HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF PERU

BY

THE SPANIARDS.

BY

DON TELESFORO DE TRUEBA Y COSIO,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF HERNAN CORTEZ," ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

The empire of Peru, when the Spaniards invaded it, possessed an extent of territories so vast as to excite wonder and surprise. It stretched no less than fifteen hundred miles from north to south along the Pacific Ocean. In the infancy of its state these regions shared the fate of the other countries in the New World. Converted into numerous and wandering tribes of rude savages, and strangers to the most simple operations of industry, the first inhabitants, according to the accounts received, must have been among the most uncivilized people of America. They used to roam in a state of nudity amidst the thickets and impervious woods which covered the land, resembling, in their manner of life, more the members of the brute creation, than rational beings belonging to the human species. They were totally unacquainted with the use of the products of the country farther than the satisfying of present want; nor had they the most remote idea of the principles of right and wrong. The enjoyment of animal life was the boundary of their thoughts, and to procure food the utmost limit of their desires. In this deplorable state, they continued for many ages; nor did the constant suffering, and extraordinary deprivation to which they were subjected, ever awaken a thought or excite a wish towards the improvement of their lot.

A singular and not uninteresting legend is connected with the origin of a more civilized system of things among the Peruvians. The manner in which they account for the dawn of civilization is as fanciful and ingenious as that of any other nation in a similar state. It is related, that one day a wandering horde of the natives were accosted on the borders of the Lake Titiaca, by two beings, male and female, of superior aspect, and wearing decent attire. These singular persons announced themselves as children of the Sun, and to be commissioned by that celestial power to improve and civilize the country. They declared that the great luminary of day beheld with compassion the wretched state to which the natives were condemned by their ignorance, and that, if they would implicitly follow instruction, the com-

forts of their lives would be considerably increased. The savages, in their simplicity, listened with profound respect to the words of the supposed messengers from the Sun, and were easily induced to promise obedience, in following the precepts inculcated for their improvement. Superstition, in this case, powerfully aided the views of humanity; for the natives, really conceiving those superior beings to be children of the Sun, began to assemble in various groups, and followed them to Cuzco, where they founded the first establishment in the country at all resembling a town. The infant colony, however, by the unwearied exertions of the new legislators, efficiently seconded by the people who had placed themselves under their rule, soon began to wear a prosperous aspect, until it gradually grew in extent and importance so as to constitute a considerable city.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, perceiving the favourable results which their efforts towards ameliorating the lot of the Peruvians had brought forth, now devoted their whole career to prosecute an enterprise so successfully begun. Settlers flocked from every part; and, as every one perceived the advantages of the new order of things, it was no difficult matter to persuade these simple savages to pay that blind obedience to their instructors which was indispensable to the accomplishment of the desired effect. Manco Capac instructed the Indians in the useful arts, and gave those rudiments of industry necessary to the comforts of social life. He instructed his subjects in husbandry, whilst Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin, and other occupations proper to the sex. The prosperity which attended the natives, who had ranged themselves under the authority of the first Inca of Peru, Manco Capac, induced such numbers to abandon their wandering lives in favour of a more civilized order of things, that it was soon found expedient to build other towns: and no less than thirteen started up, in a short period of time, to the east of Cuzco, and thirty to the west.

The Inca did not limit his exertions to teaching the natives how they might improve the comforts of animal life, but endeavoured to establish a legislation in accordance with their present state, and adapted to their capacities. He made several laws, simple and comprehensible to all, and attached punishments to the violators of them. As the goods of the earth, as well as the produce of industry, were held in common by all, the institution of private property not being known, the laws necessary to its protection were alike superfluous. The various productions were kept in large public magazines, and portioned out to every

one according to his necessities. But the Inca framed laws which he considered indispensable to the prosperity of his infant state. He established the rites of marriage, and ordered that no one should have more than one wife, advising, at the same time, the Indians to marry within their own kindred, that the families should not be confounded. As, in the rudeness of the savage life, the greatest licentiousness of manners prevails, and no restraint is put upon the passions, the Inca found it indispensable to pay special attention to this evil, and he accordingly ordained that the crime of adultery should be punished with death. He was also very careful in directing the thoughts of his subjects towards the purposes of religion. He told them, that, as the dispenser of all the goods of the earth, the greatest veneration should be paid to the Sun; and that this should be evinced on all occasions, by the sincerity of the worship paid to the deity. He caused a religious community to be formed of virgins devoted to the Sun. A building was erected for them, and the institution was to be put in full vigour, as soon as there were a sufficient number of maidens of the royal and celestial descent.

The Inca Manco Capac continued to reign in prosperity for the space of thirty or forty years, respected by his subjects, and blindly obeyed with that sort of superstitious deference which his supposed heavenly origin was calculated to inspire. When he perceived his end approaching, he called round him his principal subjects, and delivered a long harangue, earnestly conjuring them to observe with scrupulous care the instructions which he had given them, and the laws which he had made for their own welfare and prosperity. He also called his son and successor to him, and gave him prudent and kind advice as to the manner in which he was to conduct himself, so as to insure the good of his people and his own. Above all things, he was particularly earnest on the subject of the veneration to be paid to the Sun and Moon; and commanded him to be imperious in exacting the respect due to the Incas, as intimately connected with their religious notions. The old Inca then died, respected and lamented by his people, and was succeeded by his son, Sinchi Roca. This prince was of a warlike disposition and extended considerably, by conquest, the territories left him by his predecessor.

The kingdom founded by Manco Capac continued to flourish; the population increased; the arts of social life became gradually better understood and appreciated; and the Peruvians progressively assumed that aspect which entitled them to be considered

as the most civilized nation in the New World. It was governed by a succession of twelve sovereigns, whose efforts were successfully employed in improving and extending their jurisdiction. Herana Capac, the twelfth Inca from the foundation of the empire, was a prince of great abilities, and no less distinguished by his virtues in peace than his military powers. He conquered the vast kingdom of Quito; but his achievements, though glorious at the time, proved, in the sequel, in some measure the ruin of Peru; as the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar, the two children of the Inca, greatly facilitated the progress of the Spanish arms in the empire.

In contemplating the character, religion, and manners of the Peruvians, a striking difference is observable, when contrasted with those of the Mexicans. The former were as remarkable for the softness and kindness of their disposition, as the latter were noted for their sanguinary and warlike temper. From the establishment of the monarchy of the Incas, a complete revolution occurred in those places formerly inhabited by rude savages; and the change is no less to be dwelt upon for its beneficial results, than the difficulties which seemed to rise in opposition to its accomplishment. According to Father Valdera, the natives of those regions were as inhuman and ferocious in their primitive state, as in any other portion of the New World. Their idolatry was as gross and absurd, perhaps more so, than that of the Mexicans. Indeed the rational faculties seemed to have had not the smallest development among these savages; for even in their errors and monstrosities, they were guided by no link of reasoning, or even animal instinct, but seemed to be influenced by the sudden effect afforded by a present object, or a passing feeling of the moment. Thus a gigantic rock or a mountain, the sea or a river, ferocious animals, a tree or a flower, became, by turns, the objects of their adoration. Thus, the tribes on the coast worshiped the sea and the whale, on account of their portentous bulk; and the inland natives showed their reverence to mountains and ferocious beasts. There were also some nations, such as the Chirihuanas and Passavi, on the confines of Peru, who had no form of worship whatever; who appeared to be influenced by no feeling either of hope or fear, and lived in every respect like the members of the brute creation.

But the mythology of the Peruvians, however monstrous, was not characterized by the martial spirit which marked that of the Mexicans; and yet an equal degree of atrocity was exhibited in the manner of their oblations, as well as in the victims offered.

Human sacrifices were common, and the method of putting the intended victim to death, cruel and abominable. In the regions of Panama and Darien, which Valdera supposes to have been colonized and peopled by wandering tribes proceeding from the Mexican territories, the inhabitants were perhaps the most barbarous with regard to these sacrifices. They used to take the victim, and, having tied him to a tree, completely naked, the members and friends of the family who had taken the wretch prisoner, then assembled round him, and, with flint-knives, began to cut pieces from the most fleshy parts of the victim. They ate the flesh with scarcely any preparation, hastily and voraciously; and the object of their horrid feast beheld all the while the disgusting banquet, until he gradually sunk writhing under protracted torture. At these frightful repasts the women and the children used to assist; so that, from early infancy, the natives were trained up to habits of callous ferocity.

Another circumstance worthy of remark, is the treatment which they adjudged to the bones of the victim, when the sacrifice was consummated. If, during the frightful ceremony, he evinced tokens of much suffering, or groaned in pain, he was treated with contempt, and they used to scatter his bones over the fields, or throw them into the rivers; but if, on the contrary, the sufferer gave evidence of extraordinary fortitude and magnanimity, his remains were exposed to the sun in elevated places, that they might be dried; after which, they became objects of special worship. Such practices, with a complete absence of all the outward form of worship, could not certainly deserve the name of religion; and we may conclude that, in this respect, the natives were inferior to the Mexicans, who, however atrocious in their rites, had a constituted order of things, a body of priests, with their attributes and functions, religious ceremonies, festivals, and every token which argues a regular system of faith.

Under the paternal government of the Incas, in no particular did the Peruvians become more humanized and improved than in their religion. A form of worship, as mild and natural as their former practices were detestable, was instituted, and produced the most beneficial results to the country. The Incas, from the beginning, prudently began to govern the minds of men, from the principle of kindness, rather than the agency of fear, or any other base excitement. They represented the Sun and Moon as being moral deities anxious for the prosperity of the human race, and delighting in their happiness. Instead of those divinities being propitiated by the spilling of blood, or delighted at the atrocities

and butcheries which the natives were accustomed to commit, they were described as being greatly offended by such detestable deeds. Accordingly, the offerings allotted to the Sun were more in accordance with the mild and paternal decrees of such worship. The most acceptable sacrifices to this divinity, were declared to be the first produce of the land over which he threw his vivifying influence; and plants, and articles of food, fruits, milk, and the beverage called Anca, were now the ordinary things offered to him. Tame animals were also sacrificed, of which the most esteemed were those noted for their meekness, such as the lamb, sheep, &c. The practice of human sacrifices was totally abolished; and though some historians pretend that these were continued after the establishment of the empire of the Incas, such an occurrence might happen in districts remote from the observation of the sovereign, or where the march of civilization had been slower, but were never sanctioned nor countenanced by the Incas themselves.*

The Temple of the Sun, at Cuzco, was served by a regular train of priests, all of whom were obliged to be of the royal blood of the Incas. Indeed, the chief priest was required to be either the uncle, or the brother of the sovereign. In this the policy of the founder of the empire is clearly discernible. By uniting the civil legislature to that of religion, he strengthened the power of the monarchy. The descendants of the blood of the Incas accounted to have issued from the sun and moon, having thus the whole power of the state on their hands, were rendered doubly respected by the blended sentiments of human respect and religious veneration. The priests were not distinguished by any particular insignia or dress, but went attired in the usual manner. In the other provinces and cities of the empire, the persons dedicated to the service of the deity were not obliged to be of the royal blood, but only belonging to the principal families, though the chief priest being an Inca could never be dispensed with. The influence of their religion was strikingly displayed in the manners and civil institutions of the Peruvians, and contributed efficiently to form their gentleness of disposition. Strangers to the barbarous practices that stained the altars of other American regions, from the mildness of that superstition which they had adopted, the Peruvians became the most pacific people in the New World. Indeed, even in their wars, the Incas evinced a very different spirit from that of other countries. They had not, like the Mexicans, a gloomy and blood-thirsty divinity to propitiate

* G. de la Vega.

by offerings of human victims—they fought and conquered, not to destroy their enemies, but to civilize them. The vanquished, accordingly, were not treated like miserable slaves doomed to sacrifice, or condemned to ignoble bondage,—they were admitted to the same advantages, and put in every respect on a par with their conquerors.

The character of the Peruvians was, upon the whole, unwarlike; and this was a fatal defect, as it contributed so powerfully to their easy conquest by the Spaniards. In almost every other region of the New World, the natives sallied forth to oppose the invaders, and displayed, in their defence, great fierceness and obstinacy. It was with the utmost difficulty, and by an extraordinary exertion of courage and perseverance, united to prudence and abilities, that the subjection of the Mexicans had been accomplished by Cortes and his companions. In Peru, on the contrary, there was little or no resistance to the arms of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the scanty force of Pizarro and Almagro, and the great multitude which attended Atahualpa, the reduction of the empire of the Incas was effected with comparative ease. Nay, though the civil dissensions of the Spaniards offered striking opportunities to the Peruvians of vindicating their rights, and asserting their independence, they uniformly neglected such advantages, either through weakness or fear. One memorable attempt is alone recorded—the close siege which the successor of Atahualpa laid to Cuzco; but even this event, favourable as it was in every respect to the Inca, was tamely suffered to be lost through a want of decision, prudence, and perseverance.

But, despite of their softness, the Peruvians still retained a cruel custom, derived from remote antiquity. A great number of people suffered death whenever an Inca, or any other person of distinction paid the debt of nature. These victims underwent their fate, in order that the illustrious deceased might make his entrance into the other world with a becoming retinue and splendour. This savage custom was preserved with scrupulous rigidness; and, on the death of a powerful Inca, it is asserted that no less than a thousand victims were sacrificed to make his *cortége* into the regions of the dead. This was certainly a remnant of barbarity, in contradiction to their usual suavity of manners; but it was not the only remnant of the savage state exhibited by them. Another practice, universally rejected by every people with any pretensions to civilization, was continued by the Peruvians. Such was the custom of eating their meat and fish raw, although they

knew the properties of fire, and even made use of it while preparing maize and other vegetables.

The rights of property in Peru were not so strictly defined as in Mexico. They partook largely of a patriarchal and primitive form of government. The land was portioned out into three divisions; one was consecrated to the divinity, the second was reserved for the Incas, and the third fell to the people at large. The first share, accordingly, served for the erection of temples, and for celebrating the worship and maintenance of the priests; the second share served for the support of the Inca and the government; and the third, which was the most considerable, was portioned out among the people. These possessions, however, were neither hereditary nor permanent; but a new division took place every year, when the distribution was again made according to the rank or necessity then offered by the different families. The cultivation of these lands was carried on by the joint co-operation of the public. There was an officer, whose duty it was to summon the people to their task. This was performed in common, at the sound of musical instruments, which served to cheer the toil of their pursuits. This system was attended with beneficial results. The idea of mutual aid, and a community in interests, naturally engendered a feeling of kindred, and the ties of humanity were strengthened. The Peruvians might be considered as one vast family, actuated by the same interests, and labouring towards the same end.

But, notwithstanding the ties of affection which the institutions introduced by the Incas were calculated to produce, we must not conclude that a perfect equality existed among the promiscuous members of the community. On the contrary, the difference of ranks and distinctions was perfectly understood, and firmly established in the empire. The *curacas*, or captains, enjoyed a degree of importance and power totally unknown among the less favoured Peruvians, whilst a multitude of the natives were condemned to a state of servitude. These were the Yanaconas, and resembled very much the *Tamenes* of the Mexicans. They were, like them, employed in the most laborious and degrading functions, such as carrying burdens, and the performance of all mean services. The dress and the dwellings of the *Yanaconas* were different from the other Peruvians who were accounted free. The class of the *Orejones*, so called from their ears being adorned with pendants, answered to the rank of the modern nobles. Higher than these were the descendants of the Sun, who enjoyed privileges, and were held in veneration, very far above that enjoyed by the Orejones.

Agriculture was the primary object of attention in Peru, and hence the progress which the inhabitants had made in this most useful of all human pursuits, at the time of the Spanish invasion. Indeed the cultivation of the earth was conducted with greater care, more importance, and superior ingenuity, to those of any other part of America. As the agricultural labours were carried on by order and under the *surveillance* of the government, the quantity of the land to be cultivated, as well as the process to be employed, was not left to the caprice or ignorance of individuals, but was pointed out by the ruling powers. This methodical system was productive of good effects. The evils consequent on a bad season were never felt; because the products set apart for the Sun and the Inca, being always superior to the consumption required, the overplus was consigned to storehouses, and afforded provision to the public at large in times of scarcity and distress. The Peruvians were not acquainted with the use of the plough, but this deficiency was in part supplied by the hard wooden instruments which they employed to furrow up the earth. This labour, though hard and menial in appearance, was not considered degrading. Both sexes joined in the performance of it, and even the Incas exhibited an example of industry, and of the importance of such functions, by cultivating a piece of land with their own hands.

But though agricultural pursuits were the paramount business of the Peruvians, we must not therefore infer that their ingenuity was not also displayed in other subjects. Their mode of building requires notice. In regions beneath a mild climate and sky, their tenements were constructed of the slightest form; but in other districts which could not claim the same advantages, being exposed to the vicissitudes and inclemencies of the weather, greater strength and solidity were employed. Their houses, made of bricks baked by the rays of the sun, were square, about eight feet in height, and without any windows. These structures, if destitute of those ideas of comfort which naturally occur to civilized people, answered, nevertheless, by their durability, the purposes for which they were intended. On the temples of the Sun, and the residences of the Incas, the Peruvians exerted all the ingenuity of which they were capable, and all the knowledge they possessed. The ruins of these which still remain in the various provinces of the empire, afford a sufficient proof that they are the monuments of a people totally removed from the state of the rude savage. The magnitude of these buildings, however, was displayed more in their solidity and extent, than in their elevation. Indeed, the

great temple of Pachreamac, together with a palace of the Inca and a fortress, forming a vast mass of architecture, stretched more than half a league, while its height was not more than twelve feet. Nor is this strange; the Peruvians, not knowing the use of the pulley, or the resources of mechanism, found the greatest difficulty in carrying large stones to any elevation.

The construction of two roads from Cuzco to Quito, reflects great praise on the Incas, and shows the industry of the people. These roads extended above fifteen hundred miles. One of them ran through the mountainous district, the other on the level plain near the shore. The formation of the road through the mountain must have been a work of considerable difficulty. The leveling of prominences, and filling up of hollow places, together with other operations, must have required much toil and perseverance in workmen destitute of efficient instruments for labour. The construction of roads led to other improvements. The torrents which rushed down from the Andes, and the rivers which intersected the country in many places, demanded the building of bridges. As the Peruvians were not acquainted with the means of working timber, nor with the manner of forming arches, they supplied the deficiency by forming a species of net-work made of strong cables, and covered with rushes and clay. Persons were appointed to superintend the proper repairs of these bridges, as well as to help passengers in crossing them. *Balsas*, or floats, were used in crossing rivers when they became broad and unruffled, by being situated in the even country. These *balsas* were constructed with a degree of skill which indicated that the Peruvians were more advanced in the science of navigation than any other people of the New World. In general, the use of the oar was the limit of the nautical knowledge of the Indians, whereas the Peruvians were acquainted with the resources of a mast and sail, by the aid of which they were enabled to scud along the rivers with rapidity.

The ingenuity of the Peruvians was not limited to the cultivation of those arts which are necessary towards the support and comfort of life: some advancement had also been made in those which argue the dawn of civilization. They worked the precious metals in which their country abounded, with a degree of skill equal, if not superior, to that displayed by the Mexicans in their ornaments. Many specimens of these attracted the attention of the Spaniards; although, by the previous conquest of Mexico, they were accustomed to a degree of improvement among the American tribes that prepared them to view objects with a less degree of surprise. They manufactured mirrors of shining stones,

which they worked and polished with amazing dexterity. They had earthen utensils of different sizes and forms, and also instruments of various kinds. In articles of mere ornament they excelled; and, considering that they had not proper implements of workmanship, and were totally unacquainted with the use of iron, their ingenuity deserves high praise. Thus, it is no wonder that the Spanish historians should have been lavish of their eulogiums, when speaking on the subject. Still, great deductions must be made from those florid accounts; and the Peruvians, despite of their skill, did not, by their works of art, justify any other supposition than that they were only in the infancy of civilized life. There are other proofs to be found in corroboration of this conclusion. Although, having made some progress in the useful and even liberal arts, the Peruvians were, from other features observable in their society and manners, little entitled to that degree of polish which other circumstances seemed to argue. The dominions of the Incas, although of vast extent, and comprising a numerous population, were destitute of that requisite which is essential in determining the prosperity, activity, and civilization of a nation. This was the total want of cities in the empire. Indeed, Cuzco was the only place that bore the resemblance of a city at the time of Pizarro's invasion. All the rest of the country appeared an immense waste, thinly scattered with small villages, or stray habitations. In territories so extensive, the want of towns was a great obstacle to the progress of civilization. Improvement both in manners and in the more refined arts, must have been so slow, and attended with such disadvantages, that, as Robertson justly observes, "it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed further."

The distinction of professions, and variety of occupations, were neither so complete, nor so extensive, as in Mexico. The number of populous cities in the Mexican empire, by bringing men into closer contact, also gave rise to new wants, and made necessity sharpen ingenuity to provide for them. Hence arose several crafts totally unpractised in Peru; for indeed the natives of this empire might be said to form one vast promiscuous class, daily occupied in pursuits of immediate utility. The only class apart from the general body was that of the artificers, engaged in making works of ornament. Nor were the operations of commerce better understood. Trade springs from the confluence of individuals; and it is only when men settle in great numbers, in one spot, that the more simple operations of commerce begin to take

place. The advantages of barter are then seen; originating in the necessity of procuring from other places those articles which are wanted, and of sending in exchange those of which there is an overplus. In the Mexican empire, there was not a town of any consequence which did not possess its market-place, where every article of the country was exposed to sale, and where the ruder operations of commerce were practised. Nothing of the sort was to be found in Peru. The manner in which they provided for their subsistence, by cultivating the earth in common, and the peculiar character of their life and institutions, made the intercourse between the several provinces extremely limited. There were few inducements for traveling; and men, for the most part, were born, passed their lives, and died, in the same place. Unless when led to the field of battle by the monarch, there was no other occasion for abandoning the tranquil manner of living which the Incas had introduced, unless, perhaps, the event of accompanying them in the tours which they were now and then to take over their vast dominions. In such cases, the Incas and their retinue used to halt to repose themselves at the *tambos* or storehouses, placed at certain intervals over the country, for the accommodation of the royal train.

The simplicity displayed in the manners of the Peruvians, was equally observable in their legislature. The government of the Incas was the most absolute that can be conceived, and was so intimately connected with their religious tenets, that transgressions committed by the natives bore equally against the laws of the state and the principles of conscience. Indeed, any offence perpetrated by a Peruvian, was considered not merely as a transgression against the laws of human society, but as a direct affront towards the Divinity. Such an impression was, of necessity, attended with a legislature simple in its regulations, but decisive in its effects. Rigor was the pervading principle; nor was any distinction paid to the various shades of the offence, nor to the degree of mischief which the commission of it might produce in society. Slight offences and atrocious crimes called alike for retribution; and the punishment was equal in both cases. The blood of the guilty was alone deemed a sufficient atonement for his transgression: and accordingly, the award of death was almost indiscriminately applied to delinquents. The trial also was summary, and the punishment followed close upon the offence. The Peruvians argued, that mercy shown towards an offender, was cruelty towards the virtuous; the distinction ought to be strictly marked. But if their notions of justice were

in this instance absurd, they exhibited in another an illustration of its essence that ought to make more modern and civilized legislatures blush. Confiscation never followed the death of the offender; for they deemed it unjust to visit the crimes of the father upon his innocent descendants. The extreme severity of the Peruvian laws, would be attended with fatal effects among nations of more ferocious dispositions. The shedding of blood would render them desperate, and reckless of consequences; but in a state so remarkable both for simplicity and mildness of manners as that of the Peruvians, such results could not be apprehended. Examples of severe justice, accordingly, struck the natives with awe and terror, and the number of the guilty was excessively limited.

The monarchy founded by the Incas, though in reality an absolute despotism, instead of producing terror among their subjects, was attended with very different results by being allied to religious superstition. The Peruvians received the decrees of their sovereigns as emanations from the divinity itself. They found neither repugnance in submitting, with the most profound humility, to such dictates, nor experienced difficulty in doing those services which were to render them acceptable to the deity. By this close alliance, therefore, of religious tenets with political institutions, the ties between the ruling power and the people were more closely united. The obedience which the latter offered to the former, was an act of spontaneous feeling, rather than a task of irksome duty. They felt no degradation in yielding the most humble reverence to a power of heavenly origin; and at the very time that the Incas governed with the most absolute sway, they were cherished, beloved, and respected. They were seen in the light of fathers and protectors of the community, rather than capricious and selfish rulers. Thus it is not surprising that, in a series of twelve Incas that governed successively in Peru, there was not one who merited the opprobrious distinction of tyrant; or that, during this period, no examples of revolt and rebellion should be found in the traditions of the country against the power and authority of its princes. By the mere display of the *borla*, an ornament of the head, which the Inca wore as the insignia of his power and dignity, those intrusted with official functions had no difficulty in accomplishing their duties. This token was a talisman of such amazing influence, that the lives and property of the Peruvians were at the disposal of its possessor.

From what has been said it will be found, that the prevailing

principle of the institutions, manners, and character of the Peruvians, was mildness. Indeed, one is surprised to find a people of so unwarlike a disposition among the rude tribes that abounded in the New World. But if the softness of the natives, and their blind obedience to the laws of the Incas, were the means of pushing them some steps forward in civilization, the same circumstances militated in other respects against an extraordinary advancement in social life. The moral energies were deteriorated by that kind of tame domesticity which found neither inducement nor necessity for activity. Satisfied with their own manner of living, they could not dream of a better order of things. Besides, the intimate conviction of the superiority of their Incas, made them averse to all manner of speculation. The superiority of the prince's judgment being paramount among his subjects, they never took the trouble to examine its infallibility. The reasoning faculties were thus rendered null; while the comparative state of comfort which the Peruvians enjoyed, by rendering them satisfied, prevented them also from longing for a better. Thus it may be said, that, though superior to the Mexicans in many respects, they were, in others, far from approaching to that warlike people.

The empire of Peru was more ancient than that of Mexico. But, to ascertain the exact period when the monarchy was established, would be a difficult task. The celebrated *Quipos*, or knots on cords, which it is asserted formed the regular annals of the country, are very inadequate to convey anything like distinct ideas on the subject. However varied the knots, they could not represent past events with the least approach to resemblance; whereas the Mexican paintings and symbols, however rude, supplied in some measure the deficiency of writing.

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks.—Account of the first Project of the Conquest of Peru, and of the three Associates, Francis Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque.

The conquest of Mexico, and the extraordinary events to which that gigantic undertaking had given rise, far from subduing, served but to increase the desire of the Spaniards for adventure and the acquisition of wealth. After the reduction of the Mexican capital, its conquerors were unwilling to repose under the shade of their laurels while a fresh wreath awaited their gathering. Indeed, their dauntless resolution in braving dangers and magnanimous endurance under hardships and privation, had, as yet, if measured by the standard of their own expectations, been crowned by a very indifferent reward. The spoils divided among the veterans of Hernan Cortes bore no proportion to the sanguine hopes which the vastness and wealth of the Mexican empire had naturally awakened. It is not surprising, therefore, that the companions of that chief should, after their successes, be desirous of undertaking other conquests, which, if not so splendid as their last, might be at least more profitable. Various expeditions were accordingly undertaken, with that spirit of discovery and adventure so conspicuous in the Spaniards, and which was in fact a characteristic feature of the times.

No boundaries were placed to the fanciful visions of the Spaniards, or their wild ambition. Their vivid imaginations seemed to acquire additional warmth, and their hopes became more extrava-

gant with every fresh discovery, or new enterprise. The insatiable and reckless adventurers were ever ready to risk the property they had acquired, at the expense of so much peril and suffering, in pursuit of their ruling passion; and neither disappointment, nor the most appalling hardships, were sufficient to deter them from their headlong and obstinate career. By this means the continent of America became every day more widely explored and better known. Colonies arose up in various parts of the country; settlements increased with amazing rapidity; new ones succeeded those which were abandoned; and, no sooner was there a town of any importance in a flourishing condition, than the authorities and leading inhabitants of the place began to revel in the visions of empires which were to be discovered and conquered by their means. From the conquest of the vast empire of Mexico, very naturally arose the belief that other regions, equal in extent and wealth, existed in America. But the real situation of these territories baffled the conjectures of their intended conquerors. Whether they were to direct their attention to the north or the south; whether they ought to penetrate into the inland country, or limit their efforts and hopes to maritime discovery, was a subject of much perplexity and doubt. The failure of repeated attempts, or the disappointment of indifferent results, could neither check nor dishearten speculations which were so strongly tinctured with the spirit of romance.

But, however wild the hopes conceived by the Spaniards, and however extravagant the confidence they placed in their own powers, they certainly could never have imagined, much less reasonably expected, the rapidity with which the conquest of Peru was achieved, or the immense importance of those regions subjected to the Spanish crown. The events which had marked the career of the Spaniards in the various stages of their expedition against Mexico—the dangers which had encompassed them—and the obstinate and frightful resistance of the inhabitants of those territories,—might have taught the European adventurers that, however endowed they might be with courage and perseverance, prudence urged the expediency of adopting measures more in accordance with the dimensions of their projected undertakings. But, strange to relate, in direct opposition to such obvious reasoning, the armaments fitted out with the intent of vanquishing nations, were not only trifling, but, it would appear, almost ridiculous. If we are struck at the slender resources with which Hernan Cortes pursued, and put a triumphant end to his expedition, our wonder will increase the more upon a strict survey of the means with

which the conquerors of Peru first ventured upon their enterprise. Our surprise, however, will cease when we reflect on the character of the natives, who offered a striking contrast to the Mexicans, by their inoffensive manners and pacific disposition, and who, far from presenting a formidable front to the invaders, appeared more like a motley multitude devoted to sacrifice, and prepared to yield an easy triumph to the enemy. But though the conquerors of Peru can claim but little merit for the exertion of military qualities in their war with the natives, if we look at the frightful sufferings they endured, and the heroic perseverance with which they prosecuted their exploit, they will be found to deserve equal, if not superior admiration, with the companions of Cortes.

In the year 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a young gentleman of great abilities, and possessed of extraordinary courage, after a variety of toils and difficulties, discovered the South Sea. From that moment the colonists of Panama turned their thoughts towards the wealth of those unknown regions to which it might afford access. Balboa himself had prepared an expedition of which he was to take the command; but was unhappily prevented by an untimely death, having fallen a victim to the jealousies of Pedro de Arias. Other adventurers determined to follow the course which he had traced out. Accordingly, new armaments were equipped to explore and subdue the regions to the east of Panama. Either owing to the incapacity of the leaders, the want of sufficient perseverance, or other causes, these attempts did not succeed; and every new essay was attended with discouraging disappointment. The Spaniards had only been able to make excursions in Tierra Firma, a territory scantily peopled, filled with forests, and possessing an unhealthy climate. Hence the adventurers were exposed to a series of calamities which tended at once to weaken their energies, and damp the ardent longings of their imaginations. They therefore retraced their course to Panama, bringing the most dismal accounts of the places they had visited. The ardour of the Spaniards began at length to suffer from these repeated disappointments. They for the first time admitted the possibility that their imaginations had deceived them, and that the hopes which Nuñez de Balboa had created ought to be discarded as visionary.

But the general opinion which now prevailed at Panama, was not sufficient to convince some persons as to the fallacy of their favourite schemes. The failure of former attempts was treated with indifference, and new exertions were called forth towards a more successful prosecution of the enterprise. In the number of

those resolute individuals, there were three who, conceiving themselves to be endowed with greater powers, and possessing more ample means than the rest of their countrymen, began seriously to think of venturing, on their own account, in an expedition of discovery and conquest. In this triumvirate originated the conquest of the vast regions of Peru; and in this instance we again perceive that waywardness of fate which was so remarkable in all the transactions of the Spaniards in the New World. There is something almost incredible, not to say absurd, in the circumstance of three private persons, settled in an infant colony, quietly deliberating, and coolly resolving to embark into schemes which had for their object the overturning and subjugation of vast and powerful regions.

The leader—the sole and principal hope of this strange confederacy—was a soldier of fortune called Francis Pizarro, a name which holds one of the most prominent stations in the annals of the American conquest, but which, though gilded by the lustre of many great deeds and extraordinary qualities, is unfortunately so tarnished by acts of bloodshed and atrocity, as to have earned for its possessor the title of a sanguinary monster, rather than that of a glorious conqueror. The memory of Pizarro has been consigned to execration by the majority of mankind; but this feeling is, however, not free from exaggeration and prejudice. Without justifying the cruel deeds which signalized the reduction of Peru, we shall present an impartial recital of the history of its conquest, so that the reader may form his own estimate of good and evil, according to the suggestions of his judgment.

The origin of the famous Francis Pizarro is involved in shame. He was the unlawful offspring of a guilty connection between a Spanish gentleman of distinction, and a woman of the lowest rank. He was born in Trujillo, a considerable town in Estremadura, where he passed his earliest years totally neglected by his parents. Indeed, so ungenerous were the ideas which Pizarro's father entertained towards his son, that he denied him the advantages of the most simple rudiments of education, an ignorance which proved in the sequel a fruitful source of pain and annoyance to the conqueror of Peru. Having but a mean opinion of the capabilities of young Pizarro, or actuated by even less justifiable motives, his unnatural parent placed his child in the base station of a hogdriver, as soon as he had attained the first dawn of manhood. Pizarro could not tamely brook this ignoble occupation. Nature had endowed him with capabilities and feelings which spurned with indignation such base pursuits, and had implanted in his heart an

ambition directly in opposition to the lowly fate to which he had been condemned by his father. He accordingly seized the first opportunity of quitting his degrading employment, and enlisted as a soldier in a company destined to serve in Italy. In this country he continued several years, during which he gave indications of that hardy frame and resolute courage which were to render him so celebrated in the future. But Italy offered a very narrow field either for the display of his powers, or the indulgence of his ambition. The strict military discipline enjoined in the army, and the remote chances of promotion which obscure adventurers could hope for, when in competition with men regularly brought up to the service, and backed by the patronage of powerful friends, naturally disgusted Pizarro, who could not endure the probability of remaining all his life a private soldier.

The adventurer of that age looked with a fond and confident eye towards the New World. There, the display of natural powers earned for their possessors more than the most prosperous patronage could effect. There, the merit, the services of the individual, could alone entitle him to success and to reward. Besides the romantic character of the enterprises in America, they were more in unison with the roving temper and ardent imagination of a soldier of fortune. Pizarro accordingly followed the example of many of his brethren in arms, and embarked for the New World, where he soon attracted notice, by the decision of his character and by his readiness to venture upon the most perilous undertakings. In the year 1513, he accompanied the governor, Alonso de Hojeda, in the conquest and foundation of the settlement of Uraba, where he was left in the station of lieutenant, and where he experienced severe trials from the privations to which he was exposed, and from the attacks of the Indians. We afterwards find Pizarro engaged in the famous expedition of Hernan Cortes, by whom he appears to have been held in considerable esteem. He distinguished himself on several occasions during this memorable undertaking, especially in the attack against Narvaez. He also accompanied Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in his famous expedition for the discovery of the great Southern Ocean, and was moreover one of the most distinguished companions of Pedro Arias de Avila in the conquest of *Nombre de Dios* and Panama. In these various and important scenes, he displayed extraordinary powers both of frame and of mind. The former could neither be broken by labour nor fatigue; the latter was neither appalled nor subdued by danger and disappointment. Every operation with which he was intrusted succeeded; and the eager alacrity which he exhibited on

all occasions, pointed him out not only as a ready, but a most efficient coadjutor in the most important enterprises. Though his education had been so lamentably neglected, that he knew not even how to read, yet owing to the necessity of depending on his own exertions, and the struggles which he had to encounter from want of mental acquirements in his intercourse with the world, the powers of his mind became concentrated, and early brought to maturity, without the aid of foreign cultivation; and, though a stranger to refinement, and totally devoid of erudition, they had supplied him with that knowledge of mankind which stands paramount in furthering the plans of the daring and ambitious. It is not surprising, therefore, that Francis Pizarro should have been held in much regard among his countrymen with such claims to their consideration, nor that he should have been looked upon as a person of chief note among the colonists of Panama, where he now resided with considerable riches, which he had acquired by a series of great services in the various events in which he had been concerned.

Pizarro, bent on the promotion of his favourite scheme of discovering and conquering a great empire, made a compact with his two associates, who were men of great influence in the colony. The origin of Diego de Almagro was equally obscure with that of his colleague. He was a foundling, and was born, according to some, in Malagon, according to others in Almagro; which last was probably his true birth-place, from the identity of the names. He, like Pizarro, was a soldier of fortune, trained up in the severe service of the camp, and inured, from early life, to hardships and privations. In the military virtues he yielded not to his daring companion, though he was certainly his inferior in mind. Almagro was a frank, intrepid, and conspicuous soldier; but in Pizarro, the qualities which constitute a brave chief were strongly mixed with that craft and facility in subtile expedients, which are necessary to form the politician. Almagro knew how to fight, and how to support adversity; but he was not endowed with that knowledge of the world—that profound reserve of his own views, which enabled Pizarro to read the feelings of other men, while he could at pleasure conceal his own.

Hernando Luque, the third associate, was an ecclesiastic, with some small pretensions to learning, on which account he combined in his person the capacities of parish-priest and schoolmaster to the colony. He was a man of substance; and being strongly possessed with the ambitious spirit of the times, he had resolved to make his money the stepping-stone to future greatness,

since his sacred functions prevented him from following his fortune as a military leader. Such were the three individuals who now seriously entered on a compact so singular and extraordinary, as to have no parallel in history. The confederacy having obtained the approbation of Pedro Arias de Avila, the Governor of Panama, to their projects, now bound themselves by a solemn oath to act in concert for the promotion of their gigantic enterprise. For this purpose, all the property of the three associates was to be brought to a common fund, and a perfect participation of their joint effects was agreed upon without hesitation. As Pizarro was, however, the least favoured of the three in point of wealth, it was agreed that he should make up for the deficiency, by accepting the part of greatest fatigue and danger in the undertaking. This arrangement was most satisfactory to all parties; Pizarro, from his adventurous temper, being willing to take the lead, and his companions placing great reliance in his courage, resolution, and dauntless perseverance. Almagro was to conduct the supplies that were to follow in the track of the first armament; whilst Luque offered to remain in Panama, to raise fresh reinforcements, arrange affairs with the governor, and promote all measures conducive to the general good.

These arrangements being concluded, the associates, in conformity with that spirit of enthusiasm which governed the operations of the Spaniards in America, and in order to give more weight to their treaty, now hastened to ratify their engagements by a solemn act of religion. Luque, after saying mass, divided the holy host into three portions, of which he took one himself, whilst the other two he administered to his companions. Everything being now ready, Pizarro was anxious for his departure. This he accomplished on the 14th of November, 1525, but with so slender a force as to appear totally inadequate to the success of a minor excursion, much less of an undertaking which had in view the subjugation of a mighty empire. He set sail in a single vessel, with a force of one hundred and fourteen men.* He was for some times buffeted by the winds and waves, till at last he landed in a mountainous and dismal country, covered with swamps, and deluged with continual rain. The natives of this part of Tierra Firma were few in number, but furious and indomitable. The Spaniards were thus exposed to a very calamitous fate. The horrors of hunger and fatigue were rendered doubly distressing by the distempers natural to the climate, and by the attacks which

* G. de la Vega.

they continually sustained from the Indians. These combined causes soon produced a sensible diminution in the number of the Spaniards, which, together with the protracted delay in the realization of those golden visions which had so powerfully actuated the thoughts of those adventurers, now tended to aggravate the pangs of disappointment, and disseminate discontent among the slender band. Pizarro endeavoured to raise their drooping spirits; but perceiving at length no amelioration of fortune, with a sorrowful, though undaunted heart, he conducted his followers to Chuchama, where he resolved to await a supply from Panama, and to pass the interval in tending his wounds, and allowing some respite of suffering to his soldiers.

Diego de Almagro had meantime left the colony with a reinforcement of seventy men, and, having effected a landing, was for some time subject to the same calamities which had assailed his companions. After a variety of adventures, he was obliged to encounter the natives in a dreadful conflict, which proved disastrous to the Spaniards, and in which Almagro lost an eye from a wound inflicted by an arrow. This discomfiture compelled the invaders to relinquish their enterprise, and re-embark without delay. Exhausted in frame, and disheartened in mind, the unfortunate adventurers now wandered without any settled determination, until, by mere accident, they discovered the retreat of their equally distressed companions. Their natural sorrows were greatly alleviated by this meeting; and, after recounting their respective sufferings and adventures, they concluded by encouraging each other to persevere, and mutually called up flattering expectations of future success. After many consultations, it was resolved that Almagro should return to Panama, in order to raise a fresh supply, as the band was now so fearfully reduced as to be unable to proceed in the expedition. Indeed, the sufferings which they had endured, and the mortality which had prevailed among the soldiers, were enough to deter the stoutest heart from a renewal of such calamities. Of a hundred and eighty-two men, which was the amount of the two bands commanded by Pizarro and Almagro, a hundred and thirty perished in the short space of nine months; and as very few fell in battle, the majority were the victims of mortal diseases.* Thus, only about fifty Spaniards remained alive, and even these were broken down by severe hardships, and almost unfitted for active service.

But to abandon the enterprise appeared to the chiefs, as well

* Xeres.

as to the most magnanimous of their followers, a disgrace, more galling, more terrible, than any difficulties whatever fate might have in reserve. Almagro, therefore, in compliance with the resolutions taken, returned to Panama, and lost no time, in conjunction with Luque, in recruiting adventurers to join the expedition. His efforts were not crowned with the desired effect. For a long time he was unable to muster anything resembling a military body. Despite of the sanguine temperament and adventurous spirit of the Spaniards, the severe disasters which had attended the companions of Pizarro and Almagro, were of a nature to chill the most ardent temper, and to check the ambition of the most reckless. Accordingly, it was with the utmost difficulty that the associates could levy a force of about eighty men. Despairing of further augmentation to their number, Almagro set out with this small reinforcement, and joined his companions at Chuchama. Pizarro welcomed the arrival of Almagro with renewed hopes; nor was the slender body by which he saw him attended sufficient to damp his spirits; and the two associates immediately entered into a consultation on the plan they ought to adopt.

After a series of troubles and disappointments, Almagro, Pizarro, and their scanty band of followers, touched at Tacamez, on the coast of Quito, where they found the aspect of the country more promising than they had hitherto met with in the course of their excursions. The ground was level, symptoms of vegetation were discernible everywhere, and, what attracted still more the imagination of the adventurers, they perceived incontestable signs of the wealth of the country. The inhabitants wore ornaments of emeralds and gold, the appearance of which was very alluring to the adventurers; but the joy which it produced was of short duration; for the natives soon collected in great numbers from every side, well armed and prepared for battle. Pizarro's men, both from the paucity of their numbers, the diseases under which they laboured, and the severe and continued hardships which they had been obliged to undergo, were not in a situation to engage with so formidable an enemy. Their commander, accordingly, resolved on a prudent retreat for the present, which was fortunately effected to the island of Gallo.

CHAPTER II.

Distresses of the Spaniards and their heroic Resolution.—New efforts of Pizarro and his Associates.

Pizarro and Almagro were now sensibly alive to the difficulties of their situation. The severe hardships which they had hitherto encountered produced the most melancholy results on their followers. Though ardent in the pursuit of their object, and not easily to be daunted by toil and suffering, many of the soldiers began to look with despondency on the issue of the undertaking. The same spirit which had, on several occasions, actuated the soldiers of Cortes, now influenced the minds of the Spaniards under Pizarro. This able commander soon perceived the mischief which this tendency to dissatisfaction would produce, if suffered to acquire strength. He accordingly directed his endeavours to raise the hopes of his soldiers, representing to them the glory of the enterprise, and the rewards which were to crown its accomplishment. The lessons which he had acquired from Cortes in the conquest of Mexico, were now turned to great advantage; and, whilst he harangued his companions, and strove to excite a corresponding feeling of daring and confidence, he was not unmindful of other secret expedients of policy.

Both he and Almagro perceived the necessity of preventing their followers from keeping up any correspondence with their friends at Panama. They were aware that a representation of the sufferings they had endured, and of the precariousness of their present situation, would tend to deter other adventurers from joining their fortunes. Almagro, therefore, refused to be attended by any of his followers upon his return to Panama, under pretence that his companions ought to be left in possession of every resource, in order to be prepared for any contingency. He also objected to bearing any letters from his companions, thinking, by this means, to thwart the intentions of the discontented. But, despite of the vigilance of the two chiefs, the desponding portion of their followers succeeded in conveying to their friends a lamentable account of their misfortunes. The manner in which this was contrived appears not destitute of ingenuity. One Saravia sent a representation of their troubles, and of their anxiety to be freed

from their present state of thraldom, hidden in a ball of cotton-thread, which he sent to a friend, under pretext of having a pair of stockings made. This document concluded with four doggerel lines, expressive of their sentiments with regard to their leaders. They were as follows:—

"Oh Governor, incline your ear,
And ponder well our state,
While the butcher lingers here,
The gatherer is gone to bait."*

alluding to Almagro and Pizarro, who were characterized by those two epithets. This stratagem produced the desired effect. Upon the arrival of Almagro at Panama, he was received by the new governor, Pedro de los Rios, with a degree of coldness and reserve which he was far from anticipating. Instead of lending a favourable ear to the expostulations of Almagro, Los Rios made up his mind in a very short time to adopt a line of conduct in direct opposition to his wishes. Incapable himself of daring exploits or extraordinary exertions, he considered an enterprise encompassed with so many difficulties, and attended with such loss of men, without affording any striking probability of success, as likely to prove materially detrimental to the interests of an infant colony. Partly actuated by these considerations, and partly persuaded by the friends of those who longed to return to Panama, the governor now issued a decree to forbid the levying of any farther supplies, and even dispatched a vessel to the island of Gallo, carrying strict injunctions that Pizarro and his companions should return to Panama.

Almagro, who had by this time succeeded in procuring adventurers, was much chagrined at this determination; but neither he, nor his associate Luque, considered this circumstance as sufficient to crush their hopes of future greatness. Far from joining in the prevailing murmur against the expedition, they conveyed private intelligence to their companions of their real sentiments. They urged him to oppose the peremptory orders of the governor, and to persevere in the original design—solemnly pledging themselves, at the same time, to strain every effort to procure him all the assistance in their power. Pizarro wanted neither persuasion nor allurement to induce him to prosecute his favourite scheme. His natural obstinacy, and total contempt of difficulties, would

* "Pue senor Gobernador
Mirelo bien por entero,
Que alla' va el recogedor
Y aqui queda il carnicero."

have prompted him to perseverance, even without the expostulations of his colleagues. Accustomed from early life to suffering and danger, inured to hardships, and trained up to view unconcerned the most strange vicissitudes, no disappointment, however great, was able to break down his expectations—no difficulty, however perplexing, had power to make him forego his designs. The extraordinary events which had characterized the conquest of Mexico probably dwelt on his mind; and that mind, already possessing a singular share of energy, acquired additional stimulus from the lesson that past events afforded.

Pizarro, accordingly, boldly resolved to disregard the injunctions sent by the governor. His disobedience might be attended with much danger; but the time was arrived to adopt decided and desperate measures. Should he, after the repeated disappointments which had accompanied his own attempts, as well as those made on former occasions, be induced to obey the orders of Los Rios, for his return, he could not entertain the remotest hope of ever again being able to find men ready to embark on so stale and unsuccessful an undertaking. Such an idea to a man of sanguine temper and resolute character—a man who had, besides, staked his whole substance in favour of the scheme—could not but convey sensations more humiliating and galling than what he could apprehend from the worst results of the governor's displeasure. He was, however, much chagrined and annoyed when he perceived that his followers were far from participating in his sentiments. In vain did he essay every means to persuade them to adhere faithful to his fortunes. The image of past sufferings dwelt strongly in their imaginations; and they joyfully embraced the opportunity of returning to their friends, after a long and most distressing absence. The arguments and promises of Pizarro were disregarded, and the soldiers now prepared, with the utmost alacrity, to follow Tafur, the governor's messenger.

To detain men against their inclination, under existing circumstances, would have been not only injudicious, but full of danger. In this emergency, the baffled commander resolved to adopt one of those magnanimous measures, which, by striking the imaginations of men, often end in persuading their hearts. Open revolt—perhaps his own death—would be the consequence of the attempt. Pizarro assembled his soldiers, and, drawing his sword, described with it a line on the ground. He then, with a firm demeanour and resolute voice, exclaimed, "Spaniards! this line is the emblem of hardships, dangers, and constant toil—of innumerable sufferings which are to be sustained in the prosecution of a most glorious

enterprise. Let those who consider themselves endowed with sufficient strength and magnanimity—those to whom the renown of a glorious conqueror is dear, boldly pass the line—and as for those who feel themselves unequal to the sacrifice of present ease, for the attainment of future fame and fortune, let them return to Panama with all suitable speed; I myself will remain here, and, with the help of the bravest of my followers, however few they may be, I will prosecute our enterprise, trusting that, with the assistance of God, and by our undaunted perseverance, our efforts will be ultimately crowned with success."

No sooner were these words pronounced, than the soldiers hastened to profit by the invitation they afforded. With unbecoming alacrity they bent their steps towards the shore, to embark with the utmost expedition, lest the determination of their commander should undergo a change. Only thirteen men had the courage and the noble resolution to pass the line, and declare themselves resolved to adhere faithfully to their chief until death. To this heroic band is owing the discovery and conquest of Peru; and the magnanimous determination formed by them and their chief, is strongly tinctured with that spirit of wild romance which characterized many of the exploits of the conquerors of America, and which would baffle all belief, were they not authenticated by abundant evidence.* Pizarro testified his gratitude to his devoted companions, and made a solemn promise that they should always act a prominent part in the undertaking, and possess the most sacred claim to future rewards. With his slender band, Pizarro passed over in a barque to the island of Gorgona, which being farther from the coast, and uninhabited, was deemed by the chief a fit retreat in their present helpless condition. In this deserted island they magnanimously resolved to support the vicissitudes of fate, until Almagro and Luque could contrive to send them such assistance as might enable them to resume their enterprise. These associates of Pizarro were most active in their exertions to forward the views of their friend. They constantly besieged the Governor with importunities, representing to him both the cruelty and impolicy of abandoning a party of brave Spaniards to perish in a desert island, because in the fervour of their zeal for the glory of their country, they had deviated perhaps from the strict

* Zarate.—Gomara.—G. de la Vega.—The names of eleven of these brave men are known:—Pedro Candia, a Greek by birth; B. Ruiz, the pilot; N. Ribera; J. de la Torre; A. Briseno; C. del Peral; Alonso Trujillo; Fr. de Cuellar; A. de Molina; G. de Ribera; and F. Rodriguez de Villafuerte, who was the first that crossed the line.

rule of discipline. To their own expostulations were added the loud remonstrances of the whole colony, who, secretly instigated by them, no less than excited by the relatives and friends of the devoted few, began to speak in no measured terms of the cruelty of the Governor towards his unfortunate countrymen.

Pedro de los Rios could no longer withstand such representations and importunities, and at length was compelled to lend a favourable ear to the general wishes of the colony. He accordingly gave his permission that a vessel might be fitted out, for the purpose of bringing Pizarro and his companions back to Panama; but, lest the arrival of this assistance might again flatter the hopes of those sanguine, though destitute men, he took especial care to prevent the embarkation of a single individual belonging to the land-service. These precautions, he expected, would compel Pizarro to relinquish an undertaking which, in his opinion, was at once chimerical and dangerous in its tendency. Almagro availed himself of this opportunity to send to his colleague whatever supplies he could collect, as well as a faithful account of all that had happened since their separation.

Meantime, Pizarro and his devoted band remained in Gorgona —an island noted for the unhealthiness of its climate. It would be impossible to describe the horrors to which the Spaniards were exposed during five months, the time which they remained in that frightful place. They had neither habitation nor other shelter than the impervious woods that covered the land. It was a spot seldom or never cheered by the rays of the sun, rendered gloomy by almost incessant rain, and appalling by the frequency and violence of storms. The place was, besides, rendered more difficult of endurance by the swarms of annoying insects and noxious reptiles with which it was infested.* To these calamities may be added the frequent privation of the first necessaries of life; for their means of subsistence were most precarious. Sometimes they were fortunate enough to procure shell-fish, but they were more often compelled to content themselves with wild and unsavoury roots, or to devour a peculiar sort of snakes, with which the island abounded.† From the combined horrors of the place, the epithet of *Infernal* was always employed by the Spaniards when speaking of Gorgona. Such was the frightful situation of Pizarro and his companions for a long period, during which, on every returning day, their anxious looks were directed towards Panama, with the flattering expectations of approaching succour, instead of

* Herrera. † G. de la Vega.

which, a renewal of disappointment was all that came to the sufferers. The undaunted courage of the stoutest now began to droop. Pizarro himself, for the first time, exhibited symptoms of despondency. In this state of utter wretchedness, they at length came to a resolution to trust themselves in a barque to the caprice of the elements, rather than remain in that frightful abode, where they had nothing to expect but a lingering, wretched existence, and a miserable death.

When about to adopt this desperate alternative, their eyes were gladdened with the sight of the vessel sent by Almagro. All their troubles and sorrows were in a moment forgotten, and the rays of hope began again to diffuse their cheering light over their scared and blighted prospects. Instead, therefore, of availing themselves of this opportunity of returning to Panama and putting an end to their sufferings, the hardy Spaniards were easily persuaded by their commander to resume, with dauntless perseverance, their perilous undertaking; and there was but little difficulty in bringing over the crew of the ship to the same determination. This body of adventurers committed themselves to the waves, and steered towards the south-east, at the mercy of the elements. On the twentieth day of their voyage they first discovered the coast of Peru; but their expedition bore more the resemblance of a foraging party of marauders, than a body of warriors equipped and prepared for conquest. For a long time they continued merely to touch on the coast, occasionally visiting the neighbouring villages and hamlets for the sake of procuring food. Their existence was most precarious and distressing during this period; but constant suffering and toil seemed to produce no effect upon the frames of men whose minds were strengthened and sustained by such lofty expectations. At length the deteriorated state of their frail vessel, after a protracted navigation,* and the discovery of a territory which bore evident marks of cultivation, determined Pizarro to land and explore the country.

Pizarro and his companions had now arrived at the vale of Tumbez, a place which enjoyed some consideration among the natives, and which contained a palace of the Inca and a temple. The prospect which now unfolded itself to the anxious eyes of the Spaniards, was one well calculated to awaken their dormant hopes. The cultivated state of the country, and the profusion of precious metal in which it abounded, rekindled the desire of the adventurers for the acquisition of wealth. They perceived that not only the

* G. de la Vega.

ornaments of the temple and the articles of personal adornment were wrought of gold, but that the precious metal was applied to purposes of common use. Such a circumstance warranted the most extravagant expectations, and the ideas of the Spaniards were proportionably excited. The country appeared to be very populous, and the natives exhibited, in their dress and deportment, evident signs of being not only far removed from savage life, but even having made some small progress in civilization. But though the ambition of Pizarro and his followers was great, and their intrepidity equal to it, yet the idea of subjecting by force of arms so great an empire, appeared to them monstrous and absurd; for, though reckless of consequences, and sanguine in their power, the prospect of reducing the country by the prowess of a handful of men, could not be seriously entertained, even in America. Pizarro accordingly kept up a friendly intercourse with the natives, limiting his endeavours, for the present, to the task of obtaining competent information with regard to the country, over which he fondly anticipated he was one day destined to rule.

Pizarro having procured some specimens of the produce of the land, as well as a tolerable quantity of the ornaments used in their worship, to serve as a bait to his countrymen at Panama, now resolved to return to that colony after an absence of three years, during which, the hardships he had patiently endured almost bid defiance to credibility. Indeed, none of the adventurous and hardy men who distinguished themselves in the conquest of the New World, were ever exposed to such accumulated disasters of every kind, as those which put to the severest test the courage and magnanimity of Pizarro and his companions.* It is this extraordinary—this romantic illustration of the heroic virtues of hardihood, intrepidity, and perseverance—that has thrown over the memory of that chief a partial blaze of glory, despite of the cruel deeds by which it was often obscured. Pizarro returned to Panama after his long absence, attended by eleven of his heroic followers; the two others having remained behind, and their fate was never after ascertained.†

Upon the return of the Spaniards to the colony (1528), they were welcomed with eager joy by their anxious friends; but neither the splendid descriptions which they made of the land they had discovered, nor the rich tokens they brought in corroboration of

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

† It is probably owing to this, that their names are not mentioned by the Spanish historians among the thirteen original discoverers of Peru.

their statement, were sufficient to induce the governor to change his former resolution. He still persisted in refusing his sanction and aid to the fitting out of an expedition for conquest. He urged the slender resources of the colony, and peremptorily returned the same answer to every fresh application. Chagrined, but not disheartened, by these repeated failures, Pizarro and his two associates continued, with undiminished vigour, to promotè the furtherance of their schemes. Every hope from the governor being now at an end, they fondly turned their eyes towards Spain, and resolved to apply at once to the emperor himself for a sanction to their plans. This project was no sooner conceived, than it was determined that Pizarro should immediately undertake the voyage; yet, so impoverished were the projectors of the great conquest of Peru, that they were actually compelled to borrow of their friends the trifling means necessary for equipping the vessel that was to carry their companion to Spain.* Pizarro presented himself before the emperor with an ease of deportment, and a confidence of manner, which his birth and education could hardly have promised, but which conscious desert and great services fully justified. His glowing descriptions were eagerly listened to, not only by the ardent and ambitious, but by the emperor himself, who, at the sight of the rich tokens brought by Pizarro from the newly discovered land, readily granted his approbation to the proposal of the hardy adventurer. A free scope was allowed to his ambition in the multifarious capacities to which he was named, for he united in his person the honourable appointments of governor, captain-general, and Adelantado of the territories which he might discover and conquer, besides possessing full claims to every other privilege enjoyed by successful adventurers in America. But whilst Pizarro was so mindful of his own interests, he did not by any means pay a like attention to those of his associates; for, though he did not forget to procure the dignity of a bishopric for Luque, he totally neglected the claims of Almagro. The post of commander of a fort, to be erected at Tumbez, was the only boon granted to a man who, in virtue of his services, was certainly entitled to far greater consideration. In this unjust oversight, we may trace the origin of those calamities and unnatural contentions which took place in the sequel, among the parties of Almagro and Pizarro, and which cast an additional stain on the conquest of Peru.

The jurisdiction allotted to Pizarro, entirely independent of the Governor of Panama, extended two hundred leagues along the

* Herrera dec.—G. de la Vega.

coast, southward of the river of *Santiago*. In return for a boon in which neither outlay nor assistance of any kind was required from the court of Spain, Pizarro pledged himself to recruit two hundred and fifty adventurers, and to procure the ships, arms, ammunition, and other requisites for the expedition. Trifling, however, as the expense and trouble of raising these resources may appear, Pizarro found it an extremely difficult task. For some time he exerted himself unremittingly; but his utmost efforts would scarcely have succeeded, had he not been aided by some of his countrymen, especially by the celebrated Hernan Cortes, whose generosity was prompted to aid a gallant old companion in arms, in the prosecution of a glorious enterprise.* Pizarro embarked at Seville, having gained to his project many adventurers of merit and valour, among whom were his three brothers, and Francisco de Alcantara, his maternal uncle, all of whom were destined to play conspicuous parts in subsequent events.

When Pizarro arrived at Panama (1530), he found his companion Almagro much incensed against him for the unjustifiable manner in which he had neglected his just pretensions. This breach between the two associates was further widened by an inveterate hatred which was soon engendered in the bosom of Fernando Pizarro, a man of violent temper, and who continually advised his brother not to brook what he styled the arrogance of Almagro. This unfortunate misunderstanding was the source of much uneasiness to all those who were interested in the projected expedition, as the want of harmony existing between the principal leaders could not but throw serious impediments in the way of the enterprise. Almagro appeared negligent in procuring the necessary stores for the armament; and, indeed, he was even suspected of harbouring a design of breaking his ties with Pizarro, and acting independently of his will. Fernando Pizarro continued to stimulate his brother to an open rupture; but the hardy veteran had policy enough to perceive the imprudence of following such counsels. Almagro had many partisans in Panama; and, both from his note in the colony and his abilities, it was expedient to conciliate him as a powerful coadjutor, rather than provoke him as an enemy and a rival. Accordingly, by the interposition of Gama and other important persons, a reconciliation took place between the former friends. Pizarro offered to transfer to his associate the title of Adelantado, and faithfully pledged himself to solicit the nomination of an independent government for him. These concessions

* Herrera.

soothed the irritated feelings of Almagro, who, though a man of warm and strong passions, possessed a frankness of disposition which rendered it easy to pacify him. With regard to Luque, the utmost extent of his wishes having been completely gratified, he cordially bound himself to promote, by every means in his power, the success of the expedition. The difference being thus adjusted, the confederates pledged themselves to follow up the terms of their original treaty, by which it was enacted that everything should be carried on at the expense of the three, and that a perfect equality should be observed in the distribution of the profits derived from the undertaking.*

Almagro now made over to Pizarro all the money and stores which he had collected, and exerted himself with alacrity to augment the resources of his friends. But even the combined exertions of the confederates, seconded by the endeavours of the most wealthy among the adventurers, could not fit out more than a hundred and eighty soldiers, and thirty-seven horses—a force inferior to what Pizarro had pledged himself to equip, when he solicited the royal sanction to his project. Three small vessels, tolerably well supplied with military stores and necessary articles, were prepared to convey this slender but resolute band on their perilous enterprise. Such was the extent of the force—such the resources, with which Francis Pizarro determined to set out on his expedition. But the experience of foregoing events seemed to sanction the most extravagant ideas; and the slender means with which the conquest of Mexico was completed, justified the hopes of similar success in Peru. Pizarro felt, accordingly, anxious to depart, while his two associates, Almagro and Luque, were directed to remain at Panama, in order to secure a reinforcement of men and ammunition, which was to set out in the sequel under the command of Almagro.

CHAPTER III.

Civil Dissensions in Peru at the time of the Spanish Invasion.

Pizarro left Panama in February 1531, and, after a voyage of thirteen days, landed nearly a hundred leagues north of Tumbez,

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

where he had determined to disembark. He directed his march along the coast, that he might at once be joined by the reinforcement which he expected from his associates, and that he might regain the ships, in case extreme danger should render a retreat indispensable. But the country about these places being thinly inhabited, and the natives flying at the approach of the Spaniards, Pizarro was aware he should be soon compelled either to advance inland, or return to Panama. The soldiers were in a short time exposed to an accumulation of disasters, enough to damp their courage, and make them anxious to retrace their steps. They were suffering severely from the want of provisions; but to the cravings of hunger was added another calamity, if possible more appalling. The climate being unhealthy, a great number of the soldiers soon found themselves assailed by loathsome diseases peculiar to the place, attended with violent pains, and exhaustion of the frame. Such a lot was far from answering to the florid descriptions by means of which they had been tempted to embark in the expedition; and many of them began to complain bitterly, the more so as they perceived the gradual diminution of their number.

But Pizarro persisted in his intention, and to the voice of complaint he replied by that of hope and glory. At length, after severe hardships, they arrived in the province of Coaque on the 14th of April; and having suddenly fallen on the natives, they seized upon their ornaments of gold and silver, which presented a booty alluring enough to efface past sufferings from the memory of the soldiers, and induce them to persevere with additional vigour in their service. Pizarro, elated with the prospect of future wealth, lost no time in sending a ship to Almagro, with a suitable remittance of the spoil. At the same time, he also dispatched another vessel to Nicaragua, in the hopes of drawing new adventurers to his standard, by an exhibition of the riches of the country. After this he continued his march, which unfortunately was not characterized by that conciliatory disposition which had so efficiently seconded the plans of the politic conqueror of Mexico. Pizarro, equal to that chief in all the virtues of a warrior, was yet sadly deficient in that refined policy which was a leading feature in the transactions of Cortes. He now evinced no other method of prosecuting his views than that of open violence, neglecting to conciliate the good will of those Indians of whose assistance he might stand in need in the sequel. This imprudent course was accompanied with the natural results. The natives, alarmed by the approach of invaders at once so singular in appearance, and

so ruthless in their character, submitted like slaves, or fled precipitately into the interior.

In this manner Pizarro proceeded without any considerable opposition, until he arrived at the island of Puna, the inhabitants of which, being more warlike and ferocious, made such a vigorous resistance to their aggressors, that no less than six months were spent in their reduction. This being at last effected, he continued his march to Tumbez, where he was obliged to make a sojourn of three months, partly that his men might recover from their past fatigues, and partly compelled by the noxious distempers which attacked the unfortunate soldiers with unusual violence. But the despondency naturally allied to their calamity was greatly relieved by the arrival of supplies from Nicaragua (1532), under the command of Fernando de Soto and Sebastian Benalcazar, two officers who enjoyed great repute in America. The forces which they led were indeed trifling, altogether not exceeding sixty men; but, insignificant as this reinforcement may appear, it was welcomed by Pizarro with lively demonstrations of joy.

From Tumbez Pizarro pursued his march (May the 16th) to the river Piura, where, having arrived without inconvenience, he determined to make a settlement on it, to serve as a depôt in the great undertaking he had commenced. He accordingly made choice of a commodious situation, and began the foundation of St. Michael, the first Spanish colony in Peru. As nothing retarded his progress, he continued his march, and advanced towards the centre of the vast empire he had invaded, little apprehensive of the dangers with which his temerity might be attended. He exerted himself to obtain as much information as possible concerning the country, as such a knowledge was indispensable for the prosecution of his plans. Though the medium of intercourse was very imperfect, yet Pizarro soon learned that he was entering the dominions of a very powerful monarch, respected with religious veneration by the natives, and master of territories as vast in extent as they were fertile in wealth. This information served only to stimulate the Spaniards to greater exertion, by still further exciting their ardent hopes. Besides, a circumstance was made known to them which was naturally calculated to confirm them in their expectations, namely, the existence of civil dissensions in the country, in consequence of the rival pretensions of two competitors for the crown.

At the period when the Spaniards first discovered and touched on the coast of Peru in 1526, the throne of the country was occupied by Huana Capac, the twelfth Inca from the foundation of the

empire. This prince had been distinguished no less by his military abilities, than by those pacific virtues which formed the prominent feature in the character of the Peruvian princes. To his bravery and policy, and to the success which attended his arms, was owing the conquest of the vast kingdom of Quito; and, by this means, the extent, as well as power, of the Peruvian empire was doubled. He evinced a great partiality towards the capital of the subdued country, and made it the place of his almost constant residence. By this means, he had frequent opportunities of intercourse with the daughter of the vanquished sovereign; and, in despite of the most inflexible laws of the Incas, which imperiously forbade any member of that sacred race from intermarrying with any woman unless of celestial origin, he took the Princess of Quito for the partner of his crown and bed. This event became, in the sequel, the fruitful source of calamity and disturbance, as from this alliance sprung the celebrated Atahualpa, who acts so conspicuous and tragical a part in the conquest of Peru.

Huana Capac died in the year 1529. Previously to his death, as he had conceived a great affection for his second child, he made a division of his vast territories between him and Huascar, his eldest son by a princess of the royal race. The latter being his lawful heir and successor, he bestowed upon him all the Peruvian dominions, reserving the kingdom of Quito for Atahualpa. But this arrangement, far from satisfying the minds of the Peruvians, excited among them the most marked dissatisfaction. They were shocked and surprised at a proceeding which they considered almost sacrilegious, as it interfered so materially with the fundamental laws of the monarchy—laws which were coeval with its very foundation. Atahualpa was deemed an intruder and a usurper, and his accession to the throne of Quito was beheld with decided disapprobation. The inhabitants of Cuzco, in particular, declared themselves openly against his elevation; and Huascar, emboldened by these tokens of respect towards his person, resolved to avail himself fully of the advantages which they might offer. He accordingly sent messengers to Quito, requiring of his brother that he should abdicate a government to which he could lay no lawful claim, and acknowledge his jurisdiction as rightful Inca of Peru. But Atahualpa was far from being disposed to submit to such a demand. That prince, endowed with great abilities, and a decision and courage worthy of his father, would not tamely yield up what he considered his just inheritance. He had assiduously devoted himself to becoming popular among the veterans of his father's army, and he had succeeded in his endea-

vours. Being in command of such efficient resources, he totally disregarded the requisition of his brother; and, far from abdicating the throne of Quito, he prepared to invade Cuzco, the seat of his brother Inca.

War now became inevitable. The pretensions of the two princes could not be amicably adjusted, and the termination of the contest was only to be procured by the ruin of one party. Of this they were both fully aware; and they accordingly made every preparation for the terrible struggle. The horrors of civil war were a curse hitherto unknown in Peru. The mild and virtuous rule of the Incas had invariably preserved internal peace and tranquillity. But this blessing was at an end, and hostilities began. Huascar had, in support of his pretensions, the evident justice of his claims; Atahualpa the force of arms. The former relied on the veneration with which the Peruvian nation had been accustomed to regard the children of the Sun; the latter expected success from the well known courage of his troops. The positive advantages were, therefore, on the side of Atahualpa. The issue of the contest was such as might naturally be anticipated. A frightful battle was fought, in which the troops of Huascar were completely routed, and he himself taken prisoner, after vainly attempting to seek safety in flight.

Atahualpa behaved after his triumph in a most inhuman manner. Not content with the carnage inflicted upon his enemies during the battle, he stained his victory by many a cruel deed. As he was conscious of the imperfection of his title to govern, and could not deceive himself with regard to his being esteemed rather a conquering usurper than a lawful sovereign, he resolved, with inhuman policy, to sacrifice all those who might offer any obstacle to the enjoyment of his ill-acquired power. Accordingly, he put to death all the descendants of Manco Capac, who, being the legitimate offspring of the Sun, might, in the sequel, assert their right over the crown of Peru. Atahualpa, however, spared for the time the life of his unfortunate brother Huascar, fearing indeed to sacrifice him, lest the atrocious act might rouse the people against him; and besides, by keeping him in strict confinement, he was not only secure of his person, but could, in the name of the captive prince, issue his orders, as he knew the adherents of the unfortunate Huascar would, by this stratagem, yield implicit obedience. The usurper seemed now established on the throne; yet that throne was surrounded with dangers, as the party in favour of Huascar, though it had received severe reverses, was neither

subdued nor completely discouraged, and might attempt new struggles in favour of the lawful Inca.*

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings of the Spaniards.—Meeting at Caxamalca, and its results.—Trial and Death of the Inca Atahualpa.

Nothing could be more favourable to the views of Pizarro than this breach between the two brothers. When he first visited Peru, the competitors for the crown were so absorbed in their rancorous dissensions, that they paid no regard to the threatened danger of invaders, who appeared, from the paucity of their number, to offer no serious cause of fear to the inhabitants. Thus, the Spaniards were suffered to proceed on their march unmolested, while, owing to their imperfect information, they were themselves unable to assign probable reasons for the apathy manifested by the enemy. Indeed, the first satisfactory intelligence which Pizarro received regarding the true state of the country, and the rancour of the contending parties, was brought by messengers from Huascar, who were sent to implore the assistance of the strangers against the usurper Atahualpa.

Pizarro found himself now precisely in the same situation in which Cortes had been placed at a former period. He foresaw, with lively satisfaction, that the country possessed within its bosom the germs of destruction, and quickly resolved to turn to the greatest advantage an aspect of affairs so manifestly conducive to his interests. While the natives were thus disunited, he feared no danger, and he knew that, by favouring the pretensions of one party, he would weaken the power of both. Under this persuasion, he hesitated not to continue his march with redoubled alacrity; but, perceiving the necessity of securing a retreat in a country of which he was totally ignorant, he left a garrison at St. Michael to serve that purpose, as well as to preserve a convenient place for receiving the supplies from Panama. He undertook his march, attended only by a body of an hundred and two foot soldiers and sixty-two horsemen, all of them indifferently equipped for hard service.

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

Meantime Atahualpa was encamped at Caxamalca, a town about twelve days' journey from St. Michael. Though the Inca was reported to be at the head of a great army, Pizarro made no hesitation in bending his course directly to the camp. He had not, however, made any great progress, before he was welcomed by a messenger of note sent by the Inca, with a gift and a verbal communication of amity. He further invited the Spanish chief to proceed directly to Caxamalca, where he should find a most friendly reception. In this instance, Pizarro did not forget the measures of policy adopted by Cortes under similar circumstances. With a degree of refined duplicity, and much show of cordiality, he assured the envoy of Atahualpa, that his mission to Peru had for its object the internal welfare of the country, and that he came to lend the powerful aid of his troops to the pretensions of the Inca. This declaration served to dispel the doubts and fears of the Peruvians, who, like the rest of the natives of America, had, at the appearance of the Spaniards, evinced great irresolution in deciding whether they ought to be considered as celestial beings or as formidable enemies ; and whether it would not be more prudent to propitiate them by a friendly and deferential conduct, than risk their anger by a doubtful opposition. This uncertainty being now removed, the Spaniards were suffered to proceed unmolested to Caxamalca.

But they had now to encounter very severe hardships. Nothing but a barren, comfortless desert met their view—immense sandy plains, which covered the whole extent of ground from St. Michael to Motupé, a distance of no less than fifty miles, throughout which there was neither water nor tree, nor pleasing object of any kind, to greet the eye. It was, in fact, an apparently endless waste of burning sand that presented itself. As soon as Pizarro had entered Caxamalca, he took possession of a large court, which he converted into a place of defence, to provide against any danger. He then resolved to send an embassy to Atahualpa, who was celebrating a festival in his camp, distant about a league from the town. The Spanish chief intrusted this mission to his own brother Ferdinand, and Hernando de Soto, both on account of his confidence in them, and of the superior rank which they held amongst his men. The instructions which they received were—to be liberal in their professions of friendship and alliance, and to neglect no means of lulling the Inca into security. Such demonstrations succeeded to the fullest extent. Atahualpa not only became the dupe of their professions, behaving accordingly with marked kindness and respect towards the envoys, but signified

his intention of visiting the Spanish chief in person on the following day. Ferdinand Pizarro, and Soto, were no less pleased at the success of their embassy, than they were powerfully struck with the profusion of riches displayed by the Inca and his court. Their wildest hopes seemed on the point of being realized: and they returned to Caxamalca, their hearts bounding with the joy of anticipated fortune. The accounts which they gave regarding the Inca, the stately pomp of his court, the polish of his manners, and the becoming deportment of his subjects, and, above all, the profusion of precious metals which shone in all their ornaments, failed not to create corresponding feelings of surprise and ardent expectation in the bosoms of the Spaniards.

Pizarro now seriously turned his thoughts towards the best measures for accomplishing his design with the greatest promptitude, as well as the least danger; but, to reconcile these difficulties, seemed in a manner impossible. He called to counsel his brothers, Soto and Benalcazar, and then unfolded to them a daring but perfidious plan of operation. Aware, that to have the Inca in his power was of the first importance, and bearing in mind the success which had attended the seizure of Montezuma, he proposed a similar exploit in the present case. But if the scheme was bold, it lost much of the merit attendant on great deeds, by the mixture of treachery with which it was accompanied. Pizarro was about to beguile into his trammels an unsuspicious sovereign, who would fall without hesitation into the snare; whereas, in the case of Montezuma, the Spaniards had to contend with a host of difficulties, having all the odds against an extraordinary effort of magnanimity and daring that bordered on madness. Peculiarity of situation, and imminency of danger, prompted Cortes to adopt a plan as bold as it was original; whereas Pizarro proceeded coolly to devise a stratagem, almost as devoid of danger as the natives were unprepared for the treachery. He relied with great confidence on the success of his plan; but, like a good commander, he took special care so to order his little army, that it might be prepared for any result. His sixty-two horsemen he divided into three small parties, which he intrusted to the command of Benalcazar, Soto, and his own brother Ferdinand. The infantry he formed into one compact body, whilst twenty chosen men were to surround his person, in order to second his exertions, in the event of any great danger. The two pieces of artillery which he possessed, as well as the crossbowmen, were stationed in front of the avenue by which the Inca was to advance.

On the following morning (November 16), Atahualpa set out on

his intended visit to the Spanish camp. But, wishing at once to give those strangers a striking idea of his wealth and power, as well as to do honour to so solemn an occasion, he disposed his march with the greatest pomp and ceremony. The procession advanced slowly; and this, together with the difficulty of so vast a mass moving with strict order, occasioned considerable delay, and awakened disagreeable suspicions in the mind of Pizarro. At length the Inca appeared, borne in a magnificent couch, adorned with a variety of feathers, and almost covered with plates of gold and with precious stones. He was preceded by a band of Indians, who carefully removed the stones, or any other obstruction, however trifling, from the way, and followed by musicians and dancers. His courtiers were arrayed in their gayest attire; and the whole procession was followed by an army amounting to thirty thousand men.

A scene partaking both of the ludicrous and the terrible character was soon to render this first meeting memorable in after times. No sooner had the Inca arrived at the Spanish quarters, than Fray Vicente Valverde, a Dominican friar, and chaplain to the expedition, advanced, carrying a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other. Without further ado, he entered into a long discourse, in which he endeavoured to explain the principal mysteries and tenets of the Christian religion. This harangue, which is given at great length by some historians of this singular transaction, took some time in the delivery, and was remarkable for its results. Father Valverde declared, that unless the Inca yielded blind obedience to what he had unfolded, he should experience a most terrible award; whereas, if he prudently followed a contrary course, the King of Spain would take him under his protection, and preserve him in his dominions against the attacks of the enemy.

Atahualpa was at first forcibly struck with the appearance of the friar, the violence of his gesticulation, and the crucifix which he constantly held to view. He, however, suffered him to proceed in his harangue, which, though interpreted to him at intervals by an unskillful interpreter, was perfectly unintelligible. But when Valverde had finished, and when, by repeated questions, the Inca obtained a confused notion of some of the arguments in the speech, his feelings of surprise were changed into those of indignation. Though the friar had unfolded tenets, and spoken of mysteries which were totally incomprehensible to the Indian sovereign, still it was evident that proposals of subserviency to a foreign power were made, and that a threat was held out in case

of non-compliance. Such an alternative was humiliating; but Atahualpa conducted himself with much moderation in this affair. He began, by means of the interpreter Filipillo, to refute some points in the friar's oration, which struck him as perfectly unjust and absurd. He answered, that he could not conceive by what right the great man, whom Valverde called Pope, gave over to the other great man, the King of Spain, power and jurisdiction where he himself held no control; nor why the latter should send to enforce the execution of measures which were wholly unjust; that the Incas were the children of the Sun, and rightful heirs to those territories, which they had governed for a long time, and which he was resolved not to give up at the command of strangers.

The time spent in this debate seemed irksome to some of the Spanish soldiers, who, having cast wistful eyes on the golden ornaments displayed by the Indians, found great difficulty in restraining their propensity to plunder. Indeed, it was with difficulty that Pizarro could check their impatience, increased as it now was by the tediousness of so long an interview. Some of the Spaniards, no longer able to contain themselves, now rushed forward, and began to despoil the nearest Indians of their ornaments. But this partial confusion was soon checked by Pizarro, and also by Atahualpa himself, who gave orders to his men not to engage in conflict.* The Inca, no doubt, was intent on convincing the friar of the injustice of his propositions; and accordingly resumed the discourse by declaring, that, if the Spaniards adored the God which they had described, the Incas of Peru addressed their worship to their progenitors, the sun and moon, who were immortal. Father Valverde, in a more impassioned manner, began to rail against their idolatry, and to assert the truth of the Christian religion. Hereupon, the Inca inquired what proof he had of the things which he advanced?—where he had received such information?—to which the friar answered, with promptitude, at the same time holding up the breviary to Atahualpa. "Those sacred truths I have learnt in this book!" The Inca took it into his hands, and, having opened it, he began to examine it with a high degree of curiosity, turned it on every side, and at length placed it near his ear. After a moment, he exclaimed, "This tells me nothing of what you have said: it is silent;" and then he threw it contemptuously to the ground.

This unguarded movement of the Inca hastened the crisis. Father Valverde no sooner beheld the disdainful action, than he

* G. de la Vega.

snatched up the book, and, running towards his companions in the greatest rage and confusion, exclaimed, "Christians! to arms! Prepare to avenge this profanation!"* The signal for attack was instantly given, and the Spaniards rushed impetuously to the charge. The suddenness of the onset, and the fearful explosion of the firearms, together with the evolutions of the cavalry, produced the same effect upon the Peruvians that had been exhibited at different periods by the other inhabitants of America. They did not for a moment think of making any resistance to their dreaded antagonists, but fled on every side, with the strongest marks of consternation. A great number of them kept close round the sacred person of the Inca, whom they resolved to protect with their bodies from the attacks of Pizarro, who was now advancing with a chosen band to seize the Peruvian sovereign. But the attempts of the devoted Indians to avert the fate of Atahualpa were ineffectual. The Spaniards having slaughtered a considerable number, at length made their way to the place where the Inca stood, when Pizarro, who was the foremost of the band, eagerly seized him by the arm, and carried him prisoner without further opposition. The capture of the Inca decided the fortune of the day. The Peruvians, having now no object of solicitude, turned their thoughts to their personal safety, and fled with precipitation from their destroyers. But their hopes, in many cases, were baffled; the Spaniards pursued them. The excitement was so great, that, not distinguishing between fugitive and foe, the invaders dealt their blows indiscriminately.

This terrible slaughter was only finished with the approach of night, and the number of victims was very great, though authors do not agree in their enumeration of the massacred.† With regard to the Spaniards, not a single man fell on this occasion, nor indeed was any one hurt, except Pizarro himself, who, in his eagerness to seize the Inca, was slightly wounded by one of his own soldiers in the confusion which prevailed. The booty was so great, that even the ardent thirst of those adventurers for riches was allayed, and they totally forgot the many and frightful hardships which they had undergone. The Peruvians, having made no resistance whatever, whether from being impressed with the idea that the Spaniards were children of the Sun, or from a naturally pacific disposition, it is certain that the adventurers considered

* This circumstance, mentioned by various historians, especially Gomara, is contradicted by G. de la Vega.

† According to Xeres, 2000 were killed; G. de la Vega says 5000; and Sancho 7000. Perhaps a middle number would be the most reasonable to adopt.

themselves in perfect security, and scrupled not to venture unprotected into the interior.

The situation of Atahualpa became no less galling to his pride, than it was unjustifiable and cruel. He could not reconcile himself to his fate; and so overpowered was he by so tremendous and unexpected a calamity, that for some time he was unable to think on the means of liberating himself from his present thraldom. Pizarro, in imitation of Cortes, endeavoured to soothe the harrowed feelings of the fallen monarch by words of consolation, which the Inca, not being able to reconcile them with his actions, treated with merited contempt. He knew, that from the compassion of his enemies he had nothing to expect; and that he must address himself to much less worthy feelings of human nature, in order to free himself from his misfortune. Perceiving that a thirst after gold was the predominating passion of the Spaniards, he imagined that, by affording a free indulgence to it, he should obtain his liberty. He accordingly offered such a ransom to Pizarro as bewildered the imagination of that chief. He bound himself to fill the apartment in which he was held a prisoner, with golden vessels, as high as he could reach with his hand. The Spanish commander looked incredulous at the proposal; but seeing that the Inca persisted with confidence in the offer, he eagerly closed with it, and described a line along the walls of the apartment, to point out the place to which the ransom was to ascend.

Atahualpa immediately made dispositions for the fulfilment of this agreement. He sent messengers to Pachacamac, Cuzco, and Quito, three distant provinces, in order to collect the treasure. Hernando Soto and Pedro del Barco resolved to accompany some of those messengers to Cuzco; so little apprehensive were they of danger, knowing that nothing would be attempted against them as long as the Inca remained in their power. Their expectations were not deceived. Wherever the Spaniards passed, they were treated with the most profound marks of respect. Notwithstanding the great distance of Cuzco, 200 leagues, they made the journey with considerable expedition, and with no inconvenience, owing to their method of traveling. In a sort of slight palanquin they were carried on the shoulders of robust and active Indians, who traveled at an amazing rate, and without much fatigue, being relieved at short intervals by others of the party, which generally consisted of twenty; and even these were replaced by a fresh relay at certain points, several hundreds of Indians being employed in this service. Shortly after Soto left Caxamalca, Ferdinand Pizarro went to visit the temple of Pachacamac, which was reputed to

contain great riches, and stripped that revered sanctuary of every valuable article, without meeting the least opposition from the natives, who, far from resenting such a profanation, looked on the Spaniards with sentiments of awe and respect, and behaved towards them with uniform kindness and consideration.

Such complete success in all their schemes, attended as it was with a facility which could not be anticipated, contributed to render the Spaniards as confident as they were daring; and they began to consider the conquest of Peru fully achieved. These favourable anticipations were greatly confirmed by intelligence now received, that Almagro had landed at St. Michael (December 1533), with a force that would double their present number. Pizarro's joy at this news was as great as the Inca's despondency. Harassed by contending feelings, Atahualpa knew not how to avert the series of misfortunes by which he conceived his liberty, and even existence, were so imminently threatened; and totally unacquainted with the place from whence the Spaniards came, he conceived that, even though he should cut off his present enemy, fresh numbers would make their appearance. Besides, the treachery and violence used by them in the first instance, engendered in his bosom sentiments of dread which the professions of Pizarro had not been able to dispel, and which became now doubly alarming, on observing the arrogant attitude which that commander now assumed.

But there was another, and, perhaps, more fruitful source of anxiety to the Inca. This was the intelligence which he received, that some of his oppressors were in communication with his brother, the Inca Huascar. When Hernando Soto arrived at Sausa, he was informed that this unfortunate Inca was kept in confinement in that place by the officers of the usurper Atahualpa. He accordingly felt a desire to see the captive prince; and, notwithstanding the scrupulous rigidness with which the orders of Atahualpa were observed by his subjects, the Spaniard, either by threats or stratagem, succeeded in his design, and had an interview with Huascar, who appeared bowed down by the weight of his misfortunes. This meeting with a being whom he considered of a superior class, revived the hopes of Huascar, and in the most pathetic manner he implored the protection of the Spaniards against the tyranny of Atahualpa, whom he depicted as a traitor and a usurper. Having learned that the Inca was also confined, and the nature of the ransom which he had offered for his liberation, the unfortunate Huascar resolved also to appeal to the avarice of the invaders; and with this view he promised, that, should

the strangers restore him to the throne which had been wrenched from him, he would repay their services with a reward far superior to the one offered by Atahualpa, by filling the apartment in which he was confined to the very roof with treasure. This tempting proposal was listened to by Soto with a show of cordiality; and he promised that he would lay the affair before his commander in the most favourable point of view, and then took leave of the disconsolate Inca, who, far from feeling reassured by those encouraging expressions, became from that moment depressed with a dismal foreboding of his approaching doom.*

The devoted officers of Atahualpa lost no time in communicating to the Inca what had happened. The intelligence created the utmost dread in his mind; and he knew that the offers made by Huascar were too tempting to be totally despised by the Spaniards; and, besides, as he was himself conscious of the injustice which he had committed towards his brother, he apprehended that his enemies would gladly avail themselves of the least pretext that might combine a semblance of justice with their more sordid views. Under this impression, he conceived that, unless Huascar was put to death, his own destruction would follow. He, accordingly, did not hesitate in the course he was to adopt; and immediately gave strict orders that the unfortunate prince should die—orders which were but too punctually obeyed by his subservient officers. Nevertheless, Atahualpa, fearing no doubt the consequences of this crime. pretended to be much afflicted by the untimely end of his brother, whose death he gave out to have been perpetrated without his sanction by some of his people.

Meantime, Almagro arrived at Caxamalca, and his adventurers, fired at the sight of the wealth which was continually arriving from every quarter, in order to fill up the stipulated ransom, began. in conjunction with the followers of Pizarro, to urge a division of the spoils. The heaps of gold which were daily brought, now formed so prodigious a mass, that the Spanish commander gave orders for the whole to be melted down, with the exception of a few articles, which, from the ingenuity of their workmanship, he was desirous of sending as a present to his sovereign. The distribution of the spoil was then made. A fifth of the whole was set aside for the King, and a hundred thousand pesos were awarded as a donative to the Spaniards who had lately arrived with Almagro. After this arrangement, there were left no less than one million, twenty-eight thousand and five hundred

* Zarate.

pesos to Pizarro, and his original companions. In the distribution of this enormous treasure, each horseman received no less than eight thousand pesos, and each foot-soldier about half of that sum. At that time, a peso was considered equivalent in real value to a pound sterling of the present money. With regard to the shares of Pizarro and his officers, they were in proportion to their rank and services, and consequently very great.

No other instance is to be seen in the whole history of America, of so much wealth distributed among so limited a number, or of a booty so easily acquired. This circumstance, instead of producing beneficial results amongst the adventurers, was attended with a contrary effect. The expectations of many had been answered to their fullest extent, and they became impatient to retrace their steps, in order to enjoy their wealth in repose and security. Pizarro saw these symptoms of discontent with disgust, but made no exertion to smother them. He had sagacity to perceive, that no great inconvenience would accrue to his plans from the absence of discontented men, who, having their wishes fulfilled, would never be zealous in the service. Besides, by sending them back, their wealth would act as a stimulus to less fortunate adventurers, who would eagerly hasten to that land from which so much could be obtained in so short a space of time. This reasoning was just, and Pizarro resolved to put it into execution. He accordingly proposed to those who were anxious to return, to accompany his brother Ferdinand to Spain, whither that officer was now sent, intrusted with the present and share of the wealth for the king, as well as commissioned to give a circumstantial account of the progress of the Spaniards in Peru.

Meantime, Atahualpa, considering that he had fulfilled his part of the agreement, became importunate that Pizarro should show the same punctuality in his. But his remonstrances to be restored to liberty were treated by the Spaniards with the most perfect indifference. Indeed, far from fulfilling the contract, Atahualpa perceived symptoms of a very hostile character, not only with regard to his liberty, but even to the safety of his life. The deportment of Pizarro towards his prisoner was such as to create the most dismal forebodings; nor did perhaps that chief feel anxious to disguise the true state of his feelings with respect to the Inca. But yet, so atrocious a crime as that of putting him to death could not be contemplated by Pizarro without some degree of dread and remorse. Reckless of consequences, and unscrupulous regarding the means of obtaining his aims, we may absolve him from part of the odium which attaches to his name on account

of the Inca's death, which was actually brought about in the sequel; but several reasons subsist, which, though perfectly unjustifiable, and in no manner to be admitted on the score of humanity, are such as to lessen the horror of so black and nefarious a transaction.

Almagro and his companions were greatly dissatisfied with the distribution made of the treasure already acquired; for though so liberal an allowance had been granted to those adventurers, who came as it were to reap the harvest prepared by Pizarro's party, yet they could ill acquiesce in the decision, that to the treasure collected for the Inca's ransom they had no claim, further than what their companions pleased to assign. Almagro's party felt apprehensive, that, under this pretext, the followers of Pizarro would contrive to appropriate to themselves all the booty that might be collected, as long as Atahualpa remained a captive; and accordingly, with the view of removing this stumbling-block to their rapacity, they now grew clamorous for his death. They considered, that, by this means, all the adventurers would be put on a perfect equality. The reiterated remonstrances of the soldiers were not unheeded by Pizarro, who had lately received alarming intelligence, that numerous forces were assembling in remote parts of the country, which, he concluded, were meant to effect the liberation of the Inca. This idea gave great uneasiness both to Pizarro and Almagro. The former, with the mistrust natural to his character, readily conceived that Atahualpa himself was the instigator of these warlike preparations. No sooner did such a suspicion enter his mind, than, partly from inclination, and partly from fear of what might happen in the sequel, unless a decisive step was taken, he began to entertain serious thoughts of sacrificing the captive Inca. The soldiers of Almagro grew more clamorous every day; but, as if all these circumstances were not enough to decide the fate of Atahualpa, there was unfortunately another which contributed to expedite his tragic end.

In the party of Pizarro, there was an Indian called Filipillo, whom he had taken at Tumbez in 1527, that he might learn the Spanish language, and act as an interpreter. This man was master of that tortuous cunning which falls generally to the share of low minds. Notwithstanding the meanness of his origin and subordinate station, he had the presumption to aspire to the affection of a coya, or princess, one of the Inca's wives. He knew, however, the absolute impossibility of accomplishing his wishes, so long as Atahualpa was alive; and therefore, he became extremely anxious to expedite his death. He insidiously propa-

gated the most alarming rumours concerning the treachery premeditated by the captive prince, and availed himself of every means of infusing the most dismal apprehensions into the hearts of the Spaniards. His efforts were attended with complete success. The demands for the death of the unfortunate Inca were reiterated; and though some, more humane than their companions, contended that the life of Atahualpa should be spared, and that he should be sent to Spain, those partial appeals of compassion and justice were drowned in the general tumult of interests which prevailed. Another event soon occurred to accelerate the fate of the captive. Among the arts with which the Spaniards were acquainted, none struck so much the imagination of Atahualpa as that of communicating ideas by means of writing. Pizarro, as we have observed, was ignorant of the first rudiments of instruction; and when the Inca found him deficient in an accomplishment which was possessed by his soldiers, he could not but look upon him with those feelings of contempt which his apparent inferiority seemed to justify. This awoke the indignation of Pizarro, who, already disposed to sacrifice the Inca to views of interest and policy, now found an additional inducement to carry his design into execution, in the suggestions of wounded pride.

But Pizarro and Almagro, however anxious they might be for the death of Atahualpa, were yet willing to give a colouring of justice to so atrocious an act. A sort of mock trial was immediately instituted against the unfortunate Inca, who was arraigned before a strange tribunal composed of his avowed enemies, to answer charges still more strange and extraordinary. He was accused of various offences, both against the country which he governed, and against the Spaniards. In the first head were included his having usurped the crown to the prejudice of the rightful owner, and the murder of that owner in the person of his brother Huascar. With regard to the second part of the charge, he was accused of having excited his subjects to rebellion, with a view to the destruction of the Spaniards. To these principal accusations, a few of a more singular nature were added, such as his keeping too great a number of concubines, his wasting the royal wealth,—and others of a similar description. The affair was conducted with all the formalities of a court of justice. Pizarro, Almagro, and two other officers, were named judges. An advocate was appointed to carry on the prosecution, and another to conduct the defence of the supposed delinquent. In fine, even clerks were chosen to set down the proceedings of this extraordinary trial.

Witnesses were then produced to prove the guilt of Atahualpa;

but as their depositions were to be interpreted by the traitorous Filipillo, it is easy to conceive that the worst colouring would be given to every circumstance, and that nothing but downright imposture could be expected from such a source. The offences of the Inca were, therefore, in the estimation of his judges, most satisfactorily established, and they proceeded forthwith to pass sentence of death on the prisoner, with a degree of serious effrontery that has few parallels in history. He was condemned to be burned alive. The Inca, no less surprised than appalled at such a sentence, exclaimed loudly against the atrocious conduct of his enemies. He protested his innocence—pleaded the solemn promise made by Pizarro, of granting him his liberty upon the payment of the ransom—and demanded that he should be sent to Spain, in order that he might be judged by its king. But these remonstrances were totally unheeded by Pizarro. The Inca next endeavoured to soften the hearts of his oppressors, by mournful appeals to their pity, as well as to their avarice; but all his exertions were of no avail, and he was ordered to prepare for his approaching doom. Father Valverde was then sent to convert the wretched prince to Christianity. Atahualpa heard the words of the friar with listless apathy; but as a ray of hope was held out to him in case he should receive baptism, the idea of averting his frightful fate, probably more than Valverde's arguments, induced him to allow himself to be baptized. But the expectations of the victim were dreadfully disappointed. No sooner was the sacred ceremony performed, than the Inca was led out to execution. The only mitigation being in the manner of his death, for he was strangled at the stake, instead of perishing in the flames.*

Such was the end of the Inca Atahualpa, a prince of considerable abilities, and much respected by his subjects, notwithstanding the character of usurper, which was by many ascribed to him. Perhaps, the whole history of the conquest of America, does not present an act more unjust and atrocious than his execution. It is, indeed, one of those deeds which have most materially contributed to cast an indelible stain on the memory of Pizarro and his cruel companions. But, fortunately for the honour of the Spanish name, and for humanity, this barbarous measure was not carried into effect without great and decided opposition. Many Spaniards remonstrated loudly against the injustice and cruelty of the transaction, and used their best endeavours to prevent the consummation of the sentence. Among these humane individuals, were

* Gomara.—Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

several officers of merit and distinction; in the number of whom was Juan de Herrada, who had been appointed to conduct the defence of Atahualpa, and who evinced throughout the utmost solicitude for the unfortunate Inca. But the efforts of the few were overpowered by the violence of the many. The mind, however, while contemplating this sanguinary transaction, is soothed by reposing on such exertions of virtue and humanity, even though unattended with success. Stimulated by such a feeling, the early historians record with applause the names of the principal advocates for Atahualpa; and a similar sentiment will justify their insertion in our pages. The most prominent were, the brothers Francis and Diego Chaves, F. Fuentes, Pedro de Ayala, Diego Mora, F. Moscoso, Pedro de Mendoza, Alonzo de Avila, H. de Haro.*

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings after the death of Atahualpa.—Points of contention among Pizarro and Almagro, &c.

The death of Atahualpa gave the Spaniards a firm footing in Peru. The natives, perhaps awed by previous events, too timid or perhaps too indolent to attempt the expulsion of the invaders, far from renewing their exertions against them, appeared anxious to conciliate their favour. The demise of the two Incas had left them without a leader or a rallying point. Pizarro soon saw the advantages of his position, and, with much policy, resolved to confer the crown on some person that might prove an easy tool in his hands. But while the Peruvians anxiously courted the friendship and alliance of the Spaniards, they were far from being unanimous among themselves. They were divided into two powerful factions, which supported the respective claims of Manco, the brother of Huascar, and of a son of the late Atahualpa. Pizarro prudently recognized the latter claimant, as he conceived that a weak youth would more efficiently second his designs, than a more mature and experienced prince. But the spirit of disaffection which, however, prevailed in the country, was considered by the Spaniards as most fortunate to their ulterior plans.

* Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

Pizarro, meantime, with strange inconsistency, affected sorrow for the death of Atahualpa, and, putting himself in mourning, caused the funeral obsequies to be performed with a show of respect, greatly at variance with his former injustice. He next turned his thoughts to the affairs of the country, which he perceived involved in the utmost confusion. Not only were the two principal factions in active preparation against each other, but in some of the remote provinces of the empire, some of the lieutenants aspired at independence and absolute command. Nor was this strange; the decided character of Atahualpa's measures had produced a striking change in the minds of the Peruvians. That Inca had sacrificed to his personal interests so many of the reputed descendants of the Sun, that the profound veneration with which that race was once beheld had been gradually decreasing, and the survivors were looked upon, under existing circumstances, with comparative indifference. Besides, the indignities which Atahualpa had suffered from the Spaniards, and the death to which they had with impunity condemned him, were of themselves enough to shake the belief of the Peruvians in the awful power of the children of the Sun.

This state of affairs led to very important results. By weakening the resources of the natives, the strength of the Spaniards was exceedingly increased, and the latter beheld the anarchy which prevailed with the interest felt by a third party, who expects to reap the advantage of a contention between other two. Soon after the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro departed for Cuzco, attracted by the reputed riches of that city. His absence emboldened the Peruvians to dig up the body of the Inca, in order to carry it to Quito, there to be buried according to the desire of the deceased prince. Among the chiefs of Atahualpa, there was one distinguished no less by his ambition than by his abilities and courage. Ruminiani was the name of this commander, who no sooner learnt the fate of his late master, than he conceived the bold project of aiming at sovereign independence. Fearful, however, that his plans might be defeated before they were ripened for execution, he affected to be deeply moved at the doom of the Inca, and began to make great preparations in Quito, in order to perform the funeral rites, which had been neglected, with the greatest pomp and solemnity. Having caused the body to be embalmed, he invited the attendance of the relatives and chiefs of the deceased to the ceremony. All this, however, was done with the view of perpetrating a most refined act of treacherous cruelty. The principal personages being assembled at Quito as

he anticipated, and the funeral obsequies having been performed, he invited to a splendid banquet all the leading persons attached to Atahualpa, among whom was Quilliscacha, the brother of that Inca. Ruminiani pretended that this meeting was held for the purpose of concerting measures for the expulsion of the Spaniards, as well as for raising Quilliscacha to the throne. The traitor administered to his guests abundant draughts of a beverage called sora, and which produces intoxication. When he found them oppressed by the influence of this liquid, he fell with his partisans on his defenceless victims, and put every one of them most barbarously to death.*

Meantime, the disordered state of the country, as well as the reinforcements which Pizarro had received, emboldened that commander to advance towards Cuzco. Recruits had flocked from Guatimala, Panama and Nicaragua, in such numbers, attracted by the tempting allurements held out by Ferdinand Pizarro and Soto, that, besides a considerable garrison which the Spanish general thought it prudent to leave at St. Michael under the command of Benalcazar, he was able to pursue his march at the head of five hundred men, a force far superior to any that had yet appeared in the country. Indeed, this little army appeared so considerable in the estimation of Pizarro, that he continued his march with such a degree of confidence as to neglect due measures of prudence against treason or surprisal. Accordingly, Ben Quizquiz, one of the Peruvian generals, having collected a numerous body, and duly informed himself of the movements of the Spaniards, had resolved to begin hostilities. Fearing, however, to encounter his redoubtable foe in the open field, he turned his thoughts to the fulfillment of his design by stratagem. He lay in ambuscade in a mountainous district, near the road by which the Spaniards had to pass, and, falling suddenly upon their rear with a body of six hundred men, he succeeded in killing seventeen Spaniards, besides wounding many, and carrying off eight of them prisoners. Pizarro immediately gave the signal to charge; but the sagacious Quizquiz ordered a retreat into the mountainous parts, where the cavalry could not operate, and, after suffering the loss of about seventy men, succeeded in effecting his escape with the prisoners he had taken.

Quizquiz found, with feelings of vindictive satisfaction, that among the captives was one Cuellar, who had played a principal part in the trial and death of Atahualpa. As soon, therefore, as

* Leon.—Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

he arrived at Caxamalca, he condemned that individual to suffer the same fate that had been inflicted on the Inca, which sentence was immediately carried into execution. Fortunately for the other captives, there were in the number F. Chaves, and H. de Haro, two of those humane Spaniards who had exerted themselves in favour of Atahualpa; in consideration of whom, Quizquiz not only spared the lives of the prisoners, but caused their wounds to be carefully tended, and then set them at liberty.

Pizarro, meantime, after several skirmishes with the natives, in all of which he came off victorious with very trifling loss, effected at length his entry into Cuzco, and took undisturbed possession of that city. This event produced the most lively joy among the Spaniards. Indeed the riches which were found in this place were enormous, and surpassed the ransom offered by Atahualpa. The inhabitants of Cuzco, influenced either by a feeling of superstition, or by hatred towards the Spaniards, had concealed the ornaments of their temples with the greatest precaution. Nothing, however, escaped the vigilance of the invaders, and the whole treasure of Cuzco fell into their power. Some idea may be formed of the largeness of the sum collected, from this circumstance, that, after deducting the fifth of the gross amount, no less than 1,920,000 pesos were divided among the private soldiers, the officers and the two commanders having much larger shares in proportion to their rank. Before the arrival of the Spaniards at Cuzco, the son of Atahualpa died: and Pizarro, wholly absorbed with the rich plunder of the city, took no measures for naming a successor to the late Inca. Accordingly, the claims of Manco Capac were admitted without any opposition.

But an event of greater importance demanded the attention of the Spanish commander. By some strange fatality, it seemed to have been decreed that the conquerors of Mexico should be more perplexed by jealous fears regarding the operations of their own countrymen, than by the hostile movements of their enemies. Thus it was in the present instance. The alarm of Pizarro was strongly excited by the intelligence which he received of the arrival of a numerous body of Spaniards in the country, under the command of Pedro de Alvorado. This celebrated captain, who played one of the most prominent parts in the conquest of Mexico, had received, in recompense of his services, the government of Guatimala; but he soon became tired of a life of slothful ease, so contrary to his former career, and to the natural bent of his character. He longed to encounter new perils, and to enter

on fresh adventures, to increase his wealth and his fame. The reputation of the countries which Pizarro had discovered, naturally enough awoke his ambition; and he resolved to undertake an expedition to those regions, in the hopes of reaping a portion of the spoil.

He accordingly put himself at the head of 500 good soldiers, his great renown as a commander having procured him adventurers from every side; and, with this considerable body of men, he landed at Puerto Viejo. His views were directed towards Quito, which, he believed, or at least affected to believe, not included within the jurisdiction granted to Pizarro. Having formed the resolution of invading it, he began his march with much alacrity, but with so little knowledge of the country, that during his progress, he was exposed to the most severe toils and disasters. Fortunately, his men were of a caliber not to be easily subdued by calamity. Among them there were some who, like their chief, had been the glorious companions of Cortes; and the rest were endowed with that extraordinary power of enduring all manner of hardships, which was so strikingly displayed by the Spaniards in America. Alvarado had forced his march through one of the most difficult and obstructed routs in the New World. He had to cross the ridge of the Andes in the most impracticable part, and to force his way through thick forests and over marshy grounds. The cold, as soon as he began to ascend those gigantic mountains, was so intense as to cause the death of many of his followers. Accordingly, when Alvarado at length arrived at the plains of Quito, one-fifth at least of the men had perished, and the rest were so much exhausted as to be wholly inadequate to the fatigues of active service.

The city of Quito enjoyed among the Peruvians the fame of being extremely opulent, it being currently reported and believed, that the greater part of Atahualpa's treasures were contained in that place. So high a reputation determined Benalcazar, a gallant officer who commanded for Pizarro at St. Michael, to attempt its reduction. The undertaking was indeed one of appalling difficulty: but neither the great distance of Quito, the mountainous nature of the territories he had to pass, nor the accounts which he heard of the cruelty and treachery of Ruminiani, the Indian leader, were sufficient to damp the ardour of Benalcazar and his companions in their enterprising course. They completely triumphed over their enemies in several partial rencounters which they had to sustain, until Ruminiani in despair abandoned Quito, and fled for safety to the mountains.

Meantime, Pizarro having received due intelligence of Alvarado's expedition, hastened to provide against the threatened danger. Almagro was sent immediately with as strong a force as could be conveniently spared, in order to oppose the progress of the invader. Alvarado, meantime, had effected his landing without resistance, and made his way through the country with the same facility in reference to the Spaniards, though exposed, as has been mentioned above, to many severe trials and disasters. Benalcazar, being duly apprised of the new danger that threatened their hopes, now hastened to join Almagro, which he accomplished without difficulty. This reinforcement was of great avail to that leader, who, however brave himself, and accustomed to present an undaunted front to the most imminent danger, could not but regard the formidable invader whom he was now going to oppose with feelings of apprehension. The junction of the parties of Almagro and Benalcazar being thus effected, those two chiefs, after beating for some time about the country to disencumber themselves of the flying parties of Indians that infested it, now directed their attention towards a more redoubtable foe. They sent a detachment of seven horse to reconnoiter, but these fell into the power of Alvarado, who, however, immediately set them at liberty. This augured in favour of a friendly disposition, which, on the other hand, it was difficult to reconcile with the importance of such a man and the force by which he was supported. It could never enter the imagination of Almagro, or of his followers, that a person of Alvarado's rank and celebrity, would abandon his government and encounter numberless toils, merely for the sake of affording assistance to the conquerors of Peru, who had never applied to him for it.

Almagro and Alvarado came in sight of each other in the plains of Riobaba, and presented themselves in a hostile array. But neither Almagro nor Benalcazar seemed anxious to join in the conflict as they perceived that the force of the enemy was three times their own in number. Alvarado, however, advanced promptly to the attack, when, after a little skirmishing, the soldiers of both parties refused to fight, and mingling together, began to hold friendly converse among themselves. They could not forget that not only they were all Spaniards, but that most of them belonged to the province of Estremadura, and that not a few were bound by the ties of relationship or acquaintance. This fortunate occurrence put a stop to the unnatural contest, and delayed those disastrous scenes which were in a few years to exhibit the conquerors of Peru, glutted with the blood of the natives, turning their

ferocity against each other, and affording a terrible picture of the horrors of civil disunion. The licentiate Caldera, a prudent man, perceiving the turn which affairs had taken, hastened to follow up so fortunate a commencement. He became a zealous mediator between the contending parties; and after some negotiation, the difference was adjusted to general satisfaction. By the articles of the treaty, Alvarado bound himself to withdraw from the territory, and pursue his course of discovery and conquest towards the south; and engaged that he, as well as Pizarro and Almagro, should labour with one accord, and share the emoluments and glory of their future conquests. Such was the main point of the agreement as it was given out to the army; though a very different one had been arranged in private, and which it was thought prudent not to divulge, in order to prevent the indignant feelings which would naturally burst forth from many of the companions of Alvarado.* This accommodation was made by the sacrifice of one hundred thousand pesos, upon the receipt of which the Governor of Guatimala offered to retrace his steps.

After this amicable arrangement, Alvarado granted leave to such of his men as were anxious to join the fortunes of the conquerors of Peru, to follow their wishes, by which means the strength of Pizarro became considerably augmented. Benalcazar then took possession of Quito, where he remained with a competent force to protect the country from the aggressions of the natives. Alvarado desired to have an interview with Pizarro at Cuzco, both to congratulate an old brother-in-arms, and to see the country which he had subjected to the Spanish power. In their march, the Spaniards had several encounters with the natives, under the command of Quizquiz, in which, though they came off victorious, yet these advantages were attended with very considerable losses.† Meantime, Pizarro, though rejoiced to see things settled in an amicable manner with Alvarado, could not but feel uneasy at the sojourn of so formidable a rival in the country; and therefore it became his earnest desire to expedite his departure. Being informed that Alvarado was advancing towards Cuzco, he soon perceived the policy of not allowing that chief to be tempted anew by the riches of that city, as well as of keeping him within a short distance of the coast. Pizarro, therefore, with great promptitude, collected the price which was to purchase the departure of Alvarado, and which Diego de Almagro had been unable to pay. He committed the command and security of Cuzco to his brothers, and, without

* Leon.—Gomara.—Zarate. † G. de la Vega.

loss of time, went to Pachacamac, there to await the arrival of the Governor of Guatimala. The latter made his appearance within the space of twenty days, and a meeting between the two veterans took place.

The warmest cordiality was manifested on this occasion: mutual tokens of regard were exchanged; and several days were spent in feasting and rejoicing, in recounting past dangers and exploits, and anticipating new hardships and triumphs. Pizarro, either from motives of policy, or from real esteem for the character and renown of a great chief as well as old companion, departed from that double and treacherous conduct which unfortunately he had too often displayed during his eventful career. He rejected the counsel of some of his men, who advised him to lay violent hands on Alvarado, and send him prisoner to Spain without the stipulated sum. On the contrary, he not only scrupulously paid the hundred thousand pesos, but added twenty thousand more to defray the expenses of the journey.* Alvarado and Pizarro took their leave of each other with mutual professions of regard: and the former returned to Guatimala, pledging himself to forward the views of Pizarro, should that commander ever stand in need of his assistance. Pizarro now dispatched his companion Almagro to Cuzco, while he himself remained in the valley of Pachacamac, with the intention of founding a colony on the coast. He sent several experienced persons to explore those places, and to select a convenient spot for his design. About four leagues to the north of Pachacamac, a port was discovered, well adapted to the purpose of opening a communication between the sea and the inland country. Pizarro, finding that it answered in all respects his expectations, began the foundation of the *Ciudad de los Reyes*,† in the year 1535.

Previous to this time, intelligence had been received of the safe arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro in Spain, and the extraordinary degree of favour with which he was welcomed by the court. Indeed, the rich presents with which he made his appearance, could not fail of exciting a corresponding sentiment of joy and gratitude on a monarch, who found a treasure bestowed upon him, towards the acquisition of which he had not contributed. The king received 155,300 pesos, and 5,100 marks of silver, besides a great quantity of gold vessels and other ornaments, and besides 199,000 pesos,

* Gomara.—Zarate.

† This name was given, because begun on the Festival of Kings, or Twelfth-day.

and 51,000 marks of silver, which were collected together from the donations of several persons. These gifts, together with the florid accounts which Ferdinand Pizarro brought of what had been discovered and conquered by the Spaniards, excited the expectations of Charles to the highest degree; and he had no difficulty in granting honours and conferring jurisdictions on men, who were adding such extensive and rich territories to his crown. Francisco Pizarro was accordingly confirmed in his former privileges, and an extension of seventy leagues along the coast towards the north was added to his former jurisdiction. All this territory was to be called New Castile. Diego de Almagro received the grant of a territory two hundred leagues in extent, with the name of New Toledo; neither were the merits of Ferdinand Pizarro forgotten, in the distribution of the royal favours. He was made a Knight of Santiago, the most distinguished military order in Spain, an honour which was held in great ambition by the Spaniards at that time, whilst the title of Marquis was conferred on his brother Don Francisco. Ferdinand Pizarro, with these welcome tidings, and accompanied by many persons, superior in talents and rank to the adventurers who had hitherto flocked to Peru, then hastened his departure from Spain.*

But previous to his joining his companions, intelligence was received by Diego de Almagro of the negotiations which had been carried on, and the royal grant which conferred on him the title of Adelantado, with a jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of territory. Finding himself at the head of an independent government, Almagro now thought it was high time to throw off that kind of tacit but real subordination, in which he stood with regard to Pizarro. His first acts gave strong evidence of his real intentions. Pretending that Cuzco lay within his jurisdiction, he began to exercise such absolute authority, as to awaken the alarm and displeasure of the partisans of Pizarro. Juan and Gonzalo, the brothers of the governor, together with several persons of note, began to remonstrate with Almagro on the injustice of his proceedings; but that chief, who was powerfully instigated and seconded by his adherents, turned a deaf ear to these representations; and thus the first sparks were kindled of those flames of civil discord that were soon to spread with such devastating effect over their newly-discovered country. Several disputes and contentions now took place between the adherents of both parties; quarrels ensued, wounds were inflicted, and even lives were lost

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

in these incipient broils. Such was the alarming state of affairs at Cuzco, when Pizarro, being timely apprised of everything, hastened to avert an evil pregnant with so many disastrous results. With astonishing expedition, therefore, he returned to that city, where his presence suddenly checked the parties on the point of coming to hostilities, and succeeded in restoring order for the present.

The reconciliation between Pizarro and Almagro had never been sincere. The conduct of the former at the time of his visit to the Spanish court, could not be easily forgotten by the latter. Pizarro had, indeed, evinced a degree of treachery and ingratitude towards his companion, which placed them in an awkward situation with regard to each other. Reasons of policy and common interest alone had at that time brought about a reconciliation; but sentiments of uncommon wrong on one side, and indignation and revenge on the other, were concealed under this show of cordiality, and only wanted a fit opportunity to burst forth. Each of the two commanders was supported by stanch adherents, who neglected no occasion of adding fuel to that disastrous fire which soon raged with such violence in the country. Thus the elements of civil discord were forming; and the explosion, though it might be protracted for a time, could scarcely be avoided. This calamity was probably delayed, by the mutual dread with which the power and valour of each chief were viewed by the other. A rupture, therefore, was equally feared and equally shunned, until one party considered itself in a situation sufficiently strong. Pizarro, upon his arrival at Cuzco, well aware of this, conducted himself with a degree of policy that fully answered his expectations. By a judicious mixture of firmness and expostulation—by strongly representing to his associates the dreadful consequences which, through their private quarrels, would, in the present posture of affairs, ensue to the common weal, and by soothing his irritation with promises and professions—he succeeded in bringing the mind of Almagro to discard those dangerous thoughts by which it had been lately agitated.

Almagro was persuaded, or at least affected to be persuaded, by the remonstrances of his associate, and a new reconciliation took place. They then entered into another agreement, to forward and support their mutual pretensions. The principal article of this treaty shows the sagacity of Pizarro, who, anxious at once to keep his rival in active occupation at a distance from Cuzco, proposed that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili. where he would meet with a prize equal to his merit; but in the event

of the conquest of those territories not answering his expectations, Pizarro declared himself ready to indemnify him with a part of Peru. This proposal was eagerly accepted by Almagro. His ambition was fired; his love of military adventure strongly excited; and as no bounds were set by the Spaniards at that time to the extent or wealth of empires, Almagro easily conceived that he would conquer provinces far superior in every respect to those which they had hitherto subdued. This new contract was, as on a former occasion, ratified by solemn acts of religion, and by the most binding protestations on both sides that it should be kept inviolable.*

Preparations immediately commenced for the intended expedition; and so altered were the fortunes of the Spaniards during the short period which had elapsed since their first arrival in the country, in consequence of the numerous bands of adventurers who had flocked to these regions, attracted by the fame of their wealth, that Almagro, in a short time was enabled to depart with a force amounting to five hundred and fifty men. Besides these, other detachments, under the guidance of competent leaders, and well accoutered for active service, were sent to explore and subdue other territories—offering a strange contrast to the poverty of the first expedition against Peru.†

CHAPTER VI.

Diego de Almagro undertakes the Conquest of Chili—Revolutions in Peru.

Almagro set out on his expedition in the beginning of the year 1535. Previous to his departure, notwithstanding the apparent cordiality which existed between him and Pizarro, he took special care to adopt such measures as might protect him against the treacherous duplicity of his colleague. For this purpose, he left behind him at Cuzco his devoted friend and stanch adherent Juan de Herrada, an officer of note, and one of those who had more particularly distinguished themselves on every occasion. A considerable number of the partisans of Almagro remained also with that officer; and they had strict injunctions to send due information

* Zarate.—Herrera. † G. de la Vega.

of every passing event. Almagro resolved to take with him in this expedition a brother of the Inca, called Paullu, as well as the chief priest, a great number of persons of distinction, and a numerous body of Indians, amounting to about fifteen thousand men.* With this strong force, and elated by the most sanguine hopes, Almagro began his march for the discovery and subjugation of the kingdom of Chili, equally celebrated for its riches and for the warlike disposition of the natives.

Severe and incessant as the hardships of the Spaniards had been in the various parts of America, the present followers of Almagro were doomed to undergo a new series, which they had not perhaps anticipated. They arrived at Charcoy without inconvenience; but when they came to consult the rout which they were to take, Almagro adopted precisely the one which was beset with most difficulties, and presented the greatest hardships. He resolved to force his march across the mountains, in preference to the level country, which he was advised to penetrate by Paullu and other Indians, who represented to him the dreadful trials to which he would otherwise be exposed. But Almagro, either from a wish to adopt the shortest rout, from contempt of difficulties, or, which is not improbable, from a suspicion that treachery might dictate the counsel given by Paullu, persisted in his original intention, and continued his march across the mountains. He had not, however, proceeded very far when he repented his determination. In a few days, the Spaniards found so vast a quantity of snow accumulated in their way, that they were obliged, in many instances, to pierce through the chilling obstruction by dint of great exertions. The effects of a most intense cold began soon to be perceived. The days were extremely short; and as they were exposed, during three dismal nights, to the severity of the climate, many of the troops began to fall away. To add to this calamity, their provision was by this time exhausted; and as no means of subsistence could be found in those desolate and lugubrious regions, under the combined horrors of cold, famine and fatigue, the army began to decrease to a melancholy extent. Several Spaniards, with an immense number of Indians, who, owing to their insufficient dress, were more exposed to the severity of the cold, were actually frozen to death. Indeed no less than one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and above ten thousand Indians, perished in this disastrous march.†

Almagro at length passed these dreary places, and arrived in the plains of Chili. He perceived that he had not been deceived

* G. de la Vega.

† G. de la Vega.

with regard to the riches of the country and the fertility of the soil. In those districts which recognized the jurisdiction of the Inca, he experienced much attention, as the natives saw him accompanied by Paullu and so many Indians of distinction. Accordingly, he was soon able to collect a great quantity of gold, which he distributed liberally among his companions, to reward their past services, and encourage them to persevere. But as Almagro advanced into the country, the aspect of affairs changed. The Chilese, though astonished at first at the singular appearance of their invaders, soon recovered from their surprise and dread, and rushed to the encounter with a fierceness hitherto unknown to the Spaniards in those parts of America. At last, despite of the courage of Almagro, and the ardent hopes which he had conceived from the subjugation of Chili, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise unachieved, by a sudden and unexpected revolution which broke out in Peru, and threatened the Spaniards with destruction.*

Juan de Herrada having presented himself to Almagro with the royal diploma granted by the King of Spain—which had been transmitted by Ferdinand Pizarro, who had disembarked, and was at Ciudad de los Reyes—from him Almagro learned that the Peruvians had revolted, and that the affairs of the country were involved in the greatest confusion. This intelligence awakened serious thoughts in Almagro, who forthwith assembled his officers, in order to determine what course he ought to follow. He ardently wished to return to Cuzco, which he still contended lay within the jurisdiction granted to him by the king; and in this intention he was strongly seconded by Herrada, Orgoño, and several others of his adherents. Others, however, represented the impolicy of relinquishing the invasion of Chili before it was finally conquered, and of thus foregoing the brilliant expectations which they had entertained. But the objections of these were overruled, and Almagro determined to return to Cuzco; in which resolution he was the more confirmed, on receiving fresh information regarding the turbulent state of that city.

The Inca Manco Capac was impatient of the subordinate part which he played in his own dominions. He easily perceived that he was a mere phantom of dignity, without a particle of power, which was totally engrossed by the Spaniards. So humiliating a situation was galling to his pride, and he only bowed down in conformity to the absolute laws of necessity. But though he dis-

* Zarate—Gomara—G. de la Vega.

sembled his angry feelings for the time, he only waited a fit opportunity to let them burst forth with unrestrained violence. The jealous fears of Pizarro, and the sagacity of his mind, offered many obstacles to the plans of the Inca. The Spanish commander having learnt, from experience, the great advantage of keeping in his possession so good an instrument to control the power of the natives, as the person of their sovereign, had inwardly resolved to hold the Inca in subjection, though he affected to treat him with the most profound respect in public. Manco Capac was accordingly compelled to reside at Cuzco, under pretence that it was the residence of the Incas, but, in reality, that he might be continually under the eye of the two Pizarros, Juan and Gonzalo, to whom their brother had particularly recommended this duty, whenever he absented himself from Cuzco.

The Inca had already urged Francis Pizarro, in the strongest terms of remonstrance, to reinstate him in the full prerogatives of his dignity; and complained bitterly of the mockery which the Spaniards displayed towards him, whilst they affected to recognize as a sovereign one whom they held in the subjection of an inferior person. But Pizarro had carefully avoided entering into discussion on a topic which was disagreeable, being unable to reconcile his actions with the amity which he affected for the Inca. Indeed, to evade the importunities of the Inca, he left Cuzco,* and returned to Ciudad de los Reyes, the building and embellishment of which then occupied much of his thoughts. The explosion, however, which was in contemplation, and which the Spaniards were far from anticipating, was drawing to a crisis. As we have related above, besides the expedition undertaken by Almagro, other bodies had set out from Cuzco, under the command of various leaders, who were instructed to explore and conquer those provinces which had not hitherto been visited by the Spaniards. Many strong detachments had by this means almost simultaneously departed for distant regions of the country. These circumstances favoured greatly the intentions of the Inca, who saw the moment arrived for him to attempt the recovery both of his liberty and his kingdom. By the injudicious conduct of the Spaniards, in thus disseminating themselves about the country in detached bodies, and leaving a handfull of men at Cuzco, as a garrison to that city, they had facilitated the means of their own destruction. The Inca, though strictly guarded, found means to give hints of his intentions to some persons of confidence, who, accustomed to re-

* G. de la Vega.

vere the smallest wish of their master, as if it emanated from heaven, most readily entered into his views, and promised to forward them. The Inca at last attempted to escape, in order to place himself at the head of the rebellion; but being foiled in his design, he now thought it prudent to adopt a different line of conduct, not to alarm the suspicion of his enemies, and thereby endanger the prospect of success.

About this time, 1536, Ferdinand Pizarro arrived at Cuzco, and was much pleased to find the kindness and submission which were uniformly evinced by the Inca. With this apparent cordiality Manco Capac behaved for some time, until he believed that the suspicions of the Pizarros were completely lulled to rest. He then requested of Ferdinand permission to visit Yucay, where the royal gardens were situated. The Inca gave, as a pretext for this visit, the celebration of a great festival. He promised, besides, to bring Ferdinand a statue of solid gold kept in that place.* The preparations for revolt had, meanwhile, been conducted with such profound secrecy, that Pizarro did not harbour the remotest suspicion of the real intentions of the Inca in making his request. Not the least rumour of insurrection had been heard—no hostile appearance seen—besides, there was nothing singular in the demand of Manco Capac. All which, together with the promise of the statue of gold, easily induced Ferdinand Pizarro to grant the request, and he suffered the Inca to leave Cuzco in company of a few of his Indian attendants only. The principal men in the empire were already prepared, and hastened simultaneously to Yucay, where they awaited with impatience the arrival of the Inca. The affair was conducted with such profound arrangement, and such promptitude and decision, that the first notice which the Spaniards received of the explosion, was when the fire raged in full blaze along the country.

Manco Capac having harangued his chiefs and magnates, and conjured them to destroy the whole race of their invaders; and having also given instructions to his generals to surprise the small detachments of Spaniards that wandered about the country, and to cut them off to a man—commanded that two numerous armies should be in readiness to lay siege to Cuzco and Ciudad de los Reyes. His orders were obeyed with religious punctuality; the standard of war was unfurled; the alarm sounded; and the whole country rose in arms with a resolution equal to the apathy which the Peruvians had displayed on other occasions. A powerful

* Zarate.

army marched towards Lima, whilst a formidable multitude, amounting to two hundred thousand men, under the command of the Inca himself, laid siege to Cuzco. By this time, several of the Spanish detachments that wandered about the country had been cut off; and the Indians, elated with the first success of their bold attempt, now pushed their advantage with unwonted alacrity and resolution. The three brothers Pizarro, who commanded at Cuzco, no sooner saw the danger by which they were threatened, than, aware of the insufficient means which they possessed for continuing a suitable defence, they dispatched a messenger to Francisco, informing him of the peril of their situation. They then vigorously exerted themselves to make a resistance to the enemy worthy of the name of the Spanish arms, and the undaunted courage by which the Pizarros were distinguished. Ferdinand formed his little army into a compact body; and, placing the infantry in the centre, he flanked the four sides with twenty horsemen in each. In this manner he endeavoured to protect himself from the immense masses of Peruvians, who continually rushed to the charge with equal animosity and perseverance. The Inca himself, from a little eminence, beheld the exertions of his subjects, and encouraged them by his presence and applause.

Meantime, the siege of Lima had been undertaken with the same spirit and ferocity, and all communication between that city and Cuzco was broken off. The Peruvians, who roved in numerous parties about the country with great vigilance, intercepted every messenger sent by the enemy; so that the Spaniards of each city, astonished and appalled, began to fear that they were the only remaining Europeans alive in Peru.* But it was at Cuzco that the greatest alarm reigned. The force of the Pizarros in that city did not amount to two hundred men, so that they had to fight in the proportion of one man against a thousand. These fearful odds were not counterbalanced, either by the advantages of situation, or by any striking superiority in weapons. The fire-arms and the horses, which, at the first sight, were wont to produce such effect on the bewildered imagination of the Americans of every region, had ceased to impress them with those sentiments of awe and terror. Indeed, so far were they from entertaining the strange notions which they had at first conceived, that they industriously availed themselves of those very weapons, once the object of such dread and veneration. Many of the Peruvians armed themselves with the swords and spears which they had

* Zarate.—Leon.

taken from the Spaniards; and a few still bolder—among whom was the Inca himself—mounted some horses which they had captured, and rushed to the onset with the same confidence as if they had been all their lives trained to that method of warfare.

The Peruvians evinced, during the nine months which the siege of Cuzco lasted, abilities of a superior order even to those of the Mexicans. Their ingenuity was strikingly displayed in the several stratagems which they employed to harass their enemy, already weakened by the force of numbers. Among other devices, they endeavoured to incapacitate the horsemen from service, by means of a thong having a stone at each end, which they threw with peculiar skill, so as to entangle the horse's legs, and impede the evolutions of the rider.* Such various and repeated efforts on the part of the enemy had a disastrous effect on the resolution of the Spaniards. At no period of their conquests had they been subjected to such imminent danger, or obliged to undergo such extraordinary fatigue. No respite was allowed them for repose; and while the enemy could bring fresh forces every day to the attack, the dispirited and exhausted band were compelled to suffer a constant repetition of harassing fatigue, to which they saw no end but in death. To meet a glorious one, seemed now the boundary of their hopes. They had already lost several of their bravest men, with some officers of note, besides Juan Pizarro,—a loss most severely felt by all, for in him the Spaniards were deprived not only of a gallant chief, but of a friend, beloved by every one for his kindliness of manner, little known to the rest of the Pizarros. The death of their brother—the want of tidings from Lima—the many soldiers already slain, and the exhausted and frightful state of the survivors, contributed to make the Pizarros despair of averting the fate that threatened them. But, in this desolate state, they felt more rage than despondence; and, with that extraordinary magnanimity which, had it not been tinctured with cruelty, would have graced even the heroic times of the Romans, the Spaniards now prepared to collect their whole strength, and to perish in one bold desperate effort against their enemies, rather than seek any terms of capitulation. Such was the terrible position of the Spaniards at Cuzco, when they were suddenly relieved by a totally unexpected event. This was the arrival of Almagro in the vicinity of that city.

The Peruvians were suddenly checked in their operations by the appearance of a third party in the contest; and this timely

* Herara.

irresolution saved the Spaniards from inevitable ruin. The delay of a few days on the part of Almagro would have completed the triumph of the Inca, but that moment was passed; and though the Peruvians were yet in a threatening attitude, and with means of destroying the invaders, the necessity of turning their thoughts towards Almagro divided their attention, and deprived them of that unity of design, and promptness of execution, so requisite to insure success. The arrival of Almagro, though tending at first to raise the sinking hopes of the Pizarros, was not exempt from every alloy of dread. The brothers soon perceived that their ally conducted himself in such a manner as to leave it a matter of dubious speculation whether he was to be considered a friend or an enemy. They knew that Almagro had ample reason to be dissatisfied with the governor, and that, instigated at once by private pique and ambition, he might seize the present opportunity of making himself master of Cuzco. The same idea occurred to the Inca. Well acquainted with the differences and jealousies of the Spanish chiefs among themselves, and being now partly recovered from the first sensations of surprise which the arrival of Almagro had produced, he was led to hope that the event would prove not only inoffensive, but even advantageous to the Peruvian cause. The surmises of the Pizarros and the Inca were just. Almagro had in reality formed the project of rendering himself master of Cuzco, which he considered within his jurisdiction. Under this impression, he had made a precipitate retreat from Chili; but, loth to undergo the horrid sufferings to which his troops had been exposed on his former rout, he had now come by a new one along the sand of the coast, which, though it relieved him from the calamities of cold and famine, subjected him to others equally severe—to those of excessive heat and drought.

Upon his arrival at Cuzco (1537), he seemed irresolute with regard to the line of conduct he was to adopt. From the formidable array presented by the Inca, he perceived that he should have to contend with a most powerful enemy, while the desperate situation of the Pizarros afforded an easy victory, the more so if he claimed the alliance of the Peruvians. But such a course was revolting; and Almagro, though instigated at once by a feeling of wrong sustained, and by eagerness to possess himself of what he considered his due, shrunk nevertheless from turning his arms against his dispirited and exhausted countrymen, while the common enemy remained there to be the spectators, and gainers perhaps by the unnatural contest.

The Inca resolved to employ stratagem to ward off the danger

with which the appearance of Almagro seemed to threaten the Peruvians. To prevent a junction between that chief and the Pizarros, was his paramount object; and he accordingly commenced negotiations with him. A meeting was decided upon to arrange the articles of a treaty. In this transaction, both parties strived to deceive each other. Almagro thought that he might persuade the Inca to depart from Cuzco, and thus leave the field free for his operations; whilst the Inca, with an equal share of deception, entertained designs of an atrocious treachery—no less than the assassination of Almagro at the intended interview.* But the success which he expected from his treachery was completely foiled. Almagro was too prudent, and too much alive to the perils of his situation, to fall into the snare of the Peruvian prince; and he accordingly repaired to the meeting, attended with a numerous body of his best soldiers.

The Inca, by this means disappointed of carrying his design into execution, now conceived he should be obliged to settle the contention by arms, an alternative which awoke the greatest dread and anxiety. He could not disguise from himself, that, despite of his immense forces, he had not been able to accomplish the destruction of the Spaniards in Cuzco, though these amounted to little more than a hundred and seventy men. As Almagro possessed a force of four hundred and fifty soldiers, well disciplined and eager for battle, he naturally concluded, that the chances of success would be still smaller, if he entered the field against an army so superior to that of his former enemy. This idea induced the Inca to exert all his ingenuity in negotiation; but, when he found that his efforts failed, he prudently resolved to take the Spaniards by surprise, rather than risk the event of a battle.

While the Inca and Almagro spent their time in fruitless negotiations, the Pizarros, aware of the difficulties by which they were surrounded, and forming the most discouraging anticipations, with regard to the future conduct of Almagro, determined, on their side, to employ similar artifices to that adopted by the two other contending parties. Ferdinand Pizarro, accordingly, sent messengers to Juan de Saavedra, the officer commanding in the absence of Almagro, who was now carrying on his interviews with the Inca. The most tempting offers were made by the Pizarros to Saavedra; but nothing could corrupt the integrity of that honourable Spaniard, who rejected every proposition with

* G. de la Vega.

scorn. Thus the three parties remained for some time undecided what course to pursue, keeping their eyes watchfully fixed upon each other, and doubtful who would be the first to break through the dilemma, and bring the affair to a crisis.

The moment arrived sooner perhaps than they anticipated. The Inca having, in an attempt against Almagro, been repulsed with great slaughter, took on the sudden the resolution of suspending hostilities, and dispersing his army. Either from feelings of superstition, or from absolute despair, the Peruvian chief adopted this course totally unexpected; but the losses which he had suffered in little more than a year which had elapsed since the breaking out of the insurrection, and the indomitable resistance which he met with from the Spaniards, made him loth to prolong a warfare which, together with his small chance of success, now that the Spaniards had time to rally, was besides attended with a horrid carnage among his people. He retired accordingly, from the contest, and left the field to be disputed by the two other contending parties.

CHAPTER VII.

Civil War among the Spaniards.—Battle of Salinas.—Death of Almagro, &c.

Almagro, being thus freed from one enemy, now directed his course towards Cuzco, with the resolution of taking the city either by negotiation or by force. He therefore advanced rapidly to the gates; but, willing to try every amicable means before he resorted to the last extremity, and anxious to spare the blood of the Spaniards, so necessary against the common enemy, he sent messengers to the Pizarros to summon them to surrender. He alleged the justice of his pretensions, and invited his antagonist to evacuate the city, laying to their account all the calamities which might result from their non-compliance with the demand. To this haughty requisition Ferdinand Pizarro answered, with a degree of spirit happily blended with a show of reasoning. He declared, that neither he nor his brother Gonzalo had any claim or power over Cuzco, and therefore could not, in honour, yield that which was not in their right. That he commanded in that city for the Governor Don Francisco, and that, until he had received instruc-

tions from him, he would not relinquish his post. He further urged the injustice and impolicy of Almagro, in bringing forward his pretensions at such a juncture, when he saw his countrymen overpowered by the hardships they had suffered from the common enemy. Besides, it was not by force of arms, and by taking advantage of the destitute position of his former companion, that he should establish the justice of his claims; on the contrary, a proper and mature discussion of the affair should be entered upon, with the knowledge and sanction of the Governor.

These ostensible arguments, and the mediation of some of the principal men in both armies, who saw with horror the moment of civil contention arrive, fortunately delayed that calamity, and a truce was negotiated. It was agreed, on the part of Ferdinand, that a messenger should be sent to the Governor, acquainting him with the foregoing events, the claims of Almagro, and the little prospect which the garrison at Cuzco had of contending successfully with their opponents; and the besieging party, on their side, pledged themselves to remain in a peaceful attitude until an answer was obtained from Don Francisco Pizarro. This appearance of peace was, however, of short duration. The adherents of Almagro began to tax him with an excess both of weakness and credulity. They represented the duplicity, for which the Pizarros were conspicuous—a duplicity which would certainly be called into play on the present occasion. They merely wished to gain time, that they might recruit men and provide suitable means of defence;—the messenger, sent by Ferdinand to his brother, would be charged rather with instructions to require succour, than to urge the claims of Almagro;—and, lastly, even supposing the two Pizarros at Cuzco were sincere in their dealings, yet the governor would never consent to the proposed measures, but prepare himself, with all expedition, to dispute the rights of Almagro by the sword. It was, therefore, the height of imprudence to neglect the present opportunity of rendering themselves masters of Cuzco, and to endanger the prospect of success by undue procrastination.

These arguments had great weight in the mind of Almagro; and besides, as several of the soldiers of the Pizarros had deserted to his standard, he conceived that disaffection reigned in the troops at Cuzco, a circumstance favourable to his designs. These reasons at length induced him to follow the advice of his friends, although in doing so he should be compelled to break the truce: an act which he could not but regard with a degree of conscious shame. But the scruples of chivalrous honour were overruled

by the more powerful dictates of policy and ambition; and Almagro determined to surprise the city, and seize on the Pizarros.

This plan was executed without difficulty, and succeeded to the fullest extent. The garrison at Cuzco, never suspecting that the truce would be violated by the adverse party, slept in security; and so far were they from providing any defence, that when a soldier, more alert than the rest, came running to Ferdinand Pizarro with the tidings that the Almagrians were entering the city, the chief answered in an indignant tone that it must be a delusion, for no honourable soldier would sacrifice his honour. The surprisal was so prompt that even no resistance was offered by the soldiers, and Almagro proceeded without opposition to the residence of the Pizarros. He summoned them to surrender; but the brothers, boiling with rage and indignation, refused to comply, and, barricading the doors, prepared themselves for an obstinate and fierce defence. After some ineffectual attempts to burst into the house, Almagro at length gave orders to set it on fire: and as the conflagration spread rapidly, the Pizarros, to escape a horrible death, surrendered at discretion.* The brothers and the principal men of their party, were immediately put in irons, and thrown into close confinement; and the power of Almagro over Cuzco was recognized without further opposition.

Francisco Pizarro, at the first signal of the danger which threatened the Spaniards by the insurrection of the Peruvians, sent for assistance to Hispaniola, Nicaragua, and Mexico. Meantime, he had gallantly defended Lima from the attacks of the Indians, until by decided advantages which he gained over them, and by the arrival of reinforcements from the above-mentioned colonies, he was enabled to dispatch a body of 500 men, for the relief of his brothers at Cuzco. This troop he intrusted to the command of Alonzo Alvarado and Garcilaso de la Vega, two of his principal officers. Little aware that they should be obliged to contend with a more formidable enemy than the Indians, Alvarado and his companions advanced to the river Abancay, when, to their great surprise and confusion, they saw a numerous body of Spaniards placed in battle array to oppose them. Almagro, however, for some time was irresolute whether to attack the enemy, or to await patiently the onset. Afraid to engage so powerful a body, whilst he himself possessed in his army many of the late adherents of the Pizarros, who might change sides as soon as opportunity offered, he remained in a state of uncertainty, though greatly in-

* G. de la Vega.

clined to try every other resource before he appealed to arms. From this anxiety he was relieved in a short time, and in a manner totally unexpected.

There was in the adverse party an officer, by name Pedro de Lerma, who, considering himself wronged by the Pizarros, and no less anxious to satisfy a private pique, than provoked by the overbearing deportment of the Governor, had formed the resolution of joining the rival band. He accordingly wrote a letter to Almagro, acquainting him with his intentions, and assuring him that, as soon as he approached the camp, he would pass over with a hundred men. To this promise he added some instructions as to the manner Almagro was to act, and a faithful account of the disaffection which reigned among the soldiers of Pizarro. This intelligence was not disregarded by Almagro, who hastened to avail himself of the offers of Lerma. A plan was concerted; and Alvarado being surprised by night, and deserted by many of his followers, the whole camp was thrown into confusion, and yielded an easy victory to the enemy. Alvarado and Garcilaso de la Vega, together with the more decided partisans of the Pizarros, were taken prisoners; and Almagro returned to Cuzco with his triumphant party, amidst shouts of joy and exultation.*

By this bloodless victory, the contest seemed at an end. Almagro, indeed, expressed himself in the most contemptuous terms, when speaking of his rival, whom he considered as incapable at present of affording the least cause for alarm. But Orgoño, an officer of distinguished merits, and devotedly attached to his interests, represented to him, that other measures were to be taken before he could consider himself secure from the power and the machinations of the Pizarros. The standard of war had been unfurled; no sincere reconciliation could henceforward be expected; and the security of one party could only be firmly established by the total ruin of the other. Fortune had now declared in favour of Almagro; and he would be unworthy of her benefits, if he refused to secure them by those decisive measures which the occasion required. The death of the two Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other officers, were sacrifices imperiously demanded, in order to insure future tranquillity. Such advice was, indeed, the most prudent that could be given under existing circumstances; and had Almagro adopted it, his future lot would probably have been widely different. But, partly elated by his successes and the consciousness of power, and partly from a feeling of gene-

* Zarate.—Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

rous pity, which recoiled at the idea of shedding the blood of his former companions, he neglected the counsel. He alleged, that it was repugnant alike to humanity and justice, to sacrifice brave men for having done what they thought their duty. In this sentiment he found many supporters among his own companions: and their advice prevailed over that of Orgoño. Nor did Almagro show more decision with regard to the line of conduct proposed to him, which was to march towards Lima while his troops were yet flushed with the recent success, and before Pizarro had time to rally from his disasters, and prepare a suitable defence. This plan, Almagro considered, would place him in the light of a rebel and a traitor against the king, in thus attacking the governor, constituted by royal authority. He refused, accordingly, to follow such a course, wishing rather to wait and arrange affairs by negotiation; or, should things be brought to the last extremity, that Pizarro, and not himself, should appear the aggressor.

Meantime, Francisco Pizarro was unacquainted with the series of disasters which had lately taken place at Cuzco. Indeed, the intelligence of the death of one brother, the imprisonment of the other two, the defeat of his adherents, and the triumph of Almagro, came upon him all at once, as if fortune intended to break down his haughty and daring spirit. The Governor felt deeply such a series of calamities; and, whilst he deplored the loss of his beloved brother, and became apprehensive for the fate of the other two, sentiments of pride, revenge and disappointment, heightened the turmoil of his mind, and for some time he appeared overwhelmed by the burden of his misfortunes. But that mind, proud, arrogant, and undaunted by calamity, soon recovered from the violent shock: and Pizarro, instead of losing his precious time in brooding over his disasters, summoned his whole energies to check the progress of the evil. The difficulties of his situation, however, were numerous. Though his jurisdiction was recognized over a vast extent of territory, he could not command a body of men sufficient to make a successful opposition to Almagro in the field. It was indispensable to protract a decision by arms, in order to collect a competent force; and Pizarro was as interested in delaying a contest, as Almagro ought to have been eager to bring it to an issue with the utmost expedition.

Almagro left Cuzco, and marched with his army until he arrived within the jurisdiction of Ciudad de los Reyes, where he resolved to make a halt in expectation of Pizarro's determination. Aware that Ferdinand had always been a decided enemy to him,

and afraid, in consequence, to leave him at Cuzco, he had brought him along with his troops, in order that he might, on all occasions, possess a valuable hostage. The command of the city he intrusted to Gabriel Rojas; but neither the devotion nor the vigilance of that officer was sufficient to counteract the efforts which Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado were incessantly making to regain their liberty. Their endeavours proved successful in the end. They had bribed many of the guards with magnificent promises; and those soldiers, whenever food or any other article was taken to the prisoners, all of whom were confined in one place, conveyed arms to them, and at length broke the chains of some, who forthwith liberated the rest. Thus, when Gabriel Rojas went one night to visit the prison, he was no less astonished than enraged to perceive the prisoners at large, and he was immediately surrounded and secured by them. Being threatened with the loss of life if he offered any resistance, or sounded the alarm, Rojas was compelled to submit to his fate; and Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado, without further opposition, took their departure from the city at the head of about one hundred men, and hastened to join the Governor.*

The escape and unexpected appearance of his brother filled Pizarro with joy. But the captivity of the other prevented him from provoking Almagro too far: besides, he conceived that a protracted contest would ultimately turn to his advantage; and he determined to persevere in that line of policy, which had succeeded so well in the rest of his transactions. The fortunes of Almagro were on the point of changing. That commander, dismayed at the intelligence of the escape of Gonzalo Pizarro and the other prisoners, no less than at the information which he received of the great preparations which the Governor was making to carry on the war, seemed now more anxious than ever to conclude a friendly arrangement. Pizarro evinced an equal anxiety for such an event; and accordingly, mediators were named on each side to conduct the negotiation. The persons selected for this office, and who were those of the greatest weight among the Spaniards from their age, character, and station, met at a place called Malla. The first articles of the agreement stipulated, that Ferdinand Pizarro should be immediately set at liberty; that he, in company with a messenger from the party of Almagro, should depart for Spain, in order to lay the causes of their dispute before the Emperor; and that, in the mean time, Pizarro and Almagro should

* G. de la Vega.

remain in undisturbed possession of those territories which they occupied at present. Almagro, despite of former lessons of experience, was weak enough to fall into the snare prepared by his rival. He conceived that there was much justice in the proposal; and, confident that the award of the King of Spain would be in his favour, he readily subscribed to the articles of the treaty, and without further delay released Ferdinand from confinement.*

The object of Pizarro was now accomplished. No sooner were his fears for a brother's life at an end, and that brother was restored to liberty, than the Governor threw off the mask, and showed openly what were his real intentions. He was now in an attitude rather to threaten than to dread. The impolicy of the procrastinating line of conduct adopted by Almagro, was attended with those results which Orgoño had anticipated, and which Pizarro had flattered himself would ensue. The Governor was now in a state of too much power to listen to any terms of accommodation short of an absolute submission to his dictates; and he immediately appointed his two brothers to the command of seven hundred men, who were destined to invest and capture the city of Cuzco. The preparations for this expedition were made with that promptitude which characterized the conduct of Pizarro when he wished to appeal to arms rather than negotiation. In the nomination of his brothers to the command of this army, he showed his usual policy; as, besides the natural enmity which had long time existed between his relatives and the Almagrians, the stimulus of revenge was now added to the excitement of family feud. This army was soon in readiness to depart, while the Governor himself remained at Ciudad de los Reyes, both to protect it, and to send reinforcements as occasion should require.

The formidable attitude which his rival had assumed in so short a time, convinced Almagro of the errors of his own conduct. He bitterly repented that chivalrous delicacy which had prompted him to neglect the advice of prudence, and to pay more attention to the promises and vows of a deceitful competitor, than to the wholesome counsel of well-tried friends. But the mischief was done, and nothing was now to be expected but submission to the Governor's command, or a contest for authority in the open field. Other considerations increased the chagrin and disappointment which weighed so heavily on the heart of Almagro. He perceived that his whole army amounted to no more than five hundred men, whilst that of the enemy was not only superior in numbers, but

* Zarate.—Herara.—G. de la Vega.

was seconded by the Governor, who would neglect no opportunity of strengthening it with fresh reinforcements. Besides this, the infirmities consequent on an advanced age, and a life spent in continual hardship, had so far broken down his constitution, that Almagro perceived, with feelings of sorrow, that he was unable to take the command of the army in person. Among his followers he counted many on whose devoted attachment he could confide; but he could not select a captain of sufficient influence over the soldiers,—a circumstance doubly afflicting to him, from his consciousness that the adverse army was headed by Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro, whose abilities for command, no less than their extraordinary courage, were universally acknowledged.

A diversity of opinion also prevailed with regard to the line of operations which Almagro ought to follow. Some of his adherents advised him to defend the difficult passes of the mountains, but he himself preferred awaiting the enemy in the plains of Cuzco, because his chief hope of success depended on the superiority of his cavalry, whose operations would be of no avail if he adopted a different course. Nor did he care to defend the mountains, as he could not spare any of his forces, which he considered would be more efficient if preserved in compact order. These considerations induced him to pursue this plan: and he accordingly pitched his camp on the plains of Cuzco, and intrusted the command of the army to Orgoño, one of his officers, on whose abilities as well as attachment he could place the greatest reliance. The Pizarros, meantime, having met with no opposition, arrived at length at the plain of Cuchipampa before Cuzco, where they beheld the enemy in battle array ready to oppose them.

The moment was arrived, and one of the most horrible events —even that of civil discord amongst countrymen in a foreign land —was on the point of taking place. But no feelings of a kindly nature could now be entertained by either party. They were both goaded on to hatred and bloodshed, by the craving of revenge, no less than the rivalry of ambition. Nor could the sight of the Indians, their common enemy, assembled to witness the unnatural contest, awake in the hearts of the blinded foes, any corresponding sentiment of dread for the results of their dissensions.

On the 26th of April the sanguinary battle of the Salinas took place. At first, the conflict began between the body of cavalry commanded by Ferdinand Pizarro, and the advanced guard of the forces of Almagro, headed by Pedro de Lerma, likewise of cavalry. This conflict was long, and contested with equal resolution on both sides. Ferdinand himself was thrown from his horse, and nar-

rowly escaped with life. The battle now became general. Gonzalo Pizarro, who commanded the main body of the army, and Orgoño, Almagro's general, joined in the contest, which was carried on with that fierceness which generally characterizes civil contention The two parties seemed equally matched; for though the Pizarros had the superiority in numbers, Almagro possessed a larger proportion of cavalry,—a great advantage, considering the locality in which the battle was fought. By this means the combat was protracted with bloody perseverance, and for a long time the victory seemed to incline alternately to each party. The Pizarros, alarmed for the success of their arms, ordered all their troops to retreat behind a company of well-trained musketeers, under the protection of whose heavy and incessant fire they then ordered them to advance. In this manner they continued to gain ground; for the Almagrians, unable to resist the uninterrupted fire of the musketeers, were compelled to retreat gradually. The slaughter now became very great; the Pizarros rushed furiously on; every resource was called into action; and at that moment Orgoño unfortunately received a wound, and fell. Symptoms of confusion then became apparent among the adherents of Almagro, which in a short time increased to total disorder. The rout became general; the troops of Almagro were scattered on every side; and those who escaped the carnage endeavoured to save themselves by flight.

The unfortunate Almagro, too weak from bodily and mental suffering to join in the contest, had beheld the fluctuations of fortune from a little eminence near the field of battle. The old veteran, with breathless anxiety, saw the various changes of the day in the tide of victory; but when at length perceived the complete rout of his troops, he seemed overpowered by the calamity. He bitterly cursed that agedness, and those infirmities which prevented him from rushing into the midst of the combat to rally his men. He cast an anxious melancholy look on the scene; and when he saw every slender hope of retrieving the day irrevocably lost, the dread of falling alive into the hands of his vindictive enemies induced him to seek safety by flight. The capture of his person was, however, of too great importance to be neglected by the Pizarros. Accordingly, Gonzalo and Alvarado commenced a pursuit, and succeeded in arresting the fugitive general. With his capture terminated the engagement: those who were still on the spot surrendering at discretion.* One fortunate circumstance deserves to be remarked in this disastrous battle; namely, the extraordinary

* Zarate.—Herara.—G. de la Vega.

conduct of the Indians in having neglected an occasion so favourable for accomplishing the ruin of their common foe. The Spaniards of each party were so much reduced in number, and exhausted by their wounds and fatigues, that, had the Peruvians attacked them while in that state, they might have obained an easy victory. But a strange fatality seemed to conduct every transaction in the New World; and one is undecided which ought to excite greater surprise—the imprudent rashness of the Spaniards in turning their arms against each other, while surrounded by their natural enemy, or the apathy of the Peruvians in failing to take advantage of such an occurrence. The conduct of both parties can only be accounted for on the ground of the extraordinary ascendency which the former had gained over the latter, and which had invested the one with as much confidence in their power, as it had awakened in the other sentiments of dread approaching to superstitious awe.

The Pizarros stained their triumph by acts of the most revolting cruelty. The gallant Orgoño, Lerma, Sotelo, and several other Almagrians of note, were butchered in cold blood, as the soldiers of the conquering party seized this opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the foe for past offences. The Pizarros, far from checking this abominable tendency in the troops, rather encouraged it by their insolent behaviour. Cuzco was delivered up to plunder, and was pillaged of every valuable article by the conquerors, who now gave themselves up to the enjoyment of a barbarous exultation. But nothing could surpass the inhumanity with which Almagro was treated, and the lamentable manner in which he was doomed to end his life. From the moment that he fell into the power of his enemies, they had secretly resolved upon his death. They were too sensible of the advantages which they now possessed for completing their triumph, to compromise it by listening to such scrupulous suggestions as those of which Almagro had been the dupe, and was now the victim. But the Pizarros, though determined to sacrifice their antagonist, were anxious to bestow on the act that semblance of justice which had characterized the most iniquitous transactions in the conquest of Peru. A trial was accordingly to be instituted against Almagro, and several heavy charges brought against him, on which he was to be legally convicted, and sentenced to death.

This show of justice, however, though it might satisfy the wavering or timid Spaniards of both sides, could not impose upon the late partisans of Almagro, who, though now incorporated with the rival party, could not tamely see their brave and unfortunate general brought, in his declining years, to an ignominious end,

like a common malefactor, after the extraordinary services he had rendered to the Spanish cause in America. Their sympathies were urged on the vindictive disposition of the Pizarros; and Ferdinand was obliged to acquiesce in the dictates of necessity. The life of Almagro was accordingly spared for the present; nay, to give a colouring of impartial justice to his conduct, Ferdinand caused a soldier of the name of Samaniego, who, from private revenge, had assassinated Pedro de Lerma, as this officer lay wounded and prostrate on his bed, to be tried, and publicly executed. But the opportunity which the Pizarros had long desired, of ridding themselves of their antagonist, soon presented itself. The booty collected at the sacking of Cuzco, not being sufficient to satisfy the sanguine expectations formed by the conquerors, Ferdinand proposed to several officers to take the lead of different detachments, and set out on the discovery and conquest of new provinces. A proposition so consonant with the feelings and character of these adventurers, was joyfully accepted. Several expeditions were formed; and in these Ferdinand Pizarro took special care to include the late soldiers of Almagro, as well as the less decided amongst his own men.

No sooner had these various parties departed from Cuzco, than Ferdinand hastened to the accomplishment of his wishes. A tribunal was formally invested with the attributes of justice, and the unfortunate Almagro summoned to appear before it, to answer several charges which held him up in the light of a traitor and a rebel. Many accusations were urged against him; of which the principal were, his having entered Cuzco by force; his opening negotiations with the Inca against the Spaniards; and his being the cause of the blood shed in the conflicts of Abancay and Salinas. These several impeachments were substantially proved, and Almagro was condemned to suffer a public death. The unfortunate veteran was thunderstruck at the announcement of such a sentence. Though aware of the inveteracy of hostile feeling which Ferdinand Pizarro entertained against him, he could never have anticipated that he would carry his cruelty so far as to deprive him of life, now that he saw him completely ruined, his fortunes for ever lost, and himself approaching the end of his mortal career through an accumulation of bodily infirmities and mental sufferings. But the intentions of the Pizarros were but too manifest; and Almagro soon perceived that he had no compassion to expect from his merciless adversaries. The hapless old man, labouring under a combination of evils, struggling at once with sickness, debility, sorrow and disappointment, descend-

ed to the humiliation of appealing for pity to a man who was a stranger to such a feeling.

It was a miserable, a mournful, and a disgusting scene, to behold the valiant veteran Almagro,—a man who had spent his life in the most laborious toil for the service of his country,—a leader to whom, after Francis Pizarro, his country was indebted most for the conquest of Peru;—it was indeed an afflicting sight to behold him now, a deserted being, forsaken by fortune, prostrate at the feet of his successful antagonist, and supplicating the boon of that life which was now scarcely worth preserving. Almagro represented to Ferdinand Pizarro the difference of his own conduct, when he might have exercised his vengeance with impunity. He urged the frankness and generosity of his conduct during the whole period of their dissensions, the services which he had rendered to Spain, and, finally, that he had once been the beloved friend of Francis Pizarro, and had largely contributed to the elevation and fortune not only of that individual, but of his brothers also. These arguments were indeed unanswerable; but Ferdinand shunned a discussion which he could not successfully maintain, and preferred cutting the matter short to entering upon a refutation of Almagro's just remonstrances. He accordingly affected to be extremely surprised and ashamed, that a veteran Spanish warrior of Almagro's distinguished merit should evince such pusillanimity at the approach of death. The bitterness of this rebuke went to the old man's heart, and perceiving that every attempt to soften his enemy would prove ineffectual, he summoned the declining energies of his soul to meet his fate with becoming resolution and composure. He desisted from further expostulation, and prepared for death.

Many of the Spaniards were deeply moved by the disastrous fate of the once gallant chief and powerful conqueror Almagro, and some partial attempts were made to save his life; but the brothers remained inflexible. The only mitigation of the punishment awarded to the veteran was, that he should be strangled in prison, and then publicly beheaded, instead of undergoing the latter doom when alive. This sentence was soon carried into execution, and Almagro met it with a fortitude and composure worthy of his military renown and his former achievements. He was in the 65th year of his age when he suffered. Previously to his execution, he arranged all his affairs, and made a will, by which he named his son Diego, whose mother was an Indian woman of Panama, successor in his government, according to the royal grant bestowed on him. This son was, at the time, a prisoner in Lima;

and, though the provision made by his father in his favour was disregarded by the Pizarros at the time, it proved a fruitful source of dissensions and calamities in the sequel.*

Such was the disastrous end of Don Diego de Almagro, one of the most distinguished conquerors of the New World. Though the utmost researches were made in order to ascertain who were his parents, the secret of his birth remained undisclosed. He was found, as has already been stated, when an infant, at the door of a church, and brought up as a foundling; but, from a certain high-mindedness for which he was conspicuous, as well as from his noble carriage, and the circumstance of his family never reclaiming him, when his name became so illustrious that it would have conferred honour and profit upon them, had they been in humble circumstances, an inference may be drawn that he was of noble birth, although the offspring of some guilty amour. Be this as it may, Almagro was not only a soldier of superior merit, but, at the some time, a man of considerable abilities, affording a striking contrast to his companion and associate Francis Pizarro. In the conduct of the former, a social frankness, a certain chivalrous generosity, is generally observed; while the latter is more remarkable for a refined duplicity, and an evident disposition to sacrifice every consideration to the views of policy. The life of Almagro is certainly not altogether free from just blame in the various stages of his career; but though guilty of various faults, he was nevertheless a stranger to that excessive cruelty which was a leading feature in the character of the Pizarros. To Almagro, Spain was indebted not only for the important part which he acted in the conquest of Peru, and various other services previous to that event, but also for the discovery of the extensive kingdom of Chili, which became, in the sequel, one of the most lucrative possessions of the Spanish crown in America.

Some historians pretend, that, at first, it was not the intention of Ferdinand Pizarro to put Almagro to death, but that he had resolved to send him prisoner into Spain, there to be judged by the tribunals of his country. From this purpose, however, he was dissuaded, by information which he received, that one of his officers, named Gonzalo Mesa, had arranged a conspiracy, in order to attempt Almagro's rescue on his way from Cuzco towards the coast. It is difficult to decide between these two opposing statements; but it is natural to imagine, from the remorseless character of Pizarro, that, regarding Almagro as a prisoner of too great con-

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

sequence to be condemned by so obscure and partial a tribunal as that which he could there assemble, he would not be scrupulous about inventing reasons that might justify, or at least palliate, his decision.

CHAPTER VIII.

New Plans—Voyage of Ferdinand Pizarro to Spain—His imprisonment, &c.—Expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro to the Canela, &c.

The death of Almagro, together with the dispersion of his adherents in the various detachments which were spread about the country, put an end for a time to the civil dissensions which had lately agitated the Spaniards. The governor, Pizarro, enjoyed at length a complete tranquillity; and, in this interval of repose, he directed his thoughts towards the legislation, civil economy, and embellishment of all those territories over which he now held full and undisturbed jurisdiction. Perceiving everything in a tranquil state, he sallied forth, and in a short period brought into subjection the Callao, together with an extensive territory. He then returned to Cuzco, where the three brothers held long and important consultations on the measures to be adopted for the future. In spite of the recklessness of their dispositions, their consciences could not absolve them from the atrocious doom inflicted on Almagro; and they felt anxious to remove the bad effect which the first intelligence of the transaction might produce on the Spanish monarch. It was accordingly resolved that Ferdinand, the most refined in manners, and the most intelligent of the brothers, should repair to Spain without loss of time, in order to justify their conduct, and lay the blame of the whole transaction on the obstinacy and rebellious conduct of Almagro.

Several of the officers expressed their opposition to this determination. They contended, not without plausible foundation, that it was highly impolitic to send a Pizarro to the Spanish court so soon after the death of Almagro, some of whose adherents, having effected their escape from the country, had had time to repair to Spain, and predispose the minds of government and the people against him. This objection was founded on reason; but, on the other hand, Ferdinand knew, that the presents which he would

carry with him, his renown as one of the chief conquerors of Peru, and the hope of his future services, would soften any inimical feelings which the King might entertain. Besides, however great might be the exertions of Almagro's friends to injure him, he flattered himself that Charles would not declare against the Pizarros, from whom he had much to expect, merely to revenge the death of a man whose services ended before his death occurred. To these reasonings was added Ferdinand's consciousness of his being an object of marked aversion to many of the Spaniards in Peru, on account of the implacable animosity which he had evinced towards Almagro. These several motives weighed down every opposition, and Ferdinand departed for Spain in 1539.

Meanwhile, Diego de Alvarado—a stanch partisan of Almagro, who had succeeded in making his escape after the disastrous battle of Salinas—as well as other friends of the late commander, were assiduous applicants at the Spanish court to urge the trial of the Pizarros for the excesses of which they were accused. Ferdinand appeared in Spain with a pomp and magnificence which astonished the people, and which was assumed, no doubt, in order to dazzle his countrymen, and to create the most exaggerated ideas of his wealth and power. But, in spite of this assumption, and of the fearless manner in which he presented himself at court, he soon perceived that the tide of royal favour flowed decidedly against himself and his brothers. His enemies had been unremitting in their exertions to accomplish his ruin; and they had succeeded in alarming the Spanish government, by dismal accounts of the power arrogated by the Pizarros, and of the tyranny which they exercised. These brothers were accused of the most violent and vexatious measures, not only against the Indians, but the Spaniards; and were represented as partial and unjust—restrained by no consideration—boundless in their avarice, and reckless of the means of satisfying it. In the whole quarrel between them and the Almagrians, they were depicted as the aggressors, and as having conducted themselves throughout the affair with a degree of cruelty, treachery and injustice, unparalleled in the annals of American conquest. The melancholy end of Almagro was strongly dwelt upon; and his good qualities, great services, and acknowledged merit, were conspicuously brought forward. Nothing, in fine, was left untried that could tend to exaggerate the guilt of the Pizarros, and represent them in the most odious colours. Such assiduous efforts were not without effect; and the King of Spain, awakened to a sense of indignation at the conduct

of the brothers, and still more alarmed by a suspicious jealousy that they were curtailing his authority, lent the most favourable ear to their accusers, and ordered that a strict investigation should be commenced forthwith respecting the affairs of Peru.

Ferdinand Pizarro, though mortified and chagrined at the advantage which his enemies had gained over him, by having been earlier in obtaining a hearing, was nothing daunted at the circumstance, nor disposed to yield any deference to the cry against him. On the contrary, with that resolute and imperturbable daring which was so characteristic of all the brothers, he boldly entered upon a contest with Alvarado and the other Almagrians. With the greatest presence of mind, and with unbending firmness, he defended his conduct, and fearlessly laid the whole odium of the civil dissensions at Peru upon his opponents. He accused them of rebellion, and protested that it was owing to their ambitious and unruly temper that Spain had to deplore the loss of so many of her sons. Ferdinand urged his arguments with such dexterity—blended so skillfully a tincture of boldness with a pretended consciousness of innocence—and appeared at once so much in the light of an injured person—a person, too, who had the power to retort—that Charles was compelled to listen to his remonstrances. He was afraid, on the one hand, to exasperate the Pizarros at Peru, who, at such a distance, and commanding such resources in the country, and urged on by their reckless character, might be tempted to any outrage against the royal authority. On the other hand, the Spanish ministry, from the respective accounts given by the two contending parties, came to the conclusion that the affairs of Peru were in a most unsettled state, and that there the greatest confusion prevailed. It was obvious that the most melancholy results were to be expected from the spirit of faction that reigned in the country, that the Indians would ultimately avail themselves of the disunion among the Spaniards, and turn the circumstance to their own advantage. But the knowledge that such an evil existed was not sufficient for its cure. Besides, the information received, though conclusive in establishing the necessity of adopting prompt measures, was yet so liable to suspicion—proceeding as it did from two opposite parties, each interested in representing affairs in a light as advantageous to itself as criminatory to the other—that the Spanish court was left very much in the dark with regard to the various points in contention; and it was necessary to acquire this knowledge before ulterior measures could be adopted.

To send a person of note to Peru, who should inquire into the

real state of the country, was the only means of elucidating the truth. This plan the ministry resolved to follow; and, that the embassy might be invested with becoming dignity and importance, a personage of great eminence was selected for the mission, and extensive powers were vested in his person. He was directed to institute a minute investigation into the affairs of the country —to weigh maturely the pretensions and grounds of complaint of the two contending parties—as well as to give rewards or decree punishments, where merited. The individual chosen to discharge such high and responsible functions, was Don Christoval Vaca de Castro, a man equally remarkable for his prudence, talents and integrity, and who was, besides, a judge of the court of *Real Audiencia* at Valladolid. No particular character was assigned to his functions; for they were of a mixed nature, and he was to exercise, as occasion might require, either diplomatic, political, judicial, or absolute powers. Should Francis Pizarro be alive on the arrival of Vaca de Castro at Peru, the latter was to assume only the functions of a judge, and to appear to act in concert with the Governor, so that it might appear obvious that he was sent rather as an auxiliary than a spy on the actions of Pizarro. Indeed Charles was by no means inclined to give occasion of complaint to a man from whom he had received such services, and whose power he justly dreaded. This consideration alone, and not his approbation of the conduct of the Governor, induced him to behave towards him with such evident leniency. In case, however, of the death of Pizarro, Vaca de Castro was to transmit to Spain a faithful account of everything, and assume, in the mean time, absolute power over the affairs of the country.

But while the Emperor seemed so solicitous not to exasperate Francis Pizarro, he displayed very different sentiments towards his brother Ferdinand. The accusations preferred against the latter were so serious, that he conceived they ought not to be treated with indifference. Besides, Charles was convinced of the impolicy of allowing Ferdinand to return to Peru. Already dreading too much the power of the brothers, he resolved to prevent the departure from Spain of the one, who, in point of political abilities, was superior to the others.* Ferdinand had indeed played the most conspicuous, as well as the most odious part, in the transactions against Almagro; and thus a justifiable pretext was afforded for the seizure of his person. The Spanish court was, accordingly, not long undecided in the course it ought to pursue. By sacrificing Ferdinand Pizarro, it would at once satisfy the friends of Almagro, give to the public a plausible example of

justice, and prevent the dangerous person from rejoining his brothers in Peru. Policy urged the measure; and the King, totally disregarding the claims of Ferdinand on his royal indulgence if not gratitude, and paying no respect to his past services and hardships, ordered him to be arrested, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon. In this gloomy confinement he remained nearly twenty-three years;* and when he was released from it, he was completely broken down by advanced age and severe suffering. Nor did his restoration to liberty mitigate in any material degree the galling bitterness of his condition; for he never again returned to the enjoyment of wealth or power, and he was debarred, by his years and infirmities, from seeking consolation in new enterprises. A striking example of suffering, of disappointed hopes, and of neglect, he lingered out the remainder of his days in that insignificance which has been the award of many other warriors in the decline of life. Such was the fate of Ferdinand Pizarro, who, though sharing in the faults of his brothers, still merited from the Spanish court, on account of his services and sufferings, if not recompense, at least mitigation of punishment.

Francis Pizarro, meanwhile, having completely put down the faction of the Almagrians, and being in no apprehension of a renewal of hostilities, devoted his whole attention to extending the boundaries of his dominions, and improving the condition of the territories already subdued. The passion of the Spaniards for discovery and conquest, instead of being allayed, seemed only to increase in proportion as new enterprises were crowned with success. Besides, there was another reason for encouraging this spirit among the followers of Pizarro. The Governor had never been remarkable for impartiality in his transactions, and this naturally gave grounds of just complaint to his men. In the distribution of the wealth acquired, in the adjudgment of rewards, and in the partition of lands, he behaved rather in the manner of an absolute master than of a fair and candid judge. Accordingly, while he reserved the greatest and best share of the spoil for himself and his brothers, he in several cases neglected the just claims of many a deserving officer. Such conduct could not but be attended with serious inconvenience. The murmurs of discontent began to be heard, and the Governor thought it at once prudent and advantageous to silence the disaffected by sending them to remote regions, where their clamours could be attended with no mischief. He accordingly gave his sanction to the formation of

* Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

various expeditions, in which he took care to include most of the partisans of Almagro, whom he had unjustly excluded from a share in the emoluments derived from those conquests towards which they had so efficiently contributed. By this means he thought to rid himself for ever of the importunities of the malcontents, and set their cabals at defiance. But he was totally mistaken in his speculations. Though the adherents of Almagro were not now in a state to make any attempt against the Governor, they nevertheless cherished in secret a rancorous hatred, which only wanted an opportunity to break out, and revenge, by the ruin of their enemy, their own disappointments and the wrongs of their party.

Among the various expeditions which were formed about that time, none perhaps was accompanied with greater hardships, and more important results, than the enterprises pursued by Gonzalo Pizarro. His brother sent him with a considerable and well-equipped body to the conquest of the Callaos and the Charcas, which lie at a distance of two hundred leagues southward of Cuzco. This expedition was accompanied with those severe trials which generally attended the undertakings of the Spaniards in America. At first Gonzalo met with little opposition from the natives; but no sooner did he arrive on the confines of the province of the Choucas, above a hundred and fifty leagues from Cuzco, than he found a total change in the character of the inhabitants. From every quarter numerous bodies poured forth to arrest the progress of the Spaniards. Several brisk conflicts took place, in which the Spaniards invariably came off victorious, though their triumphs were not obtained without considerable losses. Indeed, on one occasion, the commander himself, while eagerly pursuing the Indians after a battle, and being accompanied only by three officers, Garsilaso de la Vega, Figueroa, and Gaspar Lara, was on the point of falling, along with his companions, a sacrifice to this rashness. The Indians, observing them so far from the body of the army, suddenly rallied, and rushing fiercely upon them, they were almost overpowered. It was only by exertions of the most desperate courage that the four Spanish cavaliers extricated themselves from the danger, and succeeded in saving their lives, though all of them were wounded. Gonzalo continued to advance; but, when he arrived at Chuquisoca, he found his men so exhausted and so reduced in number, and the enemy collected to oppose his progress so formidable, that he was compelled to demand immediate succour from his brother. With a reinforcement timely sent, Gonzalo, after a variety of perils, battles, and

sufferings, at length succeeded in reducing those provinces to subjection.*

The conqueror, according to the practice of the Spanish chiefs in America, no sooner saw the country in a state of tranquillity, than he began the foundation of a colony, which was afterwards well known as La Plata, from the rich mines of silver discovered in that territory. While Gonzalo Pizarro was occupied in the establishment of this colony, his brother was forming further projects of conquest. He had received information, that there lay beyond the boundaries of the kingdom of Quito, and out of the jurisdiction of the Incas, an extensive and rich territory, known by the name of the Land of Cinnamon, from the profusion of spice of that name with which it abounded. The cupidity of the Governor was excited afresh at this intelligence; and, far from being satisfied with the additional dominions which his brother had lately made to the Spanish crown, he determined to push forward his plans of discovery and conquest. The newly subjected province being completely at rest, he accordingly recalled Gonzalo, as he wished to communicate with him on an affair of great moment. On the arrival of Gonzalo at Cuzco, the Governor immediately proposed to him to undertake an expedition to the *Canela*, or Land of Cinnamon. He was particularly anxious to reduce that country to subjection, not only on account of the wealth which might be derived from it, but because he wished that his brother Gonzalo should acquire an extensive and independent government, as a just reward for his services.

The proposal was joyfully embraced by Gonzalo. He thanked his brother for his arrangements, and signified his readiness to depart without loss of time. Nothing could damp the ardour of the hardy soldier; for, though he had but recently endured so much, the recollection of what he had suffered was not enough to deter him from embarking upon an undertaking apparently surrounded with still more serious obstacles. His brother now bestowed upon him the government of Quito, that he might find resources for carrying on his arduous expedition, as the kingdom of Quito was contiguous to the long tract of land which it was now intended to explore and subdue. Gonzalo Pizarro, the youngest surviving brother, was equal to the others in daring and courage, and was not inferior to them in ambition. He set out with the greatest confidence from Cuzco at the head of two hundred men, half of them cavalry, and all perfectly equipped. After a

* G. de la Vega.

long and arduous journey, and after several engagements with the Indians, he at length arrived at Quito, where, upon being shown the Governor's order, Pedro Puelles, who commanded at the place, resigned his authority, and aided Gonzalo in raising further resources for the expedition. Here he augmented his forces, selected four thousand Indians, and laid in an ample stock of provisions to serve them in the hazardous enterprise in which they were about to embark. Gonzalo Pizarro, leaving Puelles as his lieutenant at Quito, set out from that place about the beginning of the year 1539. At first, his journey resembled more a military promenade than a campaign, as the Spaniards were treated with the utmost kindness and respect by the Indians, who neglected nothing that could add to their comfort and enjoyment.

These favourable prospects, however, were not lasting. No sooner had Pizarro quitted the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Inca, than the aspect of affairs was completely changed. In the territory of Quizos, which lies immediately to the north of Quito, the natives attacked the Spaniards with great impetuosity, but were repulsed by the latter. Having entered a town where they resolved to rest, the troops were here alarmed by a terrible earthquake, which leveled the greater part of the dwellings with the ground, but was fortunately unaccompanied with any disaster to the Spaniards. But the phenomena, which they beheld for many days following, filled the more superstitious with a sort of religious dread, and all with wonder and amazement. The earth opened in several places; —fearful sheets of broad and dazzling lightning continually flashed before them, while the roar of the thunder was tremendous;—the rain poured in torrents, and they could find no shelter from this fearful storm, which lasted nearly two months. They then began to ascend the Andes, which were covered with snow; but the cold in a short time became so intense that many of the Indians, who went scantily attired, were frozen to death; and many of the cattle which they brought with them for provisions were lost. Having passed the mountains, they now entered a deserted region, in traversing which they exerted their utmost efforts, as they were now in a deplorable state for want of provisions. They at length arrived in the town of Cumaco, which was situated at the foot of a valley, and where their hunger was satisfied, but at the expense of another equally severe annoyance. The rain poured in such fearful abundance for the space of two months, that they not only had their clothes damaged and spoiled, but in other respects were totally unable to continue their journey. These trials, however, Gonzalo and his hardy companions underwent with

exemplary resignation, cheered by the hopes that a rich reward would crown all their sufferings. At Cumaco their eyes were gladdened with the sight of the cinnamon tree, which, as it had been one of the principal inducements which had allured them to undertake so trying an expedition, seemed now to offer some alleviation to their sufferings. In a comparatively short space of time, they had been exposed to such changes of climate, as to break down the most robust constitutions. After the extreme of cold which they had experienced in the Andes, they now found themselves exposed to an intensity of heat. Indeed, this was so intolerable about Cumaco, that the natives went completely naked.

Gonzalo Pizarro left the greater part of his men at Cumaco, and proceeded with a select body of the most active and hardy followers, in order to find out a path through which his troops might continue their march with less toil than they had experienced during the hundred leagues which they had already traveled. In this progress, Pizarro experienced the usual hardships, which were not the less afflicting, from having been anticipated. The Spaniards were compelled to feed on wild unsavoury fruits and roots, as in many places they found dreary deserts, without any trace of vegetation; and in others, the inhabitants, startled at the appearance of such strange visitors, fled on their approach into the thickets and forests. After surmounting these various difficulties, they reached the province of Cuca, a territory more fertile, where the inhabitants appeared friendly disposed towards the Spaniards. In this place they came in sight of a large river, being the principal tributary of the Maragnon, and which contributed greatly to increase that already magnificent stream. Here Gonzalo resolved to await the arrival of the rest of his party, whom he had left at Cumaco with instructions to follow slowly, and to pursue the track left for their guidance by the vanguard of their company. Besides, the Spaniards were in a melancholy condition, and in extreme want of rest from their sufferings; for, as Dr. Robertson says, "they could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil and continual scarcity of food, seemed more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century were indomitable."

The men from Cumaco having joined their companions, and due time having been allowed them to recover from their fatigue, Gonzalo continued his march, following the banks of the river, which, being extremely broad and copious, was not fordable, and

which presented no bridge by which it might be crossed. After having traveled about fifty leagues, they were startled by a loud and awful sound of falling waters. They soon found the noise to proceed from a stupendous cataract; but their wonder was increased, when they perceived, about forty leagues below, that this immense mass of water gradually became narrower, till it passed through a sort of canal formed in a rock. The space between the two points of the rock was so narrow, that Gonzalo Pizarro conceived this spot to be the most favourable for crossing to the other side of the river. The land through which they had lately traveled was so poor, barren, and uninhabited, that he was firmly bent on exploring the regions on the other side. But the attainment of this design was not without great obstacles. Having consulted with his officers, they came to the unanimous resolution of constructing a bridge over the canal.

Every man set immediately to the task with ardour, notwithstanding the dangers which they clearly saw attended the undertaking. The elevation of the rock was so great as to have chilled with horror the hearts of men less daring than these adventurers; but besides this peril, they perceived the natives collecting on the other side, and forming in hostile array against them. The Spaniards discharged a volley, which succeeded in dispersing the affrighted Indians from the spot; and in the interval, with immense difficulty, the bridge was thrown over, without further loss than of one Spaniard, who fell through dizziness, by rashly looking downwards from such an immense elevation, as he was crossing it. This difficulty being overcome, others soon presented themselves to the Spaniards; for they again encountered impervious and mountainous districts, and the same sterility that had characterized those regions through which they lately passed. In this manner, they advanced on to Guema, a territory, if possible, more dreary, barren and deserted, than the others. The few natives who roved about these dismal solitudes, invariably fled into the woods on the approach of the Spaniards. Nothing could now exceed in horror the situation of the bold adventurers. They had literally nothing to feed upon but wild roots, and some fruits peculiar to the climate. The effects of famine and exhaustion soon became mournfully conspicuous. Many of the Spaniards, with a great number of the Indians, fell victims to these insupportable calamities. Many of the troops, also, were so sickly through badness of food, that Gonzalo was obliged to kill several horses, in order to provide better nourishment for the enfeebled.

Reduced to the greatest extremity, and totally unable to support

further toils, the Spaniards seemed ready to sink under the weight of their calamities, when the voice of their chief implored them to show themselves worthy of the Spanish name and renown, for that he himself felt conscious the termination of their sufferings was at hand. He suggested the idea of building a bark, in which a detachment of their party might proceed down the river to explore the country, and assist in procuring provisions. This plan, though difficult of attainment, was received with great approbation; and forthwith every one, from the commander himself to the lowest Indian, set to work with enthusiasm. They first built a sort of rude forge, in which, however, they contrived to keep alive the fire with the utmost difficulty, owing to the continual rain with which they were annoyed. The horse-shoes supplied the iron for nails used in the construction of the brigantine; and in like manner they applied, with the greatest ingenuity, every article which they possessed or could procure, to the promotion of their scheme. They also turned to account a sort of gum, which they found some trees to distil in abundance, and which served them in lieu of pitch, while tattered blankets and rotten articles of dress were used instead of flax. They sacrificed everything to the furtherance of a plan which they conceived to be the only means of bettering their condition; and, cheered by this prospect, their task was carried on with such alacrity and industry, that, in a short time, a bark was finished of respectable magnitude, considering the scanty means by which it had been constructed. As no time was now to be lost, Gonzalo Pizarro selected fifty men among the most adventurous of the party to embark. These he placed under the command of Francisco de Orellana, his lieutenant, an officer of great abilities, and justly renowned for his intrepidity and courage. The post to which this officer was promoted was so important, that Gonzalo Pizarro conceived no inferior person should be intrusted with it, as not only the success of the expedition, but even the existence of the Spaniards, seemed now to depend on the brigantine.

CHAPTER IX.

Treachery of Orellana, and Discovery of the Maragnon—Dreadful Calamities endured by Gonzalo Pizarro and his Companions, and their Return to Quito.

The brigantine being completed, Gonzalo caused all the gold and other articles which his followers possessed to be placed in it, not only that they might be relieved from the weight and trouble which they occasioned, but for greater safety and convenience. Every object of utility or wealth having been collected and thrown into the bark, the commander caused also to be conveyed into it those of the troops who were sick, or so exhausted as not to be able to continue their march. Orellana was ordered to direct at first his course close to the banks of the river, for the mutual aid of both parties, who at night assembled and reposed together. In this manner they proceeded, for the space of two months, crossing to either side of the river, according to the asperity or barrenness of the land through which they had to pass. Though the brigantine had been constructed not only for the purpose of affording relief in this disastrous excursion, but ultimately to discover some more advantageous district, Gonzalo Pizarro hitherto thought it expedient not to allow it to depart from his command, especially as the utility derived from it was so considerable; but, at the end of the time above mentioned, he conceived that it would be mutually beneficial to separate.

The Spaniards having met with some natives more pacific and more kindly disposed than those who generally strayed about those dismal and solitary places, were encouraged to seek information by signs, as the language which they spoke was not understood by the Indians who accompanied the Spaniards. On many occasions, indeed, Gonzalo had been misled by false information; and this had made him careful of not trusting too much to the intelligence conveyed by the natives. But, on the present occasion, he fancied he discerned such sincerity as justified his placing implicit confidence in them. From the inquiries he made, he learned, that, if he proceeded in his march, he would at length find a land full of inhabitants, abundant in provisions, and rich in its productions. The Indians further informed him, that this territory lay by the banks of a very great river, into which flowed the one down which he was now pursuing his march. This information filled

the Spaniards with joy; and no hesitation was felt with regard to the course to be taken.

Gonzalo Pizarro immediately ordered Francisco de Orellana to sail downwards, until he arrived at the confluence of the two rivers, where he was to effect a landing. Having there chosen a convenient spot, he was directed to disembark all the goods carried in the brigantine, which was to return laden with provisions to the succour of the Spaniards, since the condition of the army was now miserable in the extreme. Orellana having received full instructions from his commander, and having promised faithfully to abide by them, ventured into the middle of the river, where the stream was extremely rapid and powerful. Abandoning himself to its guidance, he darted down the river with such amazing rapidity, that on the third day after he left his companions, Orellana found himself at the appointed spot, having made, in this short space of time, nearly a hundred leagues. Upon their arrival, however, his party found their hopes of a richly cultivated land, and plentiful provisions, totally disappointed; and at this critical period the idea, conceived in treachery, but which led to an important discovery, first dawned on the mind of Orellana. This was the scheme of abandoning his commander and countrymen to their fate, whilst he proceeded to make discoveries in his frail bark.

The ruling passion of the Spaniards in that age, took strong hold of this ambitious young officer, who, now considering himself independent, conceived he might perform such services, and achieve such exploits, as would not only render him deserving of the royal approbation, but entitle him to a splendid reward. There are historians, however,* who, to soften the irregularity and treachery of Orellana's conduct, insinuate that he was moved to take this step, not merely by aspiring views of distinguishing himself, and pushing his fortunes, but by considerations of a different nature. The voyage, which, when carried along by the stream, he had performed in three days, could not be accomplished in less than a year, by one sailing against the current of so copious and so rapid a river; so that Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions could in no manner be benefited by his return, even if he could carry the provisions which they expected, but which were not to be found. To await the arrival of his companions in that place, appeared to him equally useless; and therefore he boldly proposed to his crew to follow the course of the Maragnon, until it lost itself in the ocean, and to explore the regions through which that great

* G. de la Vega.

river flowed. The proposal was not received without evident and decided disapprobation. Some of the party, especially a gentleman of the name of Sanchez de Vargas, strongly remonstrated against the treachery and cruelty of such conduct. His objections, however, were soon overruled by the majority of the crew, who, coinciding with the views of Orellana, urged him to pursue his design, as they were willing to abide by him, and to share in the perils and emoluments of the undertaking.

Orellana thanked them for their readiness, and painted, in glowing colours, the splendour and glory of the enterprise; and having brought over to his party, by gifts and promises, those of the soldiers who agreed with Sanchez de Vargas, he had the inhumanity to abandon that faithful Spaniard in a strange land, lest that, by his persuasions he might seduce the crew from their present resolve. The conduct of Orellana is certainly liable to the strongest censure. He not only violated his duty towards his commander, but, what is still more heinous, he abandoned his countrymen in a dreary desert to their fate, depriving them of that aid which they expected. But, on the other hand, the boldness, no less than the success of the attempt, effaces much of the odium attached to him in the transaction; and "his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed with green timber, and by very unskillful hands, without provisions, without a compass or a pilot."*

Orellana and his companions committed themselves with dauntless intrepidity to the guidance of the stream of the Luca, which bore them southward until they arrived at the channel of the Maragnon. This hazardous voyage was attended with much danger and toil. Orellana was compelled to make many descents on the banks of the river in search of provisions, on which occasions he was fiercely assailed by numerous and warlike enemies, from whom he was often obliged to procure food by main force. In some places the women rushed to the charge against the Spaniards,† from which circumstance arose the fabulous account of Amazons inhabiting that country. After a variety of hardships and perils, which Orellana bore with that unshaken fortitude which characterized the conquerors of the New World, he at length reached the ocean on the 26th of August, 1541, having spent above seven months in accomplishing his voyage.‡

To repair instantly to the nearest Spanish settlement, was the

* Robertson. † G. de la Vega. ‡ Herrera.

first object of Orellana; and after having been exposed to fresh distress from the danger of shipwreck, he arrived at Trinidad, where he procured a competent vessel, in which, attended by many of his adventurous companions, he set sail for Spain. When he arrived in that country, vanity as well as policy induced him to give the most exaggerated accounts of the regions which he had discovered. He scrupled not to venture upon the most marvelous descriptions; and he lavished all the colouring of extravagant romance on the recital of his voyage. He even pretended that he had visited nations possessed of gold and silver in such quantities, that these valuable metals were applied to the most menial and mechanical purposes. To this he added an ingenious account of a community of women, fierce and warlike, of gigantic strength, and ruling over a vast tract of territory. These falsehoods gave rise to the fables concerning *El Dorado*, where the streets were paved with gold, and a republic of Amazons, who would not suffer a male amongst them, but performed themselves every service in peace and war. The natural propensity of man towards the wonderful, seconded the statements of Orellana; and though there were many who would not admit the possibility of his narratives, the majority, if not thoroughly converted to his assertions, were still stanch believers in a great portion of them.

The voyage, indeed, even when entirely stripped of the gratuitous embellishment supplied by Orellana, retains enough of the extraordinary to excite surprise and admiration, and deserves to be ranked among the most memorable enterprises of that period. It led, besides, to the acquisition of true knowledge regarding the vast regions extending to the east, from the Andes to the ocean.* Orellana was accordingly most favourably received by the Spanish court; and the request which he made to be appointed governor of the newly-discovered countries, was readily granted. With great ardour, therefore, he began to make preparations equal to the magnitude of the enterprise in which he was about to embark. He enlisted many adventurers from the fame of the wealth of those territories, as the gorgeous descriptions with which the discoverers had invested them, had fired the imaginations of the Spaniards to a surprising degree. In a short time Orellana found himself at the head of five hundred gallant followers, all well equipped, and all equally ardent for the enterprise. This body he embarked at St. Lucar; but before Orellana could carry his

* Gomara.—Herrera.—G. de la Vega.

great plans into execution he was surprised by death, and his followers gradually dispersed.

Meantime, Gonzalo and his companions, totally unaware of the treachery of Orellana, had continued their march until they arrived at the confluence of the Luca and Maragnon. As the bark had not been seen before, Gonzalo naturally concluded that it awaited his arrival at the appointed place. His astonishment was, therefore, not a little excited, when, upon arriving at the spot, he found it missing. The idea of Orellana's dereliction never once entered his mind; he had too high an opinion of that officer's character to harbour suspicions against him; and he accordingly imputed this occurrence to other causes. He concluded either that some accident had happened to the unfortunate crew, or that some unforeseen occurrence had obliged them to be absent from the place of meeting. Under this persuasion, and in the greatest consternation at the prospect of fresh calamity, he determined to continue his march along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to rejoin his countrymen; but his hopes were miserably deluded. At last he met Sanchez de Vargas, the gallant officer who had been the victim of his duty and of his humanity, wandering about these dreary tracts; and from him he learnt the extent of Orellana's treachery. The intelligence burst like a thunderbolt upon the forlorn and suffering Spaniards. Nothing seemed now left but utter wretchedness and despair. The brigantine, in which all their hopes were centered, thus lost, they conceived that death alone could alleviate the horrors they were obliged continually to endure. Some of them threw themselves down with all the indifference of despair; others cried aloud, in a melancholy tone, to be led back to Quito; and all fixed their sorrowful eyes on their commander, as if appealing to him for remedy in such prolonged and dreadful calamities.

Gonzalo Pizarro behaved on this trying occasion with a magnanimity and prudence worthy of the highest praise. Though sensibly alive to the hopelessness of his situation, he betrayed no symptoms of complaint or despondency; and, while he was inwardly conscious that new disasters awaited him, he forgot the fears of the man in the duties of the commander. He harangued his soldiers in a bold and impassioned manner, painting to them, in the most brilliant colours, the renown which the recital of their arduous expedition, and of the horrible troubles with which it had been accompanied, would acquire for them, wherever it might be heard. He signified his readiness to lead them back to Quito; but, as they were now about twelve hundred miles from that place,

the march could not be accomplished without undergoing a repetition of the disasters already endured, or encountering, perhaps, others still more insupportable. It was, therefore, indispensable that they should collect all their energies, to enable them to undergo the severity of the march; and, instead of sinking beneath the heavy burden, to struggle desperately with misfortune, that, on joining their countrymen, their glory might be commensurate with the calamities undergone. The soldiers listened with deference to the advice and remonstrances of a commander in whom they had been taught to rely with unbounded confidence. Experience had shown them that Gonzalo Pizarro was superior to them all in the virtues of courage, fortitude, and perseverance. They had seen him also cheerfully lend his hand to the most menial labours, and, forgetting his dignity as commander, aid the efforts of his meanest followers. If the character of a leader is distinguishable by any outward sign, it is by the possessor of that honour subjecting himself to greater anxiety, undergoing superior labour, and submitting with more resignation to the severity of the common fate. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gonzalo Pizarro should have possessed such ascendency over the minds of his followers, and that they should subscribe to his counsels with such singular deference and submission.

To retrace their steps to Quito, was now the sole object of the wretched Spaniards. But it required no small share of fortitude and magnanimity to contemplate the prospect of such wretchedness as was continually to accompany their disastrous retreat. It was not merely a renewal of past troubles and pains that they were now to expect, but a fearful aggravation of all the hardships, by which their former progress had been marked. Severe as their privations had been in their former march, the toils attendant on it were considerably reduced and softened down by the cheering rays of hope. Besides, every fresh calamity could then be better supported, as the constitutions of the Spaniards were not so much broken, nor their minds harassed by such utter despondency. But now, the case was mournfully different. Reduced in numbers, wasted by sickness, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by mental suffering, the Spaniards were compelled to meet their hardships without the same resources as heretofore. Nothing that the Spaniards had hitherto endured in America, could be compared with the trials that assailed Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions, in retracing their steps to Quito. The mind is impressed with a feeling of horror, while dwelling on the frightful particulars of their disastrous progress, and of wonder, while contemplating the

fortitude with which calamity of every kind was borne. Famine reduced them to the horrid necessity not only of feeding upon wild and unwholesome roots, but of devouring with greediness the most loathsome and disgusting reptiles. Snakes, toads, worms, every living object however disgusting, was seized upon to satisfy the cravings of hunger. All the horses and dogs attached to the expedition had already been consumed; and in the last extremity, some wretches contrived to gnaw the saddles and belts as means of subsistence. To the horrors of famine were superadded others of equal magnitude. Diseases of the most awful description preyed acutely on frames already reduced by a combination of sufferings. A great mortality prevailed; and on the death of every unfortunate companion, the wretched survivors shuddered to consider that he himself might soon be left a breathless corpse in those dreary regions. Exhaustion from fatigue, added to sickness and debility, often compelled them to lie down for a time, unable to proceed, as they were in many instances obliged to force their way through trackless mountains. By these combined miseries, the number of men originally composing the expedition was dreadfully reduced. Out of four thousand Indians, above two thousand perished in this wild and horrible undertaking, and great numbers of the survivors dispersed themselves about the country, unable to continue the march, so that a very limited portion of them returned safe to Quito. The fate of the Spaniards was equally appalling. The expedition headed by Gonzalo Pizarro amounted, when it set out, to nearly three hundred and fifty men. Of these, deducting the fifty that accompanied Orellana, only eighty remained alive at their return; so that two hundred and ten Spaniards perished in this frightful expedition, which lasted nearly two years. The survivors, on their arrival at Quito, presented such a fearful spectacle as to excite the wonder and compassion of their countrymen, who had some difficulty in recognizing the uncouth beings that presented themselves. They were completely naked. Their shaggy beards had grown out of all dimensions, and they were disgustingly loathsome. Worn out with fatigue and famine, their emaciated frames and ghastly visages offered the semblance rather of lurid spectres than of human creatures.*

Such were the progress and termination of Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition. But on the return of that hardy soldier to Quito, he soon found that, instead of the repose which his recent hardships demanded, circumstances compelled him to enter upon new perils, troubles and difficulties.

* Zarate.—Herrera.—G. de la Vega.

CHAPTER X.

Insurrection of the Almagrians—Conspiracy against Francisco Pizarro, and his Death.

The flame of civil discord, which, on the death of Almagro, seemed for ever extinguished, was now on the point of blazing afresh with more fierceness than ever. The Governor, since the time of his triumph over Almagro, considering himself secure in the enjoyment of unlimited power, had neglected those means which were indispensable to ensure permanent tranquillity in a country so lately convulsed with the storms of civil war. Pizarro knew that he could never expect sincerity or fealty from the adherents of his deceased rival; and the conduct which he adopted was calculated to produce the worst effects. Instead of separating all those of the Almagrian party whom no persuasion could ever win nor bribe corrupt, he allowed them, after a few months, to assemble at Lima, in the house of young Almagro. Either too confident of his own strength, or despising that of his enemies, Pizarro supplied, by his indifference, the first materials towards the preparation of that mine, which, by its explosion, was to involve him in destruction.

The impolicy of the Governor had, besides, been evinced in the partial distribution which he had made of the various conquests in Peru, as well as of the wealth which accrued from them. The Almagrians, finding themselves excluded from a participation of those emoluments, towards the acquisition of which they had so materially contributed, naturally conceived that they were proscribed by the conquering party; and they felt that neither friendship nor forgetfulness could be expected from the men of whom it was composed. Many of them, accordingly, repaired to Lima, where they experienced a most cordial reception from young Almagro, who generously opened his door to them, and afforded them all the assistance and comfort in his power. Such proofs of gratitude and kindness naturally awoke corresponding feelings in the hearts of the unfortunate veterans; and the image of the late Almagro which dwelt in their hearts, strengthened a growing partiality towards the son, which soon ripened into a devoted attachment and a resolution of making some bold attempt to reinstate him in power.

The young Almagro was formed at once to please and to command. Graceful in his person, of kind and persuasive manners, frank in disposition, and endowed with the military virtues which shone in his father, he seemed to offer an efficient rallying point to the friends of that veteran. Besides, the elder Almagro had felt, from the experience of his own eventful life, the disadvantages that proceed from the want of education, and had therefore been doubly careful in providing against such a deficiency falling to the lot of his son. The latter had been trained from early infancy, not only in the requisites of a good soldier, but in all the accomlishments of a gentleman. By this means, young Almagro, when he arrived at that age when his natural powers, as well as the cultivation bestowed upon them, could be brought into exercise, showed himself so superior to the general cast of ignorant adventurers and rough soldiers that flocked to the New World, as to command admiration and respect. The Governor perceived the daily importance which young Almagro was acquiring; but, lulled in fancied security, he neglected those efficient measures which were necessary to check the growing evil. He contented himself with offering service and emoluments to several of the Almagrians; but the latter, already confirmed in their determination, rejected every testimony of kindness offered by their old enemy, expecting, by this means, to be freed from every tie of gratitude, as well as to be better disposed for the prosecution of their plans.

The most active of the Almagrians, as well as the most redoubtable foe to Pizarro, was Juan de Herrada, a man of considerable importance among the Spaniards, and one who had enjoyed the intimate friendship and confidence of Almagro. These considerations had bound him so strictly to the interest of the son, that he had not only been assiduous in procuring for young Almagro every advantage that might tend to improve his mind, and render him worthy of a high destiny, but was augmenting his band of partisans by unremitting exertions. Possessing superior abilities, and enjoying great favour and respect amongst his countrymen, his endeavours were crowned with full success; and the number of Almagrians collected at Lima soon increased to a degree that might well alarm the imagination of a person less suspicious than the Governor. But Pizarro, though Herrada was represented to him as a dangerous man, and though he was well acquainted with the strong ties which had bound him to his dead rival, from an infatuated confidence in his own power, totally disregarded the insinuations of his friends, and paved the way to his own destruction. Affairs, however, at last began to assume so threatening an aspect,

that the eyes of Pizarro were partially opened to the danger. By advice of his councilors, he now performed an act of violence, which, instead of producing salutary effects, served only to increase the desire of the Almagrians for vengeance, and stimulate them to more persevering and ardent exertions. He deprived young Almagro of his proportion of Indians, who, as they performed all kind of service, were accounted, together with the lands, the chief source of wealth. The Governor conceived, that, by thus reducing the means of their chief, the indigent members of the party would be compelled to leave Lima, and disperse through the country in search of subsistence. In this he was greatly disappointed. The Almagrians, far from quitting the city, preferred undergoing the most mortifying destitution, in the hopes of soon being able to better their condition, and take ample vengeance on their oppressor. From that moment, redoubled exertions were made to forward the plot for an insurrection; letters and invitations were sent to different parts of the country, pressing all the adherents of Almagro to repair to Lima without delay. These invitations were not disregarded; and, in a short time, above two hundred Almagrians were assembled within the city walls.

In the number of those who now joined the cause of young Almagro, there were many of those pernicious characters, those reckless and unprincipled adventurers, who, in the game of life, are ever ready to play desperate stakes;—men without principle or acknowledged way of living, dissipated gamblers, poor, indigent, and desperate characters, who always seize with eagerness, the opportunity of a disturbance or a conspiracy, as the means of improving their fallen fortunes. Such men, who are unfortunately an invariable ingredient in the formation of revolutions, while they tend to throw discredit on the undertakings in which they engage, are nevertheless of essential service, from their readiness and aptitude for bold and desperate acts. The manner of living of the Almagrians indicated the extent of their poverty:—they used to collect what they had gained at play, or gathered by other means, and place it into the hands of Herrada, thus living by a sort of public subscription. They herded like the most miserable wretches; so much so, that, among seven comrades who lived in a miserable hovel, there was only one cloak, which was alternately worn by each of them when he went abroad.* By degrees their insolence, instigated at once by indigence and by irritated feelings, grew to such a height, that they scrupled not to

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

exhibit a sort of morose contempt for the Governor, notwithstanding the terror which the severity of his disposition was calculated to excite. In some instances, they actually passed him, without any of those tokens which common politeness requires, and which were due to Pizarro in virtue of his dignity.

But the temerity of the Almagrians, and their contempt of punishment, were nowhere more conspicuously displayed, than in an act which they shortly afterwards performed, and which gave to the friends of the governor serious cause of alarm. One morning, three gibbets were seen in the principal square of the city, respectively in the direction of the residences of Pizarro, Picado, his secretary, and Velazquez, the alcalde. This seditious act prompted many individuals to urge the Governor to institute inquiries against the aggressors; but Pizarro, with a fatal blindness, refused to follow this advice. He alleged, that these were puny ebullitions of impotent rage, and that allowances were to be made for the irritation and disappointments of men who had been defeated, and were now in disgrace. This extreme apathy further emboldened the Almagrians; and to try how far they might rely on the blind tranquillity of their foe, they had recourse to stratagem. Juan de Herrada, the head of the conspiracy, went to pay his respects to the governor, who received him with affability, and even offered him some oranges, which, in that place and at that season, were considered a delicacy. Herrada kissed the hands of Pizarro, and returned to his friends. The account which he gave of his visit, was such as to gratify the anxious hopes of the conspirators. Several secret meetings were held, where, after various discussions, it was unanimously resolved that the Governor should be assassinated. The conspirators were, indeed, the more tempted to the commission of this criminal act, by the utter disregard which Francis Pizarro invariably manifested in providing for his personal safety.*

The Governor went generally unattended, except by a single page, or one or two friends at most. This affectation, in a person of his station, arose perhaps from that intrepidity of temper, which on all occasions induced him to treat every kind of danger with contempt. It was his intention, perhaps, to show the malcontents the little cause for alarm which they afforded. Being urged by some of his adherents to be more careful of his life, and to go always accompanied by a suitable escort, he answered, with that fearless courage which was natural to him, that as he was in daily

* G. de la Vega.

expectation of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, the judge appointed by the Spanish court to inquire into the affairs of Peru, it would seem as if he were in dread of de Castro's power, if he altered his conduct or deportment from what it had hitherto been. Things continued in this state for some time; the Almagrians equally successful in carrying on their machinations with impunity, as their intended victim was steady in treating their cabals with contempt. On one occasion, being informed of some act which clearly evinced that the intention of the Almagrians was to deprive him of life as soon as a fit opportunity should offer, he contented himself with remarking, "My good friend, be under no apprehension for the safety of my life. As long as every man in Peru is convinced that I can in a moment cut off his head, he will be careful in not foolishly attempting aught against mine."

An event now took place which served to precipitate the crisis. Antonio Picado, the Governor's secretary, vexed at the insolence which the Almagrians had evinced in placing the three gibbets in the public market, and equally annoyed that Pizarro, contrary to his advice, should have taken no notice of the affair, took upon himself the task of testifying contempt, and offering insult to the disaffected party. He accordingly placed a superb medal of gold on his hat, with a label, on which was written, "For the men of Chili,"—such being the name by which the Almagrians were known. This act, which was meant to show derision of the poverty of that party, failed not to increase the spirit of indignation and revenge by which all the members were actuated. It was accordingly resolved, that Pizarro and his creatures should be sacrificed without further delay, and young Almagro invested with the government of Peru. A day was appointed for the commission of the deed, the manner agreed upon, and an inviolable oath taken by the conspirators to remain faithful and stanch to their resolves at the risk of their lives. Juan de Herrada, chief of the conspiracy, then selected Martin Bilbao, Diego Mendez, Sosa, and other desperate associates, to take the more dangerous part in the transaction.*

Though, in this last meeting, and on coming to this resolution, the conspirators had displayed a caution very different from their former line of conduct, yet the horrid plan was not so secret as not to come to the knowledge of the Governor in due time. He was secretly informed by a priest of the danger which threatened his life; and, though no positive intelligence was given with

* Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

regard to the manner of the sacrifice, yet several hints were afforded to guide the judgment of Pizarro, and make him provide for his safety.

He held a consultation with his nearest friends; but they did not seem to attach sufficient importance to the affair. As the Almagrians had so long delayed in coming to a rupture, those very persons who had been formerly alarmed by their audacity and insolence, were now accustomed to regard them with contempt, and to sleep in pernicious security. Strange to say, the mind of Pizarro had undergone a material change. He suddenly awoke from that apathy which had led to the present critical posture of affairs, and resolved to be as cautious as he had been hitherto imprudent. On the festival of St. John, June, 1541, contrary to all expectations, he abstained from attending at mass—a circumstance which astonished every one, as the Governor had been assiduous in the discharge of his devotional duties, unless prevented by some event of importance. Divers speculations were set afloat: and the conspirators, suspecting that he had received due intelligence of the plot in contemplation, began to be apprehensive for its success. They resolved, however, to wait till next Sunday, when, in case their hopes should be again disappointed, they were to attempt the commission of the deed openly, as they conceived they endangered, by delay, the success of their design. Sunday arrived—the conspirators were on the alert—and again the Governor was absent from church. He had pleaded indisposition; but the Almagrians, better acquainted with the real motives of his absence, now conceived the moment arrived for their desperate attempt; and, with equal alacrity and resolution, they disposed themselves for carrying it into immediate effect.

Everything being prepared, Juan de Herrada selected about eighteen of the most determined conspirators to perpetrate the horrid deed; and on that day, Sunday, the 26th of June, at the hour of noon, which is devoted in hot climates to the purposes of eating and repose, they sallied from the place of meeting, and with drawn swords, ran furiously towards the Governor's palace, filling the air with loud cries of vengeance. "Long live the king!—Perish the tyrant Pizarro!" and similar exclamations were fearfully vociferated; and the dismal clamour served as a signal for the rest of the conspirators to hold themselves ready in arms at the different stations assigned them. Pizarro had just risen from table, and was in friendly converse with some of his principal adherents, when he was startled by these alarming sounds. Presently some Indians came running into the apartment, in the

greatest terror and dismay, and related to the Governor that a crowd of armed men were advancing towards the palace with hostile intentions. Pizarro heard this intelligence without evincing the least symptoms of fear or confusion. Though aware of his imminent danger, his haughty and resolute mind appeared as collected as if he were at the head of a numerous army, and beyond the power of his enemies. He called for his arms without the least emotion; and, hearing the conspirators already at the outer door, ordered Francisco de Chaves, one of his principal captains, to go and secure it.

In the confusion of the moment, and perhaps supposing that the clamour originated in some quarrel, and that the conspirators could not contemplate so horrid an act as the murder of the Governor, Chaves, instead of obeying, stood on the top of the staircase, and, in an imperious tone of voice, demanded what they wanted, and what they meant by their disorderly conduct. Instead of an answer he received a blow from the foremost of the conspirators, and, before he had time to provide for his defence, the rest of the party fell upon him, and dispatched him in a moment. The greatest confusion now prevailed in the palace. Many of the domestics, considering everything lost, threw themselves out at the windows; others hurried to places of concealment; and Pizarro was left, with his half-brother, Francisco de Alcantara, and a few devoted friends, to meet his doom. The Governor, nothing daunted by his frightful situation, and resolved to make a desperate defence, fiercely grasped his sword, and placed himself, supported by his brother, at the entrance of the apartment. The conspirators rushed forward, with an overwhelming and irresistible force, and a fearful conflict began between the two parties. Though the combat was so immeasurably unequal, it was carried on with astonishing resolution and animosity by the friends of the Governor. Pizarro himself behaved in a gallant manner, and worthy of a better fate. Fired with rage and indignation, he constantly cried out, "Courage, my good friends, courage! despite of such unequal numbers, we shall yet make these traitors and rebels repent of their treachery."

The door was resolutely defended for some time. The conspirators were protected by their armour, while Pizarro and his party, thus unexpectedly surprised, had not been able to provide a similar defence. At length Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; and although his place was immediately occupied by another, Pizarro was compelled to retreat into the apartment. Here he continued to defend himself, though he perceived that almost all his friends were stretched on the ground, either dead or mor-

tally wounded. At last he remained alone, and was immediately surrounded by his enemies, who rushed upon him with ruthless animosity. Human power could withstand no longer. Overwhelmed by fatigue, panting through loss of blood, the dauntless Pizarro fell, covered with wounds, and in a few seconds expired.

A shout of barbarous exultation proclaimed the fate of the Governor, and new crowds flocked to the palace. This was immediately given up to be plundered, as were the houses of his principal adherents. Not a particle of the great wealth which those places contained was left in them. Indeed, nothing remained to defray the expenses of the Governor's burial; and the body of that man, who had so lately been considered little less than a powerful and wealthy prince, was now literally dragged to the church by some black slaves, no other person of any note daring to compromise themselves, by showing the least regard to the deceased. At length, one of his domestics named Barbaran, with the assistance of his wife, consigned Pizarro and Alcantara to the earth in a hasty manner, being informed that some of the other party had it in contemplation to cut off the head of the Governor, and place it on a gibbet.*

Such was the tragical end of Don Francisco Pizarro. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His death was in accordance with his tempestuous life; and in his last moments, he afforded a striking display of those qualities for which he had been so eminently distinguished. In contemplating the various deeds of his eventful life, the mind is at once astonished and horrified. He was cruel and vindictive: but yet the vices of his character are often lost sight of in the splendour of some of his virtues. Few men, perhaps none, have rendered greater services to their country. He was indefatigable in his pursuits—patient under the most overwhelming calamities—and proof against every kind of danger and suffering. Pizarro took a prominent part in almost all the important enterprises in America. He was the companion of Nuñez de Balboa and of Hernan Cortes; and, after having served with distinction under the most celebrated leaders, he became himself a leader equally renowned. Spain owed to him the discovery and conquest of Peru. Perhaps in no page of the history of America—not even in the books which narrate the romantic and almost incredible achievements of the conquerors of Mexico—shall we find heroism more magnanimous and more extraordinary than the determination formed by Pizarro and thirteen

* Zarate.--Gomara.—Vega, &c.

others, who, though worn out with fatigue, diseases and disappointments, resolutely preferred to remain in a desert island, than to abandon the enterprise which they had undertaken.

But, however great may have been the military virtues of Francis Pizarro—however extensive and varied the series of his services—however severe the trials he sustained in a long life devoted to danger, toil, and hardship in the cause of discovery,—such multifarious merits lose a great portion of their claims to public admiration from the acts of injustice, rapine, and cruelty, by which his deeds were deeply coloured. The murder of Atahualpa, the slaughter of the Peruvians, cannot unfortunately be effaced from the pages of his life, and must counteract our feelings of wonder and admiration, by those of horror and abhorrence. The name of Francis Pizarro is generally coupled with that of Hernan Cortes; but this is probably more owing to the circumstance of their being the discoverers and conquerors of two great empires, than to any striking resemblance in their characters, abilities, or merits. As a daring commander, as a man capable of sustaining fatigue, Pizarro was equal to Cortes. He possessed the qualities of courage, patience and magnanimity, in an equal degree, but he was far inferior as a politician, to the illustrious conqueror of Mexico. Besides, the latter possessed the advantages of education, as well as other grounds of superiority, to which Pizarro could lay no claim.

Juan de Herrada, and the rest of the conspirators, as soon as they had performed their horrid deed, sallied out of the Governor's palace, and brandishing their bloody swords, ran about the streets proclaiming the fall of the tyrant. Their party was soon augmented by other associates. The greatest ferment prevailed at Lima; and while the friends of Pizarro, and the more peaceful inhabitants, struck with consternation, knew not what course to adopt, Herrada, eager to improve his first advantage, proceeded to carry his designs into execution without a moment's delay. The men of Chili, as the faction was called, now placed young Almagro on horseback, and paraded him about the streets, filling the air with shouts of joy, and with imprecations on the fallen Governor. The conspirators next assembled the Cabildo, or municipal authorities, and obliged them to recognize Almagro as lawful governor of Peru, in right of succession to his father. The ceremony so summarily required, and so forcibly exacted, was performed without demur; and having, by this pretended legal act, confirmed the title of Almagro, his tutor and leader Herrada harangued the principal citizens; and, depicting in the most odious colours, the

excesses and cruelties of the late Governor, took occasion to draw a splendid picture of the tranquillity and happiness which they would enjoy under the rule of his successor.

As Almagro, however, was too young to take the active conduct of affairs into his own hands, Herrada was appointed to act as his delegate and general. That enterprising man took every measure for ensuring success to his daring deeds. He was indefatigable in his exertions, which, together with the fortunate issue of the conspiracy, induced many of the late soldiers of Pizarro to join the standard of the new Governor. Indeed, the memory of that chief was consigned to opprobrium and execration. No effort was even made, at the time, to bestow a more decent burial upon his mortal remains. His dwelling was pillaged, as well as the houses of his principal adherents; and everything was done to strengthen the interest of Almagro, by heaping odium on the memory of Pizarro. These changes were not performed without some victims being sacrificed. Several stanch dependents of the late Governor, under trivial pretences, were exiled or imprisoned, and many also were put to the sword.*

In this manner was the authority of Almagro established and recognized at Lima. His daring conduct was crowned with entire success. Indeed, the expectations of the conspirators were answered with a rapidity which they had probably never anticipated. Their party increased every day—some in hopes of bettering their condition, others disgusted with the tyrannical disposition of the Pizarros, and many, subscribing to the force of circumstances, flocked to the standard of Almagro; so that in a short time he found himself at the head of no less than eight hundred men—the best soldiers in Peru. With this strong force, and with the control of Lima, the Almagrians now considered themselves fully prepared to meet any future attacks.

* Zarate.

CHAPTER XI.

Renewal of Civil Dissensions—Arrival of Vaca de Castro—Complete Destruction of the Almagrian Faction, &c.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of success which the Almagrians had experienced in their undertakings, they soon found that the Spaniards inhabiting the country distant from Lima would not easily acquiesce in the new order of things. Feared and disliked as Don Francisco Pizarro had been for his violent temper and cruel deeds, the recollection of his services had effaced all inimical feeling against him after his fall; and when the first effervescence was over, the horror of his assassination induced many to consider the conduct of Herrada and his companions as barbarous, treacherous, and illegal. When, therefore, Almagro sent messengers to the various Spanish settlements, requiring them to recognize his authority, he met with such opposition, as augured unfavourably for the stability of his power, and for long continuance of peace. He was considered by many of the officers as an usurper; and they refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction, until it should be confirmed by the Emperor. Nor did the great strength which the Almagrians were daily acquiring, deter some of the more daring of the adverse party from proceeding immediately to take such decisive measures as showed clearly that they were ready to decide the contest by force of arms.

It was at Cuzco that these alarming symptoms were more particularly displayed. Nuño de Castro, Pedro Anzures, and Garcilaso de la Vega, all officers of distinguished merit, and faithful to their duty, immediately resolved to exert a decided opposition to the rebellious faction; and accordingly, after peremptorily refusing to acknowledge its authority, they prepared to resist its force. As they had not a sufficient number of men under their command, a messenger was dispatched immediately to Alvarez de Holguin, who, at the head of a hundred Spaniards, had departed for Callao, in order to reduce some Indians into subjection. That officer was apprised of the late calamitous occurrences, and was earnestly required to abandon his present undertaking for affairs of far greater importance, and to return to Cuzco without delay. Holguin lost no time in retracing his steps; and, no sooner was he at Cuzco,

than active preparations were adopted to resist the usurped authority of Almagro.

The public authorities assembled, and, after performing the solemn rites of religion, proceeded to name an interim commander for Peru, until the will of the King of Spain should be known with regard to the person who was to fill that station. Their choice fell upon Pedro Alvarez de Holguin, an officer of note, who had most ardently joined in opposition to the Almagrians;—while Garcilaso de la Vega, Anzures, and several others, were selected to fill subordinate stations, according to their merits. Soldiers were also collected and drilled, and proclamations were issued, that all true Spaniards should hasten to surround the standard of the King, against that of traitors and rebels. These invitations were not without success. That instinctive respect which the Spaniards have for royal authority, and, above all, the turbulent spirit by which those adventurers were actuated, influenced many to abandon their slothful tranquillity, and to join in the contest which it was now evident would ensue. Indeed, both parties had assumed too great a power to submit tamely to the dictates of each other; so that, instead of thinking of any negotiation, they strained their every effort to increase their chance of success in war. Peru was thus again threatened with being involved in the flames of civil discord.

It was at this critical juncture that Vaca de Castro arrived in America. This personage, after a severe voyage, had arrived at Panama, and, in his hurry to fulfill the important commission with which he was intrusted, had left that place in a frail vessel, little adapted for hard service, by which means his passage to Peru was protracted and dangerous. At length, after undergoing many perils, he was driven by stress of weather into a harbour in the district of Pompayan. He then proceeded by land to Quito, and on his march was informed of the assassination of Pizarro, as well as the various occurrences which, subsequently, had taken place in Peru. He lost no time, therefore, in producing the royal decree which appointed him to the government of the country; and his authority was immediately recognized by Benalcazar, who commanded at Pompayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, Gonzalo Pizarro's lieutenant at Quito. Vaca de Castro lost no time in promoting these first favourable symptoms; and his conduct, while it bespoke great abilities, was such as to merit success. He dispatched messengers to every quarter, requiring those who had hitherto remained neutral to declare for the right cause, and promising pardon to such of the rebels as would abandon the standard

of Almagro, and join that of the King. By unremitting exertions, and by a happy mixture of decision and address, Vaca de Castro soon found himself in an attitude to command respect; and as he acted under the royal sanction, that circumstance gave a weight to his character and to his measures, which he anticipated would prove of material advantage in the sequel.

Nor were his expectations deceived. The timid and the prudent, who had hitherto remained neutral, hastened to join that party which they conceived would triumph in the end; and the enemies of the Almagrians, who had, until now, continued inactive through dread of their power, saw the moment arrive when they might fearlessly avow their sentiments. By this means not only the forces of Vaca de Castro were greatly increased, but his character, with the respect which it inspired, was more strongly confirmed. His jurisdiction was solemnly recognized in Cuzco, and most other towns of Peru; and an imperative summons was issued to the rest to follow this example, under the pain of being considered rebellious, and treated accordingly.*

Young Almagro perceived the progress of Vaca de Castro with alarm, and he could not but behold with sorrow the disaffection and apathy which began to be exhibited among his own party. The prompt and decisive measures of Vaca de Castro, and the readiness with which he had been seconded by many of the most eminent officers in Peru, awakened in the mind of the usurper dismal apprehensions for his power, and even for his personal safety. But this was no time for idle speculations, which could only tend to dispirit such of his partisans who were still zealous in his cause, and to compromise, by procrastination, every chance of success. He accordingly resolved to attack Cuzco, the principal station of the enemy, before Vaca de Castro should arrive there with his troops, and augment the garrison in that city. Meantime, Alonso de Alvarado effected a junction with Pedro Alvarez de Holguin, who, together with the rest of the loyal party, now determined to act in concert with Vaca de Castro. They dispatched messengers to Trujillo, where the new governor then resided, in order that all the various detachments should concentrate, the better to resist the opposition of the Almagrians, whose forces, notwithstanding some partial desertions, were still, in point of number, calculated to inspire respect.

A misfortune now happened, which sensibly affected the Almagrians, and was an irretrievable loss to their inexperienced chief.

* Zarate.—Gomara.

This was the sudden death of Juan de Herrada—the stanch friend of Almagro—the head and soul of his party. By this fatal event, the young leader was deprived of one on whose superior abilities, and proved fidelity, he could implicitly rely; and from that moment a total change was perceptible in his conduct. Neither endowed with the talents of his late tutor, nor possessing that experience which is the fruit of years, Almagro soon discovered a violence of temper, and a want of address, which ultimately proved fatal to his cause. He nominated Christoval Sotelo to succeed Herrada: but that officer, though a man of courage, and a good soldier, was not possessed of such abilities as distinguished the latter chief. Almagro immediately sent this officer with a chosen body to take possession of Cuzco, an undertaking which Sotelo accomplished without difficulty, as no troops had been left in that city for its defence. Soon after, Almagro himself made his entrance into the place, and, after deposing the civil authorities, and naming persons of his own party to fill their stations, he applied himself diligently to provide some defence against the forces of Vaca de Castro, who, he naturally concluded, would not be long in making his appearance before Cuzco. Almagro named the Greek, Pedro de Candia, a skillful engineer, and one of the thirteen gallant companions of Pizarro remaining at Gorgona, commander of the artillery; and under his instructions a plentiful supply of gunpowder was manufactured, the country abounding with saltpetre of the best quality. Candia also founded some pieces of artillery, and, in a word, exerted all his abilities towards the improvement of that department over which he had been appointed to preside.

Nor was this the only advantage which Almagro possessed. The Inca Manco Capac, who had retired to the mountains, showed an evident resolution to favour his party, and sent messengers to Cuzco with offers of friendship and alliance. Almagro received these amicable overtures with kindness and gratitude; and the Inca, in testimony of his sincerity, immediately sent him about two hundred articles, such as shields, armour, swords, muskets, and other weapons, that had fallen into his hands during the siege which he had conducted against Cuzco, when that city was under the power of the Pizarros. Things now began to wear a favourable aspect, when not only the prospects, but even the life of Almagro, sustained imminent danger, from that spirit of jealousy and discord which seemed to rage so violently in the breasts of the Spaniards in Peru.

* G. de la Vega.

Christoval Sotelo and Diego de Alvarado, the two principal officers of Almagro's party, entertained a secret animosity against each other, which terminated in the death of the former. Having unfortunately met in the public square one day, a quarrel ensued, in which Sotelo was killed by his antagonist. This event was followed by inauspicious results. The friends of each party took up the feud, and committed deeds of violence which it required the utmost exertions of Almagro to quell. Diego de Alvarado, conceiving that his life was in danger, now formed the daring project of sacrificing his commander; but he failed in his attempt, and was himself the victim of his sanguinary design.* By this unfortunate dissension, not only was the party of Almagro bereaved of its two principal supporters, but a pernicious spirit of private revenge was infused into the breasts of many of the soldiers, who had been the adherents of these two officers.

Almagro, both to divert the attention of his troops from the recent mournful events, and to prevent the forces of Vaca de Castro from increasing in strength, resolved to advance boldly, and offer battle to that commander. He left Cuzco at the head of a gallant army, amounting to no less than seven hundred men, all perfectly equipped, and eager for an engagement. In this body were many of the veteran conquerors of Peru, who had to sustain their great reputation in arms, and others who, from their connivance or participation in the death of Pizarro, were firmly resolved to conquer or perish; as they conceived that no other alternative was now left to them. Such views, together with the hope of plunder, and the generous disposition of young Almagro towards those who served him with zeal, united his soldiers devotedly to the cause of their chief; and on quitting Cuzco, he entertained the most flattering expectations.

Meantime, Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived at Quito, after his long and disastrous expedition, and found the place almost deserted, owing to the commotion which had lately taken place. He there obtained the particulars of the various important events which had occurred since his departure—the conspiracy against his brother, and his assassination—the elevation of the young Almagro—the arrival of Vaca de Castro from Spain—and the arrangements which both parties had made for settling the contest by force of arms. Gonzalo Pizarro did not hesitate with regard to the course which he should pursue. Though exhausted, and almost broken down by such unusual hardships, he immediately determined to take a

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

prominent part in the approaching contest; and accordingly, he sent a message to Vaca de Castro, with offers of service from himself and his veterans. Contrary to his expectations, however, these were declined by the new Governor, who returned a kind and respectful answer, inviting Pizarro to repose after the toils he had undergone; adding that his presence was necessary at Quito, not only in order to protect the place, but to restore the strength of his followers, of whose services he would avail himself in due time.

Vaca de Castro displayed consummate policy in refusing the offers of Pizarro. Though quite prepared for war, he had not yet discarded from his mind all hope of making some accommodation before he came to the last extremity. He felt sensible that some sacrifice of pride, and some concessions, were preferable to a fierce contest between Spaniards; for, however victorious either party might be, the results would be detrimental to both. Accordingly, though he had perceived the Almagrians making every preparation for warfare, he still cherished ideas of peace; but the presence of Gonzalo Pizarro in his army would be an insuperable bar to an accommodation. That violent and vindictive captain could never come to any amicable arrangement with the assassins of his brother; nor would the Almagrians, in their turn, feel inclined to show any friendly sentiment towards their inveterate enemy. His absence from the army was therefore requisite; and Vaca de Castro, weighing the advantages which he might derive from the valour of that chief, with the probable mischief which might ensue from his assistance, prudently resolved on that line of conduct, which was certainly the most judicious under existing circumstances. Some authors suppose, that Vaca de Castro was not merely actuated, on this occasion, by his zeal for the public cause, but that a feeling of self-interest had great weight in his decision; as he feared that, on the presence of Gonzalo Pizarro in his camp, the soldiers might be tempted to raise him to the supreme command.

Vaca de Castro continued his march to the plains of Chupas, which lie about two hundred miles from Cuzco. Here he pitched his camp, and resolved to await the enemy; but previously, however, to an engagement, he resolved to offer terms of accommodation. Accordingly, he sent two officers to Almagro, inviting him to return to his duty, by submitting to the royal standard; and promising, in case he should follow this course, not only full pardon for past transgressions, but such emoluments as would satisfy at once his pride and his ambition. Almagro felt inclined to accept this proposal, but wishing, with natural anxiety, that the terms should be more explicit; he answered, that he was willing

to lay down his arms, provided his jurisdiction over the province of New Toledo should be recognized, and he himself completely reinstated in the possessions of his father. Moreover, he stipulated that the amnesty should be extended to every member of his party, however obnoxious his conduct might have been previous to this moment. To these two principal points he added a requisition, that Alvarez de Holguin, Garcilaso de la Vega, Alonso de Alvarado, and other determined adherents of the Pizarro faction, should be immediately dispersed over the country, as he could not entertain well-founded hopes of personal security, so long as Vaca de Castro continued surrounded by his avowed and implacable enemies.*

These terms were presumptuous, and could not be admitted by the governor; yet Almagro could scarcely have accepted others, situated as he was at the time. In demanding the government of Toledo, he was perfectly justified, as he could lay claim to it in virtue of his father's right; and the dispersion of his inveterate foes was a measure of imperious necessity. But, on the other hand, Vaca de Castro could not deprive himself of the principal supporters of his cause, and thus render himself an easy prey to the attacks of the enemy. Negotiation, therefore, became fruitless, while the desire of war had been still increasing, from various circumstances that combined to excite the feelings of both parties. The Almagrians hanged one Garcia, under the pretence that he was a spy, which act exasperated those of the adverse faction. Young Almagro entertained, besides, sanguine hopes as to the issue of a contest: having been deceived by erroneous accounts of the strength of Vaca de Castro, as well as by a report that the people of Panama were favourably inclined towards the men of Chili, and that the emperor would confirm the power of their chief. Every idea of an arrangement being now at an end, Vaca de Castro, in order to give more weight to his proceedings, assembled the army, and, after exhorting them to persevere in their duty, he declared Almagro a rebel and a traitor, sentenced him to death, and confiscated his goods. After this, nothing remained but to settle the contest without delay.

Vaca de Castro distributed his army in such a manner as to surprise his veterans; for they could not conceive such skill in military tactics to be possessed by a man whose life had been devoted to the pursuit of letters. Alvarez de Holguin and Garcilaso de la Vega commanded the wings; Alonzo de Alvarado carried

* Zarate—Gomara.

the royal standard: Nuño de Castro led the van, which consisted of a chosen company of musketeers; the infantry was flanked by the cavalry; while Vaca de Castro headed a body of reserve. It was near sunset, when the battle began, which was furious and obstinate beyond measure, and disputed with equal animosity and resolution on both sides. The first symptom of disadvantage on the side of Almagro, arose from supposed treachery on the part of Pedro de Candia, who commanded the artillery, and who is said to have fired over the enemy, giving them an opportunity of advancing without injury. The combat now became desperate, every man of the contending parties having mingled in it. As they had no mercy to expect, the Almagrians fought with the courage of despair, and succeeded in keeping victory in suspense, while the veil of night had already thrown its shade over the ensanguined field. But the good fortune of Vaca de Castro at length prevailed, and the contest ended, about nine in the evening, in the total rout of the Almagrians. The slaughter was great;—not fewer than five hundred Spaniards lay dead on the field. The party of Almagro suffered the greatest loss, as many of them, impelled by despair, and entertaining no hope of mercy, rushed on the swords of the enemy, and perished rather than surrender. In this battle many distinguished themselves on both sides; but none perhaps more eminently than Francis Carvajal, a veteran who had served in the wars of Italy under the great Captain (Gonzales de Cordova,) and who, on the present occasion, gave the first pledge of that renown which he was afterwards to acquire in America. Vaca de Castro sustained great loss, and none more deeply to be deplored than the death of Alvarez de Holguin, who, taking everything into consideration, might be considered the most accomplished officer in his army.*

Young Almagro himself fought with a courage worthy of his father. When he saw the battle lost past all recovery, he betook himself to flight, with a few devoted partisans. He was, however, taken, and conducted to Cuzco, where it was resolved he should immediately be tried by a court-martial. Vaca de Castro displayed consummate abilities, as well as great energy of mind, throughout these lamentable occurrences; and his conduct after the victory commands as much admiration, as his valour and prudence before and during the battle. Though far from being of a sanguinary disposition, and averse to spill the blood of his unfortunate countrymen, he knew that the tranquillity of the kingdom

* Zarate.—Gomara.

demanded sacrifices; and that a mistaken pity, by leaving rebellion unpunished, would encourage fresh disturbances. Forty of the prisoners, who had been noted for their turbulent spirits, and had particularly distinguished themselves in the late commotions, were tried, convicted as rebels and traitors, and condemned to death. Others, not equally guilty, were banished from Peru; the rest were freely pardoned. The unfortunate Almagro himself was publicly beheaded at Cuzco, on the same spot where his father had suffered, and by the hands of the same executioner. He was only twenty years of age when he underwent his disastrous fate. He was greatly deplored, as he had shown qualities which would have rendered him highly eminent in future life, had he not, by the fatal influence of circumstances, been so early involved in calamity. With young Almagro the name, as well as every vestige of the faction, became extinct.*

The death of Almagro and his principal partisans, together with the banishment of others, and the dispersion of the rest through various parts of the country, restored tranquillity to Peru. Still, before anything could assume a flourishing state, many exertions were to be made, and a long interval of peace was requisite. The continual dissensions among the conquerors, and the predatory lives which they led, called imperiously for a remedy—a remedy, too, which, though efficient, should not be attended with violent results; and much tact and prudence, no less than energy, were necessary to insure this desired effect. Of this Vaca de Castro was fully aware, and he accordingly determined to devote his whole attention to the fulfillment of so important an object. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the respect which the new governor inspired from his integrity, and the lustre of his abilities, pointed him out as a person equal to the arduous task which he had undertaken; and every one now seemed ready to second the aims of a man who had entered on his government under such favourable auspices.

* Zarate.—Herrera.

CHAPTER XII.

Measures adopted by the Spanish Government with regard to Peru.—The Nomination of Nunez Vela as Viceroy of that Country.

The repeated convulsions which had destroyed the tranquillity of Peru, and which would have compromised the security of the conquered country, had the inhabitants been endowed with a warlike disposition, had of late particularly attracted the attention of the Spanish sovereign. It was evident, that the unsettled state of the kingdom, and the continual disturbances to which it was exposed, demanded such measures as should check those jealousies of individuals, and those plots of faction which had been the source of so many calamities. It was indispensably necessary to organize a more efficient system of government in the New World; but the peculiarity of the conquest, the character of the conquerors, the distance of the country, and various other circumstances, rendered such a task one of no ordinary difficulty. The monarch could not issue those absolute decrees which he might enforce in Spain with comparative facility, without exciting the violent passions of men accustomed to toil, and appalled by no danger. On the other hand, a curb ought immediately to be placed on that licentious and turbulent spirit, by which the Spanish adventurers were so often propelled to engage in those disastrous measures, so detrimental to the well-being of the country. Much tact and prudence were therefore necessary in administering a remedy to so alarming an evil; and this conviction fortunately aroused at length the anxiety of the Spanish government.

From the period of the discovery of America, down to that under review, the different conquests made in the New World had been conducted at the expense, and under the control of individuals; and extensive as the conquered territories were, the crown of Spain was indebted for them to the individual exertions of its subjects. The reigns of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Charles the First, were so fruitful in important events and diplomatic schemes, that, notwithstanding the magnitude of the discoveries and conquests made in remote regions, the attention which was paid to them by those sovereigns was in no manner adequate to the immense results of those undertakings. Ferdinand was as much absorbed in political intrigues, as his successor Charles was

occupied with ambitious projects; and the multiplicity of schemes that occupied the attention of either, presented a great obstacle to the tranquillity of the New World. These various discoveries and conquests had been, therefore, undertaken by private adventurers, sometimes without sanction of any kind, and almost always without the knowledge of the government. Success was the justification of any irregularity in the manner of conducting those erratic and independent enterprises; and, aware that the results alone could affix blame or confer praise, the adventurers were unremitting in their exertions to bring them to a favourable issue. Thus, the crown received enormous emoluments from undertakings in which the King took no part, and to the merit of which he could lay no claim. The sovereignty of the subdued countries, and a fifth of the spoil in gold, silver, or other precious articles were set apart for the king, while the adventurers in each expedition seized on the plunder of the vanquished to indemnify themselves for the expense incurred in their enterprise, and to reward themselves for their sufferings and toil.

This system of independent warfare was liable to many inconveniences, and was productive of serious evils in the sequel. The conquerors of each newly-discovered region began forthwith to portion out among themselves the territory as a permanent recompense for their services. This summary distribution gave birth, in the commencement, to many irregularities, and produced many acts of violence and injustice. But the Spanish government, too much interested in those conquests, was at first obliged to connive, in some measure, at many excesses of the conquerors. Hence no curb was put to their rapacious spirit; and the unfortunate Indians felt, to their misery, the heavy pressure of such an unlicensed system. The illiterate adventurers, alive to the allurements of present interest alone, and incapable of forming any grand speculations for futurity, seemed only intent on improving their fortunes by accumulating wealth, without being scrupulous about the manner by which it was obtained, or paying much regard to the evils which might follow their rapacity. But among the disastrous effects of such an order of things, there was one so terrible, as to call for immediate attention—one in which justice and humanity were equally interested with the more sordid views of political expediency. One description of emolument to the conquerors accrued from their appropriation of the persons of the vanquished, who were distributed like herds of cattle to serve their self-constituted masters, and to help them, by their labour, in the acquisition of wealth. As kindness and lenity are not in general the charac-

teristics of rude adventurers, it is not to be wondered at, if the tasks imposed upon the natives were not in strict proportion to the physical strength, or positive powers of endurance with which nature had endowed them; or if, on the contrary, they were more in accordance with the cupidity of their masters. The Indians, naturally less robust than Europeans, soon felt the rigour of their new lot, and, unable to support fatigue and exertions to which they were so little accustomed by habit, and so little adapted by nature, began to sink under the burden. They drooped and perished in such numbers, that the mortality became serious, and gave birth to anxious reflection. The government of Madrid could no longer remain a tranquil spectator of such scenes, without making competent efforts to check the progress of the evil. Indeed, it was reasonably to be apprehended, that in the progress of time, instead of governing vast and populous countries, the King would possess only dreary and unprofitable deserts.

This anxiety on the part of the Spanish court, if not entirely occasioned, was at least strengthened, by the remonstrances of a pious and humane ecclesiastic. This was the celebrated Father Bartholomew de Las Casas,—a name which is rendered illustrious for his unremitting exertions in ameliorating the lot of the Indians. This humane man had already exerted himself magnanimously in behalf of suffering humanity; and though his zeal may have sometimes carried him too far, in his accusations against the Spaniards, he nevertheless deserved the high appellation of philanthropist —the most honourable title that can be given to a human being. Though the applications made by Las Casas to the Spanish court, and to those bodies to whom the affairs of America were committed, had hitherto been unattended with the desired success, the zeal of the good monk had not abated in its ardour, and only waited a fit opportunity to be renewed with equal warmth and perseverance. Las Casas was at this moment at Madrid, having been sent to Spain, on a mission from the chapter of his order at Chapa. Upon his arrival in the mother country, he resolved to redouble his exertions: and as he was now better acquainted with the real state of America, and more instances of misery had come under his observation, he was stimulated to make such efforts in behalf of those he had taken under his protection, as would at length awaken the royal sympathy in their favour.

He made assiduous applications, and allowed no check to daunt his humane intention. That powerful eloquence, with which he was endowed by nature, was heightened by the circumstance of his having witnessed those lamentable scenes, which he now de-

picted as an appeal to public sympathy. With impressive earnestness he described the horrors resulting from the severe treatment of the Indians; and brought forward the dreadful fact, that in less than fifty years the greatest portion of their race had disappeared from the islands, and that an equally disastrous fate must soon attend the natives of the continent. Nothing could prevent the frightful calamity of a total extinction of that race, but a royal decree, declaring them to be freemen. This appeal he urged with unremitting ardour; and as the sufferings of the Indians was the constant theme of his meditations, he did not content himself with petitions at court, or sermons in the pulpit, for carrying conviction and thus gaining his object; he left no medium untried that he conceived favourable to his views. About this time he published his celebrated book, called the *Destruction of America;* in which treatise, he paints in glowing colours the deadly influence of the Spaniards, and the horrid fate of the natives in that country.*

Charles and his government at last became alive to the truth of his statements, and to the urgent necessity for a remedy. To the motives of humanity so eloquently pleaded by Las Casas, those of public expediency were added. The danger of the extinction of the Indian race, though it might not be so imminent as it was described, was yet an evil which might naturally be anticipated, should the affairs of America be allowed to proceed on the same footing. The Emperor, fortunately, being now relieved in some measure from his multifarious schemes, devoted his serious attention to the subject in question; but he conceived, that his plans with regard to the New World would not be completely accomplished, by merely following the advice of Las Casas, whose remonstrances were restricted to the unhappy condition of the Indians. While legislating for that race, it was also necessary to check the Spaniards, and to put a rein upon their unrestrained indulgence. But the distance of America, and the difficulty of receiving regular and authentic intelligence, required that a code of regulations should be formed, and proper functionaries appointed to enforce it, without the pernicious necessity of recurring to Spain for instructions, upon every emergency of importance.

A code of laws had indeed become indispensable. Independently of the representations of Las Casas, the accounts transmitted

* Though Father Bartholomew de Las Casas, the champion of the Indians, be entitled to the admiration of all humane persons, his work ought nevertheless to be read with salutary distrust, as the accounts which he gives are often grossly exaggerated.

from the New World, of the wealth and power enjoyed by the Spaniards, were such as to alarm the jealousy of a monarch. Some obscure and ignorant adventurers, destitute alike of the advantages of birth, education or talent, were now the possessors of wealth sufficient to become a dangerous engine in their hands. Great as the services were which they had performed, and severe as their hardships had appeared, it was still urged, that the reward was of such magnitude, as to exceed the due proportions of justice. The extent of territory assigned to men of the lowest rank, and the prospect of that immense wealth which they would eventually possess, awoke the envy and indignation of the grandees, who considered such sudden elevations as highly injurious to their dignity. Thus, if anything were wanted to enforce the views of humanity and the designs of policy, the spirit of jealousy and cabal came forward to strengthen prior considerations.

Charles now assembled his council, and, with their aid, framed such a code of laws and regulations, as he deemed fully adequate to the exigences of the occasion. In these he defined the attributes and power of the Supreme Council of the Indies, as well as the functions to be exercised by the various officers of the crown in the New World. Together with these regulations, which met with general approbation, were issued several decrees concerning the property of Spaniards, the tendency of which was to ameliorate the condition of the natives. Of these the most important were, 1*st*, That, as many of the shares of land seized upon by the conquerors were enormous, the Royal Audience had power to reduce them as might seem expedient. 2*d*, That, on the demise of any conqueror or landholder, the land and the Indians granted to him in the first instance should not be inherited by his children or widow, but should revert to the crown. 3*d*, That the Indians should be absolved from services contrary to their will, and not be forced to carry burdens, to work at the mines, or to dive for pearls. 4*th*, That all public functionaries, all ecclesiastics, all hospitals and monasteries, should henceforth be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, which were to be given to the king. 5*th*, That all persons implicated in the criminal transactions which took place during the contest between the Pizarros and the Almagrians, should forfeit their landed property and their Indians.*

These regulations were received by the ministers with the most decided disapprobation. Indeed, though displaying features of justice and humanity, they were such as would prove injurious to

* Herrera.—G. de la Vega.

the prosperity of newly-established colonies. The ministers represented to the King, that the Spanish settlers in the New World were insufficient, of themselves, for the improvement and cultivation of the extensive territories over which they were so thinly scattered, and that the success of their schemes chiefly depended on the co-operation and labour of the Indians. The natives, from their natural indolence and love of independence, could be induced by no reward to lend their services, so long as they remained free agents. Thus, the most unfavourable consequences only were anticipated from the new regulations; and, under their influence, a just dread was entertained of the stagnation of those riches which America would otherwise produce to Spain. The ministers, who had regularly received due intelligence of the state of the New World, were earnest in declaring to the Emperor, that these measures would prove fatal; but Charles, either from compassion to the sufferings of the Indians, or, what is more probable, from a stubborn adherence to his own views, refused to listen to the remonstrances of his ministers, and prepared to carry his plans into effect, by naming as agents for America persons in whose resolute character he could confide. He, accordingly, appointed Don F. Tello de Sandoval superintendent of the kingdom of Mexico, and instructed him to co-operate with Mendoza the governor, in order to enforce the observance of the new laws. He next appointed Blasco Nuñez Vela to the government of Peru, bestowing on him the title of Viceroy, to give more weight to his authority; and, at the same time, he instituted a Royal Audience in Lima, at the head of which he placed four lawyers of great eminence, to act in the capacity of judges.*

In the year 1543, these functionaries departed for their places of destination. The news, however, of the laws which they were sent to enforce, reached America before them; and the information was attended with those feelings of disapprobation which might naturally have been anticipated. The inhabitants of Mexico, conceiving that the moment of their ruin was approaching, resolved to sally out in deep mourning from the city at the approach of the superintendent, in order to show the sentiments with which they were agitated at the prospect of this supposed calamity. The prudence and lenient conduct of Don Antonio de Mendoza the governor, however, prevented them from fulfilling their intentions; and, to his admirable behaviour throughout, Spain was indebted for the preservation of tranquillity. He prevailed on the

* Zarate.—Gomara.

inhabitants to conduct themselves with all becoming respect towards Sandoval; and instead of the tokens of disapprobation with which the arrival of that functionary might have been greeted, the usual demonstrations of respect and submission were displayed. But though they yielded in this manner to the dictates of duty, when urged by a Viceroy, whose character commanded esteem, they nevertheless could not disguise the feelings of sorrow and disappointment which the appearance of Sandoval in Mexico was calculated to call forth.

The principal persons in the city hastened to lay before the Viceroy and superintendent a multitude of addresses expressive of the general feeling against the new regulations. Strong remonstrances were urged, and powerful arguments adduced, to show the impolicy of enforcing these laws. Every one felt deeply impressed with the idea that total ruin must follow such a step. The exertions made were so unremitting, that the Governor and superintendent were obliged to give the subject their serious attention. Fortunately for the inhabitants of Mexico, not only was Mendoza a man equally distinguished for his abilities as for his prudence and moderation, but Sandoval, from the beginning, evinced a gentle disposition, which augured favourably for the people over whom he had been appointed. Both these personages, therefore, appeared disposed to listen to the wishes of the inhabitants; and they came to the resolution of suspending, *pro tempore*, those parts of the new regulations which bore directly against the interests of the Spaniards, and which were, hence, especially subject to their reprobation. Besides, they not only granted their sanction to the determination of sending a deputation to Spain, in order to represent to the monarch the evil tendency of those laws, and the ruin which would follow their enforcement, but they gave additional weight to the embassy, by strongly supporting the views of the petitioners. These exertions were attended with success. The Emperor, influenced by such powerful appeals, granted a modification of the new laws, which succeeded in calming apprehension, and restoring tranquillity to the colony.

In the meantime affairs assumed a more threatening aspect in Peru. No sooner were the intended regulations made known, than a degree of effervescence, far more formidable than the discontent displayed at Mexico, appeared among the Spaniards. The comparative facility with which the inhabitants of Mexico had been calmed, could not be expected from those of Peru. Nor is this a matter of surprise, when the material difference that existed

between the conquerors of these two countries is taken into consideration. Although the Spaniards who subdued Mexico, with some brilliant exceptions, were men of slender pretensions to rank or talent, yet they were, in every respect, superior to the rude and illiterate vanquishers of Peru, in the pacific virtues so essential to colonization. The adventurers who reduced the latter vast kingdom to the crown of Spain, being far removed from scrutiny, and enjoying a degree of power and wealth to which they could never have aspired even in their wildest dreams, had abandoned themselves, without restraint, to the exercise of absolute dominion, and to a contempt of authority whenever it interfered with their personal views. This licentious spirit had, indeed, been carried much farther in Peru than in any other of the Spanish settlements in the New World. The complete subversion of all order during the civil contentions between Almagro and Pizarro—the lawless spirit which actuated the greater part of the Spaniards—and the habits of violence and of opposition to control, which they had unfortunately acquired from the peculiar circumstances under which their turbulent dispositions had been called forth—contributed to form of these adventurers rather a body of independent rovers, than a community of dutiful subjects.

The first intelligence of the new laws, which bore so directly against their habits and interests, naturally awoke alarm, and excited the most angry feelings. To men of such desperate habits, even the semblance of anything bearing the character of regularity and order, could not but be disagreeable. A Viceroy with a clear and properly defined prerogative—a Royal Audience with power to act vigorously in cases coming under their cognizance, and with all the paraphernalia of constituted authority —were beheld with alarm by those military adventurers; but when this first subject of dread was accompanied by aggravating circumstances that interfered directly with the wealth and prosperity of the conquerors, their rage and indignation knew no limits. By the new regulations they were to be deprived of the fruits they had earned by a series of appalling hardships and protracted services:—the reward of years of toil and danger, of patience and suffering, was to be violently wrested from them at the caprice of a monarch, who had already received immense emoluments from the success of their labours, while he himself had contributed nothing towards their undertakings. It was by this violent act of injustice and ingratitude that he now repaid their services; and, after all the dangers and toils of the conquest, they were now to be treated like a herd of slaves, without either

ceremony or consideration. Such were the reasonings of the Spaniards; and they were followed up by resolutions, privately formed, of exerting strong opposition to the wishes of the King.

The inhabitants of the different cities in Peru began to assemble in groups, and debate on the injustice and atrocity of the new laws. The most bitter complaints were unceremoniously vented against the sovereign. As the most eminent of the conquerors had at one time or other held some official capacity, they came thereby under the influence of these regulations, and felt severely aggrieved by them. It is not strange, therefore, that the prospect of being stripped of the hard-earned fruits of their labour, merely because their character or services had elevated them to places of note, should arouse their indignation. In the infancy of the several discoveries and conquests made by the Spaniards in the New World, and at the first establishment of colonies, they were compelled, by necessity, to choose from their own body individuals to fill civil offices: and hence we see those adventurers, who were such resolute and fierce soldiers in the field, acting in the capacity of judges, alcaldes, &c., in the infant colonies. This inconvenience was certainly not of their own seeking;—they had achieved everything through their own individual exertions: and it was certainly hard and unjust that they should now suffer for appointments over which they had no manner of control. But there was still an aggravation to this just subject of complaint. The conquerors were to undergo such deprivations, as, in many cases, would reduce them to comparative poverty, at a period of life, too, when they could no longer make any vigorous exertion to improve their fortunes. They were to be deprived of their wealth, when broken down in constitution and enfeebled by age —when no longer able to attempt new discoveries, or exert their energies successfully in the field of battle.

These complaints, uttered with emphasis by many, were listened to by all, with a corresponding sentiment of indignation. Meetings were convened, consultations held, and resolutions formed, not only to oppose the enforcement of the Viceroy's measures, but to prevent the promulgation of those laws, with the execution of which he had been intrusted. The malcontents, being backed at once by the justice of their complaint and by the power of numbers, scrupled not to give publicity to their intentions; and accordingly, the whole of Peru rang with sounds of alarm and confusion. Vaca de Castro, with that prudence and address which distinguished his character, exerted himself to ward off the horrors of the impending storm. He perceived that

a crisis was approaching, in which he himself would be peculiarly situated. His integrity would never allow him to make the least attempt, either by force or stratagem, against the constituted authority, and he had resolved to conform to the provisions made by the King; but, on the other hand he knew that much dexterity would be necessary to induce the Spaniards to submit to the great sacrifices required from them. In this dilemma, he was loth either to offer the least encouragement to them by his conduct, or to take any measures which, by exasperating them further, might terminate in an explosion. He contented himself, therefore, with earnestly conjuring the inhabitants to comport themselves with respect becoming good subjects, and to urge their claims, not with unruly violence, which would argue against them, but with that manly moderation which betokens a good cause.

Vaca de Castro assembled the principal inhabitants, and promised them, that, as soon as the Viceroy and the members of the Royal Audience should arrive, he would himself lay before them the first remonstrances of the people, and urge those authorities to lend their weight in sending a representation to the King, for a revocation of those parts of the new regulations which more especially excited censure and condemnation. Vaca de Castro knew, that a happy mixture of compliance and fortitude—of quietness and strength, could alone remedy the evil with which Peru was threatened; and he flattered himself, that the alarming symptoms shown by the inhabitants would subside, should the Viceroy Nuñez Vela be endowed with those virtues and qualifications which were necessary for the high station he had been appointed to fill. But, unfortunately, that personage was far from possessing these requisites. Nuñez Vela was a man of severe habits and harsh temper. He had prescribed to himself a line of conduct which he resolved to follow without deviation. He considered himself intrusted with the execution of laws emanating from a just source, and felt that a strict enforcement was solely to be held in view. Nothing short of the fulfillment of the King's wishes to the utmost extent would satisfy the Governor, and he knew no other means of carrying his designs into effect but that of force. This was made manifest from the moment he set foot in the New World; and the inhabitants immediately perceived, that no sort of accommodation was to be expected from a man of such an obstinate character, supported as he was by legal authority.

Indeed, no sooner did Blasco Nuñez Vela land at Tumbez,

March the 4th, than he began to conduct himself in such a manner, as to leave no hope of peace or tranquillity. Considering himself rather as an executive officer of the crown, than as a man filling the high station of Viceroy, Vela began to put in force the new regulations, with unmitigated severity. He set the Indians at liberty wherever he passed, and summoned the civil authorities to assist him in his endeavours to enforce the new laws. According to the letter of the regulations, he deprived every individual who had held office of his lands and domestics, and, to give a more striking example of his strict adherence to the essence of the regulations, he would not allow his own baggage to be carried by Indians. In fine, he appeared deaf to the first representations, and his advance into the country was beheld with equal dismay and discontent. His progress, indeed, bore more the semblance of a hostile invasion, than the joyful entrance of a Viceroy into power. It would be difficult to describe the surprise and consternation which his arrival produced in every town; and these sensations were mournfully heightened, by the harsh declaration which he made in public, that he came firmly resolved not to discuss the merits of the new laws, but to put them into rigid execution.

No hopes were now entertained by Vaca de Castro. That prudent and worthy man had gone out in advance to meet the Viceroy; and, in order to testify his respect in a more lively manner, he was attended by a numerous retinue of the most distinguished persons. In his progress towards Lima, he was met by messengers sent by Nuñez Vela, requiring him to lay down his authority, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Viceroy. Vaca de Castro readily acquiesced in the requisition, and proceeded on his march, determined to show every token of deference and respect towards the new and legitimate authority appointed over the country. But, though he himself subscribed cheerfully to his fate, many of his attendants could not view with indifference the haughtiness and harshness with which the Viceroy conducted himself. A considerable number of those who accompanied the deposed governor, now refused to proceed, and retraced their steps to Cuzco,—some disgusted at the behaviour of Nuñez Vela—others asserting that the most serious apprehensions ought to be entertained regarding a man of his character, and that not only the property, but even the lives of the Spaniards were not secure, while such a person held boundless authority.*

* G. de la Vega.

As Vaca de Castro was continuing his march, he was met by an ecclesiastic, who informed him, that the adherents of the Viceroy had predisposed that personage against him; and that reports injurious to him were circulated in Lima, which asserted that the ex-governor was accompanied by a retinue so numerous, that it could not but afford just ground for serious speculation. Vaca de Castro, chagrined at the interpretation put upon a mere innocent display, requested those who accompanied him to return to their homes, in order not to excite new suspicions, or strengthen those which had been already conceived. Not content with this precaution, he sent immediately a messenger to Nuñez Vela, signifying his readiness to obey in every respect the power vested in him, and his willingness to conduct himself in such a manner as to afford no ground for dissatisfaction. The Viceroy appeared pleased with the behaviour of Vaca de Castro, but did not in the least abate the severity with which he was enforcing the new regulations.

The ex-governor, together with some deputations from the cities, met Nuñez Vela about three leagues from Rimac, and every demonstration of respect was paid to so high a dignitary. The Viceroy, here again, in the most decided terms, expressed his intention of not abating in the least the rigour with which he determined to carry into execution the charge intrusted to him by the King. To the remonstrances which were then made, he gave a peremptory answer, indicative of the severity of his views. Nay, he even signified that every attempt made to induce him to swerve from the line he had traced out, would be considered in the light of treason and rebellion. Still, notwithstanding the unfriendly sentiments generally entertained towards him, Nuñez Vela met with a reception corresponding to his rank and station. He proceeded with great pomp and state to the cathedral, and, after performing his devotions, he was conducted to the palace formerly inhabited by Don Francis Pizarro, which was to be the place of his residence.

Notwithstanding the apparent satisfaction which he had evinced at the conduct of Vaca de Castro, the Viceroy was not quite assured with respect to the real intentions of that distinguished individual. On the very next day, he gave audience to some persons, in order to hear their statements, and to deliberate on the disturbances which had lately taken place at Cuzco. Either the representations of private enemies indisposed the Viceroy against Vaca de Castro, or, what is more probable, his jealous fear and unbending temper prompted him to admit ungenerous suspicions; for he soon after took a step as odious in the general opinion, as it was violent and

unjust. He suddenly issued orders that Vaca de Castro should be arrested: a measure which was immediately carried into execution. Nor was that worthy personage allowed to hear the charges preferred against him, or to present any vindication, but, without the least consideration, he was thrown into the public dungeon, and loaded with chains. This rash step was reprobated by all, and tended to confirm the sentiments of dread and abhorrence with which the Viceroy was beheld, from the moment that his harsh and unbending character began to be known. The pretext which he gave for the imprisonment of Vaca de Castro, was as feeble as the act itself had been vexatious. He pretended that the ex-governor had encouraged the spirit of disaffection evinced by the inhabitants of Cuzco;* whereas it was evident to all, that, far from fanning the rising flame, Vaca de Castro had exerted his utmost endeavours to dissuade the people from acts of turbulence, and had exhorted them to submit to the decrees of legal authority.

The Viceroy did not stop here: but, either from a fatal confidence in his own power, or from a pride in executing to the letter what he considered his duty, he continued in a bold manner to give further proofs of his severity. Many eminent persons were thrown into prison; others were banished; and a few even suffered death for showing opposition to the tyrannical disposition of the Viceroy. But this unadvised rigour, far from answering the desired effect, contributed materially to bring things to a crisis, and to involve the country in a series of troubles and misfortunes. Endurance could go no further; and the Spaniards now seriously resolved to shake off the odious oppression which weighed them down. The spirit of disaffection spread rapidly over the country; and it was clearly perceived, that the dreadful storm which had been gathering, could now no longer be avoided.

CHAPTER XIII.

Unpopularity of the Viceroy—Insurrection against him.

Affairs had now arrived at a most important and dangerous crisis. The arrest and imprisonment of Vaca de Castro were an act

* Zarate.—Fernandez.

so daring and illegal, that the promoters and executers of it knew well they could not remain unpunished; and it was therefore followed by other measures of a nature equally prompt and decisive. But the temerity of the malcontents was not without excuse, as great hopes of success were entertained from the person whom they had chosen to be the leader of their bold enterprise. The importance attached to the name of Pizarro, and the respect which it inspired, were not yet extinct in Peru. A member of that renowned family was still alive; and towards him the eye of every Spaniard was turned, from the moment that the new and obnoxious regulations became known.

Gonzalo Pizarro, though perhaps inferior to his brothers in abilities, was certainly fully their equal in courage and magnanimity. He was, besides, endeared to many of the adventurers, from a degree of frankness and generosity which was foreign to both Francis and Ferdinand. The great services also which he had performed during the conquest of Peru, and the renown which he had acquired by his extraordinary though disastrous expedition to the Canela, all tended to point him out not only as a rallying-post, but as the most fit leader in so arduous an enterprise. Accordingly, private messengers and letters were sent to him from every quarter, requesting him to come forward as the supporter of the rights of the Spaniards against the oppressive measures which weighed upon them. These invitations uniformly ended with the most solemn and ardent protestations of adherence to his fortunes, and of willingness to perish in their defence.

Pizarro was neither wanting in resolution to attempt the most hazardous acts, nor destitute of ambition; but, for some time, he remained undecided as to the line of conduct which he ought to adopt. The unfortunate issue that would attend any violent commotion in Peru, and the inward dread which he felt of opposing what he considered a constituted authority, were serious considerations, that for a long time battled triumphantly against his natural inclination. Yet, by dwelling constantly on the subject, he became familiarized and reconciled to its criminality, while the advantages assumed a dazzling light before his view. But other thoughts were ever ready to throw their weight into the balance, and to turn the scale in favour of the proposal made to him. Feelings of disappointment, and others of a private nature, joined their strength to the interest of the public cause. Gonzalo Pizarro could never forget the black ingratitude with which the Spanish court had behaved towards his family. His brother Ferdinand remained in a dungeon in Spain, while the children of Francisco

were under the custody of the Governor. He himself was reduced to the condition of a private individual, without voice or power of any kind in the affairs of those countries towards the conquest of which he had so largely contributed. These considerations inclined him to listen to his companions in arms. At last, a solemn deputation from four principal towns in Peru, removed his remaining scruples and apprehensions; and he accordingly repaired to Cuzco, where his presence was required, accompanied only by twelve devoted friends.

His arrival in that city was hailed with transports of joy, and his entrance bore all the appearance of a triumph. The inhabitants went in advance to meet him, and conducted him to Cuzco amidst universal shouts of approbation. He was considered the saviour of the country; and every honour which enthusiasm or hope could suggest, was liberally bestowed upon him. He was named Procurator-General of the Spaniards in Peru, and appointed to urge the repeal of the new regulations, which were so unpopular. To this important civil capacity conferred on him by the city of Cuzco, was added a similar charge intrusted by La Plata, Guamanga, and other places, all of which seemed to vie with each other in testifying their confidence in his ability, and their respect for his person. Even while the municipal bodies were conferring this power on the veteran, the soldiers, with common accord, elected him General-in-Chief of all the forces in Peru,—a title perhaps even more gratifying to the warrior than the dignities conferred on him by the Cabildo.

Gonzalo Pizarro received these public testimonials with corresponding demonstrations of gratitude. He took a solemn oath to discharge faithfully the functions with which he was intrusted, and to defend the rights of the people with the last drop of his blood. The standard was now unfurled; the drums sounded an enlivening march; and the enthusiasm of the people was strikingly displayed in protestations to abide obstinately by the resolution which they had taken. Pizarro, well aware that the ultimate result of this affair would be an appeal to arms, immediately took the most vigorous measures for putting himself in a condition to command respect from the enemy. Combining, in his own person, powers and privileges hitherto unknown to any Spaniard in Peru, except perhaps his brother Francis, he resolved to avail himself freely of all the advantages which his unlimited power presented. He accordingly raised a body of four hundred men, whom he equipped completely, and placed in a state to march at the first summons. He next seized on the royal treasure, appointed

officers for the army, as well as civil functionaries, levied contributions, and issued decrees; all which, though evincing absolute power, was nevertheless not resented by the public, as they conceived these measures to be adopted for their own welfare.

It is certain that Gonzalo Pizarro had not, at this time, any anticipation of the eventful career he was to follow, nor was he actuated solely by motives of ambition or revenge. The glory attached to an assertor of the rights of the people, had a charm in his eyes which, for a time, dazzled his imagination: and if, in the sequel, he showed himself, in several of his acts, more as a rebel and a cruel aggressor, the force of circumstances, as much as violence of temper, influenced his decisions and operations. The disaffection having acquired a decided character, many officers of note flocked from various parts of the country to the standard of liberty unfurled by Pizarro; and their chief, in a short time, found himself in a situation to defy the power of the Viceroy. He now left Cuzco, at the head of a gallant and devoted army, and pursued his march towards Lima, undecided on the line of conduct he was eventually to follow, but, at the same time, with little apprehension as to the results, since he neither feared the power of the Viceroy, nor did he entertain the remotest doubt of his own popularity.

Meantime, affairs did not wear a promising aspect at Lima. Nuñez Vela was neither fitted to win affection nor to command respect. His manners were an insurmountable obstacle to the first, and his imprudence and want of ability, to the second. His violence had alienated from him the greater portion of his officers, and had confirmed his enemies in their hostile intentions. He could ill depend on the sincerity of friends, as his haughty demeanour had prevented him from gaining such valuable auxiliaries to a man in power. A high degree of violence, tinctured with oppression, uniformly characterized the measures adopted by the Viceroy of Peru. But his administration was, perhaps, not more detested by the people than his overbearing disposition was galling to the Judges of the Royal Audience. Even during the voyage from Spain, some symptoms of the coldness and distrust which were to exist between these magistrates and the Viceroy, were discernible. The haughty temper of Nuñez Vela was little calculated to conciliate kindness and friendship; and the Judges had too high a sense of their own importance, to suffer tamely the arrogance which the Viceroy most unjustifiably assumed. Thus, a new element of discord now came into play; and the aspect of

affairs, far from affording any hope of amelioration, became more entangled and more unpromising than ever.

Gonzalo Pizarro was, meantime, increasing his forces, and placing himself in an attitude to excite well-grounded alarm in the Viceroy. He continued his march without opposition; his popularity augmented; and several events took place, that raised the most sanguine expectations among his followers. Nuñez Vela, perceiving the state of affairs, and naturally suspecting that the most violent events were to be anticipated from the character and resources of Pizarro, made every preparation for hostilities. He knew that the latter would be imperious in his demands, and that he would require the abolition of those laws which he had devoted himself to uphold. His own unpopularity offered great obstacles to the furtherance of his plans; for, though invested with authority little less than absolute over Peru, he found it would be extremely difficult to raise an army sufficient to defend his cause, should Gonzalo Pizarro, as he suspected, be determined on carrying his point by violence, on the failure of other means. Nuñez Vela derived, besides, little help from the exertions of his functionaries and principal officers; a degree, not only of apathy, but of wilful neglect, being visible in every proceeding. But even this was not the greatest evil with which the Viceroy had to contend. With feelings of disappointment and anger, he soon perceived that he could not confide in his officers, who made no scruple of deserting to Pizarro with the men intrusted to their care.

Pedro de Puelles, a captain of distinction, who had been the lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro at Quito, no sooner learned that his former chief was advancing towards Lima at the head of an armed body to solicit redress, than he hastened to join the standard of revolt; taking along with him nearly a hundred men, the greater part of whom were cavalry. The intelligence of this fact enraged the Viceroy, who immediately dispatched Gonzalo Diaz, with a sufficient force, to prevent a junction between Puelles and Pizarro. But Diaz proved not more faithful to his duty. Instead of discharging his commission, he persuaded his men to follow the example of Puelles, and they altogether joined the army of Pizarro at Guamanga. These desertions soon after produced others; so that Nuñez Vela, despairing of obtaining any good result from reliance on his officers, now determined to conduct every operation in person. Thwarted in every measure by the Judges, deserted by the soldiers, and hated by the public in general, the bitterness of his temper increased, and the tendency of his measures displayed greater severity. But an atrocious act, which he committed

at this time, filled up the measure of his unpopularity, and precipitated his downfall. It was as follows:—

Illen Suarez, being suspected by the Viceroy of conniving at the desertion of his relatives to Gonzalo Pizarro, and even of aiding them in their design, excited so strongly the displeasure of Nuñez Vela, that he resolved to imprison him immediately, and act towards him with the utmost rigour of the law. He, accordingly, ordered his brother to proceed with a party of musketeers to the dwelling of Suarez, in the stillness of night, and to bring him into his presence. These injunctions were strictly obeyed; and the obnoxious individual being surprised in bed, was commanded in an imperious tone to rise, and was conducted with contumely to the Viceroy. But no sooner had Suarez come within his presence, than the indignant Nuñez Vela cried out with the greatest violence, "Traitor! thou hast sent thy nephews to join Pizarro." To which Suarez answered calmly, "Sir, I am no traitor." "I swear by Heaven thou art a traitor!" repeated the Viceroy in greater wrath; "and I swear to Heaven I am not!" retorted Suarez with fortitude. Hereupon the Viceroy, enraged beyond the power of control, rushed against his victim, and struck him with a dagger in the breast. His attendants then closed upon the unfortunate man, and murdered him, without his being able to vindicate himself, or even to make any resistance.*

The mysterious disappearance of Suarez, and the unfavourable rumours which were spread regarding the Viceroy's conduct in that affair, excited the popular feeling more powerfully against him. But, if he had to contend with the disadvantage of public odium, his perplexities were tenfold increased by the decided want of cordiality between him and the Judges of the Royal Audience. This absence of union had gradually increased, till it ripened at length into a settled hatred between the two parties, and an evident determination to thwart each other in everything. The Viceroy, instead of trying to win the Judges by conciliatory measures, at a time when their co-operation was so essential to his cause, treated them with arrogance, and threatened them with the effects of the royal displeasure. The Judges, on their side, far from being intimidated by the threats of the Viceroy, treated them with sovereign contempt. It was enough, that he proposed any measure, for their immediately exerting all their influence to oppose it; so that, at a time when the public tranquillity required a perfect union between the Viceroy and the Judges, both parties seemed intent

* Zarate.—Fernandez.

on displaying the hatred by which they were animated towards each other. The Judges went still further in their opposition, which was no longer confined to words, or to affairs under their own cognizance, but extended itself even to measures which came more immediately under the authority of the Viceroy. They set every prisoner at liberty, joined in the cry against the Viceroy, and applauded the malcontents in their remonstrances.

Blasco Nuñez Vela perceived, that he had now a more redoubtable enemy to contend with than even Pizarro himself. The Judges had assumed an attitude which indicated their stern resolution of hurling him from his elevation; and, however apprehensive he might be with regard to the future proceedings of Gonzalo Pizarro, he still well knew, that, to crush the enemy within the city, was an object of more immediate importance. The greatest ferment now reigned in Lima. The public were divided into two parties: one upholding the Viceroy, the other seconding the Judges; but though the latter class was the more popular, and superior in point of numbers, yet the former claimed the ascendency on the score of positive strength. The Viceroy had the command of the soldiers, and was, besides, surrounded by the officers of the crown and many other persons of note, who, though perhaps against their inclination, followed a course which bore apparently the impress of legitimate authority. The Viceroy now proceeded to barricade several streets, and to fortify his own residence. He surrounded himself with guards, and began to patrol the city. The inhabitants looked forward, with amazement and suspense, to the issue of such strange preparations. The alarm was sounded, proclamations were made to the inhabitants, and everything portended the eve of some momentous crisis. The Viceroy commanded a force of above four hundred men; and as he had taken in time the most vigorous measures of precaution, the adherents of the Judges began to apprehend some fatal catastrophe.

In this critical juncture, the more stanch partisans of the magistrates assembled in secret, but seemed undecided what course to pursue. They considered their cause desperate, as the army, notwithstanding the most flattering anticipations, had so obstinately adhered to the Viceroy. In this emergency, however, Francisco de Escobar, a person of note and authority, exclaimed with bold decision—"Gentlemen, why remain here, to be surprised, arrested, and executed like slaves?—let us sally out, and, if we must perish, let us, at all events, meet with an honourable death!" This noble spirit was caught by the rest of the party, and, with unanimous accord, they rushed out of the house, and hastened to the public

square, though totally undecided what they ought to do, and trusting probably to the favour of chance, to which some ascribe such decided influence in determining the character of momentous events.

It was midnight; and the Viceroy, fatigued with the exertions of the day, and satisfied with the arrangements made, had been persuaded to retire to rest. His residence was surrounded with strong detachments of soldiers, and any attempt against it could only be viewed as madness. At this moment, when the Judges and their followers had abandoned every hope, they were no less surprised than overjoyed, to perceive two officers, Robles and Ribera, who were stationed at the door of the Viceroy's dwelling, quit their post, together with the men under their command, and hasten to join the adverse party. This fatal example was soon followed by others; and the desertion became in a few moments so general, that ere long the palace was left destitute of defence, except what could be expected from a hundred men whom the Viceroy had posted within doors.*

This sudden turn in the aspect of affairs enabled the Judges to assume a threatening attitude. From the depth of despair they found themselves instantaneously raised to the pinnacle of hope, and they resolved not to mar the turn of fortune in their favour, by neglecting those exertions which were now requisite for deciding the successful party. At the first dawn of day, they issued a proclamation, in which they endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the public towards the design which they had in contemplation —the arrest and imprisonment of the Viceroy. The concourse of people assembling from every side was very great, and symptoms of tumult became apparent. At this moment, several shots were fired from the windows of the Viceroy's residence, which so far exasperated the soldiers who had recently espoused the cause of the Judges, that they loudly signified their determination to invest the palace and carry it by assault. But the Judges, being unwilling to employ violence, unless in a case of extremity, earnestly dissuaded their followers from putting their rash design into execution, alleging that the affair would only be productive of disaster, by an unnecessary effusion of Spanish blood. The soldiers being diverted from their purpose, the Judges sent a friar along with an officer on a parley with the Viceroy. The latter was invited to come to the cathedral, there to have an interview with the adverse party, and was earnestly conjured not to offer any

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

resistance, as such rashness would only tend to the injury of himself, as well as of those who foolishly attempted to defend the palace.

Upon the approach of the embassy, the hundred men that guarded the palace, and who had hitherto remained faithful to their post, suddenly deserted, leaving the Viceroy without a single man. This junction was most favourable for the party of the Judges. The whole city declared for them; for those who had, until now, preserved a prudent neutrality, would not, under present circumstances, adhere to the same line of conduct. The disgrace of the Viceroy was accompanied with those excesses which generally mark the downfall of a man in power, when he has rendered himself peculiarly unpopular. The soldiers burst into his house, and, together with numerous parties of the people, began to make free with every article of value which it contained. Nuñez Vela, alarmed at so unexpected a calamity, and scarcely believing that so complete a reverse could happen to him, for a few moments hesitated what course to pursue; but, judging prudently, that he would act more wisely in surrendering at once to his enemies, than in exposing himself to the lawless and unrestrained license of the soldiery, he issued from his house by a secret door, and hastened to the cathedral, where he gave himself up to the Judges.

The Viceroy surrendered on the 18th of September: and from that moment his enemies considered their triumph complete. Nuñez Vela, had, indeed, made himself so generally detested, that his downfall was unalleviated by the least token of sympathy, whilst shouts of joy and congratulation resounded everywhere from an anxious people, who anticipated a redress of all their grievances from their Judges. The first care of those functionaries was to dispose of their prisoner. After a short deliberation, they resolved to send him back to Spain, without reflecting on the imprudence of such a step, as the ex-viceroy would seize every opportunity, and exert every endeavour, to paint their conduct in the most criminal light. But the Judges were so elated with their recent and unexpected triumph, that, in their enjoyment of the present, they completely overlooked the dangers of the future. The Viceroy was immediately hurried to the coast to be embarked; but some difficulty occurred at first in the accomplishment of this object. The Admiral, Alvarez Castro, refused to submit to the orders of the Judges, whose power he considered usurped; and he even ventured to threaten them with hostilities. The firm and resolute conduct of the Judges, however, was crowned with suc-

cess. On their intimating that the head of Nuñez Vela should answer for the Admiral's disobedience, that officer was at length obliged to acquiesce in what was imperiously demanded. He set on shore the children of Francis Pizarro; and consented to take the ex-viceroy aboard. Nuñez Vela was now conducted to a small island, previous to his departure for Spain, where it was determined he should repair in company of the Judge Alvarez, who was selected to prefer to the Spanish court the charges that weighed against the ex-viceroy, as well as to place their own conduct in the most favourable point of view.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima, and causes himself to be elevated to supreme power in Peru.

The Judges were now placed at the helm of power. Their jurisdiction was recognized by the city, and every one seemed overjoyed at the present change of affairs. A proclamation was immediately issued, in which a suspension of the new regulations, the origin of all these disturbances, was ordered. Still, when the magistrates began to reflect on their present situation, they could not disguise from themselves a certain feeling of alarm and dread, at the peculiarity of the circumstances under which they were placed. Though the obnoxious Viceroy had been hurled from his elevation, they conceived that the prospect of fresh disorders was not completely banished from Peru. They turned their anxious eyes towards Pizarro; and, in that individual, beheld an object capable of exciting well-grounded fears. That captain was attended by a numerous and gallant army; and, viewing the natural bent of his character, as well as the unsettled state of affairs, everything was to be apprehended from the development of his ambition.

They could not certainly hope that a man of Gonzalo Pizarro's character, and at the head of such a force, would quietly submit to what was required of him: but, either to sound the extent of his intentions, or merely to comply with forms, the Judges determined to send a message to that commander. In it he was to be

* Zarate.—Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

informed, that as the object which had induced the inhabitants of Cuzco to name him Procurator-General for the Spaniards, was now completely accomplished by the downfall of the Viceroy, and the suspension of the obnoxious laws, he should immediately dismiss his army, and repair to Lima without delay, accompanied only by fifteen or twenty attendants. It was not easy, however, to find competent persons to take charge of such a message. Every one was averse to a commission, so pregnant with danger, considering both the temper and the power of the man to whom so disagreeable a requisition was to be made. At length the licentiate Augustin de Zarate,* and A. Ribera, consented to charge themselves with the obnoxious message, and departed for the Vale of Jauja, where the army of Gonzalo Pizarro was then encamped. But Pizarro, being informed in time of the intended embassy, and fearing that, should the delegates appear before the army, and notify the demand of the Judges, the requisition would be attended with much confusion among the soldiers—who were all eager to proceed towards Lima in military array—immediately sent Villegas, one of his captains, with thirty horsemen, to intercept the messengers. This was accomplished without difficulty. Zarate, who carried the dispatches, was arrested, and conducted to Pariacaca, there to await the arrival of the General.†

Nothing was more distant from the mind of Gonzalo Pizarro than to comply with the requisition of the Judges. Never had a combination of circumstances more favourable and unexpected presented themselves for the exercise of his powers, and his attainment to the highest point of his ambition. Pizarro had left Cuzco as Procurator-General of the Spaniards. That office seemed at the time to satisfy him; but in proportion to the march of affairs, he saw new and more ample prospects open before him. The disturbances at Lima, the imprisonment of the Viceroy, and the usurped jurisdiction of the Judges, together with the confusion and uncertainty which these various events had produced in the country, offered an opportunity to Pizarro of aiming at supreme command, which he inwardly resolved not to neglect. He possessed the advantage of an illustrious name in arms; he was attended by almost every officer of note in Peru; and he commanded an army such as had been seldom united under one commander in those parts of America.

On the other hand, the enemy with whom he had to contend could not inspire a single apprehension as to the result of the

* The Historian. † Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

contest. Not only were the judges destitute of resources sufficient to offer resistance to the veterans of Pizarro, but, from their civil capacities, they were wholly unfit to conduct the operations of war. Besides, the popularity which they enjoyed was of that ephemeral description which is fanned into life by the passing shouts of a discontented public, and which dies a natural death when its object has been accomplished. The power of the Judges had no sufficient basis in the respect created by their character, or in the paramount authority which they assumed. Neither the one nor the other could stand against a popular leader, and a brave and numerous army. They acted, besides, without the royal sanction, and could not but be considered as usurpers—even by that people whose interests they had asserted—from the moment that their continuance in power was no longer necessary. Gonzalo Pizarro was well aware of all this, and had even made up his mind with respect to the plans he should adopt. These were naturally of the most decisive nature,—according with the suggestions of his intrepid mind; but, even supposing that reasons might arise for delay, several circumstances concurred at the time, to strengthen the resolution he had already formed.

Francisco Carvajal, an officer distinguished alike for his singular courage, and for his great abilities, enjoyed the full confidence of Pizarro, and to his advice that commander paid implicit regard. Carvajal having spent his life in the camp, was a consummate master in the tactics of war. He was at the same time an ardent advocate for measures of boldness and decision. From the moment that he perceived the unsettled state of affairs in Peru, he saw that a path was opened for the fortunes of Pizarro, should that chief hasten to avail himself of the advantage. He therefore urged the General to lay down the functions of procurator of the Spanish colonies, and to aim at a higher station. Nothing ought, he said, to satisfy Pizarro with the power which he now had of enforcing obedience, but to be named Governor of Peru, and Captain-general of its armies. Such were the views of Carvajal, and Pizarro most readily joined in them. But, if anything was wanted to remove every doubt from his mind, and to give fresh impulse to his ambition, that was soon supplied by the aid which one of the Judges afforded him.

Cepeda, then president of the Royal Audience, though apparently in the interests of the body over whom he presided, seems nevertheless to have carried on a clandestine correspondence with Gonzalo Pizarro. Bred to all the subtleties of the law, and possessed of that natural shrewdness and petty cunning which adapt

men rather to crawl their way through the routine of office and the maneuvers of intrigue, than to claim eminence and command respect by the agency of superior merit and genius, this magistrate had tact enough to perceive the frail tenure by which he held his present power. He knew that he must be inevitably deprived, in a short time, of every vestige of it; and he seemed willing to make ample sacrifices, in order to save some stakes in the desperate game which he was now playing. Cepeda was anxious to conciliate the favour of that party on whose side the scale of fortune was so sure to preponderate. It was the only hope left for the exercise of his intriguing spirit. His rebellion against the viceroy would render him obnoxious to those who might still secretly adhere to the cause of legitimate authority. Besides, a return to his duty, when he could entertain no expectations from such a step, was impolitic. Accordingly, a collusion with Gonzalo Pizarro was the only alternative left him; and he did not hesitate to embrace it with readiness and decision.

Meanwhile Gonzalo Pizarro continued his march until he arrived within a mile of the city of Lima, where he halted. He then sent a summons to the Judges, requiring them to recognize him as Governor and Captain-general of Peru. This demand carried with it all that weight which the imperious law of necessity conveys. The general who sent the message was in a state to enforce its fulfillment. Pizarro commanded an army of about twelve hundred men, and was now encamped before a city wholly unprepared for defence, without a leader, officers or soldiers, or the least prospect of successful opposition. Yet, either as a matter of form, or from the reluctance of some members of the Audience to relinquish their power, they seemed to demur, notwithstanding the total inability under which they lay of maintaining a contest. The hesitation among the Judges occasioned a loss of time, which was extremely irksome to Pizarro. He was impatient to bring affairs to a termination; and, as the Audience did not acquiesce with that promptitude which his power gave him ground to expect, he resolved to spend no more time in parley, but to proceed forthwith to active measures.

Carvajal, at the head of a competent body, then marched into the city, and, without opposition, arrested twenty-eight persons who were the most noted in the place, either from their station, or from their known disaffection to Pizarro. The conduct of Carvajal on the present occasion, if laudable on the one hand for promptness and decision, was, on the other, deserving of reprobation, for the degree of cruelty with which it was tinctured. On the following morning, he took out of prison three of the captives, Pedro del

Barco, M. Florencia, and Juan Saavedra, and, without any form of trial, ordered them to be hanged on a tree at the entrance to the city. The atrocity of this deed was further aggravated by the levity of behaviour displayed by Carvajal during the horrid scene. That veteran, now approaching fourscore years of age, and standing, as it were, on the threshold of the grave, did not blush to mock those unfortunates, and utter taunts against them. Nay, he even ridiculed them, when they complained of being sent out of the world without due preparation, and without the consolations of religion. This dreadful proceeding, joined to the resolute threats uttered by Carvajal, that he would not only inflict a similar fate on those who made any opposition to the nomination of Pizarro, but would also give up the city to fire and sword, produced the desired effect. The Judges, filled with horror, and dreading that Carvajal would carry his menace into execution without delay, subscribed to everything he required.*

The execution of Pedro del Barco and his unfortunate companions, had struck such terror into the minds of the Spaniards, that several deputations were sent to Pizarro, in order to supplicate that commander to put a check to the ferocious conduct of his lieutenant. These appeals were listened to with due attention by the General, who, it appears, was in no manner concerned in the excesses committed by Carvajal. In sending his principal supporter into the city, it had never been his intention that he should proceed to such cruel and summary measures; and accordingly, he deeply deplored such melancholy results. He immediately ordered Carvajal to desist from such a rigorous display of authority, and to set at liberty all those who had been consigned to prison. At the same time, as if dreading the resolute and reckless character of Carvajal, he tempered his commands with the soothing influence of a present, which he bestowed on him under pretext of evincing regard for the zeal which he had displayed in his cause. He likewise ordered, that the bodies of those who had been executed should be cut down previously to his entering the city, being unwilling to meet any such horrid spectacle on so joyful an occasion. He then prepared to make his solemn entrance into the city—an event which seemed now to be equally desired by the soldiers and the inhabitants, as every one anticipated that a better and more permanent order of things would follow from the nomination of Pizarro to the supreme power.†

The General drew up his whole army in military array, and,

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega. † Fernandez.—G. de la Vega.

with all due state, made his entry into Lima on the 28th of October 1544, about forty days after the arrest of the Viceroy. He then proceeded, attended by his principal officers, to the residence of Zarate, where the Judges were assembled. A strong detachment of the army formed in front of the square, while the General entered the residence, and was acknowledged by the Judges, Governor and Captain-general of the kingdom of Peru. The oaths having been administered in due form, Pizarro then proceeded to the Municipal Body, where the same ceremony took place. From that moment his power was fully acknowledged and established.

The recognition of Gonzalo Pizarro, as Governor of Peru, was celebrated with extraordinary demonstrations of joy. Tournaments, bull-fights and music testified the popular feeling; and the first days of the new government were spent, as if the happiest prospects were about to open on the inhabitants of the country. But these appearances were like the rays of the cheerless winter sun, that illumine for a moment, but leave no traces of their vivifying influence. Severe trials were about to oppress this devoted land; and the present happiness of the people seemed as if intended to render their impending misfortunes more galling and insupportable. Gonzalo Pizarro, though not so sanguinary as his brothers, was nevertheless invested with a certain rigour of disposition, which, on many occasions, led him to the commission of sanguinary acts. In the present posture of affairs, severity was, indeed, in some measure, indispensable;—it was not easy for a newly-constituted government to extinguish the elements of disturbance and rebellion, without showing, from the very commencement, a decided firmness, and even rigour. The partial executions, therefore, and other punishments, which took place under such circumstances, find great palliation in the extreme effervescence of the times; still there was no excuse for the brutality of their infliction. Carvajal, the prime agent, counselor, and confident of Pizarro, displayed, on every occasion, a sort of ferocious pleasure in sporting with human misery, and evinced, throughout his career in Peru, such a ruthless disposition, as to have attached horror to his memory. His conduct had a most fatal influence on many of the acts of Pizarro, and has contributed much to the odium with which that officer has been regarded by posterity.

Among other atrocious deeds, Carvajal, hearing that the Governor had reason to complain of the conduct of Captain Gumiel, an officer attached to the fallen party, immediately proceeded to the dwelling of the obnoxious soldier, and, without any form of trial, or other preliminary measure, caused him to be strangled. The

unjustifiable cruelty of this act was aggravated by the deportment of Carvajal on the occasion. He ordered the lifeless body to be taken to the public square, and as he accompanied it from the house of the deceased, he pretended to weep, exclaiming in mockery:—"Make way, gentlemen, make way, for here comes the famous Captain Gumiel, who has sworn to be quiet for the future."* Such proceedings could not fail to prejudice the minds of many against the present order of things. Indeed, in the series of disorders and troubles which succeeded each other with such extraordinary rapidity, it was not easy to establish regularity in a short period of time; and it required the lapse of years, before men, accustomed to tumult and excitement, could regain the tone of mind necessary to view with respect a constituted government. Nor were the decisions and acts of the ruling powers invariably characterized by a spirit of justice, prudence, and impartiality. In the turmoil which prevailed, excesses were necessarily committed that tended to increase the evil, and prepare the way for other momentous events. The caprices of fortune so strikingly displayed in the affairs of Peru, were not exhausted; and though, upon the accession of Pizarro to power, it was the prevalent opinion that order was at length about to be established, the sequel demonstrated that this very event was only the forerunner of greater and more lasting calamities.

Gonzalo Pizarro was scarcely placed in the full possession of power, when he perceived that his elevation was surrounded with peril, and that, instead of ruling quietly over a happy country, he should soon be obliged to appeal to arms, in order to defend his claims of the government. The first symptom of danger came from a quarter which he probably had not anticipated. When it was resolved that the Viceroy, Nuñez Vela, should be removed from the country and sent to Spain, the Judges, in their solicitude to ensure success to their plans, had chosen one of their own number, a person on whose devotion they could rely, to take charge of the prisoner. Juan Alvarez, the individual in question, embarked with his prisoner, determined, to all appearance, to fulfill his commission with strict punctuality. No sooner, however, was he out at sea, and free from the vengeance of his associates, than a total revolution took place in his sentiments and conduct. Either from a feeling of remorse at what he considered an illegal proceeding, or from apprehension of the results which the transaction would produce, he approached the ex-viceroy with a countenance full of

* G. de la Vega.

sorrow, and, throwing himself at his feet, manifested his repentance for the share he had taken in the affair, declaring, at the same time, that, from that moment, he was free, and might command the vessel at his pleasure. Shortly afterwards, another ship, in which a brother of Nuñez Vela had embarked, joined the former, and also declared for the Viceroy, who thus seeing himself unexpectedly put in the way of re-establishing his power, gave orders that the vessels should steer their course towards Tumbez instead of Spain.*

No sooner did Nuñez Vela arrive at this place of destination, than he took every measure for resuming his former functions. His jurisdiction having been readily recognized by the colony, he dispatched messengers to several places, announcing what had passed in Peru, and declaring the illegality of Pizarro's proceedings. He then summoned the authorities of the neighbouring settlements, to range themselves round the standard of legitimate power; and threatened to treat as rebels all those who, after the present requisition, should dare to disobey his orders. The Viceroy, indeed, proceeded with an energy and alacrity well suited to the occasion. Knowing the urgent necessity of collecting a competent force before Gonzalo Pizarro should have time to thwart his plan of operations, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise men. He sent officers to Puerto Viejo, St. Michael and Trujillo, to recruit soldiers. Nor were his requisitions without success. Many Spaniards, either from real inclination, or from disgust, at the violent conduct of Pizarro, hastened to join the standard of Nuñez Vela: and he soon found himself at the head of a body of men, who, if unequal to offer battle in the open field, served nevertheless as a rallying point to all those who were inclined to follow the same course.†

But Nuñez Vela soon began to feel the effects of that vigorous opposition to his power which was to terminate only with his death. At the very commencement, an officer in the service of Pizarro, named Bachicao, seized upon the two vessels, and compelled the Viceroy to retreat into the inland country, where a series of hardships and calamities awaited him, equal to anything yet suffered by the Spaniards in the New World.

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega. † Zarate.—Gomara, &c.

CHAPTER XV.

Pizarro gains a signal Victory.—Death of the Viceroy, &c.

Gonzalo Pizarro, being duly informed of the release of Nuñez Vela, and of his assumption of power at Tumbez, lost no time in preparing to avert the threatened danger. He immediately dispatched Villegas, Gonzalo Diaz, and H. Alvarado, three of his most devoted officers, to scour the districts on the coast, both to recruit men, and to prevent any reinforcements from the colonies joining the standard of the Viceroy. The force which the latter possessed was insufficient, in the present position of affairs, to create any serious apprehensions in the mind of Pizarro; and, if he could succeed in drawing him into the inland country, and in cutting off every communication with the coast, it was easy to foresee that the destruction of Nuñez Vela would ultimately follow. Pursued on every side by the numerous and veteran forces of the Governor, commanded as they were by the most able and experienced officers, though he might protract the contest, he could not possibly avoid the fate with which he was threatened.

An event now took place well calculated to promote the cause of the Viceroy. The officer who commanded for the Governor at La Plata, was ardently devoted to his interests; and it is probably owing to this, if not to secret instructions from Pizarro, that Francis Almendras, for such was the officer's name, incurred the displeasure of the inhabitants, and afforded an opportunity for an explosion. Almendras, in his zeal for the party to which he was devoted, had arrested a person of note in the city, called Gomez de Lema, for some trifling offence. This act was strongly reprobated by the inhabitants, who represented to Almendras the excessive severity of the punishment, when compared with the fault committed, and requested that the individual in question should be set at liberty. Pizarro's lieutenant gave a peremptory refusal to their solicitations: and, on hearing some of Lema's friends exclaim, in a threatening tone, that if *he* did not release the prisoner, *they* would, he conceived that a severe example ought to be made, in order to curb these incipient tokens of disaffection. Acting upon this idea, he ordered the unfortunate object of contention to

be strangled in prison during the night, and his head to be exposed in the public squares.*

The inhabitants of La Plata were no less surprised than enraged at this atrocious act. They conceived that no security could be obtained from further attempts on the part of a man who had evinced his ruthless disposition in so daring a manner; and from that moment, motives of personal safety, no less than a desire of revenge, prompted several of the leading men in the place to enter into a secret league against Almendras. Of these, the most distinguished for his abilities and rank, as well as the most resolute, was Diego Centeno, a man who had been devoted to Pizarro's party, but who, perceiving the arrogant assumption of supreme power on the part of that chief, and the arbitrary manner in which he exercised it, had become disgusted with him, and retired from his service. Diego Centeno, having convened the principal inhabitants, communed with them on the plan which they ought to pursue, when it was at length resolved that Almendras should die. This decision was carried into execution with a degree of treachery and barbarity equal to that employed by Almendras towards Gomez de Lema. The chief conspirators assembled in the house of their victim on a Sunday, with the ostensible intention of accompanying him to mass, when they suddenly fell upon him, and inflicted many wounds with their daggers. Whilst yet lingering between life and death, his executioners dragged him to the square, where they ordered his head to be severed from his body, declaring him a rebel and a traitor to the King.†

Upon the commission of this deed, the conspirators proceeded to take active measures for ensuring success to their designs. Diego Centeno was named General, and he, with equal alacrity, sent Lope de Mendoza to Arequipa, in order to surprise Pedro de Fuentes, who commanded there for Pizarro. Fuentes, at the approach of Mendoza, fled; and the latter, occupying the town, seized all the arms and provisions that he could find, enlisted new soldiers, and returned to La Plata. Diego Centeno being now at the head of two hundred and fifty men, passed them in review, and harangued them on the sacredness of their cause, the duty which was demanded of them for its support and defence, the usurped jurisdiction of Gonzalo Pizarro, his arrogance and excesses, and the little hope which they could entertain of ever awakening sentiments of pity and mercy in his cruel heart.

Meantime, the Governor being duly apprised of the transactions

* Zarate. † Zarate.—G. de la Vega.—Gomara, &c.

of the Viceroy,—though somewhat alarmed at the extent which the insurrection was gaining, displayed that composure of mind, and that personal activity, which were requisite to ensure a prosperous issue. He commanded resources to which his competitor could in no manner aspire. Being in possession of the revenue—having the principal towns of Peru subject to his jurisdiction, and a numerous and gallant army ready to follow wherever he should lead —all his plans were easy of execution; and he was placed in a decided superiority to the enemy. He resolved to march against Nuñez Vela without loss of time, and provoke him to a battle, which, considering the difference of numbers, could not be doubtful as to the result. Pizarro advanced, full of confidence, towards the enemy; and as the country was in general on his side, he met with as many advantages on his part as the Viceroy was compelled to encounter difficulties. Being informed of the formidable force which the Governor commanded, Nuñez Vela considered it would be an act of madness to meet him in the field; and he accordingly resolved to retreat to Quito, until he should have more ample means of offering open resistance by arms. This retreat, and the pursuit of Pizarro, form an interesting episode in the history of those times. Carvajal, who led the vanguard, was nearly coming to an engagement, which did not however take place; and the two parties continued in this manner, one to retreat, and the other to pursue, for above three thousand miles.*

In this extraordinary march, the sufferings and toil endured by both parties were extreme. They were obliged to undergo the most galling distresses, proceeding from fatigue and famine; and, to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they were often compelled to devour their horses. The privations of the soldiers of Pizarro were rendered more insupportable, from Nuñez Vela taking everything away, as he proceeded, from the places through which he passed; so that, in his present sufferings, the former chief beheld a renewal of the extraordinary calamities which had characterized his singular expedition to the Canela. But distress of every kind was endured by the soldiers with exemplary magnanimity. No one complained or repined at such hard fate; and though the Viceroy, touched with pity, often invited such of his men as were exhausted to quit his service, no one would avail himself of this permission, and all preferred perishing in their duty. Carvajal took prisoners those who lagged behind, and with his usual rigour, inflicted death on the most conspicuous.† After these

* Zarate. † Ibid.—Fernandez.—G. de la Vega.

dreadful trials, the Viceroy at last reached Quito, in a most deplorable condition; but no sooner was he arrived in that town, than Carvajal, with the van of Pizarro's army, appeared before it, and Nuñez Vela, full of sorrow, found himself compelled to quit a situation which he was unable to defend. He accordingly left the place, but with such precipitancy, as to exhibit rather the appearance of a flight than of a regular retreat. Continuing to suffer severely, yet nothing daunted by the hardships that pressed upon him—after much toil, he entered the province of Ponpayan, where he expected to find some respite from the pursuit of the enemy.

Gonzalo Pizarro had all this time followed the traces of the fugitive Viceroy, with an alacrity and a perseverance worthy the importance of the prize. He was too deeply interested in the capture of that personage, not to exert all his energies to accomplish it; but, despite of the ardour of the pursuit, Nuñez Vela had so successfully eluded the vigilance of the enemy, that Pizarro, despairing of attaining his object, thought it more expedient to return to Quito. But a new source of alarm came now to occupy his thoughts. From the moment that Diego Centeno had unfurled the standard of war against the Governor, he had been so unremitting in his exertions to promote the cause of the Viceroy, that he had placed himself in an attitude well calculated to afford apprehensions to the enemy. The southern provinces were almost wholly devoted to him, and he was at the head of a gallant army, eager to close in the conflict. Pizarro received intelligence of the formidable aspect that his enemy was assuming, and was convinced that he ought to oppose so dangerous a foe without loss of time. He therefore selected Carvajal, who enjoyed his chief confidence, to hasten against Diego Centeno in the south, whilst he himself remained at Quito, in order to watch every movement of the Viceroy.*

Gonzalo Pizarro perceived that a crisis could not be distant; yet, with an impatience natural to his daring spirit, he longed to join in conflict with his enemy. He had, during the pursuit, repeatedly flattered himself that he would be able to bring the contest to an issue; but as the vigilance of Nuñez Vela baffled every endeavour, and surmounted every obstacle, the Governor felt his ardour for battle daily increase. Nor could it be otherwise. Gonzalo was sensible that the success of his enterprise depended mainly on the promptness and decision of his measures. Every hour of delay was as detrimental to his cause as it was favourable

* Zarate.—Gomara.

to that of his enemy. His anticipations were soon confirmed. No sooner did the Viceroy find the least respite at Ponpayan from the hot pursuit of Pizarro, than the full energies of his soul were employed to augment his force and means of resistance. Benalcazar, a man of great influence, who had constantly acted a conspicuous part in the conquest of Peru, had joined his standard, and with the assistance of that gallant officer, he had succeeded in collecting above four hundred men in the province. He then dispatched fresh requisitions to the neighbouring places, commanding the authorities, civil and military, to lend their support to the legitimate cause. He would not listen to any terms of accommodation. Some persons of his own party, wishing to prevent the disasters consequent on a fearful civil contest, had counseled him to enter into negotiation with the enemy; but the Viceroy, though certainly acting upon the defensive, indignantly shrunk from such an alternative. With the pride and resolution natural to his character, he declared that he would never compromise with rebels and traitors, and that the sword alone should now decide the impending quarrel.

The firm determination of Nuñez Vela was not unknown to Pizarro; and, being himself actuated by the same spirit, he laboured strenuously to bring the matter to the issue of a battle. As the Viceroy prudently remained at Ponpayan, daily increasing his resources, and would certainly not advance until he possessed a force superior, or at least equal to that of the enemy, Pizarro was disposed to force him at all events to a contest. But he soon changed his resolution. He had already pursued the Viceroy from St. Michael to Quito, a distance of a hundred and fifty leagues, without having been able either to overtake him, or provoke him to a battle. It was probable that Nuñez Vela would persist in this system of operations, rather than risk the event of a combat; and Pizarro would thus continue to lose his time in an unprofitable chase, exhaust the strength of his troops with unnecessary fatigue, and compromise the chances of success. He therefore conceived it would be more politic to resort to stratagem, in order to induce the enemy to enter the field. Acting upon this idea, he skillfully spread a report, that he was about to march against Centeno, who had assumed so formidable an aspect as to excite his serious alarm; and that Pedro de Puelles was to remain at Quito with three hundred men, in order to make head against the Viceroy. This stratagem was no less happily conceived than skillfully executed. Being sufficiently seconded by his agents and spies, Gonzalo Pizarro, when he conceived that his plan was sufficiently matured,

departed from Quito, leaving, as had been reported, Pedro de Puelles with the above-mentioned garrison.

Further to favour the stratagem, there was a man in the army of the Viceroy secretly devoted to Pizarro, who lost no opportunity of aiding that commander's scheme. The report gained slight credit at first; but, when, in addition to the private correspondence of the soldiers of the two parties, it was well ascertained that Pizarro had actually quitted Quito, the Viceroy and all his principal officers fell into the snare prepared for them.* The plot had been so skillfully arranged, as not to afford the least ground for suspicion. Far from being improbable, the departure of Pizarro from Quito seemed to be not only perfectly justified, but even required by circumstances. The Viceroy, accordingly, believed in the reality of this movement; the more so, as his enemy had left behind him a force of three hundred men under the command of one of his best and principal officers. Fully impressed with these thoughts, he resolved to attack Pedro de Puelles, and forthwith put his army into motion towards Quito.

Meantime, Gonzalo Pizarro, receiving due intelligence of the enemy's operations, and conceiving that he had him under his power, suddenly returned to Quito, and joined his lieutenant Puelles. He then advanced to meet the ex-viceroy, who came with alacrity to the encounter, in the firm persuasion that he should have to engage only with Pedro de Puelles. The Viceroy entered Quito, which had been abandoned by the enemy, without the least opposition—little aware of the plot contrived against him. It was only upon his arrival in that town, that he learnt that Pizarro and Puelles had acted all the while in concert, and that, ere long, he would be obliged to face the combined forces of the two commanders. Nuñez Vela was thunderstruck at this intelligence, which, to his unspeakable sorrow and disappointment, he soon perceived to be founded on truth. His retreat had been cut off by the enemy, and he was necessarily compelled to fight or surrender. The latter alternative he discarded indignantly from his thoughts: and resolved to make a last and vigorous exertion in the only honourable course left to him.

On the following morning (January 18th, 1546), the Viceroy assembled his troops, and, having harangued them, advanced to meet the enemy. Though inferior to Gonzalo Pizarro, both in the number and equipment of his forces, he still possessed a strength capable, by proper exertions, of holding victory in suspense. He

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

had in his ranks some officers of note, among whom none was more conspicuous than the celebrated Benalcazar, a man distinguished no less for his bravery and services in Peru, than for the general rectitude of his conduct during the entangled and perplexing scenes that took place in that country after the conquest. But the army of Gonzalo Pizarro had the great advantage of being provided with a strong supply of fire-arms. The engagement began with equal ardour on both sides; and, indeed, the peculiarity of the circumstances under which they fought, rendered it necessary that the most extraordinary exertions should be made by both parties. Every one felt aware that he had no mercy to expect from the conqueror; and the spirit of vengeance which partly actuated the leaders, was readily communicated to the men. "Victory or death!"—was the cry adopted by both parties, while the fierceness of the charges, and the obstinate rage of the battle, clearly demonstrated that all abided by such a resolution. For a long time the contest was maintained with equal ardour, and with the same chance of success. But the superiority of Pizarro's army began at length to prevail. The Viceroy, nothing daunted by the havoc which the enemy's well-disciplined veterans made among his ranks, continued to exert himself in the most gallant manner to rally his troops, and cheer them on to continue the struggle. Nuñez Vela conducted himself, on this occasion, with an intrepidity, a perseverance, and resolution deserving admiration, and worthy of a different fate. But the efforts of courage were no longer availing; disorder began to spread among the ranks; and the soldiers of Pizarro, animated by this advantage, pushed forward to bring the struggle to a successful termination.

The Viceroy, exhausted with the fatigues of the previous day, the want of rest, and the exertions of the fight, perceived with sorrow that he could scarcely retrieve the fortunes of the day. His horse was ready to sink—the enemy pressed forward—retreat seemed advisable—and Nuñez Vela resolved to adopt this course. But neither his strength, nor that of his horse, was equal to the task; he was overtaken by a soldier, who inflicted a terrible blow on his head, which stunned him, and brought him to the ground. He had already been wounded, and this last stroke terminated his existence. His fall was the signal for a general rout. His soldiers, dispirited and overpowered by the enemy, now betook themselves to flight on every side, and were fiercely pursued by the foe. The victory was no longer doubtful; and Gonzalo Pizarro, with his conquering army, entered Quito in triumph, amidst general acclamations. The head of the unfortunate Nuñez Vela

having been severed from the body, was placed on a gibbet in the public square, but the Governor caused it to be taken down as soon as he perceived it.* Yet the rage of many against the fallen Viceroy seemed not to have been extinguished even with his death, as they exclaimed against his tyranny, and rejoiced in his ruin. A soldier even placed his beard, instead of a plume, on his morion, and wore it until commanded to withdraw it.

The conduct of Gonzalo Pizarro after his victory, appears to have been lenient, and far from what his enemies had anticipated. He did not stain his triumph by the massacre of any of his enemies; and though he had decreed the death of Hernandez Giron, he afterwards pardoned him. He reinstated the gallant Benalcazar in his former rank and power, and showed equal kindness towards other officers that swore obedience. He then ordered the most solemn obsequies to be performed on Nuñez Vela, Cabrera, and other persons of note of the adverse party who had fallen in battle. He himself, with his principal officers, attended the ceremony in mourning. These tokens of kindness—the favour shown to many of the enemy—the pardon granted to the brother of the late Viceroy—and the general leniency of Pizarro's conduct, were well calculated to call forth the most flattering anticipations; and the late battle was accordingly viewed, in a short time, by the great majority of the Spaniards, as a fortunate event.

CHAPTER XVI.

Gonzalo Pizarro becomes absolute Master of Peru.

Gonzalo Pizarro being, by the recent victory, relieved from the most pressing anxiety, determined to remain some time in Quito, both to give repose to his troops, and to provide everything requisite for the re-establishment of order. Well aware of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, and unable to deceive himself with regard to the illegality of his proceedings, he was eager to atone for the irregularity of his past conduct by the prudence of his present measures. As the Audience was completely dissolved by the death of Alvarez, the return of Tejada to

* Gomara.

Spain, the illness of Zarate, and the complete subserviency of Cepeda to Pizarro, this General conceived that he ought himself to draw up such regulations as were necessary for the permanent restoration of peace and for the prosperity of the country. He accordingly devoted his time to examining the internal policy of the empire, and, aided by Cepeda, who acted as his prime counselor and confident, he adopted such measures as could not have been altogether anticipated from a reckless soldier.

Meantime, Carvajal had been carrying on active operations against Centeno; but that veteran had never been able, either to capture the enemy, or to disperse his followers. Centeno displayed abilities of no common order in the various military movements which he was daily forced to make, either to deceive his foe or to evade pursuit. But the name of Carvajal carried terror and alarm wherever that leader happened to march. The well-known courage of the old veteran, no less than his sanguinary disposition, had inspired the inhabitants of the country with such dread and horror, that, at his approach, they either sought safety in flight, or submissively surrendered. Not so Centeno and his adherents. With an inveteracy of resolution, and a magnanimity worthy of better success, they continued to defy the activity of Carvajal, rather than surrender to his power. At length, however, Lope de Mendoza, who commanded a part of Centeno's army, deceived by a false report, came to an engagement. His troops were routed, and he was afterwards surprised and taken at a little village, and immediately put to death. The gallant Centeno himself, after a variety of adventures and hardships, was at last compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained many months concealed in a lonesome cavern, with a few attendants that adhered faithful to him. Carvajal directed his march to the Charcas without meeting with opposition, and made his entry into the city of La Plata, where he determined to make a sojourn in order to gather as much silver as possible from the rich mines of Potosi. In the meantime, he sent the head of Lope de Mendoza to Arequipa, there to be placed on a gibbet; because it was in that city that the unfortunate Mendoza and Centeno had unfurled the standard of war against Pizarro.*

Soon after, Carvajal received intelligence from the Governor, announcing the complete victory which the latter had obtained, the death of Nuñez Vela, and the total dispersion and submission of his troops. Pizarro further announced his intention of proceed-

* G. de la Vega.

ing to Lima, and desired Carvajal to repair to that place without loss of time, that they might concert together the plans to be adopted in the present posture of affairs. Carvajal had, from the commencement, strongly urged Pizarro to throw off all dependence on the Spanish government, and to declare himself absolute in the country; but, upon receiving the dispatches which announced the victory of Quito, and the total ruin of the enemy, his remonstrances were pressed with redoubled ardour; nor were his arguments destitute of force. Pizarro had arrogated to himself absolute power in the country, and had waged war against the lawful authority of his King. He consequently could not be viewed in Spain in any other light than that of a rebel and traitor. The jurisdiction which he now held was usurped; and the means by which he had obtained it, were justified by no other plea than that of force. He could not even plead his nomination, by the inhabitants of Cuzco, as Procurator-general of the Spanish settlements, having long since thrown off that appointment, in order to assume higher functions, and power more absolute and unrestricted. Carvajal urged these arguments in lively colours, adding, that offended Majesty could never pardon the offences of which he now stood convicted. He had openly marched against the representative of his King—defeated him in battle—cut off his head—and then made himself master of the country. His position was critical in the extreme; and nothing could save his fortunes, perhaps even his life, but perseverance in the most decided measures.

Under this impression, Carvajal strenuously advised Gonzalo Pizarro to declare himself independent sovereign of Peru. Such a step could scarcely injure him more than he had already been, in the eyes of the Spanish court, or draw upon him greater dangers than those which already threatened him. He had placed himself in a situation from which no alternative was to be expected but complete triumph, or irrevocable destruction. No half measures, no temporizing resources, were available in the present posture of affairs; and it would argue insanity or childish timidity to hesitate now, when he was so far advanced in his career, that he could expect neither advantage nor safety from retracing his steps. A want of proper determination was, besides, unpardonable in the present state of affairs, when the most unbounded means were in the hands of Pizarro. He had a devoted army under his command, the officers of which had so openly and decidedly compromised themselves, that it was their interest to adhere strictly to his fortunes, to the very last extremity. He was also master of the country; and an invasion of it would be attended with as much

difficulty as danger. From the frontiers of Ponpayan to the confines of Chili, every one acknowledged his jurisdiction, and obeyed his power. Nor was this all. Hinojosa, who commanded his fleet, had seized on Panama, left a garrison at Nombre de Dios, and held now absolute command over the South Sea. By this means the communication was cut off between Peru and Spain. But, as if in addition to so many advantages, Pizarro had it in his power to bring the natives of the country to voluntary obedience, for he had only to marry the Coya, or daughter of the Sun, apparent heiress to the throne of the Incas: and, out of respect for her, the Indians would flock with zeal round the standard of Pizarro. Thus, the means were within his reach to set at defiance the vengeance of the Spanish court, and to establish an independent sovereignty in Peru. The expeditions which Spain might send over against him, would neither be sufficient in number, nor possessed of any means of overturning his authority.*

These arguments carried conviction, and could not but be listened to with eagerness by a man of Pizarro's ambitious disposition. His mind dwelt with pleasure on the glittering prospects of dominion, that expanded before his view, and which Carvajal laboured so incessantly and strenuously to place in the most alluring light. But to the remonstrances of that veteran were added other representations equally weighty and pressing. The lawyer Cepeda, in whose counsels Pizarro placed the most implicit confidence, endeavoured, without intermission, to inculcate the views so urgently pressed by Carvajal. Pedro de Puelles, also, to whom perhaps the Governor stood more indebted for his present elevation, than to any other officer in his army, concurred in the opinion of Cepeda and Carvajal, and a great number of other friends and adherents evinced an equal conviction, both by their looks and words. These counselors skillfully endeavoured to inculcate into the mind of their commander, that he had as good a right to establish a sovereignty as many of the founders of monarchies, from the remotest antiquity. Conquest and success alone were the sacred claims which the authors of a royal dynasty could urge for their possession of power—or their descendants for its continuance.†

Gonzalo Pizarro heard these arguments and the warm remonstrances of his adherents, with feelings of delight at his anticipated greatness. He seemed at first resolved to adopt their advice, and to be in every respect swayed by the dictates of their zeal for his

* Gomara.—G. de la Vega. † Fernandez.—G. de la Vega.

interests ; yet, strange to say, he neglected to put their advice into execution. By some singular and unaccountable fatality, he delayed proclaiming himself as King of Peru ; and he lost that time in useless speculation, which was so important to the success of his schemes. Pizarro was neither wanting in resolution nor ambition, to venture upon a course even more desperate than the one which was now proposed to him; but he neither possessed that capacious mind, nor those towering abilities, which are requisite for the accomplishment of gigantic undertakings. Such, indeed, considering the awe which the Spaniards entertained for their monarchs, would be any attempt to render themselves independent of their jurisdiction. Gonzalo Pizarro probably recoiled from the magnitude of the enterprise ; or perhaps he was content with a more restricted authority, and a less dazzling elevation. The already too prominent station which he occupied, appeared to him fully adequate to fill the measure of his ambition : and he seemed to limit his desires to a continuance of the power which he now enjoyed. He flattered himself that, in spite of the ominous presages of Carvajal and Cepeda, the Spanish court would not resort to violent measures against him, but would suffer him to continue as Governor of Peru. The immense power which he now possessed, together with his influence over the country, he conceived, would influence the ministers of Charles rather to acquiesce in the present order of things, than to prolong a disastrous series of wars and calamities in the New World : and that, as long as he presented a submissive and deferential aspect towards the Emperor, the irregularity of his past conduct would be overlooked in the lustre of his present success and of his commanding attitude.

Acting upon this principle, he sent Alvarez Maldonado, one of his most devoted adherents, to Spain. This officer was commissioned to lay before the Spanish court such an account of past events, as might induce the sovereign to look with leniency on the conduct of Pizarro and his followers. Great stress was to be laid on the pressure of necessity—the unsettled state of the country—the peremptory zeal of the Spaniards in Peru to resist the harsh and violent proceedings of the Viceroy Nuñez Vela, the provocation offered by the latter; and the whole was to be wound up with a pompous description of the great merits of Pizarro—his services—the important results which ought to be expected from his being at the head of affairs in Peru—and his submissive deference to the royal authority, which it was far from his intention to controvert or dispute.

Gonzalo Pizarro then repaired to Lima, where he made a mag-

nificent entry that bore all the characteristics of a military triumph. He was accompanied by his gallant officers and veteran troops—all attired in their best habiliments. The municipal body came in procession to meet him, and welcome him to the city. The bells rang an enlivening peal, while trumpets and other martial instruments mingled their stirring sounds with the joyous acclamations of the public. In this manner he proceeded to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity, and his jurisdiction over Peru confirmed by the sacred rites of religion. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards was at its height. Pizarro took up his residence in the dwelling formerly occupied by his brother Francis, the first governor of Peru; and, in his deportment and manner of life, seemed inclined to display the state and pomp, as well as power, to which his present fortune had elevated him. Some historians pretend that, with his accession to sovereign command, his haughtiness increased, and his manners became overbearing, so that many of his former adherents began to cool in their devotedness to him. Indeed, this illiterate adventurer could not shine to advantage in such a field. The qualities with which nature had endowed him, and which practice and habit had so greatly improved, were of a very different description from those so indispensable for holding even the semblance of a court. Gonzalo Pizarro was a bold soldier, an adventurer full of ardour and magnanimity; he was even a general of experience, and of no mean capacity for conducting a war. But, to perform with distinction the polished duties of social life, he was totally unqualified both by nature and education. The roughness of his manners, excusable in a soldier, appeared ludicrous in a Governor; and the great lustre of his deeds was partially obscured by the shadows of ignorance, which became now, by means of his elevation, doubly conspicuous.

Carvajal meantime arrived at Lima. Nothing could equal the reception which Pizarro thought proper to give that famous veteran. He himself, attended by a gallant retinue, went a great distance from the city to meet him, as he was anxious to show the extent of respect and gratitude which he felt towards a commander to whom he stood so greatly obliged. Indeed, the zeal which the old soldiers had uniformly evinced for the cause of the Governor was well deserving of such marks of distinction. The result showed that his arrival in Lima could not but bind more closely the ties which existed between him and Pizarro. Carvajal's researches into the mines of Potosi had been followed with complete success, and a rich prize was the reward of his exertions. He

brought along with him above a million of pesos, which treasure he laid at the feet of the Governor. He then renewed his former expostulations to Pizarro to declare himself Sovereign of Peru; but the Governor, though deeply grateful to his zealous General for the many services he had done, declined to follow his advice, in the firm expectation that the present tranquillity of the country would not be compromised by any attempt of the Spanish government to curtail the powers which he now enjoyed.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Mission of Pedro Lagasca to Peru.

The Spanish government now found itself placed in a most unpleasant dilemma. The affairs which had disturbed the tranquillity of Peru were such as to awaken the utmost anxiety; but, though the evil was alarming, the remedy did not readily present itself to the ministers of Charles. Contending interests arose to defeat every plan suggested for the pacification of those colonies; and the diversity of opinion protracted those decisive measures which were necessary to be adopted without loss of time. Alvarez Cueto and Francisco Maldonado, the envoys, one from the late Viceroy, the other from Gonzalo Pizarro, had arrived at Spain, without impediment, and had hastened to Valladolid, where the court was then established. The moment of their arrival was one of great embarrassment. The Emperor Charles, wholly occupied in carrying forward his measures against the Lutherans of Germany, had abandoned the government of Spain to the prince his son, afterwards so celebrated under the name of Philip the Second. This Prince heard, with lively solicitude, the accounts given by Cueto and Maldonado, and immediately laid the alarming intelligence before his council. It was evident that Peru was involved in extreme anarchy; and the palliations which the envoy of Gonzalo Pizarro skillfully offered in excuse of his master's proceedings, were not sufficient to deceive the Spanish ministers as to the real state of affairs, and the unjustifiable jurisdiction which Pizarro had usurped.

At first, every one was shocked and scandalized at the open manner in which the royal authority had been opposed; and the

defeat and death of Nuñez Vela created universal feelings of horror and indignation. The rebellion was so bold and alarming, that nothing but extreme measures appeared adequate to the exigency of the times. The greater part of the ministers, accordingly, strongly advocated the most decisive and violent proceedings. It was indispensably necessary to check that licentiousness which was now, as it were, established in Peru; and no temporizing system could be successfully acted on towards rude adventurers, who had repeatedly shown the little dependence that could be placed on their protestations. By force of arms alone ought the rebels to be subdued, and brought to condign punishment; and to effect this purpose, it was decided that a powerful expedition should be sent immediately to Peru. No time was to be lost; but, after solemnly declaring Pizarro and his adherents rebels and traitors, they were to be treated with the utmost rigour.

Such a resolution, no doubt, would have been most effectual, as well as perfectly justifiable, had it been as easy in execution as it was in conception. Spain was, however, in no condition to second such vigorous measures. The long-protracted wars of the Emperor had drained the coffers of money, and the country of men. His veterans were now in Germany, where their presence was imperiously required; and it was neither politic nor just to proceed to a general levy of soldiers, in a nation still groaning severely under the burden which had been thrown upon it—a burden overwhelming, even despite of the glory with which it was accompanied. Besides, the preparation of a formidable expedition, even if it should be decided upon, demanded more time than the urgency of the affair seemed to allow. The transportation of the troops would be attended with equal difficulties; nor could much confidence be placed in raw recruits, who might probably be allured from the royal standard to another that offered richer prospects of booty, and greater independence of life. But other obstacles, still more serious and more difficult to surmount, soon presented themselves. Gonzalo Pizarro had now assumed a formidable attitude, and could easily provide against the dangers of the most powerful invasion. He was master of the South Sea, and thus the rout by Nombre de Dios and Panama would be interrupted. A march to Quito, through regions dreary and unhealthy, or inhabited by ferocious hordes of Indians, would be attended with fatal results. Besides, even supposing that all these obstacles were surmounted, the army would be thrown into a vast and unknown country, to contend with superior forces—with men accustomed to every sort of toil and danger, inured to fatigue, and

prepared for the most desperate events. These men were led by officers equally distinguished for their courage, as they were redoubtable for experience in war. Pizarro was undisputed master of the country, possessed a complete knowledge of it, and knew how to use every advantage which his situation presented.

These speculations made even the most resolute advocate for extreme measures to pause, and ultimately to alter his opinion. A failure in the attempt would be a mortal blow to Spain, as it would not only firmly establish Pizarro in his usurped authority, but might tempt other soldiers in the New World to seize the first opportunity of following his example, and of declaring themselves in open arms against their sovereign. To try the effect of more conciliatory measures, was next deliberated; and indeed, upon a second view of the affairs in Peru, there appeared a strong ray of hope that more fortunate results might be expected from adopting a milder course. It was apparent, from Gonzalo Pizarro's own conduct, that the last degree of unlawful ambition had not as yet taken possession of his mind. His solicitude to exculpate his conduct in the eyes of his sovereign, indicated that, notwithstanding the excesses and irregularities of his late proceedings, he still preserved an inward sense of dread and respect for that monarch. By trying to improve this frame of mind, more might be anticipated than by an injudicious contempt of such favourable symptoms. It was therefore advisable, every circumstance considered, that policy should be adopted in preference to force; and the Spanish ministers came to an unanimous resolution of following this course. Reasonable concessions were to be made to a man who, by an imprudent provocation, might be induced to seize on the whole. And those negotiations were entered upon, which, though without showing feebleness on the part of government, might tend to arrange affairs to the general satisfaction.

But these important and delicate schemes, demanding a man of no ordinary character and abilities to bring them to a successful termination, the choice of a person capable of conducting so vast an undertaking, next occupied the attention of the Spanish court. Experience had taught, that a man of unbending character and rigorous disposition, ought not to be intrusted with the mission; and the unfortunate results attendant on the administration of the Viceroy Nuñez Vela, made the Spanish ministers solicitous to steer clear of a similar mistake. Persuasive manners, and mild eloquence, knowledge of men, and profound discretion, were requisite, rather than military talents and unbending severity. After much deliberation, the choice fell upon a person, who, both from

his retired mode of life, and his unobtrusive merit, appeared at first unfit for so important a task. This was Pedro de Lagasca, a priest holding the rank of Counselor to the Holy Office. This individual had already been employed by government in transactions of trust, though not dazzling by external display of importance, and he had uniformly acquitted himself to the complete approbation of his employers. Though he neither held any public function under government, nor mixed apparently in the turmoil of affairs, his abilities were well known and appreciated by the ruling powers. He possessed a natural eloquence of manner and address—great suavity of temper, accompanied with resolution—integrity superior to the most dazzling allurements—and profound wisdom both in the conception and execution of the most difficult measures. Thus, though to appearance not possessed of that name or rank in the nation which might justify the choice, the Spanish cabinet did not hesitate in selecting Lagasca as the fittest person to carry their views into execution.

The Emperor approved highly of the election which had been made, and sent testimonials to Lagasca of his esteem for his person. Such flattering demonstrations were not less deserved by the individual on whom they were bestowed, than they were honourable to the monarch, who had the sense and justice to make them. Lagasca was indeed a man of superior merit. His abilities, though great, were yet vastly inferior to his moral virtues. The severity of his conduct towards himself, was only surpassed by his leniency and kindness towards others. He was neither to be intimidated by fear, nor dazzled and seduced by ambition. Possessing great candour of mind, and a contempt for wealth and honours worthy of a philosopher, the only reward which he expected from the laborious and arduous task in which he was about to embark, was the consciousness of having served his country. Thus, he refused to be made a bishop—an elevation which the ministers thought it prudent to give him, in order that he might appear under a more dignified character in the New World. He would not receive any distinction or title; and the only functions which he accepted, were those of President of the Royal Court of Audience at Lima. His disinterestedness was equal to the elevation of his views, and to the purity of his conduct in every other respect. He solemnly protested against receiving any salary, or emolument of any kind, for the discharge of the duties of his office. Nor would he encumber the royal treasury with any useless expenditure. His retinue was solely composed of a few indispensable domestics; for he was assiduous to remove every shadow of

pomp from his mission. The solitary favour he acceded to, if favour it could be called at all, was, that the members of his family might be supported at the public expense during his absence from Spain.*

The great merit of Lagasca's conduct is further enhanced, by a reference to the personal disabilities under which he laboured, at the time that this important mission was intrusted to his hands. He was in a very advanced stage of life, and his constitution was broken by weakness and infirmity. Added to this, were the fears natural to a man who had never been exposed to the dangers of a long voyage, or to the terrors of an unhealthy climate. Still, notwithstanding such serious drawbacks, he did not hesitate one moment to embrace the proposal of his sovereign; and he prepared for departure with equal zeal and alacrity. But Lagasca, though he appeared so disinterested in everything that regarded himself, insisted that he should be furnished with discretionary powers to act as the occasion might require. As he had the service of his king and country solely in view, and aspired to no other reward, he was doubly interested in the fortunate termination of his undertaking. The distance of the country, the perplexed and complicated state of affairs, and the dispositions of the various persons with whom he should come in contact, required the most ample grant; as time would be lost, and opportunities of great advantage foregone, by having to apply for instructions to the court of Spain on every occasion of difficulty or importance. He accordingly required to be invested with unlimited authority over all persons, parties, or causes; that he might have the power to pardon or to punish, to award recompenses, or suspend from office or emoluments, according as circumstances should prescribe. The functions of a judge, or the command of a general, were also to devolve upon him, as he should think it prudent to assume either; and every functionary of the Spanish settlements, whether civil or military, was to lend him assistance, whenever he should deem it expedient to demand it. Though this requisition was solely made with the view of promoting the success of the affair; and though the ministers were perfectly convinced of the purity of Lagasca's intentions, still such an extraordinary grant of power seemed to encroach on the royal prerogative, too dangerous to be approached by a subject; and the ministers, accordingly, would not bestow their sanction on the demand. Charles, however, viewed the subject in a very different light. He had sense and

* Zarate.—Gomara.

elevation of mind sufficient not to forego real advantage for a mere question of form. Persuaded as he was of the integrity of Lagasca, he knew that no abuse of authority could be dreaded from him; and besides, the arguments which he adduced in support of his pretensions, were founded on strong reason. He, therefore, instead of seconding the opposition manifested by his cabinet, readily assented to the demand of Lagasca; and that personage, gratified at this testimony of royal confidence and esteem, hastened to prepare for his departue. This was soon accomplished; for he had neither men nor baggage to encumber him. That great man set out upon a dangerous and formidable task, armed with no other weapons than his abilities and virtues—his cross and breviary.

Lagasca landed at Nombre de Dios on the 27th of July, where he found Hernan Mexia commanding for Pizarro. Mexia was at the head of a considerable force, and had orders to oppose any hostile invasion; but the arrival of Lagasca was not calculated to create alarm. The appearance of an old priest without troops, was not indeed an object of dread; and his landing was accordingly quietly permitted. His arrival at Nombre de Dios excited rather laughter and contumely in the soldiery, than any other sentiment. Some of those rude adventurers began to behave with the utmost disrespect towards the old man, who, in return, conducted himself with the utmost humility and placidity of address.* These unfavourable symptoms soon faded away. Mexia had a secret interview with Lagasca, in which it was agreed that this officer should lend his aid to promote the plans of his sovereign. He further instructed Lagasca concerning the state of the country. The fleet at Panama was commanded by Hinojosa, which officer he depicted as not very difficult to be brought over. A secret treaty was then entered upon, and measures concerted for the promotion of the scheme.

Lagasca then repaired to Panama, where Hinojosa was stationed with a competent garrison, and in command of the fleet. His reception at this place was as favourable as he could desire. Hinojosa behaved towards him with kindness and respect; and the mild aspect and humble deportment of the priest easily conciliated the public favour. Lagasca announced himself as a herald of peace; and his whole deportment tended to corroborate this statement. He declared that he came commissioned by his Majesty, to look into the affairs of Peru, not in order to deal out punishment,

* Fernandez.

or to exercise vexatious authority, but to heal the wounds of the country, and adopt every measure conducive to a general pacification, and to an oblivion of the past. He added, that he came with full powers to repeal those obnoxious laws which had excited their alarm, and had been the cause of past disturbances; that every grievance should be redressed, and every offence pardoned, provided the people showed themselves willing to return to the path of order, and bowed in deference to the laws and to legitimate authority.

The venerable age, ministerial character, and conciliating manners of Lagasca, gave weight to these protestations; and they were accordingly received with the most favourable feeling. Hernan Mexia had already been won over. Hinojosa soon followed his example, and several officers of distinction did the same. Shortly after, Lagasca was put in possession of a competent force; the garrison at Panama yielded to him, and Hinojosa surrendered the navy. This auspicious commencement of his mission encouraged Lagasca to proceed in the same prudent manner, and to lose no time in pushing forward his first advantage. He sent to Mendoza, the Viceroy of Mexico, requesting him to lend his assistance to the service of his Majesty; and he also dispatched messengers throughout the country, in order to promulgate the tenor of the functions with which he came intrusted by the King of Spain. As Lagasca was exceedingly averse to all measures contrary to peace, and felt horror at the shedding of human blood, he had determined to exhaust every endeavour, and make use of every means, before he should think of having recourse to such melancholy extremes. He wrote, therefore, a mild and conciliatory letter to Pizarro, announcing to him his arrival, the benevolent motives by which he was actuated, and his ardent wishes that they might labour zealously with one accord, in order to second the prudent and paternal views of his Majesty. In this letter he enclosed another from the King himself to Pizarro, in which the latter was absolved by his Majesty of all criminal views towards sovereign authority, and was excused for the violent proceedings which he had adopted on pretext of the Viceroy Nuñez Vela's imprudent and vexatious conduct. At the same time, however, the King required Pizarro to lend his aid and obedience to Lagasca, who was fully empowered to investigate the affairs of the country, and to execute such measures as he might think proper to adopt for the re-establishment of order and prosperity.*

* Zarate.

Gonzalo Pizarro, as soon as he received these letters, called his two confidential counselors, Carvajal and Cepeda, and read them in their presence. They then entered into a consultation on the line of conduct which they ought to follow. Pizarro showed more than ordinary irresolution, and anxiously demanded advice from his two friends. Carvajal gave his opinion first. He said, that since Lagasca came as a messenger of peace, and was empowered by his Majesty to revoke the obnoxious laws which had given rise to the late dissensions—since they were again to enter upon the full possession of the emoluments and privileges due to them by right of conquest—he saw neither justice nor policy in offering the least shadow of hostility towards the royal envoy. On the contrary, it was his firm opinion that Lagasca ought to be received as the herald of good tidings, and be treated accordingly with every demonstration of joy and respect. He suggested that they should go forward to meet him, and bring him in triumph to Lima.

Cepeda's advice was totally contrary to that of the veteran. He alleged, that they had no positive security for the fulfillment of the President's promises; that he had merely uttered fine words, which he might violate at pleasure, when occasion required; that it would be madness in Pizarro to admit a wolf into his fold, because he came dressed in a lamb's skin; that he ought not to suffer himself to be dictated to, while he had the country under his jurisdiction; and that the apparent kindness of Lagasca was assumed, to hide the duplicity of his designs. Two opinions so completely at variance could not but perplex Pizarro in a high degree. He accordingly retired from the consultation, not only without having made up his mind, but even in greater uncertainty than before. If there was, however, any deviation from a neutral sentiment on his part, it leaned rather to the side of Cepeda. Soon after, another meeting was convened, which consisted of about eighty persons, composing the principal officers of the army, and the leading men in the city. A long and interesting debate took place, and opinions were again divided. The majority, however, of the debaters, as well as the more prudent among them, strongly advocated the advice given by Carvajal; while there were others equally anxious to support the opinion of Cepeda.*

Pizarro, still undecided, sent an answer to Lagasca, making a pompous display of loyalty, giving a florid description of the services which his brothers and himself had done to their King and country, and representing the indifferent manner in which all their

* Zarate.—Fernandez.

labours had been repaid. He complained of the imprisonment of his brother Ferdinand in Spain—the almost destitute state of his nephews, the children of Don Francisco—and, in fine, he made use of every argument, to show that, though his family had merited so much of their country, they were unjustly overlooked. This mixture of loyal professions with complaints was calculated to let matters remain unaltered; though it, nevertheless, gave a hint that Pizarro, however apparently inclined to peace, was in secret more decidedly disposed for war. This suspicion was soon ripened into certainty; for the Governor made no difficulty of showing openly the real sentiments by which he was actuated. He was firmly attached to the opinions of Cepeda, but not from the reasons alleged by that subtle lawyer. Pizarro, on the contrary, conceived that the promises of Lagasca would be fulfilled, that the obnoxious regulations would be revoked, and the grievances of the people redressed; but, while these measures were adopted for the general good, he apprehended that his own private interests would be completely disregarded. He found himself deprived of the government of Peru, to which he considered himself justly entitled; and he probably anticipated, that his loss of power would be followed with other calamities.

The violent and haughty temper of Pizarro revolted from these considerations. Dwelling on the wrongs which he had sustained through the ingratitude of his country, and besides being habituated to measures of resistance, he found no difficulty in proceeding a step further. An avowed opposition, under existing circumstances, to the royal authority, could find neither excuse nor palliation,—for Lagasca came to redress, not to offer grievances; yet Gonzalo Pizarro scrupled not to entertain ideas of opposition, and to form plans of resistance, which, at an earlier period of life, he would have regarded with dread and repugnance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Progress of Lagasca.—Battle of Huarina.

Gonzalo Pizarro was now fully confirmed in the line of conduct he was to pursue. He assembled his principal adherents, and signified to them his firm resolution to prevent the President,

by arms, from establishing his authority in Peru. Carvajal, who had been taxed by Cepeda with being afraid to enter on so bold an undertaking, now that he perceived the Governor so strenuously bent on adopting measures contrary to those which he had suggested, declared that he had given his opinion with candour and sincerity; but, since Pizarro was determined to follow a different plan, he would offer no further remonstrance, and now was ready to show his zeal in the cause, by embracing the new and dangerous undertaking, with that intrepidity which had characterized his long and eventful career. Pizarro immediately sent a deputation to Spain, the object of which was preposterous in the extreme, to screen his unjustifiable conduct from censure. He insisted on receiving from the King a confirmation of his continuance in the government of Peru, as this was ardently desired by the whole community; and as it was, besides, the only means of preserving permanent tranquillity in the country. The President Lagasca was then peremptorily ordered by Pizarro instantly to quit Panama, and return to Spain.*

The Governor now gave free vent to the arbitrary tendency of his feelings. His habits of command, the recklessness of his disposition, and the formidable attitude which he had assumed in Peru, drove him to concert plans and adopt measures, as criminal as they were wild and extravagant. He was sensible that he had committed many acts against the royal authority, which the Emperor could never forget, nor easily forgive. The excesses which, at several periods of his career, he had committed, could not be passed over; and, though the law of necessity might screen them, for the present, from just retribution, yet a future period might present opportunities, and offer pretexts, for dealing out their due award. The same fears were harboured by the adherents of Pizarro. Companions in his rebellion, participators in his excesses, and sharers in his plunder, they knew that their own destiny was intimately connected with that of their leader. With determined adventurers, the law of present expediency is the strongest; and without considering the fatal results which their rebellion might produce in the sequel, they came to the resolution of adhering boldly to Pizarro, and carrying forward his views in their greatest latitude.

There was, besides, another circumstance that allured the Governor to the adoption of these ill-judged and violent measures, namely, the consideration of Lagasca's want of means for offering serious

* Zarate.—Herrera.

impediments to their success. The pacific character of the President, his want of officers and troops, and every circumstance attending his mission from Spain, awoke strange ideas in the mind of Pizarro. He conceived, that a minister of peace had been chosen by the Emperor to investigate the affairs of Peru, not because that sovereign sincerely wished to adopt conciliatory measures, but because he could follow no other—because he could not send a competent army to reduce the country by force of arms. On the other hand, he found himself in a most flourishing position. There were now no less than six thousand Spaniards in Peru, the greater part of whom were openly devoted to him. The natives, too, he could easily bring into his party; and his complete knowledge of the country gave him another advantage over his antagonist. The arrival, therefore, of Lagasca, could inspire him with no alarm; and the failure of the President's mission would inevitably induce the Spanish government to desist from further attempts, and to confirm the grant that he required.

The hostile aspect which Gonzalo Pizarro now assumed, without any provocation on the part of Lagasca, was highly injurious to his cause. Though men had been accustomed to act in opposition to lawful authority, and though they were generally disposed in favour of the Governor, yet they considered his present conduct as too daring or too criminal; and accordingly, many endeavoured to shelter themselves in time against the coming storm. Others, from a feeling of indignation at the extremity to which the Governor was carrying his measures, in thus placing himself openly against his sovereign, now openly declared their resolution of upholding the cause of the latter. Hinojosa, and various other officers of distinction, not only made a public avowal of their intentions, but exerted all their endeavours to persuade the more undecided among the Spaniards to follow the same course. This spirit proved contagious, and spread with great rapidity. Lorenzo de Aldana, on whom the Governor had relied, joined Lagasca, and with four vessels repaired to Tumbez, where he persuaded the officer and garrison of the place to join the standard of the President. Other defections of a like nature followed; so that, while Pizarro was fondly indulging the belief that Lagasca had either been compelled to return to Spain, or had fallen a victim to his obstinacy, he was thunderstruck at receiving intelligence, that, so far from this being the case, the President was in possession of the fleet, and had under his command the troops in garrison at Panama—that he was, moreover, making preparations to proceed into

Peru—and that a spirit of disaffection had begun to spread over the country.

Gonzalo Pizarro was totally unprepared for such unwelcome tidings. But, instead of this news exciting alarm in his breast, the information only served to inflame his rage and indignation. He immediately made the most extensive preparations for war; nor did he find it difficult to collect an army capable of striking awe into his opponents. In a short time he found himself at the head of a thousand men, all good soldiers, and perfectly equipped.* With this force he hesitated not to march against the enemy; but, before putting his plan into execution, he was anxious to impart a colouring of justice to the violence of his proceedings. He appointed a Court of Audience at Lima, in which Cepeda presided, a man wholly subservient to Pizarro. This tribunal was to examine the charges against Lagasca, Hinojosa, and several others, of having traitorously deprived the Governor of his fleet, and also having drawn away his soldiers from their duty. Lagasca and his new adherents were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. Cepeda immediately signed the sentence;† but some of the members of the Audience demurred, alleging that Lagasca was a priest, and that they would incur excommunication by affixing their signatures to the warrant. The document therefore remained dormant for the time being, but it did not prove wholly without effect. The semblance of a tribunal and of constituted law, if correct in the form, however deficient in the essence, of justice, ordinarily imposes on the ignorant. Such was the case at present. Those rude adventurers of Peru found themselves relieved, as it were, from the burden of scruples, from the moment that they saw Gonzalo Pizarro's views seconded by the *Audiencia*, and heard that Lagasca and his companions had been declared rebels and traitors. Men flocked from every side to the standard of the Governor, who, with feelings of satisfaction, beheld himself at the head of forces, both as to number and merit, hitherto unequaled in Peru.

But affairs soon began to wear a different aspect. Lagasca, now fully sensible that it was useless to expect any accommodation with Pizarro, was assiduous in providing all those resources which were necessary to bring the matter to the issue of a battle. He had received reinforcements from Nicaragua, and other Spanish colonies on the continent. Indeed, he was so far improved in his means of carrying on the war, that he ventured to leave Panama and proceed to Tumbez, whilst he sent Lorenzo de Aldana to the

* Zarate. † Zarate.—Fernandez.—Herrera.

Valle de Santa, to watch the movements of Pizarro. The pacific character of Lagasca, and his promises, were attended with the most fatal effects to the cause of the Governor. The people, some in dread of the violence of Pizarro, others willing to accept the terms of peace offered by the King, early flocked to the party of the President. But the most singular event of this period, and one which might justly awaken all the anxiety of Gonzalo Pizarro, was the sudden appearance of Diego Centeno in the field. We have seen, that this honourable man and brave captain, having been defeated by Carvajal, had retreated into the mountains, and concealed himself in a solitary cave. There he had remained in obscurity, watching an opportunity of displaying again his courage and abilities. That moment was arrived, and his services were called into action.

An inhabitant of Arequipa, called Diego Alvarez, had placed a rag upon a pike in imitation of a banner, and at the head of thirteen men had declared for Lagasca. With this slender party, he proceeded towards those places where the followers of Centeno had been dispersed by Carvajal. He was soon joined by many of them, when Centeno himself, issuing from his cave, took the command of the gallant party.* This consisted of fifty men, all ill provided for active service, but making up in zeal and courage for every deficiency. Centeno proposed to them to march boldly towards Cuzco, and make a desperate attempt to take possession of that city. Dangerous and arduous as the undertaking appeared, all the soldiers showed themselves eager to enter upon it. Cuzco was defended by Antonio de Robles, a fearless young officer; and the garrison consisted of three hundred regular troops. But, notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, Centeno and his gallant band began their march with the confidence and satisfaction of men marching to victory. Their commander endeavoured all along to inculcate on them, that the inhabitants of Cuzco would hasten to join their standard, and that the garrison would be induced to follow their example—for they defended the right cause, which, sooner or later, must be crowned with success.

With equal tact and prudence, however, Centeno resolved to make his attempt on Cuzco by night; since it would have been next to madness to approach the city, as if with the design of laying siege to it. Besides, though he made use of the most flattering expressions in order to encourage his troops, he knew that the people of Cuzco would not pronounce themselves in his favour.

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

unless they saw him possessing greater chances of success than those which he could now command. The vigilance of Robles and his devotion to Pizarro, were also serious impediments; and he accordingly determined to take the place by surprise and stratagem in the darkness of night. The smallness of his band enabled him to advance with the greatest secrecy to the vicinity of Cuzco; and he was, by faithful spies, duly apprised of what was going forward in that city. His scheme was put into execution with complete success; and he rendered himself without bloodshed master of Cuzco, and took Robles prisoner. Centeno behaved with leniency after this triumph; indeed Robles, an impetuous young man, who comported himself with daring imprudence after his defeat, alone suffered of all the partisans of Pizarro in the place.* Most of the troops that had composed the garrison, joined the banners of Centeno; so that he soon found himself at the head of a band of men bearing the semblance of a regular army.†

Gonzalo Pizarro, upon receiving intelligence of the capture of Cuzco, and of the formidable aspect assumed by Centeno, was no less astonished than enraged. He found himself pressed both by sea and by land, at a time when he had every reason to hope that his enemies were either annihilated, or at least in so destitute a condition that they could only attempt to act on the defensive. But affairs had taken a turn totally unexpected; and a remedy to the evil was an object of primary consideration. Pizarro was, besides, not easily to be dispirited by the vicissitudes of fortune. During his eventful life, he had been exposed to so many dangers, and had endured such extraordinary calamities, that neither the appearance of the one, nor the near approach of the other, could engender in his dauntless bosom any sentiment of alarm or despondency. As the danger from the movements of Centeno was the most pressing, he resolved to attack that captain without loss of time. With an anxiety excusable, under existing circumstances, previously to undertaking his march, he assembled his troops, and went through a ceremony, on the value of which experience ought to have taught him to set no price. This was the solemn administration of a sacred oath, first to the officers, and then to the army in general, to adhere faithfully to his standard till death—an oath which even those who had already made up their minds to desert, scrupled not to take.

Meantime, Aldana appeared with the fleet in the bay of Lima. This event naturally increased the anxiety of Pizarro, who now

* G. de la Vega. † Zarate.—Gomara.

resolved to expedite his march. This was indeed the most prudent step he could take. It was imperiously necessary to disperse the troops of Centeno, before that chief assumed a more formidable aspect, or effected a junction with Lagasca. Besides, Pizarro, without a fleet, could essay nothing against Aldana. These considerations, added to the daily increase of desertion, determined him to risk the event of a battle, as nothing is more fatal than to keep soldiers in inactivity, while corrupted by such a spirit.

Pizarro commenced his march with unusual rapidity; but the defection was appalling. Every day some officer of note, or some band of soldiers, had quitted the ranks; and the agony of the Governor was augmented, when he learned that among the deserters were some of those very men to whom he had been partial, and to whom he had shown the greatest kindness. He was next met by Juan de Acosta, an officer of rank whom he had dispatched towards Cuzco with a gallant army. Acosta, dispirited and exhausted, appeared before his commander at Arequipa, with the small remnant of his army that had still adhered faithful to their standard. Pizarro redoubled his vigilance, especially during the night, which was time when desertion more generally took place; but, despite of his unwearied efforts, and the punishments which he found himself compelled to award, he could not check the progress of the defection. Indeed, by the time he approached near Huarina, his army was so reduced by desertion, that he found himself at the head of scarcely four hundred men, hardly a third of the force which he had long before commanded.

The enemy came in sight near the Lake of Titiaca; and Centeno, confiding in the superiority of his troops, which were twice in number to those of the enemy, resolved to offer battle without delay. The situation of Gonzalo Pizarro was now very critical. Though a stranger to the remotest suggestion of fear, and no longer dreading evil from the defection of his men, since those that remained were stanch adherents—the companions in his past victories and crimes—he nevertheless hesitated to engage Centeno, without previously trying the effect of negotiation. He accordingly sent a messenger to that chief with dispatches, in which he skillfully put Centeno in mind of their having been companions in former enterprises of great importance and glory, such as the expeditions for the conquest of Callao and Las Charcas. He reminded him of their friendship, of the many obligations which he owed him, and of his having preserved his life, when he ought to have been executed. In virtue of all this, he urged him to enter into some accommodation, by which any difference might be adjusted

without having recourse to the dreadful alternative of arms. To this invitation Centeno answered, in terms which at once evinced his policy and his moderation. The letter of Pizarro had been ambiguous; and it was obvious that he never intended to relinquish the government of Peru. This, indeed, would always be an insuperable obstacle to every negotiation, as the submission of Pizarro to the President would be indispensable before any attempt at conciliatory measures. Centeno accordingly answered, that he was equally anxious with Pizarro to bring these differences among the Spaniards to a friendly termination, and that he would promote so fortunate a result by all the means in his power. He said, that he was not forgetful either of the friendship which had existed between them in former times, or of the favours he had received; and that it was his earnest desire, therefore, to show a due sense of them, by the line of conduct he intended to adopt. He was willing to go any length—short of compromising his honour, and the duty which he owed to his King—in order to serve Pizarro. He only required of him to come to his camp, and acknowledge the royal jurisdiction, on which every matter would be adjusted to the general satisfaction. The President Lagasca, throwing the veil of oblivion over the past, would not, however, forget the extraordinary services done by Gonzalo Pizarro to his country. A most honourable destiny would be awarded to him; and Centeno himself would neglect no means of forwarding such an issue.*

This answer of Centeno was characterized by a spirit of justice and moderation, but was far from satisfying the views of the Governor. He either would not trust the assurances of his enemy, or conceived that the requisition for his surrendering was too derogatory to the dignity which he held in Peru, and to the glorious renown which he had hitherto enjoyed in the country. Besides, the bribery practised on his messenger awoke his indignation, which, aided by his dauntless nature, made him not hesitate to risk the event of a battle. His devoted officers seconded his intentions; and he pushed towards Huarina with great alacrity and resolution. Centeno, being apprised of this movement, advanced to meet the enemy. He was very sanguine of victory, and indeed his hopes were founded on the firmest basis. He was at the head of above a thousand men, commanded by officers of equal bravery and experience, while the army of Pizarro scarcely amounted to four hundred. Carvajal, in whose great military abilities and long experience in war the Governor chiefly confided, disposed this body

* Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

of men with great skill. He detached Juan de Acosta with a small band from the main body, to skirmish with the enemy; and put himself at the head of the cavalry, while Pizarro commanded the infantry. Cepeda, Bachicao and Guevara, were the officers next in command, and each had posts of importance assigned to them.

On the 20th of October, the battle of Huarina took place. It was, upon the whole, the best contested, as well as the most sanguinary and decisive, that had hitherto been fought in Peru. Both sides advanced at first slowly to the charge, in complete silence, and preserving strict order. The two armies then halted, at a short distance from each other, and remained for some time in complete inactivity, their eyes fixed upon their antagonists. Pizarro, at this time, sent Father Herrera, chaplain of the army, to parley with Centeno, requiring him to let him pass on without offering battle, and charging him with all the calamities that would follow, should he perversely refuse to comply with this request. The embassy was treated by the enemy with scorn; as they concluded that a feeling of alarm alone could actuate Pizarro to send such a message, when affairs were on the eve of a crisis. The aspect of the Governor's army was such, indeed, as to justify the most sanguine expectations on the side of the enemy. They felt confident of victory, and, acting upon this persuasion, Centeno gave orders to charge.

Carvajal then sent forward Juan de Acosta with his thirty musketeers to engage the enemy, but with orders to keep retreating, in order to entice them on. Meantime, he himself remained quiet, waiting for the foe being absorbed in the pursuit of Acosta, to fall upon them in a firm squadron with overwhelming force. It was long before the armies came to a general engagement: for Pizarro avoided such an event with unwearied industry. It was the object of the experienced Carvajal to weary out the enemy by partial encounters and skirmishes, which might tend to exhaust the strength, and derange the order of Centeno's army. These stratagems were at first successful; but Centeno was not so raw an adept in the art of war, as not to perceive the object of the enemy; and he was too well aware of the advantage which he possessed in a superior force, acting besides on a level ground so favourable for its evolutions. Centeno commanded, therefore, his cavalry to charge furiously the wing led by Pizarro, as it was the one on which it would be easier to make an impression—ordering, at the same time, the whole of his infantry to follow close, and second the exertions of the cavalry.

The onset was characterized by unusual intrepidity. The at-

tack was so rapid and overpowering, that its shock was terribly felt by the enemy. Pizarro's soldiers were overthrown and put into confusion, and the general himself narrowly escaped with life, —a fortune which he owed only to the goodness of his armour. He was compelled to take refuge in the centre of the infantry, which was soon closely attacked by the conquering enemy. Cepeda was overthrown, and badly wounded; and the sounds of victory were heard from the army of Centeno. Pizarro, conceiving that the day was lost, had resolved to quit his post, and fight desperately to meet a glorious death. But Carvajal, with a coolness and composure that showed at once the veteran warrior and the deep politician, ordered his men to remain quiet and collected, and to direct an uninterrupted fire upon the rear of the enemy, when closely engaged with the other portion of the army. This maneuver began to change the aspect of the day. The musketeers, with unerring aim, continued to annoy the enemy, who was now vigorously charged by Carvajal and his men. Pizarro, who had kept retreating, cheered by the present advantage, redoubled his exertions, and victory began now to incline towards his side. Nothing could exceed the animosity of the two armies; the contest was long disputed; but the cause of Pizarro at length prevailed, and a most signal and complete victory was obtained.

The carnage was very great. Centeno had about three hundred and fifty men killed in the battle, together with his second in command, and every other officer of note. The number of the wounded was considerable, amounting to an equality with the dead; besides, about a hundred died in a short time, from the badness of their wounds, or from neglect. The remnant of the army dispersed in every direction, and was hotly pursued by the victors.* There is much exaggeration in the account given by Gomara, of the cruelty used towards the conquered. Among other things, he charges Carvajal with having boasted that he had killed a hundred men, and among them a priest; whereas the veteran, whatever might have been the number of those who fell by his arm in battle, did not slay a single man after the victory.† The loss of Pizarro was also considerable, if measured by the numerical standard of the forces he had brought into the field. He had about a hundred men slain, and many wounded, among whom were his principal officers, Cepeda, Acosta, and Guillen.

The booty which the victors found in the camp of the enemy was very great, and amounted, in value, to no less than one million

* Zarate, &c. † G. de la Vega.

four hundred thousand pesos.* Diego Centeno was, at the time of the battle, so enfeebled by malady and by previous fatigue, that he was unable to take an active part in it. He was carried on a litter; but when he perceived the day irretrievably lost, he mounted a horse, and with the greatest difficulty, succeeded in effecting his escape. He wandered for a long time accompanied only by a single attendant, who was a priest; and, after a variety of perilous escapes and hardships, at length reached Lima in safety, but in the last stage of want, distress, and exhaustion.

The victory of Huarina was such as could not have been anticipated by either party. By this single stroke of fortune, the aspect of affairs was completely changed. It was a severe blow to the President's party, while it served to re-establish Gonzalo Pizarro in his former power. Indeed, the splendour of the present achievement was such as to command admiration, and to excite dread in the breasts of those who had forsaken his cause. Many began to consider Pizarro unconquerable in the field—the more so, from his being supported by Carvajal, the first man in Peru with regard to military abilities. This persuasion produced great results; a reaction soon took place, and the numbers of the Governor's army began to increase with the same rapidity that had marked the previous desertion from his ranks.†

CHAPTER XIX.

Fortune declares for the President Lagasca.—Bloodless Victory obtained by him, and Downfall of Pizarro and his Adherents.

The prosperity which the recent triumph seemed to promise to Pizarro, was but of short continuance. Though he found himself in a more formidable attitude than ever, events had taken place in other parts of the empire to excite his deepest anxiety. He received intelligence, from various quarters, of the movements of the enemy; and he perceived that, instead of having completely destroyed the party of Lagasca by the victory of Huarina, he should be obliged to exert new efforts before he could see such an event accomplished.

* Fernandez. † Zarate.—Gomara, &c

No sooner had Gonzalo Pizarro quitted Lima, with the view of advancing against Centeno, than the feelings of the inhabitants, suppressed hitherto by his dreaded presence, began to find a free vent. They soon ripened into open revolt; the royal standard was erected; and Lorenzo de Aldana, having effected a landing, took possession of the capital. Nor was this the only subject of alarm. Lagasca, about the same time, made his appearance at Tumbez, at the head of five hundred men, and his presence was followed by the most fatal results to the cause of Pizarro. Gradually, every one of the neighbouring settlements began to declare for the President, till at last he found himself complete master of all the country round. The number of his forces was augmented every day; a fervent zeal for the royal cause was exhibited everywhere; and Lagasca, overjoyed at his rapidly increasing advantages, seemed not to apprehend the terrible power with which Pizarro was at that moment invested.

Lagasca continued to exhibit that spirit of mildness and moderation which was natural to his character, and which had so efficiently promoted his views from the commencement. More anxious to reclaim than to punish—more willing to persuade than to conquer—he appeared, on every occasion, to place greater confidence in his character as a minister of God, than in his high functions as delegate from a most powerful sovereign. Averse to the shedding of human blood, he was firmly resolved to try every expedient before he had recourse to that extremity. Yet while, in his whole deportment, he appeared anxious to evince that disposition which ought to distinguish a minister of the Gospel, he was not neglectful of taking such prudential measures for war as bespoke him possessed of no less military capacity, than of virtue and benevolence. The people began to look upon the President not only with esteem, but with that kind of deep veneration which great merit, allied to simplicity of manners and unpretending modesty, is always certain to inspire. The diminutive, and even ungainly appearance of Lagasca, his total want of pomp, were forgotten; and some of those very men who had heaped abuse and ridicule on a poor harmless priest, as they considered him when he arrived on the coast, now completely changed their sentiments, and were prodigal of their professions of obedience and respect.

The President, finding himself in an attitude powerful enough to banish apprehensions, did not hesitate to advance into the inland country; and accordingly departed for the pleasant valley of Xauja, which he selected as the place of general meeting for the Royalists. This valley, situated in the way to Cuzco, was ad-

mirably adapted, both from its situation, and the fertility of its soil, to the purpose for which it had been chosen. Lagasca arrived at the place without inconvenience, and resolved to make a considerable stay.* He was induced to this by many considerations. His favourite scheme of arranging matters amicably, dwelt so strongly on his mind, that, even in the present advanced state of affairs, he did not forego all hopes of accomplishing his wishes. He still indulged the thought of entering into negotiations with Pizarro, and was resolved to make another attempt at this, before risking the issue of a battle. Besides, though his troops evinced great zeal in the cause, and seemed animated by the most honourable feelings, he could not but perceive, that the qualities of devotedness and courage are not alone sufficient to obtain the palm in war. Discipline, and habits of military life, were also indispensable; and in these requisites his army was rather deficient. Composed, in a great measure, of young volunteers, and of men unaccustomed to the use of arms, his troops, though containing in their ranks many officers of note as well as veteran soldiers, appeared, nevertheless, vastly inferior to the army of Gonzalo Pizarro, consisting, as it did, of the flower of the military force in Peru. Such considerations induced the President Lagasca to order the full training of his men; and he spent several months at Xauja in these exercises.

As soon as Pedro de Valdivia, the Governor of Chili, had received intelligence of the arrival of Lagasca, and the rebellion of Pizarro, he hastened to lend his assistance to the royal party; and he now appeared before the President with a considerable reinforcement. His presence in the camp was of the greatest consequence, as it tended to dispel some of the fears which had been of late observable, and to arouse the spirits of the soldiers, which had begun to droop. The decisive victory of Huarina, and the total discomfiture of Diego Centeno, on whom the firmest reliance was placed, had been attended with discouraging influence upon the troops of Lagasca. Those who had escaped from that disastrous field, painted in such vivid colours the extraordinary courage and fortune of Pizarro, no less than the unequaled military abilities of Carvajal, that those names had become a by-word of terror with many of the soldiers. But the arrival of Valdivia, with a numerous train of officers of distinction and of veterans, tended to remove the ill effects which such a spirit might ultimately have produced; and Lagasca, with the advice of his principal adherents,

* Zarate.—Fernandez.

to keep his men occupied, and exhilarate their minds, instituted several martial exercises and games. A round of festivities took place, ostensibly to celebrate the arrival of Valdivia, though motives of more vital importance had suggested this idea.*

Lagasca and his army passed the winter, which was very severe, at Antahuaylla, and then renewed his march with great regularity and order towards Cuzco, which was occupied by the enemy. After the battle of Huarina, Pizarro, elated with so extraordinary a success, and anticipating the most extravagant prospects, was little inclined to listen to the proposals of accommodation. He was now at the head of a thousand men; and his late victory had so firmly established his reputation as a fortunate and an experienced commander, that he seemed to entertain a notion that he had chained destiny to his car for ever. Indeed he was so infatuated by this glittering delusion, that he neglected to pay due attention to the advice even of those men to whom, in former times, he had listened with a respect and deference little short of what is shown to unerring oracles. Cepeda, who had invariably exercised such a decided influence over all his measures and resolutions, was now disregarded. That subtle lawyer, whether from some hidden motives, or for reasons of a more honourable nature, showed, after the battle of Huarina, a different set of opinions from what he had evinced previously to that event. He now appeared as strongly inclined to peace as formerly he had zealously advocated measures of resistance. He advised Pizarro to enter into some accommodation with Lagasca. He urged arguments which were at once ingenious in form, and just in substance. He said, that a most favourable juncture presented itself for commencing amicable arrangements, as the advantageous position in which Pizarro stood precluded all suspicion that he was actuated by sentiments of fear, or by any other unworthy motive. On the other hand, Lagasca was eagerly inclined to an amicable adjustment, and Pizarro could easily obtain such terms as would screen at once his honour as a soldier, and protect the bulk of his fortune.

The sagacious Cepeda had perhaps other motives for following his present line of conduct; for, even at this stage of the proceedings, he began to be suspected of acting in concert with Lagasca. Pizarro paid no regard to the remonstrances of Cepeda, nor were those of Carvajal attended with greater success. This old veteran, strange as it may appear, was now strongly inclined to listen to terms of accommodation. Though a sentiment so much at variance

* Fernandez.—G. de la Vega.

with his usual disposition, and with the former bent of his life, may seem strange, it is nevertheless susceptible of easy solution. Carvajal, though he had, from the commencement, advocated the most decided measures, had at last found that Gonzalo Pizarro was not fitted to carry so gigantic an undertaking as the one in which they were embarked, to a successful termination. Hence, when Lagasca made his appearance in the country, he had, in opposition to Cepeda, counseled the Governor to submit to the President, as the most prudent course he could adopt. He did not perceive in Pizarro those abilities, and that strong decision of purpose, necessary for competing in open arms against a sovereign, and for acting in direct opposition to deeply-rooted prejudices. Gonzalo Pizarro, though possessed of extraordinary military bravery, was deficient in political courage. While contending against the King in open rebellion, he appeared still anxious to keep up a semblance of respect for his sovereign; he seemed, as it were, anxious to hide from the conviction of his own mind, the magnitude of the offence of which he found himself guilty, but which he had neither the resolution to repent, nor the spirit to despise. This frame of mind was fraught with imminent danger; and Carvajal, intimately aware of it, was anxious to follow that course which was certainly the most prudent. Though victory had crowned the exertions of the party, and though the achievement at Huarina was one of the most splendid that is recorded in the annals of the New World, the searching eye of Carvajal, and the calmness of thought that actuated his every motion, clearly discerned the gathering storm that was to burst upon them. Seeing, however, Gonzalo Pizarro averse to follow the advice, not only afforded by him and Cepeda, but also by other principal men, he desisted, resolving, however, to adhere faithful to his standard.*

Carvajal, perceiving the Governor so decided against peace, endeavoured to inculcate the most salutary instructions for the furtherance of the opposite course. He advised Pizarro to disband all those soldiers that had belonged to the army of Centeno, as he said that no reliance could be placed upon men goaded with the shame of defeat, and bound to Pizarro by no more endurable ties than those of compulsion. Instead of doing any service to the cause, their presence in the army would only tend to produce the most mischievous effects. To this advice he added another, terrible no doubt, but most effective in its consequences if put into practice. Carvajal observed, that the army of Lagasca had been increased

* Fernandez.

to a very great number; yet it could only claim the advantage of a mere numerical majority. The amount of good and well-disciplined soldiers was comparatively small; and the great mass was composed of a miscellaneous crowd of sailors and disbanded adventurers, with a mixture of the lowest rabble. It was easy to conceive the sentiments by which such an assemblage must be actuated. The majority, though apparently animated with zeal for the cause, were far from sincere; and had volunteered their services solely with a view to the great booty which they expected would fall to their share in the contest. They advanced towards Cuzco, no doubt, with an impression that great wealth would be accumulated during the sack of the town. To obviate this inconvenience and crush the hopes of the enemy, Carvajal advised Pizarro to demolish the town, and, after taking away as many articles of value as they could carry, to destroy the rest. He also wished that the flocks, as well as every article of food, should be removed from all those places through which the enemy was to pass, in order that desertion might take place among a crowd of undisciplined men, who would ill put up with such severe hardships and disappointments.*

Pizarro refused to follow this course. He could conceive no extreme urgency for this measure, nor any necessity of resorting to such calamitous expedients, when he felt confident in his own power. Besides, he alleged, that, to abandon Cuzco in ruins to the enemy, and retreat before his approach, was a course unworthy of a veteran army accustomed to victory, and would argue an indecision or a pusillanimity ill corresponding with their former conduct. Pizarro being accordingly resolved to meet the foe, and Lagasca advancing in the meanwhile towards Cuzco, the Governor made choice of Juan de Acosta, one of his principal officers, to advance, and oppose the crossing of the river Apurimal, which Lagasca was obliged to pass before he could reach the city. Acosta failed in his enterprise, and returned precipitately to Cuzco, with the intelligence that Lagasca was advancing by a rapid march towards the city. Pizarro, upon this, issued orders that the army should be in readiness to depart for Sacsahuana, a place distant about four leagues from Cuzco.

This resolution was taken against the advice of Carvajal, and the more prudent officers, who said it were more politic to await the enemy quietly, than to fatigue the troops with an unnecessary march, which would only lessen the labours of the enemy. But

* Fernandez

Gonzalo Pizarro, and the younger portion of his officers, being eager for an engagement, despised the counsels of the more experienced veterans. Hence, when the army quitted Cuzco, a melancholy spirit of discontent was perceptible; nor were these unfavourable symptoms removed when they arived at Sacsahuana, and came in sight of the enemy. There were in the ranks of Pizarro above three hundred of the former followers of Centeno, whom the Governor had injudiciously kept in the army, and whose fidelity he himself began now to doubt; but the time for a remedy was past. Lagasca's army amounted to nearly two thousand men; but, though double in number to the troops of Pizarro, they were vastly inferior in discipline and in habits of war. Still, the President entertained the most sanguine hopes as to the result of the campaign. He had carried on a clandestine correspondence with Cepeda, who was, as we have seen, one of the most influential men in the party of the Governor; and that lawyer had assured him, by means of a friar, that, should Pizarro refuse to enter into any accommodation, he would desert with a considerable body of the troops, and join the royal standard before a battle took place.*

Gonzalo Pizarro now sent two priests to parley with the President. He required Lagasca to exhibit the royal document, by which he was deprived of the government of Peru, stating that, upon its production, he would lay down his arms and submit; but that, if he did not present this document, and if, after the present requisition, he still preserved his hostile attitude, he was determined to engage in a conflict, the disasters of which he laid upon Lagasca's head. The latter, learning that the priests were endeavouring to bribe his men, arrested them, but showed much leniency of deportment. He then replied to the requisition of Pizarro in mild language, expressing ardent wishes for an accommodation. He earnestly conjured the Governor to lay down his arms, as he could not employ them under existing circumstances, without being considered a traitor and a rebel. He said that he was empowered to grant a full pardon for past offences; and this he would most joyfully bestow on him and his followers, if they surrendered like dutiful subjects, and ranged themselves round the royal standard. He added, that Pizarro had not now a shadow of pretence for continuing the rash line of conduct which he had adopted, as, by the revocation of the obnoxious laws and regulations, every subject of complaint was removed from the Spanish colonists in Peru. He accordingly earnestly urged Pizarro to avert

* Gomara.—G. de la Vega.

the dreadful calamities which were on the point of falling so heavily on a multitude of his fellow-countrymen, who, instead of joining in mutual aid and support, were now prepared to destroy each other.*

This answer evinced great kindness and moderation: but the chief to whom it was addressed treated it with contemptuous disregard. Pizarro was so infatuated by the favours of fortune—he placed so great a reliance on the fidelity and valour of his troops, and was so confident of victory—that he conceived an answer characterized by moderation to be full of arrogance; and he would not enter into any friendly arrangement with Lagasca. All thoughts of peace were, accordingly, thrown aside; and the two armies prepared for that conflict which was now unavoidable.

By the dawn of the day, on the 9th of April 1548, Pizarro began to form his ranks. Cepeda was intrusted with that part of the duty which had hitherto devolved on Carvajal; for this veteran, annoyed to see the Governor thus obstinately bent on pursuing his own imprudent views, had retired from his important station, and resolved to fight in the ranks in no higher capacity than that of a simple officer.† No sooner were the armies ready to engage, than Garcilaso de la Vega, an officer of note, put spurs to his horse, and fled to the camp of Lagasca. Cepeda was waiting for an opportunity of following his example, but was compelled to defer his design for some time. The battle began by a few discharges of artillery, which were attended with no effect; when Cepeda pretending to reconnoitre in advance, being well mounted, suddenly darted over the field, and joined the enemy. His arrival, which was expected by Lagasca, was hailed with great joy, as it was thought material for deciding the fortune of the day. This fatal example was followed by others with such rapidity, that Pizarro was at length awakened from his delusion, and began to feel the deepest anxiety. The veteran Carvajal, meanwhile, who had anticipated this calamity, and was at the same time piqued that, by the folly of the Governor, they should have been reduced to this pass, kept singing aloud,

"Estos mis cabellicos madre,
Dos a dos me los lleva el ayre."

"Alack! my mother, these my hairs,
The wind is carrying them by pairs."

The desertion continued to increase in such an alarming manner,

* Gomara. † G. de la Vega.

that, in a short time, all sort of discipline was lost, and the soldiers began to slip away without the least scruple. Pizarro in vain exerted all his endeavours to recall the deserters. The example was contagious; the evil past all remedy; for every one began to follow the bent of his inclination. Some laid down their arms, others betook themselves to flight, and the greater number passed over to the enemy's camp. In this extremity, seeing the day irrevocably lost, Pizarro, turning with a look of sorrow and amazement, towards a knot of officers who still remained faithful to him, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, what remains for us to do now?" To which Juan de Acosta answered resolutely, "Señor, let us rush upon the foe, and die like the ancient Romans."*

Pizarro, either thunderstruck, or desponding at so unexpected and overpowering a calamity, had not strength of mind enough to follow the advice of his gallant companion, but tamely said, "Since all my men go over to the King, I will follow their example."† So strange a resolution—one indeed so much at variance with the daring and elevation which characterized Pizarro—is well calculated to excite surprise. Yet history is not unprovided with instances of a similar nature; and men who have been, throughout a long career, distinguished for extraordinary energy of character, have, at some period, evinced such unaccountable weakness, as demonstrates the intricacy of the human mind, while it overturns every theory that pretends to expound them. Pizarro then directed his course towards the enemy's camp, attended by Juan de Acosta, Maldonado and Guevara, who adhered faithfully to him, to the very last. They surrendered to the first of the President's officers whom they met, and were conducted into his presence without delay. Lagasca departed, on this occasion, from the mildness which usually marked his character; and indignant, no doubt, at the obstinacy evinced by Pizarro, as well as elated by so signal and bloodless a victory, he could not help upbraiding his fallen foe for his criminal conduct. Pizarro felt the indignity and humiliation of his present state; and, with some degree of haughtiness, answered, "Sir, this country was conquered at the expense, and by the achievements, of my brothers and myself. I was appointed to its government both by the requisition of the cities, and by the will of my brother, empowered to name a successor by the Emperor himself." Lagasca, vexed at the unbending haughtiness of his prisoner, ordered him to be removed from his sight; and intrusted him to the care of Diego Centeno.‡

* Gomara. † Zarate. ‡ Gomara.—Zarate.—G. de la Vega., &c.

Meantime, Francisco Carvajal had endeavoured to save himself by flight. Unwilling to follow the example of his chief, as he knew that no mercy could be extended to them, he fled from the field; but his exertions were not seconded by the horse which he rode. With great difficulty, he succeeded in escaping from the scene of action; but, having to traverse a rivulet, his horse fell near its brink. Carvajal being very corpulent, and oppressed both with fatigue and the weight of years, was unable to rise; and in this situation he was found by a party of deserters belonging to his own troops. The wretches were overjoyed at the capture, as they conceived him to be a prize of the greatest value in the eyes of the enemy; and they expected to be not only pardoned, but rewarded, on delivering up the hardy veteran to the President. He was conducted, with shouts of joy and congratulation, to the tent of Lagasca; and an immense number thronged forward to behold the extraordinary man, who had rendered himself famous alike for his great deeds and for his acts of cruelty. He was loaded with reproaches and curses, which he endured with imperturbable coolness and indifference. To the charges which were made against him by the President, Centeno, Valdivia, and other officers, he deigned not to return an answer; and all the time he was in their presence, he comported himself with a calmness approaching to contempt.

None of Pizarro's officers succeeded in making their escape, except Juan de la Torre. He was indebted for his safety to a faithful Indian servant, who concealed him in a hut in Cuzco, where he remained about four months, at the end of which he was discovered by a Spaniard, and arrested. He was afterwards condemned to death, and hanged. The affair at Sacsahuana had occupied so little time, that, by ten o'clock in the morning, everything was in as perfect tranquillity, as if there had not been any hostile encounter. Indeed, in the battle itself—if the action merited at all such a name—merely ten or twelve men were killed among the followers of Pizarro, and only one in the army of the President.* Lagasca, highly pleased at having obtained so bloodless a victory, now issued general instructions for securing the advantages which he derived from it. The reduction of the country was complete, and no vestige of the party that had caused so many disturbances was anywhere to be found. The greater part of the army had returned to their duty, and the few desperate men who could excite any apprehensions, were now captives of

* Gomara.

the President, and strongly guarded. Their fate was in his hands. It was now in the President's power to apply a radical remedy to the evils and dissensions in Peru.

CHAPTER XX.

Execution of Gonzalo Pizarro, Carvajal, &c.--Their Characters--Conclusion.

Lagasca, considering himself now in peaceful possession of the country, displayed that benevolence which had so strikingly marked his former proceedings. He pardoned almost all the offenders, except those whom, from their obstinacy and dangerous character, it was judged indispensable to punish. The tranquillity of Peru, as well as public example, required the sacrifice of Pizarro, with a few of his principal accomplices. The very next day, the prisoners were tried; and, as the charges brought against them were fully proved, sentence of death was passed upon them. The deportment of Carvajal, during his confinement and trial, was extraordinary. There was a degree not only of indifference, but even of levity and buffoonery, displayed in his conduct, wholly unbecoming a man of such advanced age, and on the point of being thus ignominiously sent into eternity. He was visited in the prison by several individuals; some led by curiosity, others bringing strange requisitions. A tradesman among others, came to demand the restitution of a great sum of money, and pathetically remonstrated with Carvajal on the danger his soul would incur in a future state, if he neglected to settle his debts before he departed from this world. This strange application, made to a man who had not a coin to call his own, was answered by Carvajal, in his usual style of jocularity. "Friend," he said, smiling, "what are you saying about a great debt? the only one with which my conscience reproaches me, is that of a *rial*, which I owe to an old public-house keeper at Seville; so go your ways, and don't trouble me with such stories."

Carvajal was dragged to the place of execution with ignominy, and underwent his fate with extraordinary coolness, and even indifference. He was hanged the day after his capture, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.* His long career of life had been

* Gomara.

devoted entirely to the profession of arms; so that he possessed consummate knowledge in the art of war. He had served in Italy under Gonzalo de Cordova, and had particularly distinguished himself in the battle of Ravenna, where he fought as an ensign. He may justly be considered as the most experienced and skillful officer that ever appeared on the scene of American conquest; and his superiority in military tactics was universally acknowledged. But he continually stained the lustre which would have attended his valour and abilities, by the ferocity of his conduct. He was of so sanguinary a character, that he inflicted death for the most trifling offences—even for no offence at all, when he considered that the sacrifice of human blood was favourable to his schemes. His rigour with regard to military discipline was carried to such an extreme, as to create a sensation of dread and horror among the independent and lawless adventurers, who had hitherto been accustomed to conduct themselves as best suited their purpose, and without much reference to martial regulations. His name became, therefore, a by-word of terror; and, though his severity was attended with beneficial results to the army, by the establishment of military discipline, it is not less true that it induced many to desert. Neither his capture nor death created any sensation of pity or regret; for, though his merits could not but be generally appreciated, he was universally an object of dread or abhorrence. Carvajal had nothing to recommend him in his personal appearance. He was of middle stature, but of such corpulency as to deprive his person of all pretensions to elegance and noble bearing.*

The principal adherents of Gonzalo Pizarro underwent a fate similar to that of Carvajal. Juan de Acosta, Maldonado, and other gallant officers, were sacrificed to expediency and necessity; for Lagasca, though averse to the spilling of human blood, justly conceived, that men who had borne so conspicuous a part in the rebellion, and were, besides, noted for other excesses, ought not to experience that indulgence which, in similar cases, is awarded to inferior and less dangerous delinquents. The heads of Acosta and Maldonado were exposed in iron cages in the public market at Cuzco, and those of the other officers were sent to different cities of the empire, to undergo the same ignominy.† The precipitancy with which these various executions were conducted, argued the importance which was attached to the victims; for Lagasca felt aware that he could not enjoy complete security, as long as Pizarro and his devoted companions remained alive. The Governor,

* Zarate. † Zarate.—G. de la Vega.

from the period of his interview with the President, foresaw that he had no mercy to expect, and that his fate was sealed. A most extraordinary change occurred in his whole character and deportment.

From the moment he was confined under the charge of Centeno, he began to walk about in a pensive and melancholy mood, and would not allow himself to be interrupted by any one. When night arrived, he inquired of Centeno if he might expect to live that night; and being answered in the affirmative, he took a short repose, but rose betimes, and began to walk about in the same train of reverie. He refused to take any nourishment, though he was repeatedly urged to it; nor would he pay the least attention to the apparent respect which, owing to his rank, Centeno thought proper to testify. Early in the morning, Pizarro asked for a priest, with whom he spent all the time, until his execution, in the exercises of devotion. He appeared to be wholly absorbed in so awful an occupation, and showed sincere repentance for the excesses and transgressions of his stormy life. He then mounted a mule, and proceeded to the place of execution without being bound. He carried in his hands an image of the Virgin, and a crucifix; and was attended by a great number of priests, to whose words he seemed to be paying profound attention.

He ascended the platform where he was to suffer death, with the greatest firmness and composure, but showed not the least token of that bravado and indifference which are so often assumed to display a contempt of death, but which, instead of impressing the beholders with sentiments of admiration, naturally create feelings of horror and disgust. Pizarro advanced to the border of the platform, and cast a look upon the surrounding multitude, whom he appeared desirous of addressing. Indeed, in this motley crowd were many of his brave veterans, companions in his perilous expeditions, and partakers of his glory and disasters. Pizarro, then, in a loud, clear, and collected voice, said, "It is well known to you, that this empire, in which I am about to suffer death, was conquered by my brothers and myself. Many of you here present are indebted for the wealth you possess, either in Indians or lands, to the gift of my brother the Marquess, or myself. Many there are, also, who have experienced repeated tokens of personal kindness; and others who, on account of a long companionship in trouble and peril, glory and adventure, ought to bear the name of Pizarro with some degree of regard. To all these I now make known my poverty. I die in extreme indigence; so poor, indeed, that the very dress in which I am attired is to become, according

to law, the property of the executioner who is to sever my head from my body. I die, therefore, without the smallest means of defraying the expenses of my burial, or obtaining the aid of those prayers and masses necessary for the repose of my soul. I beseech you, then, as friends and Christians, to help me with your charity, and to do that after my death which my utter destitution prevents me from securing in life. I die a Christian; and, through the merits of our Saviour, and your prayers and charity, I hope for the remission of my offences."

This address, delivered in an impressive tone and manner, created a deep sensation among the assembled multitude. Groans and sighs were heard on every side, and tokens of sincere sorrow displayed in the looks of the greater number of spectators of the tragic scene. The head of Gonzalo Pizarro was then cut off with a single stroke. It was afterwards carried, together with that of Carvajal, to Lima, where they were placed in iron cages in the public square. His houses at Cuzco were razed to the ground, and a pillar erected on the spot, on which was the following inscription:—"This was the property of the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro." His mortal remains were interred in the convent of the Lady of Mercies at Cuzco, where lay the bodies of the two Almagros. They displayed thus a striking similarity in their lot, all three having been warriors and conquerors of Peru—all beheaded at Cuzco, and being now all united in one grave.*

Such was the end of Gonzalo Pizarro, the youngest brother of that extraordinary family, whose achievements, excesses, sufferings, and crimes, have been so conspicuous and memorable in Peru. He was inferior to neither of his brothers in the requisites of a hardy soldier and an able commander, though certainly greatly so to Don Francisco in genius, and to Ferdinand in abilities. But his conduct was not so marked by cruelty, and not so imbued with the darker feelings of revenge. Though not remarkable for suavity of temper, he was yet still very far from meriting that odium for sanguinary atrocity which modern authors have affixed to his memory. Almost all the cotemporary historians represent Gonzalo Pizarro very differently from the picture thus afforded of him. Indeed, Garcilaso de la Vega describes him as "generous, affable, incapable of deception, of an unsuspicious temper, possessing elevation of soul, and endowed with all the qualities which a noble mind ought to possess." But, without adopting implicitly the statement of this historian, the reader can proceed with due caution in forming an estimate of his good qualities, as well as views.

* G. de la Vega.

Gonzalo Pizarro possessed a handsome person, and a graceful and martial carriage. His constitution was strong, and capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue, as it is easy to discover in the course of his eventful life. He was a capital horseman, and extremely skillful in the use of various weapons; a good marksman and archer; and the best adept in the management of the lance that had appeared in the New World. The Pizarros were born in the city of Trujillo, in Estremadura, a province justly renowned for having supplied by far the greatest portion of the conquerors of America. By a singular coincidence, the most celebrated warriors, both of Mexico and Peru, were of that province; viz. Hernan Cortes, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the four brothers Pizarro, the brothers Alvarado and Chaves, Garcilaso de la Vega, Alvarez Holguin, Hernando Soto, Sandoval, and many others of inferior note.

The lawyer Cepeda, who had been at least equally criminal with Gonzalo Pizarro and Carvajal, had his life spared by Lagasca, on account of the service which he had done to the cause, by his desertion at so critical a period. Indeed, the service was one of great magnitude, if we consider the effects by which it was followed; for it influenced materially in the general desertion which ensued, and which decided the fate of the day. But his treason could not be treated with respect, nor honoured with a reward. His previous conduct had been so marked, that, even with the greatest latitude of indulgence, it could not be passed over with indifference. Indeed, the life of Cepeda was remarkable for such a thorough disregard of principle, as ought to consign his memory to eternal contempt. It presented an illustration of such refined treachery, as is seldom to be met with in history, although, unfortunately, it has been conspicuously exhibited in Peru. Cepeda first betrayed the Viceroy Nuñez Vela, and, by his influence and exertions, was the cause of the rebellion of the Audience, and of the disturbances which followed. He next entered into negotiation with Gonzalo Pizarro to betray his associates, which he did; and after he had been distinguished by the confidence of that commander, and held a most conspicuous station in his army and government, he ultimately betrayed him also, to pass over to Lagasca, the man whom he had himself not long before condemned to death. Such a character could not but be despicable, at the same time that it was dangerous; and, accordingly, Cepeda was sent prisoner to Spain shortly after the fate of his companions, and ended his days miserably in confinement.*

* Zarate.—Gomara.

Such was the fate that attended the principal accomplices of Gonzalo Pizarro. In the contemplation of such a series of commotions, excesses of every kind, and executions, the mind is inspired with a feeling at once of horror and surprise. The history of the discovery and conquest of Peru is, indeed, remarkable for a far greater proportion of crime and violence than that of any other part of the New World. But a portion of the amazement produced by such events will vanish, on a careful examination of the causes by which they were produced. The manner of preparing expeditions in America, and of carrying on war, was prejudicial in the extreme. Each adventurer, considering himself as acting solely on his own account, paid no further deference to authority, than he thought conducive to his interest, or than his narrow capacity deemed strictly just. The confusion consequent on such an order of things soon became obvious. In the struggle for power and command among the different chiefs, each adventurer chose that side which best answered his purpose, without any reference to the sacred dictates of duty and justice. Hence the continual shifting from one side to the other:—hence, also, the detestable acts of treachery which distinguished these calamitous events. The method of enlisting officers of note was as injurious as it was unprincipled. Without reference to the justice of the cause in which they were to engage, or the duty to which they had already sworn, distinguished chiefs and veteran soldiers were actually bought over, not merely by the promises of emoluments in lands and booty after the campaign, but with large pecuniary gratuities, which were set down as a sort of earnest of what was to follow. Gonzalo Pizarro spent five hundred thousand pesos in raising an army of a thousand men; and Lagasca spent nine hundred thousand in levying soldiers against that commander.* The gift of lands was still more preposterous. Cepeda, in reward for having persuaded the Audience to acknowledge the usurped authority of Pizarro, received from that chief a grant of territory worth an income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Hinojosa, for having surrendered the fleet and abandoned his duty, received from Lagasca lands which yielded a rent of two hundred thousand pesos.†

These vast acquisitions of wealth were not only powerful incentives to treachery, but were also attended with other fatal results. They diffused among those rude adventurers an eager desire for grandeur, to which they had never before dreamt of aspiring. The continual state of excitement which prevailed among the

* Zarate.—Herrera. † G. de la Vega.

Spaniards in Peru, was not certainly calculated to soften their disposition ; and this, together with the complete contempt and dereliction of the most sacred ties that bind man to man, produced a degree of reckless indifference and lawless cruelty, as deplorable as it was extensive. The civil war among the Spaniards in Peru is one of the most rancorous and ferocious ever recorded in history. During the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, about seven hundred men fell in battle, and no less than three hundred and eighty were executed.* Of these the deaths of three hundred are attributed to Carvajal.

"The ties of honour," says Robertson, "which ought to be held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even the regard for decency, and the sense of shame were totally lost." The Viceroy Vela was betrayed by the Judges, who were sent to co-operate with him ; and Gonzalo Pizarro was deserted by the very man who had counseled his revolt, and experienced most largely his liberality. Hence the dreadful state of confusion, anarchy, and demoralization which prevailed in Peru at the time of Lagasca's triumph; and it certainly required repeated and vigorous exertions, as well as a great lapse of time, before anything resembling permanent order and tranquillity could be established in the country.

Lagasca having thus put an end to the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, and brought the delinquents to punishment, found that his labours were not yet terminated, but that his exertions were required in the land before he could peaceably return to Spain. The malcontents in every part of the empire laid down their arms upon receiving intelligence of the fate of their leader. They readily submitted to the government of the President, and seemed even anxious to show their ardent zeal in his service: but Lagasca was aware, that, despite of these favourable demonstrations, obstacles still existed to a complete tranquillity. It was not to be anticipated that violent, unprincipled, and daring adventurers, accustomed to disorder, and averse to control, should suddenly change their nature, and become dutiful, contented, and orderly subjects.

Two remedies claimed now the attention of the President, for effecting the object that dwelt on his mind. These were, to keep

* Herrera.

those adventurers in continual occupation, in order to divert their minds from attempting fresh disturbances; and to bestow rewards on such individuals as had, by their aid and support, contributed to the success of the royal cause. These two plans he carried into immediate execution. His liberality was conspicuously displayed: and while he evinced a scrupulous delicacy in not appropriating anything to himself, he was lavish of benefits to his zealous adherents. He then availed himself of the usual current of ambition of the time, to disencumber the state of all those turbulent and dangerous spirits, whose absence was of vital importance to the improvement of affairs. He nominated Pedro de Valdivia to continue the conquest of the kingdom of Chili, and to make new discoveries in those extensive territories. An expedition of equal importance was intrusted to Diego Centeno. This was the great undertaking of exploring the vast regions which were situated near the River de la Plata. The military renown of Valdivia and Centeno, and the hopes both of acquiring riches, and of being freed from a strict system of life, naturally induced all the reckless adventurers to enroll themselves to follow these expeditions. Accordingly, in a short time Lagasca found himself rid of those needy soldiers and desperate characters who afforded a continual source of anxiety to his mind.

But a source of much discontent, that threatened serious results, was opened in effecting the *repartimiento*, or distribution of lands and Indians among the triumphant party. In consequence of the death of all the principal adherents of Pizarro, as well as the confiscation made of the property of the inferior ones who still survived, immense wealth, amounting to more than two millions of pesos of yearly revenue, devolved on the President.* Though the booty was great, and though Lagasca showed a striking disinterestedness in not appropriating any part of it to himself, considerable perplexity arose regarding its distribution. The claimants were so numerous, and evinced such extraordinary arrogance in their pretensions, that to satisfy the avarice and self-love of them all, appeared a task of insurmountable difficulty. Lagasca was hourly besieged with representations, to which he was compelled to lend an unwilling ear, and pay the most deep attention. The better to perform these functions, he withdrew from Cuzco with his secretary, to a place about twelve miles distant, where he might at leisure, and without interruption, examine the justice of the various pretensions, and conduct himself in the fulfillment of them with

* Fernandez.

the strictest impartiality. In this seclusion he passed many days: and having made out the several allotments, according to rigid principles of justice, he set out for Lima, leaving the document to be published some days after his departure.

The President was compelled to adopt this measure, to prevent the commotion which he anticipated the promulgation of the decree would occasion. He foresaw, that, under existing circumstances, the most impartial act could not escape without censure. To enter into debate with each discontented individual, would be endless; imperiously to refuse to hear him, would be impolitic. Nothing therefore remained, but to take shelter from the storm before the crisis of its explosion. This he did in time; and, as he had expected, the violent passions of men were soon strikingly displayed, upon the publication of the document he had left behind. The rage of the malcontents was at first formidable, and was exhibited in the most opprobrious terms. The deepest accusations were hurled against the President, and the purity of his motives strongly disputed. From this the unruly soldiers broke out into invectives, and even proceeded to threats. But their fury did not stop here. The fashion of appealing to revolt and sedition, which had been so prevalent in Peru, was deemed the most efficient measure to be adopted. Accordingly, many of the more daring already began to look out for a leader capable of conducting them to the field, in order to redress their fancied wrongs by force of arms.

Fortunately, Lagasca was endowed with extraordinary nerve, and was equally distinguished for his activity and for his prudence. He immediately applied himself to provide a remedy for the evil. The execution of one turbulent soldier, and the banishment of three others, together with other prompt operations, restored tranquillity to Cuzco for the present. Lagasca then revised the document of the *repartimientos*, and made such modifications and alterations as he judged advisable. He next devoted his attention to introducing a more simple method of collecting the royal revenue, as well as promulgating such regulations as might be conducive to the prosperity of the country. His unremitting endeavours were crowned with success: and after a variety of troubles and vexations, he accomplished all the purposes of his important mission.

Lagasca became now very anxious to return to his native country. His age, his infirmities, and the severe labour to which he had been subjected of late years, made him long for the enjoyment of repose. He accordingly intrusted the government of Peru to the Court of Audience, and departed for Spain the 1st of February,

1550. leaving the country for the time in perfect tranquillity. He carried along with him for the royal revenue, the sum of thirteen hundred thousand pesos, which by economy and regularity he had been able to save, after defraying every expense consequent on his arduous undertaking. The reception which he met with in Spain, both from the court and the people, was such as was eminently due to his virtues and abilities. The services which he had rendered were great, but not more so than the principles of honour and rectitude by which they had been invariably accompanied. In summing up the merits of Lagasca, however, we cannot do better than copy the words of Doctor Robertson. Speaking of the President, the historian says—

"Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him; he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran band which gave law to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended; and, in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful sovereign. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted, but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasure, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Lagasca was received by him with the most distinguished marks of esteem; and being promoted to the bishoprick of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all." To this panegyric nothing need be added.

Lagasca's absence from Peru became soon remarked, in the disorders which began again to prevail over the country. For many years, despite of the wise regulations which the President had

made previous to his departure, the tranquillity of the land was continually disturbed by fresh tumults and disorders. It is long before men accustomed to misrule, and ripe for violence and revolt, can submit to that curtailment of mischievous independence, required in an orderly and well-constituted state of society. These insurrections, however, were promoted by private discontent, and the public did not partake in them as affairs that interested the whole community. Such dissensions, therefore, would take more space in the recital, than, from their real importance, could be justified in this rapid sketch of the conquest of Peru—which naturally terminates in the death of Gonzalo Pizarro, the last of the brothers, and the principal conquerors of the country. The subsequent events belong to other periods; and we shall, therefore, leave for them a place in other annals.

THE END.