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The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman: A Knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A.D. 1518 to 1543

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> The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman : A Knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A.D. 1518 to 1543

Translated From an Original and Inedited Manuscript in the National Library at Madrid, With Notes and an Introduction

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paolo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108010702

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This edition first published 1862 This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-01070-2 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

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THE LIFE AND ACTS OF DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN.

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THE

LIFE AND ACTS

of

DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN,

A KNIGHT OF SEVILLE, OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO,

А.Д. 1518 то 1543.

TRANSLATED

FROM AN ORIGINAL AND INEDITED MANUSCRIPT IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY AT MADRID;

WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

вч

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

M.DCCC.LXII.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE document from which the following translation has been made is amongst the original and inedited manuscripts in the National Library at Madrid (Papeles MSS. originales y ineditos, G. 127). The manuscript consists of a life of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, a native of Seville, of good family, written by himself, and interspersed with numerous letters, comprising a period between 1518 and 1543, from his nineteenth to his forty-fourth year. His very curious and interesting narrative includes his adventures in Spain, Sicily, Italy, Germany, Flanders, the Balearic Isles, and Peru; and it is one of the very few works in which the feuds of the Pizarros and Almagro are described by an eye-witness. Moreover, with the exception of Pedro Pizarro, and possibly Cieza de Leon, Don Alonzo is the earliest traveller in Peru whose writings have come down to us. For this reason the manuscript appeared to me to be worth translating, and thus taking its place in the series of the Hakluyt Society's works; more especially as it had escaped the notice of Mr. Prescott, and others who have written on the discovery and conquest of Peru.



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I am indebted for a knowledge of this curious manuscript to my friend Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, an eminent Chilian writer and politician, whose works have in no small degree increased the literary reputation of the vigorous and robust little republic, which nestles at the feet of the mighty cordillera of the southern Andes.¹ He came upon it

¹ Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, born in Chile in August 1831, is the grandson of Don F. Ramon Vicuña, who was President of the Republic of Chile in 1829, and died in 1849. Vicuñas are of an ancient Biscayan family. Don Benjamin's mother was a daughter of the Irish General Mackenna, of county Monaghan, who fought for Chilian independence. In 1851 Don Benjamin was imprisoned and banished for his share in the rebellion of General Cruz. He sailed to California, and travelled thence through Mexico, the United States, England, and continental Europe; studying for a year in an agricultural college at Cirencester. In 1854 he returned, by Buenos Ayres and the Pampas, to Chile, and commenced an active literary career in Santiago. He became Secretary to a Chilian Agricultural Society, and editor of their journal. He also published a history of that portion of the Chilian struggle for independence which is comprised in the romantic adventures of the brothers Carrera (El Ostracismo de los Santiago. 1857), a narrative of his travels, and a life of his grandfather, General Mackenna. In 1858 he became an active opponent of the Chilian President Montt's Administration, and edited a newspaper which advocated the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to reform the Constitution. At last, in January 1859, Vicuña, with his friends, Custodio Gallo (a rich Copiapo miner) and the brothers Matta, one a poet of some eminence, and the other a Deputy of Congress, convoked a meeting of liberals in the Philharmonic Hall of Santiago. The Government forbade the meeting, and the four friends were thrown into prison. After three months, they were hurried down to Valparaiso and put on board the English barque Louisa Braginton, the captain of



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accidentally, while employed in collecting materials in Spain for a life of Don Diego de Almagro, the discoverer of his native land. The manuscript is merely entered in the list as—"Libro de la vida de Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman;" so that it is not surprising that others, in searching for materials for a history of the discovery and conquest of Peru, should not have previously become acquainted with it. I took the opportunity, during a visit to Madrid in the autumn of 1861, on business connected with the public service, of examining this manuscript in the national library; and I came to the conclusion that it was worthy of being brought from the obscurity in which it has been buried for more than three cen-

which had received two thousand dollars to put them on shore at They suffered very much during the voyage from wretched accommodation and bad provisions, and, on their arrival in England, they brought an action against the captain for false imprisonment. During his second visit to Europe, Vicuña went to Spain, and was engaged in collecting materials for a life of Almagro the discoverer of Chile, in the libraries of Madrid. In December 1859 he returned to South America and took up his abode at Lima, where he completed a life of General O'Higgins, the hero of Chilian independence (El Ostracismo de General Don Bernardo O'Higgins, escrito sobre Documentos ineditos y noticias autenticas. Valparaiso, 1860), and a history of the first two years of the war of independence in Peru. On the election of Perez, the present President of Chile, in 1861, Vicuña was enabled to return to Chile, and he is, I understand, instituting proceedings against Don Manuel Montt, the late President, for his summary and illegal transportation. It is to be hoped that he will now have leisure to arrange his rich materials, and complete his life of Almagro,a most important addition to the literature of Spanish conquest in America.



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turies. Whatever may be thought of the author of this strange autobiography, it certainly contains a great deal which is very curious and amusing, while the latter half forms a very important addition to our knowledge of the famous feud between Pizarro and Almagro, which followed so closely on their conquest of the rich land of the Incas.

Our author, Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, was a native of Seville, of good family, and was born some time in the year 1500. On his father's side he was descended from an illegitimate son of Henry II, King of Castile; and his great grandfather, after doing good service in the Moorish wars, eventually settled in Seville, and obtained the hand of a sister of the first Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Young Don Alonzo's veins were very well supplied with the sangre azul, but his purse was not equally well supplied with money; so, having first taken to himself a young wife named Constance de Añasco, he set out from Seville to seek his fortune when only eighteen years of age. I find him mentioned in the work of Lopez de Haro, in the following short sentence—"Don Alonzo Enriquez, eldest son of Don Garcia, by his second wife Dona Catalina de Guevara, was married in Seville to Dona Constança Añasco, by whom he had no children."

Like most penniless young men of good family in

¹ Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España, compuesto por Alonzo Lopez de Haro. Madrid, 1622, i, p. 28. For an account of Don Alonzo's family see note at page 5, and note at page 55.



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those days, he made for the Court, which was then at Barcelona, in the hope of obtaining some post with large pay and little work; and, like most others, he was doomed to disappointment. He then enlisted as a soldier in an expedition which was sent against a Moorish island on the coast of Africa, between Tunis and Tripoli; and his subsequent adventures in Sicily, Naples, Rome, Cologne, and Valenciennes; his desperate exploit on board a ship off Alicante; his services in the Balearic islands; and his life at the Spanish court of Charles V, occupy about half the manuscript. His own violent conduct had made him many enemies, and involved him in difficulties; and at last, in 1534, he resolved to seek his fortune in the Indies. He arrived in Peru at a critical period of the conquest, and he was a principal actor in the events which took place between the departure of the Adelantado Almagro for Chile in the summer of 1535, and his execution in July 1538.

I have omitted a portion of the manuscript, which precedes the account of Don Alonzo's voyage to the Indies, as it is entirely occupied with his litigations and quarrels in Seville. These are very tedious, and could not possibly have any interest for a reader of the present day.

Don Alonzo's accounts of the transactions which took place during these three years, which are included in his narrative, his letter to Charles V, and his denunciation of Hernando Pizarro, are exceedingly important; for, with the possible exception of

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Pedro Pizarro, he is the only eye-witness of the events he describes, whose testimony has been preserved to us. I find him mentioned by Garcilasso Inca de la Vega as one of the bravest knights amongst the defenders of Cuzco against the Indian army of Inca Manco; and he himself tells us that he was "maestro de campo" during the siege, and supplies several interesting particulars respecting the subsequent seizure of Cuzco by Almagro, on his return from Chile. Indeed, he is accused of having betrayed Hernando Pizarro, and delivered up the city to his rival.² When Alonzo de Alvarado advanced from Lima, our author was sent, with others, to open a negotiation, and he was an eye-witness of the battle of Abancay. He was afterwards nominated by Almagro as one of the commissioners to treat with Pizarro respecting the boundary of their respective governments; and both Garcilasso de la Vega and Pizarro y Orellana, in his "Varones illustres del nuevo mundo," mention him as having acted in that capacity.3 Thus he was present at all the transactions which followed at Mala and Chincha, accompanied Almagro in his retreat to the interior, was in Cuzco when the battle of Las Salinas was fought. and witnessed the death of his old friend Almagro, who nominated him as one of his executors. Pizarro

¹ Commentarios Reales. Pte. ii, lib. ii, cap. xxiv.

² Varones Illustres, p. 223.

³ Commentarios Reales. Pte. ii, lib. ii, cap. xxxv. Varones Illustres del Nuevo Mundo, por Don Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, Cavallero de la orden de Calatrava. Madrid, 1639, p. 178.



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y Orellana states that he betrayed a design to rescue Almagro, to his enemy Hernando Pizarro, but this is grossly improbable, and we know that the author of the "Varones illustres" was a strong partizan of the Pizarros, and likely to take every opportunity of blackening the friends of their unfortunate rival.

I have not succeeded in finding the name of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman mentioned in any other Spanish work.

To appreciate the value of Don Alonzo's narrative of events in Peru it will be necessary to recapitulate the authorities which are accessible to the general reader, and on which the history of Spanish discovery and conquest in Peru are founded. The three earliest are the works of Augustin de Zarate, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, and Pedro Cieza de Leon. Zarate went out as accountant with the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela in 1543; and his "History of the Conquest" appeared at Antwerp in 1555. Gomara, the author of the "Historia de las Indias," was never in the New World; and Cieza de Leon, who wrote the "Cronica del Peru," went to Peru when only fifteen, served with Gasca in his campaign against Gonzalo Pizarro, and completed his work, which is more an itinerary than a history, in 1550. But the two most valuable authorities on the civil wars which immediately succeeded the Peruvian conquest are Pedro Pizarro and the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega. The former went out as a page to his relative Francisco the Conqueror in 1529, remained with him until

¹ Varones Illustres, p. 325.



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his assassination, afterwards settled at Arequipa, and completed his work, "Relaciones del Descubrimento y Conquista de los Reynos del Peru," in 1571. It is the narrative of a rough half-educated soldier, and occupies much the same place in the history of the conquest of Peru as the work of Bernal Diaz does in that of Mexico. Bernal Diaz was, however, a much finer fellow than Pedro Pizarro.

Garcilasso de la Vega had better means of information than any of the other writers of the period respecting the events comprised in Don Alonzo's narrative. He was born at Cuzco; and though his birth did not take place until 1540, two years after the death of Almagro, yet he derived his information from the most original sources. His mother was an Inca princess; and his father, coming to Peru with the Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado, was an eye-witness of most of the transactions from that time until the rout of Gonzalo Pizarro at Sacsahuana, when he deserted to the army of Gasca. The younger Garcilasso went to Spain in 1560, and published the two parts of his work in 1609 and 1616, the year of his death. He quotes largely from Zarate and Gomara, while he supplies an immense store of information from the traditions of his mother's family and the recollections of his father's conversations, and his work is by far the most interesting of all those which treat of the conquest of Peru, and the former civilization of the Incas.

In the century after that of the conquest, two histories of very unequal value were published, those of Montesinos and Herrera. The "Anales" of the



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Licentiate Fernando Montesinos, who was twice sent to Peru officially, are, owing to the untrustworthiness of the writer, of very slight value; while the "Historia General de las Indias" of Antonio de Herrera, the first four decades of which were published in 1601, and the second four in 1615, should rank only second to the "Commentarios Reales" of Garcilasso de la Vega. Herrera wrote in an agreeable style, and he was indefatigable in collecting authentic materials for his work. Some years afterwards the "Varones Illustres del Nuevo Mundo" were published by Pizarro y Orellana, a relation of the Conqueror's family; and this work contains some additional information, although its authority is marred by the violent bias of the author in favour of the Pizarro faction.

The "Historia del Peru" of Diego Fernandez de Palencia, which was published at Seville in 1571, only gives an account of the campaign of Gasca against Gonzalo Pizarro, and of the rebellion of Giron; and the author did not go to Peru until long after the death of Almagro.¹

¹ Mr. Prescott also mentions three manuscripts, by Oviedo, Sarmiento, and Ondegardo, to which I have not had access; but they do not include any account of the period during which our author was in Peru.

Don Juan Sarmiento, who was President of the Council of the Indies from 1563 to 1565, was at Cuzco in 1550, and wrote a history of the Incas, which, however, ends at the conquest.

The licentiate Polo de Ondegardo was in Peru during the war between Gonzalo Pizarro and the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez, was for some years Corregidor of Cuzco, and prepared his "Relaciones,"



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Thus, of all the above authorities, Zarate, Gomara, Cieza de Leon, Pedro Pizarro, Garcilasso de la Vega, Montesinos, Herrera, Pizarro y Orellana, and Fernandez, only one was in Peru at the same time as our author, Don Alonzo, and none acted so important a part in the scenes which they describe.

Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, as an eye witness, may therefore be considered as the most original authority for all events in Peruvian history from the commencement of the siege of Cuzco, in 1534, to the execution of Almagro in 1538. I have carefully compared his version of the transactions in Peru at that period with the accounts given by Garcilasso de la Vega, (and his authorities, Zarate and Gomara), Herrera, and Pizarro y Orellana; and I find that, in all the main points, they agree to a remarkable extent.

Immediately after the death of Almagro our author returned to Spain, and he continues his journal for two years longer, when the manuscript abruptly terminates in the middle of a letter. I have failed in my endeavours to find any further traces of Don Alonzo, and I am therefore ignorant of the time or place of his death; but it is almost certain that his great enemy, Hernando Pizarro, who attained the extraordinary age of a hundred years, survived to see

being an account of the laws and customs of the Incas, between 1561 and 1571.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo wrote a history which only goes down to the return of Almagro from Chile.



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our author pass away, with the rest of the generation which witnessed the conquest of Peru, and the feuds of the conquerors.

Of the value of the geographical information supplied by Don Alonzo very little can be said; but at the same time the remarks of a traveller, however meagre they may be, who visited several of the countries of the new world so very soon after their discovery, must necessarily possess an interest which cannot be claimed for the more elaborate narratives of a later date.

It is not possible to make out the dates at which the different parts of the narrative were written, though, from an expression in the dedication, it seems likely that the first half was composed before Don Alonzo sailed for the Indies; and he expressly states that the dedication itself was written during the voy-The Peruvian part was evidently jotted down from time to time as opportunity offered; and the latter portion of the manuscript is in a very incomplete and unfinished state. Of course it cannot have been intended for publication in its present form, and either death or some other cause must have stepped in to prevent Don Alonzo from correcting and completing it. Yet it is fortunate that we have received it, before it was polished, and smoothed over by the last finishing touches from the hand of the author; for now we see Don Alonzo as he really was; his faults, and even his crimes, told so naïvely by himself, make him far more companionable than if he had written more on his guard; and the occa-



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sional contradictions, the motives for which are so transparent, enable us to ascertain the truth with comparative ease.

Don Alonzo was in the unfortunate position of a very poor man of a very proud and noble family. The life of a penniless adventurer, seeking his fortune, is not calculated to bring out the best qualities of our nature. In his youth he was a debauched unscrupulous young ruffian, in the prime of life a querulous discontented hanger-on of the court, and the most creditable part of his life was passed amidst the dangers and hardships of the civil war in Peru. He confesses to much meanness, and occasional villanies; yet there was some good in this half-tamed child of Andalusia. He performed many acts of kindness; he had many warm and constant friends, a sure sign that he was not altogether a bad man; and his bravery and gallant conduct before the enemy, of which he tells us sufficient himself, is confirmed by the independent and impartial testimony of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega. Much excuse must be made for a half-educated orphan, much in consideration of the age in which he lived.

On the whole, Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman may be taken as an average specimen of a young Spanish adventurer of family during the sixteenth century. He was certainly as brave, more honourable, and less cruel than most of the Spanish knights who flocked to the ill-fated land of the Incas, after its conquest by Pizarro; and, as such, I now beg to introduce him to the subscribers to the Hakluyt Society.



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I may add that I have myself personally visited and carefully inspected most of the places memorable as the scenes of events which took place after the conquest of Peru, during the civil wars of the Pizarros and Almagros, many of which are mentioned by Don Alonzo. I was several months at Cuzco. I have visited the coast valleys of Mala, Chincha, Pisco, Yca and Nasca, have ascended the pass of Huaytara, and have carefully examined the battle fields of Abancay, Las Salinas, Chupas, Sacsahuana, Chuquinga, and Pucara.



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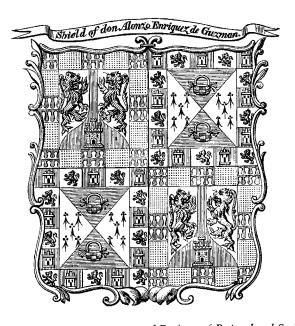
THE LIFE AND ACTS

OF

DON ALONZO ENRIQUEZ DE GUZMAN,

OF SEVILLE,

A NOBLE KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO.



Quarterly, first and fourth the arms of Enriquez of Portugal and Seville; second and third the arms of Guzman, in a bordure of the royal lions and castles.