**Source 1**

*Letter to the Marquis de Olivares, 11 February 1587. (Philip ll - Geoffrey Woodward pp109-110)Diplomatic manoeuvres preparatory to the Spanish Armada. Having gained the Pope’s blessing to invade England, Philip was anxious to secure a gift of 1 million ducats and papal approval in support of his claim to the English throne without appearing to be an imperialist. He instructed his ambassador in Rome accordingly.*

You will cautiously approach his holiness, and in such terms as you think fit endeavour to obtain from him a second brief declaring that, failing the Queen of Scotland, the right to the English crown falls to me. My claim, as you are aware, rests upon my descent from the House of Lancaster, and upon the will made by the Queen of Scotland, and mentioned in a letter from her of which a copy is enclosed herewith. You will impress upon his Holiness that I cannot undertake a war in England for the purpose merely of placing upon the throne a young heretic like the King of Scotland, who, indeed, is by his heresy incapacitated to succeed. His Holiness must, however, be assured that I have no intention of adding England to my dominions, but to settle the crown upon my daughter the Infanta.

**Source 2**

*On the 9th February 1588 Santa Cruz died. On 11th February the King advised the Duke of Medina Sidonia through Juan de Idiaquez, the King’s Secretary that he would succeed to the command of the Armada in the event of the death of Santa Cruz having not yet heard that he had actually died. Then on the 14th February he wrote from Madrid in the certain knowledge that Santa Cruz was dead. (Naish ‘Documents’ pp 57-8).*

Duke and Cousin: By my letter of the 11th you will have perceived my intention, if the illness of the Marquis should continue, Now having heard of his death – which is a very great loss – I have decided to confer on you the office of my Captain General of the Ocean since I am sure that you will know how to serve me well in it, as you have done in all things. I wished to acquaint you of this immediately so that, while the despatches which are to go forward presently, are being prepared, you may hasten your own preparations, in order to be able to leave quickly, as I have already advised you.

Your first action in the exercise of your new office will be to take charge of the Armada which I have ordered to assemble in Lisbon, and go to accomplish the task which you know about and which, with God’s help and your own diligence and care will, it is hoped, be brought to a successful conclusion. And as speed is particularly important, …..

The general opinion here lately has been that it would be as well to spread abroad the report that the galleons are bound for the Indies so as the more easily to recruit personnel, particularly seamen. Now, however that you are joining the Armada it may be that the matter wears a different complexion, and that when it is learned that they will serve with you and under your command recruits will respond more readily to the call of the Armada, than to that of the Indies…..

As it is important that I should receive news frequently of all that is being done, keep me fully advised.

**Source 3**

*The Duke of Medina Sidonia replied to the King on February 16th 1588. ((Naish ‘Documents’ pp 54)-*

I should not give a good account; for I do not understand it, know nothing about it, have no health for the sea and no money to spend upon it… I therefore do not reply to your question about the defence of this coast during my absence, as I shall remain here to attend to it myself, and serve his Majesty here as I have always done.”

**Source 4**

*The king replied to this on the 20th February (Naish ‘Documents’ pp 58).*

Duke and Cousin: I have just received your letter of the 16th of this month in reply to mine of the 11th and I have noted particularly what you write to Don Juan de Idiaquez to which you refer in your letter to me. All of what you say I attribute to your excess of modesty. But it is I who must judge your capabilities and parts, and I am fully satisfied with these. As for the good health which you say often deserts you at sea, we must believe that God will grant it to you in that great day dedicated to His service.

**Source 5**

*Idiaquez in a letter to Medina Sidonia, 28 February 1587. Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll - Geoffrey Parker p 195*

*By 1587 Philip recognised that the entire enterprise of England required rethinking. On the strategic level, some at court began to question the wisdom of a direct amphibious assault on an enemy who seemed so powerful at sea; but the government did not agree. Philip‘s new foreign policy adviser, Don Juan de Idiaquez said,*

’with the English established in Holland and Zealand, together with their infestation of the Americas and the High seas, it seems that defensive measures cannot deal with everything. Rather it obliges us to put their house to the torch’ in order to force them to withdraw from ‘the Netherlands, that voracious monster which gobbles up the troops and treasure of Spain’.

**Source 6**

*The King’s instructions to Medina Sidonia written on 1st April 1588 (Naish ‘Documents’ pp 59-61).*

This enterprise is of peculiar importance, dedicated, as it is, to the service of Our Lord, in whose cause I have been moved to order the assembling of these forces. Its successful issue is of the greatest moment for the general good and the prosperity of my own affairs; but that success is dependent on the action to be taken by the Armada and also on the selection of its Commander-in-Chief. Having then, considered these several points, I have hesitated, because of the confidence I have always felt in you, and of the experience and proof I have had of your manner of serving me, to place a business of such weight in other hands than yours. I therefore hope that the desired success will, with God’s help, result. But that you might be especially informed of my wishes, and able to carry them out, as the trust I feel in you obliged you to do, I wish to give you the following warnings and instructions:

In the first place, victories are God’s to give, and His to take away, as He sees fit. But the cause you are defending is so peculiarly His as to give us hope of His help and favour if it is not made unworthy by our sinfulness. For this reason you must take particular care in the Armada against sin of any kind, but especially the sin of blasphemy, by providing heavy penalties, to be rigorously carried out, if any err in this way….

As soon as you receive the order from me which will reach you separately, you are to sail with the whole Armada, making for the English Channel and pass through it until you reach Margate Cape, where you will join the Duke of Parma and Placencia, my nephew. You are to remove any obstacles and make secure his passage across the Channel, according to the plan pre-arranged and according to my decision….

…You should take special note, however, that the enemy’s aim will be to fight from a distance, since he has the advantage of superior artillery and of the large number of fireworks with which he will come provided; while ours must be to attack, and come to grips with the enemy at close quarters; and to succeed in doing this you will need to exert every effort. That you might be forewarned, you will receive a detailed report of the way in which the enemy arranges his artillery so as to be able to aim his broadsides low in the hull and so sink his opponents’ ships. The precautions you feel to be necessary you must take against such action.

God granting victory, as a prudent commander you should see that your squadrons do not break their battle formation and that their commanders, moved by greed, do not give pursuit to the enemy and take prizes. By planning the battle formation well in advance, you should see to it that the main body at least keeps united and together, especially if you engage the enemy in the Channel, the very nature of which, and the fact that both coasts are hostile to you, force submission to this precautionary measure, and compel you to fight in the manner most calculated to secure victory…..

It is understood that you will fight only if you cannot otherwise make secure the passage across to England of the Duke of Parma, my nephew. If, however, it can be made secure without fighting either because the enemy has been diverted, or in some other way, it will be well to obtain the same results and keep our forces in tact….

As soon as the Duke lands in England you may take the Armada to the Mouth of the River of London and keep watch there, making secure the passage of whatever reinforcements cross from Flanders for the Duke and intervening energetically wherever your assistance is needed…..

The experience I have had of your efforts to secure the good management of my property leads me to hope for your careful management of all relating to this Armada. You should try to keep intact as best you can, the wealth it represents, knowing what it has cost to assemble, and the financial difficulties it has caused. Take particular care that the muster rolls be prepared with scrupulous accuracy, not, however, leaving yourself open to reproach as far as the crews are concerned, since in that matter it is not merely a question of expense, but often at times, of victory. Do not, therefore omit to pay great attention to the quality of the food; its preservation and distribution; and to see that it does not run short before the time; since on these things the crews; wellbeing and health largely depend….

The importance of the task ahead being what it is, you will easily understand how anxious I shall be until I receive news of its success.

**Source 7**

*Philip II outlines the Armada’s objectives, 1588 in a letter to the Duke of Parma, April 1588 (Philip ll - Geoffrey Woodward , pp110-111)*

If the Armada succeeds, either by means of fighting or in consequence of the unreadiness of the enemy, you will, when the forces from here have arrived to assure your passage across, go over in God’s name and carry out the task assigned to you.

But if (which God forbid) the result be not so prosperous that our arms shall be able to settle matters, nor, on the other hand , so contrary that the enemy shall be relieved of anxiety on our account (which God shall surely not permit) and affairs be so counter-balanced that peace may not be altogether undesirable, you will endeavour to avail yourself as much as possible of the prestige of the armada and other circumstances, bearing in mind that, in addition to the ordinary conditions which are usually inserted in treaties of peace, there are three principal points upon which you must fix your attention.

The first is that in England the free use and exercise of our holy Catholic faith shall be permitted to all Catholics, native and foreign, and that those who are in exile shall be permitted to return. The second is that all the places in my Netherlands which the English hold shall be restored to me; and the third is that they [the English] shall recompense me for the injury they have done to me, my dominions, and my subjects, which will amount to an exceedingly great sum.

With regard to the free exercise of Catholicism, you may point out to them that since freedom of worship is allowed to the Huguenots in France, there will be no sacrifice of dignity in allowing the same privilege to Catholics in England. If they retort that I do not allow the same toleration in Flanders as exists in France, you may tell them that their country is in a difficult position, and point out to them how conducive to their tranquillity it would be to satisfy the Catholics in this way, and how largely it would increase their profits, since as soon as toleration was brought about, people from all of Christendom would flock thither in the assurance of safety.

If the principal design should fall through, it would be very influential in bringing them to these, or the best conditions possible, if the Armada were to take possession of the Isle of Wight. If this be once captured, it would be held, and would afford a shelter for the Armada, whilst the possession of it would enable us to hold our own against the enemy. This matter has also been laid before the Duke [Medina Sidonia], so that in case of failure, and if nothing else can be done, you may jointly with him discuss and decide with regard to it.

The King

**Source 8**

*Philip’s draft of an appeal for sacrifice to the Cortes, April 1588* (*Spain 1474-1598 – Jocelyn Hunt)*

We must be fully armed and on guard and ready for whatever may happen. This obliges us to make heavy and unprecedented expenditure, or else leave everything to terrible disaster. Nothing less is at stake than the security of our seas and of America and of our fleets, and the security of our homes. We can go forward only if the Cortes does something to help, for you know the state of the treasury. Confirm to me the confidence that I have in such good subjects. Come forward with the speedy supplies that this moment demands, and discuss the matter with the attention and concern that I very much expect from your loyalty and love for God’s service and my own.

**Source 9**

*Medina Sidonia writes to Philip imploring him to postpone the Armada, 24 June 1588(Philip ll Geoffrey Woodward , p111)Having experienced severe storm which dispersed the Armada within a few days of setting sail, and sensing that the expedition was ill-fated, Medina Sidonia wrote to the King from Corunna urging him to call it off.*

To undertake so great a task with forces equal to those of the enemy would be inadvisable, but to do so with an inferior force, as ours is now, with our men lacking in experience, would be still more unwise. I am bound to confess that I see very few, or hardly any, of those on the Armada with any knowledge of or ability to perform the duties entrusted to them. I have tested and watched this point very carefully, and your Majesty may believe me when I assure you that we are very weak…. The opportunity might be taken, and the difficulties avoided, by making some honourable terms with the enemy. Your Majesty’s necessities also make it desirable that you should ponder beforehand what you are undertaking, with so many envious rivals of greatness.

**Source 10**

*The king’s reply to Medina Sidonia 5 July 1588 (Naish ‘Documents’ pp 64).*

Duke and Cousin: I have received the letter under your hand of the 24th and from what I know of you, I believe that your bringing all these matters to my attention arises solely from your zeal to serve me and a desire to succeed in your office. The certainty that this is so prompts me to be franker with you that I should be with another. That you might see that the difficulties you raise as an argument for not continuing with the enterprise rest on no certain foundations, and might understand how those difficulties might be resolved. I have ordered the document to be prepared which you will receive with this letter. The reasons set out therein make me hold to my intention of proceeding with the task commenced, as soon as you have had the Armada refitted, as I count on your diligence to have had done already.

I have dedicated this service to God, and have taken you as an instrument to assist me in it. The confidence I have reposed you could not have been greater.

You deserve my thanks – which I give you – for your efforts in Lisbon to set out. No blame attaches to you for what happened in the storm; and I believe that I shall owe you further thanks for having had the damage so quickly repaired. May it please God that you may win much honour from the events of the future.

Stir yourself then to do you your duty, since you see that, pressed as I am by financial and other difficulties, I am resolute to overcome them all with God’s aid.

**Source 11**

*A Spanish opinion as to why the Armada failed. Don Francisco de Bobadilla was the general in charge of the Armada’s military on board the* **San Martin***. When he wrote this letter on 20 August 1588 from somewhere in the North Sea, he expressed his own theories why the Armada has failed to rendezvous with Parma’s army - Letter to don Juan de Idiaquez, (Philip ll Geoffrey Woodward , p111)*

I don’t know who had the idea that we could join forces in a place with such powerful currents, with a shore so open and liable to cross winds, and with so many sandbanks…. But I believe it is impossible to control all the things that must be concerted at the same time, in order to bring together forces that are so separated, unless one has a different sort of ship from those we brought, in the place we were instructed to join.

**Source 12**

*Pedro de Ribadeneyra, a leading Jesuit priest, on the causes of the Armada’s defeat (1588 ) SOURCE: Obras escogidas del padre Pedro de Rivadeneira (Madrid: M Ribadeneyra, 1868). Quoted in Early Modern Spain, A Documentary history edited by Jon Cowans*

The defeat in an endeavour that had been so costly and in which so many hopes had been invested provoked a great deal of soul-searching in Spain, particularly given predictions of a divinely guided victory.

I beg Your Lordship to pardon me if it should seem a new or improper thing for me to write what I will say here, for it is only my love and zeal to serve the Crown that leads me to write this ….

The judgements of our Lord God are highly secret, so we cannot know for sure what his divine Majesty intended in such an extraordinary event as that which happened to Your Majesty’s Armada. Yet …….it is a most reasonable thing to wonder …why God did not grant us success.

Personally, I consider it certain that He has not wished to deny it to us, but rather to delay it for a while, and in the meantime render us many other and greater mercies that we need more ….

Yet setting aside these things that we might gain from the events that happened to this Armada, I wish to point out the things that, after some prayer and much consideration, have occurred to me, and which may be the causes of this calamity and universal punishment ……

The first is that Your majesty should grant relief to many persons in this kingdom, and particularly in Andalusia, who have been wronged and …despoiled of their means of sustenance and support of their children, without being compensated or even heard, but rather imprisoned and afflicted for having wished to defend their possessions. I have heard that this has happened with such excess and violence, that serious and God-fearing people said before the Armada left that it was impossible for it to be victorious, for it went loaded down with the sweat and curses of so many miserable people… And this is especially the case because much of what has been taken, though it was taken in the name of Your Majesty and the Armada, was not taken for your royal service, but rather to enrich those who took it.

The second point is that Your majesty, with your very great prudence, should examine … what reasons there might be why such a sizable economy as Your Majesty’s shines so dimly and is sinking ….If poor management of the economy or the corruption of those in charge [is the cause], it is necessary to take care of this problem, punishing the thieves severely as destroyers of the republic, and showing mercy toward those who administer as they should…for the economy is the foundation of the army….

The third point is that Your majesty should look closely at whether, in affairs having to do with /England, …more concern has been given to the security of the state than to the glory of God and the growth of the Catholic faith, and whether, in order not to offend the queen of England, Your majesty has failed to protect those who have been persecuted and oppressed by her for being Catholic and loyal to God. For just as our Lord god is so jealous of His honour and wants all Christians, and especially kings, to strive to further it, … any carelessness in this matter offends him very much…

The fourth point is that more care must be given to removing public sins and scandals, especially when it comes to great persons who have the obligation to set a good example...it seems that the Lord may call you to account for what is not done…

The last point … is that Your majesty should consider that the greatest wealth of the kingdom is not an abundance of gold and silver,…but rather the proliferation and abundance of courageous and magnanimous men who can be pillars of the republic in war and in peace….You are sorely lacking in such men, as the outcome of this expedition has demonstrated…And if Your Majesty should favour them, rewarding those who serve you well, I believe that there will be men to fill your kingdom and carry out all the tasks of peace and war….

**Source 13**

I note what you say about the need to make the Channel safe, because of the risk of sending a fleet like ours to sail between France and England at the appointed time (which often sees very bad weather in the Channel) without having a safe port in either, nor in Flanders (except for Dunkirk, which apart from being the only one available is not suitable for ships of large draught), which would force it to face the weather; leaving aside the general advantages, and the more detailed knowledge of those coasts, that the enemy fleet will have. All these are points of substance, and I am looking into them.

*Philip ll to the Duke of Parma, 28th Feb, 1587 (Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, G Parker p195-196*)

**Source 14**

*The cost of his armed forces placed a tremendous strain on Philip’s finances: the Armada cost 30,000 ducats a day, and Parma’s army a further 15,000. By March 1588 the king had to sell his late wife’s jewels in order to raise funds. Philip ll speaking to the Count of Barajas, 18th June 1588 (Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, by G Parker p199)*

‘finding money is so important that all of us must concentrate only on that and on nothing else, because whatever victories we may win, I do not know what will come of them (unless God performs a miracle) without money’.

**Source 15**

*Father Geronimo de Sepulvada ; a Catholic priest described the impact of the defeat of the Armada. (Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, by G Parker p199)*

‘worthy to be wept over for ever ….because it lost us the respect and good reputation that we used to have among warlike people ….The grief it caused in all of Spain was extraordinary: almost the entire country went into mourning …People talked of nothing else..’

**Source 16**

*Don Juan de Idiaquez in a letter to the Duke of Parma, 31 August 1588 (Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, by G Parker p270) about the scale of the disaster, and the criticisms it occasioned, and how this affected the king. On 31st August, when the first news arrived form Parma that he had not been able to rendezvous with Medina Sidonia, Secretary of State Idiaquez* wrote.

He could not ‘exaggerate the grief caused by seeing something that cost so much time, money and trouble – and is so important to the service of God and His Majesty – placed in jeopardy, just at the point where it was about to bear fruit. His Majesty has felt it more than you would believe possible, and without some remaining hope in God that all this might have achieved something for his cause … I do not know how he could bear such a great blow. Certainly this leaves no time to think about anything else, nor to think of it without excessive grief.

**Source 17**

*Ex ambassador to Portugal Juan de Silva wrote to Esteban de Ibarra about the fact that the English were landing troops on the Portuguese coast and attacking at will. Coimbra 13 June and 10 July 1589 (quoted in Henry Kamen “Philip of Spain” pp277-8)*

And all this is happening because our reputation is lame and broken, laid low by the defeat of the recent Armada”….”I must confess that never in my life have I found myself so close to having to flee from danger”……”we cannot blame any of our reverses on bad luck or attribute any of our successes to diligence….as for the attention that His Majesty pays to details of little consequence, we have agreed for years that it is lamentable that he wastes time in these things… His Majesty’s head is capable of absorbing a vast quantity of business but does not distinguish between what he should reserve for himself and what he should entrust to others. As a result time and effort is spent in not taking measures which should be taken; and taking them when there is no time or money or reason; and making savings which cost three times more than is saved; and beginning late and therefore in haste, but because in haste beginning inadequately. Whoever doesn’t see this is blind. … It seems that everybody agrees with this, for I see that all put their faith in miracles and supernatural solutions”.

**Source 18**

*Philip wrote in November 1588 that he was pleased his Council thought he should try again*. *Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, by G Parker p271)*

I rejoiced greatly to read all that these papers said, which corresponds perfectly to what one might expect from those who said it, and to the intention that has inclined me to this enterprise since the beginning, for the service of Our Lord, the defence of His cause and the benefit of these realms… I undertake to deal swiftly with everything necessary to achieve all this, and to remember all the things that are necessary…. I shall never fail to stand up for the cause of God and the well-being of these kingdoms.

**Source 19**

*The Captain-general of artillery ordered ships that this time would be better able to fire back on the English. Quoted in The Grand Strategy of Philip ll, by G Parker p272)*

Each shop to carry guns tht are appropriate to its size and weight, and of a sort that can do damage from a distance because of their good range, and from close range wreak notable destruction on the enemy fleet.