

Oliver Boteler
1653 .

THE
CIVIL WARS
OF
SPAIN,

In the beginning of the Reign of
CHARLS the 5th Emperor of *Germanie*,
and King of that Nation.

Written originally in the Spanish-tongue, by
Frudencio de Sandoval, Doctor of Divinitie, and Abbat of
the Monasterie of *S^t Isidro el Real*, in *Valladolid*, of
the Order of *S^t Bennet*, Historiographer Roial to
PHILIP the Third; never yet
Translated, now put into English
by Captain *J. W.*



L O N D O N,
Printed by *William Du Gard*, and are to bee sold by
John Holden in the New Exchange, 1652.



To the Honorable,
Colonel *HERBERT MORLEY*
ESQUIRE;
One of the Members of the High and Honorable Court of PARLAMENT, and of the Council of State; chief Lievtenant of the Countie of *Suffex*.

TO
THOMAS CHALONER
ESQUIRE;
A Member of the High Court of PARLAMENT, and of the Council of State, &c.

And To
JAMES CHALONER
ESQUIRE;
A Member likewise of the said Court of Parliament, the Supreme Autoritie of the Three Nations.

Noble Gentlemen!



I Have long repined that my gratitude should bee limited within the narrow walls of my brest, when your favors that gave it beeing, have daily shewn themselves in such fresh and frequent testimonies; but it hath now got a little more elbow-room, and gladly take's occasion to tell the world as

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

well as you, of my happineß in such a Triumvirate of Patrons; yet in this I may rather seem to have studied a secure convenience, then an ingenuous acknowledgment, since this Historie cannot shroud it self within a safer shelter, then what your acceptation and clear judgment is able to allow it; but you want no Candor, and therefore I no Confidence that you will gently conseru the intentions and endeavors of

Your humble servant

JAMES VVADSVVORTH.



Upon





Upon this Choice and Remarkable
piece of Historie.



Among, those various delights and advantages which accrew to a Reader of *Historie*, one is, That no modern accident can seem *strange* unto him, much less *astonish* him: Hee scarce can wonder at any thing, in regard hee may remember to have read of the same, or much like the same, that happened in former times; therefore hee doth not stand staring like a childe at every sudden spectacle, like that simple *American*, who, the first time hee saw a *Spaniard* on horseback, thought the Man and the Beast to bee but one Creature, and that the horse did chew the Rings of his Bit.

Now indeed, not to bee an Historian, that is, Not to know what Forreign Nations, and our Fore-fathers did, *Hoc est semper esse puerum*, as *Cicero* saith, this is still to bee a childe, who gazeth at any thing; whence may bee inferred, There is no knowledg that ripen's the judgment, and put's one out of his *nonage* sooner then *Historie*.

If I had not formerly read the *Baron's Wars* in *England*, I had more admired that of the *Liguers* in *France*. Hee who read the near upon fourscore years Wars in *Low Germanie*, never wondred at those thirtie two years late Wars in *High Germanie*. I had more wondred that *Richard* of *Bourdeaux* was knockd down with a halbard, had not I read formerly that *Edward* of *Carnarvan* died of a hot Iron that was thrust up his fundament; It was strange that *Murat* the great *Ottoman* Emperor should bee lately strangled in his own Court; yet considering that *Osman* his predecessor had been knock'd down by an ordinarie slave not many years before, it was not strange at all. The blazing Star in

Virgo, 33 years since, did not seem strange to him who had read of that which appeared in *Cassiopea*, and other constellations some years before, and how portentous they proved to poor Mortals. Hence may be inferred, that among all other kinds of contemplations, *Historie* may be called the great *Looking Glass*, through which wee may see with *Ancestrall* optiques, not onely the various *Actions* of men, and odd *Accidents* of time, but also discern the *Constitutions*, the *Humors*, and *Genius* of Nations.

This faithful piece of *Storie* will displaie the very intrinsecals of the *Castilian*, (who entitle's himself to be the prime *Spaniard*) and make that opinion a meer paradox, whereby hee is cried up to be so constant to his principles, so loial to his Prince, and so conformable to Government : for it will discover as much levitie and tumultuarie passions in him as in other people ; Which may be the reason why these *Annals* were suppressed, and called in, in *Spain*, yet procur'd by a Gentleman of qualitie and of exquisite knowledg, and now made *English*, with much exactness and fidelitie ; Therefore most worthie of the perusal, beeing a pure *maiden-storie*, never *blown* upon hitherto, for to my knowledg shee never travell'd over the *Pyrenean Hills*, or cross'd the *Seas* in any language till now.

James Howell.



To





TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader! if likeness breeds liking, and if in Histories, as in Humane bodies, may bee admitted any Sympathetical operations, I cannot but promiſſ my ſelf, that this Narration will not bee unwelcom to your curious eies, in regard it doth punctually relate the no leſſ ſtrange, then true transactions, betwixt Charles the fiſt in his Minoritie and his Subjects in Spain, which had ſo much ſimilitude to divers late paſſages in this our Nation, that had not thoſe in Caſtilla had the privilege of many years before us, wee might have been ſaid to have been their pattern, although the ſucceſſes are different. The Autor was a man of no mean eminencie, neither for knowledge or extraction, and who (though ſomewhat violent in his tearms againſt the Commonaltie by reaſon of his dependance on the Court of Spain) wrote ſo plainly, and with ſuch impartialitie, that all his books were ſuppreſſed by eſpecial command from the King, whoſe Historiographer hee was, which rendereth the truth of the Historie leſſ questionable: Herein, as in our troubles, you ſhall finde the Clergie-men on both ſides no leſſ buſie in diſtracting peoples mindes, then in fomenting and aggravating their unhappie diſſentions: Herein you ſhall ſee beſides the policies,

To the READER.

policies, and subtile correspondencies betwixt the several Cities of that Countrey, the Statutes and Decrees enacted by the Commissioners or Substitutes of the Commonalties assembled in Parliament, after their King's departure into Germanie, whither they were sent to bee ratified by him, his answer, and their proceedings afterwards. The names of places, as well as men, are left in Spanish, because they cannot bee so well rendered in any other language, as in their own, and som terms likewise, whereof though our tongue admitteth not of a simple, and direct version, you shall finde them paraphrastically expounded in the margents, therefore I hope you will not impute this as a fault to the Translator, and in case your more penetrating judgment should discover any other defects, my humble supplication is, that you will not bee a Captious, but a Cautious Reader, and careful of the reputation of him, whose chief aim, in this labor, was to procure you both profit and pleasure, as beeing

Your affectionate Servant

J. W.



THE



SECT. I.



THE
CIVIL WARS
OF
SPAIN.
THE FIRST BOOK.

SECT. I.

IN the year of our LORD 1500, which was (according to the Hebrew account) five thousand four hundred sixtie and one years after the Creation of the World: from the Universal Deluge, three thousand eight hundred and five: from the Coming of *Tubal* to inhabit, and people the (then desolate) Countrie of *Spain*, three thousand six hundred sixtie and three: from the Conquest of *Cesar*, one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight: from the Entrie of the *Goths* into *Spain*, one thousand eightie and six: and lastly, from the Dominion of the *Moors*

B

in

in that Countrey, seven hundred eightie and six years, *Alexander* the sixth then being Pope of Rome. The Christian King *Don Fernando* and *Donnia Isabel* having reigned twentie seven years, converted the *Mezquitas*, or *Moorish* temples, into *Christian* Churches, and purged the whole Kingdom of Paganism and Jewish Cerimonies, being also the year of *Jubilee* at Rome: for their comfort, and to drie up the tears which sorrowful *Spain* ceased not to shed, for the deceas of their Prince, *Don Juan*, or *John*, (onely Son to the Catholick King, and *Donnia Isabel*, his Queen) and the *Infanta Donnia Isabel*, their eldest Daughter, (who was married to *Don Juan*, or *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*) in the Citie of *Gant*, upon the Apostle *S^c Matthias* his daie, being mundaie 25 Februarie, was born *Charls* the fift, Emperor and King of *Spain*, begotten by *Don Philip*, or *Philip*, surnamed *El Hermoso*, or the fair, Arch-Duke of *Austria* (son to the Emperor *Maximilian* the First, and *Donnia Maria*, sole daughter and heir to *Charls* Duke of *Burgundie*, who had for her portion, besides the said Dutchie of *Burgundie*, the Dukedom of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Limbourg*, *Haynaut*, *Holland*, *Artois*, *Zealand*, and *Gueldres*, with other places thereunto belonging) and *Donnia Juana*, second daughter to the fore-named *Don Fernando* and *Isabel*. The Prince *Don Miguel de la paz*, son to *Don Juan* of *Portugal*, and *Don Fernando's* eldest Daughter, *Isabel* (who by the right of his mother was to inherite the Crown of *Castilla*) was yet living, when *Charls* the Fift came first into the World; the news of whose birth, with the particulars of the place and time, being carried into *Spain*, his grandmother *Donnia Isabel* (I know not by what prophetick spirit) presently said, *Cecidit sors super Matthiam*, meaning, that the succession of those Kingdoms should fall upon *Charls* (who was born upon that Saint's daie) as it did, and hee became the most potent Prince of the *Christian* World. For *Don Miguel de la paz*, dying in *Julie* following, in the same year 1500 the inheritance of the Crowns of *Spain* descended to *Donnia Juana*, mother to the fortunate Prince *Don Charls*, or *Charls*, then bearing the title of Duke of *Luxembourg*.

The birth of
the Emperor
Charls the Fift.

His title be-
ing a Child.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

IN the year 1501, the *Catholick Queen, Donnia Isabel*, of *Castilia* being fallen into a languishing disease, and past hopes of recoverie, shee desired to see *Don Philip*, and *Donnia Juana* (her daughter) before her deceas. Whereupon they took their waie through *France*, where they were received, and feasted in a Princely manner, by *King Lewis* the Twelfth, who treated with them concerning the marriage of his Daughter *Claudia*, to their son *Charls*. One of the Articles was, That in case the said marriage should not bee consummated through anie default of the said King of *France*, the *Emperor* should invest and settle the *Dukedom of Milan* upon their son *Don Carl's Duke of Luxembourg*: And it so happened afterwards, that the said match was broken off by the said King *Lewis*, which is a great Plea for the *Crown of Spain* against the Kings of *France*, in the pretention of *Milan*. Being arrived at *Toledo*, where the *Catholick King and Queen* expected them on Sundaie, 22 Maie (in the Cathedral Church, they were sworn *Princes of Castilia and Leon*:) *Don Fernando*, and *Donnia Isabel* assisting at the Ceremonie, with the *Cardinal Don Diego Hurtado de Mendosa*, *Don Fray Francisco de Ximenez* Archbishop of *Toledo*; *Don Bernardino de Valasco* Lord high Constable of *Castilia and Leon*, the *Duke del Infantado*, *Duke of Alva*, *Duke of Bejar*, *Duke of Alburquerque*, and a multitude of other noblemen: after which solemnitie the King went to *Saragosa*, and the Queen with her Daughter, and *Don Philip* went to *Torijos*, *Fuensalida*, *Casa Rubios*, and thence to *Madrid*; from whence, after som time, *Donnia Juana* went to *Alcala de Henares*, where shee was brought to bed of the *Infante Don Ferdinando*, or *Ferdinand*: hee was baptized with exceeding great solemnitie, by the Arch Bishop of *Toledo*; the *Duke of Naxara* and the

Anno 1501.

Philip the fair
sworn Prince
of Spain.The birth of
the Infante
Ferdinand.

Earl of Villena were his Godfathers, and *Madame de Luin* his Godmother. Which Ceremonie beeing past, and *Donnia Juana* throughly recovered, shee and her husband (whose presence was most earnestly desired in *Flanders*) repaired both thither, by the waie of *France*; And beeing at the Citie of *Lyons*, hee concluded the Peace betwixt his father *Maximilian* the *Emperor*, *Don Fernando* King of *Spain*, and *Lewis* the *French King*, who again moved him about marrying the *Duke of Luxembourg* with his daughter *Clavia*, who was to inherit the *Dukedom of Britanie*, yet hee was the first occasion of breaking that agreement.

 SECT. III.

Anno 1505. **I**N the year 1505, a Parliament beeing call'd at the Citie of *Toro*, in presence of the King *Don Fernando*, with all the *Grandeas* of the Kingdom, and the *Commissioners* or *Burgeesses* (*Donnia Isabel* the Queen beeing deceas'd at *Medina del Campo*) the *Princess* *Donnia Juana*, then beeing in *Flanders*, was declared *Queen of Castilia and Leon*, and her son *Don Charles* heir and successor after her to those Kingdoms, which pacified divers turbulent spirits, and stopt the current of manie troubles and mischiefs, that was like to overflow that Countrie. This news was brought to *Donnia Juana*, then newly brought to bed of the *Infanta Donnia Maria*, who was afterward married to the unfortunate King of *Bohemia*, *Lewis* son to *Uladislaws*; after whose death shee was Governels of *Flanders* for manie years, and proved nothing inferior to her Brother in courage, and other princely endowments, onely shee was a woman: *Don Philip* remaining still in *Flanders* with his Queen, there grew such differences betwixt him and *Don Fernando*, that finding an advantage in their absence, *Don Fernando* sent *Don Rodrigo Manrique* his Embassador to the King of *Portugal*, desiring him to give in marriage *La Excelente,*

The death of
Isabel Queen
of *Spain*.

Ferdinand's
design to get
the Kingdom
of *Castilia* to
himself.

celente, otherwise called *La Veltraneja*, thinking by virtue of her right, and his powerful assistance, to oppose *Don Philip*, and make himself King of *Castillia* (which argued no less weakness then Ambition in the *Catholick King*.) But the King of *Portugal* was so discreet, as not to satisfy his desires, and although hee had given his consent *La Veltraneja* would never have condescended thereunto, for besides that shee was well stricken in years, shee was altogether given to her devotion, and valued not the vanitie of anie earthly Crowns. Having received this repulf, hee agreed with *Lewis King of France*, that hee should make the match betwixt him and *Madam Germana*, daughter to *Gaston de Foix*, and to the said *French King's* sister, which was concluded upon this condition; That *King Lewis*, in stead of her Dowrie, should grant and pass over to *Don Fernando* the right which hee pretended to the kingdom of *Naples*, and that if the *Queen* should die before him without issue, hee should succeed and inherit the same title; but if shee should survive *Don Fernando*, that *Lewis* should repossess the said claim: These Articles beeing confirmed, they made a Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*, for a hundred and one years, (but it scarce continued so manie weeks) and *Don Juan de Silva* Earl of *Cisuentes*, with the *Vice-Chancellor of Aragon* went into *France*, to attend and conduct her Majesty into *Castillia*.

S E C T. I V.

THE *Castillians* in mean time, beeing very desirous to have their Natural Sovereign amongst them, importuned by frequent messages and invitations, *Donna Juana* and her husband to return, and bring their Children with them into *Spain*. Whereupon *Don Philip* having provided a Fleet for the purpose, they departed *Flanders*, leaving the Prince *Don Carles* under the care and tuition of the *Emperor*

Maximiliano and *Donnia Margarita*, widdow to the Duke of *Savoie*; and at last (though tossed with much storm and tempests by the waie) they landed safe at the *Groyn* in *Galicia*. *Don Fernando* hearing of their arrival went to meet them, betwixt *La Puebla de Sanabria* and *Asturianos*. This interview occasioned no small discontent betwixt these Princes; for Kings will admit of no competitors, or Companions (no not of their own children) in matters of Government and Command. Whereupon *Don Fernando* (forsaken by all, but onely the Duke of *Alva* and the Earl of *Altamira* with som few others) took his waie to *Villafila*, and *Tordesillas*, and King *Philip* with his Queen to *Venaunte*, attended by all the Nobles and flower of *Castillia*, besides strangers, to the number of above two thousand hors. One caus of their discord was about the title and inscription of Commissions, Patents and other dispatches Roial, which at last was determin'd, and agreed, that all things should pass in the names of *Don Fernando*, *Don Philip*, and *Donnia Juana*: But this style was soon altered by the unexpected death of *Don Philip*, which hapned at *Burges*: hee had but seven daies of sickness (which was thought to bee a surfeit) and past from this life to the eternal on fridaie the fifth of September, anno 1505, beeing aged but twentie eight years, and having enjoied the Kingdom of *Castillia* a year and ten moneths, lacking one daie; hee commanded that his heart should bee carried to *Bruxels*, his bodie to *Granada*, and his bowels to remain there. His death was much lamented by the *Emperor* his Father; for, besides that hee was his onely son, hee was one of the handsomest men of his time, therefore hee was called *Philip the Fair*; and the nobleness of his minde was answerable to the feature of his bodie. *Donnia Juana* his Queen was so sensible of his loss, that with the extremitie of sorrow, and her incessant weeping, shee became in a manner distracted. An old woman in *Galicia* seeing him at his landing, and beeing told who hee was, said, That hee should bee a longer time, and travel more leagues in *Castillia*, beeing dead then living; which proved

The death of
Philip the Fair
Duke of *Burgundie*, and
Arch-Duke of
Austria.

An old woman's
Prophecie of him.

SECT. 5. *The Civil Wars of Spain.*

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proved so; for the *Queen* carried his bodie with her, from place to place, and would not suffer it to bee buried for manie years after. Hee left two sons, *Don Carles*, and *Don Fernando*, both Emperors; and three daughters, all mightie What Children. Hee left. *Queens*: *Donnia Leonor* first reigned in *Portugal*, and afterwards was married to the King of *France*: *Donnia Catalina* was wife to *Don John* the Third, King of *Portugal*, Aunt, and Mother-in-law to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*: And *Donnia Maria* had for her husband *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria*.

SECT. V.

IN mean time *Don Fernando*, beeing married to the *Queen Germana*, and distastet in *Castillia*, retired himself into *Aragon*; from thence beeing upon his journie to *Naples*, the *Castillians* gave him notice of *Don Philip's* death, and of the necessitie that there was of his *Royal* presence; but hee refused to return, beeing incenset against som of them for their ingratitude to him. By the death of *Don Philip*, and the absence of *King Fernando*, divers tumults and seditions arose in the kingdom, the people refusing to obeie the Magistrates and Officers of Justice; and the Nobles wanted not factions and partialities amongst them to trouble and disquiet the Countrie, and almost everie Citie throughout the Kingdom was infected with the same contagion: Som crying up *Charls*, or *Don Carles*; others *Fernando*; no small number stood for *Maximiliano*, but verie few made anie mention of *Donnia Juana*, who, whether out of a sens of her own disabilitie, or overcom with melancholie for her husbands deceas, had retired her self at *Tordesillas*, refusing to govern or trouble her head with State-affairs. Whereupon, with the consent of most part of the *Peers* and Nobles of the *Realm*, the Cardinal *Ximenez* *Don Bernardino de Velasso* Lord high Constable, and
Don

Don Pedro Manrique Duke of Naxara took upon them the administration of Government for the present ; they made *Don Alonso Suarez Bishop of Jaen*, President of their Council, assisted by *Doctor Tello, el Licenciado Polanco*, and other learned Lawyers. They called a Parliament, wherein they ordered to send to *Don Fernando*, desiring him in the name of the Queen and the whole Kingdom to return, and undertake the Government for his Daughter and Grandchilde. Which hee, being more readie to accept then they to offer, did not refuse, but returned answer, that having settled the business which had called him to *Naples*, hee would satisfie their desires: And after som time, leaving *Don Juan de Aragon Earl of Ribagorsa*, his *Vice-Roy*, hee embarked himself for *Spain* with his *Queen Germana*, *Don Gonsalo Fernandez de Cordova*, commonly called the *gran Capitan*, and a great train of *Spanish* Gentlemen that attended him in his voiage. Being arrived at *Valentia*, the *Queen Donnia Juana* went to meet him, whom hee received with signs of much affection and fatherlie tenderness, which shee answered with all the honor and due obedience that could be expected from an observant Daughter; for although the excess of sorrow had weakned her intellectual faculties, yet shee never lost her respect to her Father, but paid him with all humilitie and filial dutie; neither was shee ever heard to utter anie mis-becoming words, which is common to people tainted with her infirmitie. The eighth of October the King and Queens came to *Arcos*, where *Donnia Juana* desiring to staie, *Don Fernando* went with his Court to *Burges*, leaving her a good number of Noblemen and Ladies, besides guards, suitable to the dignitie of her person. Som years after, *Don Fernando* left the troubles of this transitorie life to enioie the quietness and blis of the eternal, in the sixtie fourth year of his age, having reigned and governed as King, fourtie two years compleat. Som saie it was the Dropsie that brought him to his end; others report, that his young Queen, to quicken his Spirit, and thaw the ice that contracted the blood

The manner
of King Fer-
dinand's death.

blood in his aged veins, gave him a certain provocative position; which, instead of raising a part, cast the whole bodie into the grave. After his death, arose manie differences amongst the *Grandees* concerning the Government. *Adriano* (Dean of *Lovain*, and Tutor to *Don Carles*) produced a Commission, which the young *Prince* had given him to succeed *Don Fernando* in the Government, until his coming into *Spain*; this was opposed by *Cardinal Ximenez*, who alleged, that by virtue of his *Catholick Majestie's* last Will and Testament, hee was to be Governor of the Kingdom, until the *Prince* should com himself, or give som special order to the contrarie; that *Adriano's* Commission was dated long before *Don Ferdinando's* deceas, therefore not valeable; besides, that hee was a foreigner, which was sufficient reason to bar his pretensions. But at last they agreed to govern both together, until they received further order from *Don Carles*. This joint-Government continued a great while, during which time, several *Grandees* of the Kingdom were much discontented, and murmured, that a Frier, and a stranger (in a manner of the same stamp) should be raised to such a height above them, as to rule and command the whole Kingdom, and them: they alleged that *Don Fernando* had no power to substitute, or appoint anie one to administer the Government of that kingdom, in regard that since the *Catholick Queen's* death, hee was not King, but onely Governor thereof himself: and that considering *Donnia Juana* would not undergo the trouble of the *Crown*, according to the Laws of that Land, they agreed that the *Duke del Infantado*, the Lord High-Counstable, and the *Earl of Venavente* should examine the *Cardinal*, by what autoritie and power hee took upon him to be Governor of those kingdoms: Whereunto hee boldly made them answer, By the Power of his *Catholick Majestie*: And they replying, that the *Catholick King* had no autoritie so to do, hee led them to a brest-work, which hee had made about the house where hee then lodged, and shewed them a great rank of *Artillerie*, commanding his servants to discharge them all,

Dispute about
the Govern-
ment of the
Kingdom.

Resolute car-
riage and an-
swer of Car-
dinal Ximenez
to the Nobles
at Spain.

all ; which don, hee told them, this is the power by which I do , and will govern *Spain* , until the *Prince our Lord* com to take charge of it himself : they were not very well satisfied with this answer , neither did that manner of discourf bode anie good to the Kingdom. Notwithstanding the oppositions and murmurations of the *Grandeos* and others in *Castillia*, the *Cardinal* continued at the helm in despite of all, until his *Majestie's* coming into *Spain*, which was *anno* 1517. At which time, the *Cardinal* finding himself indisposed, was retired into a *Monasterie* of his own Order at *Aquilera* ; whether his *Majestie* (beeing received at *Valladolid*) sent him a letter, thanking him for his former services, and requiring him to repair with those of the *Council* to *Mojados*, where hee might consult with him concerning the present settling of his affairs ; after which hee should bee eased of the weightie burthen of that troublesome employment , and have libertie to solace and retire himself. This Letter was said to bee penned by the *Bishop Mota* , who (envious of the *Cardinal's* power , and studying nothing more then which waie to eclips his greatness) perswaded his *Majestie* to write to him in those terms ; which his *Eminence* having perused, it struck him into a high distemper ; and the violent passion of his minde, joined with the infirmitie of his bodie , increased his fever, in such manner, that hee rendred his soul into the Creator's hands within eight daies after, and was buried at *Alcala de Henares*, in the *College* of *S^t Illesonso*, whereof hee was Founder. After whose death, the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Toledo* was given to *Guillermo de Croüy*, *Bishop* of *Cambray*, and nephew to *Monsieur de Xeures*, his *Majesties* chief favorite, which bred no small discontent amongst the *Castillians*, seeing the principal Jewel of their *kingdom* bestowed upon a foreigner. Yet the general report was, that the *Marquis* of *Villena*, with other *Grandeos* of *Castillia*, desired and earnestly importuned his *Majestie* so to do ; and that of himself hee had no such Intention , neither did *Monsieur de Xeures* ever mention it : And, it is not to bee thought, that those Noble
men

*Charles the
Fifth's* coming
into *Spain*.

*Cardinal Xi-
menez* buried
at *Alcala*, *anno*
1517.

Some were of
opinion that
hee was poi-
soned.

SECT. 5. *The Civil Wars of Spain.*

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men tooke pleasure in seeing anie stranger advanced above them in their own Countrey; But they were induced hereunto, out of hopes to ingratiate themselvs thereby to the *Flemings*, and chiefly to *Xeures*, who had the King's ear above anie at that time. Such is the force and power of over-swaying *Ambition*, which so bastardiseth, and adulterate's the hearts even of *Noble-men*, that they will descend, or stoop to anie thing, to currie favor with a *Prince's* Minion. *Don Carles* at that time, could not reckon above seventeen years and a half at most, from his Nativitie, which was a verie tender age, to undergo so weightie a charge, as was that of ruling so manie, and so considerable Countries; especially, those of *Spain*, where, according to their Laws and Customs, it never had been seen, that a Youth so young, and one that had been born and bred in foreign parts should sit in their King's Throne. Hee understood no *Spanish*, neither was hee acquainted with the inclinations, and dispositions of the people: therefore (although hee was verie ingenuous, and of as excellent and sweet a nature, as could bee desired in a truly *Christian Prince*) hee could do no les then suffer himself to bee advised, and guided by som of more mature years and experience. And having been bred and tutored from his infancie, by *Guillermo de Croÿ* Lord of *Xeures* (who was Duke of *Sora*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and afterwards Duke of *Arschot* in *Brabant*, a man of ripe age, solid Judgment, and eminent parts answerable to his birth, beeing descended of the illustrious stock of the Kings of *Hungarie*, and recommended to bee his Governor, by his Grandfather *Maximilian* the Emperor) hee committed himself with the management of all State-affairs, wholly to his wisdom; and *Xeures* in matters concerning *Spain*, (beeing a stranger to that Countrey) was led by *Maestro Mota*, a Native of *Burgos*, Bishop of *Badajos*, and som other *Castillians*, who were more ambitious then virtuous.

Charls the Fifth's age when hee was received into *Spain*.

His Disposition.

Who *Xeures* was.

S E C T, VI.

Differences
about the ac-
knowledging
of *Charls*,
King of Spain.

The form of
swearing Al-
legiance to
him.

After the reception of the Prince *Don Carles* in *Valladolid*, (which was most splendid and magnificent) all the *Procuradores del Reyno*, or the *Commissioners* of the Kingdom, were summoned to assemble in *Parlament*; wherein the *Castillians* were highly distasted, becaus the Lord *Chancellor* (a *Fleming*) assisted as *President* for his *Highbness*, and that other *strangers* were admitted to sit in *Parlament*; Som of the *Com- missioners* took the oath of *Allegiance* to his *Highbness*, as *King*; others refused to acknowledg him to bee their *King*, as long as his Mother *Donnia Juana* was living, (who was right heir to the Crown) and that hee first should swear to maintein and observ the fundamental *Laws* and *Customs* of the Kingdom; especially, that no *Offices*, or places of *Benefit* or *Trust*, either *Ecclesiastical* or *Temporal*, should bee conferred upon anie, that were not *Natives* of that *Countrie*; But at last, all beeing agreed, both the *Grandees* and *Commis- sioners* of the *kingdom* took the *Oath*; the *Cerimonie* was in this manner: On *Sundaie* the 7th of *Februarie*, 1518, the *Prince* accompanied by all the *Embassadors*, and *Nobles* of his *Do- minions*, having heard *Mafs* in *S^t Paul's Church* at *Valladolid*, was seated in a chair before the *Altar*, and *Adriano*, *Cardinal* of *Tortosa*, holding the *Evangelists* in his hands, *Don Garzia de Padilla* read with a loud voice the contents of the *Oath*; which don, the *Infante Don Fernando* swore first upon the book, then went to kiss the *King's* hand; but the *King* refusing to give his hand, embraced him, and laid his cheek to his brother's; After that the *Infante* took his *Sister Donnia Leoner* by the hand, and led her to swear, and afterwards to kiss his *Ma- jestie's* hand, but the *King* arose, and kissed her cheek, then they passed on the *King's* right hand, and *Don Fernando* stood close to his chair bare headed. Immediately came the *Infante*
of

as beeing the *Queen* and *Ladie proprietarie* of those Kingdoms: whereunto hee answered That hee thanked them, and assured them that hee had nothing in greater recommendation, then what concerned that particular, as they should finde by effects.

2. That hee would bee pleased to marrie with what convenient speed might bee, it beeing very requisite for the good of the *kingdom*, that hee should leav a prosperous issue to rule manie years over them: the *King* replied, That hee would consider thereupon, and do that which shall bee most conducing to his honor, the benefit of his Kingdoms, and the succession thereof.

3. That the *Infante Don Fernando* might not go out of the *kingdom*, until hee were married, and had children: the *king* made answer, That hee was not more careful of anie thing in the world, then of the advancement of his brother, the *Infante*, and that hee would order nothing to bee don concerning his person, but what should bee for his advantage, and the good of those kingdoms.

4. That hee would bee pleased to speak *Spanish*; for by practising hee would the sooner learn, and better understand his Subjects, and bee understood by them. Hee answered, That hee was well contented, and would strive so to do, and the rather, becaus they desired it in the name of the Kingdoms: so, afterwards hee did speak *Spanish* with them and others.

5. That hee would not alienate anie thing from the *Royal Crown*, and if anie should desire *Justice* of him for their grievances, that hee would give order to have it don them. Hee answered, That hee would do therein according to his Oath, and would redress all those that came to complain.

6. That whatsoever the *Catholick King* and *Don Philip*, his father, had given away by waie of Dowrie or Legacie, hee would command to bee fulfilled, for the repose and discharging of their consciences: Hee answered That hee would; provided, that it might bee don without prejudice to the *Royal Patrimonie*.
Lastly,

Sixtie seven more Articles they propounded, which, becauf they are more at large Specified hereafter, I shall forbear to trouble the Reader with them in this place; His *Majestie* gave fo gracious an answer to them all, (thanking the Commifioners in a very courteous manner) that they remained very well apayed and satisfied.

34 *Maravediz*
make 6^d.
A Ducket
make's 75 6^d.

The *Infante's*
discontent-
ment.

The Subsidie which they granted him in this first Parliament (according to *Fray Antonio de Guevara's* relation) was one hundred and fiftie millions of *Maravediz*; And *Pero-Mexia* saith, it was six hundred thousand *Duckets*, to bee raised the three first years. The Parliament beeing ended, there was celebrated a *Just*, or *Turnament Royal* in the chief market place of *Valladolid*, five and twentie against five and twentie; Som *Spaniards*, and som *Flemish* Noblemen, who strove to out-view each other, aswell in the richnels of their habits and liveries, as in feats of arms; Seven of them were killed, and som hurt; therefore it was commonly said, That for a Combat in earnest the losse was not great, but, for a jest it was too much. After this solemnitie, which continued certain daies, the King having visited his mother, *Donnia Juana*, and the *Queen Germana*, leaving all things in good order in *Castillia*, departed with his Court for *Aragon*, taking his sister, *Donnia Leonor*, and the *Queen Germana* with him. Hee made the town of *Aranda* in his waie, whither his brother, the *Infante Don Fernando*, was returned with small contentment, becauf they made such haste to pack him out of *Spain*. There the King remained som few daies, during which time, the *Infante* was dispatched for *Flanders*, as was before determined; for the King (not beeing yet arrived in *Castillia*, som men of note about the *Infante's* person, put thoughts into his head of succeeding his grandfather in the Crown; and it was greatly to bee feared that the *Castillians* would have declared for him, to the prejudice of *Don Carles*, hee beeing of their Countrie, and his brother a *Fleming*: besides, his name, *Fernando* was enough to gain him the affection and hearts of all *Spain*, for his Grandfathers sake, whose

memorie

memorie was held in great honor and adoration amongst them; But God disposed it otherwise for the good and quiet of those Kingdoms. *Don Fernando* being fitted with attendants, and all necessaries for his voyage, the *King* continued his progress into *Aragon*, hee was received in *Saragosa* with very great solemnitie and joie, the 15 of Maie 1518. The *Castillians* expressed much discontent at the departure of the *Infante Don Fernando*, and began to murmur every where, they being of opinion, that hee ought not to bee sent out of the Kingdom, until his brother were married and had children. They were likewise distasted, and the *Aragoneses* also, at the present Government; for they could not endure that strangers should bear so great swaie in their Countrie, that all businesses must pass through the hands of *Xeures*, and his friends, who had the name of being over-greddie, and covetous; the same brand was laied upon the rest of the *Flemings* that attended his *Majestie*. But that was no wonder, for all *Prince's Favorites* (bee they never so just and well deserving) are generally envied, and abhorred by most people. They said moreover, that the *King* was wilful, untractable, disdainful, and gave small testimonies of affection to the *Spanish Nation*, with divers other such like discontented speeches, which are mentioned more at-large hereafter. But to saie the truth, the *King* was no waie to bee blamed; for hee was so young, that of necessitie hee must suffer himself to bee directed by those, who had bred him up from his infancie. Time made the *Spaniards* plainly see, when hee came to riper years, that hee loved, respected, and esteemed them above all other Nations, which appeared by his placing them in offices of the greatest Honor and Trust, not onely in *Spain*, but in *Italie*, *Flanders*, and *Germanie*.

Charls the Fifth
received at *Saragosa*. 1518.

The *Castillians*
and *Aragoneses*
distasted.

SECT. VII.

THE King having been som daies at *Saragosa*, the Parliament began, which continued so long, that hee was forc'd to remain there eight moneths; there the grand Chancellor dyed, not much lamented by the Spaniards, who abhorred the verie memorie of him, and hee cared more for his gold then for their favor or displeasure. This *Monsieur de Laxao* left a very bad name behinde him; in his place, by his *Majestie's* command, succeeded *Mercurino de Gatinara*, a man of singular wisdom and learning, a friend to Justice and Equitie, and a great *Jurisconsult*. The *Grandeos* of the Kingdom of *Aragon* beeing assembled in the *Arch-Bishop's* Palace, who was unckle to the King, they desired him to let them understand his pleasure, for they were very willing and desirous to serv him, as they had don his Predecessors, but conditionally, that they might enjoie the ancient Customs and Privileges of the Kingdom; the King answered, they should; But considering the indisposition of the *Queen*, his mother, hee willed and required them to acknowledg him their King, as those of *Castillia* had don. Whereunto the *Jurados*, or *Jurates*, in the name of the kingdom, replied, they would, though it was against the Laws, his mother beeing yet living; So that his Highness would bee pleased to swear the *Infante Don Fernando Prince* of Spain, the same daie, as they should swear him King; not that the *Infante* should remain *Prince*, and heir to the *Crown*, but onely until such time as hee should bee married, and God should bless him with som hopeful issue to succeed him, whereunto, if his Highness would not consent, they would swear him *Executor*, and *Adminiftrator* of the *Queen*, his mother's estate: and if hee would not condescend to this, they told him in plain terms, that they had no leav nor power to do otherwise,

Gatinara made
Lord Chan-
cellor of
Spain.

Demands of
the *Aragon*ses
before they
would ac-
knowledg
Charls their
King.

otherwise, and although they had, they would not put it in execution; for that would much prejudice, and damnifie their exemptions. The *King* was much displeas'd at their peremptoriness, and answer'd them not one syllable: the *Grandees* of *Castillia* being present, grew out of patience at the *Aragonese* sauciness, and the *Earl of Venavente* told the *King* openly, that, if his *Majestie* would take his Counsel, hee should make them com under the yoke, that hee would venter his life and fortune, to serv him in that design; that his *Majestie's* onely waie was, to rais a powerful Armie, and subdue that Kingdom by force of Arms, and so hee might impose upon them what Laws hee pleas'd, not such as they desired and fancied. At which words, the *Earl of Aranda* answer'd the *Earl of Venavente*, in such harsh and bitter tearms, that all the Palace, and the *Grandees* of the Court were com almost to daggers drawing: So that the *King* had much to do to pacifie them, commanding everie one of them to repair to their own houses, and not to stir abroad upon pain of death; But his Commands were not fully obey'd that time; for night being com, divers of both parties met in the streets, and manie of them were sore wounded, and questionless, the dispute had been more bloudie, if the *Arch-Bishop* had not left his supper, and com out with other Noblemen to part them. The next daie, the *King* made the *Earls of Venavente* and *Aranda* friends, which don, the *Aragonese* were brought to reason, and being willing to conform themselvs with the *Castillians*, they took the same Oath, and acknowleged the *King* to bee their *King* and Lord, jointly with *Donna Juana* the *Queen*, his mother, as had been don in *Castillia*.

Quarrel between the *Castillians* and *Aragonese*, about the receiving *Charles* as King.

 SECT. VIII.

IN the beginning of the year 1519, the Parliament of *Ara-*
gon being ended, the *King* went to visite his Dominions Anno 1519.
 of

The Emperor
Maximilian's
death in Ger-
manie.

His condi-
tions.

The King of
France's ambi-
tion to the
Imperial
Crown.

Seven Ele-
ctors of the
Empire.

Charles the Fifth
elected Empe-
ror.

of *Barcelona*, and would have don the like in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, if his occasions had permitted. BEEING at *Barcelona*, news was brought him that *Maximilian* the Emperor, his Grandfather, died at *Belfis* the 12th of Januarie 1519, whereat hee was not a little troubled; all the Court was forthwith put into mourning, and his Obsequies celebrated with very great solemnitie, according to the honor and greatness of his person, who was one of the most virtuous, and wel-deserving Emperors that ever had command in Germanie: hee was of a most noble and generous disposition, pious and valiant. The ten first years of his age, hee could make no use at all of his tongue, insomuch that the Emperor *Frederick*, his father, thought hee would bee dumb, or a fool; But coming to mature years, hee gave great evidences of very rich endowments of his soul. Hee died of a Flux, in the sixtie third year of his age, having governed the Empire twentie five years, after his Father's deceas. *Francis*, the first of *France*, stood in competition with *Don Carles*, for the succession to the Imperial Crown, and left no waie unattempted to corrupt the *Electors*, and make them of his partie. But the major part, after manie, long, and serious debates, thinking it more fit to continue that Dignitie to the Houf of *Austria* (who were Natives of that Ccountrie) then to transfer it upon a strange *Prince*, made the election in favor of *Don Carles*, King of *Spain*, to the great contentment of all *Princes*, and people of *Germanie*. The *Electors* of the sacred Empire, at that time were, *Alberto Archbishop* of *Maguncia*, or *Mentz*, *Hertnao Archbishop* of *Colonia*, *Ricardo Archbishop* of *Treues*, *Frederico Duke* of *Saxonia*, *Lewis King* of *Bohemia*, and *Hungaria*, *Joachim Marquis* of *Brandeburg*, *Lewis Count Palatine* of the *Rhyne*. The Election beeing past in *Franckfort*, and published all over *Germanie*, the *Electors* sent *Frederick Duke* of *Baviers* into *Spain*, to his *Majestie*; in mean time, they ordered all matters concerning the Empire, and made *Casimire* of *Brandeburg* Captain General of the Imperial forces, until the new Emperor should com to receiv his Crown.

Crown. Whilst these things passed in *Germanie*, the King celebrated in *Barcelona*, the feast of the Order of the golden Fleece; there the Lord high Councellor of *Castillia*, Don Imigo de Velasco, Don Fadrique de Toledo Duke of Alva, Don Alvaro de Zunniga Duke of Vejar, Don Fadrique Enriquez Lord Admiral of *Castilla*, Don Estavan Alvarez Cesorio Marquis of Astorga, received the Order: But the Earl of Venavente refused it, saying, that hee was a right *Castillian*, and cared not for anie badges of foreign honor, those of his own Countrey being as good, and in his opinion far better. The Duke of Cordona in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and the Prince of Bisignano, a *Neapolitane*, stood not upon those nice terms, but accepted the Order as a particular favor from his Majesty. About the same time, the Queen Germana (finding more contentment in the Companie of a Husband, then in the solitarie condition of a widow,) was married with great solemnitie, to the Marquis of Brandenburg, brother to the Elector, who (though of a very illustrious extraction) was so incomparably inferior to the Majesty and greatness of her former husband Don Fernando, that her judgment was much censured for her choise, and the Courtiers thought so slightly of her, that divers would not give her the style of Highness, until his Majesty commanded it (who assisted personally at the solemnitie, thinking thereby to endear the Elector of Brandenburg, the more to vote in his behalf.) At the beginning of Julie, in the same year, arrived at *Barcelona*, Frederick Duke of Baviers, brother to Lewis Duke of Baviers, Elector and Count Palatine, with the dispatches from the Electors; and having delivered his embassage, the Chancellor Mercurino de Gatimara answered, that his Majesty did receive very willingly the Election of the Empire, which the seven Princes Electors had conferred upon him, that hee would take that weightie and honorable care upon himself, out of the great affection which hee bore his native Countrey, and that hee would endeavor with all convenient speed, to settle his affairs in *Spain*, and make a voiage into *Germanie*: Thus the Empire

Haughtie humilitie of the Earl Venavente, in refusing to bee made Knight of the golden Fleece.

being settled upon *Don Carles of Spain*, and the King of *France* deprived of all his hopes (notwithstanding the vast summs of monie and presents, wherewith hee thought to purchase the Elector's Votes) his envie and choler grew beyond the bounds of moderation, and hee resolved forthwith to act what mischief hee could, and interests the power of all other *Princes*, his Allies, against the *Emperor Elect*.

 S E C T. IX.

The Catalanes
make difficultie
of acknowledging
Charls
King.

Those of *Va-*
lencia.
refuse to ac-
knowledg
him.

Their proud
answer.

WHILEST the King, or *Emperor Elect* was at *Barcelona*, hee demanded the *Catalanes* to receiv, and acknowledg him their King, which they refused for a while, neither would they consent, that hee should call anie *Parlament* in their Countrie; but at last, they were perswaded to reason, and swore Alleageance to him, as *Castillia* and *Aragon* had don. The *Emperor* upon notice of his *Electim*, and solicitation of the *Princes* of *Germanie* for his going hither, had not the leisure to visit the Kingdom of *Valencia*, as hee intended; therefore hee desired, that those of that Kingdom would swear, and acknowledg him King, without obliging him to bee personally present, in regard it was impossible for him to perform that journie, at that time, by reason of his new and unexpected occasions, which called him another waie. But they would not hearken to anie such motion, and scornfully made answer, that they were as good as *Aragoneses*, or *Catalanes*, and since, hee had spent two years time in those Countries, why could not hee staie two moneths at *Valencia*? The *Emperor* being readie, to depart from *Barcelona*, sent *Cardinal Adriano* to *Valencia*, to pacifie that Kingdom, and gave Commission to the *Infante Don Enrique*, and the *Arch-Bishop* of *Saragosa* (both his Unckles) to call a *Parlament* in his name, ordering that the monie which should bee granted him therein, by waie of Subsidie, should bee all distributed

buted amongst the aggrieved, and needie of the Kingdom. *Don Alonso de Cordona* Admiral of *Aragon*, and the *Duke of Gandia*, with several other persons of account, gave their Votes to acknowledg, and swear his Majestie their King; But the rest told the *Cardinal Adriano*, and wrote besides to the Emperor, that they would lose their wives, Children, and Estates, rather then the Liberties and Privileges of their Countrie; whereat the *Cardinal* much displeas'd, returned to Court, leaving the Citie of *Valencia* in great distraction; the out-rages and disorders whereof, shall bee hereafter more at large related.

 SECT. X.

IT was agreed, and his Majestie toke Oath in the Parliament, at *Valladolid*, That no Offices should bee given to *Strangers*, nor the *kingdom* surcharged with new Impositions, but should continue in the same manner, as was ordered by the Catholick King, at a Parliament, which hee called in *Burgos*; Yet there was nothing less observed, or worse kept then these Articles; for the treasure of the kingdom was publicly exhausted, and Offices were daily given to the *Flemings*, who sold them to those that would give most monie, and likewise divers spiritual livings were so bestowed; which the *Castillians* seeing, and taking notice, how small account was made of the *Grandeas*, and Nobles, Natives of that Countrie, they began to bee distast'd, and muttered out manie things in a discontented manner, which ought not to bee rehearsed. These murmurings began from the time of his Majestie's departure, from *Valladolid* to *Aragon*, which was in March 1518. And being in *Barcelona*, som troubles arose about *Segovia*, and *Avila*, by reason of certain persons, that had farmed the *Customs*, and *Royal Revenues*, which enhanced the charges of the Countrie; whereat those Cities much aggrieved,

grieved, the contrarie having been promised by the *Emperor Elect* in Parliament; They acquainted the *Citie of Toledo* with their grievances, and desired, that all the *Cities* of the *kingdom* should make a joint-complaint thereof to his Majesty, and appoint their *Commissioners* to importune him for a redress, desiring him to stand to the Ordinances of Parliament, made in *Valladolid*, and to grant what hee then refused; moreover, that hee would visit the whole Kingdom before his departure into *Germanie*. Whereunto the Lord *Chancellor*, in his Majesty's name, made answer, That hee would very speedily send an Express, to give the *Citie of Toledo* thanks for their expressions of fidelitie to him, and satisfie them more fully; But the *Empire* beeing without Head, hee could not defer his going thither to receive the Crown, and settle the Government; which don, hee would make all convenient haste back again, into that Kingdom of *Castilla*, whose good hee tendered in a very particular manner. The *Commissioners* beeing answered, the *Chapter of Toledo* (as beeing the Chief of the Kingdom) presented their grievances to his Majesty, concerning the Tenth, which the Pope had granted to him, through all the Churches of the Kingdom, complaining that it was a new, heavie, and intolerable tax, and not onely grievous to the *Ecclesiasticks*, but prejudicial to all his *kingdoms*; That in former times, when the said Kingdoms were over-run by Moors and Infidels, although there were manie, and bloudie wars, which continued until the blessed reigns of the *Catholick, King Don Fernando*, and *Donnia Isabel*, of glorious memorie, his *Grandfather* and *Grandmother*, who conquered the Kingdom of *Granada*, and extirpated the *Moorish* race, which wars were very necessarie, and of extraordinarie expence; yet there were no Tenths raised, nor demanded; It beeing an unheard of thing, and a request as unjust as insupportable, much less reason had his Majesty to require anie such thing of the *Clergie*, his case beeing far different, and his wars nothing so important. That hee should rather encourage the *Clergie*, to praie for his good success, then diminish

nish anie thing from their subsistence; Praiers beeing of more avail, then anie Martial Discipline, as appears by the holie Scriptures; wherein it is read, that the victorie is more certainly obtained by the praiers of devout Priests, then by the force of Horsmen and Arms. But if his *Majestie's* temporal Revenue was not sufficient to maintein a just war, in such case, hee might demand assistance of the Church-men, as far forth as the present necessitie did require; wherein they would willingly supplie his *Majestie*, making Levies amongst themselvs, and rather abate their own subsistence, then suffer him to bee disfurnished, which they should not bee able to do, if his *Majestie* in the verie beginning would exact a Tenth from them. Divers other reasons they alleged in their Petition to his *Majestie*, whereunto there was no time to give answer.

SECT. XI.

MEan time the *Emperor Maxmilian* beeing dead, and *Charls* the Fifth beeing long before hee went thither, to to take possession, the People of *Austria* having lost all fear, and respect of autoritie, fell into the greatest disorder and mutinie that had been, within compals of the memorie of man, turning out, and discarding all antient Officers of Justice, and constituting others of their own combination: the like they did with *Ecclesiastical* benefices. The Loial Partie (which was the fewer in number) durst not open their mouths, fearing the furie of the seditious vulgar; who had possessed themselvs of all the *Arch-Duke's* Revenues, and were grown to such a height of arrogancie, that they sent to the *Emperor*, beeing at *Barcelona*, to ratifie and confirm what they had don for the publick Weal and good Government (as they termed it) of that Countrie, and to allow the new Officers of *Justice*, whom they had constituted. But the

Troubles in
Germanie.

E

Emperor

Emperor returned them such an answer, as made them understand that hee knew himself to bee *Arch-Duke* of *Austria*, and not they. These distractions and perturbations continued in that *Countrie* almost two years; after which his *Majestie* returning into *Germanie*, pacified all those dissentions and factious spirits, setled the Government, and received the *Imperial Crown*, as shall be expressed hereafter.



Finis Libri Primi.





THE
SECOND BOOK.

S E C T. I.

IN this and the following Books, I am to relate the the Insurrections or rising of the People (commonly called *Comunidades*, or *Communalities*) which continued in *Spain*, from the year 1519 to 1522. A Subject, truly, very sad and unpleasant, and which I would willingly pass under silence, because some Illustrious Families, Noble Cities, and principal Towns of the Kingdom were interested therein, which never had been disobedient to their *Kings*, but always esteemed for their loyalty. Neither do I conceive that they thought any way to disserve his *Majesty*, but rather to release him out of that oppression (as I may term it) in which his Favorites held him. And, it is manifest, in that they so earnestly importuned and petitioned, that their *King* would not go out of the Kingdom, that they desired, and delighted to see, and enjoy his Royal presence; which was no sign, that they intended to do him any disservice: It will appear more evidently in the Progress of this Historie, and by the letters which passed between them,

E 2 whereof

whereof som I have set down in the same manner, as they were written in the originals, becaul the particularitie of the Historie doth require it, in a matter of such weight and danger. And since the *Loialtie* of *Spain* come's in question, who have alwaies had their Princes in so high a reverence, that they honored and respected their verie Statues and pictures, as if they had been their *Sovereigns*, whom they represented: I will, before I go anie further, declare the ground and reasons, upon which the *Castillians* founded their complaints and grievances, as I have gathered them from those who were eie-witneses, and have penn'd all the severall passages, with much discretion, respect, fear of God, and with a minde free from partialitie.

S E C T. II.

THe familiaritie of *Monsieur de Xeures* with the *King* was so great, that hee rather seemed to bee the *King*, and the *King* his *Son*, then to bee *Xeures* his *Vassal* and *Creature*, as hee was. There was no accels, nor speaking with the *King*, but when *Xeures* pleased: if anie thing succeeded well, *Xeures* assumed the glorie to himself, giving out that hee had don it; if ill, hee alwaies laid the fault upon the *King*, saying, The *King* would have it so. And, indeed, this was the first occasion that begat the innocent *Prince* the ill will of his *People*. I have seen a memorial of these Passages, which a Gentleman (one of the *King's* Domestick servants) wrote, and averreth to have been an eie-witnes of them. Hee report's, that while the *King* was yet in his minoritie, and unacquainted with *State-affairs*, *Xeures* would suffer no bodie to speak with him, unles hee were first informed of the busines, that so hee might put into the *King's* mouth, what hee would have him to answer; and if anie refused to impart their busines to him, they were so far from having audience,

audience, that hee would not suffer them to enter into his *Majestie's* presence; Thus did hee deal with those that were sent from *Toledo*, and divers other *Cities*. Indeed, at that time all the *Castillians* were very much discountenanced, and not treated as their's and their Predecessor's services had deserved. The *Flemings* perceived the mindes of the *Spaniards* disposed for all mischief; much ambition, and little friendship being amongst them: for some devoted themselves particularly to *King Ferdinand* the *Catholick*, others to *King Philip* the *Fair*. These were kindes of Factions, wherewith were possessed for some daies the mindes of manie People.

Mercurino Gatimara Lord high *Chancellor* was second in the *Emperor's* favor, and as the *Autoritie* and familiaritie with *Princes* admit of no *Competitor*, *Xeures* and this *Chancellor* could not endure each other: they both presumed so much, that each of them would command alone, and ambitioned a *Power* above the other; these made themselves the *Heads* of those two *Factions*, and added more poison to their malice and discontents. *Xeures* favored those of *Ferdinando*: and the *Chancellor* sided with those of *Don Philip's* *Partie*. And all was ill (as the *Proverb* saie's) for the poor *Pitcher*; for the distressed *Countrie* of *Spain* had all the sufferings. *Xeures* was so corrupt and covetous, that he sold all the *King's* *Favors*, *Offices*, *Bishopricks*, *Honors*, and whatsoever hee conceived would yield him money. The *Chancellor* did the like with all *Justice-ships* and other *Offices*; so that *Justice* was enforced to give up her *Seat*, and *Sword* to the *Tyrannie* of over-ruling *Avarice*; onely monie then bore the *swaie*; no *Right*, no *Equitie* was able to counterpoize the weight of *Gold*; all things and places (as in the times of *Catiline* at *Rome*) were then put to sale: The *Flemings* were much encouraged with this fine gold, and *Ingot*s of pure *Silver*, that came from the *Indies*; and the *simple Spaniards* so blinde, in giving it for their pretensions, that it became as common, as a *Proverb*, for a *Fleming* to call a *Spaniard*, *My Indian*. And, indeed, it was not improper, for the *Indians* never gave so

much gold to the *Spaniards*, as the *Spaniards* did to the *Flemings*: this in time grew to such a pass, that it was publickly sung along the streets,

*Double Pistol, it's well for thee,
That from Xeuress thou art free.*

It is reported that a certain *Pretendent*, or *Petitioner* who had presented *Xeuress* with a very handsom *Mule*, and hee being asked by another Gentleman, where hee had gotten that curious beast, answered, That hee knew not who had given it him; being within hearing, and very much aggrieved to see himself so soon forgotten, and the business hee had communicated to *Xeuress* so neglected, give's forthwith order to have his *Mule* cried, declaring all his marks, and describing the furniture hee had bestowed on him; which the same Gentleman hearing of, went presently, and told *Xeuress*, that according to the marks, it must needs be that this *Mule* had been stolen; Thus the poor *Petitioner* recovered what hee had given him, and lost not all, as most men do in such occurrences: for there is no memorie so weak, as that of a covetous man in Power, who digests gold with more facilitie, then *Estriches* do Iron.

SECT. III.

There was no monie to be got in the whole Kingdom, but pieces of nine *Maraudediz*, which is three halpence English, for all better coins *Xeuress* had transported. What shall I saie? Besides that which was ship't for *Flanders* from *Barcelona*, being 750 Millions; from the *Groyne*, 950 Millions; and from other parts, 800 Millions; so that it exceeded the number of twentie five hundred millions; which was enough to make him equal to the most powerful and richest King. But consider in what condition did poor *Castillia* remain after such a dreining. Besides all this, the

the *Flemings* held the *Spaniards* in so mean esteem, that they insulted over them as if they had been their slaves, or rather beasts; they would break open their houses at their pleasures, abuse their wives in their own presence, carry away their goods, and no Justice to be had against them. It happened that a *Castillian* having killed a *Fleming* at *Valladolid*, took Sanctuary in *S^t Marie Magdalen's Church*; Som *Flemings* violently breaking in upon him, and stabbing him in divers places, there made him a sad sacrifice to their revengeful furie; which don, they went cleer away unchastised, unquestioned; That which bred the People's greatest dislike of their *King*, was, that they could not be admitted into his Presence, treat with him, nor so much as know him: For *Xeures* would suffer no bodie to speak with him; if at anie time hee did give audience, *Xeures* would still be at his elbow, and in regard hee did not throughly understand the *Spanish* Tongue, hee seemed as if hee had not been spoken to. This gave the rise of the People's general ill opinion of him: They presently spake him a man of a weak apprehension, and of an ill disposition, they call'd him *Dutchman*, and an Enemy to *Spaniards*; They said, hee wanted Judgment as well as years, neither was hee of a Talent fit to govern: by these prejudicial Censures of their *Prince*, which were for som time generally noised abroad amongst the People, likening him to his Mother: Som that never had seen him, said, It could not be otherwise; and that, for that respect onely, *Xeures* would suffer no bodie elf to confer with him, lest hee should too much discover his own imperfections. Others that had been admitted to speak with him, much vindicated his honor in that particular, protesting, That they found him verie discreet, and of no mean capacitie; That hee was no way guiltie of those pretended weakneses, but his Favorites infinitely to be condemn'd; neither was it to be wondered at, if hee suffered himself to be governed by them, in regard hee was but a youth, and unacquainted with the Customs of that Countrie, and the dispositions of
the

the People. Those that have near relations about the Persons of *Kings*, ought to bee verie careful and circumspect, how to avoid the occasions of Murmurings and Envie, considering, that *Kings* are like that Sun which diffuseth his light to all.

S E C T. IIII.

THe whole Countrie of *Castillia* was imbrued with these factious discourses, before they ever thought of the departure of their *King* and *Emperor*, as will appear by the Letters, which were interchangeably sent from Citie to Citie. But when they heard of his resolution to bee gon, and that his calling of a Parliament would encreas their Contributions and Taxes, they out-stript the bounds of patience. The principal Causes of their Commotions were these three ensuing: First, to see the *King* go out of that Kingdom, being alwaies accustomed to keep their Courts in *Spain*; for when *King Alonso* the Wise deserted it, out of an ambitious covetousness of possessing th' *Imperial Scepter*, hee not onely lost that Kingdom, but was incumbred with insurrections, not of the Common people, but of *Kings* and *Princes*, that levied arms against him. Their second grievance was, To see all Offices, and places of Honor, Trust, or Profit, conferred upon strangers. The third was an universal crying out, That the *Treasure* of *Spain* was all transported into foreign Nations. And wee may add for a fourth Reason, That in that verie occurrence, som evil Star dispersed the malignitie of it's influence over all *Castillia*, *Sardinia*, *Sicilia* and *Austria*, which at one instant were all infected with the same poison, as if they had all conspired and agreed together. This they made the ground of their insurrections; becaus their *King* left them to live in a strange Countrie; becaus their wealth was exhausted, and their Countrie impoverished, to enrich foreigners; and becaus the high *Treasurer-ship* was given to

Xeures,

Xeures, and the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Toledo* to *William de Cröy*, his Nephew, and all presentations to spiritual preferments, and other Offices to strangers; But that which they chiefly resented was the *King's* going to the *Empire*, and had they really wished him ill in his own person, they would not have been so sensible of his departure.

I cannot let pass with silence the audacitie of a certain gentleman of those parts, named, *The Martial Don Pedro*, who refused to swear Alleageance to *Charles*, as *King*, alledging, that in regard hee was not born in *Spain*, nor descended from the blood of the *Castillian Kings*, by the Father's side, hee was not obliged to acknowledg him, but, like a true *Castillian*, to keep strictly that Oath, and Loialtie to his Countrie, and the precedent *Kings*. Upon which words hee was apprehended, his goods confiscate, and his person committed close prisoner in the Castle of *Atienza*. The *Emperor* after this coming to *Valladolid*, sent for him, and promised him, that if hee would yet take the Oath, hee should not onely bee enlarged, but bee restored to the quiet possession of his whole estate, as formerly, which favor beeing refused, hee was thence carried to the Castle of *Simancas*, where hee ended his life through his own indiscreet obstinacie. Som men through a desperate fool-hardiness think it a piece of courage and gallantrie to precipitate themselvs into the most eminent dangers.

The Martial Don Pedro refuseth the Oath of Alleageance.

SECT. V.

THe *Citie* of *Toledo* (extremely discontented at these Passages, especially, at the *Emperor's* going away without beeing known or seen) wrote to the other *Cities* of *Castillia* this ensuing Letter.

A Letter from *Toledo* to the Cities of
CASTILLIA.

Worshipful, Noble, and most Virtuous Sirs!

IN regard sometimes wee have written to you in particular, you may wonder why wee now write to you all in general: But considering the imminent necessitie that there is in this case, and the danger that may ensue by deferring anie longer; wee shall rather bee condemn'd as beeing too slack for not doing it before, then thought importunate for doing it now. You know, and may remember, how vehemently King Charls our Soeverign Lord's arrival in Spain was desired of all, and how sudden is his departure from us; his absence now is no less torment to Us, then his Presence at that time afforded us delight and comfort; the long continuance of his Roial Person in the Kingdom of Aragon, and the small time hee hath vouchsafed to reside in this our kingdom of Castillia, hath been a great occasion that the affairs of this kingdom are yet in so unsettled a condition: And if his Majestie doth go away, as hee hath determined, the longer wee delaie, the worse our case will bee. Therefore (Sirs!) our opinion is, if you think good, since the damage is universal, That 'twere convenient, that wee should all meet and consult upon a remedie; the business is of no small moment, besides, in manie other particular things (Sirs!) wee finde an extreme necessitie of your advise, and after your advise wee shall have as much need of your favor, and helping hands. Wee finde three principal things that require our convening, that wee may advise upon som good cours for the expedition of them; It will bee needful that wee dispatch som messengers to his Majestie, humbly beseeching him, First not to depart Spain; Secondly, that hee would by no means permit our Treasure to bee transported hence; Thirdly, that no strangers may bear office in this kingdom. Sirs, wee beg thus much favor of you, that having read our Letter, you forthwith send us your answer; for it is necessarie, that those who are to carrie our Messages should go together, and make their Propositions all at once; for our demands beeing in the names of the whole kingdom, wee shall

SECT. 6. *The Civil Wars of Spain.*

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shall obtain a more significant and speedie Answer. God keep his Majesty, and preserv his Noble Person.

From *Toledo* this 7th November, 1519.

The contents of this short Letter were much approved of by the Readers; but in that Occurrence of time they were of dangerous consequence, for the ill managing of the affairs of *Castillia* was generally much resented, and this Letter bred no mean varietie of thoughts in the alreadie wounded hearts of the suffering People; it did this mischief, that all men suspecting worst evils, unanimously said, Since *Toledo* list's up the hand, som great disaster must befall this Kingdom. They all returned their answers, although the Citie of *Burgos* disapproved their general meeting; *Granada* answered, that they should do better to expect another opportunitie, and carrie a more specious form. *Salamanca* and *Murcia* were not backwards in their promises and fair offers, but they did not agree in that particular, touching the general *Assemblee*, yet all wrote that they would send their *Burgeses*, as *Agents*, who in the *Parlament* should be conformable to the *Toledians*. *Sevil* answered neither yea, nor no. These answers puff'd up the Spirits of the *Toledians*, and *Hernando de Avalos* (brother to *Don John de Ribera*, who was chosen for *Procurador*, that is, *Burges* and *Commissioner*) associating himself with *John de Padilla*, were the chief sticklers for that Cause, and although the Emperor wrote to them, no reason would satisfie, but they answered, that they understood in so doing, to do him service.

John de Padilla was afterwards their General, a man of noble extraction, and a high Spirit.

SECT. VI.

SOON after was publisht through the whole kingdom, the Emperor's determination to go into *Germanie*, to receive the

the *Imperial Crown*; Everie one lamented his departure, out of a prelaging fear, that those so long contracted fogs of murmuring Discontent, condensing more and more through the privation of his resplendent presence, might at last break forth into som furious storm of intestine Commotions, to the ruine of their whole COUNTRY; Which Consideration meeting with the complaints, and general grievances of the whole Kingdom, they began at length to mutter out their resentments in these following words. That the King shewed verie small affection to that COUNTRY; and despising it as too mean for him, would betake himself wholly to *Germanie*. That *Xeures* had robbed *Spain* of all her Treasure; That the King beeing at *Burgos* (*Capital Citie of Castillia*) did not staie one week there. That *Xeures* would not have the *Parlament* to bee in *Valladolid*, although all the *Grandeas*, and divers others of the Kingdom had petitioned for it. That *Don Pedro Giron* had given the King som unbecoming Language, which hee thought good to put up, because hee was not man enough to punish his temerarious audacitie. That *Xeures* had called a *Parlament*, but for no other end, then to charge the Kingdom with a new Cessment of four hundred thousand Duckets. From these and such other seeds of discontents sown amongst the Common People, grew suddenly a multitude of turbulent Imaginations in their factious hearts; and the seditious *Clergie*, casting the oil of their, pretended, Religious Doctrine into the fire of the People's ill-grounded zeal, made the flame blaze the higher, pricking them daily forwards with their sacrilegious Exhortations in the Pulpits, in these or like words; *Why do you, that are a Free-born Nation, suffer such exorbitancies? Why do you suffer strangers to reap the fruits of your labors, in your own COUNTRY? You have not yet fully paid the Cessment, that was granted to the King in the last Parliament; and yet hee will impose more Taxes on you, till hee hath swept this kingdom clean, and quite beggar'd us, to enrich his Germane Nation; and there's Xeures, who was but a private Gentleman in Flanders, hath made himself one of the richest men in the world, by the spoils of us Castillians.* SECT. VII.

SECT. VII.

THE *Emperor* being at *Valladolid*, and the People's minds much distracted with these several grievances, hee sent for the *Corregidores*, *Regidores*, and all other Publick Magistrates to his Palace. Upon their appearance hee told them that being then to go into *Germanie*, to receive the *Imperial Crown*, hee was in great distress for want of monies to defraie his charges, to which hee desired, they would not onely give their consents, but bee assistant in the raising of three hundred Millions of *Maravediz*, which might bee easily don in *Castillia*, by waie of *Subsidie* and *Pole monie*, everie Town paying according to their qualitie and Celsments; Presuming, that if those of *Valladolid* subscribed, the other places of the Kingdom, would not bee backwards to answer his expectation; And in case they did satisfie his desires therein, hee promised to grant them all the Favors their *Burgesses* or *Commissioners* should demand of him in *Parlament*. There was present at this Conference, the *Arch-Bishop* of *Santjago*, the *Bishop* *Mota*, the *Earl* of *Venavente*, the *Marquis* of *Astorga*, and *Xeures* who was never from the *Emperors* elbow. Those of *Valladolid* desired som time to give in their answer, but (they said) They could see no possibilitie of effecting what the *Emperor* demanded of them. Thence began tumultuous meetings in the streets, *Conventicles*, and outrageous *murmurings*, insomuch that they were even readie to rise in arms against the *Flemings*. At last *Valladolid* returned the *Emperor* this answer, That they humbly desired his *Majestie* would bee pleased to staie, and make his residence in their Countrie, and that upon those terms hee should not onely command the three hundred Millions hee desired, but they would furnish him with much more, and if need required, they would not stick to part with their

lands and goods, but sell their Children also to do him service. But, in their opinions, that hee should go away and deprive the kingdom of his *Royal* Person, besides, that vast summe monie which hee desired to carrie into forreign Countries, seemed verie unreasonable, and they would sell nothing to further anie such designe, neither did they believ that *God* required they should paie him anie such obedience. Upon this answer of *Valladolid*, there were several meetings and Consultations, but they prevailed nothing. But the *Emperor's* Favorites, (against whom *Castillia* was chiefly incensed) *Viz. Xeuves, Don Garzia de Padilla, and Mota, Bishop of Badajos*, went again to the Magistrates, desiring them that they would consider well upon his *Majestie's* demands, since the performance thereof was so important to his present service, and so easie for them to accomplish: that the necessitie of his going to receiv the *Imperial Crown* was extremely urgent, and redounded not a little to the reputation and honor of that Kingdom. That they should look upon what *Castillia* had furnished to *King Alonso the Wise*, when hee went into *Germanie* upon a pretended claim of the *Empire*, and how much more reason they had to do the like now, (which they might well do, the Kingdom beeing in a far better condition.) That the *King* undertook not that voyage, as *Don Alonso* did, upon a doubtful matter, his business was already most certainly concluded and agreed upon. This was closely followed, for during the three daies time which the *Emperor* staid in *Valladolid*, The *Gentrie, Magistrates, and Burgeses* of the Town, with *Bishop Mota* (whom the *Emperor* had sent, to entreat them to condescend to his desires) did nothing elf all daie and night, but go from the Court to the Town-hous, and back again; the *Bishop of Osma, Don Alonso Enriques* and som of the Magistrates were of opinion, that they should do well to satisfie his *Majestie's* desires. Others stood strongly to the contrarie, and turned their Opponents out from their consultation, with manie reviling words, calling them disloial, disobedient, and other injuri-

rious names : this beeing known amongst the Common People, inflamed amain their furie; Their boundless Rage suddenly broke into an Ocean of inconsiderate and bitter expressions. The third daie that his *Majestie* was there, It beeing divulged to and fro in the Citie, that the Magistrates had consented to and subscribed the *Emperor's* demands, The People cried out, *That ought not to bee suffred.* The *Emperor* beeing informed of all these passages, was very much perplext, and gave order presently to prepare for his departure. It is reported that hee said, hee desired no more then that consentment, and those subscriptions which som of the Magistrates had given in, As for the rest, who had refused, hee should take his time to bee even with them. So hee departed upon a sudden, though the *Townsmen* thought hee would not have gon, in regard *Valladolid* and divers other *Cities of Castillia*, had sent to beseech him with much humilitie and earnestness, that hee would bee pleased to forbear a while, and not leav them so soon, fearing the disasters which afterwards befel them. The *Emperor* gave them a gracious answer, thanking them for their good wishes, but (hee said) it was expedient for him to depart without anie further delaie, for the good and advancement of that Kingdom, and hee promised them, that assoon as hee had received the *Imperial Crown*, hee would com back again, at the farthest within three years. This did not satisfie the *Gentrie* of the Kingdom, nor the *Cities*, nor the *Commons of Valladolid*, who grew excessively out of Temper.

Dislates in
those of *Valladolid*.

S E C T. VIII.

BEfore wee pass anie farther, it will not bee improper to set down what was don at *Toledo* in this Interim. Wee have seen the Letter which they wrote the last year 1519, to the other *Cities of the Kingdom*, They wrote another to *Valladolid*,

dient, that forthwith Letters should be dispatched to all the Cities of the Kingdom (that had Vote in Parliament) to incite them to assemble in some place convenient for their treating upon the forementioned remedies. That there should immediately be sent a Petition to the *King*; beseeching him not to depart the Kingdom, but that hee would be pleased to give some Order for the remedying, and better managing of Affairs. That, in case his Majesty would not, the Kingdom intended to endeavor it, and would more narrowly see into that which concerned the Common good. These and divers such like things were that daie there propounded. And in regard they carried a specious apparence of the Publick Good, which was so generally desired, throughout the whole Kingdom, the Major part of the *Assemblee* was of opinion, That it was most fitting and convenient so to do. But some dissented (though they were the fewer in number) fearing that if the affairs were carried on in that manner (although under colour of the Common good) they would produce very sad consequents, neither were they satisfied of the lawfulness of the Citie's assembling such *Junta's*, without the *King's* licence and autoritie. *Antonio Alvares de Toledo*, an ancient gentleman of that Citie, Lord of *Cedillo*, and some others, which leaned to his faction, were of this opinion, either out of desire to do the *King's* service, or because they could not agree with the rest, (for such kinde of sidings have produced a world of mischief in all places) or that like prudent men and free from passion, they fore-saw with clearer eyes, the danger that would ensue th'assembling of the Cities without the King's Autoritie; They gave their Votes against writing to the Cities, declared against all publick, or particular meetings in that kinde, and said openly, that in case there were a necessitie of rectifying anie thing, they should in an honest and humble manner petition the *Emperor* to take it into his consideration. Whereto those of the contrarie Judgment made several replies. After long debate and contention about this matter, at last those few, which were of the

the most safe and wholeſom opinion, proteſted and required according to that which they had voted, that the *Corregidor* and Citie would take an eſpecial care what they did, as for their parts they abſolutely diſapproved of *John de Padilla's* and the other Gentlemen's Propoſitions. The Governor *Don Lewis Porto Carrero, Earl of Palma*, being preſent adhered to this Opinion, but was backwards in expreſſing himſelf, in regard hee had married the ſiſter of *Don Pedro Laffo*, who was of the contrarie Partie: neither did hee answer one ſyllable to the other's Proteſt or Requeſts. Yet the buſineſs was ſo imbroiled, that no reſolution could bee given that daie. This difference and contention amongſt the chief men of the Citie being noiſed abroad, the people began to mutinie, and divide themſelvs into Parties and Factions. But the Major part inclined to the worſt Opinion, being allured and drawn on with the fair pretence of the *Common good*: Thoſe few, who prudently perceived the contrarie, gave the *Emperor* forthwith notice of all theſe paſſages in the Citie, and *Antonio Alvarez de Toledo* in particular, who had great intimacie with the *Biſhop of Palencia Mota*. This Advice came to the *Emperor's* hands, juſt upon his departure from *Aragon* to *Valladolid*. But ſoon after at another meeting in *Toledo*, the Major part voted that they ſhould write to the other Cities of the Kingdom, as formerly had been propounded, and that they ſhould ſend to the *Emperor* two *Regidores*, and two *Jurados*, or *Jurates* of the Citie, humbly to demand of him as ſhall bee ſet down hereafter. Yet they were contradicted, and the contrarie required by the ſame men that had oppoſed them before, but to no purpoſe. Whereupon the diſpute grew ſo hot amongſt them, That *John de Padilla*, who ſtood for the Commons, and *Antonio Alvarez de Toledo*, who oppoſed and condemned his opinion as wicked and dangerous, drew their daggers at each other in the *Aſſembly*. *Don Pedro Laffo de la Vega*, *Don Alonſo Suares*, and two *Jurates* were appointed to go from the Citie to the *Emperor*, who having

Corregidor is as our Majors are in England. Diffentions in the Aſſembly at *Toledo*.

Here the Author miſtook his terms, ſpeaking like a flattering Friar.

Regidores and *Jurados* are in the nature of our Aldermen and Common-Council men.

Parlament
call'd in *Galicia*.

put themſelves in equipage forthwith departed. Letters were preſently diſpatcht and ſent to the other Cities, although the ſame diſtemper and factions were already brewing in divers of them before they were delivered. At that ſame time was brought to *Toledo* from the Emperor, a Summons to aſſiſt in the Parliament, which hee had call'd in *Galicia*. And according to the cuſtom of *Toledo*, (which is for the *Regidores* and *Jurates*, that are preſent, to draw lots, and one of each to go (upon whomſoever the lot fall's) It was *Don John de Silva's* chance (who afterwards was Marquels of *Monte-Mayor*) to go as *Regidor* of *Toledo*, and *Alonſo de Aguirre*, as *Jurate*. To whom (becauſ they held the opinion of the contrarie Partie) The Citie would not give a full and general Power, according to the *Emperor's* Commands, but an eſpecial and limited one, to ſee and hear what the *Emperor* deſired, and with an injunction to give them advice thereof, to the end that from time to time the Citie might order them what to do, and that in no caſe they ſhould grant anie Subſidies, or anie thing elſ. Which Power *Don John de Silva* would not accept, nor go to the Parliament upon thoſe terms, expecting they ſhould give him the full and uſual Power, and that the *Emperor* ſhould ſend his Command to that effect. There was ſuch trouble and oppoſition in this buſineſs, that hee could never obtain that Power, neither did they go to the Parliament.

S E C T. X.

THe *Emperor* returned an answer to *Antonio Alvarez de Toledo*, and the others, who had given him notice of the ſeveral Paſſages, thanking them for their fidelitie, and acknowledging the good ſervice they had don him therein, charging them moreover to perſevere, but with the greateſt warineſs and diſcretion that might bee. To the *Corregidor*
Don

Don Lewis de Palma hee wrote likewise, reprehending him of his lukewarmeness and small resolution, and gave him order what to do thenceforwards: but hee did not punctually obeie his *Majestie's* Orders, nor observ the manner which was most convenient, for hee was a man of too milde a disposition, which suit's very ill with those who are to govern, especially in cases of that nature. Whereupon som few daies after hee gave up his Command, and the *Emperor* sent *Don Antonio de Cordova* the (*Earl of Cabra's* brother) to take his place, but hee came too late to applie anie remedie to those disorders. Thus the affairs of *Toledo* wax't worst and worst, and the audaciousness of the People was grown to such a height, that they made new Assemblies everie daie in favor of that, which they called *Communitie*, by consent and order of *John de Padilla*, and *Hernando de Avalos*, who were the chief Incendiaries and favorers of these disturbances. *Toledo* excepting against the fore-mentioned *Commissioners*, agreed to constitute others with an especial power to present certain articles to the *Emperor* (which they had by waie of Instruction from the Citie) touching the general good of the Kingdom. *Don Pedro Lasso*, and *Don Alonso Suares* were appointed to go as *Regidores* of the Citie, and *Michael de Hita* and *Alonso Ortiz*, as *Jurates*. The Contents of their Commission were these. That they should beseech the *Emperor* not to depart the Kingdom, representing unto him the Inconveniencies, which might arise by his absence, in regard the Kingdom of *Castilla* could not live without their *King*, beeing not accustomed to bee under anie particular man's Government. That hee should not give anie Office or Charge in that Kingdom to anie *stranger*, and that hee should take those away again which hee had so bestowed. That hee should not take anie monie out of the Kingdom for anie person in the World, becaus they had already contributed so much, that the Kingdom was reduced to great povertie. That in the Parliament, which hee had now assembled, hee should not demand anie Subsidies, especially,

The Autor
ought rather
to have said
Promoters of
the People's
good.

if hee continued in the resolution of departing the Kingdom. That the *Parlament* should bee adjourned, and held in *Castillia* and not at *Santjago*, nor in the Kingdom of *Galicia*. That the Offices and Governments should not bee vendible. That som good order should bee taken in the *Inquisition*, which might tend to the service and glorie of God, and that no bodie should bee molested. That the grievances and wrongs of private Persons of the Kingdom, should bee righted and repaired. These were the principal heads of the demands, *Toledo* then sent to his *Majestie*, but the Com-motions increasing gave them the boldness to add new matter to their Petition, as you shall see hereafter.

S E C T. XI.

I Have declared already the combustions that were in *Valladolid*, and the *Emperor's* determination to depart thence, purposing to take his waie by *Tordesillas* to visit the *Queen*, his mother. Which beeing known, and noied through the Citie (moreover that hee would carrie his mother out of the Kingdom with him) the Citizens, and Common People were so much troubled at it, that they vented divers as bitter exclamations as a furious passion could dictate to their disturbed mindes. But the chief *Burgeses*, *Deputies* and other *Officers* met in Consultation at the Monasterie of *S^t Paul*, to take order for investing their *Commissioners* with a general Power, to grant what the *Emperor* should demand in *Parlament*, to petition his *Majestie* som things in their favor, and to kiss his hand before his departure. While they were thus assembled on Mondaie morning, *Don Pedro Lasso* with his Companions, arriveing the same daie at *Valladolid*, and beeing alighted went to visit them. But *Alonso Ortiz*, his fellow *Commissioner* (who resided in Court) said, in regard the *Emperor* was gon to Church to praie for his good jounie to
Tordesillas

Tordesillas, that hee thought it convenient for them to go first to the *Palace*, for perchance his *Majestie* beeing informed of their arrival, would vouchsafe to staie a little, and give them Audience. In this interim som Inhabitants of *Valladolid* beeing told of the *Toledo Commisioner's* coming, went to salute them, desiring that they would indevor to procure som Remedie against those miseries and grievances under which the Kingdom then so much groaned. Hereupon, it was agreed amongst them that the Towns-men should presently put themselvs in a readines, to oppose and hinder the *Emperor* from going out of the Kingdom, or depart that Citie (in which attempt *Don Pedro Lasso* offered to venture his fortune with them, if they would stand to him,) and that they should seiz upon *Xcures*, and som Flemings of the chief of his *Majestie's Council*, and *Bed-chamber*, binding first those Towns-men with a solemn oath, not to desert him in that enterprize. Beeing pricked with this over-dilligent itch of putting in execution the orders and Commands which their Citie had imposed upon them, before they went to kiss the *Emperor's* (hands which had been the right waie) beeing accompanied with a gang of *Common People*, and som *Deputies* of the *Wards* (who by this time were come in to them) they went directly to the Monasterie of *S^t Paul* to salute, and communicate their design with the chief of the Citie there assembled; To whom they made a speech, signifying the Causes of their coming, and what they intended to desire of his *Majestie* in behalf of their Citie, justifying their demands, and coloring them with the most specious pretences that could bee: And indeed, (as at first their meaning was) their affection and zeal to their *Prince* were such, that their thoughts (I believ) differed nothing from their expressions, until things were brought unto such a pass, that there was no hopes of remedie, and that those that had the power, or the wisdom, made a breach through their miseries; as did *Don Pedro Lasso* and divers other gentlemen. And at the last they desired, that (as they had written, and offered

to

*Valladolid's
answer to the
Commissioners
of Toledo.*

to the Citie of *Toledo*) they would send their *Commissioners* with them, to make a Joint-demand of the same things, which *Salamanca* and other Cities desired: for a Petition being countenanced by so manie Cities, would bee much more available. Their speech being thus ended, by the general consent of the Assemblie, *Don Hernando Enriquez* (brother to the Lord *Admiral*) returned them this answer; That as yet they were not fully determined what to do, and for that caus they were there assembled, That they would resolv upon that, which should tend most to the *King's* service, and the good of the Kingdom; That they might do what they saw good. The *Commissioners* of *Toledo* perceiving *Valladolid* otherwaies inclined, then they expected, went forthwith to the Palace, leaving them in consultation.

S E C T. XII.

THEY came to the *Emperor's* Chamber of presence, just as hee was risen from dinner. With his *Majestie* were the *Marquis* of *Villena*, the *Earl* of *Venavente*, the *Earl* of *Miranda*, the *Duke* of *Alburquerque* the *Earl* of *Haro*, the *Earl* of *Castro*, the *Earl* of *Palma*, the *Marquis* of *Brandenbourg*, the *Archbishop* of *Santjago*, the *Bishop* of *Palencia*, *Monsieur de Xeures*, and *Don Pedro Giron*, the *Earl* of *Urenia's* eldest son. It hapned as those *Commissioners* came in, *Don Pedro Giron* was talking with the *King* so loud, that everie one might hear him: Hee said, that his *Majestie* might remember, that being at *Barcelona*, the first of March anno 1519, hee did him the honor to give him a writing under his hand, wherein hee promised, that at his arrival in *Castilla*, hee would command the Judges to examine, and determine according to Law, the right which hee pretended and claimed to the Estate of *Medina Sidonia*, as the portion and inheritance of the *Ladie Mencia de Gusman*, his wife, Daughter to the *Duke Don John*

John deceased, and that his *Majestie* beeing since at *Burgos*, hee had again refresh't his memorie by waie of Petition, that hee had don the like there in *Valladolid*, and yet his *Majestie* was upon his departure, without giving anie order for the performance of that which hee had promised under his hand; and hereupon hee fell into a vain of very presumptuous language, such as favored of too much sauciness and audacitie. Amongst other things hee said, That since his *Majestie* did not do him Justice, hee intended to right himself with his own hand, and that for so great an injurie (and without reason, so publick, and so known, as his *Majestie* had made it to all the world, by suffering him to bee so abused against Equitie or Justice, and contrary to that which his *Majestie* did owe to his own *Royal* word, hee having so punctually performed all the duties that could bee required of his *Loialtie*) hee had now no more to saie or do, but onely to let his *Majestie* understand, That for fault of the remedie which hee did not give him, and for the great injurie which hee now did him, hee could and would make use of all those provisions, which the *Laws* of the *Kingdom* of *Spain* did ordain in favor, and for the redressing of oppressed and injured *Gentlemen*, and to this effect it was sufficient to ask his *Majestie's* permission, as hee had already begged it before as honorable persons, as those that were then present, but could not obtain it: Speaking these words, hee fell upon his knees, and kissed his *Majestie's* hand. The *Emperor* somewhat moved at *Don Pedro's*, more then bold, speeches, made this grave replie, *Don Pedro* you are a discreet man, I do not think that you would do anie thing, that shall oblige mee to punish you, for if you should, my Justice must answer your offence. *Don Pedro* replied, *Sir*, in doing what I saie, I do nothing but what I ought, and what is just, if I do it not my self, your *Majestie* will not see mee righted. Those from whom I descended, never imbraced the thought of doing anie thing that ought not to be don, neither do I intend it.

Bold speech of
Don Pedro Gi-
von to the Em-
peror.

H

That

That which I said, *Sir*, I would do, was to seek some remedie for my grievances, according to the Laws instituted in this Kingdom; and if your meaning is, *Sir*, to have me punished for doing what I ought, you will see (if you do so) what you ought to do to your self. The *Emperor* presently answered, I think to do you Justice, *Don Pedro*, as I told you, and I have performed my promise to you. You are my King *Sir*, said *Don Pedro*, and I will not answer you: That which you promised mee is herein written under your own hand, and may soon bee seen, and what you concluded in your Council yesterdaie, this daie is known sufficiently: that said, hee produced his paper for evidence. Upon these words the *Marquis of Villena* bid *Don Pedro* forbear, and void the Chamber, so *Don Pedro* went out, and the Earl of *Venavente*, and the Lord *High Constable* with him (who came in after this discours began) all the other Gentlemen presently followed them, and gathering themselvs in a knot together in the *King's Anti-chamber*, they descanted upon these passages, and *Don Pedro Giron* continued still his fuming, with expressions of much discontent, and sens of injurie, becaus the *King* had not made good to him what hee had promised him with so much assurance.

SECT. XIII.

D*On Pedro Giron* was no sooner gon out of the Presence, but *Don Pedro Lasso*, & *Don Alonso Suarez* advanced to speak to his *Majestie*, beseeching hee would bee pleased to give them audience, for they had divers things to impart to his *Majestie*, which did much conduce to his Service. The *Emperor* answered them, that hee was upon going, as they saw, and that hee had not then the time to hear them: They replied, but chiefly *Don Pedro Lasso*: That it was

was of so much concernment to his *Majestie* to hear them, that hee would not repent the deferring of his departure for a little while, especially the weather beeing (as it was) very rainie. For they would inform his *Majestie* of manie things, wherein were interess'd in an extraordinarie manner, both His service and the good of the Kingdom. The *Emperor* knowing alreadye the substance of what they came to ask, and nothing pleas'd with their manner of petitioning, answered, That there was no man in the world more careful, and desirous of that which might bee most expedient for the good of his Kingdoms, then himself; That they should meet him at the next town to *Tordesillas*, in the waie to *Santjago*, and there hee would hear them: So they departed his Presence. The *Emperor* (beeing very angrie at the importunitie, and sauciness of the *Toledians*, and *Don Pedro Giron*) sent presently to call som of his Privie Council, to advise touching the apprehending of *Don Pedro Giron*; The Lord High Constable beeing advertised of the *Emperor's* pleasure, came presently to the Palace, and with the rest of the Nobles there beeing, hee sent to desire *Xeures*, that hee would join with them, in taking som courf for the composing of the matter. While things were thus in agitation, a rumor began to spread amongst the People, that their Magistrates had granted what the *Emperor* did desire, that hee was going away, and that hee would carrie his *Mother* out of the Kingdom with him; and as the *People* are apt to believ all they hear, this report much troubled them, and beeing drunk with passion, they ran madding through the streets; and here and there making stands (after that Countrie fashion) they assembled divers circular consultations, saying, that it would bee fitting to petition the King not to depart; Beeing all up in this confusion without understanding each other's meaning, a certain Rope-maker, by Nation a *Portuguez*, inhabitant of that Citie, seeing that the *King* was readie to depart, and that no bodie would petition him to staie, hee got into the steeple of *S^t Michael* (which is a very ancient Parish in that

Tumults in
Valladolid.

Citie, where hung a great bell, commonly called the *Coun-
sel-Bell*, which used to bee rung onely in times of war,
uproars, or upon anie Alarum) this bell hee begin's to ring,
with as much speed as hee could, which assoon as the
People heard, without knowing or examining wherefore,
all (except those that were assembled in the Monasterie of
S^t Paul) presently took up arms, to the number of about
five or six thousand *Common People*. 'Tis said their determi-
nation was to kill *Xeures* and all the *Flemings*, and to hinder
the *Emperor's* departure. *Don Alonso Enriquez Bishop of Os-
ma*, gave *Xeures* notice hereof, yet hee would not believ
him, thinking that hee told him so, onely to ingratiate him-
self with him; But soon after, hearing a great hurlieburlie,
and the clashing of weapons, and asking what the matter
was, *Don Pedro Porto Carero* told him, *Sir*, it is now no
time for you to sit in *Council*, but indeavor to secure your
Person; for the *Common* crie of the *People* is, *Let Charls
the King live, but let his ill Counsellors perish*; neither ought you
to think it strange, if in their rage they murder you, since
they consider you, as one that carri's their *King* from them.
The *People* seeing themselvs so numerous, manie of them (as
it appeared) would have stop't the *Emperor's* Journie. And this
disorder fell out just as the *Emperor* was in Consultation, about
the apprehending of *Don Pedro Giron*, but *Xeures* and the
Flemings, beeing too well assured of the *People's* tumultuous
furie, hastened the *Emperor* (all they could) out of *Valladolid*, so
hee departed from his Palace in the cruellest rain, and thickest
skie, that had been seen in the memorie of man. Which it
seeme's was a presage and ill Omen of the miseries and dis-
asters, which were afterwards poured upon *Castillia* and
his other Kingdoms. The *Emperor* coming to the gate of
the Citie, found there som of the rabble (they could not all
bee so soon there, becauf of the extraordinarie foul weather).
who having seiz'd upon the gates, began to shut them, and
to barricado up the waie: but the *Emperor's* Guards made
them suddenly quit their Poste, and hee continued on his
journie

The People
stop the Em-
peror at the
gates of the
Citie.

journe leaving *Valladolid* full of disorder. Some were troubled for what they had don, others perplexed that they had seen and suffered such insolencies to bee committed. And in regard there was no ground for this tumult, it was presently appeased, and the people were ashamed, and sorrie for the irreverence and disrespect they had shewn the *Emperor*. The Officers of Justice of *Valladolid* began to make diligent inquirie, who had rung the Bell, or who gave order for the ringing of it. But the *Portuguez* could not bee found, so others paid for him. Some had their feet cut off; Some were whipped: Some banished and their goods confiscate, Some others had their houses pluck't down. There was whipt amongst others a Goldsmith (a man of good account, a Citizen of the Town) becaus it was proved that hee had received som Letters from the said *Portuguez*: som other Goldsmiths, and som officers of the Town beeing also taken, were very much afraid that they should bee brought to the like publick shame and punishment. But the *Emperor* beeing informed of the good intention of that Citie towards him, and that what they had don was not out of malice, or anie premeditated design to do him anie injurie, hee sent an Order for releasment of the prisoners, and commanded that there should bee no more said of it. The *Dean* having apprehended, and clap't in prison three *Priests* of *S^t Michael's* Church, the Judges of the Court in the *Emperor's* name required him to deliver them the said *Priests*, in regard they were accused to have given their consents to the ringing of the Bell. They were accordingly delivered and carried upon three great Mules, with Irons up on their legs through the chief streets of the Citie, until they came to *Fuen-Saldania's* Fort, (which then stood for the *King*, and was kept by the sons of *Don John de Vivero* Viscount of *Altamira*, becaus hee had unworthily made away his wife) and there they remained manie daies until the *Emperor* was satisfied of the truth.

S E C T. XIV.

THE *Emperor* came to *Tordesillas* soundly wet and durtye, and no bodie with him but *Xeures*, the rest could not keep pace with him, and having refreshed himself there one daie, hee continued on his journie to *Villalpando*, where hee had appointed the *Commissioners* of *Toledo* to attend him. They beeing com thither before, met with the *Commissioners* of *Salamanca*, who were *Don Pedro Maldonado*, (who was afterwards beheaded) and *Antonio Fernandez*, *Regidores* of that Citie; with them were their *Messingers* also, (viz. *John Alvarez Maldonado*, and *Antonio Enriquez*) who were chiefly sent to underfeel, what instructions those of *Toledo* had in all particulars, and had order to conform themselvs in all points to the *Messengers* of that Citie. At *Villalpando* a Town belonging to the Lord High *Constable*, did these *Commissioners* and others expect his *Majestie's* coming. Upon Sundaie after they had been at Church, they went to the Palace, to the end the *Emperor* should give them audience; while they were attending his *Majestie's* pleasure in the Hall, came to them *Don Garzia de Padilla*, and *Mota Bishop* of *Palencia*, who wished them in the *Emperor's* name (but they thought it was from *Xeures*) to tell them the message they had from their Citie. *Don Pedro Lasso*, and *Don Alonso* answered. That their Citie had commanded them to speak to his *Majestie*, and though they importuned them never so much, they would not declare unto them their business. Thereupon the *Bishop* and *Don Garzia* returned into the *King's* Chamber, but after a little time came out again, and told these *Commissioners*, that if they would not give them an account, wherefore they were com, before they kissed his *Majestie's* hand, they should not have audience. The *Commissioners* seeing there was no remedie, consented to impart the substance

stance of their Message to them, which done, it was agreed that at two a clock in the afternoon, (if they returned to the Palace) they should have audience. They suspected that this diligence and earnestness of the *Bishop's*, and *Don Garzia's* to know their business was, because the *Emperor* at that time being very young, and not much versed in State-affairs, *Xeures* (who was verie discreet and politick) had put them on to urge it before they were admitted, to the end hee might prepare the *Emperor* to give them an answer. The *Commissioners* returned at the hour, and delivered their message to the *King*, but would not consent that anie others should bee present, onely the *Bishop* and *Don Garzia*, the substance of their discours was as I have said. They insisted chiefly that his Majestie ought not to go out of the Kingdom, and concluded with this Article, saying, however, if hee did resolv upon his departure, that hee would command such order to bee left for the Government, that the Cities of the Kingdom might have their share therein; And likewise that hee would bee pleased to demand no Subsidies at all, and other things reasonable enough; as wee shall see hereafter. Which indeed were so just, that a Dore-keeper nam'd *Duranges* wept to hear them, considering the great reason the *Castillians* had to complain; But it availed them little at that time; for they were then discountenanced, and not treated according as their's and their Ancestor's good service had deserved. The *Emperor* told them onely, that hee had heard them, and would give order for their answer. The same hee said to those of *Salamanca*, (who spake to him afterwards) and in effect desired the same things as the *Toledians* had, telling him moreover, that they had order from their Citie to conform themselves in everie thing with the *Commissioners* of *Toledo*. To whom the *Emperor* sent word by the *Bishop Mota* and *Don Garzia de Padilla*, That in regard his Council was at *Venavente* (whither hee was to go within two daies) they should not fail to meet him there, to receiv their answer, which they did accordingly. The
Emperor

The Emperor
displeas'd
with the Toledians.

Emperor beeing arrived at *Venavente*, *Don Pedro Lasso* and his Companion, presented themselvs for their answer. Whereupon the *Emperor* commanded his *Council of Justice* and of *State* to assemble, who having considered the circumstances and manner of those *Commissioners*, jointly gave their opinion, that they deserved rather to be punished, then to receive anie good answer or satisfaction to their demands; wherefore the *Emperor* sent for them into his chamber, and with a severely frowning Countenance (as *Don Pedro Lasso* afterwards declared) told them, that hee was not pleased with what they did, and that if hee did not consider from what Parents they were descended, hee would have them punished according to their deserts, for meddling with what they had undertaken, and that they should go to the *President* of his *Council*, who would tell them further what they were to do. They began to excuse themselvs, but the *Emperor* not willing to hear them, retired himself. Then *Don Garzia de Padilla* taking them aside, gave them a notable schooling, and reprov'd them sharply for what they had done, telling them that their boldness in insisting so much to the hinderance of a journie, which so deeply concerned not onely the honor and reputation of the *Emperor*, but also the securitie and preservation of his *Estate*, was beyond the thought of pardon. And that the things which they had done, had been the occasion of disaffecting and disquieting the mindes of other *Commissioners*, and of the whole *Kingdom*, by reason of the precedence and *Autoritie*, which *Toledo* had amongst all the *Cities* of *Castilla*, which they should do well to consider, and seriously to reflect upon. After this they went to the *President* of his *Majestie's Council* (who was the *Arch-Bishop* of *Granada*) as the *Emperor* had commanded them. The *President* told them, that what hee had to give them for answer, was that his *Majestie* was going to hold a *Parlament* in the *Citie* of *Santjago*, where all the *Commissioners* of the *Kingdom* were to assemble, That *Toledo* should send theirs thither, with a memorial of the things

things they desired, which being perused and examined, The *Emperor* would give such Orders as should be most expedient for his service, and the general good of his Kingdoms and Subjects, moreover hee willed them to desist from meddling anie further in those matters, but to return and deal with their Citie, to send their *Commissioners*, as the other Cities of the Kingdom did, and not to affect such innovations, as they had begun. Whereunto they made answer, that indeed they were not imploied by the Kingdom, but they desired however that those things might be granted for the good of the Kingdom, And refusing to follow his advice, but rather thinking it a point of honor to persist in what they had begun, they followed the *Emperor* to *Santjago*.

 SECT. XV.

THe *Emperor* passing through *Leon*, *Astorga*, and *Villa Franca del Bierzo* was in everie place petitioned, that hee would be pleased to keep the *Parlament* in *Castilla*, but they availed nothing. And these *Commissioners* of *Toledo*, being arrived at *Santjago*, sollicited very hard the *Commissioners* of the other Cities, that were likewise com thither, endeavoring to draw them to their opinion, pressing them to stand upon the same terms *Toledo* did, as their Cities had offered. Those from *Salamanca* did the like, shewing themselves much of the *Toledo* faction. The *Emperor* would by no persuasions be brought to hold the *Parlament* in *Castilla*, but neer the Sea-side, becaus *Xeures* would have it so; and the *Fleming* desired it the rather, out of fear, that the *People* would murder him, for hee knew how ill hee was beloved amongst them, and hee perceived that if there were anie tumult or uproar, they would begin with him. Besides, seeing himself verie rich, hee desired exceedingly to

bee out of *Spain*, and that if there should fall out anie mutinie, or disorder in Parliament, beeing near the Sea-side, hee could with more facilitie secure his person and goods. As for the *Emperor's* own particular, it concerned him no more to call a *Parlament* at *Santjago*, then at *Valladolid* or *Burgos*, or anie other Citie of *Castilla*.

At last beeing arrived at *Santjago* at the end of *March*, with manie *Grandeess* and Nobles of *Spain*, the *Parlament* began on Mundaie the first of *April* following, anno 1520, whereof was President *Don Hernando de Vega* *Commendador Mayor de Castilla* (Father to *Don John de Vega*, who was Vice-King of *Sicilia*) a person of great note; *Don Garcia de Padilla* and *Zapata* were his Assistants. The *Emperor* sitting the first daie himself in Parliament, commanded that the Propositions should be made in his own hearing, which declared the just and great occasions, that pressed him to undertake the Journie hee was then upon, the extraordinarie expences it did require, and the vast charges hee had been at in coming into that Kingdom, besides the great Armies hee had raised, and maintained against the Infidels, and the charges of sending the *Infante Don Fernando*, his brother, out of that Countrie, desiring them that they would assise him with the accustomed Subsidies, and that in his absence they would keep the Peace and fidelitie, as from such loial and good Subjects might bee expected. Although som *Commissioners* would have opposed the granting him anie such Subsidie, they did not however discover their intention that daie, onely the forenamed of *Salamanca*, who openly refused the solemnitie of the ordinarie Oath, unless his *Majestie* would first grant them the things which they desired. Which beeing condemned for a great unmannerlines and disrespect, they were forbidden to come anie more into the house. Then *Don Pedro Lasso* said, that hee had brought a memorial and instructions from the Citie of *Toledo*, what hee was to do and grant in *Parlament*, and that his *Majestie* might see them, that hee could not go beyond his Commission, but

The Commissioners of *Salamanca* refuse the Oath in open Parliament.

but would perform and execute it in that manner, as should be most agreeable to his *Majestie*; otherwise hee would rather choole to bee cut in pieces, or have his head cut off, then to give his consent to a thing so prejudicial to his Citie, and the whole Kingdom. This answer was back't by the Commissioners of *Sevilla, Cordova, Salamanca, Toro, Zamora,* and *Sancho Zimbron, Commissioner of Avila,* from which they could not bee drawn. Whereupon the Parliament was adjourned for three or four daies, there beeing amongst them such jealousies and fears as usually proceed from discontented mindes.

Dissentings
in the Parla-
ment.

 SECT. XVI.

THE Kingdom of *Galicia* was much distast'd at this Parliament, becaus they had no Commissioner allowed, and that *Zamora* spake for them, notwithstanding *Galicia* was one of the greatest and most ancient Kingdoms of *Spain*, and the source of the greatest Nobilitie. The Arch-Bishop of *Santjago, Don Alonso de Fonseca* (who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*) the Earl of *Venavente*, and the Earl of *Villalva Don Hernando de Andrada*, went all together to *S^t Francisco*, where the Parliament was kept, and having obtained entrance, they thus spake to the high Chancellor (who was President) and the Commissioners there present: It is not unknown that *Galicia* is a distinct Kingdom from *Castilla*, that in former times they had their Votes in the Parliaments held in *Castilla*, and that (from a certain time only) they were subject to the Votes of the Citie of *Zamora* (which was of the Kingdom of *Castilla* and *Leon*) which was a great grievance and prejudice to them; therefore they did desire out of favor, of the Commissioners there present, and (if need were) they would require them, that they would admit of the Commissioners, which that Kingdom of *Galicia* should nominate, who should bee ready to obey whatsoever his *Majestie* should command them.

The Galicians
distast'd.

And in so doing they would oblige them very much: but in case they were refused, they protested, that they would not stand to anie thing, that the *Commissioners* of *Zamora* should denie or grant; and of that they desired witness. Hence grew som hurlie-burlie and tumult in the Parliament. For one *Garci Ruyz de la Mota* (*Bishop Mota's* brother) who was *Commissioner* for *Burgos*, took upon him to answer, and thwarted the *Earl of Villalva*, with language that was much displeasing. This was forthwith noised in the Court; whereupon the *Emperor* sent presently the *Bishop Mota* to qualify the matter. Hee was hardly at the gate of the Cloister, where the *Parlament* was held, when hee met the *Arch-Bishop* and the *Earl* coming forth. The *Bishop* perceiving the *Earl of Villalva* much incensed, to pacifie his choller, accosted him with very smooth and civil Language, expressing much sorrow, that his brother had so much forgotten himself. Amongst other words that passed between the *Bishop* and the *Earl*, *Villalva* chanced to let slip these, *you have a prettie fellow to your brother, my Lord Bishop*, and withall hee swore, that (if they supported him) hee would join with *Don Pedro Lasso*. And in regard *Don Pedro Lasso* was so fixed to the interest of the Kingdom (which was not very pleasing to *Xeures*, and others that sate at the helm) These words of the *Earl's* were presently carried to the *Palace*; whereupon an *Alcalde de Casa y Corte* (that is, an officer in the nature of our *Judges of oyer and terminer*) commanded the *Earl* to quit the Court within one houre, and not to return to it without his *Majestie's* permission. At the houre's end hee went from *Santjago* to the *Groyne*, where his hous and estate laie. But soon after the *Emperor* going from *Santjago* to the *Groyne*, readmitted him into his presence and favor.

SECT. XVII.

IN this Occurrence som *Grandees* of the Kingdom, which followed the Court, accused *Xeures* highly to *Emperor*, and bid him beware that the *Fleming* did not counsel him for his own ends. Hereupon there passed som angrie expressions betwixt *Xeures*, the *Earl of Venavente* and the *Arch-Bishop of Santjago*, and they began to breed factions in the Court. This *Arch-Bishop* and som others began to make private meetings, and consult how they might provide themselves with arms and men secretly. The *Emperor* perceived it, and if hee had not remedied it in time, hee had found it troublesome enough. The *Earl of Venavente* and others left the Court discontented; The *Emperor* knew the sidings and dissentions that had been in *Toledo*, and how they had refused to give a full power to their *Commissioners* (*Don John de Silva* and *Aguirre*) which considered, the *Emperor* and his *Council* were of opinion, that it would not be amifs to send to som of the chief Officers that opposed it, to come to Court, and send others, his *Majestie's* servants, to supplie their places, for taking som out and supplying their places with others, they might do whatsoever his *Majestie* commanded. To that effect were presently dispatched Orders, whereby *Hernando de Avalos*, *John de Padilla*, *John Carrillo*, *Gonzalo Gaytan*, *Don Pedro de Ayala* and *Pedro de Herrera* (all *Regidores* and Officers of the Citie) were commanded under great penalties, everie man of them to make his personal appearance at the Court within such a time: And *Lope de Guzman*, *Rodrigo Nimio*, and *Martin de Ayala*, were commanded under the same penaltie, to go to supplie their places at *Toledo*, to the end that these being gon thither, and the others com away, the Citie might revoke the powers, which they had given to *Don Pedro Lasso* and *Don Alonso*, and give others to *Don John de Silva*,

Emulations in
the Court.

and *Alonso de Aguirre*. These Orders being signified to the above-named, they all excused themselves, onely *Herrera*, who in obedience to his *Majestie's* Commands went to the Court. These weeds of dissention increased daie by daie in *Toledo*, and the other Cities of *Castilla*, and in the Court it self manie bitter words were buzzed up and down, countenancing and approving these proceedings, and the demands of *Don Pedro Lasso* and others, as tending to the general good of the Kingdom.

SECT. XVIII.

THe Messengers and *Commissioners* of *Toledo* and *Salamanca*, with other associates, made this Request to the Rest; that in regard the *Commissioners*, which *Toledo* was to send particularly for that Parliament, were not yet com, and those which were there from *Salamanca* were not admitted, there should bee nothing granted, or determined until those of the one and of the other Citie were present. If otherwise, they protested, That it should not bee anie *Prejudice* to their Cities.

This beeing ingrossed verie fair, they carriyd it to *S^t Francisco* where the Parliament sate, taking a *Notarie* with them called *Antonio Rodriguez* (who was afterwards Clerk of the *Junta*) And they demanded Audience. But, notwithstanding manie voted for them, those of *Toledo* were refused, and forbidden to enter, in respect they were not *Commissioners* appointed for that Parliament. Thereupon they made their *Aets* and *Protests* at the dore, saying, that the *King's Commissioners* could not assemble in Parliament without the *Commissioners* of *Toledo*, that their non-appearance proceeded from their own particular negligence, not anie fault of their Citie's, in regard they had their Powers delivered them, that they beeing members of the said Citie did require them not

The *Toledians* protest against the Parliament at *Santjago*.

to

to assemble in Parliament, until those Commissioners of Toledo were arrived, and against the contrarie they protested. And whatsoever should be enacted in anie such Parliament without them, they declared to bee void and of none effect, and should bee no waies prejudicial to the Citie of Toledo, nor the whole Kingdom. Manie persons of note were witnesses to this Protest, and it occasioned much scandal in the Court. Don Pedro Lasso and his companion slighted his Majestie's commands, which were signified to them by the Secretarie Covos. Which beeing told the Emperor, hee gave immediate command to banish them that verie daie (beeing Palm Sundaie); and accordingly in the evening his Secretarie Francisco de los Covos, and John Ramirez Secretarie to the Council of Justice, went to the lodging of those Toledo-Commissioners, and in the Emperor's name signified to each of them severally his Majestie's pleasure, commanding Don Alonso de Suarez the next daie (beeing mundaie) to leav the Court, and that within two moneths hee should go serv and reside, where that Companie of men laie whereof hee was Captain, where hee should remain until further order from his Majestie, under pain of forfeiting his goods, and the said Captain's place. Don Pedro Lasso was likewise commanded to absent from Court, the same Mundaie, and within fortie daies, to go and reside in the Government of the Fort of Gibraltar (which was his own inheritance) and not to depart thence, without the Emperor's leav, under penaltie of forfeiting that Command, and all the rest of his estate whatsoever. The Jurates were also commanded to leav the Court immediately. And there was order given in their lodgings, that they should not entertein them anie longer. They demanded Copies hereof, but were refused, so they went to John Ramirez chamber, and by much importunitie they obtained one, but not signed. The Toledians beeing extremely troubled that they were banished the Court with so much rigor, two hours within night, Don Pedro, and Don Alonso with the Jurate Ortiz went to the Palace. Ortiz went

went in to *Xeures*, and acquainted him that such gentlemen were come to speak with him. *Xeures* bad him speak to his servants to set up lights in his chamber, and that they should stay there for him. *Xeures* beeing come, they spent above two hours together, and the result of their conference was: That it seemed they took it verie ill to bee thus forbidden the Court; therefore it was agreed that in testimonie of their obedience, they should go onely four or five leagues from *Santjago*, and should leav som bodie in their steads, to put him in minde to sollicite the *Emperor* to revoke their banishment.

The next daie, beeing Tuesdaie, in the morning they went away, leaving *Alonso de Ortiz* onely to sollicite *Xeures*, and to put him in minde of what was agreed betwixt them, and to tell him that *Don Pedro Lasso* and *Don Alonso Suarez* were gon to *Padron* (four leagues from *Santjago*) in obedience to his *Majestie's* Commands. *Alonso de Ortiz* returned to the *Palace*, and meeting *Covos*, hee desired him to help him to the speech of *Xeures*. *Xeures* beeing com forth, *Ortiz* beseeched him to perform what hee had promised to those gentlemen. *Xeures* told him, that hee had moved it already to the *Emperor*, but could not prevail: And that (for ought hee saw) there was no remedie, but that they must obeie the extremitie of his Commands. *Ortiz* replied, that they should have a care what they did therein, and that it would not redound to the *Emperor's* service, not so much becauf those *Commissioners* were of the chief gentrie of the Kingdom, as that they were deputed and sent by the Citie of *Toledo*, who must take upon their accompt what trouble or injurie soever they suffered, in regard they had done nothing beyond, or contrarie to that which their Citie had encharged them, for the good of the Kingdom. *Xeures* answered, that they had not shewn the respect which they owed to their *King*, and for that they deserved the punishment which hee had inflicted upon them, and much more. *Ortiz* replied, That since hee had the greatest privacie and
freedom

freedom with his *Majestie*, hee was the more obliged to see to this matter, and to consider with attention, that the whole Kingdom knew that *Toledo* had sent those gentlemen to treat of that which concerned them all, and that seeing them thus banished the Court, they would not think it was for anie disrespect to his *Majestie*, (for if any such thing were they deserved double punishment) but that they were turned out of the Court, that they might not solícite the Kingdom's good, and thereupon they would bee all scandalized, and such mischiefs would insue, as they would not bee able to remedy when they listéd. Whereto *Xeures* very formally thus replied, what lightness is this of *Toledo*, what lightness I say? is the King no King? why doth no body think of putting Kings in and out at their pleasure? *Alonso Ortiz* answered again, that hee wondred, hee should speak so much against *Toledo*, it being of such consequence, that it was reputed the best and most considerable Citie of the Kingdom, and had the greatest priveleges and immunities, which the natives did enjoie, for the notable services they had don to the deceased Kings. Therefore it could not bee thought, that *Toledo* treated or intended anie thing, but what might suit with his *Majestie's* service; Moreover, if hee pleased to look upon what gentlemen had gon into *Flanders*, to serv his *Majestie* against King *Fernando's* will (venturing there, not onely their own lives and fortunes, but their friend's and Kindred's also) hee would finde that the most of them were of *Toledo*. And that those of that Citie, were the cheif means of paying the subsidies to King *Phillip*. And since that Citie produced such gallant men, hee ought not to beleiv that It's intention ever was other, then to do his *Majestie* service. The Secretary *Francisco de los Covos* heard all this discours. These and divers other means the *Toledian Commissioners* used by favor of som great one's about the *Emperor*, to obtain a revocation of their banishment, but nothing would do, for *Xeures* and other *Castilians* of the privie Council, opposed it. *Don Alonso Suarez* prudently considering that their busines was foyled, and in

danger of being utterly lost, performed what hee was commanded, and never after put himself into those troubles, neither did hee meddle during all the commotions of *Castilla*, whereby hee lost nothing. *Don Pedro Lasso* did the like (though late) not understanding sooner that hee diserved the King. Thus ended the Embassage of *Toledo*, which was so boldly and couragiously performed by these gentlemen.

Before the *Emperor* departed from *Santjago* hee installed Knight of the Order the Earl of *Santistevan*, the *Marquess* of *Villena's* son. The ceremony was celebrated with great solemnity at the great Altar in *Santjago's* Church.

S E C T. X I X.

ON Tuesday in the Holie week before Easter, a Post came from *Toledo* with an expresse to recall their *Commissioners*; This Post was dispatch't before there was any notice of their being banished from *Court*. Hee brought letters to his *Majestie*, som from the *Assemblee* of the *Citie*, others from the *Chapter* of their *Cathedral Church*, and from the *Monasteries* and *Fryeries*, humbly begging therein a favorable treatment of their *Commissioners*, not as yet knowing what had passed. Moreover they mentioned how *Don Antonio de Cordoua* (the *Earl of Cabra's* brother) their *Governor*, then being at *Toledo*, had produced certain orders from his *Majestie* to *John de Padilla*, *Hernando de Avalos*, and *Gonsalo Gaytan*, whereby they were commanded to make their personal appearance at *Court*, within a certain time, under penaltie for default. The reason that *Toledo* gave, why these gentlemen did not obey, was, that they were employed about som affairs concerning the publick good, and that their absence would be prejudicial to the whole *Citie*. And therefore they beseeched that his *Majestie* would suspend his command for the present. The gentlemen that stayed at *Padron*, sent this

this dispatch, with the instructions they had from Toledo, to *Alonso Ortiz*, who remained at Court. Hee presently went to the *Monasterie of San Salvador*, half a league from the Citie (where the *Emperor* had retired himself for the *Holie week*) and desired to enter to deliver the letters to his *Majestie*, but hee found no admittance. Meeting *Secretarie Covos*, hee acquainted him with his busines, and told him that hee had letters to deliver to the *Emperor* from Toledo, *Covos* told *Xeures* this, who forthwith sent for *Ortiz*, and bad him give him the letters. But *Ortiz* desired to bee excused, for hee had order to deliver them into the *Emperor's* own hands, and to none elf. *Xeures* told him, that the *Emperor* having received the *Sacrament* that morning, was yet at his devotion, and hee could not speak with him. Then they fell to discours again about those gentlemen's banishment, and grew so hot at it, that *Xeures* went away distasted, and *Ortiz* remained with small satisfaction. A little after *Covos* came, and told *Ortiz* that *Xeures* called him. *Ortiz* went, and *Xeures* told him, that resolvedly hee could say nothing as touching their banishment, so without any more words hee went into another room. *Ortiz* stayed behinde with *Don Garcia de Padilla*, who blaming exceedingly the proceedings of Toledo, said, if his counsel might bee taken, the *Emperor* should go thither (it would bee but ten daies work) and inflict som exemplary punishment upon them, that were occasion of those troubles, whereby the rest might bee deterred and quieted. I wish to God hee would, said *Ortiz*, for then his *Majestie* would see the great damages they suffered, and give order for som redress. So they parted, and *Ortiz* went that night to speak with the *Lord Chancellor*, for hee saw there was no possibilitie of delivering his letters to the *Emperor*, nor of speaking with him. The *Chancellor* and *Ortiz* spent a great part of the night, without concluding anie thing to the purpose.

The *Emperor* remained at *Santjago*, untill the thursday in *Easter week*, and then departed for the *Groyn*, where hee made his entrance on Saturday following. Thither repaired also

the Parliament-men and *Commissioners* to conclude all their businesses. There were produced the testimonies, supplications and Acts, which the *Regidores* and Council of *Toledo* had made concerning the commanding them to appear at the Court, and the Power which the *Citie* lent to *Alonso Ortiz*, charging him to do all the diligences therein expedient, which hee did, and presented himself to the Secretary *Ramirez*. And moreover were delivered the second Orders for their appearance, with greater penalties, which had bin sent to *Toledo* and notified to the gentlemen there.

S E C T. X X.

BY this time *Toledo* had notice of their *Commissioner's* banishment, and of the ill success of their affairs in Court, which, added to the distaste those Orders had bred in them, so exasperated their mindes that their passions grew beyond the bounds of moderation. Som were seized with fear, others with vapping speeches carried it very high, and set themselves to excite the *People* against the *Judges*, and those that shewed themselves desirous to advance their *Prince's* service, possessing them that this was for the publick good, and that it was their interests and profit, that then was in agitation, especially *Hernando de Avalos*, *John de Padilla*, and som others of their faction. It is true, at the beginning of these disorders, *John de Padilla* was the onely *Bouttefeu*, *Hernando de Avalos* and other gentlemen were his Abettors and Promoters, who added fewel to the fire, beeing persons of mature age and experience and had acquired the repute of wise men amongst the Common people. *John de Padilla's* fault was, that hee was young, not above thirtie years of age, and not verie readie witted either, but good natured, and easie to be perswaded to any thing, they would put him upon: and hee wanted no instigation from these gentlemen and his wife

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Rather the chief instrument of the Common good.

The Autor undervalue's *John de Padilla* out of passion, for contrary to his description hee was a man of Singu-

Donia Maria Pacheco, who was one of the Kingdome's fire-brands. They possessed the vulgar with a thousand follies, and lies intermingled with some truths. That the *Emperor*, deserted the Kingdome, that hee left Strangers to govern, that his favorites and Officers had robb'd the Kingdome, leaving the Countrie lean, poor and dismantled of all its fruits and wealth: These things they caused to bee published in the Pulpits, And to the end they might the better communicate their passion, and give everie one a dose of this infectious drug, they advised to assemble the people. In that Citie there is a great *Congregation* or *fraternitie* called the *fraternitie* of *Charitie*, which used every year to make a Solemn *Procession*; upon this occasion there was one ordained to go from *S^t Justa's* Church to the *Cathedral*. Some (especially *Don Hernando de Silva*, *Antonio Alvarez de Toledo*, and others of their opinion) knowing to what end this Solemnitie was ordain'd, highlie oppos'd it, saying that, it was prejudicial to the *King*, and that it was onely a plot and cunning trick of those that were disaffected, and *Don Hernando* required the chief of the *Congregation* not to make anie such tumultuous meetings (under color of devotion) to disturb the People to the *King's* prejudice and dishonor of justice, for if they did, hee with his friends and servants would hinder it. They valued not these words but rejoiced that *Don Hernando de Silva* did appear in the business, for that would open them the way (as they desired) to augment the distemper of the People, and enkindle their indignation. And it fell out so, for the *People* resenting and condemning highly *Don Hernando's* request, looked on him as an enimie of the Countrie, and as one that did not onely contradict and hinder the good of the common people; But also the most sacred practices of devotion. To beeshort, they did go in *Procession* and in the *Litanie* they praied that God would enlighten the understanding and direct the Heart of the *Emperor* well and piously to rule and govern those Kingdoms. *Don Hernando* did not execute his Intention, beeing advertised to the contrarie by the

lar wir, learning and mature judgment and his Wife was a Ladie Nobly descended and the most Masculine, Heroick Spirit that ever Spain bred.

Governor, to avoid further scandal. In the *Proceſſion* there were ſom things done, more then needed, in ſcorn and de-riſion of thoſe that did not follow that opinion, and much murmuring againſt them. Wherewith the *People* generally thence forwards were ſo infected, and divers grew ſo audacious, that juſtice had no force nor reſpect among them. The diſorder and confuſion became exceſſive, and there was nothing in the *Citie* done, for the moſt part, or concluded in *Council* or without, but what was dictated or approved by *Hernando de Avalos*, and *John de Padilla*. So *Don Hernando de Sylva* reſolved to leav *Toledo* and go to the *Emperor*.

 S E C T. XXI.

THe *Emperor* knew all this, when *Alonſo Ortiz* petitioned concerning the *Orders* for the *Officers* of *Toledo* to appear in *Court*, and Comanded to bee delivered the *Second Orders*, that I mentioned, which were notified. *Juan de Padilla* delt with two gentle-men (his kiſmen) one called *Pedro de Acunia* (who married one of his ſiſters) the other *Diego de Merlo* (who married a *Couſin-german* of his) both powerful men in *Toledo*: telling them, they knew that the *Emperor* had ſent for him and other gentlemen of the *Citie*, to make their perſonal appearance at *Court*. And that upon the firſt and ſecond *Orders* they had excuſed themſelvs, but the third *Command* beeing com, they could not bauk it. They had a thought, (becauſ they would not have their not obeying ſeem to bee their faults, but rather that they could not go) That thoſe gentlemen with their *Allies*, *Abbettors*, friends and ſervants, aſembling together ſhould make a kinde of mutinie in the *Citie*, and apprehending them ſhould detain them and by no means conſent to their departure, whereof having certificate, they might ſend it to the *Court* for their defence,

This Plot the Fryer writ upon report.

defence, and by that invention bee freed from the Penalties mentioned in the *Orders*. Those two gentlemen *Pedro de Acunia* and *Diego de Merlo* (who had bin bred at Court) prudently considering what *John de Padilla* and the rest of his Consorts demanded, told them, that Proposition sounded not well in their ears, and they desired to bee excused for not ingaging in so rash and unadvised an enterprize. *John de Padilla* and the rest, perceiving there was no hopes of bringing these men to their byas, went and agreed with the *Fryars* of *S^t Augustin* and those of *S^t Juan de los Reyes*, That the general *Proceſſion* beeing com from the Cathedral Church to the *Augustines*, and the *People* all assembled, those *Fryars* should lay hands upon them (whom his *Majestie* had commanded to appear in Court) (which they alleadged they might safely do, in regard men of their Coat had nothing to loof, and were exempt besides from any punishment the *King* could inflict upon them.) This beeing agreed upon, it hapned that going in the *Proceſſion* *Hernando de Avalos* and *Don Francisco de Herrera*, a *Canon* of *Toledo* and *Chaplain Major* of the *King's Chappel* (who was afterwards *Arch-Bishop* of *Granada* ten daies onely) fell to words; which occasioned so great a noif and hurly-burly amongst the *People*, that to pacifie them the former agreement was forgotten, So their design took no effect. *Padilla* and his Consorts, seeing they could not accomplish their desires, That the *Emperor* departed not the *Kingdom* as yet, and that the prefixed time of their appearance at Court was expired, fearing least the *Governor* of *Toledo* should execute the Penalties specified in the *Orders*, or apprehend them and send them to Court; They resolved to accost certain mean fellows of Scandalous and mutinous dispositions that led a shifting and discontented life about the *Citie* (The chief whereof were one called *Xara*, and a *Petifogging* *Solliciter*) to whom they promised large rewards, giving them order, with the rest of their gang, to seiz upon them. These Fellows knowing that *Hernando de Avalos*, *John de Padilla*, and the rest, were great sticklers for the good of the *Kingdom*, and that particularly for

Neither were these men such base fellows as hee make's them but persons of quali-

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the benefit of that Citie they had exposed themselves to so great danger, They thought themselves obliged to countenance and assist them, and not to suffer them to go out of *Toledo*, and were glad of the Employment; For besides that of their own disposition they were seditious, and naturally affected novelties, the hope of recompence, and seeing what esteem and value those Gentlemen set upon them, animated them with a desperate vain courage to doe, as followeth.

S E C T. X X I I.

H*ernando de Avalos* and *John de Padilla*, seeing their design goe forward to their own contentments, agreed to make a shew as if they intended to perform the *Emperor's* Commands, in appearing at *Court*. So being fitted for the journey they took Witnesses of their departure, the sixteenth of April: *John de Padilla* was no sooner out of his house, but a rabble of forty or fiftie men (who had the watch-word) met him in the street, and in a violent tumultuous manner laying hands on him, some cryed out, *let us keep John de Padilla here, let him not go to the Court*: Others, *let us never consent that hee or any of the other gentlemen should go out of Toledo*; for that would be the ruine of the *Common-people*, and it were an exceeding crueltie and ingratitude to let them go to the *Court* to suffer there. Hereupon the *People* so flocked from all parts of the *Citie*, that in very short time they exceeded the number of six thousand men; most of them being armed, cryed out with loud voices, *kill kill Xeures and the Flemings that have robb'd Spain, and let Hernando de Avalos, and John de Padilla (the Fathers and Defenders of this Republick) live, let them live*: With this tumultuous noise and hubbub they hurried away *John de Padilla* prisoner, notwithstanding hee protested and required them (with a cunningly framed dissimulation) that they would let him go to fulfil the commands hee had received from

Tumults in
Toledo.

from his *Majestie*. Having put him into a *Chappel* in a Part of the *Cathedral Church*, called the *Bishop Don Pedro Tenoma's Cloister*, they made him swear as hee was a gentlman, that hee would remain a Prisoner in that *Chappel*, and not offer to stir out of it without leav or order from them. then they fetched *Hernando de Avalos, Gonsalo Gaytan, Don Pedro de Ayala* and the rest, and committing them all prisoners in the same *Chappel*, they set guards upon them. These gentlemen made protest upon protest against that detaining of them, whereby they were disenabled to undertake their journe to *Curt*, and perform what the *Emperor's Orders* imported, but they were very glad within themselvs of that invention so handsomly to prevent their going.

 SECT. XXIII.

THIS done, the same Mutineers went to the Governor *Don Antonio de Cordoua*, and required him to recall and make void the Notification of the *Emperor's Orders*, which hee had made to those gentlemen, and chiefly that hee would command them, under pain of death, not to obey that summons. The Governor began to shew his courage, and commanded a *Proclamation* to bee read in every street, that they should all retire to their dwellings and lay down their Armes. But they slighted his autoritie and in stead of obeying, they began to cry out, som *let us kill him*, others *let us turn him and all his Officers out, and choos others for the Communalty*. Seeing himself in this danger, and possessed with a panick fear, to pleas the *People*, Hee did what they required, And sent immediately to the Gentlemen Prisoners an absolute Command not to go out of the Citie, but remain there, for so doing would bee more conducing to his *Majestie's* service. Hereof they took certificates, which they sent to *Alonso Ortiz*, that hee might present them to his *Majestie* in their defence,

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which

which hee did accordingly, and spake to som of the Council about it, believing the matter had been really so, and urging for instance that his *Majestie* did not see what was most expedient for the Kingdome's good, as they desired. Som are of opinion that if the Governor of *Toledo* had Punished that seditious tumult in stead of condescending to their desires (which hee might then have don) hee had prevented a world of miserie and mischief, that was occasioned by the succeeding war. For the beginners of that hubbub were not many, and of meanest of the people. And at that time there were divers gentlemen in *Toledo*, who would have assisted him in the suppressing of them, especially *Don John de Sylva* with divers of his kindred and opinion, although som of them were drawn the other way. The *Governor's* timiditie and want of resolution so much emboldned the *People*, that they seized on him and others that would have prosecuted against the first and chief instruments of this commotion. Which had been otherwise carried if the Governor had had so much Spirit and courage as hee ought, but that was so little, that hee retired himself into his hous, where hee continued som few dayes without anie power or respect, after which hee left the Citie for fear least the *People* should murder him.

S E C T. X X I V.

H*ernando de Avalos* and *John de Padilla* perceiving that to avoid one mischief they had fallen into a greater, be-thought themselvs that (in respect the *Emperor* was then ready to go out of the Kingdom, to excuse and free themselvs from the punishment which the Governor (though hee deferred it) was to inflict upon them) It would bee most expedient for their purpose to incite the whole people to rise up in Arms, and having possessed themselvs of the *justice*, the Fort, and the bridges, to defend themselvs against whomsoever. To this effect

effect they solicited som Fryers and Priests to declare with aggravation in their Pulpits the damages and miseries the Kingdom then suffered, That no Offices nor Benefices of value were bestowed upon the Natives, but the *Flemings* enjoied all. That no places of Trust or Honor were conferred upon them, for either their's or their Predecessor's merits or services, but must bee purchased with great sums of monie. Thus began the Priests to move the People's hearts, Commending and applauding much what they had don, and urging that the Kingdom was tyrانىised over: That the *Castilians* were debased and vilified. That they should bee loaded with new taxes, That every head of Cattle should pay such a rate, and every hous so much. And that in this respect whosoever would ingage himself in the defence of the Kingdom, with the liberties and freedoms thereof, should purchase an eternall memorie. Hereupon the fire grew so violent that those who discreetly would not ingage in these combustions, for fear of beeing murdered, were enforced either to flie from the Citie, or confine themselvs to their own houses. And the most considerable, amongst whom were som *Regidores* and *Jurates* of the Citie, took refuge in the Fort with *Don John de Rivera*, or *Sylva*, who kept it at his own charge, and was retired thither, with som of his Kindred, Children, and servants. Thence hee sent to his Tenants in several places to bring him in provisions, for the sodain and unexpected necessitie of his flying thither did not permit to furnish himself with what was needful. And those of the *Communalty* (as they already styled themselvs) which was the rest of the Citie, following them who took upon them to bee the most wise, set themselvs to fortifie and repair the wals and places of importance, fearing the damage they might receive from abroad (for within they feared nothing) and possesed themselvs of the gates and Bridges which were under *Don John's* command.

SECT.

 S E C T. XX V.

THings beeing in this condition the *Earl of Palma*, *Don Luis Puerto Carrero* fearing the mischiefs this *Commotion* might produce, sent an *express* to inform the *Emperor* of the severall passages in the *Citie*, that hee might suddenly provide som remedy. In this interim, *Don Pedro Lasso*, *Don Alonso Suarez*, *Miguel de Hita* and *Alonso Ortiz* were come again all to *Santjago*, and although som gentlemen, their friends had counselled them to bee gon in order to his *Majestie's* commands, and not to stay any longer about the *Court*, because the *Emperor* (beeing already incensed at the *Audaciousness* of the *Toledians*) might perchance command them to bee punished, as believing them to bee the occasioners thereof. Yet they still continued at *Santjago* without fearing much what could befall them. The *Constable of Castilla* and *Garci Lasso de la Vega*, *Don Pedro Lasso's* brother, Seeing this, earnestly desired the *King's Soliciter* (who was resident at *Toledo*) that hee would with all expedition go to *Santjago*, and persuade them to depart thence, because *Don Pedro Lasso* had but five dayes remaining of the forty which were limited him to retire to *Gibraltar*. The *Soliciter* presently took *Post* for *Santjago*, and communicated to them what the *Constable* and *Garci Lasso* had enjoined him, besides hee told them his own opinion and how rotten the hearts of the *People* were in *Toledo*; Hee prevailed with *Don Pedro Lasso*, that he should depart the next day (which hee did). Passing through *Zamora* hee declared there what commands had bin layd upon him, which troubled and incensed the *People*, as you shall see hereafter.

SECT. XXVI.

THE Common People of *Toledo* being thus distempered, they determined to possess themselves of the Fort as well as of the Gates and bridges of the Citie. To this effect a noise was spread amongst them that *Don John de Sylva* was a Traytor to the good of the Communalty, and that it was fit to take the Fort from him and turn him out of *Toledo*. The Multitude gathered together to assault it, and in regard during the Reigns of the Catholick Kings there had bin so much peace and so little use of armes, all Forts and places of strength were very ill repaired, and unprovided aswel of arms as victuals. *Don John* perceiving the People's fury and malice (as you have heard) fortified himself the best hee could, taking into the Fort with him divers gentlemen and others to the number of about four hundred, all resolved to defend themselves against the People, if assailed by them. The multitude perceiving this, determined first to take the Gates and Bridges of the Citie; so they went forthwith to the Gate of *Vizagra*, and to the Port of *Cambron* which they gained without resistance. One of the *Jurates* called *Miguel de Hita* (who then was joint-Commissioner with *Don Pedro Lasso* and *Don Alonso Suarez*) was commander of the Bridg of *Alcantara*, in whose absence his Lievtenant could not so wel defend the tower of the bridg but that in short time they were masters of it. Thence they went to *S^t Martin's Bridg*, whereof was Commander *Clement de Aguayo* a man of great courage, and hee had provided himself with som friends and servants to help him; they assaulted him desperately, and hee with no less resolution defended himself, until by meer strength they forced an entrance into the first Tower of the Bridg on that side towards the Citie, for such infinites of Common People and gentry flocked thither (many thinking that rising to bee upon better grounds and

Their grounds
were good
and had suc-

with

needed better
if they had not
bin betrayed
by som of the
Nobility.

with a better intention then afterwards it appeared) and the boyes flowed in such multitudes thither, that with brick-bats and stones from an eminent place neer they made them quit the top of the Tower. The assault beeing thus hot from several parts, at last they made breaches and entred with such fury, that taking the Commander they wounded him sorely in two places and threatned to hang him, if hee would not send to command the other tower of the bridg towards the fields to bee surrendred to them; but hee couragiously putting his life to the venture would send no such Order. Hee beeing secured they fell desperately upon the other tower, but they within seeing the success of the former and their Commander taken, had not the courage to stand out, but delivered it immediately to the Citie, Thus they got all the bridges and Gates into their own hands. Thence they marched in very great numbers (All armed) to the Fort, resolving to take it by assault if it were not sodainly surrendred to them. Som religious men grieving much at the mischiefs and death of divers persons which must needs ensue so violent an assailing, became mediators betwixt *Don John de Sylva* (who defended the Fort) and the better sort of those that came against it: This treaty continued a good while; at length *Don John* seeing divers of his neer kinsmen against him, his friends and Allies, and considering that hee wanted provisions to make anie long resistance, to avoid the damages his standing out might have occasioned, suffered himself to bee perswaded to deliver up the Fort, upon condition that one of his own servants should remain as Commander having first taken the Oath of fealty. Thus on Saturday 21 of April *Don John* and his Children with the other gentlemen and friends that were retired thither, came out of the Fort, and went to a village of his four leagues thence, from which place hee wrote again to the *Emperor* informing him how the People had taken the Fort from him, and possessed themselves of all the Gates and Bridges of the Citie, which news incensed his *Majestie* very much, yet hee did not resolve to send any
Souldiery

Souldiery thither, becauf every one told him that beeing a businefs of no foundation, it muft needs fall again of it felf. All this pafsed before the Governor went out of the Citie, or gave up his Staff. So all the Common People, conducted by their Chiefs, went next unto his houf and made him fwear that hee fhould hold his ftaff, or acknowledg his autoritie and Office as from the *Communalty* of *Toledo*. Hee beeing affrighted with this tumult, condefcended to what they would have him do; the People foon after broke out, and did what they lifted, feeing him fo helpless and fo void of refolution. The Citie thus wanting both *Governor* and *Don John de Sylva*, Thole of the *Communalty* became freemen and Lords of all, They constituted Deputies, and began to fettle a form of government at their own pleafures, Saying they did it in the name of the *King*, *Queen* and *Communalty*. In this manner began the great troubles and commotions of *Toledo*.

 SECT. XXVII.

DOn *Pedro Lafso* arrived at a village of his, called *Cueua*, in his way to *Gibraltar*, whither hee intended to go like a good and Loial Subject in obedience to his *Majestie's* Command, although the fortie dayes (hee was limited) were expired. But *Toledo* having notice of his beeing there, They sent to desire him to return to the Citie. Hee would have excused himself, Saying that hee was to repair to *Gibraltar* in Order to that which the *Emperor* had commanded. whereupon they ordered a party of Hors to seiz upon him and bring him thither, Hee not beeing able to withstand them, went (though feemingly) againft his will, and got privately into his own houf, but could not keep himself long concealed, for the People gathering presently together went to his houf, and forcing him to com forth, carried him to the Church. Hee rode on horsback and the People went on foot by him with

Extraction of
Don Pedro
Lasso.

with great acclamations of joie applauding and extolling the Valor and resolution hee had shewen in their behalfe (for indeed at that time Hee was beloved and highly esteemed not onely of that People, but of the whole Kingdom) : This favor and honor which everie one did him made him not reflect so soon upon his Error. For *Don Pedro* was a very sweet dispositioned gentleman without malice, and, besides his good nature, a great friend to justice and the weal of his country, and therefore hee ingaged so far in those first broils. Whosoever knew what hee was, will acknowledg all this, for the noble bloud that ran in his veins would not suffer him to degenerate from his Ancestor's generositie, who were of the *Grandees of Spain*, Hee beeing son to *Don Garci Lasso de la Vega*, *Comendador mayor de Leon*, (one of the most renowned gentlemen that were in the times of the Catholick Kings); *Sancha de Guzman Ladie of Batres*, descended from that most illustrious familie of the *Guzmans of Leon*, was his mother. Hee was nephew to *Don Gomez Xuarez de Figueroa* Father to the first Earl of *Feria*, and to the Lady *Eluina Lasso de la Vega*, sister to the *Marquis of Santillana*, which two houses *Vega* and *Mendoza*, were of the most Illustrious families of all *Spain*. This was his extraction, and it is to be expected that his thoughts and desires to serv his Prince should be correspondent, as the *Emperor* and his son *King Philip* had good experience of afterwards. Who in times very troublesom (when they had need of men of resolution and loialty) sent *Garci Lasso*, *Don Pedro Lasso's* son, their Embassador to *Paul* the fourth about busineses of very high consequence and great difficulty. I finde my self obliged to this digression for the honor of so noble a person, It beeing no less then my dutie not to suffer such eminent virtues to be buried in Oblivion, although it doth somewhat hinder the Story.

SECT.

SECT. XXVIII.

IT was generally voted by the *Communalty* of Toledo (which already gave themselves the attribute of *Holie*) for further security of their place and persons, That it was expedient to turn the Governor and all his Officers out of the Citie, notwithstanding hee had taken an Oath to Officiate for them. For the better effecting whereof they raised a mutinie pretending to kill him, and to take away the staves from Him, his Lievtenant and other Officers, who presently delivered them for fear of their lives. The Governor, the Lord chief Justice and the High Sheriff, fled to *Don Pedro Lasso's* hous for refuge, where hee secured them, and *Hernando de Avalos* with som other gentlemen: The tumult of the Common People beeing appeased, they were conducted out of the Citie on foot, then they took hors and rode to *Alcala de Henares*. Whence the Governor sent one of his Officers, named *Don Pedro del Castillo*, to inform the *Emperor* of these passages in Toledo. The Citie set guards at all their gates and Avenues, that nobody should go out to give notice of their proceedings, nor anie one com in without beeing examined who hee was, whence hee came and what letters hee brought. All this was done by the general command and content of all the gentlemen that assisted in this insurrection of the Common People, and all the Fryers and Priests, excepting som few who absented and withdrew themselves, though with danger of their lives. The Order they kept to conform themselves in these disorders, was, That every time they were to treat of anie business, the inhabitants of every particular parish were to assemble, and two publick Notaries with them, before whom every man, how mean soever, was to sit down and declare his opinion.

S E C T.

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S E C T. XXIX.

THE 8th of *Maie* in the same year was published at the *Groyne* this rising of *Toledo*, som were glad of it, others sorry, every one according as hee stood affected. Som advised the *Emperor* to take post and go to *Toledo*, and inflict som exemplarie punishment upon the principal delinquents, which might bee a means to keep the whole Kingdom in subjection. The *Emperor* beeing young and full of Spirit approved of that counsel, but *Monsieur de Xeures* disswaded him, fearing greater disorders if hee went thither, and knowing the strength and scituation of that Citie, besides considering the heat of the people's fury, and that the mischief would bee greater, if they had the impudence to affront him in Person, as it was probable they would, fearing to bee punished for what they had don already; That their fury beeing most violent in the beginning (which time alone could mitigate and appeal) their first impetuosity would soon bee over, as most commonly it is observed in such commotions, which kindled with a little fire and without any grounds, are allayed again with as little water. Besides all these allegations *Xeures* had a longing desire to bee in his own Country, verifying in that this saying, That wheresoever the Treasure is, there is the heart also. Moreover the *Emperor* had a particular necessitie, for a thousand reasons which neerly concerned the reputation of his person, not to defer his departure, but rather to hasten it all hee could, beeing exceedingly urged by the *Princes Electors*, and that hee might not give his enemies anie time to hinder the *Election* of the *Empire*, the *King of England* beeing then likewise in expectation of som interest therein. And besides it was of no small consequence for him to bee gon, before the *King of France* was joined with the *King of England*, who were reported to meet the first of *June* at *Calis*. These considerations
lected

settled the *Emperor's* determination of going into *Germanie*, his Council supposing that the business of *Toledo* would go no further, no body imagining what afterwards did ensue.

 SECT. XXX.

THINGS beeing in the condition I have declared, The Commissioners of *Toledo* never came to the *Parlament*, which was concluded by them that were there, who granted his *Majestie* the subsidie hee desired, which was two hundred Millions of *Marauediz* to bee payd in three years, whereunto som would not consent, and those that did had trouble and displeasure enough from their Cities for it. *Salamanca*, *Toro*, *Madrid*, *Murcia*, *Cordoua*, and *Toledo* opposed, whose *Commisfioners* had no hand in the granting it, neither came they into the *Parlament-houf*; One of the *Commisfioners* of *Leon* refused it, the other consented. Of those that did allow it, som were induced thereto by their own particular interests, few out of zeal or affection to his *Majestie's* service. The *Emperor* beeing ready to depart, onely staying for a winde, and his desire granted for matter of subsidie (although som of his Council were of opinion that hee should not receiv it, as *Don Alonso Telles*, Lord of *La Puebla de Montalvan*, Bishop *Mota* and *Francisco de Vargas*) His *Majestie* sent for those *Grandees* of the Kingdom that were then there, who were *Don Diego Lopez de Pacheco* Marquis of *Villena*, *Don Inigo de Velasco* Constable of *Castilla*, the *Earl of Venavente*, the *Duke of Alburquerque*, the *Duke of Medina Celi*, the *Marquis of Astorga*, the *Earl of Lemos*, the *Earl of Monterrey*, and the *Commisfioners* of the Kingdom then present, to whom hee sayd hee was then ready to depart, beeing neerly concerned in the election of the *Empire*, and that, God willing, hee would sodainly return, In mean time hee left governor of those Kingdomes the *Cardinal Adriano* Bishop of *Tortosa* one of his Council, who was a person eminent for his learning

ning and good conscience, and hee required and commanded them to assise and favor him that his Kingdomes might bee well governed. The major part of these gentlemen disliked this motion for some reasons, whereof one was that the *Cardinal* was a stranger, but some approving it, the *Emperor* took no notice of the opposers, neither did hee admit of any replies.

S E C T. XXXI.

THe *Emperor* being at the *Groyn* divers requests were made to him in the Kingdom's name, as followeth, *That* his *Majestie* would bee pleased to return speedily into those Kingdomes and govern them in his own person, as his predecessors had done. For nothing that they could ask him would bee so satisfactorie and acceptable to those Kingdomes as his safe and speedy return, in regard *Spain* was not accustomed to bee without their King, neither could they bee governed by any other with the peace and quiet which is necessary and expedient. *That* as soon as hee should come back hee would bee pleased to marry for the universal good of the Kingdomes, that they might have the seed of his Roial Person to succeed him, in regard his age did require it. *That* the *Queen's* Court might bee put into such order as was suitable to the dignitie of Her Roial Person and the honor of those Kingdomes. *That* Shee might have Officers of trust about her, who should bee well treated and encouraged with good rewards. *That* at his return hee would bee pleased to bring with him no *Flemings*, *French*, or other strangers, to have any Office of importance in those Kingdomes, but that hee would advance and employ the natives of that Country who would serve him with much loyaltie and affection. *That* those Kingdomes

doms beeing at Peace and under his *Majestie's* subjection, hee would not bring anie souldiers of Forreign Countries for defence thereof, or to bee guards of his own person. Al- leading that in that Countrie the People beeing very warlike and of courage enough to conquer other Nations, what might they think could bee the reason, but his distrust of them, if hee should take strangers for his guard. *That* Hee would govern and settle his hous in such order as the Catholick *Kings* his fore- fathers, and other *Kings* his Predecessors had done. *That* no wa- ges or pensions should bee given to the Wives or Chil- dren of anie Courtiers that were not in service, unless in acknowledgment and recompence of services done by the Father deceased, hee would gratifie the surviving Chil- dren. *That* in regard there were many superfluous Offi- ces added in the *Queen's* houshold, which were not of former times, they should bee all taken away again, and no Salaries allowed for them. *That* no *Grandee* should have anie office in the *King's* or *Queen's* houshold as in relation to the Exchequer or Treasurie. *That* whilest his *Majestie* was absent the Salaries of his Domesticks should bee payed out of his own Revenue. *That* the Governors they were to have during his absence might bee Natives of either of those Kingdomes of *Castilla* or *Leon*. *That* such Governors might have pow- er to confer anie Offices or dignities of the Kingdom, except, *Bishopricks*, *Lieutenantships*, and *Commanderies* of Or- ders. *That* neither the *King* nor anie Noblemen should give billets for lodging, and in case they did that the Peo- ple should not bee obliged to reciev them unless they listed. But when his *Majestie* goeth his progress, *That* there should bee lodgings and furniture provided for his familie and Court *gratis*, so that hee make no longer stay then fifteen dayes in a place, if more, afterwards hee should pay; And that his guard and Souldiery bee lodged and quartered according to the usual manner. *That* there should bee one hundred lodgings and no more provi-

ded for his *Majestie's* familie at the Charge of the Place where hee shall stay. That there should bee no lodging allowed for those of the Council, Judges, nor anie such like Officers. That the King should not give general or particular billets for the lodging of anie. That the taxes and impositions should bee reduced to a certain number, and the Pole-monie set at a just and moderate rate, whereby the People might perceiv the grace and favor his *Majestie* did them. That the subsidies granted by the Commissioners at the *Groyn*, should not bee received nor demanded, neither should there bee anie new taxes or extraordinary tribute imposed upon the Kingdom without som evident necessitie, and that it were thought requisite for the good of the Kingdom and his *Majestie's* service. That the King should not lend any instructions to the Cities, or form of granting Powers, nor nominate any particular men for Officers: but that the Cities and towns should have the freedom and libertie to bestow and confer their Powers upon such men as they should finde zealous for the good of their Republicks. That the Commissioners in *Parlament* should have the libertie to meet when and where they pleased, and to discourf and confer freely with one another. That such Commissioners during their employment, should not receiv of the King anie Office, favor or gift whatsoever, for themselvs, their Wives, Children or kindred, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, and that those goods should bee employed for the publick reparations of the Citie or Town whereof they were Commissioners, to the end that they should bee the more careful to do onely that which was most expedient for the glory of *God*, the service of his *Majestie* and good of the Kingdom. That everie Commissioner or *Burges*s should have a competent allowance from the place whose persons they represented. That the *Parlament* beeing ended, the severall Commissioners should return within forty dayes to give account of what they had done under pain of losing their wages and employment. That no gold or Silver, coyned or to bee coyned, should bee transported out of the Kingdom under pain of death:

death; In regard the contrary having been done the Kingdomes were impoverished and destroyed. *That* there should bee monie coyned differing as well in value as stamp from that of the neighboring Countries, and that it should bee of a base alloy two *Carats* under the rate of the finest gold. *That* in Weight and value it should bee answerable to the *Crowns* of Gold which are coyned in *France*: Because that would bee a means that it should not bee transported. Manie other articles were given in touching gold and silver, the particular favors and rewards of the *King*, and other matters of justice: But that which they insisted most upon was, that the Councils should bee strictly looked to. *That* the Chancery and other Courts in the Kingdom should bee visited or reviewed from six to six years, and that all suits should bee dispatched in order, and determined whithin a certain time without any delay. *That* there should bee no appealing from Court to Court, but that each case should bee decided at it's own Tribunal. *That* no Counsellor or other whosoever should enjoie two offices, but should apply himself to one onely. These and manie other things the *Nobles* and *Commissioners* of the Kingdom desired, but they fell into the hands of Strangers, the *King* being young and full of thoughts of his Voyage and possession of his *Empire*; So they remained. And in regard these and other such like propositions were slighted and layd aside (though presented with much zeal and affection) the whole Kingdom burst out, and slipping in one, they fell into the Precipice of manie inconveniences, (as it is commonly seen). They desired one thing, verie Holie, in the *Chapter* concerning *Ecclesiastical* dignities and pensions, *That* they should not bee conferred upon strangers, and that the acts of Naturalization which had been made should bee revoked. *That* in the *Ecclesiastical* Courts there should bee no more duties payed, then in the secular, and that they should observ the same Statute. (Which I would it were well seen unto in these times.) There were likewise som complaints and Petitions given in against *Pedrarias de Avila*, a gentleman of good
note

note and quality (brother to the *Earl of Puno en Roſtro*) and who had done great ſervices; yet hee was accused by ſome of his enemies and charged for having put manie to death unjuſtly at the diſcoverie of the *Indies*, and committed divers Robberies and Tyrannies. There were ſeven conſultations hereupon, and *Pedrarias* was quitted by them all; and the *Emperor* himſelf (taking particular notice of the ſervices which hee had done at *Oran* in *Africa*, and the taking of *Buxia*, beſides other places in the *Indies*) freed him notwithstanding theſe fall and paſſionate accuſations, and confirmed him in the government and charge which formerly had been conferred upon him, and gave him ſome rewards beſides. But all this was not ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of his enemies, who gave occaſion to ſtrangers not onely of ſpeaking ill, but alſo of writing againſt this gentleman, who was valiant in his own perſon, and of antient extraction in this Kingdom; And others (not knowing to the contrary) have followed them in the prejudicial cenſure of this nation and the Nobilitie thereof.

S E C T, X X X I I.

Cardinal Adriano made Governor during his Maſteſtie's abſence.

His Council.

TO the grief of thoſe gentlemen who took ill *Cardinal Adriano's* beeing Governor, by a general conſent of the Council, and *Don Antonio de Rojas Arch-Biſhop* of *Granada*, then Preſident, Hee was confirmed Governor of *Caſtilla* and *Navarra* jointly with thoſe of his Council, who were *Don Alonſo Tellez* Lord of *la-Puebla de Montalvan*, *Hernando de Vega* Chancellor of the order in *Caſtilla*, *Don John de Fonſeca* Biſhop of *Burgos*, *Don Antonio de Rojas Arch-Biſhop* of *Granada* and Preſident of his *Majeſtie's* Council of Juſtice, and *Franciſco de Vargas* Treafurer general, theſe were to reſide at *Valladolid*. *Antonio de Fonſeca* Lord of *Coca* was appointed Captain General of the kingdom, and *Don John*, Brother to the *Biſhop* of *Burgos*,

Burgos, his Treasurer. *Don John de la Nuza* was Governor of *Aragon*, *Don Diego de Mendoza*, brother to the *Marquis of Zenete*, Vice-Roy of *Valencia*. All being thus ordered for the Government of the kingdom, and the winde coming faire, upon Saturday the 19.th of *May* at Sun-set, The *Emperor* commanded to bee Proclaimed, That all the mariners and his retinue should goe on board that night, for the next day in the morning hee would set saile. Sunday the 20.th of *May* before day hee did his devotion and received the Sacrament, after which hee tooke ship, *Don Alonso de Fonseca* Arch-Bishop of *Santjago*, *Don Iuan de Fonseca* Bishop of *Burgos*, *Don Inigo de Velasco* Constable of *Castilla* and *Leon*, *Don Diego Lopez Pacheco* *Marquis* of *Villena*, *Don Alonso Pimentel* Earl of *Benavente*, *Don John Osorio* *Marquis* of *Astorga*, and divers other persons of quality waited on him to the Sea-side : Those that embarked with him were *Don Fadrique de Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, the *Marquis* of *Villa Franca* and his son, *Don Hernando de Andrade* Earl of *Andrade*, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, who did great services to the *Emperor*, and *Monfieur de Xeuves* with the rest of the *Flemings*. So with a most harmonious noise of Minstrels and Trumpets they weighed ancker, and set saile with great acclamations of joy, leaving sad *Spaine* over-charged with sorrow and misfortunes. They shaped their course directly for *Englan.l*, and the sixth day the whole Fleet arrived at the Downs. The same day (being whit-sunday) The *Emperor* landed with all his nobility and servants, where hee was received by the *Cardinal* of *England*, favorite to *King Henry* the Eight, and by whom hee was much governed. The same night the *King* of *England* came by post thither, the expressions of affection and the great contentment which the *King* of *England* seemed to take in his *Majestie's* company, were beyond relation ; The next day the two *King's* went to visite *S^t Tho* : of *Canterburie's* tomb, where *Queen Katherine*, wife to *King Henry* and Aunt to the *Emperor*, attended them in a sumptuously adorned Palace, wherein they spent the three dayes of whit-suntide with

The *Emperor*
imbarck's for
Flanders.

Hee arrive's
in *England*

Cardinal w^olsey
receiv's him
at his landing.

His reception
by the *King*
and *Queen* at
Canterburie.

great Jollity and feasting. The holy-daies being past, and the *Princes* having treated sufficiently of what concerned them, and confirmed a Peace with great testimonies of affection on both sides, the *Emperor* took leave of his *Aunt* and the *King*, and went to *Deal* a harbour in the same Island. And so embarked again and sailed to *Flushing*. His arrivall was incredibly welcom to the Inhabitants of all those Provinces, the same expressions of joy were all *Germany* over (as soon as they knew of his landing) where hee was infinitely desired. Hee went from *Holland* into *Flanders* without anie stay, but in all places where hee did pass, hee was most Splendidly entertained, especially at *Gant*, where *Margarita* his Aunt, and the *Infante Don Fernando* his brother (who was *Arch-Duke of Austria*) expected his coming. Thence hee went towards *Calis* to visit again the *King* and *Queen of England*, who mean time the *Emperor* was at Sea, met the *King of France* there, who endeavoured all hee could to possess the *King of England* with a disaffection of the *Emperor*, whose power and greatness hee envied and repined at. Having made this second visit the *Emperor* returned to *Gant*, where hee put himself in fit equipage to receive the Crown at *Aquisgran*. Where we will leave him for the present and return to relate the the miseries and troubles of *Spain*.

 S E C T. X X X I I I.

THe *Emperor's* departure was diversly resented in *Spain*, Those that were honestly minded and of sober and quiet dispositions approved of it, esteeming it just and requisite, but feared much what after did ensue. But the factious and Seditious Party were otherwise affected, They rejoiced at it, and hugged themselves in the fancie and vain hope of increasing their estates and reputation with these

these disensions and alterations, delighting (as the Proverb saith) to fish in troubled water. The *Emperor* being gone from the *Groyn*, all the Nobilitie and Gentry which stayed behinde returned to their owne houses, and the *Commissioners* or *Burgesses* of *Parlament*, repayed to their respective Cities and towns with feare enough of their *Republicks*. The *Cardinal* and those of his Council tooke their way towards *Valladolid*, and before they arrived there, newes was brought them of the Commotions of the Cities of *Castilla*. The *Emperor* was very ill advised in not leaving the government of those Kingdoms to some Nobleman of that Countrey; as was desired of him in *Parlament*, whom as a Grandee of note and power they might feare, and love, honor and respect him as their Countryman. Or if they had done as (when necessitie constrained them) they did afterwards, all had been well; The fault being laid upon *Xeures*, hee sayed, That it was not so ordered, that his *Majestie* thought there were no Noblemen in *Castilla* worthy of that honor, but because of the factions and partialities amongst them, the conferring it upon one should not disgust the others.

 SECT. XXXIII.

THE *Cardinal* and his Council being arrived at *Venavente*, an exprefs from *Don John de Acunia* Governor of *Segovia* came to them purposely to inform them of a notoriously haynous accident befallen in that Citie, which was thus, One of the *Commissioners* or *Burgesses* that was sent thence to the *Parlament* at *Santjago* named *John* or *Antony de Tordefillas*, *Regidor* and native of that Citie, gave his consent to the granting the Subsidies his *Majestie* demanded. Hee brought for the Citie the *Pole-money* to bee payed by

way of excise and a gratuity of one hundred thousand *Maravediz* for reparation of the walls, and for himself hee had procured a very good government and received an office which the *Mint* or coyning house had given for lost. It is a custome in *Segovia* every Tuesday in whitsonweek that the *Collectors* meet to treat concerning the Revenue of *Corpus Christi* Church. It hapned that being all together one of them inconsiderately sayed, *Gentlemen!* you know that *Don John de Acunia* is Governor of this Citie, and that hee never set foot in it, and yet not satisfied to undervalue us, hee main-tein's here certain Officers to robb us, rather then to administer Justice. And I vow to God, if the former stole away our Cloaks, these strip us to the very Skins. Moreover know that the Governor hath put in here a Deputy, more fool then valiant: Hee is not satisfied with the injuries hee doth us by day, but hee leads a dog to catch men in the night. And my opinion is, That if any one hath done what hee ought not to doe, Hee should apprehend him in his house like a Christian, and not hunt him with doggs in the Mountains like a Moore; For a man of any credit is more troubled at his being apprehended in the open street then at his Imprisonment. A certain old man, called *Melm*, chanced to be present at these words, who had for many years executed the office of a *Sergeant* or *Catch-pole* (as they call them); and therefore was hated and abhorred by all the people. This poore man having heard the other out, and every body else holding their peaces, stood up and spake these words in favor of the Justice. Indeed (*Gentlemen!*) that which this man hath sayed seemeth to me not well, and mee thinks it is worf that men of such honor and credit (as here are) should give eare to such a man: for hee that will speak in publick of the *Ministers* of Justice ought to have some respect and moderation in his tongue; and in an officer of the *King's*, hee ought not to look onely at his person, but to consider what his staff represent's, As touching the dog hee speak's of, that my Master carri'es with him, I sweare by this cross, that, being a yong man, hee takes him with him more for his pleasure in the day time, then to catch men in

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Tumults in
Segovia.

the night; and if it had been so you doe not, (I hope) take me to be so base, but that I should haue made it known to the people, for I am more beholding to my friends and neighbors then I am to Strangers. If the Officers doe any thing against Law and Justice, (which hitherto they have not done) like Christians and Gentlemen wee are obliged to advise and reprove them in secret, and not defame them publickly; and if this which I say now unto you, soundeth not well in your ears, perchance that which will result hereof will please you worse; for ill words inconsiderately spoken somtimes are dearly repented. This speech was so ill taken by them all, that with shouting and great violence they seized on him, cast a rope about his neck, and with huge noise and exclamations they dragged him out of the Citie, but they bruised him with so many stripes that hee was dead before hee came to the gallows, yet they hung up his body upon it. As they returned from hanging this unfortunate Melon, they met by the way a companion of his, called Roque Portalejo: To whom one of them said, as they came along, Portalejo! thy Companion Melon remember's him to thee, there hee hangs upon the gallows, and hee saies hee hopes thou wilt beare him Company there to morrow, and t'were no great matter if wee made thee accept of his invitation, for since thou wast his companion in the fault, it is but reason thou shouldst beare a share of the punishment. Portalejo replyed, God preserve the King my Lord and his Justice, for one day you may repent you for what you haue done and Segovia for permitting it. for the blood of the Imocent, although men doe forget it, is alwaies crying out for vengeance before God. Hereupon, and because they saw him with a pen and paper, one of them began to say, that hee tooke the names of those that had killed Melon, upon which words they all cryed out kill him, kill him, So with the same fury in a disorderly rout, as they had done to Melon, they layd hands on him, and dragged him to the gallows where they hang'd him by the feet, so the poore man dyed. They spent all that day in execution of those two; The next day being wednesday The Citie sat in counsell; the Regidor Torde-sillas went thither to give account of what hee had don in
Parlament

Parlament although hee was advised to the contrary. The place of meeting was at *S^t Michael's Church*. The People beeing told, that *Tordefillas* had granted the subsidie and that hee was at the Council, a great number of *Carders* ran in a tumultuous manner thither, and climbing over the doores and breaking in at the windowes, they violently layed hands upon him and dragged him out of the Church. *Antonio de Tordefillas* intreating them to forbear, sayed, *Gentlemen ! heare me, I come to give you an account. See here the Articies which I bring, bee pacified, and let us goe to some place where you may bee informed of the truth.* But this satisfied not, the multitude of Teazers was so outrageous, some cryed, let us carry him to *Santa Olalla*; and poor *Tordefillas* said, *whither you please Gentlemen.* Others cryed, *Kill him, kill him,* Others sayed, *Tordefillas give us those articles.* Hee answered, *Since you will haue it so, there, take them;* then hee drew a paper out of his pocket, wherein was contened all that hee had done in the *Parlament*, Which they tore in peeces without ever reading it. And with one voice they cryed out, *to prison with him, there wee shall see his treason.* then they set him upon a Mule, beeing clad with a long cassock or gaberdine of crimson velvet. Hee had not gone farr but some of them crying, *Art thou catched?* layed hands again upon him, and having knocked him off the Mule, they hurried him into the Prison, others cryed out, *A rope, a rope, let him not stay in prison, let us have him strait to the gallowes.* And presently with lowd exclamations they cryed out all together, *Let him die, let him die.* And a rope beeing brought they put it about his neck, and plucked him down to the ground, then dragged him along the streets, punching him and giving him great blowes upon the head with the pummels of their swords, and although hee cryed out to them with grievous sighs and pitiful groans, saying, *Gentlemen ! heare me, why doe you kill mee?* it availed nothing. Hee desired to confesse, and they would not suffer him. The *Dean* and *Canons* with their *Sacerdotal* habits came forth to them, carrying the holy *Sacrament*. And (which was most grievous of all)

all) *Tordezilla's* own brother, a *Franciscan* Fryer, a very grave man in his habit ready to lay mass, and the holy Sacrament in his hands, with all the rest of the Fryers of *S^t Francis* order came out, and kneeling all before this crew, they begged of them with tears to spare his life for *Christ Jesus's* sake. But in regard all that Rabble was of the common and baser sort of People, they made no reckoning of them, nor bore any respect or reverence to the Church. Then the Fryers desired, if there was no remedy but that hee must die, that they would give him leav to make his confession, which they refused. And when they had brought him to the gallows, half choaked already with the rope, they tyed his feet and hung him with his head downwards, betwixt the two others they had hanged the day before. Thus this poor Gentleman ended his life, and doubtless his companion *John Vazquez* had tasted of the same cup, had hee not absented himself, but hee escaped being advertised by this disaster.

*Antio de
Tordesillas
Regidor and
Commissioner
of Segovia
hanged by
the People.*

 S E C T. X X X V.

THIS done the Common People of *Segovia* elected their *Deputies* of the *Commonalty*, turned out all the *King's* officers of *Justice* and authorised others to officiate for them, then seized upon all the gates of the *Citie*. About that time was come to *Segovia* *Don Hernando de Bovadilla* *Earl of Chinchon*, who had great power in the *Citie*, having the command of the *Forts*, *Gates* and *Mint-hous*; which place was given his ancestors and him by the *King* for former services. The *Common People* possessing themselves of the *Gates*, and a *houf* *Don Hernando* had within the *Citie*, Hee presently made all his servants and the officers of the *Gates* retire into the *Forts*, that, there might bee men enough to defend them, in case they should be assaulted, and leaving them to his brother *Don Diego's* charge and care, hee went to a *Fortress* of his own in the
 COUNTRY

Countrie and took out all the peeces of Artillerie hee had there, which hee brought with more servants and other People, to reliev his brother, who was by that time besieged and streightned in those Forts by the *Commons*; which siege lasted all the time of the troubles, and the warre was cruell on both sides, *Don Diego* defending himself with great dexterity and valor; The generositie and loyaltie of these Gentlemen was so great, that to defend the Forts committed to their charge by the *King*, they disarmed their own, choosing rather to leave their own Townes and Holds openly exposed to bee destroyed by the fury of the *Common People*, then neglect or forsake that which conduced to the *King's* service.

S E C T. XXXVI.

THis message which the Post brought from *Segovia* to the Governors, declaring the crueltie done in that Citie, possessed them with much trouble and care. These risings touched the *Cardinal* to the heart, and hereupon hee entred into consultation with those Gentlemen whom his *Majestie* had appointed to assist him. After this the Gentlemen and *Regidores* of *Segovia* sent another Messinger to make their excuse to the Governor, alledging, *That* they had nothing to doe in the Death of *Tordesillas*, nor the other two men, neither were they able to hinder it in regard of the Mutinie of a great multitude of teazers of Wooll, who made that scandalous uproar and outrage, men of strange places, vagabonds, and who were already dispersed and fled from the Citie. That if it could bee proved that anie man of account or worth in the Citie was amongst them, or but anie waie favoured, assisted, or so much as consented to their barbarous proceeding, they would willingly submit themselves to anie Punishment that could bee inflicted on them. The President of the Council *Don Antonio de Rojas Arch-Bishop of Granada* grew

grew so cholerick and furious, that through excess of passion hee gave the Messengers (whom the Gentlemen *Regidores* and Citizens had sent to make their excuses) such reproachful language and high threatnings, that it spoiled all. For returning to their Citie much distasted with this answer, They were all scandalized at it, and those that before were very quiet and peaceable began to incline to the Mutiniers. The Cardinal beeing arrived at *Valladolid* the 5th of June 1520, the day before *Corpus Christi* eve, (the *Arch-Bishop* beeing gon thither two daies before) Hee assembled all the Council and asked their opinions, which were very different concerning this matter. And becaus they are of so much importance to the Historie, I will set down som of the most remarkable which were then taken in writing. The first that spake was *Don Antonio de Rojas* President of the Council, who declared himself in these words.

The opinion of *Don Antonio de Rojas* concerning *Segovia*.

MY LORDS! wee, who are dedicated to the Divine Sacraments, have not the libertie to speak over boldly in matters which concern humane rigors and chastisements, becaus our profession is to shed tears for those which transgress against the God of Heaven, and not spill the blood of those who offend earthlie Kings. You see, My Lords! if the dignitie of *Arch-Bishop* invite's me to Clemencie, the office of President (which is conferred upon mee) constrain's me to Justice. This I say, My Lords, that you may not bee scandalized if I declare my self in this my vote. I denie not that our Lord God giveth a beginning to all things with his Providence, but yet manie of them hee persues and concludeth with his rigor and Justice. And this hee doth, that the Good may bee encouraged to serv him, and the wicked refrain from displeasing him, According to this saying of the Prophet, *Misericordiam & Judicium cantabo tibi Domine.* To com to the Purpose which now is in agitation, This action of *Segovia*, for my particular I hold it so hainous and scandalous, that I cannot think of any Punishment great enough for it. For where the offence is

without weight, the Penaltie ought to bee beyond measure. Those of the Citie of Segovia have offended God in so barbarously putting to Death a man, who better deserved to live then They. Which wicked action is of no less consequence, then that it should wreak God's Judgments upon them, for the blood of his Innocencie is no other then the Crier, or Proclaimer of Vengeance. Again, in my sense, they are guiltie of Crimen læsæ Majestatis, and it is very palpable; for they did not murther Tordefillas for any offence hee had done them, but for the service hee did the King in the Parliament. And since for the King hee lost his life, the King is obliged to see him revenged: and in respect his Majestie is gone out of Castilla, to receive the Imperial Crown in Germanie, It will bee sufficient, if hee return in prosperitie, that hee reward his wife and Children with some gratuity; And wee are to proceed according to Justice, considering that the offence is as hainous, as if it had been done to his own person. For if I have served his Majestie, being here present, in giving him good Counsel, I shall serv him more now, My Lords, in punishing misdeeds in his absence. Moreover, Since the King our Sovereign took shipping at the Groyn, This is the first act of disobedience in Spain. Wherefore I judge their crime the greater. For an offence committed in absence, alwaies argueth the more malice, and where the malice is so great, the Punishment ought to bee correspondent. Item, it is allea'ged by those of Segovia, that the Citie in general is not guiltie of this fact, but only som particular men, Carders, did hang Tordefillas upon the Gallows. I would fain know of them, what was the reason, why they did not punish those fellows, since they were but few; for there is no such testimonie of Innocence, as to execute Justice upon offenders. In my opinion the Citie of Segovia cannot plead Non-Guiltie in this case, for Five Thousand Citizens (if they had listed) might easily have withstood the furious insolence of Fiftie Teazers, and those Strangers too. But some secretly with their counsels, others publickly using violence, committed this insolent outrage. For if it bee a crime in Wicked men to murther the good, It is no less crime in good men not to resist the Wicked. You have seen, My Lords, the peremptoriness of those of Toledo, The King our Lord being at his Parliament in Santjago and the Groyn: which was so great and scandalous, that for my part I know not which was more to bee condemned their malice in so doing, or

Xewes

Xeures his negligence in not remedying it. Wherefore I say, that if that which was done, hee being here, hath pas't unpunished, and this, which hath bin committed in his absence, be not remedye.d, from henceforwards I give all Castilla for lost and ruined. For this is a General maxime, if Justice once lose her force, presently start's up insulting Tyrannie. Item since his Majestie's departure out of this Kingdom, This is the first scandal wherein it is requisite that the Councilmake appeare their Counsel and wisdom. And there is nothing that can give a greater evidence thereof, then in governing the People in such sort, that wee may gain the affections of the good, and bee no less feared by the evil. If the death of this Regidor bee thus smothered, and the insolence of Toledo dissembled, the Carders of Segovia will thinke, and the Cap-makers of Toledo will Proclaime, that wee doe not let these things pass with our good wills, but that wee dare not punish them. And by this means Justice will bee defamed in that shee cover's Feare, and which is worst of all, will lose the credite of being feared. In summ of all that I have spoken, I say, that my determinate will and opinion is, that an Alcalde de Corte, (who is in nature of a Judge of Oyer and Terminer, here in England) should goe to Segovia, and what hee ought to doe in this (although I know it) my Sacred Orders doe not give me leav to express. I onely say thus much, that the Judge ought to do worst to them by Justice, then they did to Tordesillas without Justice. Let all that I have said in this consultation bee under your most Reverend Lordship's correction: and if these Lords bee of any other opinion, I shall bee content to conform my self to them, for in matters of weight and moment, a man is not to defend his own opinion, but to follow that which is most expedient for the publick good.

 SECT, XXXVII,

THE second that was remarkeable in this Consultation, was *Don Alonso Tellez Giron*, who in those times was esteemed a man of a good Conscience, a vertuous life, of a generous offspring, and chiefly in the opinion (which hee delivered)

delivered) very circumspect, for hee would never give any counsel, unless hee had considered the matter throughly before hand. *Don Antonio de Rojas* having ended his speech, *Don Alonso Tellez* began, Saying.

The discreet Opinion of *Don Alonso Tellez Giron.*

IT chanceth often-times amongst the most expert Captains, that being upon the point of giving battle, they differ in the manner and order of their Combate, and if such men take oath of their dissenting opinions, I say that kind of discord proceedeth not from any particular difference betwixt them, but that each one of them thinkes, that what hee sayes is the best and most secure way to gain the Victorie that day. This I say, most Reverend Lord *Cardinal*, in order to my Lord Arch-Bishop and President his Speech, which was very good and befeeming a Prelate that is desirous of the publick good. But if hee and I doe differ in the meanes which is to bee used for the remedying of so great a scandal, wee shall not, I am confident, in our intentions be dissenting. I swear by the faith of a Christian and a Gentleman, and by this Holy habit of *Santjago* which I wear, that my soul desireth nothing at this present more, then that wee may hit upon the right way of rectifying and providing for *Segovia*. For my mind giv's me, that if wee miss our aim in this first enterprise, we shall not bee powerful enough hereafter to execute Justice. Hee that is to give his sens in such occurrences, ought not only to see to the remedying of mischiefs, but to bee circumspect and warie lest the fulfilling of his Vote should bee the occasion of a greater Inconvenience. For it may bee already (which God forbid) thinking to tile *Segovia*, wee have untiled it, and so bewetted all *Spain*. Vndoubtedly those of *Segovia* offended God in destroying his creature, and the King in murthering him for his cause. They scandalized the Republick by hanging him in that manner. And accordingly (if it were of no further consequence) nothing could bee more just, then

then that the more cruel and barbarous they have shewd themselves in that murder, the less pitie wee should shew in chastising them. I would say in this case, that wee are able to punish *Segovia*, or we are not able, and so likewise *Toledo* of their rebellion: and to speak the truth, to my best sense to chastise *Segovia*, or correct *Toledo* is yet too soon. For being, as we are, but newly come to the government, we should grant som privileges and libertie to the People at first, to win their obedience; and afterwards chastise them, that we may bee feared. Put case wee are not powerful enough (as I believe we are not) to quell that high couraged stubborn People, (if my Iudgment fail me not) I hold for most certain, that if *Segovia* lose their respect to us, the like we shall find through all the Cities of *Spain*. Moreover you know, my Lords, that it hath been averred to us, that there was never a Gentleman nor Citizen at the murder of *Tordesillas*, and that those Teazers which had committed the fact, were fled already. The Judge whom wee shall send thither, to seem that hee doth something, must rob the Poor, chastise the Innocent, disquiet the Rich, defame the Noble, and chiefly scandalize the bordering People, so that the untimely punishing of one man's death, may bee an occasion of destroying all. *Item* you know, My Lords, that the King, our Lord, had the ill will of all his Subjects for the ill Government of his Tutors, and certainly those of this Kingdom desire to expresse their discontents. Me think's, we should rather provide for and hinder the manifestation of the ill intentions of *Castilla*, then to stand so much upon the rigorous chastising of the Carders of *Segovia*, for it is the part of wise men to dissemble and defer the punishment of faults already past, and forthwith apply a remedie to a present evil. *Item*, *Segovia* cryeth out and desire's, that if Fifty or a Hundred weavers committed that outrage, the whole Citie should not lose its Innocence. And in my Iudgment we should bee very injurious and unjust, if we should declare a whole Citie Traytors, when but few are guiltie, and I know the King hath manie faithful servants in

Segovia : therefore wee should commit a great offence therein. *Besides*, it is as much the Propertie of Clement Princes to pardon many wicked men, for the respect of som few good, as it is the Practise of cruel Tyrants to condemn many good, for a few evil. *Item*, it is sufficiently known that *Toledo* is in Rebellion, and beeing (as it is) so powerful a Citie, wee cannot exercise Justice upon it. Now, if wee doe chastise *Segovia*, wee cannot do it so much dammage, as wee shall do favor to *Toledo* thereby. For all those whom wee take now for enemies, wee make friends to *Toledo*. And by this means there will bee manie favorers of their Tyranie, and but few to asist our Justice. *Item*, it is to be considered that the Citie of *Segovia* and the Town of *Medina del Campo*, by reason of the Cloaths of the one, and the fairs of the other, Those two People used alwaies to bee like Brothers. My end in saying this is, becauf the best Artillerie the King hath in *Castilla* is at *Medina*, and if the business were come to that, They would sooner give it *Segovia* for their defence, then to us to punish them. And by this means *Segovia* will get the Artillerie, and wee shall lose *Medina*. *Item*, *Segovia* hath not taken the Fort as yet, nor disobeyed the Justice, nor shut the Gates, nor taken up Armes; And if a Judge go thither to chastise them, perchance wee shall (the Guiltie beeing fled away for fear of punishment) give occasion of fear to those that are Innocent, and they put themselvs into a defensive posture thereupon. And this will bee the way to make those whom wee have as yet for subjects, declare themselvs our enemies, My Lords, I will not extend my self any further in my discourf, but only that for the reasons which I have alledged, and for others which I could produce, I doe not deny but *Segovia* ought to bee chastised: But my vote is, that for the present, it should bee dissembled. For prolonging a punishment never did harm: and an over-hastie execution of Justice never did good.

The *Cardinal* tak's and followe's the President's advice, which was to chastise *Segovia*.

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All those that were present approved of *Don Alonso Tellez* his opinion, yet the *Cardinal* agreed to do according to the vote of *Don Antonio de Rojas*, *President*. For hee was a man so violently hastie and opiniative, that no body could perswade him to any thing, neither would hee bee contradicted.

There were certain Fryers, who did much harm in these commotions, som out of Zeal, others beeing of turbulent Spirits and too busie, and meddling with Secular affairs, which suite not with a Religious life.

SECT. XXXVIII.

IN one and the same day rose the Cities of *Zamora* & *Segovia*. In *Zamora* began the furie of the People against their *Commissioners*, who had exceedingly incensed them, because when that Citie had notice that *Toledo*, gave limited Powers to their *Commissioners*, They would do the same. But their *Commissioners* told them, they might not do so, and having received their Orders, they made oath of fealty to the People, that they would not act any thing, without first giving them notice; of which oath afterwards the *Commissioners* desired the *Emperor* to quit them, and they granted the Subsidie. Whereupon the People were so intraged, that they desired to have them burnt. They having som inklings hereof, fled to a Monasterie a little day's Journey from *Zamora* (called *Marta*). The People in mean time went to their houses, and not finding them, They resolved to pluck down their houses, but did not, out of respect to the *Earl* of *Alva*, to whom all that Citie (as they had reason) did bear particular honor and respect. His Authoritie prevailed much, and hindred the *Common People* from doing a Thousand other mischiefs, but this it could not; which was, The People not finding the *Commissioners*, made Statues, that resembled them, which they dragg'd about the streets with many reproachful exclamations

Commotions
in the Citie of
Zamora.

tions against them, proclaiming them Traitors and Enemies to their Countrie. After that they caused their pictures to bee set up in the Consistorie, with a writing at the foot of each, to signifie who they were, and what they had done against that Citie, and against the Faith they had sworn to them. At length, hearing that they were retired into that Monasterie, they sent to the Friars to turn them out, if nor, they would go and set fire to the house. And although they desired libertie to come with safteie of their persons to the Citie, and give them account of what they had done in *Parlament*, the People would not grant it, but used means to kill them. In that Citie there were two great factions, one for *Don Diego Enriques Earl of Alva*, the other for the *Bishop Don Antonio de Acunia*, of whom I shall speak hereafter.

S E C T. XXXIX.

THE Governor *Cardinal Adriano* desirous to go to *Valladolid*, and to the end hee might make his entrance with the Auctoritie that was requisite for his person and dignitie, required the Lord high Constable, who was at *Villalpando*, to accompany him, which hee did; and so they entered into *Valladolid* on *Corpus Christi* eve, whence the Constable returned presently. And if the *President* of the Council had not gon thither before, and the *Cardinal* soon after well attended, doubtles that Citie had done no less then *Segovia* and *Zamora*. For their *Commissioners* beeing returned (who were *Francisco dela Serna*, and *Gabriell de Santistevan*) The People knowing that they had granted the Subsidie, and hearing how the other Cities had welcomed their *Commissioners*, they went in bands and clusters up and down the streets murmuring and grumbling amongst themselvs. Wherefore the *Commissioners* and the Council of the Citie agreed not to divulge the Articles, until the *Cardinal* and the *Council* were arrived. And out of this

this feare they dispatched a Post to the *Arch-Bishop President* of the *Council*, desiring him to com speedily thither, and this was the reason that hee went before and stayed not for the *Cardinal*. This was the occasion that *Valladolid* refrained for som time from doing what afterwards it did. At last it broke out like the rest of the Cities.

 SECT. XL.

THIS fire most furiously and strangely spread it self through the other Cities, as if they had agreed together and corresponded by watch-Towers and Beakons (as they are wont to do in the frontiers and upon Sea-coasts) so manie places burst out into these Commotions at one instant. I have read in a Letter from *Leon Picardo*, a servant to the Lord Constable and his Painter, that feeding his hawk at night in *Burgos*, there was so grievous an earthquake that the dishes fell off the shelves, the tiles off the houses, nay and som buildings were turned topsie-turvie, and his hawk dyed with the fright, as also som women with child. Presently after which at the same beginning of *June*, the People of *Burgos* rose with great disorder, many of them armed and crying out very confusedly. The Common People through the parishes and quarters assembled at the Chappell of *Santa Katherina del Claustro nuevo* in the great Church (as they used to do for the election of officers and other things. There they discoursed concerning the risings & Commotions w^{ch} were much noised in *Castilla*, there was nothing resolved amongst them but great clamors & divers opinions, & going out with that hurly-burly and disorder as is usuall at such meetings. At last a great multitude of them being assembled at a middle row of houses close by the Gate of *Sarmental*, they agreed to rise also, which they did, & stood upon the same terms as the other Cities had done, they nominated two chiefs, *Anton Cucbillero* and *Bernal*

Earthquake in
Burgos.

The Common
people of the
C. rise up
in Arms.

de la Rixa, who with this rout went to seek *Don Diego de Oforio* Lord of *Abarca*, a gentleman of great qualitie, inhabitant of the Citie of *Burgos*, but met him not until the Evening; having found him, they brought him by violence into the market-place with much nois and tumult, saying, That hee must bee their Chief, and must govern them: they put a white staff of Justice into his hand, and upon his left arm a Target. *Don Diego* bid them be quiet, and tell him wherefore they brought him out of his hous, and put him in that equipage. They answered, That as a gentleman hee should protect them and free them from that slaverie wherein they lived. They would not hear him speak, but threatned him, if hee would not do as they required him: they continued pressing of him thus till night, and staid for his resolution till next daie. *Don Diego* at that time was Governor of *Cordova*, and came thither onely to see the Ladie *Isabel de Rojas* his wife and his children, so hee presently got out of their hands, and that same night took his waie towards *Cordova*, leaving his hous to the charge & care of *Don Pedro de Cartagena* Lord of *Omullos* (who had married the Ladie *Marie de Rojas* his daughter) to the Dean of *Burgos* *Don Pedro X Suarez de Velasco*, and *Francisco Sarmiento*, who was his kinsman. These Gentlemen repaired forthwith to *Don Diego Oforio's* hous, where they found his wife and daughter very disconsolate for his absence, and fearing the People's threatnings, who hearing *Don Diego* was gone, assembled together and came with intent to break open the hous, plunder it and pluck it to the ground. But these gentlemen, being advertised of their design, stood all in the gate with their swords and daggers drawn, threatning to cut in pieces whosoever durst attempt to break in, and vowing that they were resolved to lose their lives upon that account. This resolution of their's daunted the Assailers, so that none offered to stir, but went all quietly away. *Don Pedro X Suarez de Velasco* went along with them, for *Bernal de la Rixa* the Cutler, their Captain, bore him much respect, becaus hee had received a son of his nam'd *Valoradico*, to be a singing-boie
in

Their design
upon *Don Diego*
de Oforio's
hous.

in his Church. *Don Pedro X Suarez's* getting the good will of this Cutler was of such importance, that by his means hee knew all the secret dealings and intentions of the Communalty, and was admitted sometimes into their Assemblies. They went by Squadrons up and down the Citie, committing manie outrages and insolencies, like men distracted and without judgment. An humor took them to burn down the *Carthusian's* wood, and as they were going with this resolution, *Don Pedro X Suarez* met them by the waie, and told them, that it would bee very well done of them, indeed, to set that wood on fire, but the world would bee so roasted with the heat, that it were better to keep the wood till winter, and not to burn it in the field to no purpose; so hee turned them back again from *S^t Paul's Bridg.* They were so audacious as to assault the Lord *Constable's* hous, hee beeing Chief of that Citie, and having heard that the Dutchess *Donia Maria de Tobar* Marques of *Berlanga*, a Ladie of great worth, had threatned them, they came one daie in great number thither, and having environed the hous, they shot off a piece of Ordnance, which beat down a corner of the Tower, so they entred into the hous, & the Dutchess was forc'd to hide her self in som secret by-place. They went also to *Garci Ruiz de la Mota* his hous, (who had been Commisioner in that last Parliament, brother to *Maestro Mota* Bishop of *Badijos* and *Palencia*) with intent to kill him, but not finding him (for hee was fled) they burned and pluck't down his hous, where were consumed great number of Writings, as Deeds and Charters, and manie other papers concerning the King and Kingdom, which hee had in keeping. That which they burned in *Mota's* hous, was valued above three Millions, when they carried it to the place where they made the Bonfire, into which they cast all the moveables they could finde in the hous; as pure linnen, rich tapistrie-hangings, cloaths, household-stuff, and manie chests or trunks full, all which they burned, without making benefit of anie thing (which was a wonder, considering the condition of such mean people). In the like furie they went

and pulled down the house of one of the King's Harbingers, named *Garci Jofre*, who, though hee was a Frenchman born, had been a long time in the King of *Spain's* service and the Emperor's. Hee was married, and had his dwelling in that Citie: they were incensed against him for no other reason, but becauf the Emperor had given him the command of the House and Castle of *Lara*, which *Burgos* pretended was theirs, and they demanded it of him, but becauf hee told them that hee had received that Castle of the Emperor, and that hee could not deliver it to anie but his Majestie, they went to kill him; neither stopped their furie there; for poor *Jofre* being unfortunately there that daie, (beeing returned from *France*, whither hee went by the Emperors command with the *French* Embassador) and seeing how they plucked his Houses down, hee went to *Lara*, saying, *That hee hoped in God to bee revenged, and to build up his Houses much better with those Rascal's monie, then they were when they pulled them down, and that hee should make mortar of their bones, and temper the chalk with their blood.* This being known in the Citie by the report of a Collier (to whom *Jofre* spoke it by the waie) they sent som men on horse-back privately after him, who overtook him in a little village called *Vivar del Cid*, three leagues from *Burgos*, where drawing him out of the Church, they apprehended him, & had cut him in pieces there, but for som Gentlemen, who qualified them for the present; yet they would not let him go out of their hands, but brought him to *Burgos* back again and clapt him into prison, where with blows and thrusts they soon dispatched him, and beeing dead, they tied his feet together, and dragged him first to his own door, striking and pinking his bodie with their swords all the waie: then they drew him through all the streets, and at last hanged him with his head downwards. *Don Inigo Fernandez de Velasco* Lord High Constable, who was at *Villalpando*, being informed hereof by a Letter from the Cardinal (wherein hee desired him for the love of God to go speedily & set som remedie and order in that Citie) went presently to *Burgos*, and out of affection

fection in regard those of his familie for manie successions had been born in that Citie, he took upon him the staff and office of Governor, which the Inhabitants most willingly embraced; there hee continued som time, whose presence was the onely remedie and means to hinder the enraged people of that Citie from committing a thousand other Insolencies. What happened afterwards you shall hear hereafter.

 SECT. XLI.

A Certain Judg nam'd *Hernan Gomez de Herrera*, whose wife and familie was in *Madrid*, took that occasion to go from *Valladolid* thither; but being arriv'd, the People began to mutinie, saying, That hee was com thither to take examinations against *Toledo*; at w^{ch} nois manie People assembled presently together and went in a tumultuous manner to apprehend him in his hous, but hee having notice thereof, used means forthwith to bee secretly conveyed out of the Citie; so hee escaped with fear enough; for if the Common-people had light upon him, they would have given him hard measure. Thence the disorderly Multitude went to *Francisco de Varas* his hous, (one of the Council) and took away all the Arms they could finde; as Fowling-pieces, Arquebusses, Cros-bows, Arrows, Pikes, four hundred Corsets, and manie Halberds, which they put into a strong place for their own defence when occasion should require: they set Guards all the Citie over, watching and going their rounds through all the streets and walls, to the great hinderance of Commerce and destruction of the Citie. In the same manner rose *Siguencia*, *Guadalaxara*, *Salamanca*, *Murcia*, and manie other places of importance, where were divers things committed, not unlike those which I have already declared, which would bee an endless business for mee to describe particularly. The seventh of *June*, in this present year 1520, the Citie of *Leon* was verie quiet, and stood

Uproars in
Madrid.

In *Siguencia*,
Guadalaxara,
Salamanca,
Murcia.

much for the King's service : for it seemed that *Valladolid* had written to them to know whether they had received anie Letter from *Toledo* concerning their business or not : Whereunto *Leon* made Answer, That as yet they had received nothing in particular from *Toledo* touching that matter, and that the Citie of *Leon* was fully determined, not to do, or consent to anie thing, for the whole world, that might bee anie disservice to his *Cesarean* Majestie, or contrarie to the fidelitie they owed him, especially the most Reverend *Cardinal* remaining Governor, with the Lord *President* and the rest of the Council, to whom that Citie was so much obliged. It had been well for that Citie if they had continued in that minde.

 S E C T. XLII.

THe 24 of *June*, 1520, the Emperor beeing at *Bruxels* received information of all the passages in *Toledo* and other places, and of the Letter which *Toledo* sent to *Valladolid*, and their Answer : Whereupon hee wrote to *Valladolid*, giving them a full relation of his Voiage by Sea, how hee was entertained by his Uncle and Aunt in *England*, and that they had confirmed a most sure League of Peace and Amitie together; That thence hee intended about the middle of *September* to bee at *Aquisgran*, to receiv his Imperial Crown, with manie other circumstances; and at last, That he resolved, God willing, to return into that Kingdom much sooner then hee had promised at the Parliament, mean time hee incharged them Peace, quietness, and obedience to the Commands of the *Cardinal*, his Governor, *President* and *Council*, &c. and if there should arise anie mutinies or Commotion in anie other Towns, that they, out of their antient and well approved fidelitie, would endeavor to pacifie and suppress them, for they knew the love and affection which hee bore that Citie, which might sufficiently

ciently appear by the favors hee had granted them in former Parlements, according to the Copie which hee sent with that Letter. There was also a General Letter to all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom, who had Votes in Parliament ; but passion had gained such a transcendance over the hearts of the major part, that they would not believ those Letters to bee from the Emperor, but said openly that they were counterfeited, neither did they anie waie abate their resentment of his so sudden departure out of that Kingdom, leaving them (by the counsel of his Favorites) involved in so great a fire, and with so much povertie and pain.

 SECT. XLIII.

After this came news to the *Cardinal* how the Citie of *Guadalaxara* was revolted in the same manner, and taking up Arms like the other Cities of the Kingdom. They chose for their Captain the Earl of *Saldania*, eldest son to *Don Diego de Vega y Mendoza* Duke *del Infantado*, and making use of his horses, they pursued *Diego de Guzman*, and *Luis de Guzman*, their Commissioners in the late Parliament, who, for fear of their lives, were fled from the Citie; but not being able to overtake them, they went to their houses, which they razed, and having plowed up the ground, they sowed it with Salt, saying, That in regard they were Traitor's houses, they must bee salted, lest they should infect the rest with their infidelitie. Thence they went to the Duke, beseeching him to favor and assist them; if not, they would have him to know, that no Grandee must staie within that Citie, which hee and his son were enforced to grant to satisfie them: but the Duke seeing the Citie in so great disorder, and the Kingdoms all over inflamed with such Combustions, sent an Express to the *Cardinal*, desiring him (since God and the King had constituted him in that Office) to use all possible diligence and care

The people of *Guadalaxara* rise up against their Commissioners.

to stop the current of those exorbitances, and that without passion or affection hee would grant a general pardon; for if hee suffered the sore to fester, hee would not be able to cure it when hee pleased. *That* hee would take off the Subsidie. *That* all Tallages and Impositions should be reduced to the same estate as they were twentie five years past. *That* Offices and benefices should be taken from strangers, and conferred upon the Natives of the Countrey: *And* that all this should suddenly be performed. The Cardinal was well contented with his Letter, but durst not do otherwise then was ordered by the Council, until hee received further Commission from the Emperor.

S E C T. XLIV.

THE Order from the Council was, that *Ronquillo* (a famous Judg in those times) should presently march to *Segovia* with all the men hee could make, and punish the Delinquents. They sent with him a thousand Horse-men (most of which were of the Guards) under the Command of *Don Luis de la Cueva*, and *Ruy Diaz de Rojas*, who had Orders in case the Judg was not received into the Citie, to batter and beat it down. But when his coming was known in *Segovia*, those that were quiet and peaceable before, jealousies and fears distracting their ill-tempered mindes, rose and associated themselves with the others, and in particular, one principal Gentleman of the Citie, called *Don Hernando*, who had written to the Cardinal, that hee kept the Citie, the Fort and the great Church for the King, and that hee had driven the Commonaltie into the Suburbs, and moreover, that there was great partialitie and difference amongst them; upon whose advice and intimation the Judg was sent directly thither: but when they heard in what manner hee came, *Don Fernando* & the Common-people agreed so together, that the Gates were shut

shut against him, and the townsmen all up in Arms. *Ronquillo* perceiving their strength and resistance to be great, retired himself to the Town of *Arevalo*, and the Cardinal sent to him to return to *Valladolid*, until the Council should take further order therein. But the Judge did otherwise, and from thence went to *Santa Maria de Nieva*, five Leagues from *Segovia*, where hee made his Requests and Protests to those of the Citie, & began by Criers to publish Acts and Writs against them, requiring them to submit to Justice, or to appear and give a reason why they would not. Whereunto those of *Segovia* (amongst whom at first there was no person of credit or respect, but onely a furious and indiscreet Rabble) not onely not obeyed nor answered, but after some daies spent in parlying and treating; without fear or wit they sallied out, to the number of four thousand men, almost all on foot, on purpose to meet *Ronquillo* and fight with him, and in this manner they marched towards the place where hee was quartered. Hee, with his Captains, came presently to encounter them, and it is affirmed, that hee might easily have routed them (for although they were more in number, they were but ordinarie people, and as disorderly as unskilful. But he was unwilling thereunto, out of respect that manie mens lives might have been lost in the Conflict, or perchance being doubtful of the Success. So there were onely some light skirmishes, wherein *Ronquillo* took some of their baggage, and diverse of them prisoners; whereof some he hang'd, others he punished otherwise. So that the *Segovians* retreated with no small loss, and thence forwards hee advanced his Siege, and cut off their Commerce and Provisions, so that nothing could pass into or out of the Citie; yet hee used no extremitie towards them, because hee had still hopes of some accommodation. Hereupon *Segovia* mustered up their forces, which amounted to twelve thousand men, besides women and children who with an unspeakable courage took up Arms to defend the Citie against *Ronquillo*. They made strong Pallisadoes, deep Ditches, and chained all their streets. The Citie of *Avila* assisted them, as

if it had been their own Interest, and both these Cities made a Joint-supplication to the Cardinal, that hee would not proceed against them with so much rigor; but receiving no satisfactorie answer, they said, Since it must bee so, wee will remedie our selvs. At length *Segovia*, finding themselves streightned by the Siege, wrote to the Citie of *Toledo*, declaring the occasion of their Revolt, excusing themselves of the death of *Tordesillas*, and imputing it to the indiscreet furie of som *Carders* and *Teazers*, exclaiming against the rigor of the *Cardinal* and *Council* for sending *Ronquillo*, not as an equitable Judg to do them Justice, but as a cruel Tyrant to wage War against them; and at last conjuring and imploring their succor and assistance to raise the Siege, alleging that the punishment the Cardinal and Council intended to inflict upon *Segovia*, was but the Precursor of the destruction of *Toledo*, in regard they were in the same Predicament, and declared by the Council for disobedient, as well as those of *Segovia*, were condemned for Traitors: In the Close of all, they desired that Citie to give credit to the Relation of *Rodrigo de Cieca*, and *Albara de Guadarrama* (the bearers of their Letter) who had Instructions and Orders to impart matters of higher consequence unto them, w^{ch} they durst not commit to paper. Other Letters, to the same effect, they sent to the other Cities of *Castilla*, who all returned them great promises and encouragement, and in effect they sent to the Cardinal and Council, desiring a pardon for *Segovia*, all but *Toledo*, who being les scrupulous, in stead of fair words, sent them men of Arms to succor the Citie, as shall appear hereafter.

S E C T. XLV.

T*Oledo*, upon receipt of this Letter, sent, to reliev *Segovia*, four hundred Musketers, as manie Halberdiers, and three hundred Hors, well Armed, which were joyfully received

ved, and gave them courage to sallie out again upon *Ronquillo*. But first they sent to him, requiring that hee would let them alone, depart from *Santa Maria de Nieva* (where hee laie) and that hee would meddle no more with the affairs of *Segovia*, otherwise they would make him go away with a Vengeance. But *Ronquillo* thought to do what hee came for, that was, to enter into *Segovia*, and punish severely the Delinquents; to which effect hee assembled the whole Countrie thereabouts, yet could not accomplish his Design, for all the Cities and Towns that then were up, were wedded so unanimously to that same Interest, that there was much to be feared. *Ronquillo* went from place to place, one night hee laie in one Town, the next night in another, setting out Spies, somtimes catching those that came out of *Segovia*, and seeking all means possible to get into it. In the Market-place of *Santa Maria de la Nieva* hee made publick Acts, Proclamations and Out-laws against the *Segovians*; but they scorned and laughed at them, and 'tis reported that the Common People set up a great high Gallows, which they swept and watered everie daie, saying, That was to hang *Ronquillo* upon, making shew of as much courage and resolution, as if they had had the whole world on their side; this was when they saw how forward and ready *Toledo* was to back them, and had furnished them with both men and monie.

 SECT. XLVI.

THe Cardinal seeing the ill success of this business, sent about three hundred and fiftie Lanciers, and som Foot Souldiers, of those which were Garrisoned in *Navarra*, to *Ronquillo*; with whom hee scoured the Confines of *Segovia*. One daie hee went to *Zamarramala*, where hee caused to be set up certain papers against the *Segovians*, proclaiming them Traitors and Rebels, and summoning them to appear before

him within a certain time, thence hee returned to *Nieva*, where hee commanded a high Scaffold to bee built, whereon hee caused to bee set other Acts and Writings to the same effect, then gave order to bee proclaimed in all the adjacent Towns and Villages, that no bodie should dare to carrie anie provisions whatsoever to *Segovia* under pain of death. *Segovia* seeing *Ronquillo* use them so hardly, keeping all provisions from them; three thousand five hundred of them, very well provided with Corslets, Lances, Halberds and Swords made another sallie, one of the principal Citizens, named *Peralta*, was their Commander in Chief; so with great nois and little order (as Common-people use to do) they marched directly towards *Santa Maria de Nieva*, but at two Leagues distance from *Segovia* they met *Ronquillo* with his men (who were better disciplined then they) & made som shots at them, whereupon they soberly retreated towards their quarters. The *Segovians* seeing that, and thinking that they ran away, pursued with great eagerness and in such disorder, that the others turning upon them, killed som of them, and took *Don Diego Peralta* their Captain Prisoner, and they took an Officer, and som of *Ronquillo's* men. At last the Combat grew so hot, that *Ronquillo* quitted his quarters, and left the *Segovians* (beeing far more in number) masters of the place, who presently set fire to the Scaffold, and burned all the Acts and proclamations hee had set up against them. Upon this came a new supplie of three thousand men to them, which gave them fresh courage, and seeing themselvs so strong, they followed *Ronquillo*, and made two great shots at him, which killed him two Hors-men, and they took the Paie-master of his Forces, with two millions of *Maravediz* (whereof thirtie four make six-pence sterl.) which hee carried to paie his men: this Prize, with other prisoners, they sent to *Segovia*. *Ronquillo* still retreated in good order, and som of his Hors perceiving a Partie of about fortie men of the *Segovians* scattered in a smal Village near *Nieva*, charged them, and having took som they brought them to *Ronquillo*, whereof he presently hanged two,
the

the rest he carried to *Coca*, where he went to lodg. And the *Segovians* having rescued their Captain, returned joyfully to their Citie.

 S E C T. XLVII.

THe distempers of *Madrid* (for as I have said, that Citie rose also) were no less then those of the other Commonalties of *Castillia*. *Francisco de Vargas* a man of honor and approved fidelitie, maintained the Fort against the People, notwithstanding all the diligences they could make to turn him out, and possess themselves of it. They required him oftentimes with manie threats, that if he would not deliver it up to them, they would hang as manie as they could light upon, of those that were within. *Francisco de Vargas* perceiving the streight hee, was in for want of men, got secretly out one night and went to *Alcala* (six smal Leagues from thence) for som assistance. Hee procured about fortie men, whom (that they might get into the Fort without beeing discovered) hee ordered to enter by two and two on horse-back. This could not be carried so close, but the Citie had som intelligence thereof. Whereupon the People beeing all Alarmed, in great hast and furie, som on Horse-back som on foot, ran out to intercept him, taking som Gentlemen to be their Captains. Being in the field they ranked themselves in better order, and when the Captain of the Fort was readie to enter with his men, they fell upon him, who beeing but a smal number, were forced to seek their safetie by flight; *Francisco de Vargas* beeing advantagiously mounted, with som others that were able to follow him, returned to *Alcala*. The people after that, grew more careful, and kept Spies out and Guards in all the Avenues of the Citie, then they fell upon the Fort with great furie, encompassing it round, but they durst not approach too near; for those that were within defended themselves very stoutly, welcoming them with manie musket-bul-

lets, Crof-bow shot and ſtones. The Fort being in this ſtreight, *Diego de Vera* with his men approached, & faced *Madrid*. Hee had force enough to have relieved the Fort with men and proviſions, and ill treated the Commoners of *Madrid*. But hee was wearied with a tedious march, and diſcontented that hee had not received of a long time paie, neither for himſelf, nor his Souldiers; beſides, at the ſame time Letters were brought him from the Citie of *Avila* (where hee was born and had his eſtate and familie) wiſhing him to let thoſe of *Madrid* alone, and no waie to moleſt them, for if hee did, they would pluck down his houſe, and ſet fire on all his goods. Out of this fear *Diego de Vera*, diſſembling his deſign, would not enter into *Madrid*, nor do anie thing to help the one partie, or prejudice the other. *Madrid* finding themſelves but weak in men, and not very well provided with Arms, ſent to *Toledo* for ſuccor, who forthwith furniſhed them with five hundred men and thirtie Lances, under the Command of *Gonçalo Gaytan*. Having received this ſupplie, they reſolved to undermine the Fort in four places, w^{ch} they within perceiving, ſhot ſtill more and more fiercely, and killed ſome of their workmen, which made them leave mining by daie, & labor onely in the night, with Blindes and Engines, made like Carts, which they might go ſafely under, and for their better ſecuritie, at the front of all, they placed the Children and neareſt of kin to thoſe that were within the Fort, to make them refrain from ſhooting, for fear of killing them; yet for all this, *Franciſco de Vargas* his wife (who was within) was ſo ready to aſſiſt, and ſo wittily cunning to endear and encourage her men to fight, (left her husband ſhould bear anie blame) that they ſtill held out, and defended themſelves courageouſly. The Townſ-men ſent to require them to ſurrender the Fort, if not, they threatned that none ſhould go either in or out, but ſhould be either killed or taken; whereunto ſhee made Anſwer, that they troubled themſelves in vain, and ſhee would have them know, *That* although her husband was abſent, neither ſhee, nor anie of the reſt with her, were of ſuch

such low and unworthie spirits, as, out of fear of their threatenings, to do an act so prejudicial to his Majestie's service, *That* they were all resolved rather to die in their own defence, then commit so High a Treason; for where shee was, her Husband's honor should not suffer in the least. The People hearing this, broke into a furious rage, crying out with loud voices, Let them die though wee all perish. So all being armed, they environed the Fort on all sides, and planted their Artillerie in order against it. Those within stood stoutly in their defence, discharging all the great Guns they had, which were manie and good, and put in a readines their Muskets and other Arms, but they wanted men to plie their smal shot. The Artillerie began to plaie on both sides. The Fort battered down all the neighboring houses, and the Gunners shewed much skill both within and without, yet did not so much mischief on either side, as they might have done. At last came som Religious men to mediate a peaceable agreement. And as it was half concluded, a Gentleman stept in and crossed all, saying with a loud voice, *O you traitors, rogues, Jews of Madrid! What have yee done? What Agreement is this you will make, so prejudicial to the King and your Citie? you do it but out of cowardise.* This and manie things more hee said, insomuch that the people mutinied, and grew rather more distempered then before; som favored him, others were enraged to kill him, so there grew a great tumult, and a bloodie confusion, dealing blows and thrusts of Swords and Lances on all sides. But my Gentleman was taken at last by the Common people, whereof som would have killed him presently, others more discreet, thought fitter to keep him prisoner, until they knew what moved him to cast that seed of dissention amongst them, to hinder the Agreement which was then concluding. The next daie, the people returned to assault the Fort, and their Gunner killed the Gunner of the Fort, and left them none to manage the Artillerie. Then they cut off their water, and their provision of Victuals growing short, at last they were enforced to surrender the Fort to the Commander of those of the Commonaltie.

monaltie. The *People* entred the Fort, with great acclamations of joy and triumph. In it they found eight hundred compleat Suits of Armour, a thousand lances, a hundred, halberds, four fauconets, three pieces of Cannon of one hundred pound bullet a peece (according to the list) three hundred bullets of iron cast, foure pieces of ordnance, which they took from *Mercado de Fruflera*, twentie thousand pikes, two thousand two hundred firelocks, two thousand head-pieces, gantlets and Cros-bows, two whole Cannons, seventeen hundred weight of powder, eight field-pieces, and five thousand Corsslets. All which Arms and Ammunition had been laid there by the Catholick Kings, besides much more which was carried away to the battle of *delos Gebyes*.

S E C T. XLVIII.

M*Adrid* beeing thus revolted, and in design of possessing themselves of the aforesaid Roial Fort and Magazine, they sent for succor to *Don John Arias*, Lord of *Torrejon de Velasco*, one of the chief Gentlemen of the Kingdom of *Toledo*, & of an Antient and Noble Familie. But hee beeing very discreet, & exceedingly valiant, answered them, That hee would have nothing to do with anie such broils, and that hee desired to live peaceably at home without ingaging on either side: yet upon better consideration, like a faithful servant to his King, having gathered one hundred and fiftie Hors, with as manie Foot, and a competent quantitie of Artillerie, hee went to relieue the Fort; vvhich beeing known at *Toledo* and *Alcala*, by messengers from *Madrid*, they sent multitudes of People, who joining all in one bodie, fell upon his Town of *Torrejon de Velasco*, vvhilest hee vvas upon his march towards *Madrid*: They sacked and burned it quite down, and hurt divers of the Inhabitants, som they killed. This newvs beeing brought to *Arias*, hee returned much troubled and incensed to *Torrejon*,
 svvearing

swearing that hee would be revenged, and if hee could not get satisfaction from *Madrid*, hee would not leave one Town thereabouts undestroyed. Som of his followers advised him to join with *Diego de Vera* who was come from *Gelves*, with whose help and the good provision of Artillerie which hee had, hee might besiege *Madrid*, hereupon *Don John Arias* demanded *Don Diego's* assistance, but hee excused himself saying, that hee was tyred with his march, neither would hee fight against any of the *King's* Towns. *John Arias* did all the mischief hee could in the Towns adjacent to *Madrid*, and the people were so fearful of his Souldiers, that they durst not leave their cattle abroad. It fell out one night, that the Village of *Mostoles* (which was near *Torrejon*) having notice that *John Arias* would fall upon them, they barricadoed their streets, and put themselves in a posture of defence, but hee entered at another part, where the inhabitants suspected not, and sacked the Town, and at their going away again, all loaden with plunder, the Townsmen all at once fell upon them and took all from them again, but killed not a man.

 SECT. XLIX.

DOn *John Arias de Avila*, afterwards seeing the inconstancie and fickleness of the Common People, who neither kept oath nor promise, desiring to serve his *King*, and pacifie the tumults of *Toledo*, went with som few servants to the Town of *Illescas*, where the chief promoters of those combustions were with divers men in Arms, and coming thither to treat of composing the matter in a peaceable waie, hee expressed himself in such efficacious terms, and gave them such undeniable reasons, and friendly exhortations, representing unto them the dangers whereunto they exposed their lives and fortunes, by withdrawing themselves from their obedience to their *King*, that somtimes hee prevailed so far with them as

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to harken to an accommodation (but they continued not long in that mind) for the business depending of so many several People, that which was concluded one day, was quite broke off the next; and at last they fell into such a popular madness, that throwing aside all respect, they would lay violent hands upon *Don John Arias*, peremptorily bidding him deliver up to them the places of strength, which hee had under his command, and seeing hee would not do that, they demanded the Artillerie which was in them; and because hee denied that also, with great noise and tumult they gathered together in the house where the Assembly was kept, and made an order that *John Arias* should presently deliver the Artillerie, and in case of default, hee should suffer death as an enemy of the common good. This was intimated to him by a Notary Publick. But *John Arias* with solid and good reasons answered, that hee could not do it. The People of *Illescas* hereupon went againe into the council, and ordered, that *John Arias* should, without replie, deliver the Artillerie, or be killed; whereunto hee made answer soberly and undauntedly, *That* the life hee yet enjoyed was onely his own, but the honor and good name descended from his Ancestours, and should continue as an inheritance intailed upon his Successors, *That* it was in their powers to take away his life, but not his honor, for that hee could neither give nor lose, *That* if they did take his life, it would cost them many lives, *That* they had best take heed what they did, and that they could not take away the loyalty which hee owed to his King though hee should lose a Thousand lives, and that this should be his resolution in despite of their crueltie. The Common People, seeing the resolute courage and constancie of *John Arias de Avila*, suspended for the present the mischief they intended against him, so hee tooke horse and rode with a stayed serious countenance through the Town, attended onely with those few servants hee brought with him, and thence returned to *Torrejon*, whereof the People of *Illescas* presently repented themselves, and condemned one another of unadvisedness, in that they had not killed

killed, or at least, kept him prisoner. But *John Arias* maintained stoutly three Forts well provided of men and armes in the *King's* service against them, which were of great importance for the suppressing and hindering the outrages of *Toledo*, and those neighbouring places, to the great hazard of his life and fortunes. And as soon as hee heard that the Lord Constable was Vice-Roy of *Castilla*, hee sent him the seal of his house and armes, offering himself whole to accomplish the obligation hee had to his *Majestie's* service, for which the Lord-Constable returned him thanks promising to acquaint the *Emperor* with his loyalty, and moreover recommended to his care the charge of those parts, which *John Arias* performed with great diligence, skirmishing often-times with the Commoners. For this, and other services, and in consideration of his illustrious extraction, the *Emperor* gave him the title of *Earl of Puno en Rostro*, and wrote him very favorable and gracious Lettres, expressing the great esteem and account hee made of his services to his *Majestie*. In a hundred small Villages the People rose against the *Earl of Chinchon*, but hee suppressed them quickly, and punished them severely. *Alcala* was infected with the like disturbances and revolts, with divers other places of the Kingdom, imitating their chief Town which was the ring-leader of all those distempers.

 S E C T. L.

Cardinal *Adriano* (who was a Saint-like man) sought all means possible to remedie these disorders, with a sweetness and Clemencie answerable to his Charitie, and hearing of a Gentleman that followed the Court, who was a native and *Jurate* of *Toledo*, a discreet man, hee sent for him, and being come, hee asked him what course (in his opinion) was fittest to be taken for the pacifying of that Citie, saying, That if hee could devise anie waie to do it, hee should bee exceed-

ing glad to embrace it, and hee would procure his Majestie's approbation thereof. The Gentleman thanked him in the Citie's behalf, as being a member of it, and said, Hee did not certainly know their intention, but according to his judgment, the onely waie to cure those mischiefs, was to applie the same medicine which they desired, *viz.* That his Majestie would bee pleased to grant to *Toledo* what their Commissioners had petitioned him in Parliament; That his Eminence would command *Ronquillo*, the Judg, to raise his Siege before *Segovia*, and return with his men, in regard the Citie was much scandalized at his coming in such an hostile manner, they having sent two Prelates with their submission, and begging pardon of his Eminence; *that* hee knew how all the chief Cities of the Kingdom, being guiltie of the like Commotions, every one would expect the like punishment, and out of that fear, they would rather join all their Forces to succor *Segovia*, then bee liable to anie such rigorous sentence; *that* he should be very careful in that point, for if the people once lost their respect, hee would not bee able to correct them: *That* for the present (although there were tumults and Commotions everie where) yet there was no publick War declared, onely dissentions amongst the people. But if they joined and assisted one another, it would occasion great miserie and ruine to the Kingdom, as it afterwards fell out. These and some other instances the Gentleman pressed to the Cardinal, who finding much reason and weight in them, bad him come again to him the next daie in the Evening, in the mean time hee would call a Council concerning those particulars. The Gentleman punctually observing the time appointed, the Cardinal told him, that hee had consulted about that business, but they were not all of his opinion, so that there could bee nothing done but what was formerly commanded. The *Jurate* beseeched him to bee very warie and well advised; for some of his Council, hee told him, were men o're-swaied with passion, and more wedded to their private interests, then his Majestie's service, and that to his knowledg both *Toledo* and *Madrid*

Madrid were raising men to send to reliev *Segovia*, and if they went thither, hee might easily see what mischief would ensue. The Cardinal thereupon said, hee would call a Council again about it.

SECT. LI.

Toledo and *Madrid* (as beeing nearest) fearing that if *Segovia* were subdued, they should bee in danger, chose Captains, and raised men to send to succor it. *Toledo* pitched upon *John de Padilla*, to whom they gave Commision to raise a thousand Foot, and a hundred Light-horsmen (whereof *Hernando de Ayala* was Captain) with som pieces of Artillerie. *Madrid* sent out four hundred Foot, and fiftie Hors. The *Toledians* beeing joined with those of *Madrid*, they marched together to a place called *Espinar*, where *John Bravo* Captain of the *Segovians*, came forth with his men to receive them; They made all together two thousand Foot, and one hundred and fiftie Horse; after some Conference, they agreed all three to go to *Santa Maria de Nieva*, where *Ronquillo* was quartered, and do as much mischief as they could, whilst those of *Salamanca* and other places might join, and come to the succor of *Segovia*. But *Ronquillo* and his Captains, persevering in their design (although they went out into the field, seeming to encounter the Enemy) would not ingage in Battle, but marched soberly and in good order, another waie; the Cardinal hearing of the setting forth and joining of these Captains, determined to increase the strength of his own forces, and make a formal Camp, able to suppress and subdue the Contrarie Partie. To this effect hee sent to *Antonio de Fonseca* Captain General of the Kingdom, that vvith the King's standing forces, and with all the rest hee could make of Foot and Hors, hee should go help *Ronquillo*, and of that Artillerie which was at *Medina del Campo*, hee should take what hee thought fitting.

Toledo and *Madrid* chose Captains to succor *Segovia*.

John de Padilla made Captain of the *Toledians*.

John Bravo Captain of the *Segovian* forces

Ronquillo refuseth to ingage in battle.

Antonio de Fonseca commanded by the Cardinal to assist *Ronquillo*.

Segovia writes to those of *Medina del Campo* not to deliver their Artillerie to *Fonseca*.

Moreover hee sent to command *Ronquillo*, that by no means hee should give those Captains battle, but should first join with *Antonio de Fonseca*, for the better effecting thereof. *Antonio de Fonseca's* March could not bee kept so private, but *Valladolid* (where the Order was made) perceived it. Whereupon (although they were cried up for their Loyaltie) they began to mutinie much more then before they had done, (which was no slight matter neither) for they made private meetings every daie. Yet notwithstanding the Commotions of *Valladolid*, *Antonio de Fonseca* cunningly got out of the Citie, and marched with all the Horse and Foot hee could raise to *Arevalo*, where *Ronquillo* and the Captains that were with him, met him with theirs, and concluded of their journie to *Medina*. *Segovia* having notice of their march, and knowing their intention, which was to bring Artillerie thence for their hurt and damage, immediately dispatched an Expreſs to *Medina*, with a Letter to this effect. That by no means they should condescend to deliver the Artillerie to *Fonseca*, notwithstanding the persuasions of the Bishop of *Burgos* his brother, who had been long there solliciting and pressing them to it, alleging how unjust a thing it were, since *Segovia* sent their Clothes to enrich the Fairs of *Medina*, that *Medina* should send Cannons to batter and beat down the walls of *Segovia*; urging moreover, that if they did so, it would bee the utter ruine of *Segovia*, and *Medina* would suffer likewise in their Fall. And in the Close, they desired *Medina* to hear and give full credit to their Messenger, who should impart som things to them which they thought not fit to write.

S E C T. LII.

Antonio de Fonseca advanceth with his forces to *Medina* to demand the Artillerie.

UPON receipt of this Letter, those of *Medina* resolved not to deliver the Artillerie. *Antonio de Fonseca* with the best part of those men that were at *Arevalo*, marched thence on Tuesdaie

Tuesdaie morning the 21. of *August* towards *Medina*, with intention to take the Artillerie away by force, in case they refused to deliver it, as already they had upon *Ronquillo's* demand. They beeing advertised by the Letter from *Segovia*, and other parts, of these preparations against them, put on a resolution to stand out and not deliver the Artillerie. *Antonio de Fonseca* having friends within the Town (besides the *Corregidor* himself, *Gutiere Quijada*, beeing well inclined to the deliverie thereof) began first to treat fairely with them, shewing them the Orders and Power hee had to that effect. But the Townsmen replied, that they kept the Artillerie for and in the name of the King, and that they saw no reason they had to deliver it, but rather to keep it in defeuce of their Town and people. Yet to do his Majestie service, they were willing to deliver some of it, if need required, upon condition that they themselves might go with it, and bring it back againe, from this contention they grew to higher language, thence to blows, and planting their ordnance at everie street's end, great multitudes of people presently flocked thither, all in armes. *Antonio de Fonseca* seeing this, commanded his men to storm the Town; the Townsmen killed some of his men with cannon shot, and some of theirs were likewise killed, defending the entrance of the Town. *Antonio de Fonseca* thought to catch them with a wile (not intending any such mischief as fell out) which was thus; hee privately commanded certain firebals of pitch to bee made and flung into *S^t Francis street*, thinking that the people would presently run all thither to quench the fire, and quit the gates, by which meanes hee might enter and seize upon the Artillerie; but it succeeded not according to his expectation; for the fire began to rage exceedingly, in so much that *S^t Francis street*, and the linnen draperie was quite through of a flame, yet the inhabitants shewed so much courage that (although their houses, goods and children were burning before their eyes) they would not depart from the Artillerie, fighting with *Antonio de Fonseca* and his men, until they had driven them quite from the Town. *Fonseca*

They refuse to deliver the Artillerie.

Fonseca storms the Town. Is repulled.

The unfortunate burning of *Medina del Campo* by *Fonseca's* men

feca was very angrie, and ashamed that hee could not effect his intention, and no less grieved for the great harm and damage the fire had done, which hee intended not. The Monasterie of *S^t Francis* was burnt to the ground with all the rich ornaments and librarie; besides great store of Monie, Cloath, Silks, Clothes of Gold and Silver, and other rich commodities, which divers *Genua*, and *Segovia* Merchants had layed up there, all consumed to ashes. And nine hundred houses more, in which not so much as one bed was preserved. It was a lamentable thing to see how the poor people, women and children, went crying, and groaning up and down the streets, having no hous left to go into, nor any thing to cover their nakedness, calling upon God for justice against *Fonseca*. In this sad condition remained *Medina*, more inflamed with the fire of wrath in their hearts, then their houses were with the bals of pitch. The *Corregidor* durst not stay, becaus hee had been with *Fonseca*. Whereupon the people began to call an Assemblie of the Commonaltie, and took the same form of government as the other Cities did. They wrote forthwith to *John de Padilla*, and the other Captains, declaring their miseries, and imploring their assistance, to revenge their losses upon those that had sided with *Fonseca* against them; and their chiefest spleen was against the Town of *Arevalo*, becaus *Fonseca* had carried his men thence. *Arevalo* feared as much from those of *Segovia*, and in it self there were partialities and siddings thereupon, som taking the Commoners part, others the Contrarie. *Medina* wrote likewise to the other Cities, imparting to them their calamities: *Segovia* answered their Letters, expressing manie thanks for their defending so courageously the Artillerie, and exceeding sorrow for the great losses they had susteined,

SECT, LIII.

A *Driano* the Cardinal of *Tortosa* (being a holie man) was grieved to the soul at the disaster of *Medina*, and in excuse of himself hee wrote a Letter to them, expressing his sorrow in good and Saint-like tearms. Whereunto they returned an answer, giving his Eminence thanks for his resentment of their miseries, and making a large relation of the cruelties of *Fonseca* and his Souldiers, besides the great losses they had susteined by fire, which they esteemed to bee of so high value, that they doubted the King's whole Revenue, for some years, would not bee enough to make them reparation. And at last they desired his Eminence would bee pleased to condemn and declare for Traitors and disturbers of the Kingdom *Antonio de Fonseca*, *Gutiere Quijada*, and that bloodie robber (as they called him) *John de Avila*, and disband their men, with Command that everie one should repair to their own home, and not burn the houses of his Majestie's faithful Subjects, for under colour of serving the King, they did him great disservice therein.



Finis Libri Secundi.





THE
 CIVIL WARS
 OF
 SPAIN.
 THE
 THIRD BOOK.

SECT. I.



Anger supported on the shouldiers of Autóricie is like lightning from heaven. *Antonio de Fonseca*, Captain General of the Kingdom, was intraged beyond the measure of discretion against *Medina*. Hee burned like a flash of lightning, their houses and their goods, but hee incensed their hearts and wills much more (like men in despair) to commit a thousand absurdities. And to revenge the furie of his passion, all the people of the Town took Arms, disperfed Letters of their grievances through the whole

Kingdom, desiring vengeance, and hee that could do most mischief was held the bravest fellow. Amongst these broils and mischiefs, there was one particularly noted for his courage and boldness, a Cloth-worker by trade, his name was *Bobadilla*, a mean fellow, dull, but cruel of disposition; hee was followed, as their Captain, by divers that were undone, and therefore grown furiously passionate. First hee fell upon *Gil Nieto* (who had been his Master) cutting and slashing till hee had killed him; then hee killed a Book-seller, called *Tellez*; next, a Regidor of the Town, called *Lope de Vera*. And so hee and his Associates served all those whom they knew, or did but imagine, had anie hand in *Fonseca's* coming to demand the Artillerie, or had consented to the delivering of it. They pluckt down the houses which *Don Rodrigo Mexia* had there, and committed divers other cruelties and outrages. This active audaciousness of *Bobadilla* got him very much credit and esteem amongst the people, and hee Lorded it, and took so much upon him, that from that time forwards nothing was done but what hee would; so hee commanded and governed as Head of the people. Hee presently took a great house, set Porters at his Gates, and gave himself the style of Lord. Such Heads, as this Cloth-worker was, had the Commonalties in other places; as *Valloria*, a skinner in *Salamanca*, and *Antonio Casado* in *Segovia*, and others such like, who being bold, and without honor or shame, were followed and esteemed by the common and meaner sort; And indeed divers Gentlemen were to blame herein, who did very much harm, som by kindling and fomenting the fire secretly, others publicly, not with design to do the King anie disservice, but by reason of parties and factions amongst themselves, som siding with the Commonaltie, purposely to destroye others, so that it was more their particular factions and seditions, then their disobedience to his Majestie, that occasioned all these disorders. *Medina*, soon after this disaster, sent Letters to *Valladolid*, containing a most pitiful relation of their unfortunate and deplorable condition, with high exclamations

Bobadilla Captain of the people in *Medina*.

Medina complains to *Valladolid* of their misfortunes.

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ons against the crueltie of *Antonio de Fonseca* and *Ronquillo*.

S E C T. II.

THe Emperor wrote to *Valladolid*, giving them thanks that they had preserved Peace and quietness in that Citie, and for the good entertainment they had given, in his absence, to the Cardinal, his Governor, and those of his Council. Whereunto they returned an Answer the 8th *Julie*, 1520, with manie acknowledgments of his favor, praising God that hee had given them such a Prince and Emperor, who they hoped should conquer the *Holie Land*, and bee a great Defendor of the Church, as the Emperors and Kings, his forefathers, had been. And moreover they beseeched, with all humilitie, his Sacred Majestie, forasmuch as that Citie had not onely shewed their Loialtie, in serving, with their Arms, the Kings his Ancestors (as *Don Alonso* the Eleventh, *Don John* the Second, and others) but also in advising and counselling them what was most expedient for their Roial services. And since it was apparent, that the granting of the Subsidie in the Parliament at the *Groyn*, had been the onely occasion of so manie great Commotions and troubles in the Kingdom, that his Majestie would bee pleased (of his innate liberalitie and goodness) graciously to remit and pardon all those that had opposed the levying thereof, and that it should bee no more demanded, which favor would be so acceptable to the whole Kingdom, that at his return (which they hoped would bee speedily) they would do him such extraordinarie service, that Hee should thank them for preferring Him that Petition, and know more clearly their desires to serv Him. But the burning of *Medina del Campo*, caused so great scandal in *Castilla*, that it revived and made the fire blase more fiercely out amongst the common people, and infected their Spirits

Valladolid's answer to the Emperor's Letter.

so, that manie other Towns, whither the fore had not yet run, rose up in the like disorder. The next daie after *Medina* was burnt (as you have heard) they sent Letters with a particuler of the passages, to *Valladolid*. With no less furie, then *Fonseca's* firebals consumed the houses of *Medina*, were inflamed the hearts of those of *Valladolid* at the receipt of those dolorous tydings. And without respect to the Cardinal, Governor, the Arch-Bishop, President, Council or other officers of justice, and forgetting the graces and favors the Emperor had done them by his Letters ; they rang out the bell of *San Miguel*, whereupon all the people presently took arms, and ran from all parts of the Citie to the great market-place, and all that the *Earl of Venavente*, and *Don Alonso Enriquez* Bishop of *Osma* could do, or saie (who came out to pacifie the people) was to no purpose. And beeing thus gathered together, about five or six thousand men, they went to *Pedro de Portillo's* hous, about twy-light (for at that time hee was chief Burgefs of the Citie) willing him to go along with them to the President of the Council, that hee might provide for certain things, which were necessarie for the Citie. But *Pedro de Portillo* displeas'd them so with his answer, calling them mutiniers and theevs, that went about to robb and plunder, that in furious madnes they broke open his dores and windowes, and hee had much adoe to get cleer of them by hiding himself ; seeing they could not find him, they took a rich cupboard of plate, that was set against supper, they searched his hous all over, plundered his shop and warehouse, and took away manie rich cloaths and silks (for hee was a merchant) they made a great fire before his dore, in which they burned manie pieces of rich cloath of gold and silver, silks, wollen cloaths, tapistries, rich mantles, ermines and other things of great value (for hee was a very rich man) they left not so much as a hen, but they flung it in the fire or stole it away. And at the carrying away of their plunder, they fell out and fought with one another. This man's los was esteemed above three millions of Maravediz. Not satisfied with

Tumults in
Valladolid for
the burning
of *Medina*.

with all this, they began to pluck the house down, and some boies that followed their fathers, set fire to a Garret, where was great store of drie wood and bavins, which burned furiously, but fearing to burn the neighboring houses, they suddenly quenched the fire again, which if they had not done, would have endangered a great part of the Citie. This done, being enraged with that popular furie which the Diuel had sowed in *Spain*, with loud out-cries they ran to the house of *Antonio de Fonseca*, who set fire on *Medina*, and in revenge thereof, they burnt and pluckt it to the ground, not leaving a bit of timber, nor a tile that belonged to it, unconsumed. Thence they went to *Alonso Ninno de Castro's* house (who was chief Judg of the Citie) and finding not him, they plundered it, and plucked down the Entrie. The like they did to divers of the principal men of the Citie, which a certain Autor, a Native of *Valladolid*, and an eye-witness of all these passages, saith, was a just judgment upon the Regidores, and the rest, for their ambitions and disordinate desires of advancing their particular ends, without regard of the publick good, suffering their Countie to be drained of all its treasure by strangers, to the sum of nine millions of gold, out of *Castilla* onely, which was never converted to his Majestie's use, but was shared amongst the Flemings. This was the general complaint of that Kingdom, which people of those times said, ought to be registred in characters of blood. After this, they made themselves strong, keeping constant watch, and going the Rounds with Minstrels and Drums, no less then fifteen hundred together at the first; but this was so chargeable, that they reformed their Rounds to twentie men at a time. Some nights they found gunpowder mingled with pitch scattered in the streets, which they said, *Antonio de Fonseca* had commanded to be done, for anger that his house was burnt. After that they kept Rounds and strong Guards at the Gates, and they were so affraid of fire and pitch, that they watered all their houses with vineger, thinking there was some design to burn *Valladolid* as well as *Medina*. They called an assemblie in the Monasterie

sterie of the *Trinitie*, where they chose new Burgesles and Deputies. Then they sent for the Gentlemen and Citizens of the **Town**, whom they made to swear and take the ingagement of the Commonaltie, which for feare of death they durst not refuse to do. They made the *Infante* of *Granada* their Captain General, which office hee was inforced to accept, or die. And they all swore to obey him, and to do nothing contrarie to his command; which charge hee began to exercise with much discretion. But becaul they knew that *Don Alonso Enriquez* Bishop of *Osma*, and brother to the Lord Admiral, did not like well of their proceedings, they turned him out of the Citie, and divers other Gentlemen likewise, becaul they could not trust them. Which done, they presentlie sent messengers to *Medina del Campo*, offering them succor. And to that effect they listed two thousand Souldiers, and chose likewise six Commissioners, to send to the *Junta*, or Assemblie, held in *Avila*, to which already they gave they Attribute of *Holie*.

S E C T. III.

THE Cardinal and those of the Council seeing all these passages, were so far from providing or ordering any thing in this case, that they durst not, neither did it seem possible for them to meet, and confer of what was to bee done. But as in a storm at Sea, when there is neither sayles, marriners nor pilots (all hope lost) the ship is left to drive at the tempest's pleasure: so the Cardinal and the Arch-Bishop of *Granada*, and those of the Council (having no means to resist) thought best to let alone that people, who were hurried away with so violent a storm of inconsiderate furie. The Cardinal made them a thousand congies, and excused himself saying, that hee never commanded *Medina* to bee burned, nor had any hand in the other mischiefs: quite contrarie it
grieved

grieved him to the very soul, to hear what *Fonseca* had done. And being desired by the Citie, and thinking it to be convenient himself, hee commanded to be proclaimed publickly, that all those that were with *Antonio de Fonseca* should leave him and return to their houses, and hee sent his expresse order to the same effect to *Antonio de Fonseca*, commanding him to disband his men, reserving onely what was necessarie for the guard of his own person, in regard it was not possible to maintein an Army in those parts, having no means, nor place where to raise monie for their subsistence. *Fonseca* was enforced to obey, conforming himself to the time so taking a partie of horse with him, hee went out of the Kingdom; for all in that COUNTRY were his deadliest enemies, and hee had no mind to be surpris'd by them in *Arevalo*, or either of his Towns of *Coca* or *Alaejos*, but leaving them well fortified, and his son *Don Fernando* in *Coca*, hee pass'd into *Portugal*, and thence by Sea into *Flanders* with the Judge *Ronquillo*.

The Cardinal disclaim'd *Fonseca's* burning of *Medina* and Command'd him to disband his men.

 SECT. IV.

ABOUT this time *Caceres* in *Estremadura*, and the Citie of *Jaen* in *Andaluzia* (where as yet the disease had not broke out) began to cry up the Commonaltie. So that *Don Rodrigo Mexia* Lord of *Santa Eufemia*, who had a great partie, being born in that Citie, labored and used all means possible to hinder the people from the outrages and mischiefs, which were done in other Cities, and not being able to bridle and restrain their furie otherwise, hee took upon himself the charge of the Justice and Commonaltie. Manie other Gentlemen made use of the like prudent dissimulation, not being able to do otherwise. *Badajoz* also, being in the like distemper, was quieted by his good industrie, they of *Badajoz* took a fort from him that kept it for the *Earl of Feria*. There is no reason why the *Andaluzians* should be held any better

Comotions in *Caceres* and *Jaen* quieted by the discretion of *Don Rodrigo Mexia*.

then the *Castillians*, for in all places the dissentions were much alike, and their demeanors, as if the common people had agreed and contracted together som yeares before.

SECT. V.

Factions in
Ubeda and
Baeza.

U*Beda* and *Baeza* were divided into two parties between the *Venavides* and the *Caravajales* both noble and ancient families in *Castilla*, *Don Luis de la Cueva*, cozen german to the Duke of *Alburquerque*, was Captain of the *Venavides*. *Caravajal* Lord of *Todar* (which is a Village two leagues from *Ubeda*) commanded the other partie. In these factions there was so much animositie, that one daie *Don Luis de Ubeda*, coming in a litter (for hee was an old man) was set upon by *Caravajal* Lord of *Todar*, attended by an hundred hors, who gave him so manie thrusts with his lance, that hee killed him in his litter. This done, hee was carried back to *Ubeda*, where the manner of his death beeing related to his son *Don Alonso*, and their kindred, to revenge his father's death, they went to the Village of *Todar*, where they killed and cut the throats of all they could lay hands upon, and afterwards set fire to the Village in manie places, that some that hid themselves in their houses, were fain to leap out at the windows to avoid the fire. The destruction and crueltie was so great, that they reckoned of killed and burned, about two thousand persons, men, women, or children, and onely the ruines of some houses in the village remained. But indeed though these Gentlemen were Loyall like Noble persons, yet it was so, that in this there was more of passion and particular grudge and hatred then anie matter of Commonaltie. For neither the *Venavides*, nor those of *la Cueva*, ever were Commoners, or pretended to disserve the King. But in these places, with the occasion of the Kingdom's beeing in a hurly-burly, they made use of the Common Interest to revenge their private passions.

passions. And it is apparent, that if these Gentlemen did follow the Commonaltie, as wishing it well, yet they were none of their Captains.

 SECT. VI.

Cuenca, in imitation of other Cities, rose also and committed the like disorders; In this Citie was Captain of the Commonaltie, one *Calaborra*, and with him a Bridle-maker, whom the whole Citie obeyed as their Lords. And there being a person of principal note and power in the Kingdom, (*Luis Carrillo de Albornoz*, Lord of *Torralva* and *Berreta*) they so much slighted him, that hee was enforced to dissemble and summon all his reason and prudence to persuade his heart to brook it. Their audaciousness grew to that pass, that hee riding upon his mule through the street, a Rascal of the Common sort struck him over the buttock, saying, in a scoffing manner, *Go thy waie Luis Carrillo*; hee was glad to let this pass, the times not permitting him to do otherwise. *Luis Carrillo* was married to *Donia Inez Varrientos de Manrique*, a Ladie of a Masculine courage, who desiring to revenge the injuries and affronts done to her husband, and to stop and take off the opprobrious taunts of the people, she invited the Captains of the Commonaltie to Supper, and having well loaden their heads with wine, shee caused them to bee carried to sleep in several chambers, and being dead with sleep and the vapors of the wine, shee commanded her servants to cut their throats, and hang their bodies out at the windows next the street.

Cuenca is seek
for the Com-
monaltie.

 SECT. VII.

Avila was the seat where all the Cities made their Assembly. Here they did such disorders, as the loyal Citie of

Avila ought not to have permitted. The Common people were the onely Actors thereof, for the Gentry still persevered in the fidelitie of their Ancestors. And becaus *Antonio Ponce* (like a loial Gentleman) would not swear to follow the Commonaltie, they began to pluck down his house, but did not, beeing hindred by som other Gentlemen. The rest, as in other Cities, did swear and took the Engagement of the Commonaltie, som willingly, som becaus they did not rightly understand themselvs, and others out of fear. They would have pluckt down the house of *Diego Hernando de Quiniones*, becaus hee had granted the Subsidie, beeing their Commissioner in the last Parliament, but som good men intervening, hindered the executing of their Purpose. They had possessed themselvs of the Fort, if *Don Gonzalo Chachon* Lord of *Cassaruvios*, (seeing the Commotions in most parts of the Kingdom, and that *Toledo* had taken the Fort from *Don John de Silva*, and *Segovia* would have done the like to the Earl of *Chinchon*) had not prudently and with dissimulation provided it (hee beeing Governor thereof) with Munition, Arms and men, taking them in by night, and hiding them by daie. The Fort beeing thus Ammunitioned, when the Common-people flocked thither to take it, they found greater resistance then they expected. And the Citie perceiving they might bee much damnified by the Fort, and those of the Fort likewise by the Citie; they treated of an Agreement and Cessation of Arms, whereby they might live quietly, and not to do anie act of Hostilitie to each other. *Don Gonzalo Chachon* having informed the Cardinal, Governor, of this Treatie, by his consent it was concluded, and Articles on both sides were drawn in form, signed and delivered in presence of the publick Notaries of the Citie. So those of the Fort lived quietly, leaving the Towns-men to the confusion of their Commonaltie. The nobleness of the Gentry (in imitation of their Ancestors, desirous to serv the King) beeing as a firm Bulwark and secure Guard against their indiscreet furie. This made *Avila* gain the renown of Loial.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

NOT onely the fore-named Cities were infected with this Spirit of Sedition, but divers other small Towns and Villages were tainted with the same Contagion, where the diseasè ragèd with such unnatural furie, that there was neither Law nor respect betwixt Fathers and the Children, som being of one opinion, the others contrarie. In a certain Village called *Medina*, near the *Palomera de Avila*, lived a *Byscainer* Priest, half a fool, who was so affectionated to *John de Padilla*, that everie Holie daie in the Church hee used to saie, *I recommend unto your praiers, Brethren, The most holie Commonaltie, desiring God to preserv and support it, that it may never fall. I recommend unto you likewise, his Majestie the King, Don John de Padilla, that God may prosper him; as also her Highness the Queen, our Ladie Donia Maria Pacheco, that God may powr down his blessings upon her; for verily these are the true Kings, the rest are all but Tyrants.* These praiers continued for three weeks together, after which *John de Padilla*, with his Souldiers, passing that waie, som of them were quartered in this Priest's hous, who drank him up a little barrel of wine, killed his Hens, and took away a young wench that he kept, with them. The Sundaie following, being in the Church, hee said to his parishioners, *You know, Brethren, how John de Padilla passing here, his souldiers quartered in my hous, truly Beloved, they have not left mee one Hen, they have eaten up all my Bacon, they have drunk mee a whole Barrel of Wine, and have taken my Katherine away with them, therefore I charge you hence-forwards not to praie God for him, but for our Sovereign Lord Don Carlos, and the Queen Donia Juana, for They are our true Kings.* I do relate som of these fopperies, that you may see how foolish and blinde men were at that time, and indeed no better could then bee expected; for certainly som malign star had predominance for two years over those parts, which made men fall into such unheard of extravagancies.

The Autor being a Friar, shewed himself more a Flatterer then the Priest a Fool, for the one praised simply, the other writ colloguingly, taking all advantage to advance his Interest in Courts

SECT. IX.

Toro and Ciudad Rodrigo declare for the Commonaltie

THe Citie of *Soria* was ingaged in no less mischief then the other Cities, by the rising of the Common People. If I should undertake to particularize the riotous disorders of everie several place, my work would never be at an end. In short, none of those that treated of Commonalties, made anie bones of killing their neighbors, plucking down their houses, and committing a thousand exorbitances (like rash unadvised men, without sense or judgment) as to discompose the form of Government, displace the Officers of Justice, taking their staves from them, and naming other Judges, without considering or reflecting upon the end that followeth such like disorders, nor how to be preserved in them. The Citie of *Toro* and *Ciudad Rodrigo* took likewise the Engagement of the Commonaltie. They turned out the Officers of Justice established by the King, and put others in their places; And those Gentlemen that had most power, drove their Antagonists out of the Citie. Which factious bandyings one against another, in revenge of particuler grudges and quarrels, were the chiefest occasion of kindling the people's furie, and it might justly be said, that they were private seditions and tumults, not Rebellion against their King, for there was no such word amongst the Gentry, nor the Common people.

SECT. X.

L*eon* had done wisely if they had continued in the same good resolution, wherewith they answered *Valladolid* concerning the Treatie of an Assemblie, which *Toledo* desired. But (as I have often said) the factions and parcialities that were

were in everie Citie, did more harm then anie thing elf in these Commotions. The *Guzmanes* were so highly distasted at their beeing put out of *Don Fernando*, the *Infante*, his service, that a little thing would have made them raise a Commotion in that Citie, where they were very powerfull, beeing of an Ancient and Noble extraction. They had some difference and spleen against the *Earl of Luna*, who was sent Commissioner from that Citie to the Parliament, that was held at the *Groyne*, who having consented to the Subsidie, was not well received at his return; and it is reported that *Ramiro Nunez de Guzman* spoke thus to him; *They saie, you have granted the Subsidie, and gon beyond your Commission, if that bee true, you deserve to bee severely punished.* The *Earl* hereupon answered *Ramiro Nunez*, *I have done what I ought and what I was Comanded to do, neither have I exceeded my Commission one title.* So from one thing to another at last they fell into a great passion, and *Ramiro Nunez* said to the *Earl*, *I will make you know with this my Sword against yours, how you are a Traytor, and have Committed Treason against this Citie.* Thereupon they both drew, and this unfortunate controversie, divided the Citie into two factions. For these two families beeing the chief and most Ancient of the Citie, had each of them manie friends, kindred and abettours; but in regard the *Earl* was out of favour with the people, and *Ramiro Nunez* much beloved and followed by a great multitude, they fell upon the *Earl* and his partie with such furie, that they killed thirteen of his men, there were manie on both sides wounded. The *Earl* was beholding to the swiftness of his horse, or else hee had born his dead followers companie. This news was brought to *Valladolid*, and the *Cardinall* highly repented it, but knew not how to remedie it, seeing the fire so generally kindled throughout the kingdom, that of the eighteen Towns of *Castilla* which had Votes in Parliament, fifteen were risen for the Commonaltie, and had chosen Commissioners, or Burgeses, to goe to the *Junta*, or, *Assemblee*, then held in *Avila*. The *Cardinall* derived the fault of all this mischief upon *Monsieur de Xeuves*, for giving

Factions in
the Citie of
Leon.

giving the *Emperor* so ill counsel, as to demand that Subsidie, and the worst of all was, that hee never received it. The Cardinal was out of heart, and perplext with continual fears, not thinking himself secure in *Valladolid*, by reason of these troubles and heart-burnings of the people, which no fault of the King's but the covetousness of his insatiable Counsellors, had occasioned. I have alreadie told you, that one Subsidie they desired was three hundred millions, and another time six hundred millions, in all nine hundred millions of Maravediz; therefore let no man marvel at the great difference of these sums, for in effect no bodie could rightly understand what they would have had; yet they saie, the *Emperor* desired no more then the ordinarie Subsidie that his Predecessors, the Catholick Kings had, (which was two hundred millions everie year) and that the over-plus they stole from him and the Kingdom, contrarie to his will or knowledg.

S E C T. X I.

THe affairs of *Spain* were so imbroiled, and men so inconsiderately raving, that it seemed as it were a scourge from Heaven, which threatned no less destruction to that Countrie then that, during the reign of *Don Rodrigo*. They trusted in Southsaier's Prognostical judgments of the succeeding mischiefs. Som Divels invented, I know not what Prophecies, which they father'd upon *Saint Ifidorus* Arch-Bishop of *Sevilla*; others upon Frier *John de Roccacelsa*, and one *Merlin*, besides others, which they said, were of *Saint John Damascenus*, and other Doctors; that of *Saint Ifidorus* was his complaints or lamentations over *Spain*. I have read all those ill presages of calamitie and destruction to *Spain*, which so much affrighted and dismaied the people, and I find them onely idle things, which deserv not the setting down here, unless it were to

make

make us wonder at the facilitie and weaknes of men in those times, to give credit to anie such like fopperies. The ignorant people were particularly besotted with one which pourported, *That there should reign over Spain a Prince called Charles, who should destroie the Kingdom, and make the Cities desolate, but hee should bee overcom and driven out of the Kingdom by an Infante of Portugall, and that the said Infante should reign over all Spain, and mee think's wee see the contrarie.* Such follies doth blinde passion, work in thoughts of ignorant and indiscreet people.

A prophesie.

SECT. XII.

Toledo wrote to the other Cities the last year 1519, inviting them to assemble, and consult of what was most meet and expedient for them to supplicate the Emperour before his departure out of the Kingdom. And in regard that Assembly went not forwards, and that now things were in such disorder, that the breaking out was univiersal through the whole Kingdom, yet they did not well understand, nor trust one another; so for the begetting a better intelligence amongst them, and to the end they might the more firmly establish the Commonaltie, which thsy called *Holie*, Toledo sent other Letters to all the Cities of *Castillia*, prelsing them with manie powerful arguments, to send, without delaie, their Commisisioners to the *Holie Assembly* at *Avila*, and not to return them anie such excuse, as formerly, becauf such kinde of Congregations and Assemblies were condemned by strangers; for in that *Holie Assembly* nothing was to bee debated, but what concerned the Service of GOD. And that they might studie or invent Remedies against the Seven sins of *Spain*, treating *first*, Of their fidelitie to the King, their Lord. *Secondly*, the Peace of the Kingdom. *Thirdly*, the Remedie or settling of the Roial Patrimonie. *Fourthly*, the grievances of the Natives. *Fifthly*, the Injustice done by Strangers. *Sixtly*, the Tyrannies w^{ch} som

Toledo invite's all the other Cities to send their Commisisioners to the Assembly at Avila.

of their own COUNTRY-men had invented. *Seventhly*, the intolerable Impositions & taxes which that Kingdom suffered. Urging moreover, that they should not value what censure passed upon them amongst their enemies for so doing, in regard wicked persons are alwaies ready to blast with opprobrious tongues, all good and religious actions, which presupposed, although things should fall out contrarie to their expectations or desires, and that they should bee in danger of their persons, their houses should be pluckt down, their goods taken away, and at last should lose their lives: In such case they were to esteem disgrace a favor, danger securitie, povertie riches, banishment a glorie, loss profit, persecution a crown, death life; for nothing is so glorious for a man, as to spend his life in the defence of the Republick. After all these, and divers other persuasive arguments, they desired each Citie to give full credence to their Messenger, who had instructions to treat further with them.

S E C T, XIII.

THe fifth of *Julie* 1520, the Lord Deputie of *Murcia* made a complaint to the Cardinal and Council, how the Citie, beeing risen, had killed their Governor, a Judg, and one of the Sheriffs, besides several other persons, and that the people were all in Arms, and so disorderly, that becaus hee went about to pacifie and allaie their furie gently, and in a peaceable manner representing to them the foulness and enormitie of what they had don, they drove him out of the Citie, and placed Guards and Rounds, which committed very great disorders. Hereupon it was ordered by the Council, that *Leguizama*, a Judg of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, should go thither with large powers, taking Officers along with him, and that the neighboring towns should furnish him with men sufficient to bring them to reason. *Leguizama* the Judg, beeing arrived at

Leguizama the Judg, by order from the Council, goeth to punish the disorders in *Murcia*.

catching directly to *Mula*. But hee was too wise to wait for their coming, and flying night and daie hee never staid until hee got to *Valladolid*. Where hee remained but two daies, and on Sundaie night he went to *Aldea Mayor*, three leagues thence, for hee durst not staid in *Valladolid*, knowing they did not greatly love him for som things past, and there was but a kinde of counterfeited Peace in that Citie, hee was affraid they would kill him.

 SECT. XIV.

THe Citie of *Sevilla*, or *Sevil*, that all this while stood (as it were) looking on the rest, had likewise its disturber, who indeavoured to plunge it as deep as the other Cities, in these unhappie Commotions. The beginning was thus. *Don John de Figueroa* (brother to *Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, Duke of *Arcos*) the Duke beeing at his Town of *Marchena*, set himself to raise the people of the Citie in favor of the Commonaltie, with intent to bee Captain and Governor himself. To vvhich effect, having already moulded and vvorked them to his mind, and beeing agreed vvith those that vvere his complotters and confederates in this design, on Sundaie 17 of *September*, 1520, after dinner time, hee and som Gentlemen (kinsmen and followers of the Duke his brother) went to the Duke's hous in *Sevilla*, where they assembled and gathered together above seven hundred men with Arms, which done, hee and the rest of the Gentlemen beeing on hors-back, and the people on foot, they took four pieces of Ordnance out of the Duke's hous vvith them, and so marched into the streets, crying out, *God bleß the King and Commonaltie*. Thus they went as far as *S^c Francis place*, and no bodie els stirred nor offered to join vvith them, but onely looked on as they passed. By the waie *Don John* caused the staves to bee taken away from the King's Officers of Justice, and gave them to others in be-

Don John de Figueroa declareth for the Commonaltie in the Citie of *Sevilla*.

half of the Commonaltie. In this time the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, *Don Alonzo Perez de Guzman*, beeing very young, was yet under the Guardianship & Tuterage of *Donia Leonor de Suniga* his mother. Who being a Ladie of an high Spirit and courage, and seeing so dangerous a fire kindled in *Sevilla*, assembled all their domesticks, with all the friends and welwishers to her Son's Partie (that shee could so suddenly get together) and sent them under the Conduct of *Don Valencia de Venavides* a valiant Gentleman (who had married the Duke's sister) against *Don John de Figueroa*. But beeing approached near each other, and ready to fight, som Gentlemen of note, mediating betwixt them, composed their quarrel, insomuch that the Duke of *Medina's* men returned home again, and *Don John* advanced to the gate of the Fort Roial, which finding shut, hee battered it down with his Ordnance, and beeing entred with all his men, hee took the Commander of it *Don Jorge de Portugal* Earl of *Gelves*; which done, becaus it was grown late, hee quarter'd there all night, thinking that all the people of *Sevilla* would presently flock to him, applauding this exploit, and back him in his enterprife, but they were so far from countenancing his design, that the greatest part of those that followed him that daie, forsook him in the night, and returned to their own houses. The next daie, very early in the morning, the Officers of Justice, and the *Veynte y Quatros* (by whom that Citie is governed) beeing assembled, they ordered, that immediately the King's Standard should bee brought forth, and that by command of the Citie, the people should all go in Arms and assault the Fort, which beeing re-taken, should forthwith bee delivered unto the Charge of him who before commanded it for the King. *Don Fernando de Zuniga* Earl of *Venalcazar* and divers other Gentlemen fitted themselvs to assist the people in this enterprife. But before they were in a posture to put this design in execution, *Don Valencia de Venavides*, by order and command exprefs from the Dutcheffes, *Donia Leonor de Zuniga*, and *Donia Anna de Aragon*, and the Duke of *Medina* (who was sick in bed) having rallied and re-assembled the men that followed him

The *Veynte y Quatros* are Four and twentie chief men chosen by the Citie for the managing of affairs.

him the daie before with great courage and resolution marched to the Fort, of which, after three hours hot dispute hee became Master, took *Don John de Figueroa* prisoner, (who was wounded in two places) and re-delivered the Fort to *Don Jorge de Portugal*. So in less then 24 hours this cloud was quite blown over, which threatned so furious a tempest.

Don John taken prisoner, and the Citie quieted.

SECT. XV.

THE Citie of *Segovia* sent to *Salamanca*, desiring Hors for their defence against *Ronquillo*. The Common people and some Gentlemen gave their Votes to send them succor, but the greatest part of the Gentry opposed it, saying, it was a great disservice to the King, and contrarie to Justice. Many distastfull words passed amongst them, but at last the Commons prevailed, and turned all those Gentlemen out of *Salamanca*. One stately house, that belonged to the Archbishop of *Santjago's* Steward, they burned down to the ground. Neither did those Gentlemen hold themselves secure, until they were got into *Valadolid*, where they gave a full account of all these passages. This was the beginning of the rising publickly in *Salamanca*. After which they kept their Rounds and Guards in the Citie, and sent Hors to the relief of *Segovia*, but before they departed, *Salamanca*, with other Cities, sent two men to the Cardinal and Council, beseeching them to forbear from chastising *Segovia*, for if they did not, the Citie of *Salamanca* could not refrain from sending them succor. Their chief Captain in this uproar was *Don Pedro Maldonado*, Nephew to the Doctor *Talavera*, who drove the rest of the Gentlemen, that were not of his faction, out of the Citie, and made the *Corregidor* go away also, leaving the administration of Justice more out of fear then otherwise, which done, the Citie ordered the Justice, and did what you shall see hereafter.

Salamanca up in Arms.

Don Pedro Maldonado Captain in Salamanca.

 S E C T. XVI.

THe Cardinal, Governor, seeing these troubles and disorders increas daily without anie hope of remedie, notwithstanding all the endeavors and gentle means hee, and those of the Council, had used to procure it : The President and the rest agreed to give his Majestie an exact account of all the Commotions and particular exigencies of the Kingdom of *Castillia*, and in what danger they themselves were by reason of the people's furie, desiring his Majestie to take som speedie order for the rectifying of so great disorders.

 S E C T. XVII.

THe Emperor had already received som intelligence of these troubles in *Spain*, by means of *Flemish* Merchants, and other particular letters ; But when those from the Cardinal and Council came to his hands at *Lovain*, Hee was seized with unexpressible sadness. The necessitie of his going to bee crowned in *Germanie* was very urgent, and his returning into *Spain* seemed yet of more importance. The Letter's sad Contents bred divers discontents, and no less different opinions (as the custom is) amongst the Courtiers of the nearest relation about the Emperor. The *Flemings* condemned the *Spaniards* for raising these tumults and commotions in their King's absence : The *Spaniards* retorted the blame upon the *Flemings*, saying, That their ill Government had been the occasion of the ruine and loss of *Spain*, and that they had robbed it ; and indeed to saie the truth, They were both in fault ; for the *Flemings* were as short of discretion and prudence to Govern, as they abounded with a too insatiable Covetousness.

And

And the Spaniards, although they had som reason to complain, could not bee excused for rising up in Arms. *Monsieur de Xeures* grew much discontented and ashamed upon the report of this breaking out of *Spain*, partly becauf hee knew what opinion went of him in the Court, but chiefly becauf hee thought (as justly hee might) the Emperor would derive the fault upon him: who, whilst hee was in *Spain*, commanded with so absolute a power, that it was commonly said, The Emperor *Don Carlos* is King by right, and *Monsieur de Xeures* in effect. The Emperor beeing thus disquieted, called a Council, and desiring to have their advices, hee propounded, That they would consider what means was to bee vled, that Hee might go into *Germanie*, and receiv that Crown which Hee so much desired, and provide som remedie to settle the disturbances of *Spain*, which was of no less importance to him, for his Coronation could bee no longer suspended, and the remedying of *Spain* ought not to bee deferred. Hee had of his Council in this occurrence, *Germanes, Flemings, Italians, Aragoneses* and *Castillans*; and their opinions were as different as their Nations. For the *Germanes* urged, that it was requisite his Majestie should continue his journie into *Germanie*. The *Italians* said, it was necessarie that hee should make a progress into *Italie*. The *Flemings* were very importunate for him to staie in their Countrie. The *Aragoneses* pleaded, that *Valencia* was also risen up in Arms. And the *Castillans* used all means possible to persuade him to return into *Castilla*. The case beeing so general and nearly concerning so manie Kingdoms, the Emperor did wisely to take the advice of manie. But at last the resolution of the busines was given by few, as great Princes use to do in like occurrences. The result of this Consultation was, That the Emperor should continue his journie into *Germanie*, and having received the Imperial Crown, there to remain until hee had fully settled the affairs of that Countrie, not being everie daie to return thither. It was likewise resolved, That his Majestie should send amiable and gracious Letters to all the Cities and Towns of *Castilla*, requir-

ring som of them to return unto themselvs and his service, and expressing his thankfulness to others for their good intentions towards him; *That* hee should desire and encharge the Nobles and Gentry to favor and assist those of his Roial Council; promising to all upon the faith of his Roial word, that with all possible expedition hee would return into *Castilla*, (for the thought of the Emperor's never returning into *Spain*, bred in the Common people the boldness to commit such outrages and exorbitances). Moreover it was determined, *That* the Emperor should write unto the President and Council, condoling their troubles and persecution, commanding them withall, that in one place or other, six of them should alwaies bee about the Cardinal and hold Council: To the end they might serue as a Refuge for the good people to appeal unto, and bee a terror to the evil: for if the Council omitted the doing of Justice, the Roial Autoritie must needs fall. And also, *That* the Emperor should appoint two other Governors to bee joined in Commission with the Cardinal, and those to bee men of noble extractions, well experienced, and advanced in years, of generous dispositions, powerful in estates, but chiefly Natives of that Kingdom. This advice seemed very sound and pertinent to the Emperor, whereupon hee gave order it should bee put in execution accordingly, and those whom they Voted to bee joined in Commission with the Cardinal were, *Don Fadrique Enriquez* Lord High Admiral of *Castilla*, and *Don Inigo de Velasco* Lord High Constable, who were both antient Gentlemen of great generositie and gallantrie. Which Election gave no small satisfaction to the *Castilian* partie, for they had shewen themselvs in their commands not onely wise but valiant, and were alwaies fortunate in their undertakings. These Noblemen governed with such valour and prudence, that the Emperor in his Letters to the Lord High Constable, give's him thanks for his services, acknowledging that by his means hee was King of *Castilla*. And indeed the Emperor said but what was true. Besides all this, his Majestie sent an especial Command, *That* the subsidie which

which was granted him at the *Groyne*, should not be exacted from those Cities which continued in their obedience to him, nor from those which were willing to submit and be reduced, for it was his will and pleasure graciously to forgive it them. This grace hee did likewise to the whole Kingdom, *That* the Roial Revenue should be allowed for the Taxes, as during the Reigns of other Catholick Kings, his Ancestors. Hee resolved also to abrogate the sale, farming and enhauncement of all Taxes and Impositions, (which indeed were very great): and besides hee sent to offer and certifie, *That* no Office in that Kingdom should be conferred upon anie whomsoever, unless hee were a Native; which if hee had granted when hee was desired, these Commotions had never happened. Of all this were ingrossed his Majestie's Patents and Commissions of sufficient power. Yet notwithstanding these three things were the principal grievances and most important reasons that *Toledo* and the other Cities alleged for excuse of their tumultuous risings: The granting all these demands was not available enough to quiet their Commotions and reduce them to obedience; for the Contrivers and Ring-

Here the Author flatter's.

leaders, who had seduced the people into those mischievous practices, finding profit in fishing in that troubled water, hindered all they could that these graces of his Majesty might not come unto the people's knowledge, and when they were known, they gave out that they were vain promises, and onely fained or framed by the Council, because they were not able to do any thing else until they had divided the people, and then that they would fall upon them.

S E C T. XVIII.

ABout this time Letters were brought to *Toledo* from all the Cities, concerning their *Junta* or *Assemblee*, and they all agreed it should be as *Toledo* desired. *Don Pedro Lasso* (whom *Toledo* honored so much, since his return from the

Grey, where hee shewed such obstinacie in his resolution, that they received him with great Solemnitie, giving him the stile of the *Deliverer of that Countrey*). Was appointed for the chief Commissioner of that Citie; with him they sent *Don Pedro de Ayala*, and two *Jurates*, besides other Deputies of the Common-People. Who resolved to take their Iournie the same daie *John de Padilla* went to the succor of *Segovia*.

The Junta began in *Avila*.
July 29. 1620.
Where they stayed not long before they went to *Tordeillas*.

The Citie of *Avila* was pitched upon for this *Assemblee*, more particularly becaus it was situate in the middle of old *Castilla*, and the Kingdom of *Toledo*. The Cities which made this *Assemblee* were, *Toledo*, *Madrid*, *Guadalaxara*, *Soria*, *Murcia*, *Cuenca*, *Segovia*, *Avila*, *Salamanca*, *Toro*, *Zamora*, *Leon*, *Valladolid*, *Burgos*, *Cuidad Rodrigo*. The Commissioners of all these Places beeing assembled, they chose their Secretaries and other Officers correspondent. The *Assemblee* was held in the Chapter of the Cathedral Church, *Don Pedro Lasso* Commissioner from *Toledo*, and the Dean of *Avila* (who was a native of *Segovia*) were chosen Presidents. Upon a table in the Chapter laie a *Crofs* and the *Evangelists*, whereon they made oath, everie one to live and die in the King's Service, and in favor of the Commonaltie. And those that refused to do this in *Avila*, were not onely ill treated in words, but had their houses pulled down. But this fortune onely befell one Gentleman, named, *Don Antonio Ponce* Knight of the order of *Sant jago*, and son to the Prince, *Don John*, his nurs. The rest fearing the Peoples furie, condescended and collogued with them, to save their lives, which were in no small danger. In the middle of the Commissioners of this *Assemblee*, was placed a little form, whereon did sit a certain Cloath-worker, named *Pimilles*, with a wand in his hand, and no Gentleman Commissioner or Ecclesiastick durst offer to speak one word untill this Cloath-worker had given him the sign, by pointing to him with his wand. So that those who took upon them to remedie the Kingdom, were commanded by a mean inferior fellow, a Cloath-worker. Such was the violence and blindneis of the Common People's passion. The first thing they Ordered,

A wiser man then the Author or elf probable hee never had raised himself from nothing to so great preferment.

was,

was, to take awaie the staff from the *Corregidor* of *Avila*, next they sent Letters to the *Alcalde Ronquillo* charging him not to set foot in the land of *Segovia*, and condemning him to great penalties if hee did the contrarie.

 SECT. XIX.

HAVING already related the manner of the Commotions of the Cities and principall Towns of the Kingdom, with their general *Assemblee* at *Avila*, I will now tell you the successes of those unadvised and indiscreetly raised Tumults. And in regard one of the most notorious Actors in these tragicall disorders, was *Don Antonio de Acunia*, Bishop of *Zamora*, who is famous to this very daie, for the strangeness of his disposition, and manner of the death hee suffered, which was not suitable to the dignitie of a *Prelate*, (but very answerable to his Actions, since it was done with very great justification of the *Emperor*, and by the Autoritie of *Pope Clement* the 7th, as appears upon Record in the Arches of *Simancas*, which I have seen) you shall briefly hear who this Bishop was, and what his conditions. During the time of *Don John* the second his raign in *Castilla*, lived in that Kingdom *Don Luis Osorio de Acunia*, a Gentleman of eminent note and account, father to *Don Diego Osorio* and this *Don Antonio de Acunia*, to whom his father dying left the Arch-Deaconship of *Valpuesta*, besides other meanes, In these times hee being in service to their Catholick *Majestie's* was sent by them Embassador into *France*, after which the Bishoprick of *Zamora* was conferred upon him. The King was not very well pleased with him, because hee was of a turbulent Spirit, a lover of broils, impatient, adventurously bold, and one that did take more upon him, then his profession and degree required. Hee was naturally inclined to Arms, his ambition was to make himself Lord and Master of *Zamora*, where the *Earl of Alva de Lista*

Here the Author would disgrace and undervalue if hee could the bravest wite that ever *Spain* bred, the honor of his Countrie whose intentions were onely for the Common-wealth's good, and had hee not been betrayed by some Noble-men of his Partie, hee had made it the most glorious Common-Wealth in the World. Hee is much lamented by manie persons of qualitie in *Spain* yet to this daie.

then lived, son in law to the *Duke of Alva*, a stout gallant Gentleman and a great lover of honor. The Bishop and the Earl meeting about certain affairs betwixt them they grew to such odds, that very good Mediators were not able to pacifie them. *Zamora* being in Rebellion, and paying no obedience but to the *Junta* or *Assemblee*, the Bishop on one side and the Earl on the other, used all means possible to draw the people to their factions. The Earl was better beloved, and bore the greater sway in the Citie, so that the Bishop was forced to leav it : It made him half madd to lose his hous, and so desperate seeing his Enemie prevail so far against him, That hee presently went to *Tordesillas* (where the Commissioners of the *Junta* were then assembled) with whom hee joyned in confederacie, desiring them to asist him and furnish him with forces to beat the Earl of *Alva* out of *Zamora*. They all received him with great respect and contentment, thinking it an honor to their caus, to have so eminent a *Prelate* amongst them , they gave him men and Artillerie , wherewith hee marched back towards *Zamora*. The Earl being informed of the manner of his enemies advance, thought not fit to stay for him, but quitting the Fort, went and associated himself with the *Cavaliers* of the Loyal Partie , as you shall hear. Thence forwards the Bishop stuck close to the *Junta* and the Earl as eagerly followed the King's counsel, each of them so much favoring their Partie, that there were not anie two more remarkable then they. The Bishop was threescore years of age, but as vigorous and lively as if hee had been but five and and twentie. I was acquainted with one that knew him and received orders from him, who told me that hee was excellent at handling his arms. That hee had more then foure hundred Priests under his command all well armed and valiant men, and that hee still charged at the head of them himself, Saying. *Here my Priests. The rest hereafter.*

SECT. XX.

I Have told you in what manner *Segovia* was fortified, the resolution of the Inhabitants, the relief which they received from manie places, notwithstanding *Ronquillo's* endeavors to hinder it; how *Toledo* encouraged them with promises both of men and monie, *Madrid*, *Guadalaxara*, and *Salamanca* did the like, making their case their own. *Medina del Campo* secured them their trading, offering to bear what losse soever they should sustein either of persons or goods. At last the Citie of *Avila* seeing what *Ronquillo* did against *Segovia*; and the adjacent Towns, that hee entred into the Villages belonging to *Avila*, taking, killing, and executing Justice in a severe manner, and that by order of the Cardinal and the Council, hee had taken from *Segovia* all the Places and Towns under its jurisdiction, commanding them not to obey or beanie waie subject to that Citie, neither to furnish them with provisions anie more then if they were their enemies, under pain of death and confiscation of goods, giving them power and Autoritie to keep Justice amongst themselves, as beeing a distinct jurisdiction, and other priviledges to the destruction of that Citie: They assembled in Council, and agreed to send a Petition in the name and with the subscriptions of the Officers of Justice, the *Regidores*, Gentry, Religious Persons, and of all the Commonaltie, humbly beseeching the Cardinal that hee would be pleased to set a remedie to those disorders, and not proceed with so much rigor against *Segovia*, for that Citie would be reduced sooner by fair means then by such severitie. That hee would command *Ronquillo* to raise his Siege, and that hee should not molest, nor use such crueltie against *Segovia*. The Cardinal and those of the Council did not weigh much this Petition of *Avila*, which so incensed that Citie, that thereupon they sent them word peremptorily

peremptorily, that since they would not rectifie those disorders, they were resolved to seek their own remedie. Mean time *Ronquillo* was at *Santa Maria de Nieva* making what preparations hee could against *Segovia*, making incursions into their territories, and laying Ambuscado's for those that came out of the Citie. It happened that two young men coming out of *Segovia*, fell into the hands of *Ronquillo's* Guards, who asking them whence they were, and whither they went? They answered, That they were of *Salamanca*, that they came from *Segovia*, and were returning to their own homes. At first the Guards were in the minde to let them go, becauf they seemed to bee but poor fellows, yet afterwards they laid hands on them and brought them before *Ronquillo*; who asking them who they were, whither they went, and whence they came? They said, they were Carders, who seeing *Segovia* streightned, and trading dead, they were upon their return to their ovrn houses. Hee examined them severally concerning the manner of *Tordesillas* his death, and they agreed not in their relation. *Ronquillo* thereupon began to press them further, demanding more and more & more questions, till at last one of them confessed he fetched the rope vvhervvith they dragged *Tordesillas* along the streets, and the other that hee plucked him by the hair. Upon this confession hee condemned them both to death, one to bee dravvn and quartered, the other, vvho said, hee pluck't him by the hair, had first his hand cut off, and then vvas hanged. It seemed a direct Judgment of heaven to put those men into the hands of the Justice, and that they should confess vvithout torture.

S E C T. XXI.

After this *Ronquillo* met vvith one *Francisco Peralta*, a sufficient man, and vvell beloved in *Segovia*, but not thinking fit to execute Justice upon him presently, sent him prisoner up-
on

on an Ass, to a Castle belonging to the Bishop of *Palencia*. But meeting by the waie a man, that was very zealous for the caus of the Commonaltie, and satisfying his curiositie by telling him the occasion of his imprisonment, through his means hee was rescued by the Common People of *Duenias*, and taken away from the *Alguazil*, that had charge of him, (who had so much a doe to escape with his life) and *Peralta* after courteous entertainment in the Town, had a horse given him, vvherevvith hee went to *Burgos*, which then was declared for the Commonaltie. *John de Padilla*, you have heard, marched out of *Toledo* at the head of two thousand men well armed, and having passed the Port de la *Tablada*, hee came within sight of *Segovia*, where in a Plain, not far distant, hee pitch't his camp: the next daie hee sent a Trumpetter to *Ronquillo* with a peremptorie message to bid him get him gon, if not, that hee would forthwith put in execution what the Citie of *Toledo* had Comanded him. Hereupon *Ronquillo* retreated to *Antonio de Fonseca* at *Arevalo*, and so they fled both together, not being able to withstand *John de Padilla's* Forces.

Alguazil is an officer of justice in Spain.

 SECT. XXII.

THE Cardinal, President, and those of the Council labored, all they could, to persuade the Queen Mother to signe certain orders (which they would send throughout the Kingdom) against the disturbers of it; because the greatest Autoritie, which those of the Junta pretended to have, was to saie, that whatsoever they did, was for the Queen's service (whose that Kingdom was) and other things to that purpose. The President therefore and some of the Council, went to *Tordesillas*, and spake publickly with the Queen, who was very merrie with them, but complained, saying, that for fifteen years past shee could never know the truth of anie thing, then turning towards the *Marquis* of *Denia*, shee said, this

Y

Marquis

Marquis told mee the first lye. At which words hee fell upon his knees, and with tears in his eyes, hee said, it is true Madam, I did tell you a lye, but it was to moderate the violence of your passions, and now I give you to understand that the King, your father, is dead, and I did bury him. Shee answered, Bishop, believ mee, All that I see or hear, mee thinks is but a dreame. The President answered, Madam! in your hands, under God, lyeth the remedie of this Kingdom, and your Highness will do a greater miracle in Signing what wee demand, then ever did *San Francisco*. Shee bid them go to bed, and come againe next daie. The daie following, beeing Sunday, they returned in the morning, much time was spent in controversie, whether they should kneel or sit before her, but the President telling her, that those of the Council ought not to bee treated in that manner, shee commanded they should sit, but chairs beeing brought in, shee cryed out, no chaires, but bring a form, that was the custom in my mother's daies, onely give the Bishop a chair. Six hours they were with her in private, and the result of all was, that they should return to *Valladolid*, and consult with the rest of the Council, what orders they should issue out, which done, shee would sign them. They came to *Valladolid*, and in the interim *John de Padilla* arrived at *Tordesillas* (as you shall finde hereafter) those of the Council were presently afraid to bee taken, and some report, that hee sent a Captain in persuite of those that came from *Tordesillas*.

S E C T, XXIII.

THe same daie that *Valladolid* rose up publickly in Arms (w^{ch} was Wednesday the 29th of August) *John de Padilla*, having beaten *Ronquillo* from *Segovia*, *John Bravo*, and *John Zapata*, with the men which they brought from *Toledo*, *Segovia*, and *Madrid*, arrived at *Medina del Campo*. Which the Towns-

Townsmen taking as a great favour, went out to receive them with their flags and mourning colours, besides many teares, which moved these Captains to great compassion, especially when they saw the Town reduced to ashes; they comforted the People the best they could, and *John de Padilla* took thereupon occasion to tell them, Gentlemen, If you had reflected well upon the Letter, which I sent you giving you notice that *Fonseca* was raising forces, with intent to fetch the Artillerie thence, peradventure you had not been sufferers in so high a nature. Those of *Medina* wondred that they never had heard of any such Letter, and after divers circumstances, it was found out that the *Regidor Gil Nieto* had received and concealed it from the people: whereupon they grew to an excessive passion, and whilest this was yet in agitation, *Gil Nieto* unfortunately came amongst them. Some of whom discoursing of the Town-affairs, said to him. If there were no Traytors in *Medina*, the miseries wee suffer never had befallen us. Who are those Traytors? replied *Gil Nieto*. At which words started up *Bobadilla*, the Cloth worker, and with a great Oath answered, you are one of the Traytors, then drawing his sword hee violently flew upon him, and with one blow separated his head from his shoulders, w^{ch} done, and having found in his bosome *John de Padilla's* Letter, they flung him out at the windows of the *Regimiento*, upon the Souldiers pikes w^{ch} stood below. Hee was afterwards taken up and interred by his friends and kindred. *John de Padilla* remained five daies in *Medina*, and the Town having given him two great peeces of Ordnance, hee departed thence with his men for *Tordesillas*. Hee pretended that hee went thither to kiss the Queen's hands, and give her an account of what passed in *Castilla*. Others said, that hee went audaciously to seiz on her, and take her into his power. Being arrived, hee drew up his Armie in *Batalia*, charged his Ordnance, and remained in that Order, until hee had given notice of his coming to her Highness and the Town. The Queen presently gave order they should go forth to receive him, which the Town did in the best manner

Regimiento, or *Caja del Regimiento*, is the house where the inhabitants in every Citie do assemble about things concerning their Political Government.

*John de Padilla's
Speech to
the Queen at
Toledo.*

and with the greatest companie they could, and as they were even ready to meet, hee commanded his two Guns to be shot off with great showting and nois of Trumpets. The *Salve* being past, they took *John de Padilla* in the midst of them, and so entred the Town with the greatest applaus that might be imagined, after hee had rested himself a while, hee went to the Pallace, where the Queen received him very graciously, gave him Audience, and asked him who hee was. To which hee answered, *That* his name vvas *Juan de Padilla*, son to *Pedro Lopez de Padilla*, vvho had been Captain General in *Castilla*, and served the renovvned Queen *Donia Isabella* her mother, and that also hee came to tender his service to her Majestie, with the people of *Toledo*; *That* hee did give her to understand, that since the deceas of the Catholick King, her father, there had been, and were in that Kingdom great disorders, mischiefs and dissentions for want of a Governor. Although the Mightie and Illustrious *Don Carlos*, her son, had governed *Spain*, yet by reason of his sudden departure, the Kingdom was risen in such Commotions and Disorderous manner, that all *Spain* was ready to be destroyed, and that now hee was com with a certain Armie of *Toledians* to serv her Highness, whom hee desired to see, and know what Commands shee had to laie upon him, for hee was ready to spend his life in her service. The Queen was much astonished to hear such things, and said, shee never knew any thing of it before. For shee had been sixteen years shut up within a chamber, under the Guard of the Marquess of *Denia*, and wondred to hear any such stories, but if shee had known of her Father's death, shee would have gon abroad and set som remedie to those mischiefs. So forgetful and void of Judgment was the Queen. Then shee said to *John de Padilla*, Go you now, I command you, take the charge, and execute the office of Captain General in the Kingdom, and give you order for all things as need shall require, until I provide otherwise. This said, shee retired into her chamber; and *John de Padilla* returned to his Quarters, well attended and very jocund for the fa-

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vour the Queen had done him, in giving him that Commission. Manie times after this, *John de Padilla* had conference with the Queen, and she seemed to give Audience to him and others of the *Junta*, very willingly. They told her once, that the King her son, had done great damage to the Kingdom, whereunto shee answered, That her son was not greatly in fault, for hee was but a youth, but the Kingdom rather ought to bee condemned for suffering it. Then shee commanded, that the Assembly of the Kingdom should bee kept there, that shee would authorize it. Hereupon an Order was forthwith issued out, That Proclamation should bee made in *Medina* and other places, for all the Commissioners that had assisted in Parliament at the *Groyne* to make their appearance and render an account at *Torresillas* under pain of death.

 SECT. XXIV.

THE *Junta* was yet held at *Avila*, whither was sent an Order from the Queen, commanding them to remove to *Torresillas*, w^{ch} they presently obeyed, for it was their only waie so to do; The Queen understanding nothing what belonged to businesses. The Antagonists of the *Junta* gave out, That those Dispatches which were produced and published in the Queen's name were fals, and the testimonies likewise made by counterfeiting hands. The *Junta* took a resolution to turn the Marques of *Denia* out of the Queen's service, for the ill opinion hee (being a loial subject) conceived of the Commoners, alleging, that shee was not well pleased with him. And becaus they would bee informed how the Marques did serv the Queen, they sent to *Maestro Fray Pablo* a Dominican Frier, a grand Commoner, Commissioner of *Leon*, and to the *Commendador Almaraz*, Commissioner of *Salamanca*, and *El Bachiller de Guadalaxara*: And from these men's relation (which was never the holier for the Frier's having any part in it) re-

Here the Au-
tor jeer's his
own Coat.

The Junta or
General Af-
semblee settled
at *Tordesillas*.

sulted a determination to turn the Marquess and his Ladie from the Queen. Whereupon they were not onely cast out of their hous, but driven out of *Tordesillas*, with such strictness and precipitation, that they had not one hour's time to take away their goods and householdstuff, and although they made their Requests to the contrarie, they were no whit the more regarded. In their places were presently put *Donia Catalina de Figueroa*, wife to *Quintanilla*, and som other women of the Town. And the Marquess, with his Ladie, was enforced to repair to a small Village, and suffer with patience this tribulation for their Prince's service. The Junta beeing set at *Tordesillas*, they began to treat of the peaceable government and quiet of the Kingdom. Soon after, *Salamanca*, *Avila*, *Madrid*, besides other places, sent manie Companies of Foot and Hors, paid at the charge of the said Cities, with their respective Captains, who had Orders to bee at the King and Queen, his Mother's service, and in favor of the Junta. There was already so great a confluence of Gentlemen and Captains, that *Tordesillas* was not able to contain them, although the Common Souldiers were quartered in the adjacent Villages. The Citie of *Valladolid* sent a thousand choise men well Armed, under the Command of *Don Diego de Quinones*, a valiant and well-born Gentleman. The Commissioners, Gentlemen, Captains with many grave and learned Friers, beeing assembled in the Junta, there was a motion made, that they should send to *Valladolid*, to seiz upon the President and the rest of the King's Council, and to have them brought to *Tordesillas*, or at least, to take such order, that the Citie of *Valladolid* should not back them or conceal them, but should give waie that the Junta might apprehend and bring them away. To this (the report is) there wanted no Votes, neither were the Friers backwards in giving theirs, alleging, that the securing of those men was very necessary for the good of the Kingdom. To this effect was dispatched a Dominican Frier (who was a man of honor and great leaning) with Letters of Credence to the Commonaltie of *Valladolid*, and to the *Infante of Granada*, their chief Cap-
tain

rain. The Frier having delived his Letter and Message to the *Infante*, hee thus answered, Father, as far as it concern's mee (as beeing Captain of *Valladolid*) I do obeie the Orders here sent from the *Junta*, but it is convenient the whole Commonaltie should bee assembled, that you may deliver your Message to them all together, and receiv their answer. Hereupon the Deputies of the Wards, Jurates, Common Council-men and other Officers, were all ordered to warn the Inhabitants of their respective quarters and parishes, to make their appearance the next morning by nine of the clock at the Church of *Santa Maria la Mayor*, which was done accordingly. The *Infante of Granada*, *Don Pedro Giron* and other Gentlemen, beeing there assembled, with the rest of the Commonaltie, at the hour and place appointed, the Frier went up into the Pulpit, and with smooth fair language, hee told them the substance of his Message, saying, That he came thither from the Lords of the *Junta at Tordesillas* (who were the greater part of the Kingdom, and were there assembled for the remedying of the distractions and mischiefs which abounded in that Kingdom, as appeared by the Power & Letters of Credence) which hee had already shewed to that very noble Commonaltie of *Valladolid*, and the *Infante* their Captain. Yet becaul it was thought fit that a business of such weight (as that wherewith hee was intrusted to impart to them) should rather bee manifested to them all in that place, then communicated to any members in paricular, and in regard they were then all assembled, hee again notified those Letters unto them, giving them to understand that the Lords of the *Junta*, moved with a very holie zeal, and desire of procuring the Kingdom's good and his Majestie's service, had found it convenient (to the end the Intent of the *Junta* might the better take effect) that there should bee no Council Roial at all, but that the President and the rest should bee sent prisoners to *Tordesillas*, and to shew that their Intentions were holie, and tending onely to the service of God, and the King, in the name of the Lords Commissioners of the *Junta*, hee did assure the lives of the Council,

but

The *Junta*
send's to *Vall-*
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Council.

Valladolid's
Answer.

but not their goods and estates. For they must know, that whatsoever of that Council had offended, his estate was liable to confiscation, according to the qualitie of his delict, and that the monie which should accrue, should repair in part the damages which they had occasioned. Hereupon the Frier extended himself into manie Rhetorical expressions, to cog the people into a Consent, urging, that if they did otherwise, it might bee the occasion of bringing the whole Kingdom to destruction: for if there was both a *Junta* and *Council*, the *Junta* governing contrarie to the sens of the *Council*, and the *Council* abrogating what should bee enacted by the *Junta*, what could bee expected but confusion and utter ruine? Hereunto hee desired their speedie answer, becaus hee was to return to *Tordesillas*. They forthwith replied, That it was a business of no small moment, and required great consultation, yet if hee would stay till night, hee should have their answer. They divided themselves into severall Assemblies to consult hereupon, and they were generally of opinion, that it was a difficult and strange attempt for them to dissolve a *Council* of so great Authority, beeing constituted by their King, especially that *Citie* having received, in particular, so manie Immunities and other favors from them, and they beeing so good friends, that the *Council* had, in a manner, entrusted them with their persons, it were an act of high inhumanitie and baseness to laie violent hands upon them. On the other side they thought, that they were bound in conscience not to leav undone the Commands of the *Junta*, in regard their Commissioners were there, they had acknowledged their power, and had sworn to obey whatsoever should there bee ordered or enacted. In the end, they agreed to give the Frier this answer, That if the *Junta* did desire to apprehend those of the *Council*, they should send their own Captains and souldiers to do it, for *Valladolid* would have no hand in either helping or hindering them in that design, neither would they favor the one side, or oppose the other. The Frier, and those Captains, and other Officers which came with him from *Tordesillas*, beeing satisfied with

with this Answer, The Frier reckoned up those of the Council whom the *Junta* demanded, which done, it was agreed, that everie Deputie of a Ward should take four or five of the said names in writing, and go with a Notarie publick to their respective houses, or lodgings, requiring them to meet the next daie in the Cardinal's house, where hee should tell them what further they were to do. Which beeing done accordingly, those of the Council that could not escape (as divers did) failed not to com to the Cardinal's Pallace, where the Frier, with his Captains about him, notified and commanded them in the name of the *Junta*, to go with them to *Tordesillas*, and to execute no more the office of Counsellors, that beeing there they should know further what they were to do, and that there was no fear of their lives, but their goods and estates he could not promise to secure. Whereunto they made answer, That they held their Offices and Charge from his Majestie's own hands, whom they had served and did serv, and that although they were taken, they would not go with them, unless they were carried away by force. This was the best answer the Frier could get at that time, so hee returned to *Tordesillas*, but was not long before hee came back again to *Valladolid*, with other Letters and Orders as shall bee seen hereafter.

A Frier, in the name of the *Junta*, summons those of the King's Council to appear before them at *Tordesillas*.

Their answer.

 SECT. XXV.

IN this conjunction arrived an exprefs from *Flanders*, vvith dispatches from the Emperour, Letters for the Cities of the Kingdom, and his Majestie's Commissions and Orders to *Don Inigo de Velasco* Lord high Constable of *Castilla* and *Leon*, and *Don Fadrique Enriquez* Lord Admiral of *Castilla*, authorising and Commanding them, joyntly vvith the Cardinal *Adriano*, to undertake the charge and care of governing and managing the affaires of that Kingdom untill his returne. In

The Emperour sends Commissions to the Lord high Constable and Lord Admiral of *Castilla* making them Joint-Governors of *Spain* vvith the Cardinal.

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his Letters, the Emperor declared his exceeding sorrow and discontent for the troubles and insurrections in that Kingdom, notwithstanding the great affection hee alwaies expressed towards them. *That* his good vwill vvas so ill requited, and his favors no better accepted. *That* they had failed in that fidelitie vvherevvith (like good and Loyall Subjects) they had alwaies served the Kings, his Predecessors. Yet hee could not bee perswaded but some particular persons, for their private Interests, had been the occasion of all those disorders. And *That* in regard one of the principal things, at which the Kingdom was aggrieved, had been his conferring of the government upon a stranger (although the prudence and uprightnes of the most reverend Cardinal of *Tortosa* could not in all reason but give them satisfaction) to stop the current of those disorders, which increased daily in that Kingdom, and to provide for the good government thereof, and the Peace of his Subjects; with great deliberation and advice (during his absence, which should not bee long) hee had ordered and appointed to rule joyntly with the Cardinal, as Vice-Kings and Governors of that Kingdom, the Lord Admiral and Lord high Constable of *Castilla*, being both persons indued with wisdom, and other parts requisite for so high a charge, and that they should take upon them all the care, trouble, &c. And that he had given them particular charge if the Kingdom was anie waie aggriev'd, to send for the Commissioners or Burgessees of the Cities, that they might demand redress before the Governors; And withall hee Comanded the Cities to bee obedient unto them. The Emperor wrote also to the Lord high Constable, endearing him by the acknowledgment of his former services, to undertake and execute with like fidelitie, resolution and cheerfulness, the joynt charge, with the Cardinal and the Lord Admirall, of pacifying the present tumults and insurrections, reducing his Subjects to their former obedience, and the governing and managing the affairs of that Kingdom until his return. Dated in *Bruxels* the 9th of September 1520.

SECT. XXVI.

IF these Noble men had been made governors before the Emperor's departure out of *Spain*, questionless the Com-motions had never come to that height. But they were now too far gon beyond their recoverie, for although some were very well pleased with this Election, others were not. The Lord high Constable (as wee shall see) was not very well beloved in *Burgos*. The Cardinal with the President and Council were not onely not beloved, but extreamely hated and abhorred in manie Cities. Onely in *Valladolid* the Cardinal was much respected and honored, neither would they consent to his departure out of the Citie, although hee often desired it, but they offered themselvs all to bee at his service, esteeming him (as it were) a *Saint*; and they kept guards at the Gates of the Citie, lest the Cardinal, or anie of the Council, or Judges should goe away. Yet for all their guards *El Licenciado Zapata* made his escape in a *Benedictan* Munk's habit, having shaved his crown and his beard, and divers others of the Council likewise, who durst not attend the determination of the *Junta*: perhaps their own ill consciences did accuse them, and filled their hearts with the apprehension of danger, which onely makê the sinners flie, though no bodie doth pursue them. And indeed in offices and charges of that nature, some men are monstruously insufferable.

Some of the
Council escape
out of *Vallado-*
lid in disguise.

SECT. XXVII.

FEW daies after the *Dominican* Frier was returned to the *Junta*, and had given an account of his indeavors at *Valladolid*, concerning the suspending of the Council Roial, and

the apprehending of the Counsellors. They sent another Fri-
er, *Alonso de Medina*, Professor of Divinitie, of the Order of *S^t*
Francis, with second Orders from the *Junta* to *Valladolid*. Where
beeing arrived, hee caused the Commonaltie and Officers of
the Citie to assemble at the Monastrie of *S^t Francis*, which
beeing done accordingly, the Fri-er went up into the Pulpit,
and shewed the Letters of Credence which hee brought from
the *Junta*, in whose name hee told them, they were againe re-
quired to send those of the *Council-Royall* Prisoners to *Torde-*
fillas, and that those of the *Council* of Warre, who were fled
and absented themselvs, should thenceforwards bee payed no
Salarie, nor enjoy any of their Revenues; But that they should
all bee punished according to their severall deserts; And that
her Highness, the *Queen's* pleasure and absolute Command
was, it should bee so, in regard it was found expedient for
the good of the Kingdom. Otherwise the offenders and
wicked Counsellors, the Perpetrators of so manie evils in the
Kingdom, should escape unpunished, and the poor oppressed
People remain without Justice. Many other reasons hee
aledged, which were not unpleasing to the People, who were
filled with a desire of seeing the punishment (hee mention-
ed) inflicted. And having ended his discours, hee produced
and read aloud to them a copie signed by three publick
Notaries, of what passed between the *Queen* and the *Com-*
missioners of all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, that
had Votes in Parliament. Who beeing altogether in her pres-
ence, gave her to understand by the mouth of the *Doct^r*
Zuiga of *Salamanca*, the grievances of the Kingdom having
been pilld and polled by strangers since her Father's death,
and out of the sens of their opression, they desired that her
Highness would bee pleased to take upon her the Command
and government of the Kingdom, making high protestations,
that they would obey and serve her till death as their *Queen*
and naturall Sovereign, and that shee should Command as
absolutely as the most powerfull *Queen* in the World. Where-
unto shee answered to this effect, That shee loved that Coun-
trie

The *Junta's* re-
quest to the
Queen.

trie and her Subjects with so much tendernels, that it grieved her exceedingly to hear of any of their sufferings, But shee had been so long mued up there, and alwaies such bad People about her, who fed her with falsities and lies, insomuch that shee knew not of her Father's death, nor of their opression, And that when shee was informed of those strangers coming into *Castilla*, it troubled her very much, yet shee thought it might bee for her Children's good, though, it seemed, it proved otherwise. But shee wondred much at them that they did not revenge themselves, if any thing was don contrarie to Justice. And forasmuch (said shee) as you intend to remedie the ill-government of the affairs of the Kingdom, it doth rejoyce me, and if you do it not let it lye upon your own Consciences, besides I Command you so to do, and as far as lyeth in my power, I shall bee readie to do any thing for the good of the Kingdom, here or wheresoever I am. You need not come all to mee hereafter, it will bee more convenient, that you appoint four of the discreetest, and most knowing amongst you, who shall at any time have access to mee, and inform mee what courf is meetest to bee taken, I will heare them and do all that possiblie I can. Then *Don Pedro Lasso* desired, that her Highness would bee pleased to nominate the four Members, whom shee would have to confer with her concerning the government of the Kingdom, shee answered that her will was, that the *Junta* should send whom they thought good, and shee would heare them whensoever they came.

 SECT. XXVIII.

THIS writing signed by three Notaries in the presence of the *Infanta Donia Catalina*, all the Commissioners of the Kingdom, divers eminent Priests and Friers, and manie other persons of qualitie, satisfied exceedingly the Common people,

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who

who cried it up for a kinde of miracle, that the Queen, after so many years of retirement, in so strict a manner, that no bodie could scarce have a sight of her, and so long discountuance from anie knowledg of State-affairs, should now com forth, and shew her self in a time of so great necessitie, with so much knowledg and clear judgment in things concerning the government of the Kingdom: They praised God for shewing his mercie in so high a measure unto Spain: Yet som there were, who did not stick to saie, that all those circumstances were fals, and forged by those of the *Junta*. That the Queen had no judgment to meddle with anie such affairs, neither was shee in a condition to bee treated with. (This was commonly noised not onely in *Valladolid*, but divers other places also: *Pero Mexia* treating of this businels, seemeth in his book to favor this opinion, I write what I had from one that was an eie-witnes of all these passages, and who neither was a Commoner nor friend of that faction.) After all this the Frier told them, that there were Souldiers without the Citie, who, if they would give leav, should com in and carrie away those of the Council prisoners. They all agreed, that two hundred should com in the next daie, who would bee sufficient to apprehend them, and carrie them away to *Tordesillas*. Whereupon the day following *John de Padilla*, Captain General of the *Junta's* forces, entred *Valladolid* with three hundred Lances of *Avila* and *Salamanca*, and eight hundred Pikemen and musketers, where hee had noble entertainment, and his Souldiers had good quarters given them, with a large portion of all necessaries. *John de Padilla* forthwith seized upon all those of the Council that could bee found in *Valladolid*, who were Doctor *Veltran*, Doctor *Tello*, Doctor *Cornejo*, and *El Licenciado Herrera*, all *Alcaldes*, whom hee confined to their houses that daie, under great penalties, having taken good securitie for them besides, and set Guards upon every one; hee took away likewise the staves from the *Alguaziles* and other Officers, whom hee commanded and ordered, under great penalties, to make their personal appearance at *Tordesillas*. The next daie hee carried them
away

John de Padilla
apprehendeth
some of the
Council and
carrieth them
prisoners to
Tordesillas.

away prisoners, with the respect and honor that every one deserved. Hee took with him the books of the Treasurie, and the Broad Seal wherewith the Council sealed all their Acts and Orders; for the better autorising of the matter, the *Junta* desired the Queen to confirm by her sign whatsoever should bee agreed on by them, as persons of her Council. Which shee refusing to do, the Commissioners there present, sent to their respective Cities, to give them power to see to the government of the Kingdom (for fault of a Governor) and to constitute a Council. Some did send their powers to this effect, others disliked that proposition, holding it a thing needless, and of a dangerous consequence. Divers Gentlemen of *Toledo* were much distasted hereat, and sorrie that *John de Padilla* had been so forward, for which they sent him and their Commissioners a notable check, refusing to give them any power concerning the Government of the Kingdom.

 SECT. XXIX.

THe *Junta*, for the better autorising and securing their persons and proceedings, used all means possible to seduce all the Cities of the Kingdom, and engage them in their quarrel. From *Palencia* they had intelligence, that a small matter would make them rise. Whereupon they presently dispatched thither an *Augustine* Frier, giving him Orders first to sound the Bishop, and afterward to address himself to the Citie, telling them how they stood obliged to favor and assist the *Junta*, in regard the chief end of their assembling, and their onely studie, since they were established, was for the general good of the Kingdom. The Frier went (but it had been better for him to have staid in his Cell) and with much libertie and lavishness of words hee began to treat of his message, and having assembled the people, to preach sedition publickly in the Pulpit. This continued som daies, until the Cardinal, who then
was

How uncharitable the Author is to his brethren Priests?

was at *Rioseco*, with the Council, sent to apprehend him, which was the easier done becauf there were divers loial and well-affected persons in the Citie, who were scandalized at the ill example of this Frier. Hee was carried prisoner to *Medina*, where after few daies, the fact beeing proved against him, hee was strangled. Hee had his desert, and may all Friers or Priests meet with the like punishment, that imbarke themselvs so far in secular affairs, not observing that retirement and modestie which their qualitie and profession doth require, which is to renounce the world with all its troubles and vanities. Yet the seed which this factious Frier sowed in *Palencia*, took not so little root in the people's hearts, but that soon after almost the whole Commonaltie of the Citie, infected with his pernitious doctrine, rose in so tumultuous a manner, that the *Corregidor* was forced to flie away, they took away the staves from the King's Officers, and gave them to som of the Commonaltie. They turned out of the Citie the *Provisores del Obispo* or Officers of the Bishop's Court, they turned out the *Regidores*, whom the Bishop had constituted, and the Commonaltie put others in their places. At the ringing of a bell the people all assembled, and most of them beeing Armed, they ran furiously to *Villamuriel*, (which was a Fort and the Bishop's hous) and pulled down a part of one of the Towers thereof. The 15th Sept. 1520, they cut down the greatest part of a Wood called *Santillana*, which belonged to the Bishop; divers other strange disorders and mischiefs they did in and about the Citie, as if they had been in an Enemie's Countrie: things indeed befitting the blinde and furious rage of the common people.

S E C T, XXX.

THe Cardinal, governor of the Kingdom, seeing the disturbed estate of things, and that in *Valladolid* hee was not obeyed

obeyed, as the dignitie of his person and place required, but rather in danger dailey to bee affronted, took a resolution to retire himself to a Gentleman's hous out of the Citie, where hee might bee secure. This was no sooner known in *Valladolid*, but some of the Citie-Officers came to speake with him, desiring to know wherefore hee would go away from them. The Holy man with much meekness, answered, that hee would willingly retire himself with the Lord Admiral at *Medina de Rioseco*. But those of *Valladolid*, holding it their best waie to keep him there, would not let him go. They presently set guards at the Gates of the Citie, that none of the Common people should go out, for they began already to feare, lest they should go joyn with the Lord high Constable, who was levying forces to resist and suppress those Tumults, which were grown so excessive in the Kingdom, to whom were repaired those of Council, that elcaped from *Valladolid*, to the end that *Castilla*, might not remain without Justice. The next morning early the Cardinal, beeing fully relolved to be gon, departed from his hous with an hundred and fiftie men on horsback and on foot, besides divers of the principal persons of the Citie, who guarded him on both sides. But coming to the bridg they would not let him pass, there hee stayed a good while, still commanding his people to bee quiet and offer no violence, for they would have broke down the Gates and forced their way through. This beeing known in the Citie, there was presently a great hubbub, and a crying out, *The Governor's going away, The Governor's going away*. Hereupon one *Alonso de Vera*, a Deputie of a ward, without any Command or Order from the Captain Generall of the Commonaltie, ran in great hast to ring the Council-Bell, which beeing heard the Citie presently took the Alarme, and in a trice there was such a hurly-burly and confusion of people in the streets, that it was wonderful, they all locked up their houses and shops and posted with their Arms towards the bridg, (as if the Citie had been stormed by an enemy) where in a moment's time (in a manner) was assembled a very

The Cardinal
indeavouring
to go out of
Valladolid is
stopped by the
people.

numerous Armie of compleat men, with new shining arms, but without order and without Captain. The Cardinal seeing this tumult, turned back againe towards the Citie, and beeing half way ouer the bridg some of his servants said to him, *My Lord! your Eminence should do well to stand still there, untill you see what is the meaning of this boldness of the People.* So hee did remain a while, having a strong guard before him. But the people came swarming to that place like emmets. Whilest the Cardinal was at this stand, came *Don Pedro Giron*, to whom all the people bore as much respect, as if hee had been their Lord. Hee was mounted upon a stately Ginnet, his body was covered with Armor as bright as silver, his head with a richly gilded helmet, his horse proudly praunfing along the streets, made waie through the disorderly throng, untill hee came where the Governor stood, to whom after salutation, hee thus spake. *My Lord! I am sorry that your Eminence would offer to go away thus without the consent of the Citie and Kingdom, if my Counsel might prevail, you should return to your lodging, for if you stay longer here, it will not bee in the power of man to remedie or hinder the mischief, which your departure may produce.* The Cardinal's men not throughly understanding *Don Pedro's* speech, began to draw their swords; which some of the people, that had crowded neer, seeing, cryed out, *Arm, Arm Commoners, help, help.* Hereupon grew such a noise and so great a tumult, that had not the President of the Chancerie, *Don Pedro Giron*, and other Gentlemen been there to appease the furie of the people, they scarce had left one man alive of all those that were with the Cardinal. But all beeing pacified, hee returned with his guards to his lodging, accompanied with other Prelates and divers Gentlemen of qualitie, and after all, followed his traine of bagage in the same order as they marched outwards. The Common People went before him all armed, with sound of drums and trumpets conducting him to his lodging, with all due honor and reverence. By this time it was full twelve of the clock, so that they spent six hours at least in this contention. *The Infante of Granada,*
 Captain

Don Pedro Giron's speech to the Cardinal, perswading him to return to his Palace.

Captain of *Valladolid*, was so much displeas'd that *S^t Michael's* Bell had been rung, and that the people had all taken Arms in that manner without his order or knowledg, that hee threatned to leave his charge. Thereupon strict order was given, that no man thenceforwards should dare, under a great penaltie, to ring the Bell or to rise in Arms, without their Captains order. *Vera* who rung the Bell, to avoid the punishment which was intended, and his offence deserved, fled to *Tordesillas*. After this, *Valladolid* ordered that every five and twentie men should have a particular Captain, that should command them upon occasion, having first received orders from the Captain General. The newes beeing carried to *Tordesillas*, how those of *Valladolid* had oppos'd and detain'd the Cardinal, besides the good order they kept for the guard and defens of their Citie, The *Junta* sent an exprefs with Letters to give the People thanks in their names, extolling their valor to the skies, which puff'd up the people's hearts with a kinde of vanitie, and encouraged them to commit greater exorbitancies another time.

 SECT. XXXI.

THE Cardinal seeing it was not possible for him to go publickly out of *Valladolid*, and considering how much it behov'd him to depart thence, where hee had no more then an honorable prison, resolv'd to steal away privately: which hee did one night all alone, beeing disguis'd, and hee had been gone ten daies before it was known in the Citie, or his own Guard of Horse missed him. His Foot Guards went away the daie before by two and two. After which time hee sent to entreat the Citie, to suffer his goods to be brought unto him, assuring them that his going away should be no waie prejudicial to them, that hee was in a manner enforced so to absent himself from them, both for respect of his Majestie's ser-

vice, and that hee had not left him wherewithal to defraie his charges in the Citie, but whersoever hee was, they might bee confident hee would do all that might be for their's and the whole Kingdom's good. *Valladolid*, with much complement and civil expressions, sent him all his Linnens and other household-stuff to the Town of *Rioseco*, whither hee was gone in expectation of the Lord Admiral. About this time there were great differences betwixt those of the Commonaltie, and their Captain the *Infante of Granada*. They would have killed him, manie of them coming violently against him with their Arms, and giving him very reproachful and abusive language. As hee advanced into the market place with above six hundred Lances to apprehend *Alonso de Vera*, (they saie) it was a Bridle-maker and som such like audacious fellows, that were the occasion of stirring the people to this insolent attempt. The *Junta* beeing much displeas'd I great, ordered that the *Infante of Granada* should leav the Office of Captain, becaus it was too great a charge to allow him everie month 30000 *Maradiz*, alleging moreover, that none but a native of the Citie, ought to execute that Command. But the *Infante* giving notice of his discontent, by command of the *Junta* this matter was put to Votes, and hee having the major part on his side, it was ordered, that hee should bee confirmed in his Office, but withal, that hee should pardon *Alonso de Vera*, with the rest that had offended him, and strict command was given, that the people should make no more meetings, nor demand any thing from thenceforward with Arms in their hands, but by waie of Justice and Reason. That presently under pain of one hundred lashes, all those Vagabands and fellows that had no professions, should avoid the Citie. This was proclaimed in *Valladolid* on *S^t Luke's* daie.

S E C T.

SECT. XXXII.

WHIL'ft the Commonaltie of *Valladolid* was in consultation, whether the *Infante* should continue in his Charge or not, arrived a Commiffioner from the *Junta*, defiring that Citie in their names to agree, and bee all as one, and not to give waie to their particular paffions, which might breed divifion among them, to the great weakning and difenabling of that Citie, for they were now to confider that they had manie enemies, who had already begun one of the higheft and greateft attempts in the world. *That* if their hearts were not united & stirred up therewith, they, with their wives and children, should bee reduced to moft wretched flaverie. *That* with couragious mindes and upright defires, they ought to profecute this matter, and bee affiftant to thofe Gentlemen who were already engaged therein, and boüy them up out of that gulf of miferie whereinto they were plunged. For the Lords of the *Junta* confidering that *Valladolid* was the moft noble & principal Citie of all *Spain*, and that it had been the principal autor of their good (as in former times) expofing and hazarding their lives and fortunes to many eminent dangers. They thought it great reafon to give them an account of what they had done in the *Junta*. To which effect they had fent to let them know, how that neither night nor daie they ceafed laboring in the advancement of the fervice of God and the King and the publick good of the Nation, neither eating nor drinking in quiet, but ftill watching with much care and studie, how God and the King might have their due refpect and honor, and the Kingdom bee preferved in libertie. Renouncing all private affairs, leaving houfes, goods, wives and children at random, to attend and applie themfelves with more fervencie to procure the people's good without Intereft. *That* before the *Junta* fate at *Tordesillas*, they

all took a solemn oath, that no man should procure for himself, wife, children, friends or kindred, anie Lands, Offices or benefits whatsoever, to the end that they might loially, and without Interests, serv the publick. *That* every one of the *Junta* was a Gentleman, and as free, as the King himself from all the tributes & taxes that were imposed upon the meaner subjects, & that neither for respect of what they might hope to gain, or to free themselves of that which others did paie, they had exposed themselves to so great hazard, beeing no more then fiftie, that did help or any waie advance this business, which so nearly concerned all. *That* without them the *Junta* could do little, the case beeing weightie and dangerous. *That* they trusted in God within eight daies, the *Junta* would have taken such a course, that *Castilla* should enjoie as much peace, quietness, and plentie as formerly; for they wanted nothing but the Articles of the severall Cities of the Kingdom, to extract the best out of them; which should bee printed and sent through the whole Kingdom, that every one might see the good which proceeded from the *Junta*. The Articles which were purged in the *Junta*, whereby they thought (as they saie here) to remedie and restore *Castilla* to its former condition, shal bee punctually set down in the following Book. In *Valladolid* they much rejoiced at this discours, and were highly taken with the promises made them by the *Junta*, which filled them with a thousand good hopes, but within seven months they found them all fruitless. They offered willingly their estates and goods, and to expose their lives in the defens of the *Holie Junta* as they called it.

S E C T. XXXIII.

THe Cardinal and those of the Council, prudently desired first to proceed with mildness, and endeavor by fair persuasions to quench, or (at least) mitigate the furie of that unnatural

natural fire; to that effect they sent to entreat the *Junta* to assemble rather in *Valladolid*, where the Council then was, that there things should be remedied to their liking and content. Those of the *Junta*, having intelligence of this message, sent one to meet him that brought it, before hee could reach to *Avila*, with command to charge him in their names, under pain of death not to com into the Citie. The Council, seeing that they could prevail nothing by fair means, sent to command and require the *Junta* not to assemble at all, in regard it was a thing forbidden by the King and the Laws of the Kingdom, without their Sovereign's leav. That if they had anie thing to desire, they should repair to the Council at *Valladolid*, and they would join with them in Petition to the Emperor for the obtaining and fulfilling their demands. This also they refused to hear; and sent the like message back to the Council by the *Commendador Hinestrofa*, to whom they denied both audience and entrance into the Citie. From that time forwards the *Junta* called them of Council Tyrants, and those of the Council termed them Traitors. Which beeing known in *Valladolid*, a rumor was noised about, that the Lords of the Council had given order to apprehend those of the *Junta*, for which cause *El Licenciado Francisco de Vargas*, Treasurer General, and *El Licenciado Zapata*, made their escapes in the night from the Council: For they having born a great swaie, one in the Treasurie, the other in matters of Justice, were both grown odious in the eies of the Common-wealth.

Note that this message was sent at the first assembling of the *Junta* in *Avila*.

 SECT. XXXIV.

THe several Parties reviled, and fell into malicious expressions one against the other, not considering, that that was one of the poorest and vilest revenges upon earth, and w^{ch} suit's with none but rascal-like & unworthie dispositions. Those that were enemies to the Commonaltie, reported, that no Gentlemen

lemen or persons of qualitie would have taken that side, but for private respects and ambition. That *Don Antonio de Acunia* Bishop of *Zamora* (whose storie wee are not yet com to) would make himself Arch-bishop of *Toledo*. That *Don Pedro Giron* was on fire for the Estate of *Medina Sidonia*. The Earl of *Salvatierra* ambitioned certain territories of great value, called *Merindades*. *Hernando de Avalos* for revenge of som injuries don him. *John de Padilla* to bee Master of *Santjago*. *Don Pedro Lasso* to bee Lord of *Toledo*. *Quintanilla* to have the Command of *Medina del Campo*. *Hernando de Ulloa* to drive his brother out of *Toro*. *Don Pedro Pimentel* to advance himself with *Salamanca*. The Abbat of *Compludo* to be made Bishop of *Zamora*. *El Licenciado Bernardino* to bee Judg in *Valladolid*. *Ramiro Nuniez* that hee might possess himself of *Leon*, and *Carlos de Arellano* bee Lord of *Soria*. Thus their tongues went nimbler then their hands (except when they were asleep) breeding and brewing a world of mischiefs. And divers Gentlemen found themselvs so far engaged already in this disorder, that they could not with honor withdraw themselvs, neither could they tell whom to trust.

S E C T, XXXV.

BEfore I proceed any further with the Historie, of what was done by the Commonalties in *Castilla*, I wil here describe the particulars of the insurrection of the Citie and Kingdom of *Valencia*, in regard it was the blindest and most pernicious of all *Spain*, and although some have written very dolefull and lamentable memorials thereof, they do not mention half what there befell. Several prodigious signs pre-saged this miserable dissention in *Valencia*. In the yeare 1517. The river which runneth by the Citie of *Valencia*, so shallow that somtimes there is scarce any water, on a sodain swelled, and overflowed the bankes in such manner, that it put those
of

of *Valencia* to the greatest shift and streight, that ever they had been reduced to in former ages. Manie daies and nights, was seen running along the streets a furious great Lyon, which made so hideous a roaring that the people ran trembling away from it, and if any had the courage to stay, and see what it would do, they could see nothing. Other strange sights were likewise reported to have been observed there in the yeares 1517, and 1518. You have heard how the Emperor, before his departure from the *Groyn*, appointed for *Vice-Roy* of *Valencia* *Don Diego de Mendoza*, son to the Cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, and brother to *Don Rodrigo Marquis* of *Cenete*. Who executing his command and charge in *Valencia*, whenas the people, already linked in a Confederacie, began to stand in a competition with the Nobles, to molest and prosecute the Gentry, abusing their servants and vassals with great audacitie and disrespect: It hapned that two *Morisco's* vwho belonged to *Don Ramon de Cardona*, Lord of *Castalla*, passing along the street of *Nuestra Senora de Gracia*, which was in that part of the Citie, where most of the meaner sort of people lived; Some Trades-men, that were working at their dores, flouted and laughed at them as they used to do, but the *Morisco's* answering them they presently rose in Arms, and cut one of them so grievously that hee died; And beeing about to kill the other also, who defended himself, a man by chance passing by (whose name was *Diego Pisador*, by trade a salt-maker) took compassion of the poor fellow, and did what hee could to defend him. Whereat those Towns-men were so incensed that leaving the other they ran after this *Diego Pisador*, following him quite through the Citie to his own hous (whither hee fled to save his life) and fell a storming it in a furious manner about mid daie, the officers of Justice not daring to gain-saie them. The Priests of *S^t Nicholas* Church (which was close by that hous) came forth all with the *Holie Sacrament*, at the nois of this Combustion, to pacifie the furie of the People, which their presence and intreaties did somewhat mitigate. But *Diego Pisador*, not holding himself secure in

Prodigious
signs in *Va-*
lencia.

The Confede-
rates of *Vales-*
cia.

his house, thought it a safer waie to take sanctuary in the Church; so being come down, the Priest that carried the *Sacrament*, took him next unto him, and so advanced towards the Church; which the people seeing, they violently ran again upon him, and killed him with their daggers. Upon this, came amongst them one *Avendanio* a Cloath-worker, who was the Autor and chief of this confederacie (it was thought) to hinder and keep them from doing mischief, but seeing that man so barbarously killed, hee went presently into a house, where hee burst and died miserably (some saie) for anger and grief, to see such excessive disorder. These and manie other such like outrages were done by the People of *Valencia*, before the Emperor departed, whereof his Majestie was advertised by the Nobles and Gentlemen of that Citie; and hee referred it to *Xeures*, but hee being more sollicitous for the transporting of his treasure, then the remedying of the troubles in *Spain*, neglected it. All that was ordered herein, was to remit the quelling and reducing that People to reason, to the care of the *Infante Dou Enrique*, Duke of *Segorbe*, but the People being launched into the depth of mischief, slighted his Autoritie; which manifestly declared the rebellion and pernicious intentions of that Confederacie. Soon after, a man condemned for haynous crimes being led along to execution, the People came out with Arms, and rescued him from the officers of Justice, abusing and ill treating them in a horrid manner. No Noblemen or Gentlemen could pass through the streets, but those of the Confederacie would deride and flout them with base reviling language. Inso-much that a Hat-maker's wife, dressing a Hat at the door, with her children about her, as some Gentlemen were going by, shee bid the children look at those men that passed there, and the boyes asking her why shee bid them look at them, shee answered, Because when you are grown up to bee men, you may say, that you have seen Gentlemen. This the woman said, because the Common People were then in the minde to destroie all the Gentry

Gentrie of the whole Kingdom root and branch. *Aven-
dano* the Cloth-worker beeing dead, the Confederates
chose another Captain, one of the same trade as the former,
his name was *Sorolla*, a pestilent audacious villain, who a-
mongst other wicked facts, went to the Citie Hall, when they
were consulting about the Election of *Jurates*, and with a
confident impudence told those of the *Regimiento*, in the name
of his *Confederacie*, that if they did not admit them to bee of the
Regimiento, those stones should flow with blood. And his
threats were accomplished; for they made their Election ac-
cording to the rights and custom of the Citie. Whereat the
people were so enraged, that they committed those outrages
which shall bee set down hereafter. In this distemper and ex-
travagant hare-brainedness, *Don Diego de Mendoza* found the
mindes of the people in *Valencia*, when hee came to bee their
Governor. *Sorolla*, *Vicente Periz*, one *John Caro*, and other lead-
ing men of the *Confederacie*, understanding that the Vice-Roy
had been fully informed of their demeanors, and of the state
of things, but yet dissembled the knowledg thereof out of fear,
considering what power and credite their *Confederacie* had
with the people: they conspired that *Sorolla* should hide
himself in his own house, and that the rest should go up and
down the Citie and acquaint all his friends and allies that the
Vice-Roy had sent for *Sorolla*, and that (as they were inform-
ed) hee either had already hanged him, or was then about it,
and that for manie respects, they ought not to let such a man
suffer, who was the defendor and maintainer of the publick
good. This report beeing thus cunningly spread through the
whole Citie, so incensed the people's mindes, that in an in-
stant all was up in Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying,
and in this manner they marched to the Vice-Roy's house, cry-
ing out, *Let the Vice-Roy die, if hee deliver us not Sorolla*. The Vice-
Roy, and some Gentlemen that were in the house at that time
with him, besides his servants, defended the windows and
doors, where the assault was hottest all daie long, and night
beeing com (as God would have it) a good woman one

of *Sorolla's* neighbors, who having seen him in his house, and hearing that the people were storming the Vice-Roy's Pallace for hanging *Sorolla*, shee went to the Bishop of *Segorbe*, who lived close by, and told him that shee had seen *Sorolla* safe and sound in his own house but a little before. Hereupon the Bishop went presently to *Sorolla's* house, which hee caused to be broken open, and finding where hee had hidden himself, hee chid him throughly for his mischievous villanie, but hee excusing himself, said, hee durst not go out of his doors. The Bishop immediately gave order to saddle his mules, and riding upon one himself, and *Sorolla* on the other, with manie Halbards attending him, hee carried him quite through the Citie to the Vice-Roy's house, to the end the people might see *Sorolla* was neither dead nor a prisoner in the Vice-Roy's house. The *Confederates* seeing him alive, with much joye they raised their siege, which had continued all daie and almost all night. After this they rescued a man likewise, condemned to death for hainous crimes, whom, in regard hee had manie friends and kindred in the Cite, the Vice-Roy had commanded to bee hanged as soon as he had confessed, lest his friends should petition for him before hee was dead. The thirteen *Sindicos* and *Sorolla* gave out, that this man was condemned, and to bee executed wrongfully, which the people hearing, went presently (all armed) to the prison and released him. Then beeing possessed that the Vice Roy was about raising men to subdue them, they environed his house, and put him to his shifts, that hee was forced to send his Ladie out of the Citie, and hee not daring to staie long after her, with much ado escaped, riding behinde another Gentleman upon a mule. Hee having left the Citie in this manner, all the Nobles and Gentry followed him with their wives and Children, retiring every one to their own houses. The Vice-Roy beeing of kin to the Earl of *Cozentayna*, carried the Vice-Queen to his house. The other Gentlemen having left their wives and children in secure places, with what arms, horses and men they could get together, repaired

Sindico's were officers which they had made amongst themselves.

paired som to the Vice-Roy, others to the *Infante Don Enrique*, and to the Duke of *Segorbe Don Alonso*, agreeing all unanimously to adhere to the Emperors service against the Rebels. All these Gentlemen's houses within the Citie, the people plucked down or burned, and plundered their goods; a thousand more abominable mischiefs they did, which I am ashamed to relate (so cruel and unruly is that Beast, the Common People when it hath broke the bridle. They armed all the slaves, and received manie *Moriscos* for souldiers. From *Cozentayna* the Vice-Roy went to *Xativa*; the Inhabitants of that Citie desired him to give them leav to muster upon *S^t Bartholomew's* daie, which hee denying, they marched out of the Citie in despite and contempt of him, and mustered before his face. The Vice-Roy hereupon, fearing a second trick of *Valencia*, retired into the Fort, which those of *Xativa* perceiving, they proclaimed, that no bodie, under pain of death, should furnish him with victuals, or anie provision whatsoever. Hereupon hee went from thence to *Denia*, becaus if hee was pursued by land, hee might escape thence by sea. Those of *Valencia*, hearing that the Vice-Roy was fled to *Denia*, after that *Xativa* had rebelled against him, resolved to seiz upon all the King's Revenues and Customs: which to effect, they went to the Custom houses and broke the Records, took away the Books, and spoke words which were worf then their deeds. Those of *Valencia*, seeing themselvs masters of the Citie, the Vice-Roy and all the Gentry beeing gone, they ordered the Government thereof. They appointed thirteen persons to govern and defend it, whom they call'd the *Thirteen of the Confederacie*. These Thirteen chose for the General of their Armie *John Caro*, (who was a Sugar-baker) and held intelligence with the whole Kingdom: Infomuch that assoon as the news was heard of the Rebellion of *Valencia* and *Xativa*, and that the Vice-Roy was fled, presently the Citie of *Oribuela* & the *Marquisat of Helche* did the like, and at length there was no Citie or Town but rebelled also, in imitation of *Valencia*, treating the Gentry and nobler Citizens with the like disrespect and tyrannie. And the Gentry, with

their servants, arms, goods, and all they could get, joined together in their King's service. So that (which is a thing wor-
 thie of note and esteem) there was not one Gentleman, nor
 person of any birth or qualitie through that whole Kingdom
 that sided with that vile *Commonaltie*, but valiantly and unani-
 mously ventured their lives and fortunes in their Prince's ser-
 vice, although hee was out of the Kingdom ; they suffered
 patiently their houses to bee pulled down, their goods to bee
 burned, their towns destroyed, and all to shew their fidelitie to
 their King. The Citie of *Orihuela* chose for their Captain one
Palomares, who made himself so absolute Lord of those
 people (beeing but a poor Serving man) that often-
 times hee drew out five thousand men into the field
 to fight, though hee paid dearly for it afterwards.
 The *Confederates*, having lost their respect to the Vice-Roy, a-
 greed to lose likewise the fear of God. They made a Conspi-
 racie amongst them, the result whereof was to rob and take
 away all the riches of the Monasteries and Churches. Which
 beeing discovered, the loial Partie desired *Don Rodrigo de Men-*
dosa Marquess of *Cenete*, to take upon him the Autoritie of the
 Justice for the King, which hee did, and like a good resolute
 Gentleman, hee hung up three or four of the chief Conspirators,
 and so the robberie which they intended was prevented, and
 the Citie quieted for certain daies. But soon after the Confe-
 derates marched into the field towards *Denia*, to drive the Vice-
 Roy out of the Kingdom. Ten thousand men in Arms *Va-*
lencia furnished to that effect. The Clergie with their Hoods
 upon their heads, and Crosses in their hands, stood all at the
 gate of *San Vicente*, and as the Confederates passed by them, the
 Priests and Friars said to them, Sirs! *Misericordia, Misericordia*;
 and they answered, swearing, *Cuerpo de Dios, Justicia, Justicia*.
 And indeed God's Justice did abundantly fall upon their
 heads ; for the greatest part of those that answered so, were ei-
 ther killed in battle, or executed by Justice afterwards. *John*
Caro and *Sorolla* were Captains of this Armie. The Confe-
 derates having the sole power and command of *Valencia*, *John*
Caro

Caro was sent with a sufficient force to besiege the Castle of *Corbera*, six leagues from *Valencia*, which while hee was battering with some peeces of Artillerie, *Don Geronimo Vique* (who at that time was at a Monasterie of Friers of the order of *San Geronimo*, half a league from the Castle) desired to speak with him, who, overcome with his persuasions and powerful reasons, raised his siege. Which the Thirteen of the *Confederacie* hearing, took the Office of Captain General from *John Caro*, and conferred it upon *Sorolla*. By this time the Vice-Roy, with some forces, which hee had raised, was come to *Gandia*, to succor the Castle of *Corbera*; And *Sorolla* with his Armie went seeking the Vice-Roy: as hee passed hee ruined and spoyled all the places, that belonged to *Don Geronimo Vique*, becaus hee had persuaded *John Caro* to leave the Castle. At last coming to *Gandia*, hee met with the Vice-Roy's Armie and gave them battle, wherein manie were killed on both sides, but at length the Confederates won the daie, and the Vice-Roy, with the Earl of *Oliva*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen that remained alive, were enforced to retreat to *Denia*, whither *Sorolla* with his men still pursued them. And beeing arrived at a town called *Vergel* (one league short of *Denia*) *Mossen Baltazar Vives*, Lord of that place, refreshed them, and afterwards conveyed them safe to *Denia*, where hee embarked for *Peniscolla*, whence they went to the town of *Morella*, where they raised more men. *Sorolla* returned to *Valencia*, where hee entered with his Armie very joiful and content with his conquest. By this time the Duke of *Segorbe* *Don Alonso de Aragon* was come into the field with above four thousand Foot, and divers gentlemen with their servants and others on horse-back, to the number of one hundred and sixtie, whereof was Captain *Don Jayme Ferrer*, son to *Don Luis Ferrer*, who was Lord Steward to the Queen *Donia Juana*, at *Tordesillas*. And beeing quartered at *Almenara*, a league and half from *Monviedro* with intent to besiege it, which was the strongest and most considerable Fort the Confederates had, but four leagues from *Valencia*; notice was given him that the enemy appeared with no less then
eight

eight thousand Foot and some Horſe, ſheſhed with their Victorie over the Vice-Roy, and recruited with many freſh men from *Valencia*. Whereupon the Duke ſent *Don Jayme* with the Horſe to diſcover, and according to his advice, hee would follow as ſpeedily as might bee with the Foot. This was carried with ſo much diſcretion and valor, that the Duke gave them an abſolute rout, leaving above five thouſand men dead upon the place, for which it is called to this daie, *The field of ſlaughter*. This Victorie reſtored the Kingdom, which if it had otherwiſe ſucceeded, the Common People had become abſolute Maſters without any contradiction. Things beeing in this condition, the *Vice-Roy* returned with a freſh ſupplie, and incamped his Armie about *Alcira* and *Xativa*; The People were ſomewhat amazed, and ſtartled at the rout the Duke had given them. Yet thoſe of *Alcira* and *Xativa* marched out very ſtrong to meet with the *Vice-Roy*, and finding him a league from the Citie, they gave him battle, the conflict was ſo hot, and ſo well maintained on both ſides, that it was hard to ſaie which had the advantage, the combate continued all daie, and at night both Armies beeing very wearie, and great ſtore of men hurt, they were both glad to retreat, ſeeking reſreſhment and medicaments to dres their wounded men. About this time the Cities of *Oribuela* and *Alicante*, with all the Towns and Places under their juriſdiction, aſſociated themſelvs with the People of *Valencia*. But all the Gentic and perſons of qualitie followed their Governour *Don Pedro Maſa*, who was inforced to quit thoſe two Cities, and the Caſtle of *Oribuela*, whereof hee was Governour. But *Don Jayme de Puyg*, a valorous Gentleman (who was Lievtenant of the Caſtle under the Governour) with fifteen or ſixteen men defended himſelf gallantly againſt the furie of the Common people, when in their violentest heat they killed, burned and ſacked the Gentlemen's houſes. The *Marquis de los Velez*, *Don Pedro Faxardo*, *Adelantado Mayor* (that is Lord Deputie or Lord Lievtenant) of the Kingdom of *Murcia*, having notice

notice of the rising of *Oribuela*, levied what force hee could, and marched to reliev the distressed Gentry, having order from the Emperor, to assist the Governor of *Oribuela* upon all occasions. *Don Pedro Maca* with his horse, being joyned with the *Marquis de los Velez*, the Common People of *Oribuela*, and the jurisdiction thereof, (who were above eight thousand) marched in pursuit of them to the top of a mountain, called *Rajolar*, with intent to give them battle, their intelligence assuring them that they were far the greater number. The Governor advised with the *Marquis* about relieving the Castle of *Oribuela*, which was in great necessitie, every one of his Troopers carrying in, a sack of provision behinde him, whilest the *Marquis* amused the enemy with skirmishes, for hee doubted not to bee back with him time enough to discomfit them. This was don accordingly, and being drawn up in *Batalia*, the *Marquis* secured the waie to the Castle, that the Governor might go thither with his Horse, and having put in his provisions, return to the battle, which was dexterously and successively effected, with the slaughter of above four thousand of the Rebels : So the *Marquis* cleared all the Countrey about *Oribuela*. But seeing how infected the whole Kingdom was, and what multitudes of people were com in to the Commoners, encouraged by their Victorie (for it is the nature of the Common people to follow the strongest partie) he advanced higher into the Countrey with his Armie, which daily increased, insomuch that before hee could reach *Valencia*, hee had above eleven thousand men and thirteen pieces of Ordnance, wherewith hee encamped at a place called *Paterna*, within sight of *Valencia*, and sent the Citie a Summons, which being surrendred upon Articles, and the Vice-Roy repossessed of his Command, the *Marquis* returned with his Armie to *Murcia*. After his departure, the Articles being not well performed, the Confederates retired themselvs to *Xativa*, where they chose for their Captain one *Vicente Perez* a fellow whose trade was to gather Acorns. They assaulted and entred the Fort, it being ill provided. Besides the aforementioned

Other Prodi-
gious signs in
Valencia.

tioned, there were divers strange presages in *Valencia* of these prodigious disorders; amongst others, upon a Tuesdaie the 27 of *Maie* in the evening, a Thunder-bolt fell upon a Church called *El Assen de Valencia*, which threw down one of the Pinnacles, and burst the Clock in pieces. Upon a Fridaie morning in the same month, fell a sudden storm of hail, with most terrible Thunder-claps, after which, in a ground betwixt the Countie of *Oliva* and Dutchie of *Gandia*, were found three stones (which fell from the skie) in colour and make like flints. *Fray Antonio de Guevara* Chronicler to his Imperial Majesty, and Bishop of *Mondonedo*, reporteth, that hee saw one of them hung in a chain in *Santa Maria* Church, a league from *Oliva*, which weighed no less then five and twentie pounds. The passage which I am now about to relate is so remarkable, that men cannot but admire the blindness which possessed the miserable people that affected these novelties and Insurrections. There was nothing more certainly known in *Spain*, then that the Prince *Don John* (onely issue male of his father and mother, the Catholick Kings, and immediate Heir to these Kingdoms) died at *Salamanca*, to the exceeding grief and resentment of his parents and all *Spain*, and in those daies there was no further scruple or question thereof. But since in the time of these unhappie Commotions, the Confederates of *Valencia* were so besotted, that a strange mean fellow of no account (who came in a fugitive manner out of *Africa*, and associated himself with them) that they received him, and beleiving, or seeming to believ him, to bee the Prince *Don John*, they swore allegiance to him, as King, and hee Comanded and ruled over them for two years, until hee met with the end hee deserved, as shall bee seen hereafter. In the year of our Lord 1512, a certain Merchant of *Biscaya*, named *Juan de Vilvao*, or *John of Bilbo*, went to trade at the Citie of *Oran*. In the ship which carried him and his commodities, hee light upon a passenger, who addressing himself to him, told him that hee could write and read in several languages, and that if hee pleased to give him any competent subsistence, hee

hee would bee glad to serv him as his factor, and teach his children; the Merchant entertained him, and took him on board with him at *Cartagena*, thinking himself the happiest man living, that hee had so luckily met with a man of such abilities to instruct his children and follow his business besides. This fellow was of a low stature, thin-faced, of a fallow complexion, hee had a terrible look, his eies beeing of a black and green color, little hair, and thin upon his head, his beard worst furnished; hee was a man of verie few words, in his Conversation somewhat too strict and austere, seemingly intemperate in his diet, a great eater, but drank little, hee spoke *Spanish*, *Arabick*, and *Hebrew*. It never was known directly who his father was, onely hee confessed, while hee was under the lash, that hee was a Jew's son, and that hee was Circumcised, but never Baptized, for his father carried him into *Barberie*, in the same year the Jews were driven out of *Castilla*. Hee remained in this Merchant's house until the year 1516, which was four years: and to ingratiate himself the more with his Master, hee told him, thenceforwards hee would call himself by his name *Juan de Vilvao*. But the Merchant having occasion to absent himself often from his house, leaving his wife, children, and goods, all in charge with this servant, one time at his return from *Castilla*, hee was told by his neighbors that *Juan de Vilvao*, his man, was a slepperie companion, and that in his absence hee was too familiar with his wife; others said, hee had abused his daughter. Hereupon without any further examination, hee turned him presently out of his house, not declaring anie occasion, or reason hee had for so doing, because hee could not have his servant punished otherwise, without bringing his own honor in question. At that time there was a young man *Corregidor* of *Oran*, who not knowing wherefore the Merchant had discarded his servant *Juan de Vilvao*, entertained him to bee his Steward. The *Corregidor* having a handsom young wench, which hee kept privately in his house,

Vilvao used all means possible to gain her acquaintance and affection, and withall to persuade her to learn witchcraft; for amongst other good qualities, this wicked fellow was a great Practitioner in Negromancie. The young maid being little pleased with his solicitations, resolved at last to acquaint the *Corregidor*, how hee importuned her, and that hee would persuade her to learn witchcraft, but chiefly that hee had made her promise to give him poison, that so they two might with more freedom enjoie each other's affection. The *Corregidor* was much startled and amazed hereat, for hee thought his hous and Paramour as secure with *Juan de Vilvao*, as if hee had committed her to the custodie of an Eunuch, and therefore hee did not absolutely credit her accusation of him; but afterwards observing with a more strict eie the carriage and demeanure of his Steward, hee was confirmed and satisfied of the truth, especially when hee found the spells and poison w^{ch} he was to use. Hee committed him to the publick Gaol, whence upon a market daie hee was fetch't out, set upon an Ass, with his sorceries about his neck, and whipped through all the principal streets of the Citie. The people were all astonished that hee should bee so close a villain, for every bodie had a very good opinion of him; After this, being banished *Oran*, hee returned into *Spain*, and dis-embarked upon the Coast of *Valencia*, just in the time of these disastrous troubles. Hee, by his juggling inventions, begat himself a great esteem and credit first amongst the Confederates of *Algecira*. Afterwards hee came to *Xativa*, under the name of *Don Henrique Manrique de Ribera*, and being a subtil Impostor, and the Confederates simple, and besotted with passion, hee wrought so much upon their blinde credulitie, that they made him their General, and by little and little hee so inveigled them that they held him for their God, and their King. *Vicente Periz* (who was Captain General of the Confederate Rebels of *Valencia*) made great submissions to him, saying, that God had sent him to give them libertie, and that hee would

would procure them much monie and arms. Those of *Xativa* adored him as their Redeemer, and called him *El Encubierto*, or the man disguised, saying, God had sent him for the redressing of the oppressed People. Hee made them believ that hee was the *Prince Don John*, Son to the Catholick King and Queen deceased, and that for certain secret causes and Revelations of God's Judgments, it was convenient for him not to be publickly known in the world for long time past, but now since the Kingdom's were in so distressed a condition, and in so great necessitie of their naturall King, to own and defend them, and settle them in the same peaceable Government, as they injoyed during his Father's Reign, hee desired to reveal himself unto them, and that it was God's will also. This those wretched Confederates beleiving, followed and honored him, as if hee had been their God. Thus having gained the affection and esteem of these Rebels, hee conferred with divers of the Citie of *Valencia*, of *la Huerta*, and other places thereabouts, inticing them to put in execution what that Tyrant, *Vicente Periz*, had already moved. Hee dealt likewise with some places of *Aragon*, and *Catalunia* (which were already tottering and half, at least, inclining to Commotion, ingaging them, that at the same instant (if possible) as hee should make his Attempts upon *Valencia*, they should all rise in arms, and secure those parts for him. Within *Valencia* hee had his intelligencers, and instruments, whom hee imployed to murder the Marquis of *Cenete*, then Governour of the Citie; These were so faithful to him in this treacherous design, that hee wanted not assistants to convey him over the walls into the Citie, whereby hee might the better contrive his plot, seeing the disposition of the place, and (having a more free communication with the inhabitants) allure and draw to his byas more complices, to strengthen his partie, and execute his wicked intention. This was so cunningly carried, that if God had not otherwise disposed it, the whole Kingdom at that time ran a notable hazard of being absolutely destroyed. The Citie of *Valencia*

*El Encubierto,*The notable
imposture of
Juan de Pilos.

(as I have told you) being in so miserable a condition, the Religious men, with other good and loial people, went to petition the Marquis of *Cenete* (who then was in the Camp) to take upon him the Government of that distressed Citie. Which hee did (like a noble man as hee was). The people expressed so much contentment and comfort in his presence, that in all the Monasteries and Churches, they sung with great solemnitie, the *Te Deum laudamus*, and all the bells rung out in testimonie of an universal joie. The Marquis was a man of such courage and resolution, that when, throughout the whole Citie of *Valencia*, no bodie durst so much as name *God*, *King* or *Justice*, hee took divers of the rebellious disturbers and hanged them. So that they began to bee affraid, and sculked in corners. Soon after having notice of a band of these Confederates, which were fled from *Valencia*, hee marched out against them, and meeting them about *Monviedro*, hee brought away their Colors, having routed and put them all to flight. Amongst divers great hazards which the Marquis ran of losing his life, by the insolence or treacherie of these Confederates, one I shall give in particular; A monstrous disorderly multitude of these wretches being gathered together in *Valencia*, fell like a furious storm upon the Marquis his hous, with huge clamorous out-cries and clashing of weapons, not understanding each other's minde, nor knowing what they would have. The Marquis hearing the nois, went down to quiet the tumult, being well provided and attended, but his Ladie seeing him engaged amongst a throng of such vile respectless people, and fearing lest hee should bee murdered by them, took such a fright, that her weak Constitution being not able to resist the violence of that sudden apprehension, shee presently expired. *Vicente Periz* Captain of the Rebels, with a numerous Armie intrenched himself and planted his Cannon within sight of *Valencia*, where hee remained som time: In his Camp hee had a bell, at the sound whereof a numberless gang of thieves, such as his Armie was composed of, ran out of the Citie to him: And had not the

Marquis

Marquis been very circumspect, without question they had surpris'd the Citie; but finding little probability of effecting their design upon *Valencia*, they marched towards *Monviedro*, thinking to make the Vice-Roy raise his siege thence, but within two daies after *Monviedro* was surrendered to him (which was of no small importance) for thereby hee had an open and free passage to receive succour out of *Castilla*. The Marquis hearing that the Confederates were marched towards *Monviedro* with their Cannon, and having intelligence of their intentions, followed them (but with no considerable force) and meeting some of his own foot companies, which having been much galled by their Cannon and small shot, were retreating towards *Valencia* quite disheartned, hee strove to encourage them as well as hee could, representing to them the service of God and their King; but prevailing not with them, however hee advanced and set upon the enemy, crying aloud, *Let the King live, and the Traytors die*, and without fear of their muskets or Cannon, which played fiercely upon him, hee charged into the midst of them, God (whose cause hee fought) preserving him, and striking their baser hearts with fear, insomuch that hee had them all at his mercie. Yet his nobleness and generosity was such (though they deserved it not) that hee commanded his men (who were very busie in killing) to forbear further execution, crying out, *Let them not die, let them not die*: having thus quite routed these Mutiniers, hee returned to *Valencia* with the spoil, and all their Artillerie, where hee was received with joy and tears. The Vice-Roy afterwards, being before *Xativa*, with intent to reduce it to the Emperor's subjection, the Rebels dealt so cunningly with some of his Souldiers (who sowed the same dissention in his Camp, as was within the Town) that by certain signs they understood each others intentions, and they agreed at one and the same time to fall upon the Loyall Partie, and murder them; and having taken their Artillerie, to storm *Valencia*, sack it, and kill all that were for the Emperor in it. This conspiracie was discovered,
but

but there was no remedie to hinder it, neither in the Vice-Roy's Camp, nor in *Valencia*; for the Confederates were very numerous and the Loyall Persons but a small Partie; The Marquis, at the intreatie of the honest people of *Valencia*, went to the Vice-Roy's Camp before *Xativa*, where hee found more disorder then was reported, and the infection less curable then hee imagined. The sign that these Conspirators had agreed upon, was, that in the night at a certain hour those of the Camp should cry out, *Paie, Paie, Mutinie, Mutinie*, and those within the Citie should answer, *Paie, Paie, Mutinie, Mutinie*. The Vice-Roy and the Gentlemen with him in the Camp, desired the Marquis to venter himself, and indeavor by going into the Citie, and reasoning with the people, to defer the execution of this horrid treason: Although it seemed an act of great timeritie (as indeed it was) for him to expose himself to the furie of a People so mutinous, and bent upon mischief, yet the Marquis valorously did as hee was required: And it was miraculous, how his presence and fair deportment pacified the inhabitants minds, and brought them to submit to reason. The Adversaries beeing mad at the good success the Marquis had wrought within *Xativa*, conspired how *Vicente Periz*, their Captain might secretly convey himself into the Citie, and gathering as manie of the people, as hee could, together, apprehend the Marquis. This was effected, and *Vicente Periz* with a multitude of well armed men went to assault the Marquis, who beeing but slenderly provided, and weakly attended, and seeing a Squadron of these thieves advance towards him, dissembled, and made as if hee knew them not, asking them thus, *Are you our friends? do you com to serv the King?* To which they answered neither yea, nor no, but seemed to be daunted at the very sight of the Marquis. Hereupon with much seeming affection hee spake aloud, *Nay then my boies, Viva el Rey, viva el Rey*; which said, hee fell upon them, and took away their Arms. Presently upon this the rest of the enemies discovered themselves, and began to fight, discharging
their

their Cross-bows and Musket-shots as thick as hail against the Marquis and his men, which the Marquis seeing, hee cried with a loud voice, *O you Traitors! now force is requisite; and* flinging down his staff, hee took a pike, and saying, *God preserv the King, and let the Traitors die;* hee fell in amongst them, fighting so desperately, that before his men could com to second him, hee had made them turn their backs, but at last being over-powered and wounded in the left arm, hee was taken prisoner, and carried by the people into the Castle, where at that time the Duke of *Calabria* was also prisoner, who received the Marquis with much honor. The Marquis was afterwards put into a Dungeon under *S^t George's* tower, where they kept him close prisoner som time, thinking thereby to make the Vice-Roy, his brother, condescend to what they listed: But at last hee was released, and perceiving the Countrie to bee infected beyond hope of remedie, hee retired to his own hous. Those of *Valencia* found a great miss of him, and seeing most of the people of the Citie becom of the Confederacie, *Vicente Periz* having possessed himself of *la Huerta*, and other places thereabouts, the *Jurates*, and Chapter of the Church called *el Assen*, sent to beseech him, that hee would bee pleased to condole the miserie of that Citie, and bee tender of the King's service. The Marquis was at *Ayora*, a town of his, & upon receipt of this message, hee took his waie towards *Valencia*. Thursdaye 27 *Februarie*, 1522, the Tyrant *Vicente Perez*, trusting to the multitude of his partie within the Citie, took the boldness to enter into *Valencia*, with intention to plunder it, and kill all that should resist him, and having intrenched and fortified himself within the walls to that effect, it struck great terrour into the loial partie. But the Marquis, well Armed, came to a large place, called *la Placa del Assen*, and caused to bee rung that bell, which they used to ring in Uproars, to the end all those of the loial partie might repair thither to him; where hee staid until noon, having used all fair means possible to pacifie without blood-shed the advers partie; but seeing nothing could avail, hee took a view of his men, and what

Arms they had; and finding his no competent force to encounter *Vicente Periz*, who had made himself very strong; hee betook himself to his invention and policie, which succeeded so advantagiously, that *Vicente Periz* came short of his design, all his men beeing dis-banded, and returned to their own dwellings. This was a happie daie for *Valencia*, for if *Periz* his plot had taken, hee had been absolute master of the whole Citie; and ever after, that daie was called the Thursdaye of *Vicente Periz*: Yet staying within the Citie hee rallied again, and what with those of *Valencia*, what with the fresh supplies which were sent him from *Xativa*, and *Algezira*, by the disguised Prince *Don Juan*, or *Juan de Vilva*, who went thither to that purpose: Hee was so strongly recruited, that hee gave the Marquis Battle in the streets of *Valencia*, and had won the daie undoubtedly, if the Marquis had not shewed as much policie as resolution. In the Combate the Marquis pursuing *Vicente Periz* (who was glad to take his heels) was knocked down by a great pot full of earth, which a woman flung from the top of a hous upon his head, which though it killed him not out-right, did stun and bruise him very sore: Hee was presently taken up again by his servants, but his partie supposing him to bee dead, lost courage, and withal the advantage they had gained of the enemy: which hee perceiving, as soon as hee was com again to himself, ran amongst them, saying, *If the Marquis bee dead, the King is alive.* These words put new vigor into the hearts of his despairing men, who following the Marquis, gave a fresh charge to the Confederates, so hot, that they were glad to hous themselves, which proved no Sanctuarie, for there they were killed and taken, not beeing able to make resistance. *Vicente Periz* had his head presently struck off. This Victorie quieted the Citie of *Valencia*, vvhich vvas so infected vwith the poison of Rebellion, that in the very Cloisters and Monasteries, there was as much division and passion as elsewhere; insomuch that one part praied God to favor the Confederates, the other to give the Cavaliers the Victorie. The disguised Prince expected a quite

quite contrarie success, hoping by the death of the Marquis, and the routing of his partie, to reign victoriously in *Valencia*, but God, who had otherwise decreed the Event, made him likewise fall into the hands of the Marquis the 19th of *Maie*, *Juan de Vitoac,* or the disguised Prince executed by the Marquis of *Ce- nete* in *Valen- cia.* 1522, who commanded him to bee hanged, drawn and quartered, and his head to bee set upon the point of Lance. And thus that villanous head was crowned, who of an infamous Jew, and abominable Sorcerer would have made himself King of *Spain*. After this grew several other Commotions in that Kingdom, but nothing near so dangerous; which I shall omit now to particularize, in regard I am called away by those of *Castilla*.

SECT. XXXVI.

THE Earl of *Salvatierra*, and other Mountaniers, infected the people of the Mountains of *Burgos*, as far as *Alava* and *Vitoria*, with other places of *la Rioja*; and *Burgos* was very near revolting also. All which was opposed by the Lord High Constable, not becaus the Emperor commanded him so to do (for hee received no orders from his Majestie to that effect till afterwards) but moved with the magnanimitie of his own generous spirit, and the sens of Loialtie, which was Hereditarie to that noble familie. I do not finde that any of the *Grandees* of *Castilla* were very forward to break the ice in this undertaking, though afterwards, like honest men, they all set their helping hands. The Lord High Constable at first prudently feared the Event, and was loth to engage himself in so perilous an enterprize, hazarding no less then his life and whole estate, in endeavouring to oppose so manie, especially without arms, monie, or order from the Emperor. For the enemies were very manie and powerful, no less then thirteen of the most considerable Cities of *Castilla*, with divers other Towns and Villages, beeing declared for the Commonaltie;

besides that many Gentlemen of qualitie & great estates (much animated against the Emperour and his Ministers) had involved themselves in the same Interest. It was an attempt of so much consideration and danger, that the other Grantees thought it the best way (seeing they were not able to do otherwise) to sit still and look on, and many of them advised the Lord High Constable to do the like. But his Ladie *Donia Maria de Tovar*, onely daughter and heir to *Don Luis de Tovar*, Marquis of *Berlanga*, being one of the discreetest and most magnanimous Ladies in all *Spain* of her time, was not of the opinion of those that gave her husband that Counsel; but she never ceased, representing to him the advancement of his Majestie's service, and that for the good of the Kingdom, hee ought to resist and suppress the exorbitances of the insulting Commoners, although hee put himself to the hazard of losing both life and fortune, in regard hee bare the Office of *Lord High Constable*, *Captain General*, and the second person of the Kingdom next his Majestie. The Dutchess being at her own house at *Haro*, wrote to the *Lord High Constable*, her husband, this ensuing Letter, which is worthie to be Chronicled.

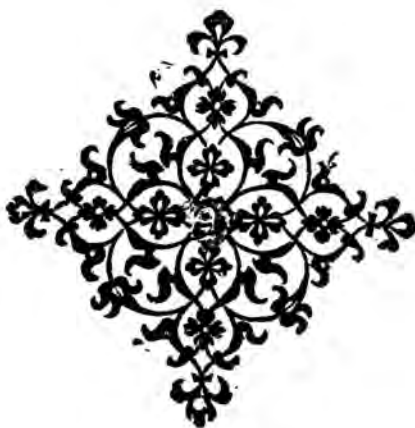
The Dutchesse's letter to the Lord high Constable.

Your Letter I received by *Pedro de Velasco*. And my opinion is, since his Majestie from the place where hee is doth what hee can, to give you his power and Revenue here, That you determine to preserve it. For if hee lose his right, no wonder if you, and all those, that have done what they were obliged to do, be dispossessed of your's; But if you maintain his interest, you and his other Servants will be all secured. That which (in my judgment) your Lordship and the Lord Admiral are now to do, is to raise men and monie with all possible expedition and trie your fortunes. I write to *Pedro de Melgosa* to use all means and shifts, that may be, to procure you monie. The greater the danger, more glorious is the attempt. Trust in our Lord God, for since herein you doe both him and the King service, be confident

fidet hee will bee favourable, and give a blessing to your indeavors. So, becaus I intend to write more at large to you by the Treasurer, I rest, praying God to preserv your Lordship's most Illustrious person, with more tenderness then I wish to my self. From Haro this 19th of June, 1520.



Finis Libri Tertii.





THE
 CIVIL WARS
 OF
 SPAIN.
 THE
 FOURTH BOOK.

SECT. I.



Here is no Republick, or Change of Government whatsoever so barbarous, as to bee ignorant how important and necessarie a Cement Concord is to make it long subsist. Wherefore those of the *Junta* dreading (and not without cause) the danger wherein they stood, desired the Citie of *Valladolid* to agree and bee all of one heart: for the high consequence of the matter wherein they were engaged, did require it, promising them that within fevv daies they should see the Ordinances

Ordinances, which with incessant labor and watching, the Holie *Junta* had agreed to publish and dispers through the whole Kingdom, whereby they hoped to make that Republick flourish, as one of the most happie and best governed in the whole world. The people were big with glorious hopes of injoying a second golden Age; and those of the *Junta* were so well pleased with the thanks and applaus of the People, that their Ordinances beeing finished; they resolved to send them to the Emperor, by two Gentlemen and a Frier, not doubting but therefore his Majestie would confer som honorable dignities upon them. But what these were, I will not mention, onely I may say, that hee was so incensed at their message, that they held it a great mercie they escaped with their lives. They wrote moreover a kinde of requisitorie letter for the Cities and Towns where their Embassadors were to pass, and therein they inclosed their Letters to the Emperor, with the Articles and Ordinances, which in the name of the Kingdom, they desired his Majestie to confirm; and though already I have declared the substance thereof, I will set them down in the same form they sent them; that the curious and patient may read and see the pretensions of the Commonalties, and what the Kingdom demanded. Let every one judg what reason they had, for my own part, I will neither excuse nor condemn them, but onely relate faithfully the truth, which is as much as can bee required of mee, considering my office. In their Letters to the Emperor, they give his Majestie an account of all the troubles and insurrections of the Kingdom, which they told him, proceeded from the evil Counsel which his Majestie entertained about his Roial Person, who, for their disordinate Covetousness, private passions and interests, besides other sinister ends (they said) might more properly bee styled the Deceivers, Cheaters, and Enemies of his Majestie's Kingdoms, and the publick good thereof, then Counsellors, such as they ought to bee. For they were the occasion that the Kingdom of *Castilla*, which abounded in riches, and all other things that could bee required of the most opulent

lent and flourishing Kingdoms of the World, was now become the poorest and most miserable of all the neighboring Kingdoms : Which did not onely concern the publick, but was also particularly prejudicial to his Majestie's Roial Patrimonie, and which was insufferable, That the desolation of his Majestie's Kingdoms, and the exhausting of his treasure, to his own exceeding inconvenience, and the ruine of his subjects, was to no other purpose, then to enrich his evil Counsellors, and divers other persons strangers, who bare no affection to his Majestie, nor had any zeal to advance his service, or the publick good, but to build their own fortunes. Next they complained that the Commissioners of several Cities (who desired his Majestie in the name of the Kingdom, at *Santjago* and the *Groyne*, not to demand any Subsidies) were by his Counsel sentenced rather worthie of punishment then audience, and order given, that they should not bee admitted to sit in Parliament, but bee confined and banished, som of them to the remotest parts of the Kingdom. That since his Majestie's departure out of the Kingdom, the Cardinal, with the President, and rest of the Council, had given Commissions to *Antonio de Fonseca*, and the *Alcalde Ronquillo*, to sack and make desolate the Citie of *Segovia*, notwithstanding they sent to excuse and submit themselves to the Council, and that because of their so rigorous proceeding, they sent to *Toledo*, and other Cities, for assistance, who before they raised any forces to succour them, desired the Cardinal and Council by waie of Petition to deal more favorably with those of *Segovia*, but receiving no satisfactorie answer, they sent an Armie into the field. They aggravated the crueltie of *Antonio de Fonseca* in burning *Medina*, whereby the Town was endammaged above two millions of Ducates, and which occasioned the rising of divers other places. They declared how the Queen had commanded the *Junta* to remove from *Avila* to *Tordesillas*. That they had undertaken the care of the Queen's person, and put the Marquis of *Denia* and his Ladie from her, holding them destructive to the advancement of the publick good. They alleged reasons
for

for dissolving the Council, which his Majesty had settled before his departure. And why they paid their Armie out of his Majesty's Revenues. At last they desired his Majesty would be pleased to grant and confirm all those Articles, which their Embassadors should present him from the Kingdom, the intent and scope of them being meerly for his good, and the peaceable Government, by regulating and repairing the miseries and great dammages that had been occasioned through the evil Counsel of those, which thitherto had abused and misled his Majesty; urging moreover, that for the benefit of the Publick, and the improving of his Roial Patrimonie, it was necessarie and expedient, that until such time as his Majesty should appoint other persons of better temper, and uprighter intentions to reside in his High Council then the former were, his Majesty should give power to those Cities and Towns, which had Vote in Parliament, to provide and see to the Administration of Justice, and other things wherein those of his Council ought to have been more circumspect and moderate. And also, that hee would revoke the Commissions and Autoritie which hee had sent to the then-ruling, Governors, because they were men whom the Kingdom could not endure. Besides this letter to the Emperor, they sent another to those of the Citie where hee then was, desiring them to join with them in supplication to his Majesty, and procure his consent and approbation of all the Kingdom's desires, in regard they tended to his Majesty's service, the publick good of the Kingdom, the increasing of his Roial Patrimonie, and were exceedingly conducing to a peaceable and quiet government. Dated from *Tordesillas* the 20th of *October*, 1520. Under the the Letter was written, I, *Lope de Palares*, Secretarie of the Parliament and *Junta* of the Kingdom, caused this to be written by their Command.

S E C T. II.

ARTICLES OF THE KINGDOM.

DON CARLOS and DONIA JUANA, &c. To our *Infantes*, well-beloved Children, Brothers and Dukes, Greeting. Know yee, that for the remedying and repairing the great dammages and exorbitancies, which have been and are in our Kingdoms of *Castilla* and *Leon*, by reason of the former evil Counsel and Government of our said Kingdoms, The Commissioners or *Procuradores* of those Cities and Towns that have Vote in Parliament, are assembled as becometh our Loial Subjects and Servants, with zeal to our service and the publick good of our Kingdoms, fulfilling that which the Laws of our Kingdoms oblige them to do; And by special Command from us, the Queen, are com to *Tordesillas*, to take care and provide for the reparation and remedie of the said dammages and exorbitancies; To which effect they have made and ordeined certain Articles, which are conducing and expedient for our service, the good Government of the Kingdom, and the increasing of the Revenue and Partrimonie Roial. The Tenor whereof is as followeth:

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE CATHOLICK PRINCES, QUEEN AND KING
OUR SOVEREIGNS,

That which the Cities, Towns, Villages, Commonalties, and Natives of your Kingdom of *Castilla* and *Leon*, do desires your Majesties will bee pleased to grant for a perpetual Law, is here ensuing:

That which concern's his MAJESTIE'S ROIAL PERSON.

First, These Kingdoms humblie supplicate your Majestie will bee pleased speedily to return into these Kingdoms, and beeing com, to remain ruling and governing them. For staying

staying here your Majestie may give Laws and Command over the whole World, as your Predecessors have done: And nothing of all that which they desire of your Majestie will bee so pleasing to these Kingdoms (although you should grant them much more, for they hope your Majestie will condescend to all these things) then your speedie coming to them. For it is not the custom of *Castilla*, to bee without their King, neither can they bee governed by others in peace and quiet, which is very necessarie for your Royal service.

Item, These Kingdoms humbly beseech your Majestie at your return, to bee pleased to marrie, it beeing necessarie for the universal good of these Kingdoms, that there should bee some issue to succeed your Royal Person, as they desire, your Majestie's age now requiring it. And that you would bee pleased to take a wife according to the Vote and good liking of these your Kingdoms, for so shee shall bee of some Countrie in amitie with them, as is most convenient for your service and the contentment of your Royal Person.

That which concern's the Royal Familie.

THAT our Ladie and Sovereign the Queen's Royal house bee put in such order and estate, as is becoming her Royal Person, and the honor of these Kingdoms. That the Officers about her bee persons of qualitie. That her house bee sufficiently provided of all thing befitting her dignitie, for so her Highness will bee well pleased with these Kingdoms, and they obliged.

Item, That his Majestie would bee pleased at his return into these Kingdoms, to bring neither *Flemings*, *French*, nor other strangers whatsoever, to bear any Office in his Royal Familie. But that hee would confer all such Offices upon Natives of these Kingdoms, there beeing multitudes of able and sufficient persons, who will serv his Majestie with much affection and loyaltie, and that his heirs and successors for ever should continue the like order.

Item, That neither his Majestie, nor his successors, bring in,

or entertain any forreign souldiers for the guard of their Persons or defens of their Kingdoms, in regard there are warlike and courageous men enough amongst the Natives, not onely to defend their own Countrie, but to conquer others, as they had done heretofore.

Item, That his Majestie beeing in these Kingdoms, and having none but Natives about him, would bee pleased to order his Familie in all respects as *Don Fernando*, his grandfather, and *Donia Isabel* his Queen, and the rest of the Catholick King's, his Progenitors of glorious memorie, had done before him. For in so doing hee would save a number of unnescessarie expences which were made in his table and household; and this would palpably appear, for his Majestie will find that in the dishes for his own table, and those that are made for the favorites and great persons of his familie, is daiely spent one hundred and fiftie thousand *Maravediz*, and that the table-expences of *Don Fernando* the King and *Donia Isabel* (who were excellent and powerfull Princes) besides the Prince *Don John* (whom God receiv in his glorie) and the *Infantes*, with a multitude of attendants, amounted to no more then twelv or fifteen thousand *Maravediz*, *per diem*. And hence proceed's his Majestie's wants, and the impoverishing of the People and Commonalties, by subsidies and other taxes imposed upon them.

Item, In regard it hath been, and is a very excessive charge, to allow wages to such as are not domestick's, That henceforwards there bee no Salaries given to any Courtier's wives, or children, or any other persons whatsoever, not in immediate service, or shortly to bee entertained and admitted. But if any man should die in his Majestie's service, in satisfaction or equivalence thereof, hee might allow a pension or stipend to the wife or children of the deceased, although they bee not of age to serv.

Item, In regard after the most Illustrious Queen, our Ladie *Donia Isabel* his Majestie's Grandmother, was taken with the sickness, whereof shee died, divers superfluous offices were crept

crept into the Royal Familie, which never were before, That whosoever enjoyed any such office or offices, might forthwith bee discarded, and bee allowed no Salarie : And all such superfluous expences bee employed for necessarie uses, more conducing to his Majestie's service.

Item, That in his Majestie's household no Grandee might have any office concerning the Revenue or Royal Patrimonie, and if any enjoy any such office at present, that it maie bee taken from them. For this is very inconvenient, and maie greatly impaire the said Patrimonie and Royal Revenue.

Item, That during his Majestie's absence from these Kingdoms his household officers, and other persons, who have relation or attendance upon his Majestie, bee payed out of the Royal Revenue.

Concerning GOVERNORS.

T*Hat,* In regard in his Majestie's absence it is requisite to have one or more Governors in the Kingdom, such Governor or Governors might bee Natives of the Kingdoms of *Castilla* and *Leon*, appointed and chosen with consent of the Kingdoms, and that with their beeing Natives may concur the other qualities, which by the Law established by the King *Don Alonso*, called, *Ley de La Partida*, is required. That the said Law may bee observed and fulfilled to perpetuities; As also the Order of Election and Provision, with the Conditions which dispose in what case a Governor or Governors are to bee chosen, as in respect of minoritie, absence, or whatsoever other occasion.

Item, that the Provisions, Orders or Commissions which his Majestie had given in those Kingdoms, contrarie to the above specified form, might be declared void, and that hee would command those and every of those Governors, whom hee had authorized, to forbear the execution of that office.

Item, that the Governor or Governors, beeing constituted in the abovesaid manner and form, may bee invested with power to confer dignities, offices, administration of Justice,

and to redress grievances : And this not onely in the Kingdoms of *Castilla*, but also in the Isles and firm land already discovered, or to be discovered, and that they provide them within ten daies. *That* they may present Dignities and places Vacant, and do as much therein, as the King himself in person, but not give any gift or gratuitie out of the Royal Patrimoine, nor any thing thereunto belonging.

Concerning BILLET S.

THe lodging by Billets (which is practised nowhere neither amongst Infidels nor Christians, but in this Kingdom) being a thing most exorbitant, and whence have proceeded and do proceed inconveniences and damages so excessive, that a small volume cannot contain them, and his Majesty's subjects suffer thereby not a little, as well in their honors and lives, as in their estates, *That* for ever henceforth they may be freed from so abominable and prejudicial a servitude. And that in these Kingdoms no such Billets be given in any kinde, neither by the King's themselves, nor any Lords, Noblemen or Prelates whatsoever, and in case any should be given, *That* the People may not be obliged to accept of them, unless with their own consents, they paying for their lodgings, as shall be agreed upon with the owners or inhabitants of the houses, whither such Billets shall be brought or directed. But in his Majesty's progresses, *That* lodging and linnen should be allowed *Gratis* for those of his household and Court, so that hee exceed not the term of six daies in one place, which expired, they should paie for their lodging according to the ordinarie rate and custom. Likewise, *That* the Souldiers of the Guard should have free quarter after the usuall manner.

Item, *That* their Majesty's the *King's*, *Princes*, and *Infantes*, his predecessors, had given and allotted convenient lodgings for their Royal Persons and Familie, and to the number of seventie, but no more, for the officers which were of necessity to be near the Palace were appointed in the same Citie,

or

or Town where the Court was, and in such houses as the Council, Justice and Regidores of the said place should finde convenient and suitable to the conditions and qualitie of the persons to bee lodged, and the said seventie lodgings to bee paid according as the said Council, Justice and Regidores should rate or tax them. And that for paiment hereof, all the Cities, Towns, Villages, or Burroughs should contribute without exemption, according to the cessment made by the said Council, Justice and Regidores, without troubling or asking leav of his Majestie, insomuch that under colour thereof, there should bee no more cessed or gathered, then what the rent of the said lodgings would amount to, under penaltie of the Law.

Item, That these lodgings which are allowed for his Majestie's familie, are not intended for those of the Council, for the Alcaldes of his hous and Court, nor the Alguaziles, or other Judges or Officers whatsoever, nor the High Treasurers, or any such like, for these are to paie for their lodgings, by the order and form before mentioned.

Item, That his Majestie, or the Kings or Princes his Successors, might not giveanie Billets in general or particular, or other Command whatsoever, that the Inhabitants of such Cities, Towns, or Villages should furnish lodgings, contrarie to their own wills and consents: And that in case any such Billet general, or particular, by waie of intreatie or command, should bee given, it might bee received with respect, but not fulfilled, neither the Owners or Inhabitants of the said houes bee obliged to accommodate the bearers thereof.

*Concerning Customs, Taxes, the Revenues Roial, Pole-monie,
and Fee farms.*

THAT the Customs and Thirds which belong to the Crown, may bee reduced to the same number and quantitie as they were instituted by the Catholick King *Don Fernando* and *Donia Isabel*, Anno 1494. That at the same rates and value all the Cities, Towns, Villages, with their several Lordships and Leases of Abbie-lands, may remain taxed for ever,

ever, and no higher : for they may not bee raised nor abated at anie time, since such was the pleasure of the most Illustrious Queen *Donia Isabel*, our Ladie and Sovereign, as appear's by her last Will and Testament. And it is better for the augment of the Roial Revenue, as well as the good of the kingdom, for there was more gold and silver brought to his Majestie's Exchequer by the simple Penie-rents, then by these racking enhancements, considering the breaches and failings which have been, and are amongst those that farm the Subsidies, neither is that burthenfom to the kingdom.

Libranças, are assignments of monie.

Item, That the people may take in the said perpetual Tax, the said Customs and Thirds, and be obliged to rent the *Situados* that there was upon the said Customs and Thirds, restoring to their Majesties the over-plus, having paid the *Situados* and rights at the accustomed places and summons. By this means their Majestie's servants and retainers would bee duly paid, and all those bribes and selling of *Libranças* would bee saved, neither would there be any need of so many Officers, & their Majesties might spare great sums of monie, much wages, and a multitude of discharges, or bills of receipt, which were given to Officers more then needed.

Puertos secos, are Customs paid at the going in or out of everie several Kingdom in Spain by Land.

Maestrazgos, are the places of the Masters of the orders of Knighthood in Spain.

Item, That the Queen and King, our Sovereigns, and their Successors in these kingdoms, bee contented for ever to have and raise their Customs, by and according to the fore-mentioned imposition, and no otherwise, in regard so they are certain, and not variable, neither will there bee anie thing diminished of the Revenue, there still accruing to the Crown other profitable rights, as Fines, Confiscations of goods, the Salt-pit-rents, the Mountain-Tributes, Subsidies, Customerships, and *Puertos secos*, besides curreant monie, taxes, and ordinarie payments of the kingdom, with the rents of *Maestrazgos*. And that which com's from the *Indies*, Isles and Firm-land amount's to so great a sum, that thereby his Majestie may sufficiently maintein his state, without pressing the Kingdom in Parliament, and out of Parliament, to grant any other extraordinarie Subsidies, whereby the people is much aggrieved, and their

their Roial Consciencs can bee no less burthened with the oppression and great dammages of these kingdoms.

Item, That all the Inhabitants of the Cities, Towns, Villages, Burroughs and Lordships, may enjoie the said perpetual taxes in general, that none amongst them may rent or farm any particular part thereof at a higher rate then the said taxes, nor that anie more sesments bee made amongst the Inhabitants of the said places, then what shall bee necessarie for the recovering and gathering of the said taxes.

Item, that everie Citie or Town that is chief of the Countie, do caus a Chest to bee set in som secure place, wherein they may put or gather the Roial Revenue, and that they see to and provide, that which shall bee necessarie for the estate of the Kingdom; And chiefly to have a care that the Queen, our Sovereign Ladie's familie, bee maintained and furnished with all things suitable to the Dignitie of her Royal Person, and the honor of the Kingdoms, next, to paie the Searchers, Counsels and Chanceries, with other ordinarie offices of the Kingdom, and beeing payed, that it remain stated in the offices of the *Puertos Secos*, mountain-Tributes, and Customerships, and (in case any bee wanting) in the hous of the *Contratacion* of *Sevilla*; And the remainder of the Revenue and Royal Patrimonic to bee kept in the treasure, and delivered to his Majestie, when it shall pleas God that hee return into this Kingdom, or to supplie his necessities, and those of the Kingdom, if any real and urgent occasion doth require it.

Item, That the residue, or any thing that is unpaied of the Revenue, after ten years, may not bee farmed or recovered. For by recovering debts of so long standing, may arise great extorsions and grievances on the Natives of the Kingdom, or their sureties, children and heirs, who after so many years can not, perchance, produce the discharges and acquittances that had been given.

Concerning Commissioners or Burgeses of Parliament, Subsidies.

That the Subsidie granted to his Majestie by some Commissioners at the Parliament in the Citie of the *Groyne*, bee neither demanded nor received, nor any other imposed hereafter ; Nor that any other impositions, or tributes, extraordinarie bee layed upon the Kingdom by their Majesties, or any of their Successors.

Item, That when any Burgeses or Commissioners are to bee sent to Parliament, the Custom of each Citie is to bee observed in the state of the *Regimiento* ; moreover, one is to bee sent from the Chapter or Clergie, another from the state of the Gentry, a third from the State of the Commonaltie, and every State to elect and nominate their Commissioner severally in a distinct assembly ; Which Commissioners are to bee payed by their own Citie or Town, except the Commissioner of the Clergie, who is to bee maintained by the Chapter.

Item, When any Parliament is called, and the Cities and Towns, which have Vote, bee summoned to send their Commissioners, That their Majesties, or any their Successors, in these Kingdoms, send not to the said Commissioners any Power, Instruction, or Command, in what manner and form their Powers are to bee granted, nor appoint or nominate any particular persons to bee Commissioners : But that such Citie or Towns may have free libertie to grant Powers according to their own sence, and to such persons, as they shall think most convenient for the good of their Republick.

Item, Wheresoever the Parliament bee assembled, That the Commissioners may have the freedom to meet, confer and discours with one another, as often as they shall think good, and that no President bee ordered to com amongst them, for that would hinder them from attending to those things, which particularly concern the Cities, and the good of the Republick, which they represent.

Item, that during the time of the Commissioners beeing at Parliament, nor before or after their return to their houses, as
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having been, or beeing Commissioners in the said Parliament, they may not receiv directly or indirectly, under what colour or pretence soever, any present or gratuitie from their Majesties, or their Successors, in these kingdoms, of what value or qualitie soever, neither for themselves, their wives, children or kindred, under pain of death, and confiscation of goods: which goods may bee employed for the publick reparations of the Citie or Town, whereof any such Delinquent was Commissioner. For they beeing free from Covetousness, and without hopes of receiving any bribes in that nature, will bee more attentive and zealous for the service of God, the King, and the publick, and more careful to perform what was encharged them by their Towns and Cities.

Item, that the Commissioners may onely have the bare stipend, which shall bee allowed them by their Cities or Towns, and that the said stipend or Salarie bee competent, according to the condition and qualitie of the person, and the place from whence hee is employed as Commissioner; And that this Salarie bee paid out of the proper Inhabitants Revenue of each Town, or Citie, that doth send the said Commissioner, according as they shall bee taxed by the *Council, Justice, and Regidores* of the said place.

Item, that the said Commissioners may choof and entertain one or more Lawyers beeing at Parliament, as they see occasion, to whom the Cities or Towns are to paie a competent Salarie, but may change them as often as they pleas. And that the said Lawyer may not demand or receiv any gratuitie from their Majesties, or other person, in their names (as is above instructed and ordered for the Commissioners) neither may any Lawyer at all bee entertained by the Commissioners, but with the good liking and consent of the Kingdom.

Item, that their Majesties would revoke and declare to bee void all gratuities of what qualitie soever, which were given to the Commissioners of the last Parliament, held in the Kingdom of *Galicia*, and that neither they, nor their wives, children, heirs or Successors, may injoie any part or parcel thereof,

under penaltie of losing their goods, for the publick reparations of the Citie, or Town, whereof they were Commissioners.

Item, that thenceforwards to perpetuities, the Cities and Towns, that have Vote in Parliament, may meet and assemble every three years by their Commissioners, who are to be chosen out of the three States (as is aforesaid). And that it may be done in the absence, and without licence from their Majesties, or the succeeding Kings; to the end, that being so assembled, they may procure and see, that the Contents of these Articles be punctually observed; and that they may discourse of, and provide other things which may be expedient for the service of the Roial Crown, and the publick good of the Kingdoms.

Item, that the said Parliament being ended, the said Commissioners may be obliged within fourtie daies, to return to their Cities, or Towns, and give an account of what they had done in the said Parliament, under pain of losing their Salarie, and being deprived of their Office, which their Majesties might dispose as vacant.

Concerning Coin.

T*hat* no monie be transported out of these Kingdoms, either Gold or Silver, coined or to be coined: Since it is forbidden by the Laws of the Kingdom, under pain of death, confiscation of goods, and other Penalties. For the contrarie having been done, especially since his Majestie's coming into these Kingdoms, the Countrie is impoverished and destroyed.

Item, That forthwith monie be coined in these Kingdoms, of a different rate and value, then that of the neighboring Countries, and that it be of a base alloy two Caratts under the rate of the finest Gold, which may countervail in weight and value the Crowns of Gold that are made in France; By which means it will not be carried out of the Kingdom. Alwaies provided, that whosoever should be indebted any quantitie

quantitie of *Maravediz*, before the time of publication of the new coined monie, might bee obliged to make paiment in the coin, which was then currant, or to make up the value thereof in monie of the later stamp.

Silver Coined.

T*Hat* a mark of Silver out of the Mint may bee of the just value of two thousand two hundred and fiftie *Maravediz*, and no more.

Copper Monie.

T*Hat* new copper monie may bee coined, and in regard too much Silver mixed with it is but lost, into everie Mark should bee cast onely the quantitie of one of the new Ryals.

Item, That the monie of Silver mixt and Copper, which is made in other Countries, is much less worth then it passeth for in this Kingdom, and the profit and gain thereof remaineth in forreign Nations, who carrie away our Gold for their base monie. *That* six months beeing expired after the coining of the said new monie, publick proclamation might bee made to prohibit the taking or receiving any of the said forreign mixt Silver and Copper monie.

Item, That the old monie which is now currant, in no wise may bee made away, given, or sold out of the Mint-hous, directly or indirectly, at any higher rate then now it goe's, under penaltie that whosoever shall bee defective herein, may lose his monie and third part of his estate, to the end that it may bee all coined, to make new monie.

Item, In regard before the new monie bee all coined, and especially in the beginning, those who make a trade of transporting monie out of the Kingdom, may indeavor, and bee apt to convey much away, *That* new searchers may bee placed in all Ports, by Sea and Land, and such as may applie their whole care and diligence to the well executing of this particular, and nothing elf, provided, they bee persons of

trust. And that whoſoever ſhall bee found guiltie of this fact, may bee puniſhed and condemned to death (if convinced) without any further proceſs, *That* there may bee no reclaiming or remiſſion of this penaltie and puniſhment, but if thoſe who are incharged therewith, bee ſlack or negligent in the execution of their office, that they may ſuffer the ſame puniſhment. And to the end this may bee the better effected, that whoſoever ſhall declare, or diſcover it, may have the one half or moitie of the monie ſo ſeized.

Transportation of Corn, Leather, Sheep, and Wools.

T*hat* no Corn, or the Leather of *Sevilla*, may bee transported out of the Kingdom. *That* the *Mercedes*, or gratuities and taxes (which were given and impoſed in ſome parts of theſe Kingdoms) of levying certain duties, for giving licence to transport Corn out of the ſaid Kingdoms, and Leather from the Citie of *Sevilla*, may bee revoked, and declared to bee void. For beſides, that the ſaid taxes bee unlawful, they are very hurtful and prejudicial to theſe Kingdoms, and the Citie of *Sevilla*. And that their Majeſties may never hereafter give the ſaid licence for monie, or for any impoſition.

Item, *That* henceforwards no ſheep or hogs alive or dead, or any other cattle may bee transported out of the Kingdoms. For this hath been the cauſe that fleſh, leather and tallow are raiſed to above double the price of what they were wont to yield, and if the ſaid cattle bee not carried a way, theſe commodities will return to the ſame rate they were at formerly, which will bee a great benefit to the Kingdoms. And if any bee found a delinquent herein, *That* the one half of his goods and eſtate may bee conſiſcate to their Majeſties, one fourth part given to the accuſer, and the other fourth part imploied for reparations and publick uſes of the Citie, or Town, whereof bee was Inhabitant.

Item, *That* the Merchants, Clothiers, and other trades of the Kingdoms, may take to work and ſpend therein one half

half of all woolls, bought by Natives, or Strangers, to send out of the Kingdoms, paying the same price, as they had done, for them; if they had given readie monie: And if they had taken them upon trust, giving securitie to paie at a certain daie, that the Merchants, and others, might have them upon the same conditions, giving the like securitie. And that the Officers of Justice may take the said Woolls from the Shepherds, or buiers, and deliver them to such persons (as is before-mentioned) not suffering any fraud or contention to arise hereupon, but the truth being known, speedily to deliver them to the said Merchants, and others, to be wrought in these Kingdoms, paying in ready mony, or giving the said securitie; And in case any Officer neglect his dutie herein, that hee may lose one whole years Salarie, and be obliged to make good the dammage and interest of the Partie.

Concerning the Council, Courts, and Justices.

THAT his Majestie would bee pleased to dismiss those of the *Council*, whom hitherto hee hath kept, in regard they have advised him to the great prejudice of his Majestie's Roial Crown, and the excessive dammage of the Kingdoms. That they never bee admitted to bee of his Privie Council, the Queen's Council, or Council of Justice. That their Majesties would select som of the Natives of those Kingdoms to bee of their Roial Councils, who were known to bee loial and zealous for their service, and which would set aside their particular interests for the people's good.

Item, that the President, Council, Judges, *Alcaldes*, and Officers of the Courts and Chanceries may bee visited every four years, according to the usual manner. That those who are found faultie, may bee punished, as the Laws of the Kingdom have ordered, according to the hainousness of their crime: and those who are found otherwise, may bee acknowledged to bee good men, and rewarded by his Majestie.

Item, that the said Offices, aswel of the Council, as of his Majestie's familie, Chanceries, and other Courts, bee not given
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by favor, or procured by the Petitions, or importunate solicitations, of any Grandees, or other persons, near about his Majesty, but that they may bee bestowed upon able and deserving men: and that the provision may bee to Offices, not to the Persons, that enioie them. And if any shall have, or procure them, contrarie to the tenour hereof, the kingdom may not acknowledg such as Officers, but that they may bee disabled to keep or execute any the aforesaid, or other publick Offices.

Item, that the said Offices of the Council Roial, *Alcaldes de Corte*, Chanceries, or other Courts, may not bee provided or possessed by such as com but newly from their Studies, but by persons endued with qualities; and parts necessarie and fit for his Majesties service, having been experienced and practised in the exercise of the Office of Counsellors at Law and Judges, for the contrarie having been don hitherto, hath been the occasion of great inconveniencies and dammages to these Kingdoms.

Item, that the Judges of the Council Roial, Chanceries, and other Courts, which Voted in the first sentences, may not Vote nor sentence anie processses upon review: but pass the View and Votes of such Suits by order to the Judges of another Court, as is usual in Suits, which by reason of discord, are remitted from one Court to another, for of the sentences pronounced by those of the Council, and Judges of the said Courts, beeing reviewed by them, have proceeded and do proceed great inconveniencies. For they shew themselves very passionate and desirous to confirm their sentences, defending them as if they were Advocates for the partie in whose favor they formerly had given sentence. And that all Suits may bee determined by two Courts, without any inconvenience, that that those Writs may bee useles, which, they that are in Suit, procure in like cases to make their Suits pass through all Courts.

Writs of error.

Item, That his Majesty provide and appoint a Superintendent to bee constant and resident in every one of the Courts and Chanceries,

Chanceries, as was accustomed in the time of the Catholick Queen *Donia Isabel* our Ladie, and that they bee persons of Autoritie and good intention, who may provide that the ordinances bee observed, and see that the suites bee conformable thereunto; *That* Clients applying themselves to them, may finde redress and help for their grievances, and that his Majestie may bee informed by them of the State of his Courts, and of the justice administred in them.

Item, That the said offices of the Council, Chancerie and *Alcaldias*, bee not perpetual, in regard it is so expedient for his Majestie's service, and the good of the Kingdoms. *That* the Judges and *Alcaldes*, may not hold themselves Lords of those offices, nor think it to bee an injurie to them to bee displaced, and others appointed to officiate.

Concerning the Council and Courts.

T*hat* the offices of the privie Council, in what concerns the Kingdoms of *Castilla* and *Leon*, and judges, his Majestie's *Alcaldes de la casa e Corte*, Chanceries, and all other offices of justice, may not bee given to any strangers, but to the inhabitants and natives of the said Kingdoms; And that for this respect no act or letters pattents of naturalization may bee given, and if any should bee given, that they may bee respectively received, but not fulfilled. *That* the number of the judges of the Council of justice may bee twelve, neither more nor less, and those to bee of such qualities and parts as the Laws of the Kingdom do require.

Item, That Suits bee determined in the Council and Chancerie in their order, and as they stand registred, and by the Courts where they are depending without joyning of any others to them. *That* concerning this particular, his Majestie may give no writs in derogation of ordinances. Also that those which were to bee pleaded, and determined in Chancerie, bee not kept still nor removed by writs to the Council. And *that* those judges that can take recognisance of Suits, and causes, may not bee put by from hearing and determining the

said Suits by writ or order from his Majesty. And in case the judges bee suspected, the Parties may have the remedie of appeal. Or if his Majesty have given any such writs, that hee revoke and annul them. *That* henceforwards it may remain as a perpetual and inviolable Law, that the Judges of the Council and Chancerie, present or to com, may not obey the said writs, under pain of being deprived of their offices, and paying one hundred thousand *Maravediz* each, for his Majesty's exchequer. And *that* the same may bee observed in the writs which shall bee given by his Secretarie, the Suites depending.

Item, *That* those of the Council, Judges of Courts and Chancerie, and *Alcaldes de Corte*, may not possess or hold more then one office. And in case they should have two, or more, that they may bee taken from them, and that they may receive Salarie for no more then one office.

Item, that matters of Justice which may bee prejudicial to the parties henceforwards, may bee determined and dispatched by those of the Council, and not by the privie Chamber, for by this means, things will bee carried according to Justice, and without grievances.

Item, that the Secretaries appointed for the Chamber, may not have Vote in the Council of Justice, concerning those matters which depend on private Writs or *Mandamus* from their Majesties; to the end they may not defend in the Council any Writs which they had so signed, whereby the parties might bee aggrieved.

Item, that the said Secretaries appointed for the Chamber, may not receive any thing besides the Salarie, which his Majesty is pleased to allow them, it being competent. For by experience it hath been seen they have demanded and adjudged divers unjust things concerning the taxes and impositions of the Kingdom. And they keep intelligencers through the whole Kingdom, to give them notice of what is vacant, and how they may charge new taxes and impositions. And this Office being in their own hands, they may ask what they

they list, and it is granted them. But in case the said Secretaries, or any of them, should demand any thing for themselves, their children or friends, that for so doing, they may lose their Offices, and not onely bee disabled to execute the said Offices, but all others whatsoever.

Item, that the diffinitive sentences pronounced by the *Alcaldes de casa e Corte*, and Chanceries, in case of death, or mutilation of members, may have the libertie of appeal to those of the Council and Judges of the Courts Roial. And that the said *Alcaldes* may bee obliged to grant the said appeals and supplications according to Law

Item, that the said *Alcaldes de casa e Corte*, and Chancerie, or their Notaries, may not exact or receiv either more or less duties or fees then the ordinarie *Alcaldes* of the *Corregidores* of Cities and Towns in this Kingdom, where there is Counsel and Chancerie.

Item, that the *Alcaldes* and other Officers of the Court called the *Hermanidad* (which is properly for High-way-men) may have a constant place of Residence, when they leav their Office, which those that succeed them may enjoie; and that these may have power to question and execute their sentence against the said Judges and Officers, their Predecessors.

Item, that the *Corregidores*, *Alcaldes*, Officers of Cities, Towns, Villages, Burroughs, and other places of Justice in these Kingdoms, may not bee continued in the said Offices above the space of one year after their donomination, although the Cities, Towns, and Commonalties should desire it; for the said Offices having been continued for longer time, hath occasioned many inconveniencies and defects of Justice to such Cities and Towns.

Item, that henceforwards no *Corregidores* may bee provided or appointed for any Cities or Towns of these Kingdoms, but when the said Cities or Towns shall require it, in regard it is so ordained by the Laws of the Land. And that the said Cities and Towns may place and provide their ordinarie *Alcaldes*, being men of abilities, that so the Salaries of *Corregi-*

dores, their Lieutenants and other Officers may be saved. That the Cities and Towns may appoint and allow moderate and reasonable Salaries to the said ordinarie *Alcaldes* out of the publick stock. And that the said stipendarie Judges may be tied to serv onely that Town or Citie which giveth them the Salarie.

Item, that in cases wherein a Judg Inquisitor is required, those that are appointed for Judges Inquisitors may go with the limited Salarie at the charge of the King's Exchequer, and not at the charge of the Delinquents, for to recover their Salaries, they make Innocent men Delinquents; and after that the said Salaries and charges be recovered of those who were condemned and declared guiltie by those of the Council, or other Judges, the said Examinations may be reviewed by waie of Appeal, Commission, or otherwise.

Item, that henceforwards no *Corregidor*, or other Judg of what qualitie soever, may be allowed to receiv his Salarie, or any part thereof, or by waie of *Ayuda de costa* (which is to help bear his charge) out of anie fines or forfeitures adjudged by them, but may return them to the Exchequer, to the end hee may not be thought to have pronounced an unjust sentence, out of covetousness thereof. And that whosoever shall receiv anie monie in that kinde, may be condemned to paie four times as much into his Majestie's Exchequer, and be made incapable of any Office ever after.

Concerning Encomiendas, or promotions to Dignities, and Council of the Orders.

THat those of the Council of the Orders, as Presidents, Judges, and other Officers be visited in the same manner as is ordered for the Council Roial.

Item, that the Treasurers and Officers of the Orders, and *Maestrazgos*, or Masterships, make their Visitations from three to three years, that it may appear how they behave themselves in their Offices, and those that shall be found guiltie may suffer punishment.

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Item, that the *Encomiendas* of the Militarie Orders of *Santjago*, *Calatrava*, *Alcantara*, may not bee given or conferred upon any Strangers, although they bee naturalized. But that herein may bee observed the same rule as in Ecclesiastical Offices, Dignities, and Benefices, whereby they may bee provided according as is constituted and ordeined in the Statutes of the Order.

Concerning Bulls, Cruzadas, and Compositions.

THAT no *Bulls*, *Cruzadas*, or *Compositions*, of what qualitie soever bee suffered to bee preached in these Kingdoms, unless upon some real and urgent occasion, debated and approved in Parliament. That the monie which shall bee railed thereby, may bee deposited in the Collegial or Cathedral Church of the Bishoprick, and not to bee taken out thence, spent or employed otherwise, then in the same urgent occasion, for which the *Bull* was granted.

Item, That in case there bee such necessitie of preaching the *Bulls*, *Cruzadas*, and *Compositions*, as above said, this manner and order may bee observed. - That there bee care had to choos honest men, of good consciences, and learned, that they may know and understand what they preach. That they exceed not in their preaching the cases and things contained in the *Bulls*. That they preach in none but the Collegial, or Cathedral Churches. That in places where there are no Collegial or Cathedral Churches, the *Bulls* may bee sent to the Curates or their Vicars, to the end they may divulge and publish them to their Parishioners; That they advise and admonish the people, but impose no Penaltie, if they take them not, and that they might receive them if they would. That there may bee no such exorbitance, as was usual heretofore, injoyning the people to com, and detaining them perforce in their Sermons, not suffering them to follow their callings and occupations, unless they took their *Bulls*, and other such ill demeanors.

Item, That whatsoever was to bee recovered and gathered by virtue of the *Bulls* thus received, may not bee recovered by

waie of excommunication or interdict, but by demanding it before the secular Justice of the Citie, Town, or Village, where the *Bull* had been received. That the *Alcaldes* of the Villages may have power herein, for the contrarie, having been done, hath much indangered the Souls of laboring-men, Priests, and other persons, and the people suffer very many and great oppressions in this manner of recovering it.

Item, That henceforwards for ever the Commissaries of the *Cruzadas* and *Composiciones* may not levie or recover any thing of that which some Cities, Towns, Villages, and Corporations have expended in their own houses in feasting, Bull-baitings, or acts of Charitie, although they do it from an ancient custom, by vow, or what other waie soever they can pretend.

Item, That the monies levied by the *Cruzadas* and *Composiciones*, which were granted for the war against the Moores; costs and charges of the Armies which had been or are to be raised against the enemies of our Catholick faith, and to reliev the Kingdoms and Cities of *Africa*, may be expended and imploied to the same end, for which they were granted, and that they may not be granted hereafter upon any other pretence whatsoever, nor the said monie, or any part thereof, may be given or bestowed as a *Merced* or gratuitie upon any bodie, becaus, besides the publick dammage, men's Souls are indangered by the not imploying it to the use, for which it was granted; Which if it were applyed to the proper and right intent, the Royal Revenues would remain free for the service and augmentation of the Royal estate.

Item, That the *Mercedes* and *Libranças* of any monie of those said *Bulls*, *Cruzadas* and *Composiciones*, which have been given to any particular persons, as well natives as strangers, may be revoked and made void.

Concerning the Indies, Isles, and Continent.

THAT henceforwards for ever, no *Mercedes* may be made of *Indians*, whereby the Gold, or any other Commodities

ties may bee taken thence, to anie person or persons, of what qualitie soëver. That these which hitherto have been, may bee revoked; for by that means their Majestie's Roial Patrimonie hath been, and will bee, much damnified, in stead of beeing advantaged, by reason of the great quantitie of Gold exhausted thence: Besides that, they are used more like Infidels and slaves, then Christians, as they are.

Item, that the hous of *Contratacion* at *Sevilla*, for the Isles and Continent of the *Indies*, may remain for ever in the said Citie, and not bee removed to anie other Citie or place within this Kingdom or without. In regard the said Citie of *Sevilla* is so famous and fit a place for it, and it would bee a great hinderance to these Kingdoms, and a disservice to their Majesties, if it should bee altered.

Concerning Mercedes.

THAT their Majesties, or the succeeding Kings, may not make anie *Merced* of goods confiscated, or to bee confiscated, or of anie part or parcel thereof, to anie Judg, or Judges, who have given, or are to give Sentence in the said Causes. That the said Judges, or anie of them, may not receiv anie such *Mercedes*, either in pairment or *lieu* of their Salaries, or for *Ayuda de Costa*, or in anie other kinde whatsoever, directly or indirectly, either for themselves, or their wives, children, friends or kindred; for by this means they, beeing free from all covetousness and interests, may, with more equitie and Justice, proceed and give their Sentence. That whosoever shall do the contrarie, may bee obliged to restore four times as much into his Majesties Exchequer, and that they may for ever remain incapable of enjoying the same, or anie other publick Offices.

Item, that their Majesties or their Successors, may not give or make anie *Mercedes* or *Libranças* of goods and monie, which hath not been brought into their Exchequer, or in their own hands; for by this means they will know what they give, and how they endamage themselves; which not knowing, they

they easily grant the said *Libranças* and *Mercedes*, as their Majesties had given away in that nature great quantities of pearls and monie, which (if preserved) had been sufficient to have maintained their Roial Household, without making such shifts as they were driven to, by taking up monie at Interest, or demanding Subsidies of the Subjects and Natives of their Kingdoms.

Item, that their Majesties, or their Successors, may not give or grant anie *Merced* of goods, demanded in their Majesties names, or of the Roial Crown of these Kingdoms, concerning which there is anie Suit depending, unless sentence bee first pronounced against the possessors thereof, and that they bee absolutely condemned. That whatsoever hath been done to the contrarie heretofore, may bee revoked. Otherwise it would hinder the free Administration of Justice according to right and equitie. And that whosoever should receiv or procure anie such *Mercedes*, may for ever bee held incapable and unworthie of receiving for themselves, or others, anie *Merced* from their Majesties, or their Successors, in these Kingdoms.

Item, that their Majesties may pleas to revoke all *Mercedes* whatsoever, which had been made or granted since the death of the Catholick Queen *Donia Isabel*, as well by the Kings *Don Fernando*, and *Don Felipe*, as by *Don Carlos* our present Sovereign. And whatsoever Confirmations have been made of anie Towns, Villages, Vassals, Jurisdiccions, Salt-pits, Mines of Gold and Silver, Copper, Lead, Tin, or Allum. In regard besides, that they are contrarie to the Laws of the Land, the most illustrious and Catholick Queen *Donia Isabel*, our Ladie, did absolutely prohibit and forbid them, when, by her last Will and Testament, shee left the government and rule of these Kingdoms to the charge and care of the Catholick King *Don Fernando*; And that all this may bee applied to the proper use and benefit of the Roial Crown of these Kingdoms, and that those persons who have obtained anie such *Mercedes*, may make no further use of them hereafter.

Item, forasmuch as since the deceas of the Queen *Donia Isabel* have

have been made divers *Mercedes*, and manie Patents and Privileges of Gentilitie given for monie to severall persons, without anie just caus or consideration of services done to their Majesties, that might deserv the said favour; whereby the Towns, Commonalties, and those which paie the taxes, have been much damnified and injured. That their Majesties may revoke all such Patents, *Mercedes*, and Privileges whatsoever, and those to whom they were given, may not anie waies enjoie them. And that henceforward no such *Mercedes*, Patents, or Privileges may ever bee granted, or bee in force, to benefit those to whom they were given. And that this may never bee derogated or abrogated with anie claus general or particular, or by anie ordinarie or absolute Power.

Item, forasmuch as contrarie to equitie, and the tenour and form of the Lawes of these Kingdoms, have been granted and made, divers *Mercedes* of the Reversion of Offices, Benefices, Dignities, and other things, in the hands of men yet living: That their Majesties may revoke all of them, without exception, that hitherto have been made or granted, either by their Majesties, or their Predecessors. That nothing in this nature bee ever granted hereafter, and if anie should bee granted, that they may not bee fulfilled, nor take effect, notwithstanding any derogatorie clauses with penalties and confirmations whatsoever; but to the end they may bee resisted and bee of no value, that they may bear no penalties at all; And that whosoever shall procure anie such *Merced*, may bee made incapable of anie place in Court, or anie other publick Office.

Item, that his Majestie discard and put away the Officers of his Roial Familie and Kingdom, as Treasurers, and their substitutes, and all others whosoever have behaved themselvs amiss in their offices, to his Majesties great disservice, & the universaldammage of these Kingdoms; who having (as when they first entred into their Offices) little or nothing of their own patrimonies, and their profits much exceeding their expences, have raised themselvs vaste Estates, to the prejudice aswel of the publick good of the Kingdoms, and the Natives thereof, as

the impairing and diminishing of the Roial Patrimonie.

Item, That the offices of his Majestie's Royal familie and the Kingdom, those of the Royal Courts, and the *Alcaldes & Fiscales*, or Attournies thereof, *Corregimientos, Afsistencias, Alguazilagos, Regimientos, Veintiquatrias, Escrivanias* of the *Audiencias*, and Council, and whatsoever other offices of the Cities, Towns, and Places of the Kingdoms, which are at their Majesties, and their successors, dispoal, now and from this time forwards, may never bee sold or given for monie, or bestowed, as *Mercedes*, upon any, who beeing unfit to execute the said offices, may make sale of them, in regard the sale of them is very detestable, and forbidden by the Common Laws and rights of the Kingdoms, for the great dammages and prejudices which have accrewed thereby to the good of the Publick. And that the said offices may bee freely given and bestowed upon persons of sufficient parts and abilities to perform and execute them.

Item, That if the said offices or any of them, bee provided otherwise, or bestowed contrarie to the tenour and form mentioned in the precedent Article, That they may bee held as vacant, and whosoever is so placed in them, may bee discarded. And their Majestie's and successors provide and bestow them as above said.

Item, That the officers which are to serv in the Court, or in any the Cities, or Towns, of these Kingdoms, aswell of the *Juzgados* as of the *Veintiquarto Escrivanias*, and other such like offices, may not possels more then one office. And if they bee such as may bee supplied by Substitutes, or Lieutenants, that these may bee paied by the principal officers. And that their Majesties or successors grant no stipend or Salarie to the said Substitutes, nor the Principals consent thereunto, under pain of losing their offices, and others to bee put into their places.

Item, as touching the Confirmations of the priviledges of the Right or Custom called, *Maravediz de Juro*; That no confirmation of the said Priviledges may bee required, and that

that their Majesties give Command to the officers, who have raised great summs thereby, to restore the said monie to the persons of whom they received it, and that speedily and freely without any trouble or suit.

Item, that those of the Offices Roial, as well High Treasurers, as those of the *Cruzadas*, *Compositions*, or the Islands and Continent of the *Indies*, may bee obliged to certifie and declare unto their Majesties, and their Successors, whatsoever debts remain concealed and forgotten, and all other things in the said Offices, appertaining to the Roial Patrimonie, but that they give no intelligence thereof to anie particular or private persons, lest they should beg them, under pain of paying twice as much into the Exchequer or Roial Patrimonie, and of beeing deprived of the said Offices, and made incapable not onely of them, but all others.

Item, that those who have had, or have anie Office Roial, or charge of the Registers of the Roial Revenues, may not have the said Remainders of the farming thereof, and in case anie have made use of them, that hee or they bee obliged to paie the double of what hee hath received thereof, into their Majesties Exchequer, and lose their Offices, with the Salaries and benefits thereunto belonging.

Item, that all those who have bought anie Offices since the deceas of the Catholick King *Don Fernando*, which could not bee sold according to the Laws of the Land, and the Contents of the preceding Articles, may not execute the said Offices, under pain of death and loss of good, and their Majesties may provide and dispose them to other able and sufficient persons.

Concerning Residencia's.

THAT all those Officers who had charge of his Majesties Estate, in the time of the Catholick King *Don Fernando*, his Grandfather, may bee brought to an account for what they did in their Offices and Charges, concerning his Majesties Estate and the Roial patrimonie, which passed through their hands, and that they produce these accounts before such per-

sons, as shall bee nominated and appointed by his Majestie, and the Kingdom. That his Majestie appoint and nominate these said persons within thirtie daies after these Articles and Laws bee granted by their Majesties, and in case his Majestie doth not nominate anie within the said term of thirtie daies, that then those Accounts may bee produced before such persons as the Kingdoms shall appoint, who may receive them for their Majesties Exchequer, and condemn and laie penalties upon those whom they finde guiltie, according to equitie and the Laws of the Kingdoms.

Item, that the like Account bee also given by the Treasurers, and other Officers, whosoever have been encharged heretofore with the *Cruzadas*, *Bulls*, and *Compositions*, or with the Gold and Pearls brought from the Islands and Continent of the *Indies*; and the same order to bee observed therein, as is above-specified.

Item, that those of the Council, and the Officers of his Majesties Familie and Court, who have been, or are to bee dismissed, may make their *Residencia*, or render their accounts before the Persons mentioned in the preceding Articles.

Item, that the said Officers bee thus called to account, because they have given advise and notice of manie things which have been begged and given as *Mercedes*, to the great Prejudice of the Roial Patrimonie; which advices and informations they gave, either to enioie a share thereof themselvs, or to purchase them wholly, or to procure others to buie or farm them, by which means, for very small matters, they have gained vaste sums of monie. Therefore in regard this hath been a great damage and prejudice to the Roial Patrimonie, their Majesties may ratifie and allow the above-mentioned persons to take the said Accounts and *Residencia's*. And whatsoever shall bee thus discovered by them, that it may all accrew to their Majesties Exchequer; for if they had rightly and truly performed their Offices, they ought to have given their Majesties those Informations, and not to private persons.

Concerning

Concerning Prelates and other Particulars.

THAT the Bishopricks, Archbishopricks, Dignities, Canonicates, & other Ecclesiastical preferments whatsoever, or the pensions thereof, may not bee conferred upon anie Strangers, but upon the Natives and Inhabitants of these Kingdoms. That if anie were disposed of contrarie to the tenour hereof, his Majestie may bee pleased by Apostolical Autoritie, to order that they may bee resigned and conferred upon Natives of these Kingdoms, satisfaction beeing given to those that are dispossessed of them, to their full value in other rents in their own Countries.

Item, in regard his Majestie had given away the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, before hee was received and sworn King in the Parliament at *Valladolid*. That his Majestie may make a new presentation of the said Archbishoprick, and confer it upon a Native and Inhabitant of the Kingdom of *Castilla*, who may deserv it, beeing a person of learning and conscience answerable, a Divine or Civil Lawyer; for the bestowing it on the Nephew of *Monsieur de Xeures*, contrarie to the Laws of the Kingdom, hath been, and is, very prejudicial to the Kingdom, and the said Dignitie, hee beeing under age, and absent, (and although hee were a Native of the Kingdom, it was not fit nor just to give it him). That the Revenue of the said Dignitie was transported out of the kingdom, wherewith if hee were a Native, and resident in the said dignitie, hee might entertain manie Nobles and Gentlemen in his hous, as hath been the custom formerly. And if his Majestie would bee pleased to gratifie the said Nephew of *Monsieur de Xeures* with som other lands in his own Countrie. It might very well bee done.

Item, that all Letters of Naturalization whatsoever, that have formerly been given, may bee revoked, and never anie granted hereafter. And if anie should bee granted, although with derogatorie clauses, and by an absolute power, that they may bee respectively received, but not fulfilled. That there may bee

no penaltie for the non-performance of anie such supplication, and whosoever should bee strict therein, may bee apprehended and severely punished by the Justices of the kingdom where hee was taken.

Item, that the Judges, Notaries, and other Officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts, may not have or demand more fees then those of the Secular Courts, according to the Statutes of the kingdoms. And if, in anie case, the Apostolical Autoritie bee requisite, their Majesties may bee pleased to send to their Embassador to procure it from his Holiness, and send it.

Item, that the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates of the kingdoms, may reside in their own Dioceses the greatest part of the year, whereof, if they fail, that they may lose proportionably a part of their fruits, to bee employed for the building or repairing of their Churches; for, by reason of their being absent, the Divine Service is not performed as it ought to bee. That his Majestie send for a *Bull* to this effect from his Holiness, within the space of one year. And if his Majestie did not send for it within the said term, that the kingdom might have power to demand it, and take, by his Autoritie, out of the fruits of the said dignities, as much as would diffraine the charges of the Journie, and sollicitation to procure it.

Item, forasmuch as his Holiness at his Majesties request had sent a Licence to the Archbishop of *Granada*, purposing that whosoever should have his said power (although secular persons) might judg and give sentence in som cases against Priests, in criminal matters. That his Majestie would bee pleased to cause the said Licence to bee enrolled within six months, and send a Copie thereof into these kingdom, to excuse and avoid the scandals which arise thereby.

Concerning Regidores.

THAT henceforwards, their Majesties, or their Successors, never give or grant anie Licence to the *Regidores*, *Veyntiquatros*, *Jurados*, and other Officers of the Council of Cities, Towns or Villages of these kingdoms, to live with, or have any

anie dependance upon Noble-men. *That* all Licences to this effect whatsoever, granted in former times, may bee revoked; *That* the Laws of the Kingdoms may bee herein observed and executed. *That* whosoever shall procure, or make use of anie such Licence, may bee deprived of his office. And *that* their Majesties dispose thereof, as beeing vacant, but that hee or his children may never re-injoy it.

Item, That the *Regidores* of the Cities and Towns of these Kingdoms, who are Lawyers, may not execute the office of Advocates, nor plead in the said Cities or Towns, but for them and their Commonalties.

Alienation of Goods or Lands from the Royal Crown.

T*Hat* his Majestie command effectually to restore the Towns, Villages, Forts, Jurisdictions, Revenues, and all other Rights whatsoever, to the Cities and Towns of his Royal Crown, which they had formerly in their possession, and which the most illustrious Queen *Donia Isabel*, our Ladie, commanded in her will to bee restored. And to the end this may bee effected, and the wills of the Catholick King *Don Fernando* and his Queen *Donia Isabel*, may bee fulfilled, *That* executors may bee appointed with sufficient power to perform the same within six months without further delaie.

Item, to the end this may remedied henceforwards, That their Majesties or Successors, for no reason or caus, neither in paiment or satisfaction of services, or anie other waies whatsoever, may alienate anie thing from the Royal Crown or Patrimonie, and in case anie alienation bee made, that it may bee restored.

Concerning Forts and Alcaydias, or Governments.

T*Hat* the Forts and *Alcaydias* of the strong holds of these Kingdoms, may not bee given to anie forreiners, but intrusted to the Natives and Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, although they may produce letters of naturalization, And that the same order bee observed herein, as in the Dignities and Eccle-

Ecclesiastical preferments.

Item, That his Majestie take away all command or governments whatsoever of Castles and Forts, possessed by strangers, or transferred by them for monie to anie natives of these Kingdoms.

Item, that Antonio de Fonseca may bee dispossessed of the offices and command hee hath in these Kingdoms, in regard of the great mischiefs and scandals which they suffer by his occasion.

Item, that the Forts and *Alcaydias* may not bee given to anie Noble-men or persons of high birth and qualitie. And *that* the *Alcaydes* or Commanders thereof may take the oath of fealtie to his Majestie, and give securitie to the Cities and Towns where they are, that, by or from the said Forts, they shall receive no damage or prejudice.

Item, that his Majestie give order forthwith, and every two years from this time forwards, to visite and repair, as occasion doth require, the Forts and places of strength upon the frontiers of these Kingdoms.

Concerning Cloath.

T*hat* the Cloath that is imported from other Countries may bee of the same size and goodnes, as those which are wrought in these Kingdoms, according as it is ordered by the Statutes and Act of Parliament. That the said Act may bee executed aswell upon forreign Clothes, as those which are made in these Kingdoms. *That* what deferring of the time of the Act, or Licences soever have been granted to sell and disperse them in these Kingdoms, may bee revoked and declared void. That hereafter no such Licences bee granted, but in case there bee, that they may not bee fulfilled. And that, without stopping or arresting them, the Justices may proceed according to the Act, under pain of losing their offices, and paying one hundred thousand *Maravediz* towards the reparations and charitable uses of the Citie, Town, or Village, where their Residence is.

Contri-

Contribution.

IN regard it is ordeined by the Laws of the Land, that certain Towns and Villages (which now are under the possession of som Noblemen) should proportionably (as the rest of their neighboring Cities and Towns) bear a share in the Tributes and Contributions, and Taxes for Hedges, Bridges, Fountains, Watchmen, Suits in Law, Defences, and enlargement of Territories; yet by the favor of Noblemen and persons of great qualitie, (to whom they belong) they do not observ or fulfil his Majesties Commands herein. That henceforwards they may bee obliged to perform them, and in case of default to lose their Offices, and all the Salarie thereof; and that the Lords of the said places may not oppose or do any thing to the contrarie under pain of losing the Lordship and proprietie of the said places, or Towns, which afterwards shall bee as Crown-Lands never to bee alienated from the Royal Patrimonie.

GENERALS.

FOrasmuch as his Majestie, in the Parlements which hee called at *Valladolid* and the *Groyne*, did grant som things, which, for the profit and publick good of the Kingdoms, ought to bee effected: That his Majestie command all provisions and power necessarie for the performance thereof, to bee given to the Cities, Towns, and other places of the Kingdoms.

Item, that his Majestie give order to proceed rigorously against *Antonio de Fonseca*, *Alcalde Ronquillo*, *Gutiere Quixada*, *El Licenciado Juanes*, and the rest, that had any hand in the burning and destroying of the Town of *Medina del Campo*. And that his Majestie approve and allow of what the Kingdom shall do concerning the confiscation of their, or any of their estates and goods.

Item, that their Majesties approve the Assemblie which the Cities and Towns of the Kingdoms have made, and do make

to the end they may repair and remedie the exorbitancies and grievances of the Publick; to make and ordain these Articles, and all which they have done in order to the suspending of those of the Council, and Officers of their Majesties Familie and Court, placing and displacing Officers of Justice, taking and demolishing of Forts, pulling down of houses, killing of men, tumults and uproars, and judging and sentencing other matters of the Kingdoms; their endeavors in taking away all that might stop or hinder their proceedings herein, and any other excesses whatsoever, as in the order and form of the premisses is contained: The assembling the people, raising of Arms, and the punishment which certain Cities and Commonalties have inflicted upon the persons, houses, and goods of some men, whom they esteemed enemies to the publick good of the Kingdoms. And that their Majesties acknowledged to be well employed, all and every the sums of monie which they have taken out of the Roial Revenue, and other things, and disbursed in payment of the said men, and Armies, or otherwaies in prosecution of the above-said premisses: And whatsoever taxes they had imposed and recovered to that effect, or expended in any kinde. That their Majesties would command all to be remitted and absolutely pardoned, as also not onely their Assemblies and Councils of the Cities and Towns of the Kingdoms, but likewise that every particular person or persons that had been active therein, might be free from anie trouble or question therefore in anie Courts, civil or criminal. That their Majesties would revoke and declare void, all and everie information or informations, commands, sentences, and provisions which those of the Council, or the *Alcalde Ronquillo*, or any other Judg whatsoever, had made or given against any of the Cities or Towns of the Kingdoms, or against any particular persons, and that for this cause they, nor any of them, might be deprived of their privileges or offices, but might remain free and indemnified. In regard they were moved thereunto out of their respects to their Majesties service, and the publick good of the Kingdoms,
and

and for the encreasing & preserving of the revenues and Patrimoine Roial, in order to the obligations and duties w^{ch} they owed to their natural Sovereigns, according as the Laws of the Kingdoms have ordained. And that his Majestie would grant, authorize, and confirm the said Articles as a perpetual and inviolable Law for ever, and that he would promise & swear, by God and his holie Evangelists, never to revoke, or consent to the revoking or altering of them, or do, or suffer to bee done, any thing contrarie to their true intent and meaning in Parliament, or out of Parliament: And *that* hee would not demand of the Pope or other Prelate whatsoever any dispensation or absolution for the said oath and promise.

 SECT. III.

THese Articles were sent to *Flanders* by those of the *Junta*, to bee delivered to the Emperor. *Antonio Vazquez de Avila* carried one Copie of them, and *Maestro Fray Pablo* (a man of an exemplarie life and holie intentions, onely blinded with a zeal for his Countrie, seeing the Kingdom ruined) another. They went several waies, but neither of them durst appear before the Emperor, and som saie, they never came into *Flanders*. *Antonio Vazquez de Avila* arrived at length at *Worms* in *Germanie*, which the Emperor hearing, commanded him to bee apprehended and imprisoned in a Fort; but after som time, beeing better informed, hee gave order to releas him. *Fray Pablo*, and *Sancho Zimbron*, who went together, hearing, before they came to the Emperor, how *Antonio Vazquez* had been welcomed, went no further then *Bruxels*. These Articles were applauded and held for holie things amongst the Commonaltie; they said, The Emperor must bee verie cruel if hee did not confirm them. That those of the *Junta* deserved an immortal Crown, and a never-dying fame for their pains and care in making such excellent and holie Ordinances, whereby their

Who was an exempted person and reserved by the Emperor to bee punished.

Kingdoms should bee made the happiest, and most opulent in the world.

SECT. IV.

THE Lord Admiral, beeing desirous to compose these differences and disorders of the Kingdoms, before they broke out anie further, resolved to go and convers with those of the *Junta* at *Tordesillas*, and beeing at *Torrelobaton*, hee sent to them, desiring, that they would give him the libertie and safe conduct to go to them. Those of the *Junta* answered, That they knew very well, that his Lordship came to speak with them concerning the Commonalties of the Kingdoms, but they desired him not to put himself to the trouble of coming thither, until he had dismissed those Gentlemen, with their souldiers, out of *Medina*, and his own lands, & those of the Council likewise, in regard they deserved his Majestie, and hindred the good of the Kingdom, which don, they should be very glad to serve him, and shew him all the respects due to his person. The Admiral replied, that hee was well contented to discharge all those souldiers, and send away all those of the Council, except the Cardinal and the Lord High Constable of *Castilla*, who were the Governors and principal men of the Kingdoms: Those of the *Junta* would not bee satisfied, unless they were all sent away. Whereupon they sent two Heralds with a Notarie publick, to require him with great protestations, that hee should not permit the mischiefs and dammages which might bee occasioned by the *Junta*, and the Armies of the Advers Partie. They sent others also with trumpets, to require the Lord High Constable, and the Earl of *Alva*, not to levie anie Souldiers, becaus that would bee prejudicial to the Royal Crown, and hurtful to the Kingdoms. The Lord High Constable received those that brought him this message very courteously, and commanded a dinner to bee prepared for them,

them ; After which, hee sent them to the Earl of *Alva*, with twelv of his own men on hors-back. The Earl apprehended the chief man of them, commanding him to bee clapt in prison, and afterwards, they saie, hee caused him to bee strangled, and gave no other Answer to the *Junta*: whereat they were very much displeas'd; others said, The Earl did like a worchie Gentleman, for no Law or Word is to be observ'd or kept with Traitors. The unfortunate man, whom the Earl thus put to death, had been, not long before, preferred by those of the Commonaltie, to the Office of Chamberlain to the Queen *Donia Juana*. In revenge of which crueltie (as they termed it) those of the *Junta* commanded the Lord Constable, and the Earl of *Alva*, to bee proclaimed, in manie Cities and places of *Castilla*, Traitors, and capital enemies of the Kingdom; alledging, That they raised forces against the Roial Crown, and to the prejudice of the Kingdom. That they had made a new Broad-Seal, contrarie to the Laws of the Kingdom, wherewith they did seal Orders against his Majesties Subjects, and contrarie to all right and Justice. That they did favor and uphold those of the evil Counsel; and that they had apprehended her Majesties Chamberlain, all which was in dis-respect or contempt of her Majestie, and to the prejudice of the publick good. And therefore those of the *Junta*, in order to the service of God, and the Kingdom, did finde themselvs obliged to declare them Capital Enemies, and accordingly, that their Estates and Land should bee seized and forfeited to the Roial Crown.

 SECT. V.

THose of the *Junta* beeing possessed of *Tordesillas*, and having the Queen, with her familie, and the whole Kingdom in their own hands, manie people believed that shee was recovered, and that shee was well-pleas'd with

the proceedings of those of the *Junta*. The increasing of this opinion, and their credit with the people, raised their thoughts to things of higher consequence, and the novelties which everie daie did produce, were already swoln to so great a number, and spread into so manie parts that it is imposible to relate them so clearly, fully, and distinctly as I would. The pretence of the *Junta* was so plausible, bearing the sugared name (which they gave it) of Libertie, and exemption from unjust taxes and evil government, that divers other places, were likewise in Arms for them; And it was a miracle that anie place stood out: For they favored and countenanced them that followed their faction, and those of the contrarie Partie were perpetually under the lash of their persecution. In *Palencia* the people murdered, and would have killed the brother to their Bishop *Mota*, with divers Canons, and other Priests of the Citie, becauf they had given possession of the Bishoprick to the said *Mota*, whom they extreemly hated. In *Alcala de Henares* they turned the Governor, and the Vicar-General to the Arch-Bishop, out of the Citie, becauf they hated the Arch-Bishop for being a kinsman to *Xeures*, and a stranger. *Medina* prepared to make open War against *Coca* and *Alaejos*, in revenge of the mischiefs and losses which they had sustained by *Antonio de Fonseca*. It would bee an endless task to undertake to give a particular relation of their outrages, what persecutions, robberies, and murders, were committed in each place. Those of *Segovia* did not lie still either, but were perpetually making new attempts against the Earl of *Chinchon*, and the Town of *Espinar*, which they assaulted and sacked, as if they had been Infidels, carrying away their wives and daughters, some of whose husbands following after the *Segovians*, said, That if their wives went with them beyond a certain limit, they should keep them for ever.

Comotions
in *Palencia*.

*Alcala de
Henares*.

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

I MENTIONED in the rising of *Burgos*, the prudence and courage which the Lord high Countable, to detain and suppress the furie of that disorderly people, had shewed, in taking upon himself the Autoritie and care of administring Justice, to the great contentment and rejoicing of the Citizens. But the inconstant Vulgar, upon no occasion, lost the respect which was due to so honorable a person, never considering how advantageous it would have been for them to have suffered themselves to bee governed by him in such troublesom times. That which they pretended to bee the caus of their respectless audacicie was, That when *Medina del Campo* did besiege *Alaejos*, *Segovia*, *Salamanca*, *Avila*, and other Cities, having assisted them with men to destroe that Town, out of the exceeding hatred which they bore *Antonio de Fonseca*: *Burgos* would do the like out of revenge of the Merchandise which they lost in *Medina*, by *Antonio de Fonseca's* burning it: But the Lord High Constable satisfied them otherwise; And becaus his son offered himself to bee their Captain, which the people imagined hee did onely out of subtiltie and cunning to amuse them, or for som other by-respect, they began to bee jealous of him; this suspicion ingendred a mortal hatred, insomuch that their furie grew beyond the bounds of moderation and obedience. The Lord high Countable had privately conveyed into his hous four hundred Lances: Which beeing known in the Citie, the *Regidores* and Gentlemen assembled, and sent two of their companie to summon him. Hee excused himself, saying, hee was very ill, and could not go to them: But they told him, that they could not bee satisfied with that answer, hee must rise, and go with them. At last hee went, and was civilly received; beeing com amongst them, two of the Assemblie in the names of all the rest,

rest, rose up and thus bespake him; Wee are very sorrie and grieved that the honor and affection wherewith this Citie hath alwaies served your Lordship and your Ancestors (being Persons of so great qualitie, natives, and in a maner, Lords of all this Citie, which is the chief of *Castilla*) should bee so ill required, as that you should keep secretly in your hous four hundred Lances, to destroie the people: wee require you forthwith to dismiss them, and reserv onely twentie servants about you, if not, the Citie will take their remedie. This was not very pleasing to the Lord Constable, but it behoved him to satisfie their desires. Yet notwithstanding hee condescended to their wills, the suspicions ceased not, neither were the people pacified. Upon our Ladie's daie of September their furie broke out, and all the Commonaltie rose up in Arms against him, in such a raging manner that they had killed him, if hee had not retired to his hous, where almost two whole daies they kept him besieged, and *Don Diego Sarmiento* the Earl of *Salinas* with the Dutchess and the Countess their wives. After this, seeing himself the object of the people's malice, and every hour in danger to lose his life; hee conditioned with the people to let him go freely with all his familie out of the Citie; Which beeing granted, hee went to a Town of his called *Briviesca*. This example of the People of *Burgos*, made other places commit the like audacities against their Lords; as *Haro* against the Earl of *Haro*, Son to the Lord high Constable; *Duenias* against the Earl of *Buendia*; and also *Naxara* against the Duke; although that Citie doth allege and prove that they rose not for the Commonaltie, but for the King, whose subjects and tenants (they saie) they are. The Lord high Constable beeing at *Briviesca*, very full of care and sorrow to see the Kingdom in so great distempers, and so little probabilitie of any remedie; about the middle of September arrived *Lope Hurtado de Mendoza* with dispatches and orders from the Emperor, importing that hee should bee Governor of *Castilla* and *Navarra* joyntly with the Cardinal and the Admiral of *Castilla*; Which having

Burgos riseth
up in Arms
against the
Lord High
Constable.

having read, hee presently accepted the Government of the Kingdoms : But because the Commission was for them all three, hee could not so suddenly execute the Command. For the Cardinal was as yet at *Valladolid*, and the Admiral in *Catalunia*, in the Countie of *Cabra*, whither the dispatches were sent to him, who was of opinion to defer the acceptance of that Charge, until his return into *Castilla*, and to use some means in the *interim* to agree and accommodate the differences of the Commonalties, as you have already heard. Which difficultie being related to the Emperor, being on the waie to *Aquisgran*, where hee was Crowned; hee sent other Letters dated the 17 *October* following, with special command to the Lord High Constable, that having assembled some of the Council, hee should, alone with them, execute the charge of Governor of the Kingdoms, & provide for the remedying of the present disorders, until such time as the Cardinal, and the Admiral could come to join with him; which hee did, as shall appear hereafter.

 SECT. VII.

THE Lord High Constable seeing the remedie of the Kingdoms to lie upon his account (although hee was much offended with those of *Burgos*) without seeking any reparation of honor, prudently endeavored by fair means and treatments full of courtesie, to appease that people, and reduce them into the Roial waie of doing their Prince service; for it was of no small importance for him, at the beginning of his Government, to gain that Citie, and settle himself in it, being the chief of *Castilla*, and a place of such greatness and esteem. Hee kept intelligence with some principal Gentlemen of *Burgos*, by whose industrie the Citie was so well disposed and ordered, that within a short time after, hee became master of it; This was the first symptom of the COUNTRY'S health,

health, and an Antidote against the desperate poison which had so infected the whole Kingdom. The Lord High Constable, together with the Citie, committed to the Charge of *Don Diego Lopez de Castro*, the government of the Castle of *Lara*, with the territories thereof, hee having first taken the Oath of Fealtie, as hee was a Gentleman, according to the order and manner of *Castilla*, to keep it for the Emperor. From this time forwards *Burgos* began to have an ill conceit of the *Junta*, disliking more and more their proceedings, especially their ill treating of the Cardinal and those of the Council, and sent to their Commissioners to com away from *Tordesillas*. After which they wrote to *Valladolid*, in testimonie of their Loialtie, encouraging and persuading those of that Citie to do the like, in order to their due obedience to his Majestie, and the pacification of the Kingdoms.

 SECT. VIII.

Those of *Valladolid*, beeing ill satisfied with the letters which they received from *Burgos*, returned them no answer, esteeming them people of small resolution or constancie, and not fit to be trusted. Those of *Burgos* sent letters likewise to those of the *Junta*, telling them manie things by way of exhortation and advice, amongst the rest, *That* they should leav the Queen in her free libertie, to do what shee pleased, and to let things remain in the same condition the Emperor had left them, with other circumstances, which were contradictorie to what formerly they seemed to desire. Whereby it appeared, that they declined the Interest of the *Junta*, and favored the Lord High Constable's Partie. Som other places of the Kingdom also began to be more moderate, by the Letters and promises which they received from the Cardinal, and other Gentlemen of note.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

IN the Citie of *Valladolid* the people were still divided by several factions, some transported with a blind zeal, pressed for obedience to those of the *Junta*, thinking whatsoever they ordained was good and holie; others desired with no less earnestness that the Lord high Constable, with those of the Council, might bee re-admitted into the Citie, deeming whatsoever was enacted without them, to bee wicked and unjust: And hereupon they spoiled and murdered one another, like people without sence or reason. Whereupon they wrote to the Lord Admiral (who was their Countie-man and neer neighbor) giving him account of the troubles of the Kingdom, and especially of the mischiefs which they feared would befall that Citie in particular. Whereunto hee sent an answer with an extraordinarie sence of sorrow, to see the danger whereunto the whole Kingdom was brought, counselling and admonishing them to have a care lest they lost themselves: Moreover, in regard that Citie had been noted particularly for their Loyaltie to their King, and for the relation hee had to it by his birth, it grieved him to the soul to see it in such extream distraction, which hee feared would not bee so easily remedied; with several other expressions of affection and tenderness for their welfare. But *Valladolid* did not see much by his admonitions at that time: But afterwards (though late) they were better advised, and they found in the Admiral the mercie which they did expect, as shall bee set down hereafter.

S E C T. X.

THE Letters from *Burgos*, with the sedulous and prudent endeavors of the Lord high Constable, made those of *Valladolid* to bethink themselves a little, and with a kinde of remorse for what was past, to begin to understand reason, although the greatest part (but not the best) stickled hard to keep the Citie in obedience to the *Junta*, to the end they might compass their own ill designs. After this the Lord high Constable sent to notifie his Commission to bee Vice-Roy and Governor, together with the Cardinal and Lord Admiral, to all the Cities of the Kingdom, where it might conveniently bee done, which being proclaimed, in most places was obeyed. Whereupon hee sent to all his kindred and friends, ordering them to raise what forces they could possibly, and dispatched messengers to all the Grandees, and Gentlemen of note in the Kingdom, encouraging and enjoyning them to assemble, and bee assistant to him. And hearing that the President, with others of the Council, were fled from *Valladolid* in the manner before mentioned, hee sent for them to come to him, which the President, and some of them, did. Afterwards the Letter coming to his hands, wherein the Emperor Commanded (until the Lord Admiral could joyn with them) That hee and the Cardinal should govern; Hee presently began to put his Majestie's orders in execution, using means to raise monie for the levying and paying of Souldiers: For without the force of Arms it seemed impossible to do any good; and therefore hee sent to borrow fiftie thousand Duckets of the King of *Portugal*, which hee lent him freely. With which monie, and what hee had of his own, or could procure any other waie, hee raised some *Infantrie*. Which done hee wrote to the Duke of *Naxara* *Don Antonio Manrique* Vice-Roy of *Navarra* for more men, who sent him five hundred

hundred foot Souldiers and some Artillerie, which hee also desired very earnestly. Hee sent likewise for those of the Guards, who came from that expedition, which was called *De les Gelues*; Some of which were readie to put themselves in the King's service, others took up Arms for the *Junta*, by the persuasion and means of *Don Pedro Giron* (who was upon terms of being their Captain General) and of the Bishop *Don Antonio de Acunia*, a great stickler for the Commonaltie. Also hee carried the business with those of *Burgos* in such manner, that they all should beeing ingaged in the Emperor's service, promising them very fair conditions, and delivering into their hands *Don Juan de Tovar* Marquis of *Berlanga*, his second Son, and *Don Bernardino de Velasco*, his yongest Son, as hostages, until such time as his Majestie should allow and confirm his agreement with them.

 SECT. XI.

WHILEST the Lord High Constable was making all these diligences, the Cardinal stole secretly out of *Valladolid* (as you heard already, upon the 20 of *October* 1520, with one single Page, and thence hee went to *Rioseco*; whence hee gave notice to the Lord High Constable, and other Grandees of the Kingdom, desiring them to send him men, and to repair thither in his favor; which they did. The first that came to him, were, the Marquis of *Astorga*, who brought with him the 26 *October*, eight hundred Cross-bow-men, two hundred musketers, four hundred men Armed with Targets and head-pieces, two hundred Lances, and one hundred Light-horsmen. The Earl of *Venayente* came, the next daie following, into *Medina*, with two thousand five hundred Foot, and two hundred and fiftie Lances. The Earl of *Lemos* brought fifteen hundred men. The Earl of *Valencia* a thousand. All which Noblemen, with some of the Council, staid in *Rioseco* with

the Cardinal, expecting more forces. *Don Hernando de Vega*, Lord of *Grajal*, brought three hundred and fiftie men; and the Admiral, Lord of that Town, wrote, hee would speedily bee there also. The Lord High Constable was very glad to hear of the Cardinal's escape. And according to his Agreement with those of *Burgos*, hee entred into the Citie the first daie of *November*, and notwithstanding some opposition, hee possessed himself of it. Whence communicating by Letters with the Cardinal, and other Nobles at *Rioseco*, they concluded, since there was no other remedie, that they should carrie on their business by force of Arms; That the *Rande-vous* should bee there at *Rioseco*, that beeing the most convenient place, becauf nearest to *Tordefillas*, where the *Junta* was likewise making their Armie. Hee resolved (it beeing generally so agreed upon) to staie at *Burgos*, with such force as hee thought convenient, to oppose and suppress the *Merindades*, which were risen, (of whom the Earl of *Salvatierra*, with small discretion, had made himself Captain) and sent his son *Don Pedro de Velasco*, Earl of *Haro*, as Captain General of the Souldiers and Artillerie that were sent him out of *Navarra*, and those Hors & Foot that were at *Medina de Rioseco*. The Earl of *Haro* departed from *Burgos* about the middle of *November*, and went to *Melgar*, eight leagues from thence; Where hee staied to gather more Forces: *Don Pedro Veloz de Guevaro*, Earl of *Oniate*, *Don Garcia Manrique*, Earl of *Oforno*, the Martial of *Fromesta*, *Don Alonso de Peralta*, and other Gentlemen, met him there, everie one bringing as many men as they could raise, thence they continued their march to *Rioseco*, whither every daie came Gentlemen with other Forces. Of all which, the Lord High Constable gave a particular relation to the Emperor.

 S E C T. XII.

FROM the very daie that those of the *Junta* were informed of the naming of the two Governors, they thought it was
time

time for them to provide more forces then what they yet had raised. To which effect they presently dispatched Letters to all the Cities of their League, advertising them of the great preparations the Governors were making, and that they must furnish both men and monie. They wrote also to *Don Manuel*, King of *Portugal*, thinking to gain him to their Partie; but what Answer hee returned I could never learn.

 S E C T. XIII.

Those of the *Junta*, seeing so great a confluence of Soldiers com daily to *Rioseco*, they dispatch'd messengers presently to their severall Cities, desiring they would speedily send thither what forces they could make. *Salamanca*, with the territories therof, furnished two hundred Lances, and six thousand Foot, w^{ch}, with those from *Toledo*, *Madrid*, and *Segovia*, made a reasonable good Armie. Thus both sides prepared what forces they could to destroie one another. Those of *Valladolid*, seeing themselves in the middle of these two Parties, and both very near them, being not determined which side to take, resolved to send to them both. Their Messengers, *Don Pedro Vaçan* Lord of *Vañeza*, Doctor *Francisco de Espinosa*, *Pulgar* and *Diego de Zamora*, Batchellors at Law, in the name of their Citie said to those of the *Junta*, That if they did continue in doing that which was just and good for the Commonalties, as they had begun, the Citie of *Valladolid*, with all their Armie and power, would assift them, but if otherwise, they would decline their Interest, and resist them. Thence they went to *Rioseco*, and said as much to the Cardinal, and those of the Council; adding moreover, that they should not intermeddle, or hinder anie thing which the *Junta* had done in favor of the Commonaltie of the Kingdom, upon which condition they would obey them in all things, and (if they pleased) receive them into their Citie with honor and respect: And they did
require

require them in the names and behalf of the *Infante*, Gentlemen and Commonaltie of *Valladolid*, That they would not raise any Souldiers, nor make any scandals or offence to the Countrey, by gathering together Armies, otherwise, that they did protest against them. A brave resolution of those of *Valladolid* to stand out against them both.

S E C T. XIV.

Notwithstanding the different factions which divided *Valladolid*, they were all generally well affected to the Lord Admiral, and desired hee should come amongst them, hoping his presence would conduce much to the remedying of those mischiefs, hee being a very noble Gentleman, and no waie addicted to passion, or partialitie. The Lord Admiral, having intelligence of all that passed in *Valladolid*, wrote them a Letter, saying, That although hee did not desire to bee pestered with those troubles and confusions, yet his coming thither should not bee deferred much longer. *That* his intention was to do good to them all generally, being very much grieved for what had passed amongst them. *That* he could not choole but admire at the tumultuous risings of the Kingdom. *That* if they had but written twice or thrice to his Majestie, he would have remedied all those disorders, by granting what they desired. *That* their keeping Guards, and going their Rounds about the Citie, tended to nothing but the consuming of their Estates, destroying of their Trade, the undoing of the Husbandmen and Common People, for which hee was very sorrie. *That* the whole world took notice heretofore of the nobleness and loialtie of these Kingdoms: And now their inconstancie, divisions, and factious insurrections, afforded matter of discourse to all other Nations. *That* they should take notice that the great Turk was come with a mightie Armie against *Rodes*, ravaging and spoiling Christendom both by Sea and Land, and that by reason of these dissentions, animosities, and confusion amongst
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the people, it were no hard matter for him to gain footing in these Kingdoms. Therefore hee affectionately desired them all to bee pacified, and to believ, that his Majestie was very much troubled and aggrieved at these sad occurrences: And that at his return hee would procure the good of the Kingdoms. This Letter being read in the publick Assemblie of *Valladolid*, did sufficiently startle som of them, but they hoped for a remedie from heaven. After this the Lord Admiral being at *Zerbera*, wrote another Letter to them in a manner to the same effect. Which being heard and seen by those of *Valladolid*, they were astonish'd at the words and counsel which hee gave them therein, not knowing how to answer his reasons, nor to what they should attribute his counsels. Som that were of opinion that the *Junta* was wicked and unlawful, would have it bee dissolved; others extolling it to the skies, urged, that every bodie ought to conform themselvs thereunto. The Nobles and Gentry at *Rioseco* were very desirous to re-unite and pacifie *Valladolid*, it being so considerable a place, thinking besides, that if they were but Masters thereof, they should with more facilitie compass their design upon the other Cities: To this effect they used all the policie and subtil inventions possible, sending messengers, and holding private intelligence with those of the Citie, who were well affected and desired the King's service. The Citie was in this season more strictly watched then before, they making secret Rounds, and placing strong Guards at all the Gates; for the contrarie partie (which was the most powerful) was jealous, and afraid of som double dealing.

 SECT. XV.

AT the same time that *Valladolid* received the Lord Admiral's Letters, others were brought to them from *Burgos*, which were likewise read in the publick Assemblie of the

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Citie.

Citie. The Reader may imagine what various humors, what speeches, what factions, what passions were engendred, by the Contents of those Letters; finally, what confusion they might breed in so noble and spacious a Citie, (the seat of the Kings of *Spain*) and what judgments and censures might there-hence take their rise, and fill the malicious heads of the Common people; not knowing well which hand they had best to use, they resolved to plaie with both, and sent again to the Cardinal, Governor, and those of the *Junta* also, their Embassadors *Don Pedro Vaçan*, and the others before mentioned, with certain Articles which they thought were convenient for the pacification of the Kingdoms. The Cardinal with those of the Council, gave them a fair reception, and a satisfactorie answer: Those of the *Junta* did no less, desiring to make them of their pack, and moreover, they wrote a Letter to those of the Commonaltie in *Valladolid*, with some expressions of zeal and affection mingled with reprehensions for their luke-warmness and indifferencie.

SECT. XVI.

ON Sundaie the eleventh of *October*, one *Alonso de Vera* got up into the Pulpit of the Cathedral Church of *Valladolid*, and read to the people two Letters, one from those of the *Junta*, wherein they desired, that *Valladolid* would assise and stand to them, as they had promised, and fulfil what they had commanded them. The other was from *Don Pedro Giron*, in which hee offered them his service, desiring that as hee had alwaies shewed a particular affection to that Citie, and been tender of their welfare, they would receiv him, in regard hee was Captain General of the *Junta's* forces, and desired nothing but the good of the Kingdom, and his Majestie's service, neither would hee act any thing but with the good liking and consent of *Valladolid*. The people were exceedingly

ceedingly taken with these Letters; and said, they would do whatsoever therein was required, and that *Don Pedro* should bee welcom into the Citie; And the next daie hee made his entrie, all the people of *Valladolid* going forth to receiv him with great applause. This War beeing betwixt kindred, friends, and Countrie men, there was as much diligence used to gain places, and good wills, by Letters, as by force of Arms. The Earl of *Venavente*, and the Lord Admiral of *Castilla* were in a manner Natives and Citizens of *Valladolid*, their families from many generations, having had their principal mansions there, and the Citie bare them great respect, as they had reason. These Noble-men shewing their affection to *Valladolid*, as their Native soil, and seeing it so far plunged in these distractions, either out of hope to reduce it by fair means, or meerly out of their love and desire of its good and preservation, they both endeavored by Letters to make them sensible of their errors. The Lord Admiral chiefly desired, that they would let him com into their Citie, promising, that hee would bee as vigilant and careful of their general good, as of any particular persons; That hee would imploy in their defens his own life, and fortune: If that could not bee granted, that they would send any three, whom they thought fittest, to meet and confer with him, two or three leagues thence, where they pleased. But *Valladolid* would accept of none of these conditions, alledging that such enter-views would bee ill taken, and that people would bee apt thereupon to saie, *Burgos* having Articled and agreed with the Lord high Constable, that *Valladolid* would do the like. So they returned the Lord Admiral no other Answer, then that for the present they could not condescend to any of those things which his Lordship desired. To the Earl of *Venavente's* Letter they briefly thus replied, That since his Lordship was so Noble, as to offer them his own person, and men, they desired that hee would keep his promise, in letting them have the said men to send to *Tordesillas*, in the *Junta's* service, and upon that condition, they should carrie the Colours and Arms of *Valladolid*. These

Letters were dispatched in the name of the Citie by the Prior of the great Church, who was a grand Commoner. These answers beeing sent to the two Noble-men, the Citie gave order for the raising of more men to send to the *Junta*, becauf there were many wanting of the thousand which they had sent. Moreover, Command was given for the gathering of one hundred Duckets out of every Ward, which amounted to one thousand four hundred Duckets. Which was forthwith done, and the thousand men compleated. After this they caused a Proclamation to bee made throughout the Citie, commanding all and everie of the Commonaltie to appear under pain of beeing accused for Malignants, or Ill-affected to the *Junta*. Who beeing all assembled, they made them swear by the Holie Evangelists, and upon the Crosse *in forma*, that under pain of beeing infamous perjurers and faith-breakers, they should bee readie to serv, favor, and asist in whatsoever those of the *Junta* should do, in order to the service of God, the King, Queen, and Commonaltie of the Citie of *Valladolid*; and that they should not do, or saie, directly or indirectly, any thing to the contrarie, or suffer anie thing to bee said or done by their children, servants, or households. And if they should know or hear any thing said or done to the contrarie, that they should forthwith inform the Assemblie of the Citie of *Valladolid* thereof, to the end the offenders might receiv condigne punishment; The Oath beeing thus pronounced, they all cried with one voice, This wee swear.

The Engage-
ment of those
of *Valladolid*.

S E C T. XVII.

I Have already declared, how the Citie of *Segovia* was divided by several factions, insomuch that they seemed to bee in Civil War amongst themselvs. The Earl of *Chincho* defended the Forts. Within the Citie there were several houses of strength, wherein som of the Roial partie fortified themselvs, others

others did the like in the Cathedral Church. The Fort being but slenderly mann'd, the Earl of *Chinchon* went to *Burgos*, to desire succour from the Lord High Constable, who sent ten Musketeers, valiant and resolute men, with order to get into the Fort, as they could. They arrived at *Pedraça* on Friday morning, 23 of *November*, where they took about one hundred weight of powder, and kept themselves private until the Evening; Night being com, they marched with a guide (who led them by-waies) to *Parral*, where hee left them, and the Moon being down, they went into the Fort, without any one's taking notice of them; which was the better effected, becaus that very daie those of *Segovia* had assaulted the Church, and were wearie, having found strong resistance. The next daie, it being noised in the Citie, that the Fort had received succour in the night, they were much scandalized, and troubled at it, thinking it more considerable then it was, and feared that they were sold by som within the Citie. Things being in the condition before-mentioned, disposed for an absolute breach, the Cities of the League prepared arms and men with all expedition; and those of the *Junta* sent certain instructions (which their Captains and Souldiers were to observ) to *Valladolid*, where *Don Pedro Giron* (whom they all looked upon as Captain General) remained to make and order the Armie, as shall bee more at large declared in the following Book.

The Infante of *Granada*, having been put out of his Office, with fourteen other Officers of the Citie, by the people of *Valladolid*, who accused them of keeping correspondence with the Enemy.



Finis Libri Quarti.





THE
 CIVIL WARS
 OF
 SPAIN.
 THE
 FIFTH BOOK.

SECT. I.



The Passions of the people in *Castilla* grew to such mortal animosities, that pens and tongues being wearied, they fell to preparing arms and munition of war: as when an Impostume fester's, no cure can be expected, but by the applying of hot burning Iron. Those Gentlemen who were the chief sticklers for the Commonalties, being lanch'd forth into the deepest of the sea of passion, knowing how ill a name they had acquired (which exceedingly offended their pre-

presumption,) were already grown so desperate, that they cared not to lose their Countries, Estates, Wives, Children, or their own Lives, desiring to hazard all in the Lotterie of Arms, and make or destroy their fortunes in one Battle; wherein, if their designs had been crowned with success, doubtless, they would have changed their styles, and being victorious, remained with the glorious attribute of Redeemers and Defenders of their Countrie: for humane judgments determine by the Event, not by the middle or beginning of any Enterprize. Though it hath been the ordinarie defect of other Commonalties to have but slender forces, this was so powerful, that had there been the least good Conduct amongst them, and some experienced Captains, *Don Carlos* hardly ever would have recovered the Crown of *Spain*. The Common people were to blame, and the Gentry not to be excused, for opposing and rising against their Sovereign's Ministers; yet we must of necessity confess, that they were valiant. That there were diverse exorbitancies, outrages, and insolencies committed, What wonder is it amongst the respectless and libertine People? and that the Gentlemen depended more upon them, than they upon the Nobles, who assisted them. If we see an Armie well disciplined, the Souldiers subject and obedient to their Captains, shall we say absolutely all those in that Armie are Traitors? for my part I would not; neither is it any such great marvel that children rise up against their own fathers; for if we look back to some passages of our Countrie of *Spain*, what shall we see, but the like unnatural actions; the factions of Princes, the sidings of Grandees, and private Gentlemen, who were so audacious, as to rise in arms, against their lawful Kings? and yet they are not so spotted and foul as some would make those of the latter times appear to be. I do not say this in justification of these Commonalties, but onely to excuse, in what I may, my own Nation, and the Gentry thereof. But to return to the purpose: Nothing was left unattempted on either side, that might conduce to the increasing or securitie of their Partie. You have seen in the

Their Captains were good enough, if they had not had some treacherous great ones amongst them.

Here the Author confesseth in a manner the justness of the Cause, and seemeth himself to justify it.

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precedent Book, that the *Junta* sent their Instructions to *Valadolid*, where *Don Pedro Giron*, and other Captains of the Commonaltie, were assembled. The time beeing com (although the season was very sharp and unfit for an Armie to keep the field, beeing almost in the depth of Winter) they all put themselvs in a readines, and in the name of the *Junta*, they wrote fresh Letters to the Cities and Towns of their Combination, to send immediately all the forces they could possibly raise; which they did. Those of the *Junta*, according to agreement, Voted *Don Pedro Giron* Captain General of their Forces, and sent him a Commission from the Queen, and the Kingdom, Thinking that hee beeing a person of so noble extraction, and allied to so many Grandees of *Castilla*, would gain a great reputation to their Partie; And most men were of opinion, that *Don Pedro Giron* accepted thereof, and wedded the Interest of the Commonaltie meerly for his own ends, and that by means of these troubles and commotions, hee might get possession of the Dukedom of *Medina Sidonia*, which (as hath been already said) hee pretended was his right. This Election did not digest well in *John de Padilla's* stomach, who, till then, had executed the office of Captain General, and presumed it should be confirmed upon him, and for his sake, neither the Commissioners of *Toledo*, nor of *Madrid*, would give their Votes for *Don Pedro*. *John de Padilla* beeing informed of all these passages, before that *Don Pedro Giron* came to take his staff, pretending I know not what occasion, rode poste to *Toledo*; and his men, seeing their Captain gone, would staie no longer in the Armie, but the next daie took the same waie after him. Notwithstanding all this, *Don Pedro Giron* accepted the Charge, and came to *Tordesillas* with fourscore Lances of his own, appointed a *Randevous* for his Armie, wherein hee was much assisted by the industrie and diligence of the Bishop of *Zamora*, who brought to the service of the *Junta* near five hundred men with arms, of the antient Guards of the Kingdom, (for the rest were gone to the Lord High Constable) hee brought
more-

moreover, seventie Lances of his own, and almost a thousand Foot, four hundred whereof were Priests of his own Bishoprick, besides the people of *Zamora*, whom hee had at his devotion; for by favor of the *Junta*, hee had driven the Earl of *Alva* out of *Zamora*, and made himself Master thereof. Every daie came fresh supplies from the other Cities, both of Horse and Foot, all well armed, and with them some Gentlemen and Commanders. From *Salamanca* came *Don Pedro Maldonado*, with about a thousand Foot: Other Cities appointed those who were their Commissioners in the *Junta* to be their Captains; As *Leon* chose *Gonsalo de Guzman*, son to *Ramiro Nuñez*; and the Citie of *Toro*, *Don Hernando de Ulloa*, who were their Commissioners; and so likewise did other places. Thus those of the *Junta* grew from daie to daie more powerful, being resolved to end the business by force of Arms. Their mouths were all filled with reproachful and threatenng language, especially the Common-people's, who called the *Grandeas* and Gentry of the Countrey, Traitors & enemies of the Kingdom, saying, they had destroyed & taken away their estates; (w^{ch} availed them nothing) but who can restrain a multitude? Amongst other impertinencies, they said, That the Queen should do well to marrie the Duke of *Calabria*, *Don Hernando de Aragon*, son to *Frederick* last K. of *Naples*, who, since the time of the Catholick King, had been kept prisoner in *Xativa*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; I believ this was onely put upon those of the *Junta*, and that they neither did, nor thought any such thing. But the truth is, their passion was grown to such an height, that they never so much as named the Emperor in their Proclamations, though they had sworn Allegiance to him, as their King, but all passed in the names of the Queen and Kingdom: Insomuch that the hatred and enmity betwixt the two parties became implacable, and both made all preparations possible for a war. In short time those of the *Junta* had put their forces in a readines, and equipage to march unto the field, as was determined.

S E C T. II.

Mongst these occurrences arrived the Lord Admiral at *Medina de Rioseco*, where hee was met and received by all the Noble-men and Gentle-men, (who were com thither to the Cardinal) with their Souldiers all armed, and drawn up in Battle-Array. Hee expressed much gladness to see so many gallant men, and persons of such eminent qualitie: Yet hee had no intention, to wade through blood to the accomplishment of his desires, but rather by fair means, if possible, to settle the disturbed State of the Kingdoms; which to effect, hee left no stone unturn'd, and at last hee obtained, that three or four of the Commissioners of the *Junta* should give him a meeting at *Torrelobaton*, where they consumed five or six daies in treating, but all his reasons, persuasions, and fair promisses could bring them to no reason: Before they would harken to any proposition of his, they demanded that the Lord high Constable should renounce, and leav off the exercise of Vice-Roy and Governor, which hee had begun to execute; And whilst the Lord Admiral was thus treating with them, the *Junta* commanded a Proclamation to be made against the Lord high Constable, and the Earl of *Alva de Lista*, as is before mentioned, and other Noble-men: And *Don Pedro Giron*, with the Bishop of *Zamora*, had orders to draw their Armie into the field, which was seaventeen thousand Foot, besides good store of hors, and much Artillerie, which had been brought from *Medina del Campo*. Whereupon the Lord Admiral despairing of any Peace, protested against them, and returned to *Rioseco*, beeing resolved to accept the Government joyntly with the Cardinal and the Lord high Constable, in regard those fair conditions of agreement, which hee offred, were slighted and rejected. *Don Pedro Giron*, Captain-General for the *Junta*, and the Bishop of *Zamora*

Zamora with his Souldiers and band of Priests, marched out the 23rd daie of *November* 1520, and quartered their Armie that night in *Villabraxima*, *Tordehumos*, *Villagarzia*, and other places about *Rioseco*, with intent to starve or drive the *Cavaliers* thence. And indeed, if the Commoners had been men at that time, they might have done it. From their head-quarters at *Villabraxima*, they wrote to the Citie of *Valladolid*, giving them an account of their advance, and that, before they fell upon *Rioseco*, they would send a King at Arms to require the Lord Admiral, and those of the Town of *Rioseco*, to cast out those thieves, and destroyers of the Kingdom, (as they called the *Cavaliers*); if not that they would use means to take them, and hinder the Cardinal's Government, it beeing a thing contrarie to the Laws, and Rights of the Kingdom.

 S E C T. III.

AFTER this, the Armie of the *Junta*, by waie of justification, sent their Heralds, or King's at Arms, to the Lord Admiral, with the other Noble-men, and Gentlemen, then beeing in *Rioseco*, requiring them not onely to leav that place, but to go out of the Countrie, and desiring those of the said Town, to confirm themselves to those of the Commonaltie in favor of his Majestie, but this message was so ill resented, that the Heralds found but forrie entertainment, being apprehended and disarmed by order from the Earls of *Venavente*, and of *Alva de Lista*; which beeing known by the *Junta's* forces, they presently advanced towards *Rioseco*, The Bishop of *Zamora* marched in the Van with five thousand men, fully resolved to do all the mischief hee could to the *Cavaliers*. Hee was no sooner com to *Villabraxima*, but the two hundred lances, which the Marquis of *Astorga* had placed there, took their heels, flying with such disorder and haste, that some of them lost their Arms before they could reach *Rioseco*, and left

the Place cleer for the Bishop, who entering, said, *Let the King and Commonaltie live, and evil Counsel perish.* The two hundred Lanciers disorderly flight to *Medina*, alarmed the *Cavaliers*, who having put their Armie in good order, marched into the field, with intent to rout the Bishop with his five thousand men, but hee valued them not, though they were numerous, and men of eminent qualities, for hee knew *Don Pedro Giron* was so neer with the Rere-guard, and so Vigilant, that hee would bee readie to back and asist him, if occasion should require it. Thus the two Armies faced one another, each watching an opportunitie to get the advantage of their enemies, and so they remained both drawn up in *Batalia* one whole daie, after which, the *Cavaliers* retreated to *Tordehumos*, and the *Junta's* Armie to *Villabraxima*, both neer *Riofeco*. The four hundred Priests, which had left their Altars, in Imitation of the Bishop of *Zamora*, to sacrifice their bloods in this Holie enterprise, remained at *Tordefillas*, for the guard of the Town and of the *Junta*, who out of respect to their Sacerdotal Dignities, would not permit them to march amongst the rabble of the Common Souldiers. Besides these Priests, remained two other Companies of Foot at *Tordefillas*, and some horse commanded by *Hernando de Torras*, Commissioner of *Zamora*, *Gomez de Avila*, and others. Three whole daies *Don Pedro Giron* kept his Armie in order, offering to give the *Cavaliers* Battle, but they would not; and indeed it had been madness for them to ingage, beeing far inferior in number, and not so well armed, although they were better men, and of higher courages then the Common People, yet they thought it their securest waie to expect the Earl of *Haro's* coming, (their Captain-General) who was reported to bee upon his march thither; and besides they were in hopes to obtain the Victorie by some other means, without any loss of blood, the Lord Admiral having some overtures thereof by private intelligence, and dealing with *Don Pedro Giron*, and som other Gentlemen, who sided with the Cōmoners, whom if hee could handsomly have taken off, it would have been no hard

Here *Don Pedro*, and other Gentlemen, begin to plaine the Traitors.

hard matter to have routed the Vulgar Pack of Tailors, Shoemakers, Skinners, Curriers, & such like; whereof the rest of their Armie was compos'd. But the Cōmoners perceiving themselvs much the stronger Partie, infested the *Cavaliers* with such skirmishes and hot alarms both night & daie, that they could take no rest all the while they staid at *Tordebunos*; And hearing that the Earl of *Haro* was expected with more forces, they determined to force them to fight before his arrival, or at least, to gain the reputation of proffering them Battle. To this effect, having made a general muster, they marched with all their Artillerie in very good order towards *Rioseco. Sanabria*, Commissioner of *Valladolid*, rid before with 30 Light Hors, to discover the field. *Don Pedro Lasso de la Vega* led the Vantguard of Cuirassiers, *Don Pedro Maldonado* and *Francisco Maldonado* commanded the Light Horsemen. The Bishop of *Zamora* was Captain of the Vantguard of Foot; with him marched *Don John de Mendoça*, Captain of *Valladolid*, son to the Cardinal *Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoça*, *Don Gonzalo de Guzman*, Captain of *Leon*, *Don Hernando de Ulloa*, Captain of *Toro*, and others. In the bodie marched *Don Pedro Giron*, called, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, with him divers other Captains, and *Don John de Figueroa*, brother to the Duke of *Arcos*, who came that same daie to the Armie from *Sevilla*, besides other Commanders. The Rear-guard and the Artillerie was committed to the charge of other officers. Being arrived within Culverine-shot of the Town, they made an *Halt*, commanding their Heralds, in mean time, to approach so near unto the walls, that they might bee heard, and declare unto the Admiral and Earl of *Venavente*, with the other Grandees and Gentlemen in *Medina*, that the Armie of their Sovereign Ladie, the Queen, was com thither, to execute upon them, by her command, those penalties wth they had incurred by governing the Kingdom without her order or consent, and for raising and arming men in contempt, and to the disservice of her Majestie; and therefore they did offer them Battle, and did expect their coming into the field. Having sent this message to the Town, they remained in the same or-

der almost until Sun-set. But the *Cavaliers*, although they were in Arms, made no shew at all of Battel or skirmish, but persevering in their former resolution, let them stand cooling their heels there. At last, *Don Pedro Giron*, having commanded some of his Cannon to be discharged against the Town, (but the bullets never reach't the Walls) returned with his Armie into his Quarters, losing and neglecting that occasion, which proved very prejudicial to his Partie. Hee was no sooner gone, but the Earl of *Haro* arrived with his men, who had marched as fast as possibly they could, thinking to have some time enough to meet *Don Pedro*, for the Earl had intelligence of his defying the *Cavaliers* in *Medina*, though hee had no great stomach to fight with them. All the Nobles and Gentlemen, with their Souldiers, marched forth to receive their Captain General with great solemnitie, and Militarie order. Hee brought with him three hundred Horse-men in compleat Armor, four hundred Light-horse-men, and two thousand five hundred Foot, all choice men, and twelve or thirteen field-pieces. The same night came likewise to *Rioseco*, *Don Francisco de Zuñiga y Avellaneda*, Earl of *Miranda*, *Don Veltran de la Cueva*, eldest son to the Duke of *Alburquerque*, *Don Luys de la Cueva* his brother, *Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Royas*, Marquis of *Denia*, with his son *Don Luys de Sandoval*, and *Don Francisco de Quiñmes*, Earl of *Luna*, with all the servants, tenants and souldiers they could get. This supplie encreased the *Cavaliers* to above one and twentie hundred horse, and six thousand foot souldiers, besides a good companie of servants. In somuch that hereby they held themselves stronger then their enemies; not that they exceeded them in number, but in virtue and courage, besides the Cause which they maintained was more just, and warrantable, which add's much confidence and boldness to the hearts of men, and make's their souls insusceptible of any Panick fears.

SECT. IV.

THose of the *Junta* seeing fresh forces com daily in to the *Cavaliers*, endeavored to prepossess themselvs of all the Towns and places of strength, and sent besides, to all those of their league, to raise, and have in a readines, what men possibly they could, notwithstanding they were already much stronger then the other partie. Hereupon in *Valladolid*, by order from the *Junta*, was publickly proclaimed, that all the Townsmen, from eighteen to threescore years of age, should bee trained, and bee readie with their Arms, to march into the field, upon notice from the Captain General of the Armie. The President, and other Judges of the Chancerie in *Valladolid*, who were Persons of great respect and esteem in the Citie, having never before meddled with either side, seeing the great disorder amongst the people, and fearing further confusion, moved with a good zeal and affection to their Countries good, came with all expedition to *Rioseco*, to treat with the Lord Admiral, and other Noblemen, about some fair accommodation, whereby the Kingdom might avoid the imminent perdition, which through that unnatural war, in all probabilitie, it was like to suffer. They found amongst the Nobles very courteous entertainment, and expression of a desire to condescend to anie reasonable propositions, all the difficultie and obstacle laie in those of the *Junta's* Partie, and especially in the Bishop of *Zamora*. From *Rioseco*, the President, with the other Judges, went to *Villabraxima*, where the Bishop, with his five thousand men, was quartered. The President beeing admitted, entreated him with great earnestness and humilitie, the tears standing in his eies, to consider, and leav off in time the evil and wrong course they had taken, and not to give waie to, much less to bee the occasion of so great mischiefs, murthers, and scandals, which inevitably must fall

The President
of *Valladolid's*
Speech to the
Bishop of *Za-*
mora.

fall upon the Kingdom, if they continued inexorable, alleging, That it would bee much more advantageous for their Countie's good (which they so much pretended) to accept of an honorable peace, and accommodation, whereby (with the help of God) the Kingdoms might bee preserved from the present ruine, and restored to their former flourishing condition: for admit the Commoner meet with the success which they desire, vanquish the Cavaliers, reduce his Majestie to such streights, that hee will bee glad to grant them more immunities then formerly they did desire, yet they must live under him, and when hee find's an occasion, hee will put the yoke again about their necks, and load them with taxes at his pleasure. That these violent uproars and mutinies of the Commonalties, in disrespect or disobedience to their Princes, were fickle and very unsecure. That those Gentlemen and Commanders, which then engaged with them, if fortune gave them victorie over their enemies, would Lord it over them no less insupportably, then the others: neither did those Gentlemen (Defendors of the Commonalties) shew any great discretion, setting themselvs in opposition to all the Grandees and Nobles of the Kingdom, especially in a matter of so much prejudice and disservice to his Majestie. That it would bee an act of greater wisdom, to accept of any fair propositions of agreement, to remain in peace, with a due respect & obedience to their Princes, whereby to gain their loves, and not to expose themselvs to the various & uncertain Chance of War.

A gallant and
resolute answer
of the Bishop
of Zamora to
the Lord Pre-
sident.

The Bishop answered, Lord President! Since in the condition and estate our business now stand's, we have moved & advanced hitherto, I know what is convenientest for us to do, and therefore I will not flinch nor recede one step, but rather persevere in my enterprize, and pursue to destruction those wicked disturbers of the Kingdoms. The President seeing the Bishop would not hearken to what hee desired of him, hee required him in their Majestie's names, by virtue of the Royal Seal, which hee brought with him, not to stir from thence, until hee had been to confer about the same business with the

Lord

Lord Admiral, and other Noblemen, at *Rioseco*; but the Bishop gave him no answer thereunto, neither did hee make any more account of him, then if hee had been his servant (this was the perfection of this great Prelate, successor of the Apostles). So the President & the Judges, leaving him, went to *Medina*, where, by reason of the pervers' Cross-grainedness of those of the *Junta*, they could effect nothing to any purpose; and the Bishop's Conscience was pricked with such remorse at the President's discourf, and his tender heart so moved with his tears, that hee scarce had turned his back, but his Reverend Lordship called for his Armor (for the head-piece and pouldrons were the Pontifical robes wherein hee most delighted): And having commanded his Artillerie to bee secured in the Rear-guard, hee marched forth with his men to encounter a great partie of Foot, and three hundred horse, which hee had notice, was advancing towards his quarters. But they, having intelligence that the Bishop was com forth in quest of them, with a stronger Partie, retreated to *Rioseco*. By this time were com into the Armie of the *Junta* three thousand souldiers more from the Citie of *Leon*, besides great numbers from *Valladolid*, and other places; but chiefly *John de Padilla* was expected with a supplie from *Toledo* and *Madrid*.

An heroick
and gener-
ous Spirit
in the
Bishop of
Zamora bee-
ing a man
indefatiga-
ble.

SECT. V.

Those of the Council proceeded against those of the *Junta*, and all the Cities of their League, according to Law, and having erected a Scaffold, they caused them publickly to bee proclaimed *Traitors* and *Rebels* to the Roial Crown; Whereat they were so incensed, that thenceforwards they fought not so much for the Interest of the Kingdom, as for reputation, and to revenge particular quarrels (the off-spring of those troubles and dissentions) or for ancient grudges betwixt particular persons or places. The Bishop swore that hee would keep the field with his men onely, until hee were either dead, or crowned with *Victorie*. The Cavaliers were as resolute on the other side; insomuch that although the President of the Chancerie insisted for peace, hee prevailed nothing. The *Cavaliers* had manie skirmishes with

*Don Pedro
and the
Bishop of
Zamora's
message to
the Caval-
liers.*

the Bishop's men. At last hee, and *Don Pedro Giron*, seeing that the Cavaliers would not com out to give them battle, they sent a Trumpeter to them with this message, *That they should meet them in the field, to the end they might in one battle set a period to all their Contentions, which caused so great disturbances in the Kingdom. That Winter was coming on apace, and it was to no purpose to stand dallying in that manner, and ruine one another by delaies. That if they refused to fight, they would go to their Towns and Lordships, and having plundered them, burn their houses to the ground: But the Lord Admiral could not resolv to put all to so great a venture. In Valladolid, besides the men which they sent to the Armie, (as is said) having mustered again, they found seven thousand more Cross-bow-men, Pike-men, and Musketiers, which they could well spare, leaving moreover, enough to guard the Citie; whereupon they sent to the Junta, that shortly they should receive another supplie from them, and that if occasion served, they would go everie man in person with their general Standard to serv them, for they esteemed the Cause which they defended to bee Just and Holie.*

S E C T. VI.

THE Countess of *Modica*, wife to the Lord Admiral, being a very virtuous and devout Ladie, was grieved at the Soul to see these disorders, and miserable condition of the Kingdoms, wherein so many innocent persons suffered, and desiring to compose the sad differences, shee spake to the Lord Admiral, her husband, and the Earl of *Venavente*, earnestly desiring them to stop the current of those miseries, which would proceed from that unnatural War. The good Ladie prevailed so much, that the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Venavente*, *Don Pedro Giron*, (who called himself Duke of *Medina*) the Bishop of *Zamora*, and shee, had a meeting at *Villabraxima*, one evening; And having ordered and agreed upon certain Articles in favor of the *Junta*, the Earl of *Venavente* said to the Admiral; My Lord, though you desire to keep four or five *Licenciado's* in your Town, I hope
you

SECT. 7. *The Civil Wars of Spain.*

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you will not bring our estates in question, and give waie to so many murders, and robberies, as must needs follow, if so, God forbid that I should have any thing to do with it, but to favor and assist the *Junta*, and the Commonalties, since all that they desire is good and just, and I so acknowledge and approve it, and from this time forwards will justifie it : Which said, hee set his hand to the said Articles, the Countes said as hee did ; And the Admiral taking the paper in his hands, said to the Earl, Since you have signed this first, I'll do the like : And hee having subscribed, they went all together to supper, very well contented. After supper they returned to *Medina*, and presently gave a Command, that the whole Town should declare for the Queen, the King her Son, and the Commonaltie. All this was done with a politick art and cunning, to make the Armie of the Commoners leav *Medina* ; For if it had continued longer there, it would have very much streightned and incommodated the *Cavaliers*, the Commoners beeing already many more in number, and receiving every daie fresh supplies, and the *Cavaliers* having little hopes of increasing their force, by reason that all the Nobles and persons of honor in the Kingdoms of *Toledo*, *Andaluzia*, and *Estremadura* sat still, expecting which waie the scale would turn, without declaring for King or Commonaltie.

The Earl spoke with much cunning & dissimulation, purposely to please and blind the Bishop, that hee might not suspect what they had in private concluded with Don Pedro Giron, by which conference it appears plainly that they were betrayed, & sold, as Antonio de Guevara declareth at large in his Epistles. No hing but the private treacherie of Don Pedro Giron could have deluded the Bishop and destroyed their Armie.

SECT. VII.

UPon the agreement between the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Venavente*, and *Don Pedro Giron*, the Armie without knowing any reason wherefore, marched from *Tordebumos* and *Villabraxima* to *Villalpando*, where, after some small resistance, they were received and quartered peaceably. *Don Pedro Giron* took up his lodging, in his unkle, the Lord high Constable's house. All were of opinion that *Don Pedro* juggled, and plaied legerdemain in this business, and so it appeared by his dislodging his Armie, and leaving the enemy free, besides having nothing at all to do at *Villalpando*. And indeed *Don Pedro Giron* might well be suspected herein, for the *Grandees*, who were his neer kindred, wrought much upon him, as shall be seen hereafter. The *Cavaliers* see-

ing themselves free from the incumbrance of that powerful Armie, which blocked them up in a manner, and finding the waie cleer and secure from thence to *Tordesillas*, marched all out of *Rioseco*, seizing on all Posts and Travellers, that might give notice of their approach, making as if they had a design upon *Valladolid*, but with as much speed as an Armie could advance, they went directly to *Tordesillas*; Those of the *Junta*, hearing of their coming, dispatched presently a Post to *Valladolid*, telling them, that the *Cavaliers* were marching thither with all expedition, therefore they desired them to send them speedie succor. But *Valladolid* having sent neer four thousand of their choicest men already to the Armie, and hearing that the enemy was like to fall upon them, desired to be excused, thinking they might better have relief from the Armie, where were men enough. But they being in good quarters at *Villalpando*, were not over-hastie to go to *Tordesillas*, for the plot was so well laid, that no man knew the certaintie of the design, but that which *Don Pedro* did a little after, confirmed the suspicion the world had conceived of him. One night the *Cavaliers* stormed the Town, having clapt a Petar to the Gates, but finding strong resistance, the Earl of *Haro* sent a Trumpet, to tell them they came onely to kiss the Queen's hands, and to set her at libertie, and required them to yeild; Whereunto they giving no satisfactorie answer, the Earl resolved to force them, and encouraged his Souldiers, promising them the pillage of the Town. But what by the natural strength of the place, what through the courageous resistance of the besieged, the Earl lost above 250 men, before hee could make any breach. The Priests, which the Bishop of *Zamora* left there, behaved themselves very valorously in this Holie cause: One amongst the rest was particularly observed to have given eleven men their *Viaticum* with his musket, from behinde the Battlements of the Wall, where hee thought hee stood secure, and as he saw occasion sent his *Benediction* amongst them, which seldom mist his man. But at last, some of the besiegers, with an un-sanctified arrow, shot him quite through the head, with which hee presently fell down, and died, not having the time to saie so much as one *Miserere*. At length an *Alferez*, with some other *Cavaliers*,

Cavaliers, having forced their entrie at a smal breach in the wall, and given the sign to their *Camarades*, the whole Armie gave a shout, and with sound of Drums and Trumpets, cried all out, *Victoria, Victoria*, which so animated the Besiegers, that in the same, and in other parts of the Town, they made fresh assaults, in-
Tordesillas taken by the Earl of Haro, Captain General of the Cavalier forces.
 somuch that the Besieged were no longer able to resist. The Cavalier-Souldiers, beeing thus entred the Town, used no violence to either man, woman, or childe, for that they were forbidden; but neither Houses, Churches, nor Monasteries escaped from plundering: So that no man had so much as a bed left to sleep upon, unless the Souldiers, out of charitie, would let him have any; which punishment they did deserv, for fighting and defending their goods no better, after they were engaged, and put themselvs into a posture of resistance. The Grandees and Gentlemen, beeing entred into *Tordesillas*, went directly to the Palace to kiss the Queen's hands, and shew her their due respects, they found her with the *Infanta*, her daughter, *Doña Catalina*, in her own chamber, whence *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Comissioner of *Toledo*, had persuaded her to withdraw during the fight: Som say, to the end, that from the wall, shee might have commanded the besiegers not to storm the Town; others think, it was with intent to conveie her thence, and carrie her by the Bridg-waie to *Medina del Campo*; But this escape that was intended for the Queen, beeing attempted just upon the entrie of the enemy into the Town, *Don Pedro de Ayala* left her, and fled himself to *Medina del Campo*. Shee shewed the Gentlemen that came to kiss her hands very gracious countenance, though, by reason of her infirmitie and want of judgment, shee cared little how things went; onely it is reported, that while they were battering the Town, som of the Comissioners beeing there, desired that shee would send a Command to the Besiegers to desist; and shee answered, Open you the gates, and let them in. The Earl of *Haro* staid at the gates, to see his Artillerie and Hors let in until midnight; which done, hee went likewise to kiss her Majestie's hands, where hee found the rest of the Nobles, who soon after, taking their leavs, went to take their rest; but the Earl of *Haro* spent all the night in placing his Guards, and taking

Som of the Comissioners of the *Fuente* make their escapes.

Som are taken, and again released

order for securing of the place. Nine or ten of the Commissioners of the Cities were taken and imprisoned; the rest fled, som to *Medina*, others to *Valladolid*, where they arrived so mangled and stript, that 'twas a pitie to see them. The Doctor *Zuñiga* of *Salamanca*, *Suero del Aguila*, and *Gomez de Avila*, Commissioners of *Avila*, were released, at the request of som *Grandees*, who engaged for them. In this manner was taken the Town of *Tordesillas*; but not the *Junta*, nor the good will of the revolted Cities, whose furie was hereby more enflamed. Amongst the dead in the field were found divers dangerously wounded, and som Gentlemen, as *Don Diego Ojorio*, son to the Marquis of *Astorga*, who was shot through the arm, *Don Francisco de la Cueva* hurt in the face with a stone, the Earl of *Venavente* wounded in the Arm with an arrow, the Earl of *Alva* had his horse killed under him, and divers Commanders, and other persons of account. The King's Standard was shot and rattered with two musket bullets, the Earl of *Cisuentes* holding it in his hand. However, that daie's work was of exceeding great importance, and was the means of giving a glorious end to these miserable distempers, although not so suddenly; For hereby the Common people were disabused, the allegations and excuses, of those of the *Junta*, appearing to bee no less false then malicious: for to give a more specious lustre to their forgeries, and gain credit with the People, they cunningly gave out, that the Queen was perfectly well, and in her right senses, and that all they did, was by her order (which was nothing so), whereby the blinde ignorant Commonaltie ran themselves headlong into the precipice of those disasters, which I have, and hereafter shall relate. The glorie of this memorable exploit was properly to bee attributed to the Earl of *Haro's* valor, who, contrarie to the Votes of divers others, would assault *Tordesillas*, in stead of following their Armie, to seek satisfaction for having been out-dared by them to fight, and blocked up in *Riofeco*, according to the others opinions and propositions.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

Those of *Valladolid* were in great fear, when they heard that *Tordesillas* was taken, lest the enemy should fall next upon them, in regard they had disobliged the Cardinal, the Council, the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Venavente*, and other Nobles, in not admitting them, and favoring so much those of the *Junta*, that it was generally reported, that *Valladolid* alone did maintain them. Few men able to bear Arms were left in the Citie, for they had sent all to the Armie in a manner, but those that were left, stood upon their guard. Whilest *Valladolid* was in this fright, came a Post from *Don Pedro Giron*, and the Bishop of *Zamora*, with letters, wherein they said, That they knew not, neither did they think that the *Cavaliers* in *Rioseco* would have attempted to take *Tordesillas*, nor have offered that affront or disrespect to the Queen, being there; That they could have no intelligence of their design, because they had stopt, and taken all the Messengers and Travellers, that might give notice of their march thither, and that when they did know it, and were prepared to go succor the Town, news was brought them, that the *Cavaliers* were carrying the Queen away to *Burgos*, which made them turn towards *Valladolid*, thinking that waie to intercept them: And that now being at *Villagarzia*, they thought good to acquaint them with their motion, to the end they might receive provision and orders thence, to prosecute their design; Promising, since that the *Cavaliers* had taken *Tordesillas*, and begun the War with fire and sword, that they would do the like, if *Valladolid* was so contented. These Letters confirmed the Peoples jealousies of *Don Pedro Giron*, in so much that they cursed him in private and in publick, saying, hee was a Traytor, and had sold them. Moreover, they wrote to this effect to *Don Pedro*, That in regard hee had clouded his reputation by not succoring *Tordesillas*, to vindicate his honor, hee should forthwith go and laie siege to it, and shew himself what hee was; That his Armie on one side, and those of *Valladolid* on the other, besides the rest of their Associates, might joyntly take their full revenge for so insupportable an affront.

Don Pedro de Giron's and the Bishop of Zamora's Letter to Valladolid.

Valladolid's answer to Don Pedro.

They

They wrote in like manner to the Bishop, and other Captains, but *Don Pedro* took no great notice thereof, neither did hee make any other shew, then that hee would go to *Valladolid* himself. Divers disorderly Captains, like sheep without a shepherd, with their Companies, came and took up their Quarters at *Villanubla*, two leagues from *Valladolid*: Others went to *Valladolid* with their plunder, 'mongst others, two horsemen brought in a thousand Sheep, others fiftie, others two hundred Mules, Mares, and Carts loaden with linnen, and all manner of householdstuff, taken from the poor Countie-men, to the value of above three Millions of *Maravediz*, which they sold in the Citie, for little or nothing; a Wether was sold for two *Ryalls*, an Ewe for one, and a Cow for two *Duckets*; But the mischief was the greater, in that the poor shepherds and husbandmen, having ransomed their cattle and goods, before they had gon half a league, the Souldiers would plunder them again, spoiling and robbing friend and foe, as much as they could. By which exorbitancies they began to see, how much better it would have been to have satisfied their King's demands, although the tax was somewhat heavie; But so great acts of disobedience never passed long without such just punishments: Their outrageous impudence grew to such a height, that without any reverence or respect, they robb'd and spoiled the very Churches, as if they had been Infidels; Women were not secure in their houses, nor men by the high waies. *Valladolid*, to prevent further disorder in this kinde, Commanded that those straggling Souldiers, which were to the number of six hundred, should return to their Colours at *Villanubla*, where their Captains were, and there they gave them ten daies paie more to endear them to go before *Tordesillas*; whither also marched, with all expedition, men from *Salamanca*, *Toro*, and *Zamora*, in great numbers, thinking to catch the *Cavaliers* in the Climm. But they lost no time in fortifying themselves, repairing the Walls, (as was but need) scouring and clearing their ditches, and laying in provisions of Victuals and Ammunition.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

FAME soon carried the taking of *Tordesillas* through the whole Kingdom, which was diversly resented according to the disposition and inclination of the hearers, as is usual amongst a divided people. As soon as notice thereof was brought to *Quintanilla*, who commanded before *Alaejos*, hee raised his siege, and returned in all haste, with his men, to *Medina del Campo*; fearing lest that might also bee surpris'd. The Nobles in *Tordesillas* sent for the Cardinal, who remained in *Rioseco*, with those of the Garrison. *Don Rodrigo de Mendoza*, Earl of *Castro*, who came to *Medina de Rioseco* with his men, too late for the expedition of *Tordesillas*, attended upon the Cardinal thither; where, his Eminence beeing arrived, the Lord Admiral solemnly accepted the Joint-government of the Kingdoms, with the Cardinal, and the Lord High Constable, having first tried all means possible to reduce the people fairly to the obedience of his Majesty; for after the taking of *Tordesillas*, hee sent *Gomez de Avila*, (who was there made prisoner) making him first swear to return, to treat with *Don Pedro Giron*, and the rest of the *Junta*, offering them very honorable Conditions, if they would laie down their Arms and com in. But *Gomez* beeing returned without concluding any thing, there was no apparent hope of any accommodation: besides, seeing that the *Junta*, and the forces of the Commoners, were retired to *Valladolid*, (which was but five leagues from *Tordesillas*) and that it was no time of year to keep the field, or besiege any other Citie, leaving the enemies to themselves; the Governors, with consent of the rest of the Nobles, put all their Souldiers in Garrison in the adjacent Towns; For divers of their men were gon away, having enriched themselves with the plunder which they took at *Tordesillas*. The Earl of *Haro*, with som choise companies, remained in *Tordesillas*, for the Guard of her Majesty's person, and defence of the Town. *Don Pedro Velez*, Earl of *Oñate*, with som Hors and Foot Companies, was placed in *Simancas*, though the Government thereof belonged to *Don Hernando de Vega*, but hee beeing of the Emperor's;

Council of State, it was thought more convenient hee should reside at *Tordesillas*, yet hee went thither somtimes himself, as occasion served. In *Portillo* (a place of strength, belonging to the Earl of *Venavente*) was put another Garrison, under the Command of *Don Inigo de Padilla*, cosen-german to the Earl of *Venavente*. To *Torrelobaton* (a Town of the Lord Admiral's) betwixt *Tordesillas* and *Rioseco* (by which all their provisions were to pass) were sent other companies of souldiers, besides those which *Don Hernando Enriquez*, the Lord Admiral's brother, had there; in regard that was the waie to *Burgos*, where the Lord High Constable was with the Council, with whom they were to keep continual correspondence. Betwixt the Towns which were for the Commoners, and those wherein were Garrisons for his Majestie, was such killing, robbing, and spoiling, as if they had been the most mortal enemies in the world, as shall be declared hereafter. Artificers could get no employment; Husbandmen could not till their grounds, Merchants had no traffick, Cities lost their correspondence with each other, becaus the waies were unsecure; Justice was quite out of date; Excise, Tributes, Levies, Impositions increased daily, by reason of the excessive charges of the Armie, the Revenue of the Roial Crown (which they had usurped) not being sufficient to defraie them. These, and such like, were the fruits and profit which *Castilla* reaped by their disobedience: And yet for all their miserable condition, they did not humble nor submit themselvs, neither would they accept of the honorable and advantageous Conditions which were offered them: But everie daie they were sending fresh men to maintein and foment the War from *Valladolid*, where those, who cast the Kingdom into this precipice, had taken up their seat. Although they were so jealous and displeas'd at their Captain General DON PEDRO GIRON, (especially the Common people) that they did neither obey nor respect him, neither did hee hold himself secure amongst them, and therefore hee left them soon after, as you shall see.

S E C T. IX.

THe Bishop of *Zamora*, and *Don Pedro Giron*, thinking themselves not secure in *Zaratan*, (which was but a smal open Village) marched with their Armie to *Valladolid* (although their coming was not very acceptable to most of the Citie). Beeing there, they quartered themselves in the houses of those that were affected to the King's Partie, making abominable havock and spoil; their souldiers pulled down the houses of *Francisco de la Serna*, and *Don Alonso Niño de Castro*, they plundered the house of the *Comendador Santistevan*, robb'd and spoiled all they could laie hands on in the Earl of *Miranda's* house, and divers other mischiefs they did within the Citie; whereof the Bishop being informed, hee caused many things to bee restored, and som souldiers to bee punished, whereby hee gained much good opinion and affection. Two daies after their coming thither, they marched both Horse and Foot in goodly order out of the Citie, with intent to go to break down the Bridg of *Simancas*, but hearing by the waie that the Earl *Oñate*, and those of the Town, had saved them that labor, (for the Earl had intelligence, that they intended to surpris him there, and pass thence to *Tordesillas*) they wheeled about to take the Fort of *Fuensaldaña*, which they entred without any contradiction, and having left som souldiers with a Commander in it, they returned to *Valladolid* the same night, giving orders to their men to bee ready the next morning before daie; which was obeyed, and they gave out, they would gain the pass at *Simancas*, proclaiming war with fire and sword against the Cavaliers at *Tordesillas*. But *Simancas*, being scituate upon the descent of an hill, the river on one side, and a strong Fort on the other, which the Earl of *Oñate* had been very careful and vigilant in providing with all necessaries, they feared no attempts from those of *Valladolid*. Most of those that marched out of *Valladolid* that time, were from *Salamanca*, *Toro*, and *Zamora*; many of them sillie ignorant fellows, and their Captains not much more knowing in Martial affairs, they were so long fitting themselves, that they made it three a clock in the Afternoon before they were

all out of *Valladolid* (which was ten hours after the time appointed); so that they were forced to quarter that night at *Laguna*, one league from the Citie, som in the Monasterie of *Abrojo*, others in the field with the Artillerie. There fell such a difference betwixt *Don Pedro Giron* and the Bishop of *Zamora*, that *Don Pedro*, with his Lanciers, marched to *Tudela*, but there hee was refused quarters; so hee was enforced to go on to *Villavañez*. Next morning the Bishop gave orders to march to *Simancas*, but som told him, that 'twas better to return to *Valladolid*, and there take further advice. The people of *Toro*, *Zamora*, and *Valladolid* had likewise som bickerings amongst themselvs, insomuch that every one would carrie their Artillerie home to their own Cities; but those of *Valladolid*, beeing the strongest partie, carried it to their Citie without any more ado, which bred much discontent and heart-burning: and all exclaimed against *Don Pedro Giron*, saying all the ill their discontented mindes could imagine of him, for leaving them in that manner, which confirmed all the jealousies and suspicions which they had formerly conceived of him. One daie, twelv Foot souldiers of *Valladolid* went out upon a partie towards *Simancas*, and about one league from *Valladolid*, they met with fourscore Hors of that Garrison, which made them flie, to secure themselvs, into a little Tower amongst the Vineyards, where they defended themselvs until the Alarm was given in *Valladolid*, and the Bishop of *Zamora* came out with a partie of Hors, and rescued them; two of those of *Simancas* were killed, and the rest, seeing more men com from *Valladolid*, fled all away; so the Bishop returned with som hurt men, but lost not one: Beeing night, the Citie (much satisfied with his courage in this exploit) sent out many torches to receiv him. The next daie, becaus a brother of *Francisco de la Serna's* had murmured somthing against the Bishop, they commanded his hous to bee pull'd down: and in regard the people thronged thither, out of greediness to carrie away the timber, they heedlessly cut down the pillars and posts that supported it, whereby the four quarters of the hous fell amongst the people, killed fourteen or fifteen men, and hurt divers others.

S E C T. X.

THE Commissioners, who fled, at the taking of *Tordesillas*, to *Medina del Campo*, came afterwards to *Valladolid*, where they held their *Junta* general, concerning the affairs of the Kingdom. The Lord Admiral, seeing his Towns destroyed, his tenants plundered of all their goods and cattle, since the Cardinal's departure from *Rioseco*, sent them a Letter to *Valladolid*, purporting, That since it had been God's pleasure to laie his Judgments upon the Kingdom, and afflict them with the spirit of dissention, hee desired (to the end there might bee no more spoiling nor murdering one another,) That there might bee a Celsation of Arms, but upon this condition, That whatsoever damage and prejudice, hee and the Earl of *Venavente* had sustained in their Lands, by the robbing and violence of those of *Valladolid*, should bee repaired, otherwise, That those Arms which they had taken to offend them, they should take to defend themselves. This Letter beeing read in the *Junta*, it was Voted that no answer should bee returned, nor any other Letter received thenceforwards from any of the *Grandees*. Christmas beeing com, they made great preparations to go against *Tordesillas*; *John de Padilla* beeing arrived with the men of *Toledo* at *Medina del Campo*, it was moved that hee should besiege it on one side, and the Bishop on the other, hereupon were every daie consultations amongst the Commissioners, but they could not determine any thing. At last it was resolved, that *John de Padilla* should bee sent for to *Valladolid*, that they might take his advice. The Commoners were far more in number then the *Cavaliers*, but these were the better and more experienced men in matters of Arms. *Tordesillas* they fortified daily, and furnished with all sorts of provisions. *Simancas* likewise was in so good condition, that the horse of that garrison plagued those of *Valladolid* in such manner, that no bodie could Travel nor keep any Cattle in the fields, or any thing else, but they would bee sure to snap it. By order of the *Junta* it was Proclaimed in *Valladolid*, with sound of Trumpets and Minstrels, that no Souldiers, or others, should rob un-

The Lord Admirals Letter to those of the *Junta* at *Valladolid*.

Their Vote concerning the Letter.

Courageous
exploit of
the Bishop
of Zamora.

der pain of death, albeit they should meet with people coming from the enemies quarters, unless they bore Arms on the other side, (and in such case, they might do what they could) to the end that People might pass to and fro securely, and trade not absolutely bee destroyed. The like was proclaimed in *Tordesillas* and *Simancas*. By this means the waies began to bee somewhat secure, but not altogether, and the People desired there might bee one good battle, for either side falling, the dispute would bee ended. The spirit and Courage of the Bishop was remarkable : One night hee sallied out of *Valladolid*, and went to *Palencia*, took the *Corregidor*, the *Alcaldes*, and other officers of Justice, and placed others in their steads, hee had an intent to apprehend *Don Diego de Castilla* also, but hee fled. With the favor and assistance of the major part of the Citie, hee called himself Bishop of *Palencia*, for which Bishoprick hee was presently offered sixteen thousand Duckets. Thence hee went to *Carrion*, and *Torquemada*, in each of which Towns (as in *Palencia*) hee left two thousand men to guard them, (which the Commonaltie had given him) hee gave them strict orders to bee very watchful and Vigilant, but to offer violence to none, except the the people of *Burgos*, and other places belonging to the *Cavaliers*, and from such, hee bid them take what they could, and paie themselves with the plunder, and tell the people, that if they came a second time, they might thank God if they took not their lives away, as for their goods or Cattle, they must expect to have none left. This done, hee returned to *Valladolid*, having made himself a King, and Pope.

S E C T. XI.

Iohn de Padilla marched out of *Medina del Campo* towards *Valladolid*, with a great number of Foot, paid for a long time, but onely threescore hors. And being arrived at the bridg of *Duero*, hee commanded his Artillerie to bee carried up the River to *Simancas* ; At about half a league distance, hee caused four peeces of Ordnance to bee shot at the Town, whereupon the Earl of *Oñate* sallied forth with fourscore Lances, with which hee laie
in

in ambush, thinking to cut off *John de Padilla's* train, but being discovered, *John de Padilla* let flie four Falconets at them, which made them soon turn their backs, and hee pursued them to the very Gates of *Simancas*. Thence hee went to *Valladolid*, where hee was solemnly received with the applaus and content of the whole Citie, making as if hee were the father of them all, in whom they reposed all their trust and confidence. And there hee was made Captain-General, although those of the *Junta* would have given that Command to *Don Pedro Lasso de la Vega*, but the great credit and esteem which *John de Padilla* had gotten amongst the Souldierie, made them decline that resolution. The Earl of *Haro*, having intelligence of *John de Padilla's* march to *Valladolid*, had an intent to stop his waie, to which effect, hee sent for *Don Geronimo de Padilla* to *Simancas*, with those men hee had at *Portillo*, but being upon his departure informed for certain, that some of *Tordesillas* had given *John de Padilla* notice of his design, and that they had agreed, as soon as the Earl was gon with his men one waie, *John de Padilla* should com another, and fall upon *Tordesillas*, where most of the Inhabitants were for the Commonaltie, and desired nothing more, then the effecting of this plot; Hee changed his former determination, and staid to secure *Tordesillas*: After this, they had intelligence that in a place called *Rodilana*, betwixt *Medina del Campo* and *Valladolid*, were quartered five hundred Souldiers of *Salamanca*, who being so neer *Medina*, thought themselvs secure, and kept no guards, hereupon the Lord Admiral, and the Earl, consulted how to beat up their quarters, and destroie them. *Don Pedro de la Cueva*, brother to the Duke of *Alburquerque*, a valiant Gentleman, undertook the execution of this design, and with few more, then what the enemie was spoken to be, hee marched one night to *Rodilana*, and falling in suddenly upon them, hee killed and took most of them, the rest fled. Five or six daies after this, the Earl of *Haro*, having received other intelligence, that in a small Town called *la Zarza*, six leagues from *Tordesillas*, where arrived seven or eight hundred Souldiers from *Segovia*; Hee incharged the same *Don Pedro* (who was his Cousen German) becaus hee had been so successful before, to go and surprise the said Souldiers, giving him

him two hundred horse and five hundred Foot to that effect. *Don Pedro*, with those men, marched all night, and going a great league about to avoid *Medina del Campo*, hee set upon them unawares, & though the said souldiers retir'd fighting into a Church, *Don Pedro* followed them so close, that entring perforce after them, hee killed and wounded many of them, and brought almost all the rest prisoners to *Tordesillas*; which was held an exploit of great valor, conduct, and importance.

 S E C T. XII.

John de Padilla, the Bishop of *Zamora*, and other Captains of the Commonaltie neglected no opportunities of advancing their Interest, and infesting the advers partie. It was concluded amongst them, that *John de Padilla*, with the two thousand five hundred men hee brought from *Toledo* and *Madrid*, should pitch his camp before *Cigales*, (a smal Town belonging to the Earl of *Venavente*, two leagues from *Valladolid*) and if they did not receive them willingly, that they should force their entrance, but those of *Cigales* received them without making the least opposition, and lodged them in their houses, thinking no harm. At midnight (which was a base unworthie action) the Souldiers gave the alarm through all the Town, and being in arms, they took all their Hosts, (who had so freely given them quarters) and all the rest of the Town, and having manacled, and disarmed them, not leaving them so much as a sword or dagger, they put them all into the Church, and set a strong Guard upon them, saying, They did so to secure the place, becaus it belonged to an enemy. The third of *Januarie* the Bishop marched again out of *Valladolid* at midnight, with som companies of souldiers, directly to *Palencia*, his new Bishoprick, where hee staid som time; after which hee gave out, that hee would return to *Valladolid*, but hee turned another waie; and having sent his Scouts before to *Moçon*, the next morning, by break of daie, hee assaulted the Fort of *Valdepero*, whereof was Commander *Andres de Ribera*, son in law to Doctor *Tello*; who, after a long dispute, and several men killed on both sides, the Bishop receiving fresh supplies from the *Beherrias*,

Other exploit of the Bishop of *Zamora's*.

Beberrias, was enforced to surrender upon condition, onely to secure the lives of those that were within. The Bishop took the persons of the Governor, his wife, and Doctor *Tello*, her father, into his protection, but could not, or would not, hinder his men from plundering all their goods. They found much very rich bootie within the Fort, whereof the Bishop demanded a fifth part, as beeing their Captain, which they gave him, yet hee that had least amongst the Sculdiers, carried away fourtie Duckets. The Bishop grown glorious by this prize, dispatched a messenger to *Valladolid*, requiring them to send him more men, that hee might take the other Forts about *Fuentes* and *Palencia*, and put Garrisons in them for the Commonaltie, which done, hee sent Doctor *Tello*, his son-in-law, and daughter, prisoners to *Valladolid*, with a Guard of thirtie Hors.

The Governor of *Valdepera* taken, and the place plundered by the Bishop's men.

 SECT. XIII.

THE Commanders of the *Junta's* forces used all possible diligence to bee revenged of those of *Simancas*, from whom they received continual affronts and mischief, and therefore they sent for more men to *Toro*, *Zamora*, *Salamanca*, and *Avila*, which they expected daily; for all those, and other Cities, were possessed with so much disdain and wilfulness, that they aspired and studied nothing more, then the mainteining of that War, as if they thought that their onely means to Salvation; whereof certainly there was weak probabilitie, considering, that for eleven months, which those Domestick or Civil Wars had reigned in *Spain*, the Diuel had transported the hearts of men with this infernal furie. If any one (though but of an ordinarie capacitie) did seriously consider, what destinie would befall those Cities, for denying their due obedience to their King, (hee granting more then they desired) and persevering in such extravagant misdemeanors and cruelties to themselves, besides the offense to God; what could hee think, but that they were quite bereaved of natural reason? And that a Bishop (CHRIST'S Vicar) should make himself Captain of such ungratious miscreants, *O Tempora! ô Mores!* Impudence and respectles audacitie were

onely in esteem, the vile inconsiderate multitude fought against the noble and virtuous. Those that were of good extraction, or possessed any considerable fortune, durst not open their mouths, for if by chance they did let fall any word which sounded not well in the other's ears, presently their persons were committed to prisons, their goods and estates confiscate, and they proclaimed Traitors. Such was the confusion, such the corruption and reprobate estate of the *Castillians*, in our Grandfathers times, from the year 1519, until 1527; In which year God brought his Majestie back into these Kingdoms: which returning to their obedience, and beeing acknowledged by their King, God raised them to the magnificence and glorie wherewith they flourished in former ages, and enjoie yet at this present. To the end the people may see what blessings hee bestow's upon subjects that are obedient to their Princes, and how hee punisheth the contrarie; for although the Taxes which they impose upon them bee heavie, they heap upon themselves grievances infinitely more insupportable, by rising in Rebellion against them. Though this strange Historie of the Commonalties seem opprobrious to this Nation, and an indelible blot to the *Castilian* honor, having broken their faith to their Sovereign, for which they were so renowned in other ages: yet it is exceeding profitable in this respect, that Kings may know how to govern their Subjects without oppression, and the subjects learn to obey without reluctancie; for the contrarie can but produce such sad effects as wee both have and shall see hereafter. But to return to our former relation, I must tell you, That the Garrison of *Simancas*, holding themselves secure, by reason of the natural, as well as the Artificial strength of the place, went almost every daie Pekeering to the gates of *Valladolid*, and not onely brought away all their goods and cattle they could meet withal, but abused and reviled them with most shameful language, calling them Dogs, and Infidels, bidding them turn Christians again. In revenge whereof, those of *Valladolid* so reaked their malice upon the Lord Admiral, and other Noblemen, in this manner; The 11 daie of *Januarie*, in the same year, by order, or at least, consent of the *Junta*, they made a Proclamation, that

Here the Autor giveth Kings a lesson, admonishing them not to oppress their Subjects.

no Citizen, or Inhabitant of *Valladolid*, or Jurisdiction thereof, should dare, under great penalties, to go to the Fairs, or Marts, of *Villalon*, *Rioseco*, or *Astorga*, (which Towns belonged to the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Venavente*, and Marquis of *Astorga*) their envie and spight beeing so inveterate, that if they could but blemish any one of these Noblemen's eies, they would not stick to have pull'd out their own.

 S E C T. XIV.

DOn *Francisco de Veamonte*, by order of the Lord high Constable, surpris'd and possessed himself (finding no great resistance) of the Town of *Ampudia*, or *Fuent Empudia*, belonging to the Earl of *Salvatierra*, who was then playing the mad mutinier in the mountains of *Alava*, and could by no means be reduced to the Lord high Constable. The Commoners to gain favor with the Earl of *Salvatierra*, determin'd to retake *Ampudia*. To which effect one night in the said month of *Januarie*, *John de Padilla*, and the Bishop, made an alarm in the Citie of *Valladolid*, causing proclamation to be made, that every hous should furnish a Souldier, to go with *John de Padilla* as far as *Cabeçon*, for the expedition of *Ampudia*, in regard they had intelligence that five Companies of Foot and hors were march'd out of *Tordesillas* and *Simancas*, to take it from the Earl of *Salvatierra*, who was a great supporter of their caus. But the Cavaliers for the better accomplishment of their design, sent ten Scouts before to discover, and ride close to *Valladolid*, whom those of the Citie perceiving, presently sallied out, and gave not over the pursuit of them, until they had recovered *Simancas*. By which means the rest went securely on to *Ampudia*, without receiving the least hindrance from *Valladolid*, who were diverted by those of *Simancas*. *John de Padilla*, with great store of men, one whole Cannon, and three or four field-peeces, march'd to *Cabeçon* and *Cigales*, from whence he sent back again all the men of *Valladolid*, onely two Companies, with which, and the rest of his men, hee arriv'd in very good order at *Ampudia*, where hee found the

Cavaliers, masters, both of the Town, and Fort. *John de Padilla's* men, beeing mad of fighting, fell to storming the Town, and having made two great breaches, in the old, and new Wall, the Cavaliers, retreated to the Fort, whither they pursued them: But the Cavaliers seeing they were but few, & the enemies manie, and stout-fighting men, they quitted the Fort, leaving in it a Governor, with 60 Hors, & som Foot, & getting out at a private Sallie-port, they fled to the Tower of *Mormojon*, one league distant from *Empudia*, whereof when *John de Padilla* had notice, hee followed them with his whole Armie, and beeing arrived at *Mormojon*, hee found they had made themselvs strong within the Castle, which was scituate upon the side of the Mountain called *Toroços*, towards the Champain. *John de Padilla's* souldiers were all so animated, and desirous to grapple with the Cavaliers, that making a furious on-set, and burning down the gates, they were just entering the Town, when all the people came out in Procession, the Priests with their robes, and Crosses in their hands, and the women, and children bare-footed, fell upon their knees with tears, and humble supplications to *John de Padilla*, that hee would not suffer them to bee sack'd or plundered: But his men cried out, No, no, let us sack the Town. At which words *John de Padilla* turned himself towards his souldiers, saying, *Take notice, Gentlemen, our intention is not to ransack or destroye any people, especially those who are not culpable:* by which, and other such like plausible language, hee pacified the furious greediness of his souldiers, and persuaded them to do what hee pleased: which done, hee told the people upon his word, no man of his should offer them any violence, but they must bring a thousand Duckets to content his Armie, and swear to bee true to the Commonaltie; whereunto the poor Townsmen, out of fear, suddenly condescended, and *John de Padilla* quartered all his men there, but with exprefs order, that they should paie for every thing, except Provender for their Horses, which the people were willing to give them. Soon after, *John de Padilla* commanding one half of his Armie to lay close siege to the Castle, and block up all the Adv nues, with the other half he returned to do the like to those within the Fort of *Empudia*, who would willingly have surrendered it,

Mormojon
taken by
John de Padilla.

it, and those of *Morinojon* likewise, if *John de Padilla* would have secured them their lives onely, but hee refused it, and swore, if they stood out, hee would hang every man of them; so hee assaulted them several times very furiously; but seeing how courageously they defended themselves, to the loss of no smal number of his men, hee was glad they would deliver it upon better conditions; which were these, That they should resign the Fort, wvith all things belonging thereunto, as Munition, Victuals, household-stuff, &c. And march freely out with all their own Arms, horses, and baggage, which they did to the number of one hundred and threescore horse and Foot. *Fray Antonio de Guevara*, in his Epistles, reporteth, that the Bishop of *Zamora*, encouraging his Souldiers in this assault, said to them, *So, my boyes, get up nimble, fight and die couragiously, and let my Soul go at a venture along with yours, since you die in so just and Holie an enterprize.* *John de Padilla* would not suffer any dammage or havock to bee made of any thing within the Fort, nor stand to batter it much without, becaus the Earl of *Salvatierra* had written to him, to take it with the least prejudice to him that might bee. Those of the Commonaltie were very well pleased at the taking of *Empudia*, and *John de Padilla's* Armie increased daily, by the confluence of people to him from the *Beherrias*. The Bishop of *Zamora* departed from *Empudia*, to *Monçon*, thence to *Magaz*, spoiling and doing all the mischief hee could to those of the Cavaliers partie; Hee caused *Maçariegos*, and other Towns, to bee sacked, infomuch that hee was almost dreaded as fire, in places that were not able to resist him. But in *Valladolid* they found great misse of him, to defend them from the incursions of those in garrison at *Simancas*.

Empudia taken by *John de Padilla*, and the Bishop.

The Bishop's speech to his men in the Assault.

SECT. XV.

THE Bishop of *Zamora*, by Letters, promises, and other private practises, solicited, and egged on the people of *Burgos*, asmuch as in him laie, to make another Commotion in the Citie. But the Lord High Constable was so vigilant and zealous to advance his Majestie's service, that hee did not onely keep those of *Burgos* in good order and subjection, but endea-

The Lord High Constable's plot discovered.

Mutinie in the Citie of Burgos.

The Common people submit to the Lord High Constable.

The Fort is surrendered to him.

vored, by the same means the Bishop used, to gain the people of *Valladolid*; The plot being discovered, or at least suspected, they cunningly returned an answer to the Citie of *Burgos*, inclosing therein a Copie of the Letter (which they shrewdly imagined was of the Lord High Constable's own forging, and not from the Citie) to the end they might both be read publickly, which occasioned such a tumult and mutinie among the people, that like hare-brained inconsiderate creatures, they presently rose in Arms, and would have turned the Lord High Constable out of the Citie. But hee, seeing fair words and gentleness prevailed nothing at all with them, determined to carrie it with an high hand, and make them to submit *per force*, having taken the Command of the Fort from them. To bring this resolution to effect, one daie hee drew up his souldiers and servants all in Arms, in a broad place before his own hous; thither repaired to him forthwith *Don John de la Cerda*, Duke of *Medina Cely*, *Don Luis de la Cerda*, Marquis of *Cogolludo*, his son, *Don Alonso de Arellano* Earl of *Aguilar*, *Don Antonio de Velasco* Earl of *Nieva*, with his two sons, *Don Hernando de Bobadilla* Earl of *Chimchon*, *Don Bernardino de Cardenas*, Marquis of *Elche*, eldest son to the Duke of *Maqueda*, and son in Law to the Lord High Constable, besides divers other persons of honor, with their kindred, and servants, who were all resolved to venture their lives with him in this design; which the people perceiving, they all assembled likewise, intending to fight with these Noblemen, and they were so near engaging, that som Arrows were interchanged from each partie, and the bullets began to flie also; but the chief of the Citie, seeing the advantage the Nobles had over the People, they speedily sent to require and command the Commoners to be quiet, and peaceably laying down their Arms, to obey the Commands of the Lord High Constable, as their Vice-King and Governor, which they did without much contestation, and followed, very submissively and quietly, the Lord High Constable, who went directly to the Fort, requiring the Governor to deliver it him presently, otherwise, hee protested, hee would enter it by force, and execute Justice upon him, and all the rest with him; Som disputes and controversie there was there-

thereupon, but before night it was surrendered; and the Lord High Constable put in another Governor for his Majesty, placed a *Corregidor* in the Citie, and re-established the government in the same manner it had been formerly. Thus *Burgos*, not being able to resist, was pacified, and reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, wherein that Citie continued ever after.

 SECT. XVI.

THIS done, the Lord High Constable sent *Don Juan Manrique*, the Duke of *Naxara's* eldest son, to suppress those of the *Merindades*; and by reason hee was very young, *Martin Ruiz de Avendaño*, and *Gomez de Butron*, Gentlemen of great account in those parts, and in *Biscaya*, were appointed to go along with him; being arrived there, those Gentlemen carried the business so discreetly, that there was a peace concluded betwixt the Lord High Constable, and those of the *Merindades*; But it lasted not long, for *Gonsalo de Barahona*, the Abbat of *Rueda*, *Garcia de Arce*, but chiefly *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Earl of *Salvatierra*, infringed it, who was grown very powerful in those mountainous parts, and so besotted with that inconsiderate passion, that by his obstinacie, hee brought himself to a miserable end, to the utter ruine and destruction of one of the most honorable and most antient families of *Castilla*, and the Mountains.

 SECT. XVII.

AT the time that most of the Cities of *Castilla* declared for the Commonaltie, in the province of *Alava*, and Citie of *Vitoria*, that opiniou was not generally received nor allowed, although som did take the libertie to speak over lavishly, especially against those of the Council. In this season was brought to the said province, and Citie of *Vitoria*, a Letter from *Burgos*, wherein that Citie (as the chief of *Castilla*) desired those of that province to send two persons (whom they pleased) to confer with them at *Burgos*. At the same time, were brought other Letters from the province of *Guipuzcoa*, and the Countie
of

of *Biscaya*, desiring that they might all unite together. The Citie of *Naxara* and Town of *Haro* desired, that they would assist them, against the Lord high Constable, and the Duke of *Naxara*, who, they said, did tyrannize too much over them; *Vitoria* returned civil answers to all, *Burgos* onely excepted, to whom they would not write, because they made themselves their Superiors, in styling that the Metropolitan Citie of *Castilla*, for the Citie of *Vitoria* did presume that they, and their province of *Alava*, were absolute of themselves, without any dependencie, or relation to *Burgos*, as their Head. But they sent *John de Alava* (who at that time was *Merino Mayor*, that is, Chief Judg of *Vitoria*) to let their Embassadors understand, by word of mouth, the preheminance of that Countie, and that they could not condescend to the Union which they desired, for they understood that *Burgos* had shaken hands with their obedience to his Majestie, and they would not bee participant of their disloialtie. This answer was no less unexpected then unwelcom to those of *Burgos*. About the same time, some Towns of the Province of *Guipuzcoa*, infected with the Common Contagion, fell foul upon the Citie of *San Sebastian*, because they would not approve of their extravagant opinions, cutting down and spoiling their Orchards, (for they have no Vineyards) and doing them divers other mischiefs. But prevailing not there, they wrote, and held correspondence with divers other places, by means of *Pedro Ochoa de Santa Maria de Mondragon*, (a subtil fellow) who was their Mercurie. At length, *Vitoria* tainted with the same diseal, had joyned in confederacie with them, but that *Diego Martinez de Alava*, Deputie-General of that province, with others, his allies and kinsmen, endeavored to restrain them from a design so wicked and prejudicial to his Majestie.

Troubles
in the
Countie of
Biscaya.

S E C T. XVIII.

THE Earl of *Salvatierra*, being at difference with *Madama Margarita*, his Ladie, insomuch that hee would not live with her, shee addrested her complaints to his Majestie of her grievances, and of the indignities, which, through his cross and unworthie

unworthie disposition, shee was enforced to suffer. Whereupon it was ordered by his Majestie, that the said Countess, with her Children, should remain in *Vitoria*, and that the Earl should allow them maintenance according to their qualities; and an express Command from his Majestie was sent to *Diego Martinez de Alava*, Deputie general of that Province, to see the said order punctually observed, who desiring to execute this Command by the Autoritie and means of the Council, the Earl thought to counterpoise that power, by making the Commonaltie of his side, who did him little good in this particular, although those of the *Junta* sent to that Province, and to the Citie of *Vitoria*, a Judg, called *Antonio Gomez de Ayala* (who afterwards was executed for a notorious Commoner at *Valladolid*) with orders and power to give sentence in favor, or against any that should be brought before him: his addressees were particularly to the Earl of *Salvatierra*, to the end that hee might assist and support him: The Earl gave him fiftie men, who attended on him at his coming into *Vitoria*; which the Deputie *Diego Martinez de Alava*, and *Pedro Martinez* his brother, with others of their kindred, seeing, and knowing that hee brought particular orders against them from the *Junta* at *Tordesillas* (where the Deputie, and his kinsmen, had been proclaimed Traitors) they thought it a thing much conducing to his Majestie's service, and their own securitie, to apprehend this Judg, which to effect, the sons of *Don Fernando de Alava*, Governor of *Bernedo*, and *John de Alava* his cosen germane, with twentie men, besides other friends and servants, went to the Judge's lodging, took him and his servants out of their beds, clap't irons upon them, and carried them to the Fort of *Bernedo*, and took away the Orders which hee brought from the *Junta*, wherein they gave the charge of Governor and Captain General to *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Earl of *Salvatierra*, from the Citie of *Burgos* to *Fuente Ravia*. The Judg remained under safe custodie in the Fort, in mean time the Gentlemen, who carried him thither, returned to *Vitoria*, where they found the People much distempered, and murmuring at those men's imprisonment.

First ground of *Salvatierra's* distaste against his Majestie.

Diego Martinez de Alava, and his allies, apprehend & imprison the Judg, whom the *Junta* sent to *Vitoria*.

S E C T. XIX.

Mongst these Occurrences came an Express from the Lord High Constable, with Letters, notifying to those of *Vitoria*, and the Province of *Alava*, the Orders which his majestie had sent him, encharging him with the Government of the Kingdoms, and commanding all his Subjects, to obey him as their Vice-Roy and Governor. But those of *Alava*, beeing much inclined to the Earl of *Salvatierra*, said, That they were upon a certain agreement with those of the Province of *Guipuzcoa*, which beeing concluded, they would obey as far as they were obliged. But the Deputie *Diego Martinez*, and all his friends, received the said notification with due respect. The Citie of *Vitoria* returned an answer to the Lord High Constable, but would not give him the title of Governor; whereupon som words passed between *John de Alava*, & the rest, who bade him, in scurvie terms, go out of the Assemblie; but he boldly answered, Get you gon, like Traitors and Rebels; for which words, they caused him to bee apprehended. In this *interim*, a Priest, from the Earl of *Salvatierra*, desired to have conference with those of the Assemblie: which the Deputie, *Diego Martinez*, knowing, privately stole out from the rest, and laid hands upon this Priest, clapt him in prison, and having opened his packet, hee found several Letters to Friers, and other particular men, desiring them to induce the people to denie their obedience to the Governors. This bred a main disorder, and libels were scattered about by the people: yet *Martinez*, & *Pedro de Alava*, with all those of their kindred and alliance, resolutely determined to maintein his Majestie's Interest, pressing and requiring all the rest to subscribe also to his Commands; if not, they protested against them, styling them no otherwise, then Rebellious and disloial Traitors. Of all which proceedings, they sent information to the Lord High Constable, and hee to the Council Roial, (who then resided at *Castrojeriz*). Those of *Vitoria*, seeing their fidelitie brought into question, resolved to submit, and sent their Letters to that effect, promising all obedience to the Lord High Constable, beseeching him to pardon their former extravagancies

cies and inconsiderateness, and that hee would give order to burn those Informations, which *Diego Martinez de Alava* had sent to him against them; which hee did. So by the diligence and resolution of *Diego Martinez de Alava*, and other Gentlemen of his name and familie, the Citie of *Vitoria* was reduced, and continued afterwards their Loialtie and obedience to his Majestie. All these passages were in the year 1520, and the beginning of 1521. The Lord High Constable, seeing that no reason would satisfie the Earl of *Salvatierra*, endeavored to do him what mischief hee could. Hee took from him the Town and Castle of *Empudia*, and put a Garrison of his own therein, who (as you have heard) were again forced to quit that, and other places, by *John de Padilla*; In which time the Earl of *Salvatierra*, having picked up a number of people out of the *Merindades*, besides his own servants and souldiers, hee led them as far as the Monastie of *San Salvador de Oña*, wit^h intent to go recover *Empudia*; but beeing informed there, that the Bishop of *Zamora* had already taken it, hee changed his resolution, and turned his Forces towards *Vitoria*, threatening to burn it to the ground, if they did not renounce their obedience to the Lord High Constable, and deliver the Deputie *Diego Martinez*, and his brother, into his hands. The Citie, beeing not a little stagger'd and affrighted at these high menaces, sent messengers to the Earl, with great submissions, which so much abated his furie, that all the month of *Januarie*, 1521, they remained unmolested.

The Earl of *Salvatierra* fetcheth *Vitoria* with his Armie.

SECT. XX.

His Majestie's Royal Council beeing at *Briviesca*, and hearing what notable service *Don Pedro Xuarez de Velasco*, Lord of *Cuscurreta*, and Dean of *Burgos*, had done his Majestie in that Citie, and how couragiously hee had behaved himself, they sent for him. *Don Pedro* not knowing what danger might befall, took about twentie Gentlemen and servants on horsback with him, all well armed, with green Coates over their Armor, that no bodie could discern any thing, besides the hounds and hawks they carried with them, made no creature suspect any other, then

that hee went out to take his pleasure. Being arriv'd at *Bri-
viesca*, the Council gave him order to subdue the seven *Merindades*
of old *Castilla*, who were up in Arms. Whereof *Don Pedro*
would have excus'd himself, saying, That it was not suitable
with his Coat to command Souldiers; (for hee went in the
habit of a Priest, by reason of his Deanry.) But those of the
Council answer'd, that although hee were effectively a Priest,
(much more having onely the habit of one) hee ought to change
his surplice into a suit of Armor, especially in cases wherein the
service of God, and the King, was so much concern'd. *Don Pedro*,
seeing it was in vain to expostulate any further, resolv'd to put
their Commands in execution, and considering hee was the
Lord high Constable's Son, discreetly valiant, and beloved of
every bodie, many Gentlemen, and persons of qualitie, offer'd
themselves to venture their fortunes with him. Being arriv'd
within a league of *Medina de Pumar*, (which was hard by those
Commoners, whom hee went to suppress) they had intelli-
gence of his approach, and forthwith dispos'd themselves to give
him battle; *Don Pedro*, though hee had nothing neer so many
men, resolv'd however to conquer them, or die in the combat;
So having pass'd over a wooden Bridg, hee gave them so hot
and furious a charge, that they quickly shew'd their backsides,
and scattering themselves in a disorderly manner, they sought their
securitie amongst the Craggie mountains, hee pursu'd them as
far as hee could, and staid some time, thinking they might rallie,
but hee heard no more of them. So hee return'd Victorious,
and lost not one of his men.

*Don Pedro
Nuarez de
Velasco rou-
ted those
of the Me-
rindades.*

S E C T. XXI.

IN the month of *March*, of the same year, the Lord High
Constable, seeing that they exceedingly wanted Artillerie, in
regard the Commoners possess'd all that which was in *Medina
del Campo*. hee gave order to fetch away that which the Catholick
Kings had in store at *Fuente Ravia*. *Don Sancho de Velasco* was
presently dispatch'd thither, with Commisison to bring the Mu-
nition over land, and the Artillerie by sea to *Bilbao*, thence to
Vitoria,

Vitoria, and so to *Burgos*. The *Junta* (then at *Tordesillas*) having intelligence hereof, presently sent to advertise the Earl of *Salvatierra*, that hee might prepare forces and intercept the Artillerie; Who used such diligence, that in short time, hee had raised, amongst his friends and tenants, above ten thousand men. And a Gentleman named *Gonçalo de Varabona*, Captain of the said Earl's forces, went to the *Merindades*, and of those men which *Don Pedro Xuarez de Velasco* had routed and dissipated, hee rallied so many as made up the number of almost fourteen thousand (the like Armie was never known to be raised in those parts, in so short a time) with these men hee took the Munition that came by land; and hearing that the Artillerie (which was seven great pieces of Ordnance) was coming from *Bilbao* to *Vitoria*, convoied by seventeen hundred men, whereof many were Gentlemen of note of *Biscaya*, besides the *Alcalde Leguizama*, and the *Corregidor* of *Vitoria*; the third of *March*, hee marched with his whole Armie nine leagues that daie, and night, the next morning by break of daie hee came into the Vallie of *Arretia*, where the Artillerie was. *Don Sancho de Velasco* and his men, giving all for lost, dis-mounted their Cannon, and taking away the Carriages, and their Mules, shifted for themselvs. The Earl seized on the Artillerie, but not being able to carrie it away, hee caused it to be broke in pieces. This done, the Earl returned with his Armie to the Vallie of *Ayala*, having som intelligence, and encouragement from som of his friends within the Citie, to fall upon *Vitoria*, which was very pleasing to his Captain *Gonçalo de Varabona*, and other Officers. The report flying about, that hee intended to sack *Vitoria*, made a number of rabbling people join, w^{ch} swelled his Armie to fifteen, or sixteen thousand, but most of them were ill armed, and worf disciplined. Hee pitched his camp in the plain of *Arriaga*, one quarter of a league from *Vitoria*.

The Earl of *Salvatierra*, by order from the *Junta*, intercepts the Artillerie which was going to the Lord High Constable, and causeth it to be broken in pieces.

SECT. XXII.

THE Abbat of *Santa Pia*, and *Fray Diego de Arna*, a Dominican Frier, being persons, whom the Earl particularly esteemed

esteemed and effected, went to him in his Camp, desiring and conjuring him not to enter into the Citie. So falling upon a Treatie of agreement, hee demanded, that they should denie their obedience to the Lord High Constable, and that they would deliver unto him the Deputie *Diego Martinez de Alava*, with his brother, and certain others of his kindred. The Citizens believing that if those Gentlemen were out of the Citie, the Earl's furie might bee the better appeased, earnestly desired them to absent themselves, which they did, and carried their wives and families with them to *Treviño*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Naxara*, where they expected *Don Henrique*, his son, with some forces from *Navarra*. The Citie being in this perplexitie, some who had relation to *Don Alvaro de Mendoza*, Lord of *Mendoza de Arriva*, (who was an intimate friend with the Earl of *Salvatierra*) beseeched him for *Don Alvaro's* sake, not to use any violence to that Citie. But hee briskly answered, That they had not performed their promises to him. At last, to satisfie him, they concluded, That hee should enter, with his colors flying, at the gate of *Arriaga*, and march out again at the gate of *Santa Clara*. Whil'st this was arguing, com's *El Licenciado Aguirre*, (who was one of the Council) saying, That they ought not to open the gates to the Earl of *Salvatierra*, and that whosoever should do it, were Traitors. Those that were present gave him a very rude answer, and had laid violent hands on him, if *Lope de Xuaço*, and some others, had not suddenly conveyed him out of the Citie, from whence hee went to staie with *Diego Martinez de Alava*, and the rest, at *Treviño*. The Earl came not into *Vitoria* himself, but sent his Captain *Gonçalo de Varabona*, mean time hee went to a place called *Ondagoya*, in the Vallie of *Quartango*. Those of the *Junta* sent the Earl of *Salvatierra* thanks for the favor hee had done them, in taking that Artillerie which the Lord High Constable (they said) intended to carrie against *Palencia*, and afterwards join with the rest of the Cavaliers.

The Earl of *Salvatierra's* Armie enters into *Vitoria*.

SECT. XXIII.

THis Earl of *Salvatierra*, (who was also Earl of the Vallies of *Ayala*, *Quartango* and *San Milan*) was a man of a monstrous haucie and terrible disposition. It happened, when those of the *Junta* sent to him, desiring him to wage War with the Lord high Constable, and intercept his Artillerie, that hee then was with his Armie before *Briviesca*, and without returning any answer to their Letters, hee presently raised his siege. The Messengers of the *Junta* thought thereby, that hee had no intent to act according to the contents of the Letters, which they delivered him, and were very angrie, saying, That hee did onely make a shew of favor and friendship to them, for now the Commonaltie having need of him, hee would do nothing for them. These words were brought to his ears, whereupon hee wrote to the *Junta*, and to *Valladolid*, expressing much distaste and anger, that they should harbor any such thought of him, saying, that hee came not of the race of any pedling mercenarie fellows, nor of Traitors, but lineally was descended from the stock of the Loyall Nobilitie of the *Gottish* King's of *Spain*. This murmuring against him, by those of the *Junta*, did so distemper him, that the blood gushed out at his nose and mouth for meer anger, and cast him into a sickness, which had like to have cost him his life. After this, hee sent to the *Junta*, and *Valladolid*, desiring them to have a care that his Town and Castle of *Empudia*, should not bee destroyed, nor spoiled in the re-taking, although hee knew the King would not suffer him to enjoy it.

Disposition
of *Don Pe-
dro de Ayala*
Earl of *Sal-
vatierra*.

His Letter
to the *Jun-
ta*, and the
Cite of
Valladolid.

SECT. XXIV.

THe Gentlemen of *Vitoria*, who were retired at *Treviño*, sent to the Lord high Constable and Duke of *Naxara* for succor; The Lord high Constable sent them four hundred Foot Souldiers, and one hundred hors. The same night they arrived at *la Puebla de Argançon*, the Deputie *Diego Martinez* went with them to suppress the Earl of *Salvatierra* at *Andagoya*, but hee having
notice

notice of their design, shewed them a pair of nimble heels. Being entred into the Town, they went presently to his house, which having throughly ransacked, they burned to the ground; which done, they returned to *la Puebla*. The next daie arrived at *Treviño*, *Don Manrique de Lara*, the Duke of *Naxara's* eldest son, with two thousand Foot, and fourtie horse. Hee, and the Deputie, with the rest of the Gentlemen there, resolved to go to *Vitoria*, and inflict condigne punishment upon some of the factious, and encourage those of the Loyal Partie. The Inhabitants of *Vitoria*, being unwilling to receive so many souldiers into the Citie, sent messengers to *Treviño*, desiring *Don Manrique* not to bring his souldiers thither, but they could not prevail. So those men which *Don Manrique* brought, and the Lord high Constable's, entred all into *Vitoria*, as also the Deputie with all his kindred. The next daie, being Fridaie, *Don Manrique* marched to the Town of *Salvatierra*, which was the Earls, and took it with the Castle also, both which, hee gave the Deputie *Diego Martinez* charge to keep for his Majestie, leaving him two hundred souldiers; with the which *Diego Martinez* marched from *Salvatierra*, to a place called *Gauna*, where the Earl had another strong house, which having burnt, hee returned to *Salvatierra*, and *Don Manrique* the Sundaie following, went back to *Vitoria*. The Earl seeing they had taken his Town of *Salvatierra*, and burnt his other houses, went to the Valley of *Quartango*, and raised four thousand eight hundred men with his servants. *Hurtado Diez de Mendoza*, hearing this, came to *Vitoria*, and advertised *Don Manrique* of all particulars; Whereupon hee presently marched with his men to *Quartango*. The Earl staid not to make him welcom, but fled with all his men to the mountains; So *Don Manrique's* men pillaged all the Valley, burned down the Towers of *Andagoya*, and *Morillas*. Thence hee marched towards the *Merindades*, where hee did no great harm, the people submitting themselves to him, onely hee burned some houses of *Gonçalo Varabona's*, thence hee went to *Burgos*, where hee joyned his forces with the Lord high Constable, who was then preparing for the battle of *Villalar*. *Gonçalo Varabona*, and one Captain *Brizuela*, after *Don Manrique's* departure out of the *Merindades*,
did

did a world of mischief in the houses of those, that had agreed and made their peace with the Lord high Constable, at the Town of *Valpuesta*, hee killed one *Salazar* a Batchellor at Law, and burnt his house, from thence hee went to the Valley of *Ayala*, where the Earl of *Salvatierra* was: Where they remained until *April* next following, raising men, as fast as they could, to go against *Vitoria* and *Salvatierra*. Whereof the Citie being advertised, they put themselves in a posture to resist him, got munition from the Sea-side, made readie their ordnance, mustred their men (which were but six hundred fit to bear Arms, besides two hundred Souldiers.) The Lord high Constable sent them from his Towns of *Haro*, *la Puebla*, and *San Vicente*, two hundred and fiftie men more, besides two troops of light horse-men. Hee sent moreover Commissions of Captains General of the Mountains, and those parts, to *Martyn Ruyz de Avendaño y de Gamboa*, and to *Gomez Gonzalez de Butron y de Mugica*. Upon receipt whereof *Martyn Ruyz de Avendaño* came to *Vitoria*, and with the men of the Citie, and those that came from other places, resolved to give the Earl battle. Hereupon the Deputie *Diego Martinez de Alava*, repaired speedily to *Salvatierra*, to defend that, in case the Earl should make any attempt upon it. Being arrived there, hee would have sent his Son to the Castle of *Bernedo*, whereof hee was Governor, but the Towns-men would not suffer him, and offered to apprehend him, whereupon there arose great disorder, and hee was enforced to retire into the Fort. Divers of the Towns-men, having relation to the Earl, were very desirous that hee should repossess it, and therefore sent him intelligence privately, that *Diego Martinez*, and his Sons, were in a manner prisoners, and that now was the onely time for him to fall upon the Town. Whereof hee being very well pleased, made all the haste he could from *Quartango* to *Salvatierra*, but was met in the waie by the horse of *Vitoria*, who took some of his men prisoners, however hee marched on, and *Gonçalo Varabona* staid behinde; The next daie about midnight hee arrived at one of the Gates of *Salvatierra*, called *San Juan*, and his men cried *Ayala, Ayala*; Which the Deputie's men (who were upon the guard) hearing, put themselves in a posture of defence, and discharged

charged some of their Ordnance, which killed and hurt some of his Souldiers. The Earl himself, beeing very near the Gate, they flung down a great squar'd stone, which raked his shoulders as it fell, and quite spoiled his horse, that made him retreat further off till daie-break, by which time *Gonçalo Varabona* had brought the rest of his men, so they marched all in a bodie to a place called *Vicuña*, where they burned five houses belonging to *Diego Martinez de Alava*. And the Earl having intelligence that the Town of *Salvatierra*, and the Deputie, were reconciled, and stood upon the defensive, having no Artillerie with him, nor finding any refreshment for his men, the people beeing all fled to the Mountains, hee relinquished his design. But upon his retreat, a Partie of horse with some Foot, sallied out of *Vitoria*, and took divers of his men at *Alegria*, with whom returning to the Citie, and giving notice of the order, or rather disorder, of the Earl's Armie, they concluded to fight them; To which purpose all the horse and Foot marched out, and Captain *Ochoa de Asua* was sent before to hinder him from passing the bridg of *Durana*; But his horse beeing already passed, they made it good till the foot was all over, by which time the whole bodie of the *Vitorians* was come up. The Earl at first made as if hee would fight, but they plaid so hot upon him with their muskets, that seeing his men drop so fast, hee rode awaie with onely one Page, which seeing his men began to follow him: *Gonçalo Varabona* valiantly staid behind, crying to his men to stand. Captain *Valenzuela* encountered him, and took him prisoner, who, with six hundred of his men, much pillage, and divers Colours, were all carried to *Vitoria*; *Martin Ruyz de Avendaño*, who was present at the fight, committed *Gonçalo Varabona* to *Pedro de Alava's* house for the present, and few daies after, hee was beheaded in the great market place, whereof an expresse was sent to give the Lord high Constable notice, who was then upon going to *Villalar*, where, a short time after, the battle was given, which was the ruine and break-neck of the Commoners.

The Earl of
Salvatierra
put to
Right.

His Cap-
tain *Gonçalo*
Varabona
taken pri-
soner by
those of
Vitoria, and
beheaded in
the market
place of
the Citie.

SECT. XXV.

TO relate all the troubles which the Lord High Constable had with those of *Burgos*, and the Earl of *Salvatierra*, would fill whole Volumes. I shall now onely cursorily mention, what was done in order to the conclusion of the Treatie and Articles, which the Bishop of *Laodicea* brought, concerning the reducing of *Don Pedro Lasso*. Four daies *Ortiz* remained in *Tordesillas*, expecting until the Lord Admiral had consulted of those Articles with the Cardinal, and given him the result of their determination. But in daie time hee durst not go abroad, so that his negotiation was onely in the night, (for there is no War so dangerous as that betwixt kindred, and people of the same Nation and Language). At last hee was dispatcht, but hee was fain to carrie their Answer in his memorie, not daring to have any writing about him, so hee went coasting and crossing the Countrie in the night, until hee came into the high-waie of *Medina del Campo*, to the end that if hee should meet any of the Commoners, they might think hee came from *Medina*, and was going to *Valladolid*; where, by break of daie, hee arrived, and the Guards knowing him at the Gates, let him in without difficultie. He would not goto his own lodging, but alighted at a friend's hous, whence hee went directly to *Don Pedro Lasso*, and gave him an exact account of what hee had done with the Cardinal and the Lord Admiral at *Tordesillas*. But in regard hee had not full satisfaction of all his demands (which were, that they should procure his Majestie's approbation and allowance of the principal Articles sent him by the *Junta*, for the good of the Kingdoms). It was determined, that the Bishop of *Laodicea* should send a Friar to *Tordesillas*, who should correspond with him in their ordinarie cypher, and that *Ortiz* should likewise return thither; which hee did cunningly, without giving any suspicion, and beeing dispatched, hee returned to *Valladolid* in like manner as before.

Here *Don Pedro Lasso* begin's to treat privately with the Council, by means of *Alonso Ortiz* who was a *Furite* of *Toledo*, and his fellow Commissioner in the Parliament at *Saint jago*.

S E C T. XXVI.

IN this same year, the Kingdom of *Toledo* broke out into the like disorders and exorbitancies, as were committed in other parts of *Castilla*. They report in *Toledo*, of *Donia Maria Pacheco*, wife to *John de Palilla*, and daughter to the Earl of *Tendilla*, that shee was a woman of such a daring and resolute spirit, that shee was the greatest Instrument to support the Commonaltie of that Citie. And (if wee may believ *Fray Antonio de Guevara*) hee relate's, that shee beeing com into the Vestrie of the great Church in *Toledo*, to take away the Plate for paiment of her husband's souldiers, shee fell upon her knees, beat her breasts with her hands, cried, sighed and sobbed, two torches standing lighted before her, and fell into a kinde of extasie, believing the deceit and conjuring of a *Morisca* Witch, who told her, that her husband should com to bee a King, or somewhat near it. Hee saith manie other things of her, but let them pass, since afterwards shee paid dear enough for her follie: And indeed what otherwise could bee expected of a woman, that doth so far deviate from the rode of her natural employment, as to throw aside the Distaff, and the Needle, and busie her self with matters of State, and War. The Towns of *Orgaz* and *Ocaña*, with the favor and support of those of *Toledo*, declared likewise for the Commonaltie, and did a thousand mischiefs and affronts to the inhabitants of *Almaguer*, and other places; for the remedying of which disorders, the Governours of the Kingdoms constituted and ordeined *Don Antonio de Zuñiga* to bee Captain General of the Kingdom of *Toledo*; who having raised men at *Consuegra*, marched into the field to put their commands in execution, what successe hee had, shall bee said hereafter. For the *Junta*, and the Cavaliers call mee away.

S E C T. XXVII.

THe Citie of *Valladolid* was grown so passionate in the prosecution, and supporting of the Commonaltie's Interests, slighting the Emperor's graces to them, and beeing so maliciously

ly bent against his Council, the Lord Admiral, and the Earl of *Venavente* (who out of particular relations did desire, and used all means possible to procure their good) that all their affection was turned into hatred, and their favors into discourtesies. In this occurrence arrived at *Valladolid*, a certain Priest, with Orders from the Emperor, and the Queen, to the President and Judges of the Chancerie there residing, wherein they were commanded, with the College and Universitie, forthwith to depart that Citie. This coming to the people's knowledg, they were exceedingly incensed therewith, seeing they should bee deprived of three main benefits they had; which to prevent, they gave out that those Orders were fals, and forged, or counterfeited by the pretended Governors, who studied to do them all the mischief they could. And they determined to apprehend the Priest that brought them; but hee sheltered himself by the President's advice in the Chancerie. Whereupon the people, all in arms, came thither in a tumultuous manner to demand the Priest. The President not seeing any other remedie, to satisfie the multitude, delivered him to them; they presently clapt him into the Common Gaol, where leaving him, they returned to the President, and in a furious peremptorie manner demanded, that hee would deliver them those Orders w^{ch} the Priest brought him; hee answered, That after hee had conferred with the Judges thereupon, they should have them; but they growing more insolent, told him, That if hee delivered them not without any further delaie, they would set fire on his hous. The President, seeing their mad resolution, thought it his best way to let them have their wills. Those Orders beeing brought, they forcibly entred into the Chancerie, and took away the great Seal also, which they delivered to persons of their own choosing. In the Orders they found, how the Emperor commanded the President, with the fore-named, within three daies to leav *Valladolid*, and repair to the Governors, under pain of beeing deprived of their Offices, and that for the present they should go to the Town of *Arevalo*, where they should attend his further pleasure, in regard *Valladolid* had declined his service, and adhered to those that were Traitors to his Roial Crown.

SECT. XXVIII.

THE Cavaliers sent to *Valladolid*, desiring a cessation for ten daies. The Major part Voted, that they should not consent thereunto, alledging that the Cavaliers would break it, and besides that, they would never have demanded it, but to recruit themselves with men and arms, which they wanted. At last they returned this answer, that each partie should deposite five thousand *Marcos de Plata*, or marks of silver, in some faithful and sure person's hands, and whosoever should break the peace in that time, should forfeit the monie, upon those tearms they would hearken to them, but not otherwise. The Cavaliers refused this proposition, and the next daie following, they sent a Trumpeter with a Letter of defiance to those who called themselves the Commissioners of the Kingdom, declaring open War with fire and sword against the Commonalties, and *Valladolid*, and required them to laie down their Arms, disband their souldiers, to conform themselves to those whom his Majestie had appointed Governors of the Kingdoms, and obey their Commands as they ought. Otherwise they protested to hold them as Traitors, and would do them all the spoil and mischief that in them laie. Those of *Valladolid* answered, That they feared them not, bade them do their worst, and they would serv them with the like fauce: And without any long delay they sent to those in *Simancas*, charging them, both men, women, and children, presently to depart the Town, or they should all suffer death without reserv. Thus those of *Valladolid*, and of the *Junta*, shewed their insulting pride and crueltie, which spake them rather men given over to despair, then capable of reason and judgment. Notwithstanding all this, the Lord Admiral, much grieved at the obstinacie of *Valladolid*, and out of the tender affection which hee bare to that Citie, wrote them another Letter, in his own, and the Cardinal's name, inducing them by all fair means possible, with promises of satisfaction for their grievances, to return unto their due obedience to his Majestie, disbanding their Armies, disclaiming the Interests, and refusing to harbor or assist with their

A brave resolution of *Valladolid*.

The Lord Admiral's Letter to those of *Valladolid*.

their men, artillerie, or otherwaies any of the disturbers of the peace and repose of the Kingdoms, assuring, that if they would do so, they should finde him alwaies ready to do them all the good offices that they could expect or desire of him. And if not, hee protested, that according to his Majestie's Command, and in order to his service, hee would proceed against them as Delinquents, and disloial subjects; and that hee would make som of them suffer such exemplarie punishments, as should deterre succeeding Ages from committing any the like acts of disobedience. Those of the *Junta*, and of *Valladolid*, having read the Lord Admiral's Letter, made no great account of the persuasive part of it, neither were they any thing daunted at his threatenings; but returned him an insolent mock-answer; wherein they charged him, and those of the Council, with disturbing of the Kingdoms, and required them in the names of their Majesties, and of the Kingdoms, to return to their due obedience, leaving the Queen, with the most illustrious *Infanta*, to their free liberties; to dis-band their forces, both of Horse, and Foot, and divers other things, which if they refused, or delaied to perform accordingly, they protested, in the names of their Majesties, and Kingdom, to proclaim war against them, and declare them delinquents, disloial and disobedient persons to their Majesties, and that they would inflict such punishments upon them, as should make them examples to posteritie, for ever committing any such enormities, &c.

The *Junta's* and *Valladolid's* answer to the Lord Admiral.

 SECT. XXIX.

After these Letters, the Cavaliers wrote another to *Valladolid*, which I could not procure: But I have seen the answer, which those of *Valladolid* returned them. It seemed that the Cavalier's Letter to them was not so Civil, and respectful, as they did expect. Therefore in their replie, they said, That they believed that their Letter was ill addressed, for certainly it was not intended for them. Then they fell upon the justification of their caus, imputing the fault of all the troubles and disturbances of the Kingdom to the Cavaliers, and making remonstrances of
the

the Common People's Loyaltie, in what concerned his Majesty's service, beeing not wedded to their private Interests, like the Cavaliers, who alwaies regarded their own particular advancements and profit, to the diminution, and almost, consuming of the Royal Patrimonie.

S E C T. XXX.

THe next daie after this Letter was written, the *Junta* commanded one of every hous in *Valladolid* to march out with *John de Padilla*, to receiv *John Bravo*, who came Captain of those men, which were sent from *Segovia*, *Salamanca*, and *Avila*. They were in all six thousand compleat Foot and hors, besides thirtie Carts loaden with Munition, carriages, and other warlike utensils. They passed the bridg of *Duero*, to the great grief and dread of those in Garrison at *Simancas* (which was not far distant) and so marched directly to *Valladolid*. Upon whose arrival, the *Junta* sent for the Bishop of *Zamora*, who was in the *Beberrias*, burning and spoiling Cavalier's lands. The Bishop beeing returned, they sat in consultation upon what enterprile they should go next. Those of *Valladolid* spred a report, that they would fall upon *Simancas*, in revenge of the damages which they daily received from that Garrison.

S E C T. XXXI.

IMentioned cursorily before, how *Don Pedro Lasso* began to wax wearie of the Commonaltie, and bethink himself of the disservice hee had done his Majesty : Now you shall hear further with what difficultie his reconciliation was accomplished. *Ortiz* beeing returned to *Valladolid*, related to *Don Pedro Lasso* every particular passage (to his best remembrance, for hee durst not bring any papers) betwixt the Lord Admiral, the Cardinal, and him, concerning the agreement. Wherewith *Don Pedro* was not well satisfied, seeing they demanded more of him, then hee was able to perform, so hee remained unresolved. About the time that he was in this Quandarie, arrived at *Valladolid*, *Fray Francisco*

cisco de los Angeles of the order of *S' Francis*, a man of a noble extraction and great learning, who afterwards was Bishop of *Coria* and a Cardinal. Hee went first to *Burgos* with Letters from the Emperor to the Lord high Constable, and the Articles which hee desired his Majestie to sign for that Citie: thence hee came to *Valladolid*, where hee had conference with *Don Pedro Lasso*; but lest their too frequent conversation might breed suspicion, *Don Pedro* agreed, that hee should communicate freely with *Alonso Ortiz*, whose breast hee found a secure receptacle of any secret. *Ortiz* told *Fray Francisco* all the waies and means hee had used at *Tordesillas*, and what treaties had passed betwixt him and the Lord Admiral; That for his part hee came from *Toledo* to *Valladolid*, meerly to trie if his endeavors might contribute any thing to the remedying or composing of those unhappie differences. Hereupon *Fray Francisco* took a resolution to go himself to *Tordesillas*, to confer with the Cardinal and Lord Admiral; and being there, they sent for *Ortiz*, who went to them upon Shrove-tuesday, Anno 1521, hee alighted at the Monasterie of *Santa Clara*, where *Fray Francisco* lodged, and in regard it was past midnight, there was then no possibilitie of speaking with the Lord Admiral; but the next morning, hee coming to hear Mass in the same Monasterie, went up into *Fray Francisco's* chamber, where *Ortiz* hid himself; all that morning until dinner time they spent in treating about the Articles, in the Afternoon they did the like; and it was God's will, that before they parted, all was fully concluded, to the contentment and satisfaction of each partie, whereof were transcribed two Copies, one signed and sealed by the Cardinal and Lord Admiral, as Governors, obliging themselvs punctually to perform all and every the Articles therein contained, and procure them to bee confirmed by his Majestie, provided that *Don Pedro Lasso* did make good what hee had promised. *Ortiz* durst not carrie this writing to *Valladolid*, fearing lest the Guards should search him. So it was agreed, that *Fray Francisco de los Angeles* should carrie it to *Abrojo*, a Monasterie of Friers, a league short of *Valladolid*, (for hee durst not venture to go into the Citie with that about him) and that *Ortiz* should send som trustie messenger thither for it. *Ortiz* returned the same night (half

frozen) to *Valladolid*, and the Guards let him in without touching him, hee telling them that hee came from *Medina del Campo*. Beeing entred the Citie, hee went immediately to *Don Pedro Lasso*, whom hee informed fully of all the passages, and that *Fray Francisco de los Angeles* was to bring the Articles of agreement in writing, signed and sealed that same night to *Abrojo*; which hee did, the Earl of *Oñate* giving him a Convoy of twentie Hors from *Simancas*, who put him safe within the gates of the said Monasterie, *Don Pedro* and *Ortiz* were in pain long time, how they should send with safetie for this writing, and at last they resolved one *Fray Pedro de san Hippolito* (of the Monasterie *Del Prado* (which was without the Citie) who was *Don Pedro's* Confessor) should go for it. Hee accepted the employment, and went to *Abrojo*, and having received the writing of *Fray Francisco de los Angeles*, hee returned, but beeing com near to *Valladolid* about Sun-setting, hee met with certain souldiers which had been roving abroad, who seeing the Frier in that rode, imagined that hee came from *Simancas*, and thinking him to bee a Spie (or rather for greediness of his mule) they laid hands on him, saying, Hee was a Traitor, and that hee came from *Simancas* to give the Cavaliers intelligence of what passed in *Valladolid*. In this rude manner they led him into the Citie, calling him Traitor, and saying, that they would strip him, to see what Letters hee brought to any particular persons; so they brought him to an hous close by the gate, where they made him alight to bee stript. But it was God's great mercie to deliver *Don Pedro*, and the rest that were engaged with him out of this danger: for just as *Fray Pedro* was forced to alight from his mule, two *Franciscan* Friers came most happily thither, to whom *Fray Pedro* addresssing himself, with a neat slight of hand, and a notable resolution, drew the papers out of his own sleev, and slipt them into one of theirs, beseeching him for God's sake to fling them into the fire, and let no bodie see them: thus hee deceived the eies of above five hundred people that were gathered together to strip him: vvhich they did, but finding no papers at all about him, they carried him before *Pedro de Touar*, one of the *Regidores*, and Captain of *Valladolid*, vvho knowving him, commanded them presently to releas

Note that
seldom hath
there been
any Treach-
erie com-
mitted, but
a Frier, or
som Cler-
gie man,
had a hand
in it.

releas him. By this vvile hee saved the lives of all those that vvere concerned in that Writing.

 SECT. XXXII.

THe *Franciscan* Friers, having read these Articles, did burn them, as *Fray Pedro* desired; but they could not refrain from speaking thereof to som others, and they to others, so that at last it was the common Town-talk, and it was carried to the *Junta*. *Don Pedro Lasso* somewhat troubled, asked *Ortiz* what they should do; who bad him bee of a good courage, and if any questi- on came of it, to saie, it was a trick of the Cavaliers, to sow dis- cord amongst them, and although they had begun with him, doubtless, ere long, they would do the like to others. It fell out (as *Don Pedro* feared) that hee was questioned in the *Jun- ta* hereupon; but hee was so well prepared to answer them, ab- solutely denying the Charge, that with his smooth and resolute answers they were satisfied; in regard there was no evidence, nor any ground of suspecting, but meerly from the bare words of the Friers. This sore beeing well salved, *Ortiz* wen again to *Fray Pedro*, desiring him to venture once more to *Tordesillas*, and acquaint the Lord Admiral of what had passed, and be- seech him to send another Copie of the Articles, like the former, which was lost; which hee told him, hee might safely enough do in the night, there beeing a Monasterie of his Order just in the waie to *Tordesillas*; whither hee would send another mes- senger to bring it to *Valladolid*. The Frier went, and beeing arrived at *Tordesillas*, hee told the Lord Admiral the storie of his adventures, and how the former Copie had miscarried, and therefore *Don Pedro*, and *Ortiz*, desired him to send another. The Lord Admiral wondered at the Frier's strange relation, and thanked God with him for his deliverie, and gave him forth- with another copie *verbatim* like the first, wherewith hee re- turned in the night to his Monasterie, whither *Ortiz* sent one of his own servants, who brought it safe into *Valladolid*. Hereupon *Don Pedro Lasso* began to undermine, & cunningly to confer with som gentlemen & Cómisioners of the *Junta*, concerning the mi-

series of the times, persuading them to condescend to a peace, & to be reduced to the good, and tranquillitie of the Kingdoms, in regard that was the end of their Assembling and rising up in arms. Som thought this Proposition but just and reasonable, others absolutely dis-approved it. All these passages were particularly related to the General of the *Dominican Order*, then beeing at *Tordesillas*, who persuaded the *Grandees* of the Kingdom to send Letters to those of the *Junta General*, and to the Particular *Junta* of *Valladolid*, to this effect; That in regard both Parties did fervently desire the good, and quiet of the Kingdom, and that each in particular did pretend to advance it, yet they spoiled and butchered one another without sense or reason, beeing all Natives of the same Countrie, and their intentions (though in a different waie) steering the same Course. Therefore for the better understanding of each other, if the Gentlemen of the *Junta* would nominate any two of the Commissioners, and send them to the Monasterie of *S^t Thomas*, which is without *Tordesillas*, to treat with them, they would at the same time appoint two of their partie to go to the Monasterie *del Prado*, not far from *Valladolid*, to confer with those of the *Junta*; by which means they might com to some reasonable agreement, for the satisfaction and general good of the Kingdoms, and that there might be no more war or dissention amongst them, which had been the occasion of so much damage and miserie. Those of the *Junta* (divers of them beeing indifferently well inclined, and seeing *Don Pedro Lasso*, who was one of the principal amongst them, lean that waie) were so far from dissenting, that without further delay, they appointed him, and *Alonso de Guadalaxara*, Commissioner of *Segovia*, to go in their names to *Tordesillas*, giving first notice to the Cavaliers thereof, and wishing them to send their Agents to *Prado*, as was agreed, both giving securitie and pledges that their Messengers should pass without danger or molestation. This was concluded on Fridaie, *March* the 10th 1521. On Saturdaie night following arrived at *Valladolid*, those whom the Governors sent for pledges; but those who were against this Treatie, having consulted with *John de Padilla*, who likewise did not relish it, gave order to those upon the Guard, not to let any into the
Citie

Citie that came from *Tordesillas*, but to take away their Letters, and seiz upon their persons: Insomuch that a messenger with a Pass for them, beeing com to *Valladolid*, the Guards would have apprehended him, but hee was so circumspect, that hee got clear of them, and returned to *Tordesillas*. This was not done by the general consent of the *Junta*, but onely by those which were against the Treatie; and the rest of the *Junta* marvelled that the Cavaliers did not keep their words, in sending their Pass, or safe Conduct for the Commissioners, according to their own motion.

 SECT. XXXIII.

THINGS beeing thus discomposed, the Captains of the several Cities, with the Bishop of *Zamora*, and *John de Padilla*, agreed to draw all their forces into the field, to stop all correspondence betwixt *Valladolid* and *Tordesillas*, that the Treatie might not go forwards, and to destroe and spoil all the Towns or houses they could, that belonged to any of the Gentry in *Tordesillas*. With this resolution the Bishop of *Zamora*, *John de Padilla* with his *Toledians*, *John Zapata* with those from *Madrid*, *John Bravo*, Captain of the *Segovians*, and *Francisco Maldonado*, who commanded the men of *Avila* and *Salamanca*, went to the *Junta*, desiring that they would appoint a Captain General over them all, and it is reported (out of craft, thereby to render him more odious to the Common People) that they press'd to have that office conferred upon *Don Pedro Lasso*, which plot was imputed to *John de Padilla*, who never was *Don Pedro's* friend. The *Junta*, to satisfie them, did name *Don Pedro*, but hee desired som time to think upon it, before hee would accept it, and those that bare him no good will, began to divulge his beeing made General, in a disparaging manner, saying, It was more honor then hee deserved, in regard hee had given them so much reason to suspect his fidelitie, for holding correspondence with the Governors to sell them, and that *John de Padilla* was much more fit for that Command. This was so much buzz'd amongst the people, that they began to murmur highly against *Don Pedro*. The mutinie

S f 3

growing

growing to such an height, that *Don Pedro*, and his friends, not thinking themselves secure, prepared to make resistance, in case they should assault them in their houses, as some gave out they would. And (they saie) the very school-boys, instructed by their masters so to do, ran crying up and down the streets, Let *John de Padilla* bee General, and not *Don Pedro Lasso*. The Bishop of *Zamora* sent him word that his safest waie would bee to absent himself from the Citie, or at least, to retire into some secret place, for the people were very jealous of him, and in their furie would bee apt to do him some displeasure, but this was onely a plot to entrap him. *Don Pedro* very resolutely returned the Bishop this answer, That hee had done nothing that hee was ashamed of, or ought to run awaie for, and that hee would not stir out of his hous, if the people had any thing to saie to him, there they should finde him. The people's design upon *Don Pedro Lasso* being publickly known, some principal persons of the Citie came amongst them, and so handled the matter, that they all retired to their houles, and there was no harm done.

S E C T. XXXIV.

THose of the *Junta*, beeing in consultation about the ordering of their Armie (for there was no more thought of peace) some said, that it was very requisite that they should have a Captain General, and although *John de Padilla* had executed the office ever since *Don Pedro Giron* had left it, yet hee had not his Commission from the *Junta*, neither had the present Armie (which the severall Cities had raised) acknowledged him. Some stood for *Don Pedro Lasso de la Vega*; but the major part of the *Junta*, and all the Common people Voted for *John de Padilla*. Hee seeing that they would make him their Captain General, out of a feigned modestie refused it, earnestly desiring them all to give their Votes rather for *Don Pedro Lasso*, who was more worthie and capable of so high a Charge then hee, not that hee declined their service however, but hee would content himself with the Command of the two thousand men which hee brought from *Toledo*, with whom, and with his own person, hee

hee would serv the Commonaltie to the last breath. The people hearing that *John de Padilla* was like to bee outed, they came crying in a tumultuous mannertothe *Junta*, and pressing them to make *John de Padilla* their General, for no man elf should bee. And thinking that *Dom Pedro Lasso* was the onely man that hindered the election of *John de Padilla*, the multitude ran presently to apprehend him in his hous, laying to his charge that hee had used means to reduce them to his Majestie's service, that hee had been caus that the Cavaliers had taken *Tordesillas*, having been in the conspiracie with *Don Pedro Giron*. But the Bishop and *John de Padilla* followed, and staied them in the great market place. Assoon as ever the rabble saw the Bishop and him, they flocked round about them crying out, *Let John de Padilla live, let the Bishop live, long may live John de Padilla, who take's away the taxes of Castilla*. In this manner did the multitude carrie him up and down the market place, hooting and shooting as if they had been all mad; insomuch that *John de Padilla* could not speak to them, if hee would have said any thing, they kept so horrid a nois, saying, Hee should bee their General, and no other. *John de Padilla*, and the Bishop, seeing this fond madness of the people, withdrew themselvs into a hous, out of a window, whereof *John de Padilla* spake to them in this manner; *Sirs! You know how I came hither Captain for the Citie of Toledo, in favor of the Commonalties of this Kingdom, to serv you; you must know likewise, that Toledo is not inferior to Valladolid, but a friend to it, and all the other Citie of the Kingdom, who all agreed to send mee to asist you, and with the same affection and willingness I have performed my part, and whilst I have breath, I will omit nothing wherein I may serv you; and I thank you for your good wills to mee. But the Lords of the Junta have determined to choos a Captain General for thir Expedition: Believ mee (sirs!) it is most fit that place should go by Election, and I assure you that I was the first man that made that motion, for that is the best and safest waie; moreover, those Gentlemen know very well what they do. Hee scarl had uttered these words, but they all cried out, Wee will have none but John de Padilla, and the Bishop. Thus they continued for the space of a long hour, and more,*

John de Padilla's
speech to
the Com-
mon peo-
ple in *Valla-*
lado'id.

more, *John de Padilla* entreating them to give their consents, that *Don Pedro Lasso* might execute that office, for nevertheless hee should bee readie to spend his father's and his own estate, besides the ventring of his life in that Holie Cause, for the service of the Commonaltie. But no reason would stop their mouths, they still continued crying, hee and none else should bee their Captain. Which obstinacie of the people, being reported to those of the *Junta*, they Voted *John de Padilla* Captain General of all their forces. From that daie forwards, *Don Pedro Lasso* began to relinquish the Commonaltie, and divers of his friends did the like, seeing how blind and void of reason the people were, and how much prejudice they did themselvs, in following a people so overswaied with passion, and the greatest part of them too but men of mean and obscure extraction.

S E C T. XXXV.

FOWER hundred Lanciers of the choifest men of those that came from the conquest of the *Gelves* mutined and would have gon awaie becaul they did not receiv the paie, which was promised them from *Valladolid*, and they demanded moreover paiement of their arreares ever since the death of the King *Don Fernando*, which amounting to fortie Duckets a man at least made the summe of eight thousand Duckets. The Citie not having monie to satisfie their demands, yet loth to let them go, becaul they were stout, well disciplined souldiers, and wel armed, caused all their Gates to bee shut, whilest they went to procure them monie. In the first place they searched the Cloister of the *Benedictians*, where they found six thousand Duckets, which some particular persons had deposited there, thinking it more secure then in their own hands. After which, they went to other Religious houses & Colledges in like manner; Insomuch that at last, with what they took up by waie of lone, they got enough to give them satisfaction. Thus was that Citie guiltie of their own torment and trouble, by maintaining a fire-brand (for they deserved no other name) in their own bowels. But that which seemed most grievous to them, was, That they were daily

Here the Autor, though a Friar, expresseth more spleen and passion then Christian charitie to his brethren.

daily so molested and affronted by that paultrie Garrison of *Simancas*: Therefore they flatly told those of the *Junta*, that either they should go themselves, or give them their men, for *Valladolid* was resolved to unrooft those Harpyes. At length *Valladolid* seeing themselves reduced to so great want and povertie, for they had no way to gain a penny, all Trading and Commerce lost, the roads were so unsecure, that if they did but peep (as it were) out of their hou'es, they were in danger of being kill'd, taken prisoners, or at least plundered; and that their War was not in earnest to the purpose, neither had they any hopes of peace, they wrote a Letter to the Cavaliers in these terms:

Valladolid's Letter to the Cavaliers.

Illustrious Sirs!

WEe received a Letter from you, whereby any man of the least judgment or understanding may plainly see, that your actions do absolutely contradict what you express in words. And for a further manifestation, that the peace which you publish is directly opposite to your actual proceedings; you have introduced an abominable War in these Kingdoms, under the notion of obedience to their Majesties, battering and forcing the place where the Queen resided, seizing on, and imprisoning her servants, and the Commissioners of the Kingdom, permitting her Court to be ransack't, the Churches to be robb'd, women violated, the high-waies stoped, the Justice of the Kingdom (which was the Chancerie) to be taken away, and other horrid things, which never were seen or heard of before; whereby experience sheweth us, that the offers of Peace, which you have and do make us, are onely forms, and a policie to wearie out, divide and procure the utter destruction of the Kingdom. Being sore aggrieved at, and for the disservices, dammages, and troubles which our Sovereign Lord the King, & his Kingdoms have, and do daily suffer, and seeing that with this dissembled Peace which you cunningly publish, may be brought to ruine and perdition, wee are in the minde to persevere in that which wee have begun, and maintain the name of faithfull and loial subjects, in discharging our duties to our Sovereigns, and in executing what wee are obliged to perform to our selves, and our Countrey; not forgetting what's past, wee suffer with chearfulness all these troubles and afflictions, which are worthie

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of acknowledgment before God, and his Majestie, our Sovereign, since they pass us obligations which wee owe them. Wee hope henceforwards, that all the oppressions and waies which you have used to divert and withdraw us from this holie purpose, shall not weaken or dishearten us, but rather strengthen and encourage us the more to resist and fight against all those that have been the causers, and so detestable initiators of the miseries of these Kingdoms. And we trust in God that he wil speedily shew som beavie judgment upon the Inventors of such pervers actions, that they may alone suffer the punishment of their crimes, not wee, nor those of the holie Junta; for whosoever will seriously and judiciously consider it, shall see, that there is no fear of blame, where is faithfulness and truth, neither doth passion dare to presume, where the publick good is preferred before the particular; nor ambition, where men without consideration of either honor, life or fortunes, expose themselves to divers hard censures and obloquies. But their actions rather embolden and strengthen them to continue so just an undertaking, the obtaining whereof will procure us the perpetual Peace which wee desire. You know, Sirs, that the producer of Peace is War; if our forefathers had not fought and spilt their blood, wee should never have enjoied that happie Peace which wee had during the time of the reign of King Don Fernando, and Donia Isabella of glorious memorie. That war is laudable, which tend's to the libertie of the King and Kingdom; And abominable is that Peace, whose end is subjection, oppression, and slavery: Therefore our purpose and intention is, That our King may bee free, enjoie his Kingdoms as our Sovereign Lord, not subject nor overswaied by any evil favorites, nor fals or cheating Counsels. That his Revenues and Roial Patrimonie may not bee usurped, or lavishly wasted, but preserved, or usefully expended for the good of his Kingdoms, to the end bee may bee beloved, obeyed, and faithfully served. And out of this love, obedience, and respect, wee wish, desire, and humbly beseech his Ma'esticie to seek a remedie for his Roial Crown, and his Kingdoms; that, under God, bee onely may bee our Lord, our King, onely mightie, onely rich, his own and our onely helper and redressor, whom onely we may fear, serv, honor, and obeie: to whom onely wee may ascribe the glorie, and render a due acknowledgment for our publick good, and to whom onely wee may address our complaints and grievances: which if you would but seriously weigh and consider, you would not so condemn and oppose our holie proceedings, nor the sacred end at which wee aim. And since wee cannot accomplish our desire in a peaceable manner,

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it is but reason we should endeavor to obtain them by war, in regard it is just and holie, our end being to finde everlasting Peace. So it cannot be said that the Kingdom is caus of this War, but those disturbers, who hinder us from enjoying and procuring the universal good, which wee seek after; for which they must render a strict account to God and their Majesties, besides all the dammages, slaughters, extortions, and other grand mischiefs, which will all lie upon their score. The true peace is, that you, and the other Grandees cease from disturbing or hindering the universal good, which wee labor with all our force and might to procure. For the effecting and settling of which Peace, the Truce which your Lordships did desire was very requisite, if your Actions had been answerable to your Verbal expressions; but that was not granted you, because it was demanded onely to amuse us, and to gain time to your selves; and if it were not so, neither is it just nor reasonable, that the Kingdom should dis-band their forces, which have cost so much trouble and charge the raising; for the experience of former passages hath taught us, that your intent is to cosen and overcome us with such formal pretenses. But wee supplicate and require you, to give the Kingdom leav to seek and finde the good which they pretend, and not to set your selves in opposition and contradiction of our intentions; for our drift and purpose is no other, then to advance our holie enterprise, and repel all those that shall withstand us. of whom our trust in God is, that ere long wee shall obtain Victorie. To whom wee make our heartie praiers, that hee will be pleased to enlighten your illustrious understandings with the true knowledg of our Caus.

 SECT. XXXVI.

ALthough the Cavaliers did treat of an Accommodation, yet they ceased not to get what arms, and assemble what forces they could. The general Letters signed by the Cardinal, Lord Admiral, and Earl of Haro at *Tordesillas*, with the date in blank, I have seen in the Lord High Constable's hands, with divers other originals. They demanded of *Avila* eighteen hundred Foot: of *Cordova*, one thousand: of the Citie of *Jaen*, three hundred: of *Trugillo*, one hundred and fiftie Lances, and two hundred Foot: of *Badajos*, one hundred Foot: of *Baeça*, two hundred Foot: of *Ecija*, three hundred Foot: of *Ubeda*, two

hundred Foot. of *Xerez*, one hundred and fiftie lances. of *Caceres*, two hundred Foot. of *Anduxar*, one thousand Foot. of *Ciudad-Real*, one hundred and twentie Foot. of *Carmona*, one hundred and fiftie Foot. of the Duke of *Arcos*, sixtie lances. of the Earl of *Vrueña*, sixtie cross-bow-men on horse-back. of *Don Fernando Enriquez*, twentie lances. of the Earl of *Palma*, twentie lances. of *Don Rodrigo Mexia*, twentie lances. of the Marquis of *Tarifa*, fourscore lances. of the Marquis of *Comares*, thirtie lances. of the Earl of *Ayamonte*, thirtie lances. of the Marquis of *Villanueva*, twentie lances. of the Earl of *Cabra*, fiftie lances. of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, one hundred lances. All these men they desired, and all paid for three months, promising to repaie the Souldiers, and charges of levyng and arming them out of his Majestie's Revenue. At the same time, the Lord high Constable used the like diligence to raise men in the Mountains, saying, his design was to resist the Bishop of *Zamora*, and the other Traitors with him: also hee used means to intercept the Arms which were coming from *Guipuzcoa* to the Commoners.

S E C T. XXXVII.

THE Commonalties, especially *Valladolid*, were much displeas'd that those of the *Junta*, and the Commanders of the Armie did so prolong the War, for alreadie they were so exhausted, that they found themselves not able to sustain it. And *Valladolid*, who had so vast a charge of souldiers to maintain, and suffered exceedingly, by the continual assaults and incursions, which those of *Simancas* made into their Territories, was more sensible of the smart then any of the other Cities, and never left praying and threatning in publick and in private, until they had perswaded or forced the Captains to march out with their Armie, and to end the dispute with the Cavaliers in on battle. Upon Saturdaie night of the first week in Lent the 17 of *February* 1521. *John de Padilla*, with the greatest privacie that might bee, lest his design should bee discovered, marched with his men out of *Valladolid* to *Zaratan* (a Village within a league of the Citie) where hee quartered that night. From whence hee went the
same

same night with fourtie hors directly to *Simancas*. Being arrived at the Watch-Tower, which was upon a hill a little above the Town, *John de Padilla* asked the fellow which kept it, if hee had perceived any thing of the enemy; The man thinking hee had been som of their Garrison, said, Yes; I saw a great number of men march from *Valladolid* to *Zaratan*, which make's my heart ake, for wee have but a few left in *Simancas*. *John de Padilla* presently laied hands on him, and carried him to his Quarters, where having secured him, hee returned towards *Simancas*, by the waie hee lighted upon a partie of their hors, that had been scouring the Countrey, those hee charged and chased into the very Town, after which hee returned to *Zaratan*, with a great prise of sheep, which hee took from them. Three daies after this, came more men out of *Valladolid* with the Artilerie of *Medina*. Next daie after them, marched out those that came from *los Gelves*, who were quartered in *Zaratan*, *Arroyo*, and other places about *Simancas*, with them came the Bishop of *Zamora*, who although sick, would not staie behind the Armie, saying, That in defence of the liberties of the Kingdom, dead or alive, sick or in health, however hee would follow the Camp, such was the courage and animositie of a Prelate threescore years old at least. Besides all these, came to joyn with him likewise *John Bravo* and *Francisco Maldonado*, with all their forces and divers hors-men. Some daies they remained in *Zaratan*, pillaging and taking what they could from those of *Simancas* and *Torrelobaton*. Some daies they took from the Inhabitants of the enemy's Quarters 1500 sheep *per diem*, and though it was Lent, their Bishop gave them leav to eat flesh, so they wanted for no good cheer. Another time *John de Padilla* marched out of his Quarters with a great partie of hors, and met with some of *Simancas* and *Torrelobaton's* Garrisons, and after an hot skirmish, wherein som on both sides were killed, *John de Padilla* took fiftie Cavaliers, horses and arms, for which hee might have had great sums of monie, if hee would have ransomed them, but hee refused it.

S E C T. XXXVIII.

IT being a holie time (in *Lent*) and the War dangerous and prejudicial, divers good Religious men interceded for an Accommodation of these differences, and to procure an absolute Peace, if possible. At *Aniago* (a Monasterie of the *Carthusians*, upon the River *Duero*, three leagues from *Valladolid*) was the meeting place to Treat. Those of the Commonaltie had very fair and advantagious conditions offered them, but their heads being possessed with prejudice, and their hearts infected with the poisonous vice of War, having the libertie to pillage and spoil as they listed, they would not hearken to any reason. Indeed the Lord High Constable, and the Lord Admiral, are both worthie of immortal prais; for out of a most Christian zeal and affection to their Countie, they desired this peace, offering the Commonalties all favorable and reasonable terms possible, and indented with the Emperor, in a manner, that hee should grant and confirm whatsoever they agreed upon with them, and that hee should remit and pardon all the injuries they had done to his Roial Crown; Protesting moreover, that it grieved them to the souls that any man should die in that quarrel; yet nothing would do.

Here the Autor extend's himself as far in flatterie, as in other places in passionate railing.

S E C T. XXXIX.

ON Thursdaie, the 21 of *Februarie*, *John de Padilla* marched out of *Zaratan* with his whole Camp (which consisted of seven thousand Foot, and five hundred Lances) at two of the clock after midnight, going very silently in good order, and taking Guides along with them to shew them the waie to *Torrelobaton*, in the very Suburbs whereof hee took up his quarters, robbing and plundering all they could lay hands on; but the people had carried all their best goods into the Town, which was very strong. The next daie *John de Padilla* commanded his great Ordnance to bee planted in convenient places, to batter the Town, which hee did very smartly; but all his shots were

John de Padilla besiegeth *Torrelobaton*.

to little purpose, for the rampires were extraordinarie. After this hee gave them a brisk assault, with great clamors of men, and bouncing of Guns, but hee got nothing by that, for the besieged defended themselvs with much resolution. In this Conflict (which lasted all daie) were divers slain and hurt, but the most part were of *John de Padilla's* men, who fought at disadvantage, having no defence nor rampires to shelter them; so that seeing the great loss hee received, and the little good hee did, most of their ladders beeing too short, and those that ventured to mount up, were either knock'd down dead, or shrewdly wounded, hee thought it his best waie to fall off, and found a Retreat; so the combate ceased for that time: All that night *John de Padilla* labored to entrench himself, and rais a batterie in another place, that hee might give them another fresh assault the next daie. The Lord Admiral, and the others at *Tordesillas*, beeing advertised of *John de Padilla's* beeing advanced to *Torrelabaton*, sent presently to draw the Garrisons out of *Simancas*, and *Portillo*, with intent to relieve *Torrelabaton*, if possible, although they were but weak in Foot, and the enemy had great store, and very good. First they sent out two Troops of Horse to discover the order and strength of the enemy's Camp, with whom they had som slight skirmishes. This daie *John de Padilla* wasted in raising a new batterie, and planting his Artillerie, but hee found that part of the Town no less strong then the former, so that hee could do no execution; but on the morrow (which was the third daie of his beeing there) hee removed his Ordnance to another part of the wall, which was weaker, where hee made som breaches, which those of *Valladolid* and *Toledo* spying, ran presently hurrying without order to enter; the dispute continued very hot a great while; but the Besieged behaved themselvs so gallantly, that they were forced to retreat with no smal loss. The same daie the Earl of *Haro*, Captain General, having left a sufficient Guard in *Tordesillas*, marched out to face the enemy, with a matter of a thousand Lances, intending to give the Alarm on one side of the Town, whil'st the Governor *Don Francisco Ossorio*, Lord of *Valdonquillo* carried in a fresh supplie of souldiers on the other. Hee desired of the Lord Admiral,
that

that they might bee Horsmen, but the Earl of *Haro* thought that not so convenient, hee having more need of the Cavalrie for the field-battle: Beeing com within sight of the Town in the Evening, they staid upon the top of a hill, whence the Earl sent a partie of his Hors to skirmish with som Arcabusers, (who beeing betwixt the besieged, and the mud-walls, stood much to their advantage) but seeing his men cruelly galled, and able to do no good there, hee commanded they should retreat to the bodie, which was still upon the hill expecting *Don Francisco Ossorio* to put in execution their intended design: but whilst they were thus staying, arrived a Gentleman with a Letter from the Lord Admiral, to the Earl of *Haro*, saying, That hee might return again, for hee had notice since, that there was no such need of putting any succor into *Torrelobaton*, for there was already strength sufficient to defend it; notwithstanding this countermand, divers Gentlemen offered to go into the Town; but it could not bee attempted, the Lord Admiral having forbidden the Ladders to bee brought, which were agreed upon. So it behoved the Earl to go back again that night to *Tordesillas*, without bringing his purpose to effect, to satisfie the Lord Admiral, who (as it afterwards proved) was very much over-seen therein: But som say, hee was angrie becaus the Earl of *Haro* did not follow his advice in the prosecution of that design. *John de Padilla* beeing alarmed by these thousand Hors, and finding that hee had not force enough for the offensive and defensive both, sent presently to *Valladolid* for more. Upon receipt of his Letter, three thousand Foot, and four hundred Hors were ordered to march to the Armie at *Torrelobaton*, vvhich went vwith as good a will to fight, as if they had gon to gain the *Jubilee*. On Saturday 28 *Febr.* they arrived in the suburbs, to the no less rejoicing and encouragement of the Besiegers, then the dis-heartening and terror of the Besieged; who sent to the Lord Admiral, complaining very much of *Valladolid*, saying, That onely that Citie did them all the mischief. Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday they battered incessantly with all their Ordnance, and very many were killed on both sides: A man could not peep above the wall, but hee had presently a bullet, or an arrow in his head: yet the Cavaliers

valiers stood out manfully; but being not above four hundred Foot, and some few Horse, they were not able to defend themselves, and withstand the continual assaults of the Enemy, having no intermission nor time to take any rest, besides provisions began to fail them. *John de Padilla* having raised several batteries against the Town, at last one of them made a breach, where (whilst the besieged were defending themselves in another part of the Town) those of *Valladolid* entered with their Colors; they sacked the Town with the greatest cruelty in the world: they killed the poor laboring men, because they could not give them what they demanded, spilled all their Wines, breaking the tubs in pieces; they plundered the Churches, stripped the Altars, and broke open the Tombs, thinking to find some hidden treasure therein. Finally they did such things, that the most savage brutes, who have not the use of reason, could not do worse, respecting neither humane things nor divine. Next day being Wednesday, they fell to battering of the Tower, which defended it self stoutly, but being full of women and children that had retired themselves thither for security (who feeling it shake at every shot that hit it) cried out, fearing it would fall upon their heads, and having nothing to eat, it was surrendered upon condition to secure all their lives, and half their goods. Thus *John de Padilla* took *Torrelobaton*, which was no inconsiderable piece of service. Hereby hee gained himself much reputation amongst the Common-people, it being but three leagues from *Tordesillas*, where the Governors, with all their forces, were. The Towns which stood for the Commonalty, made great shews of rejoicing for this Victory. The Lord Admiral, and those that were with him, were cruelly nettled hereat, and being vexed more for their honor's sake, then for the importance of the place, they resolved to be revenged. So they gave notice forthwith to the Lord High Constable of all passages, who commanded immediately four thousand men (which hee had ready) with four pieces of Ordnance, to march by the waie of *Palencia* to *Tordesillas*, whereof *Don John de Mendoza* having intelligence, sallied out of *Valladolid* with above four thousand Foot, and stopt their passage. The Cavaliers seeing they could get no succor that waie, nor having

John de Padilla takes *Torrelobaton* and the Tower.

men enough in *Tordesillas* to encounter *John de Padilla*, who was very strong, besides all the Cities beeing their enemies, they sent to demand a Truce for eight daies of *John de Padilla*, which although he, and som of the Commissioners that were with him, were not unwilling to grant, yet they durst not, without consulting with *Valladolid*; for in regard they stood in great need of that Citie, and were very much favored and assisted by them, they bare them a singular respect, and would determine nothing without their privitie. This was communicated to all the people of *Valladolid*, and discussed; at length they all agreed to return this answer, That they should by no means grant them any truce, no, not for one hour, but proceed against them with all manner of rigor; for it was most certain, that they demanded a Truce for nothing else, but meerly to recruit themselves of men and provisions, to the prejudice of the Commonaltie; and if they did grant them eight or fifteen daies libertie, by the ancient law of the Kingdom they might renew their Cessation still to ninetie and six daies, and so from ninetie six to ninetie six, until the year were out; by which procrastinations, the Commonalties would be destroyed and ruined, and the people lose their courage and good zeal, which at present did animate them to defend their Liberties; yet notwithstanding *Valladolid* sent this answer, the Commissioners of the Kingdom, and the Commanders of the Armie did grant the Truce for eight daies, from Sunday to Sundaie.

S E C T. XXXIX.

THis Cessation was demanded after the taking of *Torrelobaton*, although that much displeased the Lord Admiral, and *Fray Francisco de los Angeles* went to *Valladolid*, in his and the Cardinal's name, to treat thereof, whom *Alonso de Vera* a bridler and one of the worshipful Citie officers, meeting at the Gate *del Campo*, treated very uncivilly, and would not suffer to enter into the Citie. After this, *Alonso de Ortiz*, with danger enough of his life, ventured to return thither, with Letters of credence to treat about the same business. Who beeing entred into the Citie,

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communicated his errand to *Don Pedro de Ayala*, and *Don Hernando de Ulloa*, (whom hee found died in grain for his purpose) and forthwith they gave order, that the *Junta* should assemble to hear the message that *Alonso de Ortiz* brought from *Tordesillas*. Which beeing heard, and the Articles and conditions of the Truce being almost concluded, and the time for the continuance thereof limited; it chanced that *Fray Pablo* and *Sancho Zimbron* (who carried the Articles of the Kingdom into *Flanders*, to get them granted and authorized by his Majestie, as hath been already mentioned) arrived at *Valladolid*: And hearing that they were about a Treatie of Cessation of Arms, *Fray Pablo* presently sent notice of his arrival to the *Junta*, desiring them that they would not conclude of either Peace, or War, or Truce, until hee came to give them an account of the employment, upon which they had sent him into *Flanders*. Hereupon that business was suspended until the evening: And then the Commissioners of the Kingdom beeing set againe, *Fray Pablo* came and gave them an account of his journie, and what hee had done. Amongst other relations, hee told them, that when hee came into *Flanders*, the Emperor was gon into *Germanie*, whither hee and *Sancho Zimbron* intended to follow him; but by the waie hee was informed that his Majestie had given order (if they came into *Germanie*) to have them hanged; Whereupon they went no further. Moreover, that hee knew that his Majestie was so displeas'd with those Articles, and so incens'd against those that had any hand in the making of them, or in raising those Commotions in the Kingdom, that at his return into *Spain*, they should bee all severely punished, notwithstanding any engagement or promises the Governours had made to the contrarie in his name. This information the Frier gave the Commissioners of the Kingdoms, besides divers other particulars, which are too tedious to relate. In conclusion, hee told them that his advice was, that they should contract neither Peace nor Truce with the *Grandeas*, but stand firm and unanimously persevere in their former resolution. So that if his Majestie would com again into their Kingdom, it might bee through their means, and not by the *Grandeas*. For that beeing done by a permissive will of the Kingdom, they

Wholson
counsel of
the Frier.

might make their own conditions, and have what securitie they pleased, besides, they might so make their bargain, that if his Majestie did not perform his agreement with them, the Kingdom might remain united and agreed, That all the people should assemble whensoever occasion did require, and stick close one to the other in what concerned them for their defence, and have sufficient assurance that the agreement made with them should be performed. Wherefore his opinion was, that they ought not onely, not to grant the Truce which was desired, but courageously to persist in the War, until they had destroyed the Grandees, and made the Commissioners of the Kingdom with the *Junta*, Lords of the Countie. Notwithstanding this discourse of *Fray Pablo*, the Commissioners commanded *Ortiz* to continue the Treatie. After all this, it hapned that the Frier sitting next to *Ortiz*, and taking him to be a Commissioner of som Citie, that was com to the *Junta* since his departure, hee began to repeat som thing of his discourse to the other Commissioners, but chiefly harped upon the Emperors intent to punish the Commoners, notwithstanding any pardon the Governors should promise them in his behalf. Whereupon, not well brooking his speeches, *Ortiz* asked him how hee knew the Emperor had any such thought: Hee answered hee was told so. Then *Ortiz* could hold no longer, but with a voice that might be heard by all in the room, said, That hee wondred that a man of his coat and gravitie, being a Doctor of Divinitie, who ought to give good example, should positively saie a thing of such importance (as that which hee had verified to those Gentlemen in these words, (*That notwithstanding any pardon the Governors should grant, confirmed by his Majestie, those who had raised the Commotions in the Kingdom, his Majestie would punish at his return, as if they had been taken in the fact*) upon no other certaintie, but onely hear saie; In regard those words were enough to disturb and hinder the conclusion of the Truce, which might produce a Peace, and those of his dignitie and profession ought rather to endeavour to make Peace, when other hopes failed, then to hinder and obstruct the means of procuring it. The Frier hearing this, was very wrath, and asked who hee was; It being told him that

that *Ortiz* was the man that solicited for the Truce in behalf of the Cavaliers, hee stole out of the *Junta*. *Ortiz* staid still, treating with the Commissioners about the conditions of the Truce. In mean time *Fray Pablo* went to som of the Citie, telling them that they had suffered a Traitor to com in amongst them, whom the Grandees had sent under the notion of treating a Truce, to espie what was done in the Citie, and to sound the People's inclinations : That in his opinion they ought to turn him out of the Citie, or apprehend him, and make him confess the principal caus of his coming thither. Presently the Commoners, in whose heads hee had buzz'd these things, went along with him to the *Junta*, all armed, and boldly rushed into the Chamber where they sate, asking them very peremptorily, why they suffered a Traitor to com into the Citie, to spie and make advantage of their proceedings ; requiring the Commissioners forthwith to discharge him the Citie, otherwise they would apprehend him and make him give them an account of his business there ; Other high language and threatnings they used, which put *Ortiz* in a bodily fear. The Commissioners with smooth and flattering words pacified them in such sort, that they went quietly awaie. Which done, *Ortiz* thus spake unto them, Gentlemen, If becaus I came hither upon your words and assurance to treat of the Truce, this stir and combustion hath been rais'd, rather then the people shall turn mee out of the Citie, I will depart : But if you pleas to treat further of the business, for which I have undertaken this jurnie, and will promise as you are Gentlemen to secure and defend mee, notwithstanding their menaces, I will staid until all bee concluded. Those of the *Junta* answered, that they were contented, and gave him their words, upon the faith of Gentlemen, to defend him. So the Treatie went on, and they stirr'd not from the place until the conditions were all concluded, whereof a Copie was given to *Ortiz*, inclosed with the Conditions and Articles, besides a particular dispatch from the *Junta* general, and the particular *Junta* of *Valladolid* to their Captains, then beeing at *Torrelobaton*, giving them to understand, that they had agreed unto that Truce, and commanding them to obeie it, and caus it to bee proclaimed

Alonso Ortiz
obtain's a
Truce from
those of the
Junta with
the Cavaliers.

in their Armie, *verbatim* as it was there written. With these dispatches departed *Ortiz* post from *Valladolid*; after eleven of the Clock in the night, and arrived at *Torrelobaton* about one; where hee found neither in the Camp, nor in the Town, any Guard; so hee entred into the Suburbs with his servants, where two thousand men laie fast asleep about their fires, so careless, that two hundred men, falling upon them at that time, had been enough to have destroyed the whole Armie. *Ortiz* lost no time, but forthwith hee notified to *John de Padilla*, and other Commanders, the Orders for the Truce. That same night, and next morning, they all assembled, and although there were som dissenting opinions amongst them, and difficulties of either accepting or keeping it, especially beeing contradicted highly by *Diego de Guzman*, Commisisoner of *Salamanca*, who, by command of the *Junta*, came into the Armie, under notion of beeing the General's overseer. At length the Truce was accepted and proclaimed in the Armie; whereof *Ortiz* taking certificate, departed presently for *Tordesillas*, where hee was joyfully received by the Lord Admiral and the Cardinal, with the rest of the *Grandeas*, who all were very glad of that Truce, as thinking it the precursor of the so generally desired Peace. The same night being assembled in the Cardinal's Chamber, the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Venavente*, the Marquis of *Astorga*, the Earl of *Miranda*, the Earl of *Alva de Lista*, the Earl of *Villarrambra*, the Earl of *Cifuentes*, and divers other private Gentlemen, besides *Juan Rodriquez Mausino*, Embassador from the King of *Portugal*, *El Licenciado Polanca* of the Council, and *Pedro de Camaceli* Secretarie; Before them all *Ortiz* related the troubles which hee had gon through, and produced the Dispatches which hee brought concerning the Truce, wherein those of the *Junta* said, That they were contented to condescend to the Truce, which was desired in the behalf of the Governors of the Kingdom, in order to the service of God, and becaus the King of *Portugal* had so commanded it: The Nobles were much distasted hereat, saying, They would not consent to the Truce upon such terms; that they were not so ill provided, as that the Commoners should think they had any advantage of them: That they were ready to give them battle whensoever they

By order from the *Junta* the Truce is proclaimed in *John de Padilla's* Armie.

The *Grandeas*'s exceptions against the Truce.

they would, and that the Truce should not be accepted nor proclaimed in their Armie, unless those words were altered. Hereupon were different opinions and votes; at last it was resolved that *Ortiz* should go back to *Valladolid*, to treat thereupon. Som daies were spent whilst this was in agitation, during which time neither the Truce was well observed, neither was there open War. Whereupon the Commonalties, especially *Valladolid*, were highly discontented, and went muttering out their complaints in these or the like words, That their Captains having raised themselves to such high Offices, did but dally and grew negligent of the Cause; That the Cavaliers did amuse them in trifling away the time in Treaties, onely to recruit and strengthen themselves, and fall upon them when they saw their advantage; in which opinion they were not much mistaken.

Those of *Valladolid* discontented against the Commanders of their Armie, for yielding to a Truce.

SECT. XL.

DOn *Pedro Lasso*, and *Alonso de Guadalaxara*, Commissioner of *Segovia*, were all this time at the Monasterie of the *Dominicans*, without *Tordesillas*, treating of Peace with the Cardinal and Lord Admiral. But upon the taking and sacking of *Torrelobaton*, the Lord Admiral being very much displeas'd, the Treatie was broken off for a while; yet out of the great desire hee had to see the Kingdom settled, hee fell to treat again of the Peace. And being agreed upon som Articles, it was the general opinion of them, that the Cessation would conduce much to the conclusion of the rest; for the better and more speedy effecting whereof, divers Prelates and good Religious men came from several parts to assist at the Treatie. The Governors and Noblemen condescended to the greatest part, and most important of the Articles, which the Commonalties desired, and the Peace was in a fair waie of being concluded; but the Commoners were so mistrustful, that they could not agree about the securitie: the Governors and Grandees offered to oblige their persons and estates to procure the Emperor's approbation and confirmation of their agreement with the people, besides other very fair propositions which the King of *Portugal's* Embassador did
much

much incite the Commoners to accept: But they would have the Grandees engage themselves to demand it by force of arms, in case the Emperor should denie to ratifie their conditions and promises to the people, delivering them som principal persons as hostages, and certain Forts (then in their hands) as pledges of their performance thereof. Inſomuch that their ſtanding upon ſuch terms, deſtroied absolutely all hopes and probabilities of Peace. Yet hoping that time might produce ſom better effect, it was reſolved before the Truce was fully expired, to procure a Prorogation or a renewing of it; to vvhich effect the Embaſſador of Portugal, and *Don Pedro Laſſo*, taking ſom grave Religious men vvith them, the laſt daie of the Truce vvent to *Torrelobaton*, and gave *John de Padilla*, and the other Captains, an account of all paſſages; who, whether not willing, or not having the power to grant their deſires, agreed (although the Truce was out) to go to *Zaratan*; where thole of the *Junta* aſſembled to treat thereupon. But they were ſo high, and fearing thereby to loſe their great Offices, eſpecially the Commanders of the Armie, that they could agree upon neither Peace nor Truce, although ſom of the *Junta* did give their Votes for it, whereof *Don Pedro Laſſo de la Vega* was the leading man, who from that time forwards left them, withdrawing himſelf from that Aſſembly, and vvent to the Governours at *Tordeſillas*. Thus the Truce and Treaties came to nothing, onely this benefit they produced, that in thoſe eight daies time *John de Padilla* loſt a good part of his Armie; for thoſe ſouldiers, who had gotten monie, or any good plunder at the ſacking of *Torrelobaton*, the paſſages beeing free and ſecure during the Truce, went home to their own dwellings; the like did diuers of the Horſ of the antient Guards of the Kingdom, becauſ they were not paied. After this there was another Aſſembly at *Bamba*, whither *John de Padilla* was ſent for, who beeing com, they all agreed to ſit at *Zaratan*. Thither repaired diuers from *Valladolid* on horſ-back and on foot, to ſmall purpoſe: The Grandees demanded Truce for eight daies more, or for three; but the Commoners would by no means give conſent thereunto, alleging that they would deceiv them: then they went to dinner, but beeing ready to ſit down, *John de Padilla*

The Truce
brok. noff
again.

dilla had notice, that they had a design to murder him, whereupon, without staying to eat or drink, away went hee to *Torrelobaton*, and the rest to *Tordesillas*.

SECT. XL I.

BY this time *Don Antonio de Zuñiga* had on foot a complete Armie in the Kingdom of *Toledo*, in favor of his Majesties loial servants, and to reduce *Ocaña*, which with other places of the *Maestrazgo* of *Santjago* was risen up in Arms: and beeing at *Almaguer*, the *Gardian* of *S^t Juan de los Reyes* of *Toledo* came to him with certain admonitions and treaties from that Citie, and Commonaltie thereof, insomuch that there was a kinde of Truce betwixt them, and probabilities of a peaceable accommodation: but it fell out otherwise, and their difference grevv to an open War, the *Bishop* of *Zamora* beeing made *Captain* for *Ocaña*, and other revolted places, against *Don Antoni*.

SECT. XLII.

IN some papers which I have seen Originals of *Fray Antonio de Guevaua*, *Chronicler* to his Imperial Majestie, concerning the Commonalties, Hee mentions that the Town of *Dueñas* likewise rose up in Arms, and misdemeaned themselvs exceedingly towards the *Earl* and *Countess* of *Buendia*, who making resistance against their furie, the people sent to desire succor from those of the *Junta*. And hee saies that those of the *Junta* and the *Commoners* also did seem to bee sorrie that those of *Dueñas* had desobliged the *Earl*, becaus neither hee nor his *Ladie* had expressed any disaffection to the Commonalties, and that of secret friends their miscarri agehad now made them open enemies. Yet seeing that it was of no small concernment to have the Town of *Dueñas* at their Devotion, the succor which they demanded, was forthwith sent them from *Valladolid*, to wit, seven hundred Foot, *Pikemen*, *Muskettiers*, and *Cross-bow-men*, and all paid for a certain time. For which they returned thanks in a Letter to *Valladolid*, wherein they made large expressions and protestations of their firm resolution to

serv the Emperor, and the Commonaltie, with divers other things.

S E C T. XLIII.

THe 27th of *March* 1521. Both the Armies were in ill condition enough, and neither of them could boast of much advantage over the other, according to the information which *Don Pedro Luxan Commendador Mayor* of *Castilla* beeing in *Simancas*, did give the Emperor; saying, That in that Garrison they stood in want of men; That *John de Padilla* with the other Captains for the Commonaltie had taken *Torrelobaton*; That from *Tordesillas* and other places thereabout, his Foot had received some prejudice. That divers of his men had left the Camp, as is usual when an Armie lie's still without action. That the like was done by the Foot in the Loyal Armie also, but of hors they had a sufficient quantitie. That the Armie remaining in *Torrelobaton*, was reported not to exceed two thousand Foot, and three hundred hors. That *John de Padilla* and those with him were upon their departure thence, having a great desire to com to *Simancas*, where they presumed at least a thousand more would com to them from *Valladolid*, out of revenge and hatred to those of that Garrison, and to secure themselves from any further dammage. That monie began to grow scarce amongst the Commoners, and that their souldiers were ill paid. That the same diseaf was amongst the Cavaliers, yet they had somewhat salved that sore by the sale of those Noblemen's and Gentlemen's plate that were in *Tordesillas*, wherewith they had procured monie to give one months paie to the Foot, and two to the hors viz. *March* and *April*, (By which time the Emperor had written that hee would bee back in *Flanders* and readie to take shipping for *Spain*.) And that those old souldiers which came from *los Gelves*, came every daie, by two and three at a time, into the Cavaliers Armie, and gave out that the rest would all go nex to follow them.

Finis Libri Quinti.



THE
CIVIL WARS
OF
SPAIN.
THE
SIXTH BOOK.

SECT. I.

THe passions seated in the Souls of men are in effect not unlike to the recoverie of a bodie out of some desperate sickness : For any the least excess cast's the affected Partie into a relapse, and by an untimely precipitation hurrieth him into the Sepulchre. The Cavaliers and the Commoners did not treat with that realtie as they ought : Some made a fair shew, and seemed to desire a Peace, though they were best contented with the War, for divers particular interests which they did receiv thereby.

X x 2

Others

Others dissembled (though not altogether) and the most part of those (which were called Commoners) were prepossessed with a diffident and distrustful humor, holding for uncertain and onely pretences, all the conditions that were offered them on the behalf of his Majestie and the Cavaliers. Whilest they were in a treatie during the eight daies of Truce, two things hapned which destroyed all the Impostume or poison where-with their hearts were swoln, bursting out into the disorders which in this Book shall bee related, and shall conclude this deplorable Historie. Infomuch that the clouds, which hung over *Castilla*, threatening a cruel storm, were all dissipated in one short and not bloodie battle betwixt the Cavaliers and the Commoners, in the plain of *Villalar*, the success whereof struck such remor of Conscience into the people's hearts, and the Cities acknowledging their errors, returned to their obedience unto him, whom God had given them for their King, serving and loving him, as shall bee seen hereafter. During the fore-mentioned occurrences, *Francisco de Mercado*, *Corregidor* of *Medina del Campo*, with twentie horse (which in those daies were called Esquiers) and other persons, who by command of the *Junta* were coming to *Valladolid* at the pass over the River *Duero* (which is two leagues from *Valladolid* and one from *Simancas*) they were encountred by a partie of one hundred and fiftie light horse of the Earl of *Oñate's*, who were going to seek adventures: Four of those of *Medina* were killed upon the place; *Francisco de Mercado*, the Master of the Ordnance, and two more were taken prisoners, and carried to *Simancas*. Notice hereof being given at *Valladolid*, they sent out a strong partie to rescue them but it was too late, and the *Corregidor* of *Medina* (who was immediatly released again) hindred them somewhat, for meeting with them hee told them, They might go back again, for the business was nothing; But afterwards knowing the truth of the storie, they apprehended the *Corregidor* of *Medina* for a suspicious person, laying to his charge the loss of those men, and would have executed him presently, but upon more serious consideration they held it best to dissemble and forbear a while, lest they should thereby indanger the lives of those that were prisoners at *Simancas*. So they sent
first

Here the
Frier maketh a digression,
falling into
his usual
manner of
flatterie.

first to demand them, making great complaints, that during the Truce they should commit such acts of hostilitie, and break their words with them : But they found no amends.

 SECT. II.

THAT which chiefly incensed the mindes of all the Commonaltie was, that before the time of the Truce was expired, there was set up (they knew not by whom) in the market place of *Valladolid*, a Proclamation made and signed by the Governours of the Kingdom, wherein they named divers Citizens of *Valladolid*, *Toledo*, *Salamanca*, *Madrid*, *Guadalaxara*, *Murcia*, *Segovia*, *Toro*, *Zamora*, and all the rest of the Commonalties, to the number of five hundred persons, and som Gentlemen, declaring them Traitors, Violaters of their faith to God and their King, and calling the Bishop, and *John de Padilla*, and other Officers of the Commonaltie, treacherous enemies to his Majestie. This was dispatched in *Burgos*, and proclaimed with great solemnitie before *Anton Gallo*, Chancellor and Secretarie of his Majestie's Council then at *Burgos*, and divers other persons of note. The names of the parties mentioned beeing very many, and that importing little or nothing to the substance of the Historie, I shall not trouble the Reader therewith.

 SECT. III.

V*Alladolid*, in revenge of this Proclamation, set up against them, and the rest of the Commonalties, the next daie after it was found in the market place, they pasted upon the door of *Santa Maria Church* (which is now the Cathedral) a Paper, with a direction to the Citie of *Vallad^lid*, animating them to persevere in their holie purpose, and not to bee intimidated for any practices of the Enemies, or bee troubled at their reviling them with such opprobrious terms, and encouraging all those of the Commonaltie to make all forces possible, and march speedily into the field with so numerous an Armie, that the sight of them onely should serv to overcome their enemies without fighting, by

which means they should save the lives of many men, which would be lost, if their Armies met with equal strength, besides the hazard to which they should expose their Cause. And if they were successful, the War would be at an end, peace and plenty would increase, the liberty and publick good of the Kingdom ensue, and the name of Traitors remain upon the Conquered, who never would dare to face them again: This, with some other things to the same effect, was the substance of that Paper, which the Common people read with great content and applause, crying it up exceedingly, and sending copies of it through the whole Kingdom.

S E C T. I V.

John de Padilla's staying so long at *Torrelobaton* was very prejudicial to the Commonalties; for besides that hee lost many men, hee gave the Cavaliers time to recruit and strengthen themselves notably, whereas questionless if hee had fallen upon *Tordesillas* as soon as hee had taken in *Torrelobaton*, hee had driven them to extraordinarie straits. But he remained there hugging himself with that small victorie, and the applause of the people, which hee had thereby procured: Hee fell to repairing the walls which hee had battered down, as if hee intended to make that the seat and residence of his Armie, which lasted not long after. The Cities of *Toro* and *Zamora* sent him some fresh supplies, whereof the Cavaliers having notice, they sent out a Partie of seven hundred Lances to cut off their waie, and their lives too, if they could; near *Pedrosa* they met, and after a prettie hot skirmish, the Cavaliers forced them into the Town, where they besieged them close; but *John de Padilla* having notice of his men's distress, soon came to relieve them with three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, leaving a sufficient Guard in *Torrelobaton*: whom when the Cavaliers saw with so great force, they made their retreat good to *Tordesillas*; And *John de Padilla* marched with his men to *Castromonte* (another Town of the Lord Admiral's) and having taken it, left a Garrison in it, and thence returned to *Torrelobaton*, intending to expect the suc-
cor

cor for which hee had sent to the Cities of his Combination ; in the mean time hee repaired and fortified the Town, (as I said before) lest the Cavaliers of *Tordesillas* should fall upon him before the forces hee expected were com to him. There hee began to be sensible of his own ill government, and of the damage which hee received by his too great confidence, which soon after hee more plainly saw, to the los of his libertie and life. For it is a blindenels and imperfection of a man's intellect to thrust himself upon imploiments beyond the reach of his capacitie, and having undertaken them, to bee remis in the execution of them. To bee the occasion of any troubles or disturbance in a Common-wealth is not Justifiable, but beeing once ingaged, it is an act of prudence for aman to bee vigilant and active in the atchievment of his design.

John de Padilla was not so incapable as the Frier makes him, though over-seen in this occasion.

 SECT. V.

IT were unjust that the great zeal wherewith the Lord high Admiral of *Castilla* was moved to reduce the people of that Kingdom (which were up in Arms) by fair means and without bloodshed, to peace and due obedience to his Majestie, should pass without mentioning, for the eternal memorie of so noble a person, and the honor of his generous familie, who (as it is well known) was of the blood Roial. Having advertisment that *Doña Maria Pacheco Mendoça*, wife to *John de Padilla*, had a great hand with her husband, and might contribute much to the withdrawing him from that employment, nay, that hee had done the more by her instigation and spurring him on. And that *Pedro Lopez de Padilla*, his father, was yet living in *Toledo*, but very old and decrepit; the Lord Admiral sent a Gentleman, one of the Emperors servants to them, with instructions full of prudent and sage counsels and advice, and strong arguments to convince and perswade them to induce *John de Padilla* to moderate his over-violent passion, and admit of a Treatie with him, advising him not to bee so extreme careful and earnest in advancing the affairs of *Valladolid*, as to forget his own, assuring him that if hee would (as then it was in his power) but contribute his
consent

consent to the concluding of a Peace, hee would not onely procure a pardon from his Majestie of all past-offencers, but set him highly in his esteem, and obtain divers favors and *Mercedes* to bee confirmed upon him and his children. These, and divers other good remonstrances hee gave *Alonso de Quiñones* to urge at *Toledo*, to the above-named persons; but hee might have saved that labor.

 SECT. VI.

THose of the *Junta*, hearing of the great Power which the Earl of *Salvatierra* had assembled in the Mountains, wherewith hee had possessed himself of the Artillerie, which was coming from *Navarra* to the Cavaliers, and of the Forces which the Bishop of *Zamora* had in the Kingdom of *Toledo*, besides those which were with *John de Padilla*, had their hearts at ease, thinking their game cock-sure. Moreover, divers of the Kingdom, who had look'd on till then, seeing the Grandees so hard bestead, took up Arms to make good the Cause of the Commonaltie. And had things been as those of the Commonaltie could have wished, they would have had partakers and abettors enough. But there is no Law in this life for the good, or the evil to overcome, or be overcome; for a favorable, or an adverse fortune. Yet seeing themselves in so good a condition, and highly resenting the Proclamation which was published by the Governors, against them and the Cities, they resolved to paie them in the same coin. They fulminated a Process as they pleased themselves, and having commanded a great Scaffold to be erected in the chief market-place of *Valladolid*, adorning it with hangings of rich cloth of gold and silk, and steps and seats placed in good order, on Sundaie the 17 of *March*, 1521, all the Commissioners of the *Junta*, and Deputies, with a great number of Attendants, and sound of trumpets, drums, and other musick, came and seated themselves upon it: Before them went the Kings at Arms, with the Maces and Coats of the Kingdom, and being placed in their throne, their Attornie general read with a loud voice, *That* they had made a process against the Admiral and Constable

Constable of *Castilla*, the Earl of *Venavente*, Earl of *Haro*, Earl of *Alva de Lista*, Earl of *Salinas*, Marquis of *Astorga*, the Bishop of *Astorga*, against the Secretaries and other Officers of the evil Council (for so they termed his Majesty's Council) and against the High Treasurers, and under Treasurers; the Merchants, and other Inhabitants of *Burgos*, *Tordesillas*, *Simancas*, and other places, declaring them Traitors, and breakers of the Truce, expressing divers reasons, especially the burning of *Medina del Campo*, with the cruel and inhumane sacking of *Tordesillas*, wherein they alleged, the Cavaliers shewed neither respect to God, nor his Saints, nor the person of the Queen, who was present; and that two Souldiers, without fear of God or their own consciences, broke into a Church, and stript the image of our Ladie, and cut off one of her arms, for greediness of som gold which there was upon it. That som others took away the *Custodia*, whereof one eat up the consecrated *Hostia*. They ripped up a thousand more such like things, which I shall now omit to rehearse. Thus our Spaniards treated each other, beeing all of the same Nation and language; and yet all this was for their King's service, (as they pretended) and to free the Kingdom from Tyrants.

 SECT. VII.

After this, the War grew very hot, and their passions on both sides implacable, and no daie passed without some sallying out of the Garrisons to robb and spoil each other. Som Companies of musketers having notice of provisions and munition that was carrying to *Tordesillas*, marched out of *Torrelobaton* to intercept them. Whereof the Earl of *Haro* beeing informed, took a stout partie of hors with him, and gave such a hot charge to *John de Palilla's* men, that hee left divers of them dead upon the place, and took one hundred and fiftie prisoners, which so scared the rest, that they never durst quatch afterwards, nor make any incursions upon his Territories, as when they came first thither they boasted they would do. Those of *Medina del Campo*, roving in like manner on the other side, the Earl of *Haro* with

all the Nobles and Gentry in *Tordesillas* (except the Lord Admiral, whom in respect of his age and charge of Governor, they desired to staid with the Queen) went one daie purposely to face it, and scour the whole COUNTRY about it, at whose appearing, those of the Town sallied forth and skermished with them, in which encounter some of them were sorely wounded, others taken prisoners, amongst whom was *Alonso Luys de Quintanilla* their Captain, Son to *Don Luys Quintanilla*, to whom (as is already said) those of the *Junta* committed the charge of her Majesty, when they took *Tordesillas*. *John de Padilla* having intelligence from some Inhabitants of *Tordesillas*, of the Earl of *Haro's* grand sallie. Determined with his Armie to assault it in his absence, and put the Governors to a rout, and some report, that hee had a promise from those inhabitants to make one of the Gates for him: Which being told the Lord Admiral, and that *John de Padilla* was already upon his march, hee sent word immediately to the Earl of *Haro*, who lost no time after this notice, but with all his gallant partie came thundring back to *Tordesillas*; which *John de Padilla* perceiving, hee durst not prosecute his design, but wheeled back to his Garrison of *Torrelobaton*. After this, they remained some daies prettie quiet, without any encounter or action considerable. For, by reason of *John de Padilla's* obstinate resolution of staying in *Torrelobaton*, his Armie was so diminished, that hee had not men enough left to make a sallie of any consequence. Wherefore hee sent to *Salamanca*, *Toro*, *Zamora*, and other Cities, demanding fresh supplies. On the other side, the Governors agreed to put in effect what they had discussed amongst themselves, which was, That the Lord high Constable coming from *Burgos* with his forces, they should all joyn in one bodie, and make up an Armie sufficient to encounter *John de Padilla*, in case hee should take the field, (the succors which hee expected being arrived) or to besiege him where hee was: for being divided, they could not attempt either of those enterprises, without danger and a doubtfulness of the success, neither indeed had they strength enough to perform either design, considering they must leav a competent Garrison in *Tordesillas*. According to this resolution, the Lord High Constable,

stable, & other Noblemen, with the forces they brought wth them to *Burgos*, prepared themselves for the journie. The Duke of *Naxara*, then Vice-roy of *Navarra*, sent him a thousand old souldiers, and som Artillerie, which with his own men, and those other Noblemen's with him, made three thousand choice Foot, and five hundred gallant Hors, well Armed, besides som Gentlemen, and Light Horsmen, and besides those which hee sent before with *Don Diego de Sarmiento* Earl of *Salinas*, and those which his Nephew *Don Pedro Xuzrez de Velasco* carried to subdue the *Merindades*. With these forces marched the Lord High Constable from *Burgos*, leaving the Citie under the government and guard of *Don Antonio de Velasco* Earl of *Nieva*, with a competent number of men to that purpose. *John de Padilla*, and the other Captains of the Commonaltie, having notice hereof, sent presently to the town of *Vezerril* (which is in *Campos*) where hee wasto pass, advertising and requiring *Don John de Figueroa*, brother to the Duke of *Arcos*, (who still followed the Commonaltie with som Cuirassiers, and Light Horsmen, then beeing at *Vezerril*) to defend the pass, and do the Lord High Constable what disturbance and mischief hee could: but hee beeing arrived, commanded his men to storm the Town, which was done, and hee entred without any great difficultie, it beeing a place of no considerable strength. *Don John de Figueroa*, and another Gentleman with him, called *Don John de Luna*, were sent prisoners to the Castle of *Burgos*; which done, the Lord High Constable continued on his march to *Rioseco*, where hee arrived with four thousand Foot, six hundred Hors, three or four great Pieces of Ordnance, about five hundred *Gascones*, and six hundred *Moors* of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, Vassals to the Earl of *Almenara*, wherewith hee served the Cavaliers.

 SECT. VIII.

THe Cavaliers had so plaid their Cards in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, that two thousand souldiers were raised in the Citie of *Saragosa*, and paid at the Kingdom's charge; who beeing mustered, and ready to depart, the Common people of the

Here Don Pedro Giron discover's himself to bee a Traitor on both sides.

Another notorious Traitor to the Commons. Here the Frier flattereth again the familie of the Giron's.

Citie hearing that they were levyed in favor of the Cavaliers against the Commonalties of *Castilla*; There was such a hubbub and uproar of a sudden in the Citie, that all the people fell unawars upon those souldiers, disarmed and routed them quite, saying, that *Aragon* had nothing to do to meddle or contradict any thing concerning the liberties of *Castilla*. Don Pedro Giron, who was retired to a Town of his named *Peñafiel*, gave intelligence of the raising of these men, to those of the Commonaltie, and that a great part of them, after they were disarmed, marched to the Lord high Constable at *Burgos*, whom upon this notice, they saie, the Earl of *Salvatierra* did cut off by the waie, which was a thing of no great difficultie, considering in what ill equipage and condition they then were. Don Pedro said moreover, that hee sent them this advertisement, meerly out of a desire to express his readines to serv the Commonalties, and the Citie of *Valladolid*, telling them, that it would not bee amiss to send their acknowledgments and thanks to *Saragosa*, for doing them so great a favor without beeing desired. Hee wrote another letter to *Valladolid* immediately after hee had deserted them, and relinquished the office of Captain General, vindicating himself of the suspicions and fault wherewith they charged him, offering to return unto his Command, and desiring them to bee favorable in their censure, until they knew further: Whereupon som gave their Votes for his returning to his Charge, alleging, that although hee had committed an error, and in probabilitie not unwillingly, in marching to *Villalpando*, and leaving the waie clear for the Cavaliers to go from *Rioseco* to *Tordesillas*, the fault was chiefly to bee derived upon Don Pedro Lasso. But John de Padilla had gained so much repute amongst them, and the Common People, that most of the *Junta* disliked that proposition: And it was better for Don Pedro Giron they did so, for it was a stain to the greatnes of his birth to bee Captain of such people.

SECT. IX.

BEfore I com to relate the end which befell John de Padilla and the *Junta's* Armie, the several passages and exploits of the

the Bishop of *Zamora* present themselves unto my pen. When hee marched from *Valladolid*, by the *Junta's* order, hee gave out that hee went to take possession of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Toledo*, then vacant by the death of *Guillermo de Crouj*, nephew to *Monsieur de Xeures*. Hee carried with him an handsom Armie of both Foot and Hors, with five field-pieces. In *Toledo* hee was very well received, and the Citie furnished him with more men and Artillerie, from *Alcala de Henares* hee took six Pieces more, so that hee had in all fifteen Pieces of Ordnance. *Don Antonio de Zuñiga* his adversarie was likewise very strong, having at least six thousand Foot, and proportionable number of Hors, besides divers Gentlemen that were com to assist him. Amongst whom *Don Pedro de Guzman*, a valiant young Gentleman (whom his Majestie made the first Earl of *Olivares*) was chiefly taken notice of for his good service. I have already mentioned how the Dutchess of *Medina Sidonia*, *Doña Leonora de Zuñiga*, by her masculine courage and resolution, appeas'd the disorders and insurrection which *Don John de Figueroa* attempted to raise in *Sevilla*: since which, hearing of the Commotions in the Kingdom of *Toledo*, and that her brother *Don Antonio de Zuñiga*, Prior of *San Juan*, was engaged in the suppressing of them, shee pick'd out a thousand of her choicest Foot, and an hundred Hors, with six field-pieces, all at the Duke, her eldest son's charges, and sent *Don Pedro de Guzman*, her third son with them, to the end, in *Don Antonio de Zuniga*, his unkle's companie, hee should give testimonie of his valor and fidelitie to the Emperour, against those revolters. *Don Diego de Caravajal*, Lord of *Todar*, and his brother *Don Alonso*, came likewise to assist *Don Antonio* in this expedition with a reasonable number of men. With all which forces the Prior marched out of *Almaguer* toward *Ocaña*, thinking to reduce it to his Majesties subjection either by force or composition. The Bishop of *Zamora*, who had no less forces with him, put his Armie in a posture to encounter him, and both came into the field with a full determination to fight, which som devout religious men grieving for the loss that both parties were like to sustain, endeavored by many pious remonstrances and persuasions to divert, but all they

The Relation of the first Autor (who in probability was *Guevara*) is the rather to be believed.

could obtain was a Truce for three daies. The event of these Armies is diversly related by two several Autors, whom I chiefly follow in this narration; the one saith, That the Bishop having put the Prior to flight, and routed his Armie, remained master of the field, but was sorely wounded in two places. The other, *Pero Mexia*, reporteth, That during the Treatie, some scattering souldiers of *Don Antonio's* Armie being engaged with some of the Bishop's, one of *Don Antonio's* Foot-Captains seeing his men over-matched, without any order from the Prior, charged the Bishop's men with his whole Companie, & so both Parties seeking to favor and rescue their own men, at last the whole Armies were both engaged, and had a furious battle, wherein divers were wounded and kill'd on both sides; at last the Bishop's men being worsted, began to shew their heels, and the execution had been much greater if the night had not separated them, leaving the victorie and glorie of the daie to *Don Antonio's* men; The darknes of the night befriended the Bishop very much in his escape, and divers of his men, who fled to *Ocania*: But hee made no long staie there, being informed that hee was pursued by *Don Antonio*, and that the Town was upon terms of yielding to him; So the Bishop being gon to *Toledo*, within three daies *Ocania* was surrendered to *Don Antonio* for the Emperor, upon conditions of pardon for their former disobedience, and they received him with great solemnitie and acts of submission. After which *Don Antonio's* Armie increased daily with fresh supplies, which hee quartered in all the frontiers and Towns adjacent to *Toledo*, continuing the War against the *Toledians*. *Don John de Ribera* did the like on the other side of the River *Tagus*.

S E C T. X.

AMongst other transactions in this War, the expedition of the Town of *Mora* was the most remarkable, and the most disastrous that yet hath been related: It was thus, The Inhabitants of that Town being inclined to the interest of the Commonaltie, rose up in Arms, and so continued a certain time; But seeing the Power and Victorious proceedings of *Don Antonio*, they

they capitulated with him, and promised obedience to his Majesty, (yet so little constancie there is amongst the Vulgar) after their agreement, they revolted again, declaring for the Commonaltie, as before: and not contented with this, seeing one of *Don Antonio's* Captains pass by the Town, with som sheep and other cattle, which hee had taken in the confines of *Toledo*, they sallied out to the number of three hundred men, and rescued the Prize, forcing him to flie: whereupon, the next daie *Don Diego de Caravajal*, who was quartered two leagues thence at *Almonacid*, marching out with his Horse, joined with *Don Hernando de Robledo*, who had the Command of som Foot companies, whom *Don Antonio*, at the instance and perswasion of *Diego Lopez de Avalos*, Comendador of *Mora*, had sent to keep them in aw, and make them stand to their conditions; who advancing together to the very walls of the Town, (which the Inhabitants had made as strong as they could) summoned them to deliver it for his Majesty, and give them a peaceable entrance: But they sturdily refused, calling them Traitors, and reviling them in base injurious terms, accompanied with many musket shots, and arrows. *Don Hernando de Robledo*, and those with him, enraged at this uncivil treatment, entred the Town by storm, and forced the Inhabitants to retreat to the great Church, wherein they had put all their wives and children, having fortified it, as they could, and dammed up all the doors but one, which, though open, was barrocadoed lustily, and in it they had planted two Fawkeners, with som barrells of powder for their defence. *Don Hernando* being com thither with his men, required those that made good the Church to submit; whereunto they answered with a shot from one of their Guns, which killed a Corporal of his: whereat his souldiers growing desperate, without any order or command, presently fetched a great quantitie of spreys, or bavins, which they heaped against the other doors, and set fire to them, thinking when the doors were burned down, to enter into the Church. But the fire coming to the barrells and the tubs where-with the doors were barrocadoed on the inside, made such a blaze, that the timber of the Church taking fire therewith, all was immediately of a flame; and the poor people's having no
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waie out but through the fire, nor any breathing place within the Church, were well-nigh all consumed; At least three thousand persons lost their lives in that miserable manner, which was very much lamented all the Kingdom over.

 SECT. XI.

THE Bishop of *Zamora* was not idle all this while, hee had as great a fire, in a manner, as this, within himself. Hee went to *Toledo* disguised, and alone, having left his men two or three leagues off the Citie, but beeing arrived, hee made himself known; whereupon the people presently flocked to see him with great eagerness, by reason of the high value and esteem which hee had acquired amongst the Commonalties. The Citie made exceeding demonstrations of joye for his coming thither, and forthwith granted him the administration of the Arch-Bishoprick, according to his desire, as if they had been Popes. In accomplishment whereof, they carried him with great solemnitie to the Cathedral Church, and placed him in the Arch-bishop's seat: Which act and form of taking possession beeing past, they gave him monie, and a good quantitie of Church-plate, wherewith to paie his souldiers. This made him return merrily to his Armie, and soon after hee went to reliev *Avila*, which was besieged by *Don John de Ribera*, before mentioned: Which hee did with the loss of manie men on both sides. That done, hee used all means possible to mischief and endamage *Don Antonio's* Armie, but hee could do him no great harm, hee beeing grown very powerfull, by reason of fresh supplies that daily came in to his assistance, especially by the recruit which his Nephew *Don Pedro de Guzman*, brother to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, brought him.

 SECT. XII.

AT the same time that the Bishop departed from *Valladolid* to the Kingdom of *Toledo*, *Don John de Mendoza*, with seven hundred men, raised and paid by the Citie of *Valladolid*, marched
to

to succor *Dueñas* against the Lord high Constable, whom they feared would laie siege to that Town. But seeing there was no great need of him there, hee went to *Villacis* (which is a wall'd Town and indifferent strong, one league from *Carrion*) which hee entred by storm and sacked. Thus the confusion and ruine of the Kingdom grew daily greater and greater, which much perplexed the Governors, and grieved all those that were truly zealous for the publick good. Yet there was no waie left unattempted to procure a peace, but nothing concluded. The more the Cities of the Kingdom suffred, the more their hearts were hardned, peremptorily resolving to stand to the rigorous arbitrement of War for the ending of their differences. And *Valladolid* beeing the chief seat of the Commonalties, and as it were, the linewes of the War, all the other places of the Kingdom made their addressees to that Citie, extolling it to the skies, saying, That was the onely firm Piller which supported their Holie pretensions, whence they expected the benefit of their libertie. Amongst others, the Citie of *Leon* having levied some monies, in order to the *Junta's* command sent a Letter to those of *Valladolid*, highly magnifying the Justice and holiness of their caus, thanking and commending them exceedingly for their care and vigilance in the maintenance and prosecution thereof, and lastly excusing themselvs that they could procure no more monie to send them at that present, promising within short time to raise a more considerable summe for the furtherance of that holie design, and their treasure beeing exhausted, to engage their own persons, with all their friends and allyes in whatsoever they should pleas to command them.

 S E C T. XIII.

P*alacios de Meneses*, a Town not far from *Medina de Rioseco*, would needs enter into the same brawl with the Commoners, and rise up in Arms with them. *Don Alonso Enriquez*, Bishop of *Osma*, brother to the Lord Admiral, and the Earl *Don Hernando* beeing at that time in *Medina*, drew out three thousand Foot and one hundred and fiftie hors, with which they marched

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directly

directly to *Palacios de Meneſes*, intending to ſtorm and ſack it in revenge of that which the Commoners had don at *Torrelobaton*. This deſign beeing diſcovered, *John de Padilla* ſent threeſcore horſ into *Palacios*, which otherwaies was not very ill provided, for having the enimie neer them, their continual fear made them the more careful and circumſpect. There was within the Town neer four hundred inhabitants able to bear Arms, all well provided with Croſs-bows and other weapons : inſomuch that when thoſe of *Rioſeco* came thither, and required them to let them in, they answered, That their manner of coming was ſuch, that they could not with ſafetie permit them entrance. Thereupon the Cavaliers bid them ſend any two of their Townſmen to treat with them ; which they did. But beeing com unto them, they ſtript them, and ſent them back in their ſhirts, with threatnings and commands to deliver the town preſently, otherwiſe they would ranſack and deſtroy them utterly. The Town not valuing their menaces, ſtood to their former reſolution, and would not admit them, putting themſelves in a deſenſive poſture, in caſe they ſhould attempt to ſtorm them. The Aſſault was very furious, and the reſiſtance of the Aſſailed no leſs couragious, killing and wounding each other without pittie, four hours together : At laſt, thoſe within beeing fewer in number then the Aſſailers, were forced to quit the walls, which the enimie preſently ſcaled, and placed two Colors upon the top, and diverſ others were following them : but when thoſe of *Palacios* ſaw themſelves in that extremitie, three hundred Croſs-bow-men, and many with ſlings, charged them ſo thick with ſtones and arrows, that both the Enſigns beeing killed, one fell with his Colors within, the other on the out-ſide of the wall ; ſo that thoſe of *Rioſeco*, ſeeing ſo reſolute a reſiſtance, were glad to make a fair retreat ; but they firſt ſet fire to the gates, which the Townſ people perceiving, the women brought preſently above two hundred great pitchers of Vineger, and the bow-men ſent ſuch clouds of arrows amongſt them, that they killed ten of their men, and wounded a great number. With this paiment they returned to *Rioſeco*, and thoſe of *Palacios* remained very well pleaſed and ſatisfied : hereof they preſently
gave

gave intelligence to *John de Padilla*, *Don John de Mendoza*, Captain of the forces of *Valladolid*, and to *Empudia*, desiring succor, lest the Enemy, angrie at their ill success in that attempt, should surprize them another time. Hereupon those of the *Junta* commanded *Don John de Mendoza* to go to *Palacios*. The same night after the assault, came fiftie musketers from *Empudia* to *Palacios*, so secretly, that they were not discovered by the Enemy, who returned the next daie thither, thinking to carrie it, not knowing any thing of the succor which came to them of *Palacios* over-night, which, though it was not much, proved of great importance. Those of *Rioseco* fell on desperately, but the Towns-men, with the help of those Musketers, defended themselves very stoutly, and killed their men so fast, that they were fain to retire with loss: And those of *Palacios* were cried up for gallant men, having repulsd so many enemies two several times, without the loss of one man, they being but an handful in comparison, and their Town not strong.

S E C T. XIV.

THUS the confusion and war daily grew more violent in the miserable Kingdoms of *Castilla*, *Toledo*, the Province of *Alava*, and in the Mountains of *Burgos*. In the Kingdom of *Valencia* there was nothing but cutting of throats, and robbing one another: And *Valladolid*, seeing the Kingdom in so distracted a condition, began to murmure against those that sate at the helm, charging them with the ill managing of the affairs, and that they did nothing but trifle and delaie the time, without knowing when or how to set a period to their miseries: They desired to bring their differences to an end, but chiefly by the conquest of the Cavaliers, that they might bee exempted and freed from such great mischiefs. The fault of not concluding, either by a firm peace, or an open war, they imputed to the Commissioners of the Kingdom; who to enrich themselves, and because they would not bee brought to an account of one hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, which they had received, were glad to keep things from a conclusion, of which *Valladolid* having suffered the most of

any place, and which had been at the greatest expences, was most sensible, and did exceedingly lament. To say the truth on both sides, as well of the Cavaliers, as of the Commonalties, there was trouble and hard measure enough. In *Montealegre* the Bishop of *Osma*, and the Earl *Don Hernando*, put a great number of the *Toledian* souldiers to the rout, beeing there with their Captains, swaggering and rioting, and never suspecting to be surpris'd by the Enemy. They killed som of them that made resistance, and carried near two hundred prisoners to *Rioseco*. Thus both parties studied to weaken & ruine each other, and betwixt them consumed the whole Countrie. *John de Padilla* kept his Court in *Torrelobaton*, like another *Annibal* in *Capua*. Upon a Mundaie, the 8 of *April*, all the people of *Valladolid* rose up in a tumultuous manner, beeing wearied out with those of the *Junta*, and discontented at their secret and long consultations, without concluding any thing. In this disorder they went seeking them from place to place, beeing fully resolv'd to turn them out of the Citie, or know of them the reason of their delaies; for the damage which they daily receiv'd from those of *Simancas* was insufferable. There was no trading at all, every thing grew so excessive dear, that a bushel of wheat was worth eight hundred *Maravediz*. The people flocked in multitudes to the great Church, where the Deputies, with the Captains of the Citie, were assembled, with loud voices, and lamentable cries, beseeching them to seek som remedie, for their miserie was insupportable, desiring them moreover, to let them know the reason, why the war was so procrastinated, and urging, that fiftie daies were past without any action of war, neither could their imaginations reach to what they intended. The Officers answered them, That the occasion of those demurres was, the often going to, and coming from *Tordesillas* about the Treatie of Peace with the Cavaliers, bidding them return quietly to their houses, and before night they should know particularly all the circumstances and passages of the business. Whereupon the people praied them to consider well what they did, and not to let them suffer any further detriment, or be burthened vvith any more expences, for vvithin less then seven months they had dis-bursed above one hundred thousand

thousand and five hundred Duckets, besides other charges and losses, which they had sustained beyond number, yet they did grudge none of all this, if they could close up their miseries with peace, or revenge themselves by war, and that they might be permitted to fall upon *Simancas* and *Tordesillas*; for nothing grieved them so much, as that they could not have their wills on them. Towards the Evening, the people of every Ward being called together, they were shewed certain Articles which two Commissioners of the *Junta* had concluded with the Governors, and brought from *Tordesillas*; the substance of them being according to the contents of the General Articles of the Kingdom, specified at large already, I shall spare to trouble the Reader with a second relation.

S E C T. X V.

THe people having perused these Articles, would by no means approve of them, nor consent to any agreement, alleging, that what the Cavalier promised therein was not sufficient, neither was it certain to be performed, for they had no warrant from his Majesty so especial, as a business of that consequence did require; besides, they refused to give any pledges, or deliver any strong holds into the Commonaltie's possession for their securitie. And since the conditions they offered them were neither good nor sure, they would have no Peace, but War with them: in regard they found no securitie of their persons or lives without it. The Commissioners and Captains, seeing all the people fully determined and bent to give the Cavaliers battle, and either live with libertie, or end their miseries with death, (most of them being of the same opinion, deeming that to be their onely safe way) cherish'd them in that resolution, presently giving order to all the people of *Valladolid* to be in a readines, all the Artillerie to be prepared and fitted to carrie into the field: the like was done through all the Cities and Towns of the Commonaltie, every Commissioner repairing to his own Citie and Town to that purpose: Thus they intended in one daie to end all their troubles, and that this last bout should paie for all their

delays and triflings, whereby they had ruined themselves, and given the Cavaliers time to recruit and strengthen their Partie.

SECT. XVI.

ONE night, whilst these things were thus in agitation, *John de Padilla*, by order of those of the *Junta*, came privately to *Valladolid*, and after they had consulted with him concerning things necessarie for the present expedition, hee returned immediately to *Torrebaton*, to secure the Artillerie which was there, having intelligence that the Cavaliers in *Tordesillas* had a design to surprize it. Order was given to raise him two thousand Foot well armed, with two hundred Lances in *Valladolid*, and two pieces of Ordnance, for two purposes; the one, to demolish *Torrebaton*, which hee did afterwards; the other, to give the Lord High Constable battle, before hee could join his forces with the rest. For those from *Valladolid*, with the two thousand which hee had in *Torrebaton*, and those which hee expected hourly from *Salamanca*, *Toro*, and *Zamora*, (who were six thousand Foot, and two hundred lances) besides two thousand five hundred from *Palencia*, fifteen hundred from *Dueñas*, four hundred from *Palacios*, and others from the *Beberrias* and *Merindades*, would make him an Armie of fourteen thousand. But those of *Valladolid* were so long before they could be in fit equipage to march, and the other Towns and Cities not sending in their supplies time enough, *John de Padilla* could not execute his design against the Lord high Constable; vvhho (as you have heard) took *Vezerril*, and marched into *Rioseco* vvith four thousand Foot, six hundred lances, three or four pieces of Artillerie, &c. So that, through the vveakness and vvant of care of the Commoners Captains, hee soon after set a period to that so miserably contentious and destructive War. The Cavaliers on the one partie, and the Cities for the Commonaltie on the other, raised all the force they could possibly for this expedition. The Citie of *Palencia* sent six hundred men and two pieces of Ordnance. *Dueñas* four hundred men and two pieces of Ordnance. *Baltanas de Cerrato*

Cerrato two hundred. Those of *Segovia*, *Avila*, and *Leon* came not; *Salamanca* made good the number before mentioned. All these were without any discipline or experience in Martial affairs, and amongst their Officers there was such emulations, every one standing so upon their *punctillio's* of honor, each Captain would be chief, scorning to receive orders from any other: In a word, they were ill bred people, possessed with no less ignorance than unadvisedness. The Merchants, and other Citizens of *Valladolid*, seeing the business brought to the push, and the people resolved to decide their difference with the sword, fearing or doubting the event, carried all their goods and Merchandises into Monasteries, having shut up all their ware-houses and shops, and laid all other trading aside, onely for matter of arms, every one providing himself the best hee could. The poorer sort of people being ready to starve, made lamentable complaints in the streets, crying out to God for mercie, and to releas them out of those calamities, though it were with the loss of their lives. They feared the power of the Cavaliers, who had an Armie of two thousand Lances, and seven thousand Foot, of the choicest men in the Kingdom, all well armed, and in good order, with stout and experienced Officers, under the Command of the Earl of *Haro*, who with great Vigilancie, answerable to his Courage, executed the place of Captain General.

 SECT. XVII.

THE Lord High Constable marched out of *Rioseco* towards *Tordesillas*, the 19th of *April*, 1521, to join with the rest of the Cavaliers, where hee was exceedingly desired. Being come to *Peñafior* near *Torrelobaton*, hee there took up quarters for his forces: wence hee went to *Tordesillas*, where hee was received with extraordinarie expressions of joie. *John de Padilla* was yet in *Torrelobaton*, with eight thousand Foot, five hundred Lances, and the Artillerie of *Medina del Campo*, expecting more supplies from the other Cities, which, by their ill management and slackness, were not come to him; And the thousand men from *Palencia* and *Dueñas* were also hindered from joining with him,
by

Two
months hee
staid there.

by reason of the Lord High Constable's beeing at *Peñafloz*; whereby hee plainly perceived his own, and the other Captain's unadvisedness and over-sight, in spinning out so much time there. The Lord High Constable, the Lord Admiral, and the other Grandees concluded to make their *Rande-vous* at *Peñafloz*, leaving with the Queen, and for guard of the Town, the Cardinal of *Tortosa*, *Don Bernardo de Sandoval*, Marquis of *Denia*, with his troop of Horse, *Don Diego de Rojas*, Lord of *Santiago de la Puebla* with his, and as many companies of Foot, which was sufficient, the walls of the Town beeing in very good repair. They presently dispatched orders to those in garrison at *Portillo*, to come to the *Rande-vous*; and to the Earl of *Oñate* to staid with his Horse in *Simancas*, to hinder *Valladolid* from sending any succor to *John de Padilla*. This done, the Earl of *Haro* having given command over-night to have his men in a readines, the next morning they all marched to *Peñafloz*, where they reposed that night, beeing Sundaie. Mundaie by break of daie, because they would lose no time, the Governours, and the Captain General drew all their forces into the field, which amounted to about seven thousand Foot, and two thousand four hundred Horse, besides som Noblemen and Gentlemen of the greatest qualitie in *Castilla*. That daie they did nothing but muster their men, sending in mean time som Light-horsmen to discover in what posture *John de Padilla* was in *Torrelobaton*; for they were generally of opinion to besiege him so close, that hee might not go thence without giving them battle; and they made no question of worsting him, their Armie exceeding his, if not in number, in goodnes and valor of the men. With this resolution they returned to their quarters.

S E C T. XVIII.

John de Padilla, and the other Captains, understanding the advantage the Cavaliers would have of them in the field, durst not encounter them, and fearing to bee besieged, they began, too late, to bee sensible of their own carelesnes or imprudence, in staying so long at *Torrelobaton*; and thinking their safest course would

would bee to march secretly thence, as soon as possibly they could, and make no stay until they arrived at *Toro*, where they might remain securely until the succors came to them from *Zamora*, *Leon*, *Salamanca*, and the other Cities, (whereof they were in daily expectation) or go from thence to *Salamanca*, as they saw occasion; they resolved so to do. Whereupon a certain Priest sitting at the table with him, thus said, Sir! I have seen a Prophecie in which is declared that the Commonalties shall this daie be vanquished, and the Cavaliers remain victorious, therefore I beseech you Sir, depart not this daie from *Torrelobaton*. Whereunto *John de Padilla* made this answer, Go, trust not in such foolish and vain predictions, but in God repose your confidence, to whom I shall willingly sacrifice this life, and my person, for the publick good of these Kingdoms, and in regard it is now no time to flinch, I do resolv to die, and let him dispose of mee as shall bee most for his Glorie. This was on Tuesday morning, whilest *John de Padilla* was at break-fast. Which done, his Armie marched out with all silence possible, and in good order, the Artillerie in the Van, his Foot divided into two squadrons, and hee bringing up the rear with the horse. The Governors and their Captain General soon had intelligence of *John de Padilla's* march, and presently made after him three several waies, whom without any great difficultie they took prisoner, and routed all his Armie. The manner of their fight is diversly reported by several Authors, but one (who saie's hee was a spectator thereof) relate's it thus: That upon *S' George's* daie, the Cavaliers having notice of *John de Padilla's* departure from *Torrelobaton* towards *Toro*, they sallied out upon him from three several places, those of *Tordesillas* charged his Armie in the Van, those of *Medina de Rioseco* in the Rear, and those of *Simancas* falling desperately in upon the Flanks, put all in disorder. The Commoners marched until they came neer *Villalar*, in very good order, and the Cavaliers were of several opinions concerning the giving of them battle: Some said it was enough to make them flie, and lose their credits; and that it was wisdom not to put a business of such importance to the hazard of one battle. That their Foot was very numerous, and in appearance good: that those which the Lord high Constable brought, were but few and much harassed, be-

A Priest
dissuade's
John de Pa-
dilla from
encounter-
ing the Ca-
valiers.
His An-
swer.

sides if they miscarried in this enterprize, their hopes were all destroyed with their forces. But the Marquis of *Astorga*, the Earl of *Alva*, & *Don Diego de Toledo* insisted with much eagerness to charge them, & their voices carrying it against the more timorous partie, they did make after them: Who having great store of excellent horse, & *J. de Padilla's* men being ill disciplin'd, besides the waies being so deep that they could hardly march, & seeing the enemy advance towards them in great bodies several waies, their courage began to fail, yet their Captains animated them all they could. The Cavaliers follow'd them still in this manner, their horse skirmishing now & then with them, until they came near *Villalar*, where, having got within shot of them, they let flie their Ordnance amongst their ranks (who march'd very close) w^{ch} kill'd them by heaps. This made their hearts fall to their heels, & for hast to get into the town, they ran one over the other, notwithstanding all their officers endeavors to keep them in order, & for their further misfortune there fell so fierce a shower of rain, that the Foot stuck fast, engaged in the mire to the very knees, neither could they make any use of their Artillerie, partly by reason of the ill wether, & partly through the baseness of their gunners, the chief wherof nam'd *Saldaña*, a native of *Toledo* not well understanding his office, fled awaie, & left the Artillerie in a plowed field. Although some have reported that *Don Pedro Maldonado* dealt privatly with the gunners, so to engage the Ordnance, that they should do no execution against the Cavaliers, having so promised his Uncle, the Earl of *Venavente*, who had made him sensible of his error. However it was, the Cavaliers seized upon all their Artillerie, and divers of *John de Padilla's* men both Horse and Foot, saved themselves by coming to them, having first changed their red crosses into white ones, which was the sign of the Loial Partie. *John de Padilla* expressed a great deal of courage and valour in his own person, and seeing his game quite lost, hee, with five Horsemen more, charged into the Earl of *Venavente's* troop, and being known to be the General of the other Partie by the richness of his Armor, was presently encountred by *Don Pedro Baçan*, Lord of *Valduerna*, native of *Valladolid*. *John de Padilla* was in complete Armor, and bore in his hand a Lance all plated with iron, wherewith meeting *Don Pedro Baçan* (who was a corpulent heavie man,

A private plot of *Don Pedro Maldonado's* with the Earl of *Venavente*, to betray the Artillerie.

Notable courage of *John de Padilla*.

man, and but slightly armed) him hee gave so rude a salutation, that hee was soon unhors't: *John de Padilla* still charged on, crying, *Santjago, Libertad*, (which was the Commoner's word, and the Cavalier's word was, *Santa Maria y Carlos*) at last hee broke his Lance to the cost of som of his enemies, after which *Don Alonso de la Cueva* singled him out, and having wounded him, bade him deliver his Arms, which hee did. Being thus a prisoner, *Don John de Ulloa*, a Gentleman of *Toro*, came riding up, and asking who that was, som told him that 'twas *John de Padilla*, whereupon hee gave him a cut over the Bever, and hurt his nose, but not much, for which hee was mightily condemned by all that saw or heard of that ungentleman-like action. So *John de Padilla* was dismounted, and remained Prisoner. *John Bravo*, Captain of the *Segovians* (who would also signalize himself) was likewise taken: and *Francisco Maldonado*, Captain of the *Salamanca* forces, had the like destinie; but his men having all forsaken him, hee was catch't running after them as hard as hee could. The Cavaliers spent all the rest of that daie in wounding, killing, and taking, having the pursuit of their enemies two long leagues and a half. Many dying men desired to make their confessions, but there was no bodie would assise them, nor take any compassion of their condition, which was a lamentable spectacle, being all Christians, friends, and kindred. The Cavaliers being masters of the field, stript all both living and dead, sharing the spoil equally amongst themselvs. *John de Padilla* would oft bemoan his sad misfortune, saying, If, after the taking of *Torrebaton*, hee had followed on his victorie, hee should never have been reduced to so deplorable a condition, which was very true; for by his staying two months there, the Cavaliers cunningly delaid the time vvith Cessations, until they had so strengthened their Partie, that they over-povered him. But the All-seeing Providence disposed it othervvise. At first, the Commonalties hearing that their Armie was routed, and *John de Padilla* taken, gave out, that it was som plot or treacherie of his to lose the battle, laying many other things of this nature to his charge, but they were better satisfied of his realitie to their Cause, when they saw hee lost his head for it.

John de Padilla taken prisoner.

S E C T. XIX.

THE next morning betimes, the Governours commanded *Don Pedro de la Cueva* to convoy the prisoners, *John de Padilla*, *Don Pedro Maldonado*, *Francisco Maldonado*, & *John Bravo* to the Castle of *Villalva*. While they were preparing to go, *John de Padilla* asked *Don Pedro*, whither hee was commanded to carrie them; who answered him, That for the present they were to go to *Villalva*, whither afterwards hee knew not. Soon after they were sent for thence to *Villalar*, and put into a hous, with a good guard upon them. The Governours beeing informed of their arrival there, gave order that *John de Padilla*, *John Bravo*, and *Don Pedro Maldonado* should bee beheaded, and *Francisco Maldonado* carried to the Castle of *Tordesillas*: But as hee was on the waie thither, a messenger overtook him from the Governours, who told *Malbaseda*, Lieutenant to *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, (who had the charge of him) that hee should bring *Francisco Maldonado* back again to execution, for the Earl of *Venavente* had desired them not to behead *Don Pedro Maldonado* in his presence, beeing his Nephew. And becaus it had been divulged, that *Don Pedro Maldonado* should bee beheaded, which at the Earl's entreatie was countermanded, the Lords had Voted that *Francisco Maldonado* should bee executed in his place. So hee beeing returned, the Governours sent for the *Alcalde* of the Chancerie of *Valladolid*, Commanding him to execute Justice upon the persons of *John de Padilla*, *John Bravo*, and *Francisco Maldonado*. The *Alcalde* presently went to the hous where they were prisoners, and bade them prepare themselvs, for the Governours had given order for their executions. *John de Padilla* desired him to send him a learned Priest to confels him, and a Notarie to make his Will, and som witnesses. The *Alcalde* replied, That in the place where they then were, hee could not expect to finde any men of extraordinarie learning, yet hee would enquire, and if hee could finde one, hee would satisfie his desire therein: but as for a Notarie to make his Will, hee need not trouble himself, for all his goods and estate were Confiscate. In the condemnation of these Gentlemen, there was no

Process

Don Pedro Maldonado was saved for betraying the Artillerie.

process, nor formal proceeding made, as used to be in other criminal causes, by reason of the evidence of the fact, and the quality of the offence. At last a Priest was sent to them, and *John de Padilla* being at Confession, a *Franciscan* Frier came, who was thought an abler man, so *John de Padilla*, and the rest, made use of him. Their Confessions being ended, they were brought forth and carried upon Mules to the place of Execution. Before them went a Crier, saying, *This is the Justice which his Majestie, and the Lord High Constable, with the other Governors, do command in his name to be executed upon the persons of these Gentlemen, Their command is, that they shall be beheaded as Traitors, disturbers of the Kingdom, and usurpers of the Royal Crown, &c.* The said *Alcalde Zarate*, and the *Licenciado Cornejo Alcalde de Corte* went along with them to authorize the execution of the Justice. *John Bravo* hearing the Crier saie that they were to suffer for being Traitors, hee replied, *Hangman! thou liest, and those that bid thee saie so, we are no Traitors, but zealous for the publick good, and defenders of the Kingdom's liberties.* Hereupon the *Alcalde Cornejo* bid *John Bravo* hold his peace; whereunto *John Bravo* answered, *I know not what, and the Alcalde gave him a punch in the breast with his staff, wishing him to consider his present condition, and not affect such vanities.* And *John de Padilla* said moreover to him, *Señor John Bravo, yesterday was the time to fight, and shew your self a valiant Gentleman, this daie to die like a Christian.* So the Crier continued his lesson until they came to the place of execution, where being arrived, they all alighted from their Mules to receive the fatal blow. *John Bravo* being first called to execution, they bid him bend and settle himself in a fit posture; hee replied, *That they might force him, if they would, and so they did, seizing on him, and stretching him upon a carpet, which done, the Hangman cut his throat, and would do no more, until the Alcalde Cornejo commanded him to cut his head quite off, saying, Traitors were so to be used, and their heads to be set upon the gallows, which was done accordingly.* The next being *John de Padilla's* turn, hee very willingly prepared himself, and having taken of certain Reliques, which hee wore about his neck, hee gave them to *Don Enrique de Sandoval y Rojas*, (eldest son to the Marquis of *Denia*, who amongst other Gentle-

Resolute
Answer of
John Bravo.

Christian
admonish-
ment of
*John de Pa-
dilla.*

Here these three noble Gentlemen died as gallantly as they had lived, being Patriots of their Country, whose memories deserve an everlasting fame.

men was standing with him) praying him to wear them whilst the war lasted, which being ended, hee desired him to send them to his wife *Doña Maria Pacheco*. After which, as hee went to place himself conveniently for the executioner's hand, hee saw *John Bravo's* bodie lying by, to which hee said onely thus, *Are you there good Gentleman?* and presently his head was cut off like *John Bravo's*. Soon after, *Francisco Maldonado* being brought forth, was executed in the same manner, which done, their heads were set upon several nails over the place of execution, so the Justice ceased for that time, and those Gentlemen's cares were ended. A Gentleman of the Loyal Partie, the daie before the battle, wrote a letter to one of the contrarie opinion, telling him, that now the business was brought to such a push, that there was nothing to be thought on elf, but everie one to stand upon his guard, for whosoever fell, should be sure to bear the ignominious brand of Traitor: As questionless it had been; for wee see all the actions and exploits of this life are more esteemed, and censured by their successes and events, then any other waies. If *Cortes* had not been fortunate in *Mexico*, when hee took *Moteczuma*, wee should have said hee had been a rash fool-hardie fellow, but Fortune having crowned his valiant enterprize with success, all men now applaud his gallantrie, giving him the attributes of Courageous and Prudent.

S E C T. XX.

TO saie the truth, in all that I have read of *John de Padilla*, I finde him a gallant valerous Gentleman, though hee was engaged in that unfortunate business. It is reported, that one daie going to his hous, very melancholic and dejected, hee said to his wife, sitting on hors-back, and shee at the window: *Señora, what do you think now of the condition whereunto you have brought mee?* at which words shee made answer, *Be of good courage, for of a poor Esquire I have made you half-King of Castilla.* But the Common People are apt to saie manie things in such like occurrences, wherein there's not one word of truth. In my judgment, if there had been any such passage betwixt him and his wife,

wife, hee would have expressed some discontent or anger in the letter, which hee wrote to her the same daie hee was beheaded : But there was no such thing mentioned in it, quite contrarie, hee expressed therein very much affection and tenderness to her, seeming to bee more sensible of her grief and sorrow for his sad fortune, then of his own suffering. Besides his letter to his wife, hee wrote another to the Citie of *Toledo*. The contents were as followeth.

John de Padilla's letter to his wife.

SEñora ! If your pain did not more trouble mee, then the losing of my life, I should esteem my self entirely happie. For death being a thing so certain to all Mortals, the Almighty sheweth him a singular favor whom hee honor's with such an one as mine, which, though lamented by manie, is doubtless acceptable in his sight. It would require more time, then what I have, to write you some things for your Consolation, but that cannot bee allowed mee, neither do I desire to deferre the reception of that Crown, which I hope to enjoy. You maie, like a discreet woman, bewail your own misfortune, but not my death, for being so just, it ought not to bee lamented by any : My soul, since nothing else is left me, I bequeath to you, desiring you to entertain it, as the thing which most affected you. I do not write to Pedro Lopez my father, because I dare not, for though I was his Son in daring to lose my life, I was not heir to his good fortune. I will not extend my self any further, because I will not trouble the Executioner to waite, nor give waie for any one to suspect, that to prolong my life I enlarge my letter. My servant Sossa being an eye-witness of my end, and to whom I have communicated the secret of my intentions, shall tell you what cannot bee expressed herein, and so I rest, expecting the instrument of your sorrow and my comfort.

John de Padilla's letter to the Citie of Toledo.

TO Thee, the Crown of Spain, and glorie of the whole World, free since the time of the mightie Goths ; to Thee, who by the effusion of the blood of strangers, as well as of thine own, hast recovered libertie for thy self and thy neighbouring Cities : I John de Padilla, thy
legitimate

legitimate Son, now give thee an account how by the blood of my bodie, thy former Victories are refreshed. If fortune hath not suffered my actions to bee Chronicled amongst thy memorable exploits, the fault was in my destinie, not in my good will : Which as a mother, I desire Thee to accept, since God hath given mee nothing els to lose for Thee, but what I have adventured. I am more aggrieved for Thy resentment, then my own life. But Thou must consider these are but the turns of fortune's Wheel, which never standeth still. This is my contentment and consolation, that I, the meaneſt of Thy children, do suffer death for Thee ; and that Thou hast nourished at thy breasts such as may take satisfaction for my wrongs. Many tongues, doubtles, will busie themselvs in the relation of my death, which as yet I know not my self, though it bee very neere : My end will give Thee a testimonie of my desire. My soul I recommend to Thee, as the Patroness of Christianitie, of my bodie I make no account, since it is no more mine, neither can I write any more, for at this very instant, I feel the knife at my throat, with a greater sens of Thy displeasure, then apprehension of my pain.

 S E C T. XXI.

THE Victorie beeing obtained at *Villalar*, and the Commoners Armie quite routed, presently dispatches vvere sent post to the Emperor, giving him account of this good fortune: And the Earl of *Haro*, as Captain General, vvrote a particular relation to the Emperor of all the passages, vvwhich hee receiving at *Bruxels*, the eighth of *Julie*, hee answered, saying, That although by other Letters, of the 24 *April*, hee had intelligence of the vanquishing and punishing of those Traitors, (for so hee called them) yet hee vvvas better satisfied to receiv it from his hand, thanking him very much for all that hee had done in order to his service, and for the affection and zeal vvwhich hee expressed tovwards him in that employment ; promising, at his return into that Kingdom, to gratifie him according to the merit of his extraordinarie services ; hoping, that by his endeavors hee should finde means to settle the whole Kingdom, which hee particularly encharged him to use all his vigilance and industrie to procure: And chiefly hee recommended to his care the War
of

of *Navarra*, which was of so great importance, and that hee would assure the *Grandees* and *Gentlemen* which had engaged in his service, that at his return hee would gratifie their Loyalties according to their qualities and deserts. The *Commoners* forces beeing all discomfited as wee have seen, and their three principal Captains executed, those of the *Junta*, who were in *Valladolid*, fled away, and all was of a sudden blown up like smoke in the aër. Within three daies after, the Cavalier's whole Armie marched to *Simancas*, and quartered in Towns all about *Valladolid*, intending to fall upon that Citie, and treat them as such open enemies did deserv. But first, beeing numerous enough, they possessed all the Towns and Villages thereabouts, and stopt up all the Avenues, suffering no provisions to bee carried in to them. Whereupon the most valiant and violent of all the people began to bee crest-fallen: Others that had (as much as they durst) opposed those past Commotions, seeing the Governours victorious and powerful, declared themselves. There was no Captain nor Commander left in the Citie. Whereupon to make short, and prevent a summons, they thought their onely way was, to yield themselves upon good conditions, which they hoped the Lord Admiral (though much offended) out of compassion and affection to that Citie, would grant them. In which resolution they sent some religious men, and persons of respect, with much submission and humble acknowledgment of their faults, to desire mercie and pardon of the Lord Admiral: Who at first shewed himself very much displeas'd and unwilling to hearken to their desires, saying, Hee ought, and would make an example aswel of the principal offenders, as of the Common people. The Souldiers, who expected notable plunder, their fingers itching to measure out the silks and velvets with their Pikes, (as they bragg'd they would) were mad becaus the word of command, To fall on and enter the Citie, was so long a giving out; which the Inhabitants knowing, every one secured their commodities the best they could. But by God's help, and the indulgence of the Governours, a Peace and pardon was concluded and proclaimed in the market places and streets of *Valladolid*, with great acclamations of joie, and sound of Trumpets,

Drums, and other musical instruments : All the Inhabitans beeing exempted from personal punishment, confiscation, or loss of offices, excepting twelv, whom the Lord Admiral should nominate, & appoint to bee left out of the Articles, to bee disposed of as the Governours should think fitting; that they might all take notice, that they had a King and Lord, to whom they owed obedience and service ; and such a King as did not seek after vengeance, or desire the destruction of his Subjects, but to pardon them with clemencie, and chastise them with mercie.

S E C T. XXII.

THe Citie of *Valladolid*, which had shewn so much stubbornness and obstinacie not long before, proclaimed the Pardon with great contentment ; and thought they had obtained no smal favor, to preserv their Town from beeing sacked, the Souldiers beeing so ready to make the on-set. The Earl of *Venavente*, and the Bishop of *Osma* were great instruments of hindring the destruction of that Citie : and the Lord High Constable, with all the rest of the Grandees, were very glad of it, esteeming that the pacification of the whole Kingdom depended upon the surrendering of *Valladolid*. The same daie, *April 27*, all the Cavaliers entred in great state, with their Squadrons in Martial order, the Hors all in Armor, covered with rich scarlet coats : the first that marched in, were the Earl of *Venavente*, and Earl of *Haro*, Captain General, the Earl of *Castro*, the Earl of *Oñate* with their Troops, their Armor was covered with scarlet, embroidered with gold. After them followed the Lord Admiral, with the *Adelantado*, his brother, and the Earl of *Osorno*, all in green, with their troops in Armor covered with the same Liverie. Next them, marched the Captains and Camp-masters of the Armie, with their Colors flying, and the Gentlemen all clad in cloth of silver and gold. Then came the Bishop of *Osma*, with those of the Council-Royal, the *Alcaldes* and *Alguaziles* ; And last of all, the Lord High Constable, with the Earl of *Alva de Lista*, the Earl of *Salinas*, the Earl of *Aguilar*, and the Marquis of *Astorga*, with all their men splendidly accoutred, besides divers Gentle-
men,

The manner of the Cavaliers entering into *Valladolid*.

men and Foot souldiers, all in such stately manner, that *Valladolid* was worth the seeing that daie : yet it was observed, that the people were so stomackful, that neither man nor woman did so much as look out, or open a window, as if they disdained or abhorred to see them, who, four daies before, were their mortal enemies. (Such are the Comedies and Tragedies of this life). How often did the Cavaliers desire *Valladolid* to make a Peace ? what advantageous conditions they offered them ? how often did they slight their favors ? how many scornful answers did they return them ? and at last it came to this, that they were constrained, though with heavie hearts, and hanging down their heads, to receive and treat in their houses those whom they so ill affected. And those of *Valladolid* must acknowledge a particular obligation to the Nobilitie of *Castilla*, (whom they alwaies found ready to receive them with open arms, and do them all the good offices and favor possible) aswel for this daie's favor, as others, which by their mediation the Kings of *Spain* have granted them, notwithstanding so great uproars and disorders as have been committed in that Citie. All the rigor that was don at this time in *Valladolid*, was the executing of an *Alcalde*, and an *Alquazil* of the *Junta*, whom the Governors commanded to be hanged, the rest fled, though no bodie prosecuted them.

 SECT. XXIII.

THE rout of the *Junta's* Armie at *Villalor*, and the Justice that was executed upon the Gentlemen there, with the surrendering of *Valladolid*, and the favor which the Governors shewed them, being noised through the Kingdom, the other Cities began to be more submissive, who before carried their heads so high. *Dueñas* courted their Earl again, whom they had forced to leave the town, rising up in Arms against him. *Palencia* opened their gates to the Lord High Constable. *Medina del Campo* did the same. But *Mota* stood out a while upon the defensive, yet at last they were glad to make their peace. But the Lord High Constable, and the Lord Admiral were such worthie Noblemen, that they used no acts of rigor in any place, and all those whom

they reduced, found themselves so well with their present condition, that they held themselves as redeemed out of thralldom and oppression. Onely those of *Toledo* continued in their willfullness. The Common People murdered two brothers, *Biscayners*, named *Aguirres*, onely upon vain surmises and suspicions which they conceived of them, yet they had both been Captains under *John de Padilla*. Notwithstanding that the Prior of *S^c Juan*, *Don Antonio de Zuñiga* was with his Armie in the confines of that Citie; the Commoners with a great bodie and some pieces of Ordnance, marched to a Castle called *Almonacid*, and continued battring it for two daies, the Governor valorously defending it; which the Prior hearing, presently gave command to draw all his forces into the field, intending to give them battle. But they having intelligence thereof, soon railed their siege, and returned to *Toledo*, for fear of being put to the worst. Some daies after *Don Alonso de Caravajal*, brother to *Don Diego*, being quartred with some light-hors-men at *Maxcareque*, four leagues from *Toledo*, six hundred Foot, and fiftie Hors sallied out of the Citie, and taking by-waies that they might not bee discovered by the Enemy's Centinels, by break of day they fell upon the Village, surpris'd *Don Alonso* and his men, and carried them all prisoners to *Toledo*, before any of their partie could com to rescue them. They did several other such exploits, and on the other side the Prior did them what mischief hee could. The Governors were much troubled hereat, but could not pass with their Armie to *Toledo*, until they had quieted all the old *Castilla*. But that which put them to the greatest plunge, was the news of the King of *France* his Armie advancing into the Kingdom of *Navarra*. It was told them that *Doña Maria Pacheco*, *John de Padilla's* wife, with all her kindred in *Toledo*, mainteined and fomented chiefly this humor in the Inhabitants, therefore they resolv'd to send thither, and use som means to get her out of the Citie, believing, that if shee were gon thence, the rest might bee more easily reduced: To this effect they sent a Captain, with a few men disguised, who offer'd himself to go to *Toledo*, and carrie her out of the Citie by fair means, or by foul. Being arriv'd at *Toledo*, hee went directly to the Fort where *Doña Maria* was, desiring to
speak

The French
advance in-
to *Navarra*.

speak with her ; But the people having some intelligence of his designe, presently made an Alarme, and came in great multitudes to the Castle, where finding the Captain in discours with *Doña Maria*, they straight laid hands on him, and flung him out at the window, which beeing high, hee broke himself all to peeces with the fall; after this they cut the throats of all those that came with him, insomuch that the Citie was in greater disorder by this means then before. In the moneth of *September 1521.* the *French* beeing beaten out of *Navarra*, the Governors were in the minde to march with all their forces into the Kingdom of *Toledo*, and subdue that Citie, but they were again diverted by a second intelligence which was brought them, that the King of *France* was come to *Bayona* vvith a very poverful Armie. And *Don Antonio de Zuñiga* (vvho had begun that enterprise) beeing desirous to bring his design to perfection, drevv all his forces out of their Garrisons, and pitcht his Camp before the Citie on the one side the River, and *Don John de Ribera* had his men quartred neer the Citie on the other. *Don Antonio* had vvith him eight hundred lances, which scoured all the Countrie about, and had daily smart skermishes vvith the *Toledians*, vvherein divers fell on both sides. In this expedition vvvas *Don Pedro de Guzman*, third Son (as you have heard) to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, vvho beeing yong and full of mettle, and ambitious to shevv his valor, engaged himself too far amongst the enemies, by vvhom hee vvvas taken close by the Castle of *San Sernan*, so desperately vvounded, that the *Toledians* vvvere enforc't to carrie him off the field upon a board, hee not beeing able to go any other vvaies. *Doña Maria Pacheco*, beeing at a vvindowv in the Fort, observed vvith great attention all the passages of the fight, and distinguishing *Don Pedro* from the rest, shee vvvas much taken vvith him, seeing him behave himself so gallantly ; And beeing brought to the Fort, shee vvvent out to receiv him, partly out of respect to *Don Pedro's* noble birth, but chiefly out of a private inclination vvwhich proceeded from the esteem shee made of his valor and animositie. Shee treated him vvith much civility and demonstrations of affection, commending highly his provvells vvwhereof her eies vvvere vvitnesses, and told him, that his generositie vvvas vvorthie of an eternal

The French Armie re-pulled.

The French enter into Biscaya by Bayona.

Don Pedro de Guzman sorely wounded and tak'n prisoner by the Toledians.

memorie, onely this was wanting him, that his Valor was not employed in the King's service, and in favor of the Citie of *Toledo*: (for the Commonalties pretended in all the Cities, That whatsoever they did, was in order to his Majesties service). *Doña Maria* would suffer none of *Don Pedro's* retinue to staie with him, or any bodie elf to visit him, neither would shee permit him to write to *Don Antonio's* Camp: But treating him with very great care and complements, shee spared nothing that was necessarie for his recoverie: his wounds beeing throughly cured, shee endeavored to win him to their side, promising, that if hee would renounce the other partie, they would make him General of the forces of *Toledo*. But finding her time lost in perswading him, shee resolved to get him exchanged for other prisoners which *Don Antonio* had taken of the *Toledians*, which was done, for the better effecting whereof, those of *Toledo* gave *Don Pedro* his *Parolle* for eight daies, to go to his Uncle's Armie, having made him swear first, that hee would return again, in case hee procured not the libertie of those whom they demanded: Amongst other exceptions which they made him renounce in the Oath they administred to him, one was, That hee should not allege that those of *Toledo* were Traitors, and therefore hee was not obliged to make good his Word or Oath to them, which was fulfilled accordingly. The Citie was very well provided for a long time, and they had broken down all the Mills for twelv leagues compafs, that *Don Antonio's* men might have no means to grinde their corn. They took all the Plate of Silver and Gold out of the Cathedral Church, which beeing coined, did much enrich them, and made them so stout, that they said, They would never consent to Peace, unless there were first a pardon general granted for the whole Kingdom of *Spain*, and that *Don Pedro Lasso de la Vega* were delivered into their hands, for (they said) hee was the principal caus of all those Troubles, and the onely man that put them upon that insurrection.

S E C T. XXIV.

THE Marquis of *Villena* beeing entred into *Toledo*, by consent of the Citie, began to bring them to a right understanding: whereupon hee wrote to the Governors, that they might follow their business in *Navarra*, as for the *Toledians* hee would undertake to reduce them to their due obedience. The Governors glad to bee eased of an affair of such care and trouble, employed all their industrie and force to resist the incursions of the *French*: as shal bee said hereafter. *Hernando de Avalos*, and som others of the Inhabitants, would gladly have received a pardon from the Marquis of *Villena's* hands; therefore beeing sent to by them, hee came, accompanied with the Earl of *Oropesa*, and som Horse and Foot, but nothing could bee effected, for the contrarie Partie mutinied in such a tumultuous manner, that the Marquis was forced to go out of the Citie, after hee had spent som daies time to procure a Peace. The same effect had the endeavors of *Don Diego de Cardenas Adelantado* of *Granada*, Duke of *Maqueda*, who, with the same intention, came to *Toledo*, very well attended, and was driven out by the Common people. Such was the confusion of that Citie which *Doña Maria Pacheco* did uphold with as much courage, as if shee had been a Captain long exercised in Martial affairs, and therefore shee was generally called, *la Muger Valerosa*, the valiant Woman: The report goe's, that shee made use of the Crosses in stead of Colors, and to excite the people to compafsion, shee made her son to bee carried up and down the streets upon a Mule, with a mourning Hood and Cloak on, and in a Streamer, the picture of her husband *John de Padilla* beheaded. Divers other things were said of her, it may bee they were but feigned. Amongst the rest, That shee had a fancie that shee should bee a Queen, which was put into her head by som *Morisca* witches at *Granada*. At length her partie began to weaken and diminish, *Don Estevan Gabriel Merino* prevailing against her, who shewed himself a person of great conduct and prudence. This Prelate (who afterwards was Cardinal of *San Vidal*) then governing the Bishoprick of *Jaen*, and beeing

Doña Maria Pacheco's escape out of Toledo.

Some saie shee died in Portugal.

They should rather have erected a Statue, in memorie that he died a Martyr for his Countie.

ing Dean of *Toledo*, assisted by the Marshal *Payo de Ribera*, and other Gentlemen of that Citie, having routed *Doña Maria*, and her adherents, turned them out of *Toledo*; and shee, having disguised herself in a Countie-woman's habit, and riding upon an Ass, with some Geese in her hands, escaped: otherwise shee had lost her head aswell as her Husband. So shee spun out the rest of her daies in exile. After this the Citie was reduced, and enjoined the benefit of the general pardon, with other good conditions, which, by reason of the War of *Navarra*, were granted them, and (as they desired) neither *Don John de Ribera*, nor any of his kindred, were permitted to come into the Citie, until the King returned into *Spain*; they received *Don Estevan Gabriel Merino*, and Doctor *Zumel*, for their chief officers of Justice. They pulled down *John de Padilla's* house to the ground, which done, they ploughed it, and sowed it with Salt, because the soil, where the Captain of so great troubles and mischiefs had his birth and habitation, should not produce so much as grass or weeds, erecting there a pillar, with an Inscription, declaring the manner of his life and deplorable end.

S E C T. XXV.

ALthough the whole Kingdom almost was reduced (the fear of punishment exceeding the hopes they had of carrying on their design); Yet the Fort of *Fermosel* (which was under the command, and properly belonging to the Bishop of *Zamora*) stood peremptorily upon their defence. The Governors hereupon sent the Earl of *Alva de Lista*, with a competent number of men, to take it; who requiring the Governor to deliver it to the Emperor, hee answered, that hee kept it in the Bishop of *Zamora's* name for his Majesty, that if his Majesty did come thither and bring the Bishop with him (whom the Duke of *Naxara* had taken prisoner) hee would presently surrender it, otherwise not. The Earl laid siege to it heretupon, but to small purpose, for it was very strong. The Duke of *Naxara* not long after sent to the Governors, desiring them to command the siege to be raised before *Fermosel*, because it belonged to his son; the Bishop having

having exchanged it with him. The Governors gave order forthwith that the Earl of *Alva* should give them Truce for twentie daies, whilest they sent to the Emperor to know his Majesties pleasure. The taking of the Bishop of *Zamora* was in this manner. Hee seeing all his partie routed, and that it was no boot for him to staie in *Spain*, resolved to make *France* his refuge. But beeing in the confines of *Navarra* at the same time the *French King* made his attempt upon that Countrie, at a place called *Villamediana*, a league from *Logroño* (although hee had disguised himself) hee was discovered and taken prisoner by an *Alferes* named *Perote*. Who carried him thence to *Navarrete* a Town two leagues from *Naxara*, where hee delivered him to the Duke *Don Antonio*, who kept him there, until the Emperor commanded him to bee carried to the Castle of *Simancas*, where hee ended his daies, as you shall hear.

The manner of the Bishop of *Zamora's* being taken prisoner.

SECT. XXVI.

THE Citie of *Valladolid* wrote to the Lord Admiral, desiring him to stand their friend, as his Ancestors had done in former times. Whereunto hee returned a very kind answer, assuring them all the favor hee could do them, or procure them from his Majestie, so that they continued their contrition and acknowledgment of their errors, and refrained from acting any thing misbecoming the obedience of Loyal and faithful subjects. And to conclude this tedious relation, I shall tell you onely that the Emperor beeing returned into *Spain*, called a Counsel in *Palencia*, where hee consulted of and concluded a general pardon for the whole Kingdom. But some of the Commoners beeing brought to execution (as shall bee hereafter mentioned) the *Castillians* not knowing what had past in his Majesties Counsels, began to bee posselt with fears; For the absolute distruction and banishing whereof, the Emperor upon the 28th of *October* 1522, caused a great scaffold to bee erected in the chief market place of *Valladolid*, and covered with rich cloth of gold and silk, whereon his Majestie cloathed with long robes, after the Antient manner, all his Grandees and Council about him, beeing seated;

They died
gallantly as
Martyrs
for their
Countrie.

his Attornie General with a rich Herald's Coat, and one of the Clarks of the Exchequer named *Gallo*, having made a long narration of the troubles and insurrections of *Castilla*, read with a distinct loud voice the general pardon which his Majestie granted to the whole Kingdom: wherein were excepted onely some threescore or fourscore persons; whom, in regard the greatest part of them were but ordinarie people, some of them Friers and others already punished, I shall not trouble my self to particularize, onely the execution of *Don Pedro Pimentel de Talavera*, (who was taken at the battle of *Villalar*) and his head was cut off in the publick place of *Palencia*. The Commissioners of *Guadalaxara* and *Segovia*, with some others, beeing prisoners at *la Mota de Medina del Campo*, the *Alcalde Leguizama* was sent thither to do Justice upon them: Beeing there arrived, hee commanded seven of them to bee brought out of the Common Gaol (vvhether they were put) with ropes about their necks and set upon Asses until they came into the chief market place of *Medina*, where all their heads were cut off. In the Citie of *Vitoria*, a skinner of *Salamanca*, and two or three more of his complices, were executed on Fridaie the 14th of *August* 1522. That which was chiefly laid to the charge of the Commissioners and other Gentlemen, vvas their daring to take possession of the Queen at *Tordesillas*, turning avvaie the Marquis of *Denia* and his Ladie, vvhich had commands from his Majestie to attend her person. And besides that some of them held correspondence vwith the King of *France*.

S E C T. XXVII.

THe Bishop of *Zamora* beeing taken (as is related) vvas brought afterwards prisoner to the Fort of *Simancas*, vvhether hee continued a good while. During which time with a brick which hee had cunningly put into a bag, wherein hee used to carrie his Breviary, hee knockt out the Governours brains, that had charge of him, beeing in discours with him by the fire side. So leaving the father dead, hee had made his escape, but that his Son discovered him, and having brought him back, lock'd him into his Chamber, without doing any thing else to him, for murdering

thering his father which was held and commended for a peice of great wisdom and patience in the yong man. The Emperor upon notice hereof, commanded the *Alcalde Ronquillo* to go thither, who having too much Justice on his side, and bsaring no great affection to the Bishop, by vertue of a licence the Emperor had from Pope *Adrian*, to punish the said Bishop and other Priests and Friers for their exorbitances, bearing date the 7th of *March* 1523. Hee caused him to bee strangled within the said Fort ; And some report that hee hung him upon one of the Pinnacles of the Tower, to the end hee might bee a spectacle to all that passed that waie. This was done contrarie to the Emperor's knowledg, and it grieved him very much , although hee had reason and power enough to do it. This was done A^o 1526.

The Bishop of Zamora's death. His Majesty had great reason to grieve for the loss of the greatest Prelate that ever Spain bred, being so aged, and so resolute to die for the good of his Countrey.

SECT. XXVIII.

THE end whereunto *Don Pedro de Ayala*, Earl of *Salvatierra* was brought, may serv for an example of the various vicissitudes of Fortune in this life: After hee was taken hee was carried to *Burgos*, where hee was kept prisoner in the Earl of *Salinas* his house, where hee was let blood to death, Anno 1524, the Emperor then beeing at *Burgos*, after which hee was carried to his grave, his feet hanging bare over the Bier, with irons upon them, exposed to the publick view of all. This unfortunate Earl was reduced to so much povertie, beeing forsaken of all his friends in his imprisonment, that hee had nothing to eat but a poor mess of pottage, which *Leon Picardo*, a domestick servant and Painter to the Lord High Constable, somtimes brought him. His son *Don Athanasio de Ayala*, then Page to the Emperor, out of compafsion and pietie, which a childe oweth to his father, sold a horse which hee had to buie the Earl victuals : for which the Master of the Pages would have him punished, and complained of him to the Emperor ; whereupon the Emperor calling *Don Athanasio* to him, and asking him for his horse, hee presently answered, That hee had sold him to buie Viſtuals for his father. The Emperor was so far from beeing displeas'd at so pious an act, that hee forthwith commanded fortie thousand *Maravediz*

Thus died this brave Earl, whom if the other Nobles had seconded, they had made Spain the most glorious Republick of the world.

Notable pietie of *Don Athanasio de Ayala* to his father, the Earl of *Salvatierra*, being ready to starve in prison.

to be given him. Thus this great Earl, who, as hee said of himself, was lineally descended from the mightie *Gothes*, ended his daies by an untimely death.

S E C T. XXIX.

THe Emperor beeing desirous to expresse the Contentment which hee received by the Pacification of his Kingdoms, and that hee might shew himself a gracious Prince to those that had offended his Majestie in so high a measure, hee commanded that two daies after the general pardon was proclaimed, there should be great Feasts celebrated in *Valladolid*, with great solemnitie, with Tiltings, fighting on horse-back with Bulls, and a Turnament or Just-Royal. And the Emperor himself beeing in compleat Armor, and so disguised, that no bodie could know him, entered the List, and brake severall Lances with those that had gotten the greatest honor that daie, behaving himself with such dexteritie, courage, and gallantrie, that hee drew the eyes of all the Spectators upon him, and kindled a curiositie in their breasts to know who hee was, which beeing discovered, their gusts increased with their admirations. Light-winged Fame having filled the World with the Emperor's good success, many Princes and Embassadors, from all parts, thereupon came flocking to his Court. The King of *England* sent his Embassadors, and *Don Luis de Silva*, in the King of *Portugal* his Master's name, came to congratulate his Majestie's return, his reception of the Imperial Crown, and the pacification of the troubles in *Spain*, desiring moreover, that hee would give order that the *Castillians* might go no more into the *Moluccas*, which his Majestie remitted to be determined by judicious and experienced men.

S E C T. XXX.

HIS Majestie's goodness and clemencie to his Subjects, had it been in the antient Greek's or Latine's ages, should have been celebrated with a never-dying memorie, since of so many offenders so few were excepted in the general Pardon, and well
near

near all those too obtained an exemption from all punishments, aswel of Persons, as Estate: And the Nobles were restored to the same height of honor and esteem as they possessed formerly, the Emperor shewing as much favor and liberalitie towards them and their children, as if they never had committed any offence against him. Whosoever take's the pains to peruse the historie of these fore-related Commotions will finde, that *Hernando de Avalos*, a Gentleman of *Toledo*, was one of the greatest sticklers for the Commonalties, one of the chief Ring-leaders of these disorders, and one that persevered in them with as great obstinacie and perversness as might bee; for which hee was excepted, yet nothing was done to him. But whether out of fear, or otherwise, hee privately slunk away out of the Kingdom; for which the Emperor (as hee had reason) was the more displeas'd at him. And having continued in this voluntarie exile some time, at last having disguised himself, as hee thought, sufficiently, hee took the boldness to return to the Court and endeavor to procure his pardon, which coming to the knowledg of one that was neer his Majesties person, hee thinking to do an acceptable piece of service, went presently and told the Emperor, that *Hernando de Avalos* was in the Court, and that, if his Majestie was so pleas'd, hee would apprehend him, for hee knew where to finde him. The Emperor took no great notice hereof at the first time. Two or three daies after, the Gentleman thinking his Majestie had not well understood him, or elf had forgotten what hee had told him, gave him a second advice of *Hernando's* beeing there. Whereunto the Emperor with a countenance that expres'd no great pleasure in any such like actions, answered; Thou should'st have done better to have advis'd *Hernando de Avalos* to leav the Court, then to pres mee to give command to have him apprehended. So the pick-thank remained ashamed and confounded, (as all those which delight in such base unworthie offices for the most part are, when their malicious praetises do not take effect). It is moreover reported, the testimonie of the goodness of this Emperor, that beeing told how fevv had been executed of those offenders, hee replyed, It is enough, let there bee no

more blood spilt. Which vvas a saying indeed becoming the Dignitie of so great a Prince.

S E C T. XXXI.

THe general pardon beeing known through all *Spain*, the hearts of all the people were filled with no less rejoycing then affection to their Prince, having such notable experience of his clemencie and valour, and thenceforwards the Peace and quietness grew daily more and more in the Kingdom. Those of *Valencia* hearing what his Majestie had done at *Valladolid* for the Kingdom of *Castilla*, presently sent their Commissioners, humbly craving the same grace and favor from the Emperor, and in particular they desired his Majestie would bee pleased to remove thence their Vice-Roy *Don Diego de Mendoza*, whom they abhorred exceedingly, deriving upon him all the fault of their past Commotions, by reason of the many Tyrannies and oppressions wherewith hee had overburthened the people. But those Commissioners not coming in the name and with a general power from the whole Kingdom, their desires were not granted at that time. Whereupon the 12 of *November*, Anno 1522, four other Commissioners were sent with full power, from the Kingdom of *Valencia*, to tender, without resery, into his Majestie's hands all their honors, lives, and fortunes, that hee might dispose of them at his will and pleasure, absolutely resigning themselvs to his clemencie, and desiring onely that hee would give them another Vice-Roy, for they could not endure *Don Diego de Mendoza*, and that hee would change som other Officers; Which the Emperor, to satisfie them, did, placing in *Don Diego's* stead, the Queen *Germana*, and making *Don John*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, her husband, Captain General of the whole Kingdom, who died in the same year. After which, the Emperor considering the fidelitie and Roial descent of *Don Hernando de Aragon*, Duke of *Calabria*, (who beeing a prisoner in the Castle of *Xativa*) in the time of Troubles the People would have set him at libertie, and made him their Captain General, and married him to the Queen, but hee discreetly refused their offer,

offer, saying, That hee would not go out of prison without the Emperor's consent) sent for him to *Valladolid*, where hee did him great honor and respect, and having married him to the *Queen Germana*, (who was second wife to the Catholick King *Don Fernando*) invested them in the Government of the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

SECT. XXXII.

WHILEST the Governors of *Castilla*, after this Victorie at *Vil-lalar*, were reducing and settling *Segovia*, and the other Cities of that Kingdom, with intent to pass with their Armie to suppress and quiet the disorders of the *Toledians* ; The Duke of *Naxara* came to them at *Segovia*, informing them that a powerful Armie of *French* under the command of *Monsieur de Asparros*, brother to *Monsieur de Lautrech* Vice-Roy of *Milan*, was entred into *Navarra*, had taken *Pamplona*, *Stilla*, and divers other places, and not content to have run all that Countrie over (to which they seemed at first onely to laie claim, and that not in King *Francis* his name, but for *Don Enrique de la Brit*, who pretended to be right owner of the Kingdom of *Navarra*. At last they declared themselvs (what reallie they were) open enemies, and marched with all their forces to assault the Citie of *Logroño*, their word was *Vivat the King and flower de Luce of France, and the Commonaltie of Castilla*, which was a great argument that some of them held correspondencé with the King of *France*, and gave him encouragement to send his Armie thither ; But the valour and policie of those of *Logroño* was such, that the *French* were enforced to raise their siege, and go away from thence with no inconsiderable loss, and the Governors being com to succor *Logroño*, pursued them, and after divers skirmishes they joyned battle in the *Pyrenean* mountain, wherein the *French* being absolutely routed and their General taken prisoner, the whole Kingdom of *Navarra* was presently reduced under the Emperors subjection. Who perceiving the animositie of the *French* King, and the means hee used to endamage him in several parts, as well in *Flanders* as in *Spain*, notwithstanding the conditions of peace made betwixt

The *French* make incursion into *Navarra*.

The *French* are forced to raise their siege before *Logroña*.

Their Armie routed in the *Pyrenean* mountains, and *Navarra* also reduced by the Governors of *Castilla*.

the

the two Crowns at *Noyon* ; resolved at last to paie him in the same coin, and take his full revenge of him in *Italie*. To which effect, hee first sent Embassadors to Pope *Leon*, desiring his friendship and assistance to drive the *French* out of *Lombardy*, dispossess them of *Milan*, and restore it to *Francisco Sforza*, Son to *Lewis* brother to *Maximilian*, from whom the King of *France* had taken that Countrie ; and to retake likewise *Parma* and *Placentia*, which belonged to the Church. Hereupon a yearly pension of ten thousand Duckets out of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Toledo*, and as much in lands in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was promised to the Cardinal *Julo de Medicis* for *Alexander de Medicis* base son to *Laurenzio* Son to *Pedro de Medicis*, who was Duke of *Vibino*. The Pope was so far from disliking the motion, that hee prepared monie and men to assist the Emperor, making the Marquis of *Pescara* Marquis of *Mantua* his General ; who joyning with *Prospero Colona*, Captain General of the Imperial forces, they laid siege to the Citie of *Parma*, which after som daies resistance, they stormed and sacked. The Citie and Castle of *Milan* they took also, after which the Citie of *Pavia*, and all the rest of the Cities and Towns belonging to the State of *Milan* presently surrendered themselves : This done, the Imperialists (notwithstanding their Armie was much lessened, monie growing short, by reason of the Pope's sudden death) besieged and took the Cities of *Como* and *Alexandria* upon the River *Ada* in *Lombardie*. About the same time the King of *France* advanced into *Flanders* with a very powerful Armie, to succor the Citie of *Tornay* (which then was besieged by the Emperors forces) but beeing repulsed by *Henrie* Earl of *Nassau* and *Don Hugo de Moncada*, hee retreated, and the Citie for want of relief was surrendered to the Imperialists. In mean time *Francis* the first of *France*, nothing dismaied at the crosness of his fortune, sent another numerous Armie against *Spain*, (building much upon the absence of the Emperor and the distractions in that Kingdom) which entring into *Navarra* by *Puerto de Ronces Valles*, took the Forts of *Peñol* and *Maya*, and encamp'd before *Fuente Ravia*, a strong place in the Countrie of *Guipuzcoa*, four leagues from *Bayona*, which after ten or twelv daies siege, despairing of any succor, *Diego de Vera* the Governour delivered,

The Emperor and the Pope combine against the French King.

Their forces take the Citie of Parma.

Milan.
Pavia.

The French advance into Flanders, and are repulsed.

The French take Fuente Ravia.

livered, upon condition that the souldiers should all march freely out with bag and baggage, the Inhabitants not to bee plundered, and have libertie to staie or go out of the Town, as they pleased : for which hee was afterwards questioned in *Castilla*.

SECT. XXXIII.

Henrie the eighth, King of *England*, (whom the Emperor, and King of *France* made Arbitrator of their differences) having concluded that the *French* King was the Peace-Breaker, sent the Duke of *Suffolk* (who had married *Marie*, sister to *Henrie* the 8th, and Widow to *Lewis* King of *France*, with a considerable force, to join with the Imperialists, under the Command of *Florencio Egmondio*, Earl of *Bura*, at the Siege of *Hesdin*, in the frontiers of *Flanders*, which after two moneths time they were compelled to raise, by sickness, and the over-flowing of the River, besides the unseasonableness of the weather, enforced them to repair into their Winter-quarters. But the Spring following, they took the field again, and marched near fortie thousand strong toward *Paris*, spoiling and burning without mercie as they went, which put the *Parisians* to a terrible fright. At the same time the Lord High Admiral of *France* entred into *Lombardie* with an Armie of above fiftie thousand Combatants : But the *Venetians*, beeing joined with the Imperialists, recovered all the places which they had gotten, and drove them quite out of *Italie*. Not long after the King of *France* came himself into *Lombardie* at the head of another mighty Armie, thinking to carrie all before him, but before the Citie of *Pavia* (where hee had pitched his Camp) his forces were all routed by the Marquis of *Pescara*, General of the Imperialists, and hee taken prisoner, his Horse being kill'd under him : The Prince of *Navarra* was likewise taken and committed prisoner to the Castle of *Pavia*, whence hee made his escape ; the Prince of *Scotland* was kill'd barbarously by a Countrie-fellow, to whom hee had discovered himself, and promised a great reward to conduct him safe to *Vigeven*, where his Train and Baggage was, which fellow coming to relate to the Marquis his exploit, expecting som recompence, hee commanded to give him a halter for his news, and hee was hang-

Henrie 8. of England assists the Emperor against the French.

The Venetians assist the Emperor in Lombardie.

Francis the first of France taken prisoner at Pavia.

ed presently. Divers other Noblemen and persons of qualitie were taken, and many killed in that expedition. The King, after som time, was carried into *Spain* by *Don Carlos de Lanoy*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, upon his earnest request, hoping to make his conditions the better with the Emperor, if hee could speak with him himself. Hee continued a Prisoner a year and upwards, after which time, hee was released upon Articles betwixt him and the Emperor, whereof one principal was, That hee should marrie the Emperor's sister, *Doña Leonor*, widow to *Don Manuel* King of *Portugal*, and restore the Dukedom of *Burgundie* to the House of *Austria*, for performance of their agreement, his two eldest sons, *viz.* *Francis* the Dolfin, and *Henrie* Duke of *Orleans* were, at the same time as hee was set into *France*, delivered as Pledges to the *Spaniards*. But beeing in his own Countie, whether by persuation of ill Counsellors, or, thiſking the conditions too unreasonable, and hee not obliged to make good his promise, having been forced thereunto in his imprisonment, hee sent the Arch-Bishop of *Bourdeaux* to the Emperors Court, requiring him (in regard it was not in his power to give away any part of his Countie) that hee would give his children their enlargement upon any reasonable ransom. Which Embassage the Emperor, with great indignation, answered thus briefly; That if the King of *France* could not perform the conditions (as hee pretended) yet desired to have his Sons at libertie; hee should com back and take their places, (which was in his power to do, and hee had promised by oath) otherwise, hee must not expect to have his children so soon released. Hereupon the *French* King giving waie to his vindicative passion, left no means unattempted to incite the other Christian Princes to wage War in his favor against the Emperor. And after som time having drawn *Henrie* the 8^h of *England* to his Partie (who had som other pretences to quarrel with the Emperor) they both sent their Kings at Arms with Letters of defiance to him into *Spain*, and gave order to their Embassadors to return, and leav his Court. Whereupon their private animosities broke out into a publick War, which for a time continued more fierce and bloodie then the former: but at last their differences were composed, and an happie peace concluded between those two potent Princes,

Francis the
First ex-
chang'd for
his two
sons.

The Kings
of *England*
and *France*,
sent Letters
of Defiance
to the Em-
peror.

Princes, by the no less ingenious then industrious endeavors of the most excellent Princesses, *Doña Margarita*, Arch-Dutchess of *Austria*, Aunt to his Imperial Majesty, and *Madama Luysa* Dutchess of *Angulema* and *Anjou*, widow to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Mother to the King of *France*. Upon which agreement the young Princes were released, after almost four years close imprisonment, their Father sending for their ransom two millions of Crowns of Gold, which summe of monie was put into one boat, and they into another at *Fuente Ravia*, with the like diffidence and ceremonie as was used when the King, their father, was exchanged for them. At the same time *Doña Leonor* the Emperor's sister passed into *France*, according to the Articles, who was married by the Cardinal of *Tournon* to the *French King*, with great solemnitie and expressions of joie, *Anno 1530*. This Peace continued not long, for *Francis King of France* (who in all other Princely qualities and ornaments, was rather surpassing, then at all inferior to any of his Cotemporaries) being transported with an insatiable ambition, and envying the Emperor's greatness, gave several meetings at *Boloigne*, and *Calis* to *Henrie King of England* (who having shook hands with Conscience and Religion, and repudiated *Queen Katharine*, *Charls the Fifth's* Aunt, thinking the Emperor would som waie express his discontent, and shew himself sensible of so great an affront, resolved to give him further occasion of distaste); And there they conspired to suscite the *Lutherans* in *Germanie*, and rais new factions in *Italie* against him, and under hand they encouraged the *Danes* to rise up in Arms against their King *Christian*, whom (pretending a Truce, and a desire to make an Accommodation with him) they surpris'd, hee not suspecting their treacherie, and imprisoned him in the Castle of *Sundiburgi* in *Holsatia*, where hee miserably ended his daies: The said Princes had no other ground for this piece of malice, but onely in relation to the Emperor, because *Christian* was his friend and Allie, having married his sister *Ysabella*; and not content herewith, at length finding fit opportunities, they again declared open War against him, the transactions and events whereof shal bee exactly represented in the Succeeding Book.

Peace made between the Emperor and King of *France*, by the Archdutchess of *Austria*, and the Dutchess of *Angulema*. His two sons ransomed for 200000 of Crowns of Gold. The Emperor's sister *Leonor* married to the *French King*.

A plot betwixt *Hen. 8* and *Francis King of France*, against the Emperor.

