œconomy for the future to be the only means of replenishing the Kings Coffers.

The wayes he proposes for this, seem so many remarques of the former ill dispensation and administration of the Publick Treasure.

In the first place he sayes, That what is necessary to the subsistence of their Armies, fails of being supplied, not only by reason of the Engagement of the principal Revenues of the Crown to such as have furnished the King in his necessities, but no less by the prodigious cheats of an infinite number of Officers employed towards their recovery; which gave the King just cause to complain to the *Cortes*, That of Ten Millions paid yearly by *Castile*, six stuck to the fingers of Under Treasurers, Secretaries, Receivers, Tellers, and other Exchequer men, that subsist only by Rapines exercised on the King and his People.

Then he desires that difference be made between Monopolists and Farmers of Customs, as well old as new, and that such of them as
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have dealt frankly, without making malicious advantage of the necessity of affairs, may be distinguished from those that have thriven by craft and design, in purchasing or renting the Kings Duties. With the first he holds it but reasonable to make a fair composition, and afterwards that they be permitted the enjoyment of what they acquired with so great equity: the other he would have treated with all possible severity, and compelled to refund with no less rigor than Sorcerers are burnt and Theeves hanged. For what concerns rewards, he allows it just to recompence all such as have done the Crown service, be its necessities never so great, but even for this he would not have the King draw any thing from his own Purse, nor pretend to liberality at a time when he hath not wherewithal; he therefore advises (since high birth is not ever the source of eminent actions, neither do Children alwayes inherit the Prudence and Vertue of their Parents) not to continue in the same Families, 49: Commanderies, which the Eight Orders of Spanish Knighthood possess, worth above a Million of Gold yearly; but instead of bestowing them out of favour for the most part to persons unworthy and useless, hereafter to distribute them to such as either have preserved or extended the Limits of his Monarchy, or at least by an Honourable Profession of Arms are in a capacity to do it. And if he ever suffers any of them to be diverted from the advantage of Soldiers, to whom only they of right appertain, that it be to some able States-

man or Dextrous Ambassador, who without drawing Sword, hath saved some Town or Countrey, surprized an Enemy, broken in Pieces his Levies, cut off Ammunition and Victual from his Armies, drawn in Neighboring Princes to unite against him, obliged some of them to quit a Neutrality, succored some Ally, or confirmed some other that wavered; in a word, to such a person whose industry and prudence hath been highly advantageous to his King and Countrey. He no less complains, that instead of giving what is substantial in these Orders to Persons of Merit, the very Badges of them, which are only superficial, are for the most part refused. He instances in Mr *de St Maurice*, a Gentleman of *Burgundie*, who after very good service, pretended several years without obtaining this, though Marquis *Caracene* writ in his favour, and attested his Valour and eminent Merit. This takes away his admiration, that in all the Troops that serve in the Dutchy of *Mil-lain*, there are but Eight Knights that have this honour, the peculiar recompence of Soldiers, being frequently bestowed on Pen-men, or such as depend more on the Gown than Sword, though they wear the later, as a Mark of what they ought to be, rather than of what they really are. After this detection of abuses in managing his Kings Treasure, he passes to the wayes of increasing and better securing it. Towards increasing it, he would have taken into consideration that *Spain* is inhabited by some persons that are very rich, others indifferently so, the rest

rest very poor, which is the greatest number, and that in raising Contributions neither of these three can be favoured, without prejudice not only of the other two, but of the Sovereign himself: Such a Geometrical proportion is therefore to be observed, as considers the means and faculties of each, and prevents that inconvenience in the State that often afflicts our Bodies, when all the ill humors fall on the part that is weakest. After so good a Foundation, he attacks those that possess most and pay least, and makes appear that the Spanish Clergy, being very wealthy, pays the King but Four hundred forty seven thousand Crowns, a trifle compared to its ability, and concludes that an augmentation of the Kings Revenue might in so pressing a necessity be charged on it with all justice and reason imaginable. He thinks it not fit to impose more on the Nobility and Gentry, who ought to be in a continual posture to do the King personal service, but upon Citizens and Farmers, and concealed Treasure for the greatest part in the hands of Persons faulty or disaffected, and that this might bring up a considerable aid, were the sources of their abundance well examined. For such Taxes as are settled ill, he says that which is imposed on the Eighth part of Flesh, Oil, and Wine, is the worst of all others, giving occasion to a thousand cheats, as well by the Officers, as by such as endeavour to bring those provisions into *Madrid* and other Towns without paying Duties. To which I can adde, that I have been assured, an infinite number live

only by that imployment, in so much that not only some poor Gentlemen and Ranting Hectors that will live on nothing, and without doing any thing, with whom Courts and great Cities ever abound, concern themselves in it; but even Churchmen and the greatest Noblemen, that are weakly revenued. For this cause Guards have been appointed to attend the Collection of these Imposts, on condition that what they can seise of Goods that have entered without paying Duties, shall be their own. But this which was established, to redouble their diligence, they have turned into small Politicks, that causing them to consider the Kings interest, if vigorously pursued, as that which would put an end to their profits, they are not very exact, perceiving that should they not sometimes connive, they which busie themselves in stealing Customs, would give over the Trade, finding no effect but Confiscation of their Goods, after which the Kings Duties would be well paid, but they get nothing. They therefore correspond with them, and seise not their Goods, till so much hath entered, as will make them more than savers. This Confederacy against the King, is maintained at his Charge, and drones suck the blood of the poor people, the effects of so great a disorder falling on their heads. Amongst other Impositions he thinks ill laid, and which I will not give my self the trouble of reciting, he mentions Seal'd Paper, and says it is a very incertain Revenue, because founded on Law Suits, to which the folly and obstinacy of humane

humane nature alone gives being; it is true that in *England*, madder in this particular than *Spain* or any other part of the World, more profit might be derived from this, than in a Countrey where that infamous employment is not so much in request; whereas in *England* it is exercised with such avarice, rapine, and so prodigious delays, that this horrible Pestilence which feeds itself fat by means of infinite numbers of vile Insects, Attorneys, Solicitors, Attorneys Lieutenants and Sub-solicitors, it must needs pass for one of the heaviest scourges of the Nation, and plagues of its best Families.

To conclude, he implores his King to cast off all those ill designed Impositions, that will be destructive both to him and his Subjects, and to lay the burthen more equally, which will make it light, and his people bear it chearfully, when free from Vexations, that tend more to the advantage of Pettifoggers, than of his Revenue.

If what he proposes may be endeavored, he doubts not but his King will vanquish all his Enemies, there being already so many Victories that testifie his Valour, and so many Books that publish his Prudence, besides so much Gold and silver stamped with his Effigies, current thorow the World, though *Spain* admits none that is Foreign; an invincible demonstration of its inexhaustible Treasure.

Whilst these two Books were Subjects of our Discourse, by reason of their surprizing Novelty, the Genius of that Nation considered, which
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seldom discovers where the Shoo wrings it, and whose constancy is so admirable, it alwayes sets a good face on an ill game; we received Letters for some of the Principal Ministers of the Catholick King: had they come to us at our first arrival at *Madrid*, they would have introduced us to a nearer speculation of that Court, but arriving in *June*, and we being resolv'd, for avoiding the great heats, to repass the *Pyreneans* before they began, we had but little time to continue in a Countrey, where the Sun is something too prodigal of his beams. To make use therefore of all advantages possible, and that according to Formalities, which are here essential, I address'd my self to Don *Martin* Secretary of the Earl of *Pigneranda*, desiring him to give his Lord the Letter of Recommendation we had for him. I acquainted him with the qualities of my Lord *B.* and *A.* and inquired at what hour we might have access, lest we should apply our selves to him when he gave not Audience. Such precautions are necessarily to be observed in this Court, by all Strangers, who without any introduction desire to be particularly admitted to a Principal Minister of State: by means of which they escape being expos'd to that dry gravity which receives Strangers with a leaden austere Fore head, close and reserved, all such whom they apprehend they may mistake in its Civilities, for want of knowledge of their quality; besides that, generally speaking, such as understand the World, ought never themselves to deliver such Letters, which serve only to make them known to those they

they never saw before; for if they be read in their presence, they suffer some time of vexatious incivility, and if the reading them be deferred till after their departure; at the first Visit they have but a cold Reception, the Complements faint and confused, directed more to him that sent the Letter, then to those that bring it, and for whose sake it was written. This we avoided, for the Earl having been informed, as well by the Letter of Dom Estevan de Gamarra, as report of his Secretary, who we were, received us as well as we could wish: And to speak truth of him, none in this Court understands Civility and the World better. His first presenting himself is graceful and winning, and makes appear, that with the severity of his Countries Customs and imperious gravity of his Nation, he hath mixed a certain forain air, that takes off from the austerity, and makes him so agreeable, that if the Address and Gallantry of the first of the *Tarquins* caused it to be said, *Gracum ingenium miscuerat Italicae artibus*, he had added the Complacency of Greece to the Arts of Italy. We may conclude that those of this great man make evident, *Hispanicum supercilium potest moribus exteris & comitate exotica dilui*. That Spanish severity may be moderated by forain Civility. His Wit and Judgement appeared in his Embassy as Plenipotentiary to *Munster*, and when News came to *Madrid* of the promotion of Cardinal *Chigi* to the Pontifical Chair, and the great desire he expressed for Pence between France and Spain, this man was spoken of
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to be sent to *Rome* with the Embassy of Obedience: though indeed he was chiefly designed to that Employment, because it was hoped that by reason of the great friendship he had contracted with the new Pope when he was *Nuncio* in *Germany*, he might do his Master good service in all manner of Negotiations. Many advantages are also reported to have been offered on behalf of the King to oblige him to accept this, besides a considerable sum of ready money, particularly Three thousand Ducats a Moneth, his Son to be made an Earl, and himself continued President of the Council of the *Indies*, and that the Golden Key be carried only as a Badge of Honour, should be conferred à *Exercicio*, that is to be made use of, with all Priviledges belonging to it: but nothing of this is yet effected, and they which understand the confidence of Don *Lewis de Haro* in his fidelity and capacity, assure he will not remove him from the Council where he is now President, till needs must. Having thus received all manner of satisfaction in our first Visit, to so accomplished a Person, who omitted nothing that might assure my Lord *B.* of the esteem he had for his quality and merit, at the very first sight remarkable to him by that vivacity which is so natural to Extraordinary Persons, they need not speak twice to those to whom they would make themselves known: We thought our selves very forward on our way, to obtain the like from Don *Lewis de Haro*, when we should wait on him: For besides the Letter we had

had for him, we doubted not but the Earl would acquaint him with the Visit we had made him, and with all that could oblige him to receive us well. Besides our Letter for Don Lewis de Haro, we had another for a Gentleman called *Alonzo Vercoca*, Cousin to Don Stephen de Gamara the Catholick Kings Ambassador in *Holland*, who, we were assured was very well with this Favorite. We therefore thought best first of all to visit Seignior *Alonzo*, that he might deliver our Letter, and present us when it should be seasonable. We were not a little troubled in inquiring after his Lodging, but at last learned that he was usually resident in the Countrey, and only a Son of his who was one of Don Lewis de Haro's Gentleman lived in *Madrid*. Enquiring for him at the Palace of this Chief Minister, I was told he had a Chamber in the Town, and came not thither whilest his Master was with the King at *Buen Retiro*; the Civility of the Officers of whom I enquired his Lodging, extended not so far as to send some body to shew it me, and he being seldom at home, I was either to seek him very early in the Morning or late in the Evening. At last I found him just out of Bed, no less troubled how to enquire after us, because he had received a Letter from the Ambassador to his Father, by which he reiterated his request for doing us all manner of good Offices in that Court. Some dayes passed, in which he neither visited us nor returned any answer. This made me imagine that either he did not much value the Ambassadors Letter, or else

had not sufficient access to his Master to perform what was recommended to him.

As soon as we thought of leaving *Spain*, I began to consider how we might obtain an authentick passport, being sufficiently informed of the insolence and impudence on the passes called *Puertos*, as well by the Farmers of the Customs as such as are there in guard. On which account many formalities are necessary to be observed in the Passes, that they may be effectual enough to check the importunity and knavery of those Harpies that lie in expectation of travellers, especially strangers, to put all imaginable affronts upon them.

I made very solicitous enquiry of all circumstances necessary, and the Earl of *Pignerola* having told my Lord *B.* that not to leave *Spain* without carrying along one of its greatest rarities, he should do well to take some horses; to which purpose he would provide him all sufficient passports; we did not in the least distrust, obtaining them as advantageous as we could wish; they which have no friends in Court, are obliged to petition a certain Council, whose Secretary is called *Carnero*: the petition considered on, if the Pass be granted, the Result goes from thence to the Kings Council, from whence it is returned sometimes confirmed, sometimes annulled, and often limited or amplified, according to the petitioners success in his solicitations. Indeed, though either by favour or bribe, authentick Passports are sometimes obtained, and that without delay; such as are unknown

and unfriended, find this trifle become a troublesome and tedious negotiation. Ours was not so, for having drawn up a very exact memorial, and according to the sense of those that understand the form of a Passport, to go out of *Spain* without lett or molestations: I carried it to Don *Martin*, the Earl of *Piqueranda's* Secretary; he read it, and told me so many particulars were not necessary; and that our Passport being to come immediately from the Kings Council, there needed no more but to translate into Spanish, that we had brought from the Arch-Duke; the like whereof, which would be every where respected, should be dispatched us; I acquiesced in this, and went with him to *Gerónimo de la Torre*, one of the Secretaries of State, to whom he delivered a Memorial for the said Passport, recommending it to him in the name of his Master; he promised to carry it to the Council of State that very day, using us with great civility, and accompanying us to the bottom of his stairs.

Our Passport being in this forwardness, Mr. B. and I, went one morning to visit Signior *Verfosa*, by it the better to understand the nations humour, and whether negligence or want of credit had caused his failing in what the Ambassador desired of him: he instantly excused his not having waited on us, and told us he had delivered the Letter to Don *Lewis de Haro*, who had commanded him to accompany us to Audience (such is the manner of speaking in this Court) which he would give us the next day.

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This discovered that his slowness in returning an answer, was rather an effect of the humor of his nation, (not very punctual nor forward in its civilities, no more then in its affairs) then of his negligence or little power to perform what had bin recommended to him; being a kin to the Secretary *Geronimo de la Torre*, who had received our Memorial, he would needs go along with us to him, and recommend it in our presence; but I was strangely surprized to see this man in this visit we made in company of his kinsman, so different from what I had before found him; for instead of our former civil reception of which I spoke but now, he would scarcely move from his Table and Papers, entertaining us with interrupted sentences, whilst he ranged the writings he held in his hand. I was scandalized at such an inequality, and the favourablest judgement I could make, was (whilst I considered him to be of that nation which is esteemed so unvariable in its humor and actions) that his thoughts were that day entirely possessed by something very important and vexatious. This prevented not our repairing next morning according to our appointment to visit the chief Minister of so superbe a Court. He is not difficult of access, nor environed with the pomp and splendor usually affected by such as possess the place next their Master: he is not courted, nor his withdrawing room crouded with any that have not business with him; none are refused admittance, but every man in his turn brought into his chamber, where having spoken

ken, he retires and gives place to others. To such as are not admitted, if they have formerly moved him in their concern; he signifies his pleasure by his Secretary, which (if they have nothing new to offer) must of force content them; such as have never opened their affair, or have any thing to add, are referred to the next day or another hour: so that few go away without some kind of satisfaction or hopes to receive it, at least, in obtaining Audience. In other places, Favourites or chief Ministers seldom are accessible, and never till after many refusals; and not content to participate of the Sovereigns authority, pretend to a degree of adoration above it: and we may assure our selves, that though this quality occasions in most of these, pride, vanity, and pleasure; it gives Don Lewis (as he makes use of it) trouble alone, and that amongst all that are in publick employment he is not only first in rank, but in attachment and subjection to the service of his King; to which, to speak the truth, he intirely resigns himself: for in the morning immediately after his devotions, and visit of the Kings apartment, about Seven a clock he sits down in his chamber of dispatches, where he continues till one; giving order to his Secretaries in all that is to be done, and hearing such as are to speak with him, presented by order as hath already bin said: after dinner he reposes, or retires some hours; and about four or five, returns to the same chamber, and like employment till seven. Two days in the week he, as well as the King, gives publick Au-

dience; then all enter, and I have seen there of all qualities, even lame and naked soldiers, who amongst others present themselves and pretences, without any other difference, then obliging them to advance with discretion and respect, if perhaps they observe it not.

To all this is to be added, his care of the Court, he being Master of the Horse, with his hours at both Councils of State and Privy, besides Audiences of ceremony, and affairs of Ambassadors, and Agents of forreign Princes; so that I can imagine no life more agitated nor busied then his. I shall say nothing of his parts, which the Spaniards hold not equal to those of his predecessor; the other having bin quick and active in the most eminent degree; but they add that they were not therefore more successful, either in publick or particular; and that the great moderation and good nature of this man, is equivalent to the heat and zeal of the former, who to attain his ends, suffered none to enjoy quiet: so true is that of the Politicians, that the greatest intellects are not most proper to govern States and Kingdoms; and that they look so far before them, they often stumble in such a manner as casts them into extremities, from whence all their dexterity hath much ado to free them, and the height of their good fortune to secure them from ruine; whereas the middle sort by moving softly are not subject to those politick transports, which often toss interest of State into the air with the sublimest maximes of him that governs.

As soon as we came to *Don Lewis* his lodgings which was then at the Hermitage of *Buen retiro*, we were received by *Don Christopher* his Secretary. He is a little man, of address and subtilty beyond what is usual in his nation, being a German, of which Countrey he hath so little the meen and presence, one would rather take him to have been born at the foot of the *Apennine* or *Pyreneans*, then on the banks of *Rhine* or *Danube*. He takes care of all forreign affairs, and serves his master as interpreter; we were immediately presented to him, and thus he received us: He sat in a Chair at the end of a Table, with his Cloak on his shoulders, and his sword by his side; he rose up at our entrance, and after we had saluted him, caused seats to be presented us; and immediately *Don Christopher* placed himself on his knees, on the Carpet that was between his Chair, and that of my Lord *B.* who having spoken, *Don Lewis* answered by interpretation of *Don Christopher*, as obligingly as was possible. After the first compliments, he enquired after our journey, and continuance at *Madrid*, and finding us inclined to leave it, asked, if we would not pass by *Sevil*; and we excusing our selves, by reason the Summer was so far advanced; he replied, our time indeed pressed us, if we desired to be out of *Spain* before the great heats; but not visiting *Andalusia*, we lost the sight of the pleasantest Countrey in the world; he afterwards made us many offers of service, and when we acquainted him that we desired to pass through *Arragon*, and, if pos-

sible, enter *France* by *Catalonia*; he promised us two Letters of recommendation; one to the Duke of *Monteleon*, Viceroy of *Arragon*, the other for Don *John* of *Austria*. He asked us if we would kiss the Kings hands; but our time for leaving the Countrey being so near, we thought it unnecessary to give him the trouble of obtaining that honour for us, having so often seen his Majesty. In a word, he omitted nothing that was obliging, or might render our visit satisfactory; he is indeed of a humour to discontent no body, and never favorite did less hurt: he suffers to live at Court, not only such as envy him, but his professed enemies, as the Duke de *Medina de los Torres*, and goes abroad with so small pomp, that his Train little or nothing exceeds the meanest Grand of *Spain*: he is not crouded after, but observed to follow much better then his predecessor, the advice of a favourite of the same nation, who after his fall admonished all of the like condition, themselves to put a spoke in the wheel of fortune, when by too great an elevation she almost equalized them to the King, adding, that he which thinks himself advanced highest, is often nearest his ruine, and therefore ought never to be transported to receive such honours and attendances, as his fall cannot deprive him of, without shame; on occasion of which I must needs mention, what was reported to me to have been spoken by a great Statesman of this Court: *That a Favorite ought to have the moderation and prudence of that Angel before whom St. John prostrated himself*

self with adoration, and refuse some kind of respects that may be rendred him with a *Vide ne feceris, conservus tuus sum*: for if God in that immensity of glory and power he possesses to reduce the universe to nothing, admits no companion in his adorations: Kings whose Authority is limited, and whose Might only weakly imitates that which is infinite, will much less endure it. Such boundless ambition, and excessive thirst of grandeur, in two years time strangely shook Cardinal *Spinola*, one of the greatest Favorites of *Philip* the II. and at last overthrew that famous Conde Duke *Olivares*, whose place is at present possessed by Don *Lewis*.

Besides what I have touched concerning his Ministry, the curious find a considerable difference between the favors of the Uncle and Nephew, as well in the foundation as managements of them; they consider that of the former was derived from his conformity of manners (real or affected) with those of his King; and from the care he took to second his inclinations, and make himself a necessary instrument of his satisfaction in pleasures, perhaps contrary to his greatness and condition: but that of the second had its source from the Kings obligations to him, for services rendred him in encounters where his Life and Crown were concerned: that the first had his good will and affection, which are but as blossoms that a thousand accidents blow away, whilst the other is established in the intellect, having been fixed there by experience, the true and only root of

favour, proof against time and humor; that the first arrived at so eminent a degree almost at the same time and the same manner as the Duke of *Laines* rose near *Lewis* the XIII of *France*, and the later by a way very like that ascended by Cardinal *Richlieu*: the Nephew had time to make use of the faults and misfortunes of the Uncle, as well as the Cardinal of the failings of his Predecessor. But for what concerns the exercise of his authority, they observe it is very different from the other three. The Duke of *Laines*, and the Conde Duke *Olivares* disturbed the quiet of their Masters Dominions; the first, that he might make use of the sword of Constable he had newly received, and the other to make ostentation of the vast capacity he pretended to above all mankind. *Richlieu*, who succeeded the first of these, though with very different maxims, thought nevertheless he was to continue the war he found begun, to gain him reputation, and remove all obstacles that might prevent such a one as was more the interest of *France*, and would give him opportunity of entering the Lists with that ambitious Conde Duke. Don *Lewis* was no sooner in favour, and entred on business, but he endeavoured to make understood, that the whole world and especially the house of *Austria*, suffered by emulation of those two Ministers. He well foresaw (the condition of the Spanish Monarchy, attacqued in Trunk and Branch, considered) that a peace, (the least dishonourable that could be obtained) was necessary to prevent final destruction.

struction. It is said, he effectually represented to the King and his Council the faults of his predecessor, and made it appear, that the universal desire of all the lesser Potentates of *Europe*, who wish equality amongst the greatest, as ballances where every one may find his counterpoise, is very suitable both to the inclinations and interests of *France* and *Spain*, though not often so to the ambition of their Kings, and vanity of the Ministers that serve them; and that which soever of them gains upon the other, would acquire most enemies, were not *Europe* by artifice of their Favorites (who set their Masters together by the ears to make ostentation of their own address during the combat, as Pilots their skill in the height of a tempest) divided into Leagues, and almost all of it in arms in favor of one or other of these Crowns. that whilst war continued, the allies of *France* would never forsake her to become Neuters, or turn their swords against her, but that in the mean time the dangers into which they precipitated themselves, were to be represented to them, with a great inclination to peace, even so far, as to purchase it at what price soever. That experience in all ages had made evident, they recovered by Treaties what they had lost that by wars. That in *Germany* even they were to be incited to cry up peace; that were confederates with *France* and *Sweden*, to oblige them to which, they should have intimation, that nothing was taken into greater consideration, then their satisfaction; and that it was high time to divert

the jealousie of their liberty against two forraign Potentites, more ready to invade it, then ever the Emperor was to impose fetters upon it. That in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and all other parts where there were Leagues against *France*, the like was to be done; and at the general Treaty of peace, all desirable conditions given to their weakest enemies, to enfeeble the more potent by depriving them of the others assistance. Thus the beginning of his Ministry, (if what hath been informed me, and I have here represented be true) was not to cry up war in his Masters ears, out of consideration only, of what might augment his own power, as is done by such Epicures of favor as turn it to their particular advantage: He would neither seem idolatrous in his politticks, by giving no council but such as was to his Masters advantage; nor Atheistical in valuing nothing but the good of the people, but with respect to both of them, shewed himself a good Statesman, dealing with them like Husband and Wife, and concluding that for their living happily together, they should admit no friend that might separate their interests. I had bin made acquainted with some of these particulars before I visited Don *Lewis*, and could set down more, were not a great part of the remarques as well effaced from my Tablebook, as vanished from my memory: if it be expected, I say something of his person; I must add, it is sufficiently taking, and that I was told, his wit was neither of the finest or grossest temper, not extravagantly high, nor insipidly low, his countenance

tenance neither very airy nor excessively serious. Nothing can be discovered in his eyes, either too heavy or too light, his make and posture of body is neither eminently heroick nor contemptibly vulgar, *Ut statura & oris non est plus quam Heroici, ita nihil in eo quod nimium vulgare sit.* And he is looked upon to be no ways incommodious, either to Prince or People; and as he charms not the first by extraordinary endowments either of mind or body; neither does he disgust the later. And a Spaniard one day told me, *En el semblante mismo este privado no enfada por lo atrevido, in desluce por lo desanimado*: to which I will give no other English, but, the meen of this favorite is neither insolent nor abject.

The great revolutions in the affairs of this Monarchy since Don Lewis had the managing of them, present me a vast field to expatiate on what seems vigorous or weak in his conduct; for some particulars are observable, in which, nothing more could be wished than what he did, and others as discernable, in which he seems not to have made use of all advantages that presented themselves. The peace concluded at *Munster* with the Hollanders, is thought a masterpiece, they having received as an eternal maxime, never to have it with his King; and the miracle became greater, not only in that he disarmed them by a particular Treaty, under no other garranty, but that Seal and Oath they had so many years protested never to confide in; but made use of the family of *Orange*,
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which seeming no other ways concerned in the affairs of the world, then in producing it great Captains, could not act towards that peace, without setting a knife at the throat of its own glory and reputation.

After so policick an atchievment, he might have effected another little less considerable, if we may credit such as determine the affairs of Princes, according to their particular capacities, had he (during the troubles of *France*) endeavoured a peace with that Crown, which in such an extremity must needs have accepted it, on conditions, more advantagious to *Spain*, then the Towns retaken by it, because giving way to her intestine commotions, by removing the forraign object that might divert her dissentions and civil enmities, her fury would have rebounded on her own bosom, and she like a good Mother have abandoned the greatest part of her conquests, to gain more leisure and better opportunity to chastise her disobedient children: here it is that considering affairs by their event, and seeing *France* again in as good a way as ever to pursue her victories, the Spanish Councils are blamed for neglecting that opportunity of putting such a stop to them, as should have prevented their progression. Instead therefore of Treaties with the City of *Paris*, siders with the Princes, and the Princes themselves, it is said, *Spain* ought to have negotiated with the Court alone, from which, as is believed, it might have had good terms for abandoning the seditious, and their endeavors to encourage the rebellion,

bellion, in which interim, the Catholick King might probably have succeeded beyond the Pyreneans, in reducing the Catalonians, and recovering *Portugal*, much more considerable to him, because very certain, that the revolt of the former, and separation of the later, are the greatest mischiefs, that have attacqued that Monarchy during the whole war; for remedy of which, it should have neglected some slight bruises in other places, and applyed it self only to the cure of those two wounds so near its heart. The ways of doing this, had bin more easie, more safe, and of less expence then those which recovered *Barcelone*; they which examined the affairs of that time, were of opinion that the Spaniards lost more by retaking that Town, and neglecting to relieve *Bourdeaux*, then they would have done by some condiscentions to *France* in order to peace. For it was freely discoursed in that Court, that the siege of *Barcelone* cost so dear both in men and money, that so great a failing of spirits followed, that all the repose obtained by the French disorders, was not sufficient to their restoration, and that neglecting to relieve *Bourdeaux*, gave the French opportunity of freeing themselves from the difficulties of appeasing their civil war, and almost at the same time of re-beginning an offensive one against the forraigners with vigor equal to their former. In the judgement therefore of these criticks, the Spaniards could neither make all the progressions, might have been expected from them in such a conjuncture, notwithstanding

standing their recovering three or four of the principal places they had lost, nor embrace the opportunity of the peace, to which *France* seemed necessitated, nor yet supply the flames of civil discord already so well kindled, but after so great charge and small profit, they looked on them as negligent Merchants that had let slip the best time of the Fair, and perhaps brought but one commodity from it, that will never sell for what was laid down in ready Money, and is hereafter to be paid for it: I mean the Prince of *Conde* and rest of the French that are at present only a charge to them, and whom deceased *Quevedo*, were he now alive, would joyn to the late Queen Mother of *France* and Duke of ——— for that new kind of stratagem by which the King of *France* may batter by disgusting all his family, who repairing in discontent to the Spaniard, will oblige him in assisting them to consume that which is designed to maintain his Armies. Now the Prince of *Conde* is retired to them, and hath no more places nor Troops in *France*, they seem to understand this, and notwithstanding the miracles he did at the rout before *Arzas*, and on occasion of which it is reported, the King writ to him in these terms. *Mi primo, he intendido todo estava perdido, V. A. he conservado todo*; Cosin, I looked on all as lost, your Highness hath preserved all; they complain of the large pensions they allow him, though they pay them ill. In a word, some observe, that whilst they consume their Treasure in entertaining him, and such as have followed him, the profit of those great pensions accrues

to *France*, as well as the confiscation of his vast estate, by means of which she may well support the loss of some Regiments to the weakening her own and strengthening her enemies Army. Their esteem for his person is indeed equal to his merit, and his name is in such veneration both amongst Nobility and People, that he is looked on as the greatest Captain that Europe hath seen in many ages, and to be above all encomiums due to the highest courages, his actions surpassing all that can be imagined; notwithstanding which they consider him to be a stranger, and Prince of the blood of a Crown that is enemy, which makes the establishment of an entire confidence between him and *Spain*, very difficult, but to prevent all appearance of such distrusts, which they have much ado to disguise, they have made use of an artifice, that hath been well enough discovered by his Agents; which is, that such of them as cannot be concealed, are imputed to the misunderstanding between him and *Fuensaldaigne*, Master of the intrigue of *Flanders*, whilst to content him, they find expedients that rather amuse then satisfy him; to take away which the Prince hath declared against *Fuensaldaigne*, and caused his calling home to be solicited in Court, with protestation, that as long as he continues in the *Low Countreys*, with the present power, he will not only ruine his affairs, but the Kings his Masters.

Monsieur de *Mazecolles* his Agent told me, he had made them sufficiently sensible of all the mischiefs occasioned by this mans conduct, but the

the kindness *Don Lewis* hath for him, prevails against any remedy. That the Arch-duke had given the same advice, all which could not prevent their obstinacy in continuing him, grounded perhaps on this Maxim, which requires (as well in Kingdoms as Families) to nourish dissention amongst those which serve, lest they conspire to betray us, or are not exact enough in observing the comportments of one another, nothing being so industrious or penetrating, as envy and animosity, which prie not only into what the Master would not be ignorant of, but into such things of which he cares not for getting information.

In the mean time let politic Censors, who often judge of counsels and resolutions, rather by the events, and what is discernable, than the inductive reasons of which they are ignorant, please themselves in discoursing according to their fancies of this great intrigue of State, the effect of the *French* troubles : they shall not yet hinder my observing, that in consideration of several successes caused by them, as well in *Germany*, where a King of *Romans* was chosen, as in *Italy*, where the affairs of the Dutchy of *Milan* were secured, *Casal* changed Master, *Piombino*, and *Portolongone* were retaken, the Rebellion of *Naples* severely punished, and that furious Courser reduced to curb and cavison, the *Spaniards* are generally pretty well satisfied, with little other displeasure than that by not succouring *Bourdeaux*, they suffered the *French* civil flames to be too soon extinguished ; so that they
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cannot without indignation mention the negligence of the Marquis of *St. Cruz*, when he endeavoured with the Fleet under his command, that had been fitted up at *St. Sebastians*, to open the passage of the River to the besieged. He was encharged with this employment, because not having comported himself satisfactorily in one like it, it was believed he would strive to make amends by some very eminent action in so pressing a necessity : but he failed even at his first setting out ; for having received his orders at *Madrid*, where the Earl of *Fiesque* arrived to hasten him, he went away in a Litter, with all the conveniencies of one that had time enough before him, and as if he had not had a Commission that required the most extraordinary diligence. His delays were the same in embarking, and having shewn himself at sea, and scarcely taken view of the Enemy, he retreated to *la Corugna* in *Gallicia*, where amongst the delightfull Limon and Orange-trees, that grow there abundantly, he let the bad weather pass over, and with it the opportunity of securing *Bordeaux*, whose loss was the intire ruine of the disaffected party in *Gasconie*, and of the Treaty of the Prince of *Conti*. His manner of proceeding astonished all that were concerned, though some suspected his orders required no more but to make a shew of relieving the place; whether it were that the *Spaniards* would hazard nothing in a War that could not last long in that part, or whether there were an understanding (according to the ravings of such as on all occasions

sions vent their imaginations) by the return of *Bourdeaux* to its Kings obedience, to obtain the like for *Barcelona*. Whatever may be of this, he was secured and confined to a Castle where he still remains, as is thought, more on account of reason of State than of his guilt.

To conclude, the French troubles presented great speculations to the chief Minister and other Wits here, how far they ought to concern themselves in them: but those of *Naples* which happened a little before, and which the King of *Spain* beheld as a fire kindled in a corner of his Dominion, he most valued, and distrusted were no less subjects of the discourse of such as had curiosity for the affairs of either Crown. All agree that *France* drew not so great advantages from them as she might have done, had she more streightly embraced the *Neopolitan* interests, and such as have discoursed with me about it, have made it evident, that *Spain* in no occasion ever judged more solidly, or acted more effectually. At the first advice of that revolution she was not deceived in taking her measures, and the Earl of *Ognate* giving his sense of it, made the mischief and its remedy so intelligible, that he was employed to administer the later. I saw an Extract of his Letter, which represented that the fury of that people could not last, having at first declared open war against the Nobility and all that were powerful. That such commotions (the better part of the State being contrary to them) bring forth only confusion and disorder, without any possibi-

lity of erecting a true form of Government, which must be done (if at all) in a moment, and that a multitude that had neither feet nor wings proportionable to mounting so high must necessarily fall of it self, being imprudent in its Council's, rash in its Designs, and slow and timorous in its Executions. That the people of *Naples* went very awkwardly about forming themselves into a Republick, beginning by desolation of the richest Families, which could not be so totally ruined, but they would retain power to joyn with the offended Prince in the publick revenge; and that that which would be imposed on this enraged Multitude would be the more advantageous, in that it would give opportunity of drawing the reins of Government streighter, and binding them so fast, that notwithstanding their former several bloodlettings, a vein should then be opened, by which should be drawn the greatest part even of that which was best, provided all that was corrupted came away with it. His council was followed, and his hand employed in the Execution, whilest he doubtlesly played the part of an able Surgeon, the whole body of the Rebels suffering his lancet, and the Ringleaders his Saw and Rasor. All the world is witness of his admirable conduct in so dangerous a Malady. I shall only add that he is looked on here as the ablest and zealousst Politician of *Spain*; and it is not doubted but if he had employment suitable to his wishes, he would add something of vigor that in several mens opinions is wanting. But his parts being

apprehended he is kept at the greatest distance possible from the intrigue; and setting aside what he must necessarily be made acquainted with by reason of his employments, little is communicated to him. He therefore passes his time in building, and employing part of the great treasure he amassed in *Naples*, on a Palace that will be one of the fairest and vastest of *Madrid*.

Among the great affairs and eminent negotiations of *Dom Lewis*, was one from the North, whose interest was at first well enough understood; for none admired that *Spain* kept an Ambassador at *Stockholm* for facilitating the Election of the Son of the Emperor to be King of *Romans*. The *Swedes* were judged to have great credit in the Empire, and known to have too long opposed the House of *Austria*, to look well on its elevations; a man of parts might sound their intentions, discover their designs, and by dexterity allay their greatest animosity against the Emperor, if not obtain something really favourable in his behalf. *Piementelli*, chosen for this employment, had success beyond what was expected, quickly possessing himself of the good opinion of that Queen, ever charmed by novelty; for amongst the great affluence of strangers she drew to her Court, the last comer still carried it from all the rest. She was so much pleased in a *Spaniard*, having never yet received any respects from that Nation, that it was not difficult for him to make himself acceptable without taking pains to corrupt any of her Council. Such as understood how matters passed in *Sweden* were

were not surpris'd at her letters during the Diet of *Ratisbone*, as well to the Emperor, as to the Electors and other Princes about election of a King of *Romans*. They easily perceived that the Counsellors of the Kingdom and ablest heads had not contributed to so open and authentick a Declaration in favour of the King of *Hungary*. During her Fathers reign, and in her minority, they had been otherwise inspired; and if their opinions might have prevailed, doubtlessly the Party of the Princes and Towns had rather been supported, who demanded a making good of all that had been agreed on by the Peace of *Munster* before they would proceed to that Election. This makes easily comprehended that an Ambassador from this Court was necessary during all that time, but that he should be continued after the resignation of this Princess, and that when she had left the Kingdom *Pimentelli* should every where follow her under that character, is a mystery, of which no reason can be imagined, that seems not too flat and feeble to be real. For why should the *Spaniards* be at such cost to keep in with this Princess after she had dispossessed her self of her Dominion, or court her then, their enemies having received all her favours whilst she sat on the throne? The *Spaniards*, I say, that never do any thing, where that interest, that as much governs Kings as Kings do Subjects, is not exactly observed: that repine at the entertaining the many discontented Princes that have sided with them, and that seldom abandon what is solid and necessary, for what is

plausible and superfluous. Notwithstanding all which they not only caused her to be attended by an Ambassador, when she had no right to one, and who (her Prerogative being gone with her Sovereignty) must needs appear rather a Gentleman Usher than Publick Minister, but omitted not to complement and present her from *Madrid* it self, with 12 of the beautifullest Horses of the Kings Stable. What is rumored here that she hath still the disposal of Forces, and that *Koningsmarc* by her Order marches to assist the Arch-Duke with an Army of Twelve thousand men, is a meer raillery.

Her resignation was doubtless a secret of State, spun and wove with more art than is imagined, and nothing less than what it seemed; she retained neither credit nor authority to make her Mistress of any thing more than her Pensions; and though because the Pill was very well gilt, the World believed she swallowed it willingly, and tasted nothing bitter, a Person of as great judgment as curiosity, told me, That as the *Palatine* appeared a great Captain when *Generalissimo* in *Germany*, he no less approved himself an able Polititian, in a quiet possessing himself of the Crown of the Great *Gustavus* his Uncle, even in the life-time of his Daughter and only Heir; The manner of-doing this seems very subtle, for after he was declared her Successor (partly on occasion of the over-heroick inclinations of that Princess, who seemed amorous only of her own wit, and more ambitious to be thought a Woman learned and liberal,

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than a Queen prudent and capable of governing partly by reason of the inclination of the Counsellors and States of the Kingdom, who grew weary of obeying a Maid, more solicitous to be the Miracle of her Sex than of her Dignity) and a resolution taken that if she should marry, it must be with none but him, all his endeavors tended to make known he was fitter to espouse the Kingdom than Queen: in effect he quickly appeared equal to the former, and (were it naturally or artificially) so well acted the part of a King, that it was very apparent that whilest he fell back from probability of being such by means of the later, he advanced in hopes of it, by the generel inclination of the People, and Interest of State. His Conformity of Humors and Manners with those of that Countrey, opened him so fair a way to the Throne, that the Queen (whose Customs were directly contrary) became jealous, with such an aversion for his Person, as she could not sufficiently conceal. This obliged him to retire to an Island, part of his Inheritance, leaving all to time and the Queen her self, who confirmed the People in their dislike of her. She continued to value less than she ought the most considerable Persons, and most important Affairs. Her vast fancy and ardent thirst after curious Sciences, joyned to that extraordinary manner of conduct that possessed her, made her flie from thought to thought, and from employment to employment, without ever fixing on the Duties of her Charge, and Care of her Crown and Subjects. One while

she was entirely taken up by Letters with *Des Cartes*, *Salmafius*, and *Boucharde*, whom she had sent for, with the first to engage her self in the Labyrinth of his Modern Philosophy, with the other to trace the Antiquities of *Rome* and *Greece*, and with the last to penetrate the Mysteries of the Catholick and Protestant Faith. Sometimes she abandoned both Books and Scholars, calling all the first Bawbles, and the last Pedants. At the time of this gay humor, crowds of young people that swarmed about her, passed their time very agreeably. Masks, Balls, Plays, Collations, Huntings, Tours, with all the little pleasures that are the principal ragouts of the idleness of Courts, were then alone in request. Wit and Fancy, with all that boundless and extravagant jollity can produce, then displayed themselves with the highest advantages, and his parts were most applauded, that seemed capablest of these fond Diversions which lead from pleasure to pleasuree. and pastime to pastime, without knowing what they seek, or on what to settle. In these several manners of living she equally scattered the Crowns Revenue amongst Strangers, by whose Counsel she governed her self in many things, and by her own head in all the rest. This gave occasion to one *Missenius*, a Physician or Historian, if I mistake not, that had been advanced by her, to publish a Book little to her advantage. He highly extolled the Prince *Polatin*, then declared Heir of the Crown, addressing himself to him and the Kingdoms Senators, for remedy of the disorders he observed.

His Stile discovered him, and the Queen made appear very great moderation on occasion of his ingratitude, and the Prince no less address and judgment, in satisfying her that he too much detested the Crime of that unworthy fellow, to have contributed any thing towards it. All this while a secret aversion for the Queen insinuated it self amongst the greatest part of the Senators and People. Some said they must have a Soldier to command them, others lamented the poverty of their Country, and that Rixdollers were so scarce amongst them. That Peace suited ill with a Countrey that produced nothing but iron, which they ought to truck for the Ducats of *Poland* or Patagons of *Germany*. That an occasion of rupture with one of these could not be wanting, that the truce with *Poland* was almost at an end, and that they stood in need of nothing but a King, either a *Charles* or another *Gustavus*. That all that was defective in his Daughter abounded in his Nephew; notwithstanding all which their respect to the next blood of that great King, suffered them not to open their mouths wide, nor to speak publickly; but whether it were that the Senators had more particularly expressed themselves to the Queen in private, or that of her self she well understood, by the Conjunction of Affairs and Inclination of the People, that she had not long to raign, or else by some transport of Heroick fancy, or were it that all these things together contributed to her renunciation, it at last became publick to the admiration of all the world. This change was

the discourse of all *Europe*, and as there had not happened any thing in many Ages so surprizing, every man endeavored to find the causes of it in a thousand Chymerical reasons. This great Queen was so unfortunate, she escaped not the teeth of Satyrists on occasion of it. They began by a bad opinion of her understanding, and jealousy of ill guided Morals; her affections and judgment seemed very unstable, and her Enemies reported she quitted not a Crown and Scepter on a Principle of Vertue to live to her self, and in a solitude where she might the better cultivate her Mind and exalt her Faith, but out of of an inclination to wander, and expose to Fame that Prodigy of the North she had so highly vaunted. This so feeble Motive of so great an Action made some conjecture it was not her choice, but that her Descent from the Throne might be glorious, she was permitted or advised to cover with the Mantle of Generosity and austere Vertue, the necessity to which they reduced her of resigning the Crown to her Cousin before her death. That great Soul and vigorous Intellect she ever pretended to, on this occasion doubtlesly furnished her with such Maximes, it represented her resigning the Sovereignty as much better than its forsaking her, and that by anticipation of her defeat she should triumph in it: That a timely retreat is oftentimes better than an obstinat combat. That a good Horseman alights, when he perceives his Horse will not carry him to his journeys end. That she should do well to imitate that Illustrious Roman that
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vaunted to have been employed before himself desired it, and to have quitted before it was desired by others; by the first designing the effect of his good fortune, and by the second giving testimony of his good Conduct. The Event shews she yielded to these reasons, and the better to disguise all appearance of constraint, omitted nothing that might conceal her displeasure. *Piementelli* her Favorite wrote in such terms to this Court, clearly discovering the bottom of this affair and humor of this Princess, with which he had order to comply, and offer her all manner of honour and good reception in the Dominion of the King his Master. He effected this without difficulty, because so well with her that all was acceptable from him. Having entirely resigned her self to his Counsel and Conduct, she had no sooner cast off the Royal Robe, than she left *Sweden* in the Equipage and Habit of a Modern Amazon. She did not only in her actions retain nothing of the Customs of her Sex, whose weakness was so contemptible to her, but avoided all conversation with it, her Attendants and Servants were all Men, scorning to use Women either at her rising or going to bed. Her own habit was mixed of what is used by both. A loose Coat reaching to the middle of her Leg, and under it a kind of Vest almost to her Heel, a Handkerchief like a Cravat about her Neck, a Black Periwig, though her own Hair was flaxen; with a Hat and Feather, were her ordinary Accoutrements, or rather her Disguise, whilst she travailed: Nay at *Antwerp* and *Brusselles*, where

where she continued some time, she changed nothing; and they which have written of her, represent her in a Dress very little different. Humor or aversion made her alwayes (as much as possible avoid the Visits of Women, and as *Thalestris* for *Alexander*, so she at first expressed a great impatience and extraordinary passion to see the Prince of *Conde*. She publicly said, *She was sorry there was no House in Brussels large enough to lodge them both; that he was her Hero, and the only Man she admired.* He was at that time at the Siege of *Arras*, whither she writ to him she would come, and after his Example make no difficulty of wearing the Spanish Colours. This Prince having augmented his glory, though by an unfortunate conclusion of that Enterprize, her desire of seeing him was redoubled; to testifie how much she was concerned in the honour he had acquired by a retreat that had equalized the defeat of the Spaniards, to the victory of their enemies. After so handsom advances and obliging addresses for an Interview she passionately desired, one would hardly believe she could become cold, and change so many evident testimonies of impatience, to as visible ones of indifference. One of that Princes Agents told me, that out of an humor very extraordinary and surprizing, she studied Punctilio's on the form of his Reception, when he was even ready to make his Visit. The Arch-Duke after the rout before *Arras*, went to see her at *Antwerp*, and she received him with excessive respects and honours; for not satisfied

to attend him at her Stair-foot, she passed over a great Court, and met him at her outer Gate. The Prince of *Conde*, whose courage may justly equalise him to what is greatest, and whose birth yields to few that wear not Crowns, desired to know how she would comport her self towards him; those he employ'd in this could never obtain any satisfactory answer, and therefore doubting she might make some difference between him and the Archduke, he resolv'd not to see her: but because he was already on his way, and importuned not to come to an open rupture, he resolv'd of an expedient to see her *incognito*. He therefore sent his Train to attend her as if himself were gone back, and that he might see her unknown to her, resolv'd to enter her chamber when full of his people, and to appear no otherwise than as one of those that waited on her on his account. At first she knew him not, but at last discovering him, when he went away she would have accompanied him; but he told her *he must have all or nothing*, and without staying for an answer went as he came. It is most certain that he whom she looked on as the Hero of this age, at that interview lost the opinion that she was the Heroine. Her resolution yet, that hath on so many occasions been remarkable, was not the principal cause of her inequality towards him: It was a trick put upon her by the *Spaniards*, contriv'd by *Piementelli* at instigation of the Earl of *Fuenfaldaigne*, that was very ill with him: For though the King of *Spain* had expressly order'd that he should be treated equally

qually with the Archduke, and the same honors paid him, this was not the first time that more had been promised at *Madrid* than performed at *Bruxels*, she who is entirely devoted to the *Spaniards*, and governs her self by their Councils only, did nothing on this occasion that was not agreed on with them : and most certain that the Prince of *Conde* made appear such a contempt of their vanity, and indifference for her, that they were ashamed as well of their own as his proceeding : this obliged the *Spaniards* to endeavour their reconciliation, and to find a neutral place where they might accidentally meet : which happened in the *Pall mall*, where a game was agreed on, in which both of them were on the same side ; but this had no effect, and they parted with the same indifference as at first.

What I have observed of the humour and comportment of this Princess, is but the sum of what I have heard from those that discourse of the designe of this Court in its many caresses to her : of which publick curiosity hath gained so little light, we may conclude that nothing is so certain as the uncertainty of it. Some will have that no Northern puissance having been so fatal to the House of *Austria* as that of the Kingdom she abandoned, the chief Minister aimed at acquiring her affection, and making use of her animosity against her Country for discovering its greatest secrets. To this fancy they add, that it being improbable that the King that succeeds her should continue long in peace with the Emperor, her Councils and Creatures that continue
in

in *Swede*, may be useful as most proper anti-
 against all correspondence he may have in *Ger-*
many, for thwarting the Election of the King
 of the Romans, and forming a party capable
 of recalling him, with another manner of pow-
 er then what he had before *Prague*, when he
 retired with so great regret, and discovered that
 if he had not so strong a hand, nor so long an
 Arm as the great *Gustavus* his Uncle; he had
 no less thirst after victory. Others as ridicu-
 lous. imagine that a principle of generosity and
 bounty obliges the King to maintain an Ambaf-
 sador with this Queen, to comfort her in her
 Eclipse of Dignity, by continuing such an ac-
 knowledgement of Power and Honour; and
 that to mitigate her resentments, he will in time
 make her Vice-Queen of *Naples*, or some other
 Realm, where though she command not over
 so largely extended a Dominion, nor with a pow-
 er so absolute, as when she sat on the Throne,
 she will not have the satisfaction to enjoy a plea-
 sant Climate. There are that when they must
 needs acknowledge they cannot comprehend to
 what purpose the chief Minister is so solicitous
 in cultivating this Queens good graces, have re-
 course to Zeal for Religion; and that he pro-
 poseth to himself no other end nor other glory,
 then to cause an abjuration of her Faith, to fol-
 low the renunciation of her Crown, and to send
 her to *Rome* as his triumph for so great a work.
 Whatever it be that moves the Spaniards to a
 Negotiation, that to most wits seems very use-
 less; this is most certain that if they have com-
 placency

placency for this Princess, she hath no less for them. For besides what I have already said, I have had advice that at her arrival at *Antwerp*, she extolled the beauty of that City with such excess, she made no difficulty of preferring it before the kingdom she had quitted; nor of saying, *She had rather be Marchioness of Antwerp than Queen of Sweden*. It is most certain, that in *Stockholm* it self, in her familiar discourse she made it manifest, she had no great value either for her Countrey or Subjects, whither this were a designe and foresight, that as she should not long command the latter, so she would soon quit the former, or an effectual aversion for her people, caused by frequentation of strangers, and contempt of her Countrey by reason of the relations they made her of the benignity of the Air they breathed in the parts where they were born. Besides all this, it is well known, that after she had testified a desire to become Mediatress of a peace between *France* and *Spain*, about which she had discourse with *Mr Chanut*, when he was to see her, (assuring him that the Spaniards wished it, and would put their concernments into her hands, if *France* would do the like) she was angry when she knew her interposal was not accepted, and writ to him in terms very different from the former, and more advantagious to *Spain*: amongst her respects for all that comes to her in the name of that King, might be reckoned her manner of living with *Antonio Piemontelli*, were it believed she had the same value for his Character

as for his person: she hath an extraordinary propensity to all he propounds, even to a forcing her own inclinations to a compliance with his. She is known to be Learned, and to love Books and Schollars, yet busies her self in trifles to suit his *Genius*, in such a manner, that if any Learned men visit her whilst he is present, she avoids such discourses as may discover his weakness, be tedious to him, strike him dumb and constrain that gay humour is reported to be so natural to him.

Having reported all that the Spanish Criticisms informed me in those matters of State, (whether Catholic or Paradoxical) which because of freshest date are their most usual entertainments, and having mentioned their opinions of those that manage them, or that are or have bin their principal or necessary objects: it is time to say something of such Ministers of forreign Princes as I had the honour to be acquainted with in this Court, the first of these was the Earl of *Fieschi*, Agent for the Prince of *Conde*; he was very kind to us, and being as well one of the greatest wits as Gallants of the French Court; it is pity he hath engaged himself in a party and employment that hath so much altered his constitution, and changed his humor, so that he is hardly to to be known by those that have been most particularly acquainted with him: he is fallen into a sickness that by intervals makes him pale, disorders his pulse and disables him for company or discourse. He keeps a good Table, the Countrey he is in considered

sidered : when we eat with him, it afflicted us to see him in the middle of a meal rise from his seat and cast himself on a bed. At access of the fit, he sodainly changes colour, and one would think him fainting : this is supposed to be the effect alone of melancholly and displeasure caused by the troubles in which he is engaged, which have separated him from his relations, estate, and tranquility of the life he had wont to lead. He took the Prince of *Conde's* party out of inclination and generosity only, for it is said, he had not the least cause of discontent either from the Court or chief Minister, and his interest would rather have led him to have followed the Duke of *Orleans* and Madamoiselle than any other, his wife relating to that Princess, but he thought he was to go on, and not boggle when he had once chosen a master. After serving him well at *Bourdeaux*, and several rencounters, he was sent hither to give greater reputation to the affairs of that Prince, managed by *St Agolin*, in quality of Gentleman of his chamber. At first he endeavoured to divert himself by all the recreations this place afforded, besides which, he enjoyed one peculiar to himself by reason of the excellent verses he composed : he was pleased to repeat to us some sonnets he had made in praise of the Prince of *Conde*, and almost a whole Scene of a piece he began in imitation of *Senecas Medea* : but neither love nor the Muses had charms powerful enough against that discontent and melancholly, which reduced him to the lamentable condition in which

which we left him; his health being disturbed by so frequent and sudden alterations as neither himself; his friends, nor Physicians could understand. He therefore forsook all pleasures, for Devotions, and instead of seeking company that might divert his thoughts from contemplating his affairs and infirmity; he made *la Casa del Campo*, his Hermitage, whither he often went, either alone, or accompanied by one friend, whom he tired with silent walking. The King allowed him a Coach with four Horses, neither good nor bad; but the Coachman and Footman very ill clothed for servants of so great a King. Besides this equipage which he commands whensoever he pleases; he hath his particular Train which consists of Some Footmen, a Secretary, a Master of the Horse, a Page, and some other Officers; to maintain himself and them, the King allows him 1800 Crowns a month and pays his house-rent: he wears the Spanish habit, and seems so far concerned in the interests of that Court, whither really, or to justify his engagement with it, that he speaks of it with passion, and will allow nothing to be comparable to the manner of living in it; this is not because without cause of complaint. but, (as is supposed) obliged by prudence: He medles with little at present, as well by reason of his indisposition, as that the Prince of *Conde* sometime since, sent one of his Counsellors, who seems to have the intrigue and principal affairs in his hand; he is called *Masroles*, and well qualified: he hath as much Learning as is necessary to manage the affairs of

the time; he perfectly understands this Court and Nation; his wit is solid, yet quick and supple; his judgement exquisite, and in the affairs he handles there needs be no distrust of his mistaking the shadow for the substance, nor the point for the hilt; his conversation is both agreeable and serious in such a manner, that none go from him without satisfaction, and instruction of many things remakable in themselves or circumstances. In a word, one may say of him that his parts are solidly established, both by Art and nature, were he not tormented by an Astma, that gives him little repose. This indisposition was acquired by riding post on his Matters occasions, and it is so violent, that for some years he hath not slept but in a chair, not daring to lie in a bed, for fear of being suffocated by a defluxion and shortness of wind. The King of *Spain* allows him also one of his Coaches, drawn by as many Horses as that which attends the Earl of *Fiesque*. In the Palace which is called *Conde house* remain still some of those that followed that Princes party, and accepted not the *Amnesty*; the chief of these is Monsieur *de Trincars*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, he is a man of parts and honour, and that was very well with Monsieur *d'Espernon*, but that carried with the stream, abandoned himself to follow the fortune of the Prince of *Conde*, when he came to possess himself of the Government of *Gascone*; that party declining, the Prince of *Conti* sent him into *England* to sollicite succors, whilst he was there, they of

Bourdeaux returned to their Kings obedience which exposed him to a great deal of rigor, the effects of which, would have been sensible to his Estate, had it not been secured as his wives Dowry. That his person might be in no less safety, he retired to this place; after which, the Prince made him Intendant of his Army, but he cannot obtain from these Ministers 500 pistols the Prince gave him to be paid out of his pensions; neither doth he sollicite them longer, nor press any thing but his discharge, which he knows they will not grant without the 500 pistols, lest his arrival with the Prince, give him a new subject of complaint by so much the more just, in that this Counsellor, whom he summons to an employment, in which he will be necessary to him, demands not any gratification or *Ajuda de costa*, as it is here called, but the payment of part of a sum that is due to him; by what I guessed, the difficulty lay not in the expedition of the passport, but of the Money, without which they would not have him go away. In the same house lives also an Agent of Monsieur *de Marcin* who sollicit his Masters pensions (which amounts to 12000 Crowns a year) as General of the Kings Armies; besides the assignation the Prince of *Conde* gives on the Money he draws from hence; all these and some others that are in this house, live on the 18 hundred Crowns a month that are given the Earl of *Fiesque*; it is true, that by the death of *St Agolin* who was the Princes first Envoye; this charge will be somewhat eased: *St Agolin* was a Gentleman

tleman of *Auvergne* that lay sick long, and was at last killed by hot Medicines; they speak very pleasantly of his Doctors, who after six months application of all manner of cold remedies, told him, that since those availed not, they must try hot ones, and so brought him to his end, in which he was happier then in so crasie a life: I saw his Grave, and was pointed out one of the sumptuosities of this Countrey, which requires persons of quality to have crimson Velvet or red Sattin nailed to their Coffin, adorned with gold and silver Lace, at least on the seams, if not covered over.

The second Agent or Ambassador of forrain Princes, was the Dukes of *Florence*; he is a Clergy-man that wants not wit, of good meen, and free and affable conversation. His brother, whom we knew at the great Dukes Court, where he is very considerable, had given us a Letter for him, which we delivered quickly after our arrival at *Madrid*: he received us well, and made many offers of service to my Lord but gave us occasion to observe that the study of *Spanish* and its near relation to the *Italian*, made it very difficult for us to use the latter without mixture of some words of the former: nay some *Italians* could scarcely avoid this, nor speak their own language with purity after acquisition of some little of the *Castillian*. No Prince in *Italy* being more streightened by the *Spaniards* than the Great Duke, he alwayes keeps an Ambassador in this Court to get intelligence of whatever passes: for besides that which this King possesses

possesses in the Isle of *Elba*, he is Master of the best Havens in *Toscany* that belonged to the Republick of *Sienna*, and therefore much concerned in the affairs of this Crown particularly in those that belong to it in *Italy*. Seignior *Encontri*, of whom I now speak, is very intelligent in these matters, and too active and quick-sighted to be ignorant of what passes here. He discovered the Treaty of the *Genoueses* with this King for acquisition of *Pontremoli*; and as soon as he had vented the mine, and recived the great Dukes orders to act with all his might towards gaining a place so advantagious to him, he so well thwarted the *Genoueses* in their Bargain, he broke it off, and struck up for his Master. In acknowledgment of which that Prince a little after sent the Ambassador a horse of massie Gold, made some-time before for *Henry* the fourth, or *Lewis* the thirteenth of *France*, and removing the effigies of one of those Kings which was of the same mettal, there needed no more but to place in its stead that of *Philip* the fourth, to be presented to *Don Lewis de Haro*, who accepting it, declared to do so on no other termes, but to bestow it in his Masters Cabinet, where, as was reported, he effectively placed it. My Lord made many visits to this Ambassador, who also came twice or thrice to see him; being an Ecclesiastick he only wore along Robe, without taking the habit of the Country.

The third forrain Minister was Seignior *Quini*, Ambassador for the Republick of *Venice*: He is very magnificent and splendid, and of a

meen altogether suitable to the Majesty of that *August* Senate : whose dignity yet he better supports by an acquired knowledg of all that belongs to a person of quality, accompanied by a judgment whose solidity incomparably moderates the exuberance of his memory in such a manner, that the promptitude of the one never clashes against the maturity of the other.

A Gentleman of *Piedmont* called *Ranufio*, who had been sent by the Duke of *Savoy* to the Duchess of *Mantua*, his Aunt, made us known to Seignior Secretary of the Embassy, who presented us to that excellent person. He received us perfectly well, and assured my Lord that the memory of his Grandfather was dear to the Senate, to whom he had been Ambassador, and that they which then governed saw so many excellent qualities in that great Personage, they mentioned him to their Children as one of the ablest headpieces had ever appeared before them ; after this he discoursed with us about the troubles of *England*, and the War between *Cromwell* and *Holland* then lately ended, and told us that the Seignior of *Venice*, who was the first that sent Ambassadors to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, before seated on his Throne, which the League with great might and fury disputed against him, and that had made no difficulty of acknowledging the States of the *Low-Countries* when they had freed themselves from the Spanish obedience, had not as yet sent any Ambassador into *England* to own that Republic or Protector. The reason he gave us was, that

that that prudent Senate would do nothing it might be forced to revoke, and though these later might seem (however so sodainly) better established than the former, they could not subsist long, and would therefore wait till their power were better settled, less tumultuary and precipitous than as yet: That it would see what time would do with them, lest with other Sovereigns it might suffer the displeasure to have addressed it self to Mushrooms, who started up in a night, and might vanish in the morning; for though the forces and industry of the King of *Great Britain* had till that time failed of restoring him to his Throne, it was probable enough he might recover it by means of internal revolutions, and such flowings of State, as return what the like ebbs have carried away. Visits and acquaintance of this nature give a soul to travail, when a moment presents one part of what great Personages resident, in the Country where he is, have been long acquiring. And as such men observe all with great exactness, and have opportunity to do so, their discourses are sometimes more instructive than some years residence, they being usually most open to strangers.

The three Ambassadors I have mentioned were all we knew here, though there was also one on account of the Emperor, called *Comte Lambert*, who succeeded the *Comte of Grain*; but we never visited him. At our being at *Antwerp* he was also there with all his Family; his Wife is Daughter to *Compe Wallenstein*, Lord High

High Chamberlain of his Imperial Majesty. He received the Collar of the Golden Fleece from the Kings own hands, and went away no less satisfied than we, by vacancy of several Chambers in the Inne, for want of which we did little less than Camp the night before his departure. He is a tall man, thin-faced, and of no extraordinary meen. They say he agreed better with this Court than the Earl of *Grain*, a bold wit, that made himself more feared than loved, that spoke free truths to the King, and medled in more than belonged to his charge; he slighted the Order, that no Coach, except the Kings and Masters of his Horse should be drawn with six Mules or Horses in the Town. He did not think himself obliged to observe this, and still went through the streets as formerly: He was once in a passion against those that admonished him of it in the Kings name, whereas the last complies and uses but four like other Ambassadors.

The King of *Denmark* hath also an Agent here, but we had no acquaintance with him; he lives privately, and the people one day as he passed called him *Lutheran*; the King himself (on occasion of a difference he had) not using terms more favourable. Besides some small interests of State of his Masters in this Court I think his residence is only to facilitate the Commerce of his Subjects and Allies, he was upon his departure, and itaid only for a pass from *France*, that he might not be arrested on the Frontier.

An Envoy of the *Landgrave of Armstadt* was also upon going with more satisfaction, (as I found

found by his discourse) as well that he was no longer to trouble himself with ineffectual solicitations, as that he had obtained (as he thought) something for his Masters interests. He came to demand the Pensions the *Spaniards* ought to pay him according to Treaties made with him in *Germany*, and of which the arrears mounted very high, but he carried away nothing but Paper with assignations very incertain (as I was told) and no ready mony, besides *Ayuda de Costa*, that is something to bear his charges.

We saw also the Popes *Nuncio* who was likewise on his departure, for which he had long prepared, but, because he that was to succeed him, called Seignior *Massimi* (if I mistake not) had at his landing in the Kingdom of *Valentia* been arrested in the Kings name, with prohibition to go forward, he was fain to stay till that difference was accommoded, which arose from *Innocent* the Tenth's sending him that was to succeed, without having first given the Court advice of it, and known whether it were acceptable; and since the *French* had on the same occasion arrested the *Nuncio* in *Provence*, it was thought *Spain* might do the like; besides that, this came charged with some instructions relating to *Portugal* and this Court, which in the Kings opinion were not sufficiently Catholic, who possessed of that title with precedence of all others, required them after his own fashion.

These difficulties, and such other as concerned his reception, being at last removed, after his passing

passing sometime as a private person in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, he was permitted to come to this Town, and exercise his function: He arrived on the Eve of *Corpus Christi*, or a little before it, and saw the solemnity through a grated Window, not appearing because not received; and he in whose place he came (doubtlessly not a little troubled to be removed from so profitable an employment) did that day his last office in attending the King in that Ceremonie.

Now I am speaking of the Ambassadors and Ministers of forrain Princes, I will not omit what I have to say of *Margarite of Savoy* Duchess of *Mantua*, who prepared to leave the Court, and pass the rest of her life in the Dutchy of *Millan*, where the King had assigned certain lands for her entertainment. She is Daughter of an Infanta of *Spain* and of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*: She was married to Duke *Ferdinand*, the last Duke of *Mantua* of that Line, and had but one Daughter during the life of her Father married to the Duke of *Rethel*, Son of the Duke of *Nevers*, to secure to him the succession of those Estates as nearest Heir; but *Spain* resolving to dispute it with him; this woman, whose inclinations were totally *Spanish*, sided with the house of *Austria* against her own Daughter; the Comotions that were consequences of this in *Italy*, are known to all the world, it is enough that I remember here that this Princess being retired to this Court, for which she had so openly declared, was well received, and to employ her wit and zeal made Vice-Queen of *Portugal*,
gouiteq where,

where, to speak truth she comported her self prudently. But the insolence and avarice of the Ministers imposed to act under her, seconded by the countenance and approbation of the Condeduke, at that time Favorite, was so great she could not prevent their driving the people to despair, discontenting the Grandes, and wronging the Clergy, giving occasion to all of them to take Arms for reestablishing their liberty. These things she often wrote both to the King and his chief Minister, particularizing all exorbitancies committed, and danger of a general revolt: But the Favourite caused little regard to be given to her advice, ever crying out she was a Woman, and all she writ trifles, more crediting the letters of the Ministers he had sent with the intrigue than hers; on which account after affairs in *Lisbonne* had changed face, and a short exile that permitted her not to come to Court was passed over, at her return from that lost Kingdom, getting opportunity to speak with the King, she assisted towards ruining the Duke of *Olivares* in his opinion. She was afterwards entertained at *Madrid* by his Majesty, who now at last gave her permission to retire to her native Country, there to lay her bones, being very aged. Some nevertheless suppose her sent into *Italy*, to be a means of inticing the Duke of *Savoy* her Nephew (now of age) from the French alliance, and of continuing the Duke of *Mantua* her Grandchild in the Spanish interests, into which he entred after the taking *Casal*, and from which they distrust he may be bi-

assed

assed by his great engagements to *France*, as well on account of his birth as of the Estate he possesses there.

During our stay at *Madrid* we had many faithful Companions of our Travails Monsieur in whom to the desire of knowing things that are considerable, is joyned such a comprehension of them, he is become capable of signaling himself in service of his Country, as soon as he shall attain the rank his own merit, and his deceased fathers services seem to have acquired him. I will say nothing of his other virtues, that have made too deep impression in my memory, to believe they can ever be effaced, I had the happiness to know him in *Florence*, where Mr. and he renewed the friendship they had contracted in their tender years, when they bore arms together in *Holland* under Prince *Williams of Orange*. Coming out of *Italy* he landed in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, and from thence went streight to *Madrid* in hope of meeting us, but having continued there sometime, despairing of our arrival, he resolved to be gone: when he least thought of us, and could not expect at *Madrid* in the Middle of the Spring those that should have passed the Winter there, four horse-men passed by his lodging, whose habit and horses discovered them to be of the other side the Mountains, his curiosity obliged him to follow them to the place where they alighted, not a little surpris'd to find those he had so impatiently expected: he was then in such an equipage, that I must confess at first I knew him

not, he wore the Cassock, Rocket, thin and streight Stockings, with Pumps and Breeches like Hollters, which so strangely diguised him he seemed not the same person we had been acquainted with in *Florence*; his mustaches or whiskers grown long and turned up with irons, made me more a stranger to the air of his face, he not a little resembling the King of *Spain*, of whom he hath more of the meen in that habit, than of himself, when clothed after the fashion of his Countrey. After mutual expressions of our joy, we acquainted him with the delays of our journey, and he told us the successes of his, and having passed three moneths in *Madrid*; during which we failed not one day of seeing one another we resolved to pass together into *France* by way of *Arragon*: but before we put this in execution, a Troop of illustrious Strangers, whom we were very glad to see arrived in *Madrid*: amongst them were two Gentlemen whose perfections of mind and body made evident, that if heaven hath given them great advantages by eminent birth, their education and docility have contributed no less to that virtue and prudence which surpasses their age. They brought many Letters from the Earl of *Fuensaldaigne*, Dom *Stephen de Gamarra*, and other of the King of *Spains* Ministers in the *Low-Countries*, to the best of this Court, who received them very well, but wanting the language they took along with them a *Burgundian* Doctor called *Rognar*, imployed in the businesses of several Officers that serve in the Kings Armies, and other persons of his Nation that

that are concerned in this Court to be their interpreter, they were caressed by all, especially by *Don Lewis* and the Earls of *Ognate & Pigneranda*: Though they resolved to stay at *Madrid* no longer then Midsummer day to see the fight of Bulls, they habited themselves according to the mode of the Country, and intending within two Months to leave it for *Portugal*, they began at first to provide horses, and solicit the expedition of a Pass to make the *Tour of Spain*, notwithstanding the excessive heat of those Regions.

As soon as we got our Pass we prepared to be gone, it was in the same form as that we brought out of *Flanders* from the Arch-Duke, very ample and unlimited, as well to time as persons. Having taken our leaves, and besides the Nag we brought out of *France* furnished our selves with some *Spanish* Horses, we left *Madrid* the 17th of *June*, taking the way of *Arragon*: in the forenoon we rid six leagues, the Country very dry, which continued to be so till we came to the River *de los Henares*, on which stands the City of *Alcala*, in Latin called *Complutum*. It is very famous for its University, founded (as is reported) on the Model of that of *Paris*, and like it divided into several Colledges, every one provided of Professors called *Cathedraticos*. Divinity and Philosophy flourish more here than in any other University of *Spain*, and *Salamanca* in the Kingdom of *Leon* moit for Students in the Civil Law, alone equalls it.

The Town is long but narrow, having little more than one fair street, in which the Scholars lodge.

lodge. Here, as I was told, Cardinal *Mazarin* was a Student, sent by Cardinal *Colonna* when Legate in *Spain*: the little River of *Henares* that passes by it makes the land about it fertile, and renders it more agreeable than the rest of the Country, where for want of water there are neither trees nor grass: leaving here the poste Rode, and taking the shortest way that led to *Aragon*, we lay at *Marcamalo*, about 4 leagues distant; this is a little Village without any thing remarkable.

The 18th we dined at *Hita*, a small Town seated on the top of a little hill shadowed by a greater: that night we lay at *Cadadra* a pretty Town in a Valley: From hence we went the next morning early, and dined at *Saguença*; we innd in the Suburbs, where we drunk wine esteemed the best of *Castile*; but it is like *aquavite*, not only strong but fiery, yet bears not water. Having refreshed our selves, for we had a very cool chamber, and plenty of snow, we went to lodge at *Fuente Caliente*: or rather to do penance there for the pleasure we enjoyed at noon. Its name (interpreted, the hot fountain) is not given it without reason; we suffered here very much, not only by heat, but bad accommodation on all accounts; the Host was rude and barbarous, suitable to so savage a habitation.

The 20th over a very barren Countrey and hot Mountains we came to *Arcos*, the last Town of new *Castile*, where consequently is a Puerto or Customhouse: It was a Sunday and Holiday, and the

the people all at Mass when we passed; we traversed it very leisurely without any one's saying any thing to us; but as soon as we were beyond a certain gate, by which we went from the Village to the High-way, in that part very streight by reason of the Brook and Mountain, and had gotten about 100 paces beyond all the Barricado's, we perceived people running and calling after us; I staid to know what they would have, and when they overtook me, they told me the Puerto or Custom-house was in that Town. I replied we were not Merchants, nor had any obligation upon us on that account, having sufficient Passports from the King, and that if they had had any thing to say to us, they ought to have done it in the Town, and there have acquainted us that there was a Custom-house, we having no *Moco de Mulas*, or Guide to inform us. They desired that one of us would go back to shew our Pass, which I did, though unadvisedly; for I have been told since we might have gone on, and gained *Arragon*, and so have avoided the cavils and impudence of those Harpies. When I shewed my Pass they said they must call a Council to consider if it were valid, and that therefore I should send to the Company to return. Which being done they told us we might go *a la Posada, e que toda la nuestra ropa estava descaminada*; that we might go to the Inn, for all our baggage was confiscated: then guessing they intended by terrifying to get money of us, I bid them read our Pass, which was in these termes.

*It having been represented to me in the names of
 and at present in this Court on oc-
 casion of business very much importing them, that
 being to return to their Countrey, they desire I
 would please to order them a Pass: I have con-
 descended, and therefore command all my Viceroyes,
 Captains general, Governors, Corrigidors, Alcades,
 and other Judges and Justices of my Kingdoms and
 Dominions of what degree or quality soever, where
 the above-mentioned persons with four servants and
 eight Horses, their Arms and Baggage shall pass,
 not to give them any lett, impediment or disturb-
 ance what soever; but on the contrary, all assistance
 and favour they may stand in need of, for such is
 our Will and pleasure,*

I the KING,

and underneath

GERONIMO de la Torre.

I thought this Pass sufficient to prevent these
 Publicans detaining us, but thirst of gain in
 which, on several other occasions they had had
 success against all Justice and Reason, made them
 obstinate by expectation of the like. I asked the
 cause of their disrespect to His Majesties Passe?
 sometimes they said it was shewd too late, and
 otherwhiles that it was not on sealed paper; by
 which I perceived they designed to bring us to
 a composition of 50 or 60 pistols. Finding us
 not

not at all compliable, and that I caused a Certificate to be made by a publick Notary; that *Francisco Salazar*, Alcalde of the place, stayed us contrary to the Kings Passe, (having plotted together to that purpose) they began to talk high, hoping so to terrify us, and the Alcalde seising our *Valises*, caused them to be carried to the Custom-house, where opening them he took an Inventory of all, and not only of such Money as we had in them, but in our pockets, and forming an accusation, obliged us to put in our answers; in which they endeavoured to circumvent us, but I looked so near to what they writ, I suffered nothing to pass I had not spoken, otherwise protesting against signing it: these many formalities were made use of to fright us with the name of Justice, of which, all their noise and scribbling coming short, a Priest that belonged to them and another fellow that did the Office of a Secretary, told me in private, that giving 50 pistols we might go freely; I slighted this, but told them, I cared not if I gave them 30 Patagons, though their insolence did not deserve it. And such indeed it was, particularly on the part of the *Alcalde Salazar*, a Knight of *St Iago*, but an arrant rascal as well as the Customer *Nicholas Lopes de Cordona* that had the meen of a Jew; at last they became impudent and desperately outrageous when they saw they could not effect their design of plundering us; and perceiving it, resolved that I should return post to *Madrid*, to complain of them and desire Justice; they also provided one to carry their

their Justification to the Receiver-General of the Customs, and sent him away afoot: the remainder of the day was spent in such contestations with them, but at last they suffered me to go about Eight in the evening, their messenger being first dispatched: My Lord ——— writ all to the Earl of *Pigneranda*. I was imposed upon by them at my first mounting, in the prices of the Horses; no Posts in the world furnish with better then those of *Spain*, nor that are less ridden; for, excepting such as carry Letters and some extraordinary Couriers that are sent to Court from several parts, especially *St Sebastians* and *Catalonia*, this way is little made use of, they preferring Hackney Mules: which indeed are more commodious, as I found by experience on this occasion, for though the Horses be good, one is tormented by wretched Saddles, with very narrow Seats, high Pummels, and extraordinary hard. So that to be mounted in such a manner, one is little more at ease then on a rack. At the 3d Stage, the horses for all furniture had only Pannels with wooden stirrups hung in Ropes. Finding fault with such equipage; the Postmaster told me, it was not strange he had no Saddles, and that I should find the pannel easier, I complied, and at first was in a great deal of disorder, because I could not settle on the stirrups, and by reason of the extraordinary breadth of the pannel; but this passed over, I liked their Pannels better then their Saddles, and called for one at the next Stage, but could not have it, and took a Saddle, not so

convenient as the Pannel I was so unwilling to ride on. At the 3d Stage they took me for the express of *Catalonia*, carrying some good news to the King, which I did not much contradict, because I found my self better used on account of it; they demanding for each Horse but four Rials, about 2 s. 6 d. of our Money. Few Post-masters keep above two or three horses; neither are they obliged to more, They have Salaries of 3 or 400 Crowns; nay some 500, for the keeping only of two Horses and a Post-Boy. The Earl of *Ognate* is Post-master-General, which is very profitable to him; my Horses were every where very good, and galloped all the way, but the Postilions often stopping to give them breath, which they call *Rezelar*, is very troublesome: Besides, that at changing Horses, especially in the night, they are very tedious. The Post way is not the same we passed in going to *Arcos*, but over a very fertile Plain, watered by the River *de los Henares*; 5 or 6 Leagues are often rid on the same horses, because the Posts are not established as they ought to be at every two Leagues.

Arriving at *Madrid*, after some repose, and dining with Monsieur *de Biogeron*, I was forced to stop till the heat of the middle of the day passed over, before I could endeavour any thing in my business, for all here sleeping after dinner, I could not see the Earl of *Pigneranda* (with whom I resolved to begin, and for whom I had a letter) till about five a clock; and therefore in the interim, went to consult of my business

business
 enough

finess with some friends, and meeting in the *Calle Major*, a very honest Fleming, called *Don Pedro*, that understood this Court well, and spoke excellent Spanish, giving him account of our accident, he drew a Memorial to be presented by the Earl of *Pigneranda* to the Council Royal, not doubting of my success, but advising me not to be impatient of delays, it being most certain, that this people as much observe formalities in the slightest affairs, as in those of the highest concernment, and withal letting me understand there was great indulgence for Farmers of Customs, because the Kings principal Revenue, rising from it, their exactions are sometimes connived at. Indeed, Taxes on land bring up little or nothing in *Spain*, because the Countrey is not sufficiently manured, and were Husbandmen burthened, would be less so, even to a want of necessary sustenance. He told me more, that when the Customs are Farmed, it is done in so absolute a manner, that nothing passes, not for the Kings own use, without paying; and if he give any exemptions, they are deducted from the Rent the Farmers agreed for. Those fellows therefore make use of a hundred cheats (too tedious to be here related) in order to confiscation, which if they cannot effect with justice, they forge false suppositions, and under pretence of the Kings rights, exercise their Rapine with Sovereignty, and are so insolent, that on all occasions they vaunt themselves to be the Kings servants; and a wretched waiter or other spawn of a Publican, will sometimes be fancy
O 3 enough

enough to threaten an honest man to beat him, or break open his Trunk if he be slow in delivering the Key. In *France* one suffers no less by the extravagant greediness of this kind of cattle; and I cannot forget the pains they took at *Diep*, to send an Army of Guards aboard the vessel I arrived in, to visit my *Valise*, tossing up and down my cloaths, and taxing a bit of cloth that remained of a suit I had made at *London* two Crowns; so that if Princes or their Ministers limit not their exactions, Travailers are miserably exposed to them, and this is their great scourge, the more to be apprehended, because seldom or never punished: the greatest part of those fellows in *Spain* are thought to be Jews, and when their plunderings have gorged them with wealth, the trap of the inquisition is set for them. Going at nine a clock to the Earl of *Pignerandas*, he was not returned, but I acquainted his Secretary *Don Martin* with my business, desiring him to move it to his Lord, and to give him the Letter I brought from my Lord — with the Memorial: the next day about the same hour I went again, and found that Lord very much troubled at what had happened to us, who after, offering me a Coach, Money, and all else in his power, desired me to have a little patience, and told me he was very sorry my Lords — and — were in so bad a place, and arrested by the insolence of these *Picaros*, who should be exemplarily punished, and we receive all manner of satisfaction: the like I did to *Don Lewis de Haro*,
and

and found the like civility. To make short, my solicitations had such effect, that the King appointed a Commission to be dispatched by the Council of *Castille* for an *Alguazil de Corte*, and a Secretary to go along with me to *Arcos* and bring *Francisco Salazar* to the publick prison of *Madrid* in order to his punishment; and an ample Passport was given me that we might no more apprehend the like inconvenience.

The *Alguazil* and Secretary that were appointed to go with me, refused to travail by night, or to ride Post, so that I was fain to tarry till the 26th of *June*, and then return by Mule. Experience taught me, that this way of travelling, is very inconvenient; for, besides that, for more expedition, the Mules always trot, one cannot express how much their hard mouths press and weary the hand, nor what a torment it is, going down hill to suffer their slow progression. Being thus excellently mounted, and in this honourable company, I neglected nothing towards my speedy arriving at *Arcos*, whither I came the 29th of *June*, and found the Lord ——— and ——— already advertised of the success of my journey by a Letter from *Madrid*; I immediately carried the *Alguazil* and Secretary to execute their Commission; the *Alcalde* was much surprized, but making use of his privilege, as Knight of the Order of *St James*, refused to obey without a Mandate from the Council of the Orders. My *Alguazil* who was of the higher Order, and one of those that are called *Alguazil de Corte*, often summoned him to

go along with him to *Madrid* as his prisoner, but he still refused to obey, of which the *Alguazil* took witness, saying; he could not use force, because that Town belonging to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, there was no *Corrigidor* above the *Alcalde*, but that this would undo the *Alcalde*, and that he doubted not to return from *Madrid* with power to carry him thither bound hands and feet; and we heard afterwards, that (as Spanish justice never pardons) he was punished according to his deserts; the rest of the Officers of the Custom-house seeing the bad condition of their Protector, were as compliable and civil as they had been arrogant and insupportable: they returned all that belonged to us without the least diminution, and they which before pretended to plunder us, and threatened that we should pay for the tedious writings they had drawn, desired now nothing more than to be quit, not only of us, but of the prey we had redeemed from their clutches: we had no less impatience to get from amongst such Rascals, which that we might the sooner do, we contented our selves, to recommend the punishment of them to those other Harpies, who seldom suffer such as they seize on to escape, giving them all damages and costs we might pretend the more to incite them to our revenge.

As soon as freed from those troubles, we made all haste towards *Arragon*. Several parts of this *Province* are very agreeable, and when we had left the Mountains that inclose *Arcos*, we
came

came to very pleasant Vallies, and the 29th of June in the evening, entred *Erizza* or *Herizo*, the first Town on that side of that kingdom: the next day we dined at *Texa*, that hath nothing remarkable, and lay at *Callatajud* one of the principle Cities of the Kingdom, seated at the end of a very fertile Plain, but in nothing considerable, unless in giving birth and abode to *Lorenzo Brachian Infanzon*, a modern writer, very famous amongst the Spaniards; he hath published several Treatises of Morality and Policy, amongst which, one is called *el Criticon*, of which, two parts only are printed, a kind of Satyr, very ingenious in imitation of *Barclais Euphormio*: in this piece his stile differs much very from those small Treatises in which he is so concise, abrupt, and strangely laconick, one would think he had made it his business to be obscure; the Reader must often divine his sense, which found, he perceives an *enigma* hath been made of something not very extraordinary. *Seneca* and *Tacitus* are very short of him in this manner of writing, and if it be said of the former, that his Stile is Sand without Lime, and that the second is so mysterious, he contains more then he expresses: we may conclude that of *Gracian*, hath so little connexion in its periods and so much restraint in its words, that the conception is like a Diamond ill set, whose flame and luster appear not so that it looses the esteem of the better half of the work.

There lives in the same Kingdom another *Virtuoso*, affecting like him the *Lacedemonian* eloquence,

eloquence, he is called *Vincencio Ivan de Lastannosa*, by whose means most of the works of *Gracian* are printed. This *Lastannosa* is looked on as the most curious person of *Spain*; he dwells at *Huesca*, the second City of *Arragon*, where he is reported to have collected a Cabinet that is a very agreeable Theatre of Grecian and Roman antiquities; there are many Statues, Vases, Urnes, Arms, Precious Stones, antient Moneys, Medals and Rings; in which he is so well studied, that he hath written a Treatise of the antient Moneys of *Spain*, which passes for exquisite in its kind, and rare in its observations. The first of *July* having dined at *Ofranco* we lay at *Almunia*, seated in a fruitful valley, and yielding a fair prospect on which side soever it is beheld: *Saragosa* is but nine Leagues from it, and we intended to dine the next day at *la Muela*, and to arrive before the heat, but unhappily lost our way on a great heath, without house, tree, bush, or water; it extended even to the walls of *Saragossa*, without giving any opportunity to refresh, or to avoid the Suns beams for 5 or 6 Leagues. It fell out well for us, that the day was not excessively hot, so that our sufferings were not extreme, though some of the company were in no little choller, to ride so far without drawing bit, and complained no less then if they had traversed the Sands of *Libia*, but it is folly to be troubled where no remedy can be had, and before our patience was quite tired, half a League short of *Saragosa* we came to a Brook, where we all

alit to refresh our selves, and as nothing seems hard to a sharp hunger, our vehement thirst made that water (none of the best) to be drunk with pleasure: we came at last to *Sarragossa* the capital City of *Arragon*, seated in a largely extended Plain; it is divided by the River *Ebro*, but the greatest part of it on the side where we arrived. A little short of it is an old Castle called *Alta Feria*; with a pitiful graft about it, we were told it had formerly bin a palace of their Kings, and was then of the Inquisition. The Farmer of the Customs had Guards at the Gate, who hearing that our servants followed with our baggage, detained us not long: we desired notice might be given them, that they should know where we lodged at the house of one *Redmondon* a Merchant, for whom we had Letters of credit; we alit at his house and found him at dinner, he presented us very good Wine, which refreshed us, and restored the vigor the long journey and excessive heat had deprived us of; he afterwards brought us to the best Inn in the Town, where we had a fair and cool room, and to prevent our *Valises* being detained at the Custom-house, whither they must of necessity be brought; I went to speak with the *Arrendador-General*, and shew him our Pass, which obliged him to be civil and to send us our baggage as soon as it came to him; we tarried here all day to repair our loss of baiting at *la Muelan*; some of the company went to bed, others only casting off their clothes.

shifted their Linnen. Monsieur — who arrived last, was the most thirsty, though not the most weary, therefore he lay not down; but at his first coming in, drank so much water, and afterwards so much wine to correct its crudity, he became sick, besides too suddain an attempt to quench his thirst; he walked long unbuttoned, and almost naked, not only about the house, but came to us in slippers and without doublet, where we were on the banks of *Ebro* that ran behind the Inn, where we sucked a gentle gale that came down the river; on the morrow a Feavor took him which continued 5 or 6 days, and obliged us to tarry 10 in that City: soon after our arrival we visited the Duke of *Monteleon*, Viceroy of this Kingdom; he is one of the greatest Noblemen of *Naples*, of whom in the last revolution of that City, the Spaniards became jealous, though he had served them advantageously in the former: that they might no longer fear him they sent for him into *Spain*, and that they might disguise their distrust, made him Viceroy of *Arragon*. This Charge is honourable, but not profitable, the King allowing but little, and the Kingdom bringing in less, neither is any thing splendid in his family; we delivered him the Kings Letter, and that of *Don Lewis*; having read them in our presence, he made us offers of all that lay in his power: he seemed not to us of a Genius much elevated, whither his resentments of the Spaniards ill usage have dejected it, or whither he conceals a part, least ostentation of the whole might be prejudicial

dicial to him. Besides the Viceroy, whose charge ceases every three years; here is a Governour of the City, or rather of the Countrey, since his power is reported principally to extend over it; this Charge is the more considerable because for life.

Though the Viceroyalty and Government of *Saragossa* are the two great charges of this Kingdom, yet no authority is equal to that of the Chief Justice, called *El Justicia*, to shew that he is to *do justice* in all and above all: so that he determines of what concerns the King, Kingdom, Subjects, Laws and Priviledges: but for the better understanding this, and that which I shall hereafter observe touching the great contestation here between high powers: it is necessary that I set down what I have been told concerning the Priviledges of this Kingdom.

After the Moors had entred *Spain*, on occasion of the Injuriy done by *Don Rodrigo* to Comt *Don Julian* in person of his Daughter, called *la Cava*, whom he ravished, *Aragon* was the first Province that freed it self from the yoke of the Infidels, and that finding not only the race, but memory of its ancient Kings totally extinct, by it self, made a recovery of its self, to it self, without owning any Sovereign. But lest they should be a Body without a Head, and that they might enjoy secure repose in their new liberty, they soon after deliberated of electing a King, and cast their eyes on a private Gentleman called *Garcia Ximenez*. It must yet be acknowledged that they made him rather
Prince

Prince or President of their State than their Sovereign; and in imitation of the *Spartans*, so much limited his authority, that that of *Theopompus* was not more streightned by the *Ephors*, than that of this King by the rules imposed upon him: and it being very easie to violate the most fundamental Laws of a State, when the supreme power is concerned so to do, if there be none with hazard of his life obliged to watch for their preservation, they established *El Justicia*, a Magistracy of which I have spoken, that who might fear nothing in the vigorous executing his charge, they ordered he should not be liable to condemnation either in person or goods on what's compt soever, but in the general Assembly of Estates called *las Cortes*, that is the King and Kingdom.

Having thus bound up him they should elect for their King, they made a Law called *de la Vajm*, which imported that as soon as the King infringed their Priviledges, it should be in their power to elect another, though a Pagan; and in case of wrong to any Vassal or Subject, the Nobility and most considerable of the Realm might assemble to protect him, and hinder any duties to be paid the King, till the party injured were indemnified, and the Priviledge re-established in its former validity. They erected *El Justicia* as Guardian of this Law, (with several others,) who for greater authority sat in a Chair with his hat on his Head, whilst the King bare and on his knees swore their Priviledges between his hands: afterwards they owned him as their King,

King, but in a very grange fashion; for instead of vowing fidelity, they told him *nos que valemos tanto como vos os hazemos nuestro Rey y Sennor, con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades, fino, no*: that is, We that are equal to you make you our King and Lord, on condition that you preserve our Laws and Liberties, and if not, not. This detestable fashion of owning a King so much disgusted *Don Pedro*, surnamed *the Dagger*, that partly by intreaty, partly by intrigue, and offering other Priviledges in the place of it, he caused it to be abolished in an Assembly of the Estates, and as soon as he got the Parchment in which the Law for it was written, voluntarily cutting his hand, he said; that a Law which imported that Vassals might elect and limit their King, was to be effaced with the blood of a King. *Ley de poder elegir Rey los Vassallos sangre de Rey avia de Costar*, these are reported to be the very words he pronounced, on which occasion the surname of *the Dagger* was given to him: His Statue is yet to be seen in *Saragossa*, in the Hall of Deputation, with the Dagger in one hand, and the Priviledge cancelled with his blood in the other. And indeed the sacred blood of Kings can on no accmpt be better employed (no not against a forain Enemy) then in suppressing such exorbitant Priviledges of Subjects as destroy the very foundation of Monarchy.

Besides the two Priviledges I have mentioned, not at all regarded by later Kings, there is another still in force, called the Law of manifestation: by this every Subject that thinks himself

inju-

injured either in goods or person, by what Tribunal soever, may complain *a el Justicia*, who is obliged to make an exact enquiry, and cause the Judge that hath given a corrupt sentence to be punished. This City at our being there was much discontented, because endeavours were used to violate this Law. Two Judges were accused for a Sentence by which a certain Woman thought herself injured, who, according to custome, deputed 500 Crowns, and complained of the Judges. The King, the Tribunal *d'el Justicia*, the Viceroy, the Governor, and some others that sought to augment the Authority of the Prince, and lessen the Kingdoms Priviledges, took these Judges into their protection. The Party grieved finding she could get no remedy, for the wrong she pretended done to her self and the Law, had recourse *a las Cortes*, or the States of the Kingdom, who (though the Inquisition favoured the Judges that were accused) deputed Commissioners called here *Judicantes*. These are 9 persons drawn from the four Bodies of *Arragon*, that is the higher Nobility intituled *Senhores*, the Clergy, the Gentry called *Hidalgos*, or *Cavalleros*, and the Cities. From the first of these Bodies three are taken, and from each of the other two they usually make choice of the most illiterate to judge Gown-men, whether that it may be done without partiality, or that their Laws ought to be so plain, that even Peasants and others the most ignorant may understand their equity, and judge if it hath been observed.

These

These 9 Deputies or Commissaries condemned the Judges of injustice, and ordered them to be banished, and their Estates confiscated. This Sentence made great noise, and the Viceroy and Governor by order of the Court did their best to hinder its effect, nay the King himself writ to the *Justicia*. The People concerned themselves in the business, and Pasquils and Libels were every where cast abroad with menaces, should it not be put in execution. Country people flocked to the Town, entertaining themselves only with the violation of their Priviledges. Doubt that this affair going to extremity might cause great disorders, in a time when the War of *Catalonia* made the People of *Arragon* more fierce and hardie, caused the Viceroy and other favourers of the Judges, without any farther unseasonable mention of the Kings pleasure to suffer them to be dismiss from their charges, and banished the Town. Were the like practised in all places, there would not be so many sentences given out of favor, passion, and interest, rather than according to law and equity, not distinguishable but in this one part of Europe, where the Judges are reported to tremble when they give sentence, fearing it may be their own condemnation, either as to body or goods, if unjust or erroneous in the least. Notwithstanding all this, justice here is sovereign; for though the Judge that hath determined a-miss be punished, the Sentence he hath pronounced remains in full efficacy: so that he which accuses his Judge hath only the satisfacti-

on of revenge, and serves the Publick rather than himself, by preserving the Peoples Priviledges, in prosecuting him that hath done wrong, and putting other Judges in mind of their duties, He that is found to have accused his Judge without cause only loses the 500 Crowns he deposited, and though it appear he have reason, recovers little more, which in that case is levied on the Estate of the unjust Judge. The banishment of those two Judges freed *Saragossa* from apprehension of troubles, the People, by execution of the Sentence, satisfying themselves, that at that time no attempt would be made upon their Priviledges.

Had we continued longer at *Sarragossa* we might have seen a Ceremony observed in beheading Murtherers; for he which hath slain a man face to face, receives the stroke that beheads him before; but such as treacherously came behind him are punished in the same manner: this is only for distinction sake, for probably the blow behind gives less pain to the Criminal than that before. Whilst we sojourned in this Town we received many civilities from *Dom Pedro Miranda*, born at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, and one of the richest Bankers of this Town. We had Letters of credit to him, of which though we made no use, he did us all manner of good offices, every day sending us his Coach, and sometimes accompanying us to what was most remarkable. The Buildings here are large and high, and generally fairer than in *Madrid*: there is one long and broad Street where the

Tour

Tour is made as at *Madrid* in the *Calle Major*. The most considerable house belongs to the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, who pretends to descend from the ancient Kings of *Arragon*, and thinks they which enjoy the Crown do him wrong.

To speak generally of the humor of the People of *Arragon*, they are no less proud than the *Castilians*, and value themselves above them and all other of *Spain*; and it must be granted that they are equal to, and sometimes surpass the most of them in wit, whether applied to good or evil. Their soil is barren, and, excepting some Valleys and such parts to which the waters of *Ebro* are conveyed by cut Channels to moisten it, all sand, heath and rock, so that it hardly affords corn to sustain its Inhabitants. Though so little fertil in fruits it hath ever produced gallant men, and from their first King to *Ferdinand* they reckon not one that made not himself considerable to his Neighbours, either by his wit or courage: that last above all other was so prodigious in the art of reigning, and vast ambition ill suited to the narrow limits of his little Kingdom, that he endeavoured to extend them, and did so even from the foot of the *Pireneans* to the Streights of *Gibraltar*. That success with some other put him upon the design of an universal Monarchy, and his Successors are still accused to retain the Intrigue and Model of it, which he then imparted to his Grandchild, who was to be Heir of so many Provinces, and in his own person unite the many Dominions, that when single had been

so formidable to their Neighbours: Besides which he had the wealth of a new World to facilitate his enterprize, and assist towards establishing so vast an Empire, as had never been known before. It is true, some of the curious say, that to pretend he had a thought of this, is to accuse him of a Chimera; but that famous *Arragonian*, who hath given us a contracted draught of his Politicks, tells us *Parécieronle a Ferdinando Estrechos sus hereditarios Reynos de Arragon para sus dilatados desseos, y assi anbelo siempre a la grandeza y anchura de Castilla, y de alli a la Monarquia de toda Espanna y aun a la universal de entrambos mundos*; which is to say, *The vast designs of Ferdinando being too much confined in his hereditary Realms of Arragon; he first aimed at Castille, then at the Monarchy of all Spain, and at last of both worlds.* He was not for all this any great Captain; neither was this ambition the effect of valor, living in a time when wit and policy bore more sway then courage. He made use of the politicks of *Lewis the XI. of France*, the industry of *Pope Alexander the VI* the subtilty of *Lodowick Storza, Duke of Milan*, the vigilance of *Henry the VIII. of England*, and prudence of the Emperor *Maximilian the I.* All their dissimulation and all their cunning he put into so good a crucible, that he separated what was solid from what was airy, discovering what was strong and what weak in them, and extracting such an establishment for himself and successors. that *Philip the II* had great reason, when looking on his Picture, he said;

We owe this man all Spanish writers are transported when they speak of the grandeur of their Royal Family, some of them even to impiety, and a modern Author says of it, *Casa que escogio dios en la ley de Gracia, assi como la de Abraham en la Escrita, para Llamarse dios de Austria, Dios de Rodolpho, de Philippo e de Ferdinando.* A Family elected by God in the new Law, as the seed of *Abraham* in the old, that he might call himself the God of *Austria*, the God of *Rodolphus*, of *Philip*, and of *Ferdinand*.

But to return to the people, amongst whom this dextrous Prince was born, and whom the Politicians equalize to *Tiberius* and *Lewis* the XI of *France*, for a third Idol of their *Ragione di Stato*; I must add, that they are nothing hospitable nor civil to strangers. Their lofty humour is not allayed with so much affability as that of the *Castilians*, and it is from this Province, that the Highway-men they call *Vandaleros* spread themselves even into *Castille*, making the Roads very unsafe; perhaps, by reason of its being so near a neighbor to the war, its inhabitants incline more to Arms than other Spaniards; the Gentry certainly pretends to an effectual Gallantry, by continual protestations, they are ambitious of nothing so much as drawing their swords in their Kings service: neither are they free from the *Rodomontados* natural to all Spaniards, and I was told that a young Gentleman having mounted himself, with all advantages his purse would reach to, to go in-

to *Cat. Ionia*, and serve a Campaign, pleased himself above a Month in riding about the streets of *Saragossa*, sometimes on one horse, sometimes on another; and meeting any that commended his Horses, his Arms, or his own activity; he asked whither with such an equipage and arms as his, it were not easie to draw the Frenchmens teeth: *estas armas y esto Braço no se sacaran las muelas a los Gavachos?* He no sooner arrived in *Catalonia*, but he met an opportunity of shewing his courage, but was so unfortunate, he was at first wounded both in his arm and leg, which last was for ever lamed, and he ever since called the Tooth-drawer. In the mean time if the war have in some manner incomodod this kingdom, it hath made it richer, for the passage of the forces and rendezvous of Ammunition have caused the Kings money to Roll up and down in its chief Cities; and having particular privileges, and not governing it self according to the Courts Orders, but its own customs, notwithstanding the war with *France*, it ever kept up a Trade beyond the Mountains; and the Merchants of *Oleron*, *Tholouse*, and other parts of *Bearn* and *Languedoc*, pass and repass freely, as well to *Saragossa* as the adjacent quarters, nay the greatest part of the Banquiers of *Saragossa* are of those Countries. It is true they are concerned to make no noise of this, nor to do any thing that may give the least occasion of falling upon them; for being known to be rich, Justice looks on them as a prey she would be glad to have pretence to seise on. *Dona Pedro Abranda*

Miranda is one of the most splendid of these, and best supported, having married a Wife very well allied in this Country. He is the most curious person in *Saragossa*, and by every Ordinary receives the Gazets of *Paris*, and other written intelligence, but communicates them not except to particular friends. He told us that at the time of the Siege of *Arras*, there came an Order from *Madrid* to the Magistrate of this Town, to make preparations for a publick rejoicing for taking a place of so great importance. None doubting to hear very sodainly of its surrender, Scaffolds were begun to be erected for a fight of Bulls; before which were half finished, *Miranda* by a particular Letter understood that *Arras* had been relieved: but not daring to publish such bad news, he (with admiration) saw that work go on, yet could not imagine but the Viceroy and other of the principal Inhabitants had the same intelligence with him, though they prepared for a triumph before a Victory. A while after, and when all was ready for the Festival, the Viceroy received a Letter from *Madrid* that the Siege of *Arras* had tailed, who sending for the Governor and Magistrates of the Town, when he shewed them his Letter, they were not a little surpris'd, and for their better satisfaction summoned *Miranda*, who acknowledged that besides that one of his correspondents in *Paris* had acquainted him with it eight dayes before, he had then with the Gazets, received a Print which gave all the particulars. One of the Magistrates grew very angry and ready to affront

front him, that he had not advertised them to prevent the unnecessary charge, and their being laughed at by the people, threatening that he should be made to pay the four or five hundred pound it had cost the Town. But the Viceroy, and such as were more moderate, pacified that man, and sent away *Miranda* without ever after troubling him about it. The people in the mean time seemed more concerned for pulling down the Scaffolds erected for the Festival, than for the failing in recovery of *Arras*.

After we had sojourned eight dayes at *Saragossa* and resolved to return into *France* rather by *Navarre* than *Catalonia*, where, as was reported, was neither safety nor convenience for travailers, we took leave of the Duke of *Montelion*, who gave us a Letter for the Earl of *St. Stephen*, Viceroy of *Navarre*: the 10th of *July* we went away, and lodged at *Halagon*, a poor Village. A Factor of *Miranda* called *Bertrand* served us as Guide in this Journey, and we had in our company a Spaniard, a man of parts and good fellow according to that Countries mode. He travailed in a very pleasant equipage; according to the fashion of *Spain*; his Valise he carried before him on the pummel of his Saddle, leaning upon it, at each side and on his thighs hung his Waller of provisions, instead of Holsters two leathern Cases contained two bottles of wine, cooled by ice he put in every time he filled them: for which reason such cases of leather are called *Refreadores*. Every league or half league he drew out a bottle, and very civilly invited

vited us to refresh our selves with his wine, which when we excused he made use of *Bertrand* (better accustomed to such debauches than we) to bear him company. He told us many pleasant stories, but I have forgot all but two gallantries of the Duke of *Offuna*, so famous for wit and humour, when Viceroy of *Naples*. One day, he said, to revenge himself of a Widow that had been something cruel to him, and who, he yet knew, was not so to every body, he caused a certain Frier suspected to be well with her, and that was believed the consolation of her Widowhood, to be watched: As soon as he knew he was in her house, he came, and with his Gards invested it, commanding the door to be opened, for a search that was important to the Kings service: it was late in the night, yet the Servants were so much surpris'd, that they let him in whilest the Monk was with their Lady, without giving her any notice. He carried rallying with her all night, and about 8 in the morning caused the reverend Frier to be taken up behind a Trooper, a Trumpet going before, which was to make a stand at every turning, and after sounding to point him out and say: whoever stand in need of a Frier to comfort Widows at midnight, let them address themselves to this Gallant, and they shall be accommodated; afterwards he sent from Cloyster to Cloyster to enquire which of them had lost a Frier, and when discovered, returned him to his Abbot, who was to be intreated at his going to bed to take with him the Key of that good fellows Cell, least
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he might wander another time. His other story was, that three Curtesans living at *Naples* so excessively proud they hardly bowed when they met him, he caused them one day to be invited to a Collation; they failed not to come dressed to all advantages, but with difference, as well in that as in their beauties, though alike proud; so that they played the Queens with the Viceroy, who received them very civilly; but perceiving they became nothing more humble, he obliged them to undress themselves on presence of heat, and being too much streightned in their clothes, afterwards causing many Comfits to be scatteied in the Chamber, he made them gather them up without quitting their Chioppins, whilst with a Trunck he shot the sugar pellets sometimes at one, sometimes at another. The Father of this Spaniard had been the Dukes Servant, and he told us many such tales, which I shall not trouble myself to repeat, they not deserving it no more then these, which I have set down only to discover the Genius of this Nation, very much taken with trifles and frothy relations. Besides such Gallant Stories which they call *Dosmosas*, or conceits, they have others that they stile Heroick, amongst which are reckoned all the Sentences of *Ferdinand*, Apothegms of *Charles* the fifth, and Reparties of *Philip* the second: those of *Charles* the fifth they say imply Courage, of *Philip* the second Prudence, of *Philip* the third Piety, and of *Philip* the fourth Love; but their greatest esteem is for those of *Philip* the second,

whom they take to have been a Prince of the quickest and sublimest fancy : amongst many other testimonies of which, they with admiration report this of his wit and liberality. A certain Portugese having brought to his Court a Diamond of great value, immediately looked on by the Courtiers as the richest Miracle the East had ever produced, he not at all moved, beheld it with indifference, which the Portugese perceiving, said, *Senhor setenta e mille ducados que abrevie en este dig- no nieto del sol no son de asquear* : Sir, seventy thousand Ducats which I have contracted in this worthy offspring of the sun are not contemptible ; the King pleased in his confidence, asked what he thought when he laid out so much upon it, and the crafty Portugese answered. *That there was a Philip the second.* This subtlety or flattery was so agreeable, that *Gracian* who relates it in his *Hero*, adds that the King immediately not only paid for the Diamond, but gave him more. *Ostendando* (says he) *la superioridad de su gusto en el precio y en el premio*, manifesting the height of his satisfaction in the price and in the reward. The jollity of this Spaniard, who travailed to *Biscay*, hath made me forget to follow my own way ; but having omitted nothing of what I saw or heard, the follies I have now set down may pass amongst the rest. He will give me no farther occasion of digression ; for we parted at *Tudela*, a pretty Town, but as standing on the Frontiers of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Biscay*, a Nest of Rogues and Banditi, that have forsaken their Country to escape the punishment due to their

their crimes ; yet in some parts of it there are fair buildings, which makes us believe it is inhabited by some people of quality amongst the exiles. At our going away the Guards pretended to stop us, but seeing our Passport durst not persist. We were told that the Cardinal de Retz, after he had escaped out of *France*, passing from *St. Sebastians* to the Kingdom of *Valencia*, where he intended to embark for *Italy*, was stayed and very streightly garded in this City. He came in a Litter with a small Train, and the Alcalde who was then walking on the Bridge, sent to demand who he was, but he unwilling to be known, refused to tell his name and quality, upon which the Alcalde set a Guard upon him in the Inn where he alighted. This surpris'd him, and he knew not what to think of such usage in a Countrey where he thought he had secured the liberty lately recovered, and that he should not have lost it as soon as he began to relish it : he therefore dispatched one of his Servants to *Pampeluna*, with a letter of his arrival to the Viceroy, desiring him to punish the insolence of that Judge, and deliver him out of his hands : The Alcalde in the mean time sent to the Viceroy and Council of *Navarre* a formal Narrative of what he had done, according to the duty of his place, hoping so to avoid the blame might be laid upon him; for having acted rather on account of humor and curiosity, than reason and judgment : then he had no other advantage by his Letter, than the preventing the Cardinals enlargement one day, because the

Viceroy

Viceroy was obliged to assemble the Council of *Navarre*, where the punishment of the *Alcaldes* insolence was resolved on, and he turned out of his place, and for some time banished the Town, where the Cardinal as soon as known received many civilities, and at his going away was attended by the principal Inhabitants with all respect and honour. At that time came news that the *French* had stormed the lines, and beaten the *Spaniards* from before *Arras*, but he maintained so effectually that this was impossible, that he left in all places where he came a contrary impression, which continues still amongst those people. *Pedro Miranda*, or some that belonged to him, being then at *Tudela*, shewed him Letters of it received from *Paris*, but he persisted. One may easily perceive he endeavoured to cajole the *Spaniards* by this flattery, not at all concerned that time would destroy it, provided it obtained him the better reception in his passage, and made them sensible that he had intirely engaged himself in their interests.

The 12th of *July* we dined at *Laborosso*, and traversed *Olitor*, where the antient Kings of *Navarre* kept their Court, and something of their Palace still remains, though the Town be now a miserable Place, ruined by warrs between the true Inheritors of the Crown, and such as invaded them; we lay at *Tessalia*, a good Town, and its Territory more fertile than the rest we had passed. Next day we came to *Pampeluna*, the capital City of that Kingdom, it stands at the end of a large Plain that seems but barren;

Olitor

Tessalia

it is near the *Pireneans*, yet out of command of any eminence. Its Citadel, so famous in the world, looks towards the Plain, and is on one side environed by a great Marais. The Town is not considerably fortified, and the ground it stands on hath many little risings and descents scarcely perceptible: there is a large Piazza where the Bulls are fought. The people are clownish, much addicted to small Traffick, which they freely enough exercise with *France*, and as if there were no war between the two Crowns: We arrived at the end of a Fair, and met many French Merchants: we tarried here three dayes as well because of the indisposition of my Lord — not well recovered of the Fevor he got at *Saragossa* as that one of our horses were lame. The mean while we visited the Earl of *St. Stephen*, Viceroy and Captain General of this Kingdom. and delivered him the Letter we brought for him; he is a little man very civil, and no less curious of all rarities. He received us well, and ordered the Captain of his Guards to shew us the Citadel in the afternoon. Between the Town and Citadel is a spacious place set with trees for Walks: it hath five Bastions, and was built by *Philip* the second with a great deal of consideration, as a strong Rampier against *France*: the Bastions are covered with Stone, the Grasts large, in most parts of them water; it hath no Outworks, neither doth it need any, because of the Marais on that side where it may most easily be attacked: it stands on a Rock, but though the most important place of the Kingdom,

dom, and the only one that can hinder the *French* from marching to *Madrid*, after they have passed the *Pyreneans*, it is not well looked after. The works in many places want reparations, and the Garrison is very inconsiderable, there being few Souldiers, for want of which the Country people are to come in on the first summons: of whom they then had sent for a good number, and mixed them with the Souldiers, that we might not perceive that want: but we could easily distinguish, so little had they the meen of Sword-men, some of them not wearing any, and parading with a Musket only, or an old Pike, which they handled so ill, it appeared they were more accustomed to the Pitchfork. The Body of the place is well designed, for in the middle of the Bracks where the Souldiers lodge, there is a great round place to draw up in Battaglia, from whence by five broad streets they may march streight to the five Bastions.

They shewed us the Magazins not very well furnished either with ammunition or victual, and a very fair Tower built to keep powder, of which it is altogether unprovided, and serves for a prison for greatest Criminals; they shewed a very fine Handmill for turning which they may also make use of horses. It is the best Engin in its kind that I have seen, it hath 4 or 5 Wheels and as many Bins, in each of which they said they could in one day grind 24 load of Corn: but this I thought impossible. I told them that so great a Body composed of so many different pieces, could hardly move long without being disordered,

dered, and consequently uselesse, and that unless the Artist that made it lasted as long as the Mill, nothing amiss in it could be amended, because I took it to be a particular invention, and that none but himself knew the Fabrick, and all the Springs, so as to set them right when broken; but they replied they successivly kept one that understood it, who, that they might never be destitute, still taught some Apprentice. Here are two or three Ponds, as they say, derived from Springs. There were not many Sentries on the Rampart, nor at the Canon. It hath a particular Governor, that immediately depends on the King: He was absent, but we were very civilly received by his Lieutenant, who after he had led us about the Walls gave us a Collation; his frankness pleased us, and we perceived that as by degrees we got farther from the Gravity of *Castile*, and severity of *Arragon*, as little open to one another as to Strangers, we approached a more sociable Country.

Nothing else being to be seen in the Castle, that we might not trespass on the Lieutenants civility, nor tire that of the Viceroy's Captain of his Gard, we took leave of the first, expressing our satisfaction in his reception, and went with the other to our Coach. Next day we returned thanks to the Viceroy, and finding him at leisure, had opportunity to discourse with him more particularly than at our first visit. Being a knowing person, and one of the Councils of State and Warre, he presently fell upon the Govern-

Government of the Low-Countries, making it appear he understood those affairs very well. He told us afterwards that the Earl of *Pignerranda* was his near Kinsman, and we could do no less than express the esteem we had for so accomplished a person, one of the ablest Ministers of *Spain*, and to whom we had especially been recommended; so we took our leaves. The 15th in the Morning when we were about to take horse, that we might get that night to the last Village of the King of *Spain's* Dominions in the upper *Navarre*, a Servant of the Viceroy's Captain of his Guards came to enquire, if his Masters Gloves, which he thought he left in our Chamber the day before, had been found: we ordered search to be made every where, and sent him with my Lord — *s valet de Chambre*; but having long looked for what had never been lost he went away, and by his meen and comportment made us well enough comprehend, he came not on that account, but to try, if we would send him some pairs of those perfumed ones we had in our Valises, and that were mentioned in our Passes: but none being deaser than they which will not hear, we let him go, without seeming to understand him. But this served not our turn; for thinking we were not ingenious enough to do so, he sent back his man with a very bad compliment, in plain terms to beg *de los nuestros guantes de Ambar*. We were amazed at this, and our Valises being on the Horses, and our selves ready to mount, let him see how troublesome it would be to take them off, and open

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them, but that if he pleased we would write to our Merchant in *Madrid* to send him as many pair as he desired. We thus freed our selves with all dexterity possible, not thinking we had done any thing contrary to civility, since he that demands too boldly, and without consideration, ought to take to himself the greatest part of the shame of a refusal. Having thus got out of *Pampelone*, we took the great Road of the *Pyreneans* that leads to *France*. We were not far from the Town ere we began to ascend a hill, and before we came to the next Village met some Souldiers that belonged to the Garrison of the Castle, who begged, which surpris'd me, for though the King of *Spain* wants money, yet he never meddles with the forty thousand Crowns they say the Kingdom of *Navarre* brings up, and I have been assured that all that is levied, though it exceed the sum I have spoken of, remains in the Country to pay the Viceroy, who hath a Salary of 10 thousand Crowns (though he of *Aragon* hath but six) for the entertainments of a President and six Counsellors, and maintaining his Forts and Garisons.

They which know this kingdom, averr that the King of *Spain* receives no advantage from it, besides the securing and extending his frontiers, even to the *Pyreneans*, the true and natural barricade God hath placed between *France* and *Spain*: yet were the Taxes levied here as in *Castille*, he might draw something. But the priviledges the people of *Navarre* reserved to themselves, and the consideration that

if they should rebel, they might possibly return to the obedience of their natural Prince, for whom yet they have inclinations; for is the reason they are not pressed with Taxes; so that the certainest Levies for support of the publick charge come from the Customs, and are reported to be 24 thousand Crowns; but the avarice and deceit of those that finger the Money, raised there for maintaining the Garisons that ought to be better paid than any others in *Spain*, reduce the poor soldiers to beggery, and cause the Kings service to be so much neglected, that were an Army sent thither, it would probably make very great progression. It is true, that if we except the inconveniences they would give the King of *Spain*, there is not expectation enough of advantages from that Quarter to cause the best Troops to be sent thither, which might more profitably be employed in *Flanders*, *Milan*, or *Catalonia*.

Before our arrival at *Burgutte*, we rather baited than dined at a pitiful village, where the Guardian looked on our Passes with a great deal of civility, and discoursed with us of the times in which he had served in *Flanders* under *Marquis Spinola*. Having traversed Woods, Hills, and Valleys with sometimes good sometimes bad way; we arrived in the evening at the Plain of *Roncevalles*, famous for the great battle *Charlemain*, fought, and lost in it, against the Sarazens. My Lords ——— and ——— spurring on, got to *Burgutte* before it was dark: They had much

ado to find lodging, and were fain to adrefs themselves to the Justice, who ordered them to be entertained in the house where we passed the night. The next day being the 6th of *July*, without much suffering by heat in so wide a Plain, encompassed by the *Pyreneans*, we traversed it, and by some Merchants of *Oleron* that often pass it, were shewed the place where the battle was fought; here said they *Roland* was killed, notwithstanding the force of his Lance; where this Cross stands, died the brave *Renaldo*, and had we been curious of all that tradition, true or false, had taught them, I believe they would have pointed out to us where every one of the 12 Peers of *France* fell, and perhaps have shewed us some of their blood, for that of *Hero's* never perishes, and they went about to perswade us, that one place is still Red with it; but we, whose curiosity never went so low as to busie it self about dumb objects, looked on those things only as we passed by, and went not a step out of our way to taste the air where they said so great persons had rendred, or vomited, the prodigious souls that animated bodies ranked amongst the antient Giants. Spurred on by impatience to be quickly beyond the *Pyreneans*, we hasted over this Romantick or Historical Valley; Coming to the end of it, we found a Mountain, to whom it gives the name of *Roncevalles*; we were told this was the highest of the *Pyreneans*, yet there was no snow on the top of it, though most of the other on our right hand had hoary heads;

but notwithstanding this, it seemed to approach nearer Heaven than those that wore its Livery; and that it changed colour betimes, and in the beginning of the summer, by reason of the seas neighbourhood; the acrimony of whose vapors aids to melt and dissipate its snow sooner than that of such as are more remote. When we were at the height of the Mountain of *Roncevalles*, *Egregia contemplatione pavimus animum*; and we paused to consider, on the one hand *Spain*, that we had just then abandoned, and on the other *France*, which we were about to enter. The first seemed a scorched Campania, where the bald Mountains discovered only naked Rocks, and concealed few Plains or Vallies that bore grass, or any thing else that is useful. The later on the contrary presented us a Garden, where Nature had disposed eminencies and depressions, Plains, Hills, Woods, and Valleys, to boast variety on a fair Theater of universal fertility, so plentifully sowed, that the Land we saw, though none of the best of *France*, was surprizingly delightful, as soon as compared with that we had left. To conclude, without hyperbole or exaggeration, and in a plain manner of describing things as they really are, I must declare, that contemplating two so different objects; me thought that in the one the day of judgement would find little unburnt; and that in the other, the flames which shall celebrate the worlds Funeral, would be last extinguished, because it seemed the fire of Heaven had already fallen on the first, and almost ro-

ed it; and that to the other, it had imparted only a cherishing warmth to animate it: and the *Italian* perhaps had reason, who vexed at the Doctors that disputed about the seat of Purgatory, said, he wondred men of learning should be so ignorant, for had they understood Maps, they would have placed that of *Europe* in *Spain*, and that of *Africk* in *Lybia*. I shall not determine whither he spoke sense, or raved, but only add, that what I have said of the difference of these two prospects; takes not off my esteem for *Spain*, nor hinders my admiring the wisdom, temperance, prudence, and other moral and political virtues, that are eminent in the greatest part of the men it produces: it is not therefore out of contempt of the one, or too elevated an *Idea* of the other, that I register the difference I observed: I know very well that the fatteft soils are not ever most beneficial, neither do they always produce the greatest personages. The ablest of all the *Grecians* was born amongst the rocks of *Itaca*; and in *Provence* there is a certain nook, called *la Crau*, covered with Flint, which its Lord will not exchange for any other that abounds with Fruits and Flowers, because in that very seat of barrenness there grows an herb of such virtue, that one twig of it is worth many handfuls of those of the most luxurious meddows; this makes appear, that fruits of perfectest savor often abound in the defectiv'lt soils, and that though *Spain* be lean and dry, she is yet strong and vigorous: and experience teaches, that the

Spaniards

Spaniards are stouter and more capable of great fatigue, then such as are born in more pleasant and plentiful Countreys, and even amongst themselves, the most courageous Races flourish amongst Rocks and Mountains, and in the sandiest Provinces; the other being inhabited by persons neither of so warlike spirits, nor elevated fancies, pusillanimity being almost always the companion of fertility; and the Romans were scarce ever more put to it, then in the conquest of this nation; its invincible courage, the difficulty of passage, scarcity of Provisions, and excess of heat, predominating, almost through the whole peninsula, resisted them Sixscore years; neither could it in less time be overcome in our age, were it still as populous as formerly.

But ere I give over, and that I may do *Spain* right before I loose the sight of it; I must observe that this sterility and penury objected against it, is not caused so much by the default (if I may so speak) of the Countrey, as by that of its inhabitants; were they more industrious, and instead of feeding themselves with smock and vanity in their wretched Cabins, tilled better their Land, and contemned not mechanic Arts, she would be a liberal mother of all things necessary for life, whither to cloath or feed them, and they might have Corn, Wine, Oyl, and all manner of fruits, to suffice them, without being beholding to their neighbors; and did they understand Husbandry, or would apply themselves to it, it would maintain them in such abundance, that not only the more fertile

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Provinces

Provinces would supply the sterility of some that are barrener, but they might vent part to forrainers, wools of *Segovia*, Silks of *Grenada*, Cordovans of *Ciudad Rodrigo*; the Flax and Hemp of *Andalusia*; the Iron and Copper of *Biscay*, with many other rich dispoils of its Cattle, Land, and Mines, might croud its Cities with Artificers, and fill them with the best manufactures of *Europe*; but they send these abroad unwrought, which when Forrainers have metamorphosed and disposed to humane use, part return to them from those who double the money they first paid for them.

I have now passed the *Pyreneans*, and top of the high mountain that separates *France* from *Spain*, and whilst I contemplated those two great Kingdoms, having ventured to compare their Climates, and contract as in one mass all the remarks of my journey; I will conclude by setting against each other the customs and poliricks of this neighbouring people; no less contrary then the motions that cause fire to mount and earth to descend. Whilst I stayed at *Madrid* I used my utmost endeavor to discover, if the antipathy reported to be so natural and reciprocal, were really and substantially as strong as it seems, and is imagined, but I found that the contrariety attributed to their humors, and comportment, whither publick or private, proceeds rather from several tempers and Genius's, then any true and real antipathy that renders the French more incompatible with Spaniards, then with Englishmen, Germans, Italians, or any other

ther nations every one of which hath its particular character and specifick impression, as well in body as mind, which may (if I be permitted the expression) be called its principle of distinction. If besides this common and general variety, proceeding from the Air we first breath, there be any more express and formal between one people and another; it is caused by some accidents, conjunctures or other circumstances, which as to contempt and hatred have the same influence on nations as on particular persons, who (that excepted) have no more of contrariety then two Rivers that run different courses, and ever follow their Channel with equal inclination, though not always with the same impetuosity. This granted, I averre, that besides competition of power and State of Rivalship, in which these people have so long continued, and which have been animated by many wars and differences not yet reconciled or ended, no antipathy can be observed between them, more then each of them hath with all others: and when these considerations have been removed, and the causes of aversion of State for State, and publick animosities have ceased they have lived as well one with another, as either of them hath done with other forrainers. My self have seen very many French inhabiting *Madrid*, and *Saragossa*, who not concerning themselves in the interest of their Countrey, agree very well with the Spaniards; and the Catalonians and Portugueses give convincing testimonies of this verity. All the world knows that these renoun-

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cing the Catholick Kings Dominion, and abjuring, with the fealty they owed him, all the mysteries of the Spanish Monarchy, there followed so great confidence and correspondence between them and *France*, that notwithstanding difference of humors, they have reciprocally been as well received and looked upon at *Paris* and *Lisbon* as they could be at *Stockholme* or *Warsovia*, where I suppose no man will imagin any antipathy for either of them: the former of these wheeled a little more, and cast themselves into the arms of *France*, the difference of customs and inclinations not preventing their corresponding as well as *Spaniards*, *Neapolitans* and *Flemings*. It is only since that emulation of glory, which began with the advancement of the Spanish Empire under *Ferdinand*, increased under the *Charles* the fifth, and continued under his Successors, that these people cannot brook one another either in publick or particular, and that have added to the difference of their tempers and natures, a spirit of envy, hatred, and contempt, which make them incompatible. For one of them is not only reserved and speculative, but impatient of the gey and sociable humor of the other; one of them is not only slow and dilatory, but cannot suffer the others activity and brisk temper; one of them is not only satisfied to walk as if he counted his steps, but cannot abide the others negligent and interrupted gite: one of them does not only salute by leaning backwards, but scoffs at the other when he bows to do it. In a word one of

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them hath neither humor nor custom that displeases not the other, and which he blames not out of the principles of jealousy and ambition I have formerly mentioned.

These different qualities caused and heightened by that emulation of grandeur, and thirst of precedence, that hath so long tormented them, and cost Christendom so much blood, are the sources of the diversity of their Politicks. Notwithstanding all which one of them sometimes borrows something of the nature and qualities of the other, and imitates some of its most subtil tracings; but the hand and pencil ever differ: neither is it possible so to settle other mens clothes on our own backs, that it will not be discovered they were not made for us. There is ever something in their manner of acting, which makes apparent its principles are no more the same then its agents. They which have read the famous contest between Pope *Paul* the fifth and the *Venetians*, and observed the forms and ends of those great Potentates, for glory and interest, may find a manifest proof of this verity. It is most certain that in their Politicks they now and then tread in one anothers footsteps; but it is more so, that their pace is never equal which way soever they go. *Spain* is represented in a Chariot, seated on a Throne of Tortoiseshell, drawn by Remora's, who in tedious traversing vast spaces of time, lose many opportunities: yet her extraordinary patience and close application to the game, with her skill in packing the Cards, oftentimes disturbs the designs of the

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the craftiest Gamesters. When at more violent exercises she never stumbles by too much haste, she waits the rebound of the ball, and if she misses it, is satisfied to have judged it well, and not to have lost her stroke by precipitation, and giving it before it came to ground. By a vast speculation she embraces the whole extent of an object, discovers the most minute parts of it, all its joynts and muscles; and if she makes not her self Mistress of it, it is never because she mistook the most advantageous part to lay hold on, but because too intent in studying the hour and moment, which either passes over, or is snatched away whilst she waits for it, or deliberates on it.

It must be acknowledged that this misfortune doth not often happen to her in her Council-Chamber, nor in such affairs as depend on negotiations only. Of all parts of the art of governing she succeeds best in this, where her considerations fixed on all circumstances are very happy; here she makes appear the ingenious Fabrick of those artificial Springs which give motion to a slow and circumspect proceeding, that secures her of a good effect in what ever she hath leisure and time to manage. But in the field, and affairs of warre, where she hath neither time nor liberty to comply with a long and mature deliberation, such occasions as cannot easily suffer this, and where opportunity must be anticipated, and more usually left to hazard and fortune, than to prudence and reason, she hath not the like advantage, and of-
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ten comes so short in her reckoning, that she sees her most important designs perish because begun too late, and her self deceived in the hour she destined for their bringing forth. I will not be busie about examples of this truth; for, besides the Siege of *Mastricht*, (the opportunity of raising which she lost by delaying to undertake it as soon as it was begun, and where she pretended so much to force and Council, that she at last employed neither the one nor the other, but in order to receiving a more publick affront) the late warrs might furnish us testimonies so well known to all the world, that it were to no purpose to insert them here.

But I will add that this gravity, and two great circumspection which sometimes makes the *Spaniards* fall by endeavouring to fix their feet more steadily, is in a manner recompensed by a very considerable quality, which is an extraordinary constancy after misfortunes that have been almost destructive to her, and an incessant perseverance with indefatigable vigor to pursue all advantages after good success. If we consider the rude trials of this to which she hath been exposed by insurrections of so many people, revolt of one of her richest Provinces, and separation of a Kingdom; if we observe the great shocks she hath received both by land and sea, from the Armies of so many Princes allied against her, and examine the many Battails she hath lost, we shall find cause enough of admiration that she is still on her feet, and that it is a grandeur altogether peculiar to that Nation, to endure

endure so much without fainting, and that no other stomach could digest so many hard morsels without loss of appetite: that any thing of which remains is alone to be imputed to that gentle and natural heat which acts without precipitation, and suffers without alteration what it can neither concoct nor evacuate, casting it on time and a more favourable conjuncture: I mean that her policies are so pliable and constant, that if her expedients and power often fail, her heart never does so, though contemplating her condition, she hath nothing many times to comfort her, but patience, and such other virtues as she ever makes use of both in Field and Cabinet, how low soever. Neither hath she been wont to give over a loser, how unfortunate soever, seldom abandoning the gage and hope of revenge. Though she lately consented to the liberty of the United Provinces, and renounced her right to dispute it, it was not till after a war of fourscore years, nor without that absolute necessity which obliges of two evils to choose the least, so that we cannot inferre from it she was sick at heart, nor that she often regorges what she hath once swallowed. And perhaps if she ever disengages her self from the many ties that restrain her, and gets leisure to make a free use of her power and wisdom, it will appear she laied not aside the Cards, but because she had too many Gamesters upon her hand, and that she will reassume them with this protestation, that there is no prescription to Sovereigns; and that the solemnest Othes, if contrary to those

those of their Coronation oblige them not, and that there may as well happen to them as to the honest Casuist, a certain apprehension that may dispense with their making good their promise.

if we consider on the other side (to return to what I have said of the equality of their vigour in prosperity) how well the *Spaniards* understand to make use of the favours of fortune, and all their advantages, when heaven hath complied with that circumspection and remote foresight according to which they act, we must needs acknowledge all other policies come short of theirs, being boldest, activest, and most vigilant after good success, that best pursue the gain of a battail, and carefullest secure a Town after its surrender, that most aptly impose fetters on People they have conquered, or reduced to their ancient subjection, if straid from it, and that better than any other accommodate to their own interests, those of the Princes allied with them; (in a word) that after victory are more solicitous to gather all the fruits that can be derived from it, and draw all the good consequences it can possibly afford. Others in prosperity languish, and their industry slackens after conquest, chusing rather to enjoy the fruits of their good fortune, than to make an advantageous use of it, and to lose the honor and profit of their greatest actions, then not to repose and take breath at the end of the course. Such politicks belong only to those that have better arms then heads, and that value not the Prize so much as the Race

Race, nor Crowns and Triumphs as Battails and Victories; I mean that preferre the way before the end, and great actions above the felicities they lead to.

To the two high advantages I have mentioned of the *Spanish* Politicks, derived from the great circumspection that attends them, a third may be added, which is that whensoever they have any design in hand, they can so secretly give it maturity, that nothing is discovered of it till at once it surpriseth and astonishes. They work under ground, and with much care that nothing of their design takes vent, least which may be discovered by their meen & countenance they counterfeit sleep when most awake, at Sentry, and ready to discharge, and (though at other times very jealous of reputation) are not then displeas'd to have their power decried, nor to be accus'd of weakness, that such erroneous judgment may cause their enemies so much to neglect standing on their Gard, they may take them unprovided and overthrow those that think them to be in a condition neither to attacke, nor defend themselves. Shadowed by such secrecy, and secured by such artifice, they have sometimes very sodainly advanced, and passing by the conquest of all *Sicilia*, it is known that in our daies they have successfully done this, and when least apprehended appeared before *Tarragon* and *Lerida* with more forces then they were thought to be Masters of. In a word they have ever been secret to admiration and so excellently practis'd in that politick dissimulation, so use-

full in governing, and that can so well aid it self with disguise, that they have often by it obtained such effects, as by force they could never have arrived at. And when these little Maxims fail of success in warr, they have recourse to Treaties and Conferences, where they so dexterously make use of them, that in one manner or other they gain all advantages can be expected from them. On account of which I must needs take notice, that they obtain the better in Negotiations, by means alone of that flegmatick and extraordinary patience, that tires and quenches the heat of other people, leading them about through so many labyrinths, that at last weary of conferring so long, and concluding nothing, they comply with part of what is desired, and perhaps in conclusion yield to the rest, so to purchase that repose *Spain* seems so unwilling to grant them, because sensible of their weakness, and that they pursue with impatience whatsoever they have once hoped for.

Thus by a judicious obstinacy they oftentimes overcome the greatest opposition against what they design, and by compliance possess themselves of what they cannot obtain by contestation.

But to stay no longer on consideration of Policies that have within themselves turnings and windings very particular, I will only add that it is conceived something might be amended in their Catholicon, I mean in that excess of zeal, real or pretended, they make appear in matters of Religion. It is very evident that this fire

sometimes warms *Spain* to its prejudice, and may sooner consume her, than convince those she would by it win to her interests. And no less known that the Popes are not kinder to her on this account, but suspect her passion for the Church of an humane infirmity, that stretches toward heaven only to grow higher upon earth, and that she gains no friends sincerely, but a share only of their inclinations, by those wiles that make her real enemies, that have a perfect hatred and aversion for her. In a word her constant design, and to which she seems engaged as by oath not to suffer Protestants in her Dominions, and to persecute them in their own, is a state secret that hath been so well examined by Catholics, that its true price and value is sufficiently understood by them, and no less by those against whom it is directed, which causes them to apprehend, that on such specious principles, she engages to their ruine, to satisfy her ambition, and that high aim of which she is accused, by uniting in one body so many different Dominions, to become head of Christendom. In the mean time the present composition of *Europe*, and form of the establishment of Christianity considered, she ought to cast off this thought, and recollect that the two parties into which it is divided, are almost equal, and if they should come to a shock with the Body of their Forces, victory would along time hover uncertain which side to take, and perhaps not hers, though seconded by all the Roman Legions. She ought to understand her *Catholicism* to be but

a thin vizard to her, *Ragione di Stato* that it hath often discovered the secret, which hath been known every where; and to examine how small the advantages are of following Maxims that exasperate one party, and gain not the other. My meaning is she should confine her self within the limits of temporal interest, without mixing Religion with it, which descended not from heaven to destroy Society, and that it will nothing avail her to make so many signes of the cross, against Protestants. Let her therefore permit them to live, and living with them make them understand, she hath absolved her self from that vow (at least if there were any such) which obliged her on all occasions to endeavour their destruction and that of their Church. From such a change of conduct she would derive two great advantages, for she would be more considerable at *Rome* by seeming less attached to the interests of that Court, and more redoubted by *France*, by diverting part of the inclination of those of the Reformed Religion, which it believes it self alone possesses, with exclusion of all other Catholick Princes, never giving testimonies of open hatred, nor persecuting with fire and fagot, that which ought to be the object only of prayer and persuasion.

Having drawn some lines of the nature and qualities of the Spanish policies, it remains that I give such a draft of those of the French, as may discover part of their extent and Forces, that by comparing them we may judge which is likely to get the better of its rival: The later are

so variable, and of a form so transient, that hours and moments, which ever fly, have no swifter revolution; and the former are as contrary, and appropriated to fixation; it is very difficult to paint the one because of the rapidity of its course, and no less so to determine which of the two is more potent, by reason of the continual conflict they have so long struggled in, without yielding on either side. One would think they had divided between them all the skill of the Fencing-school, and that the one comes on with better grace, and hath its arm more supple, but that the other reaches farther, and makes its thrust more home: Thus Heaven to preserve the power of these Nations near an equality, hath opposed to the vivacity and spirit of one of them the prudence and constancy of the other, that what the last comes short in agility, may be recompensed by its attention to all it undertakes; and what the first wants of circumspection and patience may be supplied by incredible diligence.

It is yet probable that the *French* fire so allayed, as not to dash the judgment, produces greater effects than the *Spanish* fleam, how considerable soever. It is capable of all that is Heroick even to miracle, it forces an alteration in the face of affairs, and chains fortune and victory to attend its banners, when they seem inclining to forsake it. It is as quick in discovering and preventing mischiefs as in applying remedies to those that surprize it. Its eye, hand, and heart are continually directed to what may help or

hurt it; the first is usefull to embrace or avoid, the second to seise whatever is advantagious, and repel all that may be fatal, whilst the last animates to support all burthens, and often attains what its strength could not extend to, whilst with all three it on one side levels a way for misfortune, and banishes it, and on the other opens a door to success and meets it: Whereas the profound intellect of the *Spaniards*, by means of frosty irresolution and tedious deliberation, suffers the fruits of its best Enterprises to be nipt in the blossom, because not so diligent to execute as subtle to invent them. I could draw examples from our present times conclusive enough of this truth, if I were not desirous to make an end. I will therefore only add that that I am not un-sensible, that the *French* airiness often causes their designs to miscarry, that their diligence is not alwayes joyned with prudence, and that it sometimes hastens with so little discourse and reflexion, it observes nothing, and as if it had no other members but hands and feet, violently plunges into confusion, and falls headlong into misfortune, by reason of that precipitation which often astonishes, and puts it besides it self, so much that its great courage abandoning it, it retreats in disorder. The reproach of this is nevertheless much out of date, by reason of many modern great and couragious actions and enterprises, where it hath made appear a diligence in executions, as little destitute of judgement as courage.

This was long ago, when experience had not

purified their fire, not moderated that excess of it which made them begin well and end ill; on which account all they did was attributed to furie and a blind transport, that after the first attempt was changed into fear: but they are no more the same men, neither, after going on like Lions, do they come off like Hares; and when their enterprises fail of success, they many times retreat with honor, and without confusion. And certainly the greatest promptitude when accompanied by reason and judgement is as often the Mother as Stepdame of good fortune. *Alexander* conquered all because he would leave nothing for the morrow; and *Cesar* allowed but a moment between deliberation and action, apprehending that either the greatness of the design might discourage it, or the opportunity be passed if he took time to examine it: but as the celerity of these two Heroes was ever fortunate, by reason of their prodigious Capacities in all they undertook, and the circumspection and delays of *Fabius Maximus* and the great *Gonsalva* reestablished Empire, and conquered Kingdoms, we may say that each of these Nations, according as their predominant humor is, allayed by prudence, and illuminated by reason, can digest the toughest morsels, and difficultest thwartings of fortune, though one of them hath defects of stomach, that sometimes cause vomitings, and the other is now and then afflicted with megrims that oblige it to repose. *Augustus* had felt the pulse of both of them when he pronounced his *Festina lente*: and we

may infallibly conclude that a third Constitution participating of the *French* promptitude and *Spanish* solidity, were alone capable not only of conquering the World but governing it. And a great and wise Frenchman having owned *L'interest d'Angleterre estant bien suivi establira dans la Chretientè une troisiem puissance*: that *England* pursuing her true interest will become a third Power, equal to *France* and *Spain* (and this meant in regard of her scituation & strength alone) I think I may modestly enough add, that the equality and harmony of her temper (which neither heavily slumbers away opportunities, nor rashly snatches at them before maturity) considered, did not some mistaken principles, introduced by a fond doting on such a liberty as is inconsistent with Government, make the subordinate wheels too heavy, and the Spring (that is the supreme power) too weak to produce regular and vigorous motions in them, by a perfect submission to her Sovereign, she might under his conduct be able to make a farther progression towards giving laws to mankind than any other people ever arrived at.

F I N I S.

may possibly consider that a bold attempt
 on parting of the 27th promissive and
 towards liberty, were alone capable of only
 of contributing the World but governing it. And
 a great and wise Facilitator having owned
 himself a slave, was that his first object
 was in Contract, not that his purpose: that
 a bold attempt, but the interest will be ours
 a hard word, equal to France and 2. and
 his mean in regard of his situation & strength
 alone) I think I may modestly enough add, that
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 nor really teaches at their best, in many
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