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The Creation of Guillen de Lampart

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Abstract

This analysis examines the life and actions of the seventeenth-century Irish man, William Lamport, known in the Spanish-speaking world as Guillen de Lampart. In this thesis, William Lamport, influenced by the literary and intellectual trends of his time, stylized himself as an intellectual picaro in both writing and action. This thesis utilizes a multidisciplinary approach in both history and literature to explore how Guillen absorbed cultural and literary narratives regarding the picaro and the rogue and how he reflected such narratives in his behavior, writing, and speech. Beyond exploring how Guillen viewed himself with the utilization of manuscripts and treatises written by Guillen, this work also analyzes how the Spanish Court, Mexican criollos, indigenous Mexicans, free and enslaved Africans and the Mexican Inquisition viewed him. Ultimately, Guillen's self-stylization as an intellectual picaro would label him as a dangerous individual and lead to his execution as a heretic.

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Introduction

On November 19, 1659 William Lamport, also known as Don Guillen de Lampart forcefully slipped from the ropes that held him fastened to a pyre and hung himself rather than be burned alive.¹ Such a dramatic end would be expected of a man such as Lamport. Born in Ireland in 1611 to supposed minor Irish nobility, William Lamport received a premier education during his youth in Dublin and London, lived as a pirate for a few years, and settled in the Spanish court where he would travel around Europe as a soldier and enter into service to the nobility, notably the King of Spain himself, and Hispanicize his name to Guillen de Lampart or Lombardo. In 1640, after most likely being exiled from the Spanish court due to a very public extramarital affair, Guillen set sail for New Spain, now known as Mexico, where he claimed that he was to work as a spy for the Crown. Within two years, Guillen would learn enough about this colony and its political climate to devise a plan to foment an independence movement, naturally with himself as New Spain's just and radical ruler. He even went so far as to draft an independence treatise. This independence plot would be Guillen's demise and he spent almost two decades locked away in the Inquisitional prison until he was found guilty of heresy and sentenced to death. Almost all that we know of Guillen's life comes from documents confiscated by the Inquisitors which poses interesting challenges for historians. For the purpose of this thesis, I may switch between Lamport's anglicanized and hispanicized

¹ Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," *Oxford University Press*, vol. 207, no. 207 (2010): 87.

names: William Lamport and Guillen de Lampart. As an international and somewhat shapeshifting picaro, I assume Lampart himself might have wanted it that way.

In many ways, William Lamport's story mirrors that of a character in a picaresque novel. Picaresque novels, first published in sixteenth-century Spain became wildly popular in many parts of Europe and the Spanish Colonies of the seventeenth century during Lamport's lifetime. The picaresque novel typically follows a rogue-ish anti-hero as he attempts to survive and sometimes even thrive by his wits in an irrevocably corrupt and decaying world. The picaresque is notably penned in the first-person in an autobiographical style and contains elements of satire and social critique. While most picaros were decidedly poor and came from rather humble backgrounds, there are instances in which a picaro takes on more elite characteristics. In my thesis, I propose that William Lamport, influenced by the literary and intellectual trends of his time, stylized himself as an intellectual picaro in both writing and action. I will explore how Guillen absorbed cultural and literary narratives regarding the picaro and the rogue and reflected such narratives in his behavior, writing, and speech. Beyond exploring how Guillen viewed himself, I will also analyze how his peers and the Inquisition viewed him. The picaresque genre was widely read, especially in Spain and its colonies, and as Lamport himself was someone exceedingly well-read, he would have been familiar with the character through literature, plays, and interactions in the Spanish court. This then begs the question if Lamport self-consciously or subconsciously took on many of these characteristics. While the scrappy, rather uneducated, "living on his wits alone" style of picaro was standard fare in the picaresque genre, the intellectual picaro, which I propose William Lamport embodies, differed in several key ways. While some picaros protested the perceived ills

of society by disengaging from it, such as in the case of Guzmán de Alfarache who became a mendicant beggar for some time out of sheer ennui, William Lamport dealt with his disillusionment with action. He sought to become highly educated, make well-connected acquaintances from both above and below, and create his own solutions to the vast inequality he witnessed both in Europe and New Spain. Realizing he could not change and save his beloved home country, Ireland, in the way he wished to, he sought to implement his revolutionary ideals on virgin soil, the land many Europeans idealized as edenic, a place to start over, and which just so happened to be New Spain. While the standard picaresque was driven to self-indulgent hooliganism and petty crime by the confusing and seemingly backwards world, Lamport was galvanized by it and sought to make a mark on the world, whether out of altruism or self-interest.

A few scholars have written biographies about Guillen, but none of them made any concrete claims about his identity or about how he represented his life related to the larger historical and cultural processes of his time. Similarly, while some historians, such as Andrea Martinez Baracs and Ryan Dominic Crewe, and literary scholars such as María Isabel Terán Elizondo and Carmen Fernández Galán, have noted the literary and picaresque nature of his life, none have investigated this claim further. I plan to go beyond a standard biographical analysis of Guillen by arguing that Guillen represented himself as an intellectual picaresque and relating his story to the context of the wider seventeenth-century. Additionally, I will apply an interdisciplinary lens to my research by including the literary field and analyzing his time in both Europe and New Spain.

Methodology

My thesis research takes a microhistorical approach, supplemented by both micro historical works written in fields other than my own, as well as theoretical approaches as they concern microhistory. I hope to use the unique story of one individual, William Lamport, to add to the conversation on the rise of individualism in Early Modern Europe and Colonial Mexico. By closely analyzing one man, I seek to illuminate the structures of society and cultural undercurrents that shaped him. As Carlo Ginzburg, lauded historian of the microhistorical tradition wrote in his classic *The Cheese and the Worms*, “...culture offers to the individual a horizon of latent possibilities—a flexible and invisible cage in which he can exercise his own conditional liberty.”² I was also influenced by microhistorical works such as *Giovanni and Lusanna* (1986) by Gene Bruckner and *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) by Natalie Zemon Davis in terms of their methodological approach to microhistorical research. *Giovanni and Lusanna* relies chiefly on court records and legal documents to flesh out a story about many overarching themes such as the role of marriage, honor, and social class in Renaissance Florence. Davis’ *The Return of Martin Guerre* deals with an imposter legal case in Early Modern France in order to explore the role of marriage, religion, and the notion of self during the time period. Both works have their drawbacks and have been criticized for relying too much on guesswork and not enough on primary source material. To avoid such criticism, I seek to focus on the available primary sources.

Additionally, my research is interdisciplinary in that I am employing secondary sources from both historians and literary scholars, and traditional historical primary

² Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miner*, Trans. John and Anne Tedeschi, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xx.

sources as well as relevant picaresque novels, but I will be utilizing historical methodology to further my claims. While the topic of my thesis deals with the picaresque literary genre, I will be focusing on the historical ramifications of the picaresque as it is manifested in a flesh and bone individual. Stephen Greenblatt once wrote, “...compulsive readers of literature tend to see the world through literary models...” and while I may be a compulsive reader of literature, my aim is to create research planted firmly in historicism at the risk of becoming too quixotic.³ By analyzing historical texts with an eye toward Guillen’s exaggeration and propensity for picaresque narrative patterns, I will thus be able to accurately meld literary and historical methods.

Due to the limited scope of my research, I will not be able to verify whether what Guillen claimed was true or not, and, in that regard, I will mostly be relying on the work of previous scholars who have been able to verify or disprove some of the claims that he has made. Ultimately, however, I am more interested in *how* and *why* Guillen made certain statements than if they are true or not. If, for example, Guillen is lying about his stint as a pirate off the coast of the British Isles, this may be a prime instance of his self-personification as a picaresque hero. For one, picaresque heroes were commonly, and almost always, known to be liars, and secondly, piracy and captivity are common themes found in picaresque literature (see *Guzman de Alfarache* for a prime example). On the other hand if Guillen happens to be telling the truth, it can be argued that his time as a pirate may have shaped him to have a more individualistic and self-governing nature, and additionally would

³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 6.

enable him to be more empathetic to the picaresque literature he read as he would directly relate to the picaro narrator.

Within this line of examination, I will be analyzing several specific issues. I will explore how an intellectual picaro differs from the standard picaro, and how other figures in history may also fall under this category. I will also examine the ways in which microhistory and the picaresque relate to one another and how historians interpret the picaro as a historical figure vs. as a literary figure. Additionally, I will consider the manner in which Guillen conceptualized himself, the various ways in which others viewed Guillen, and how their views may have differed from Guillen's own self-perception. In order to better understand Guillen's mind I will discuss the different authors, politicians, and experiences that may have shaped Guillen's political beliefs and how they fit in with his role as an intellectual picaro. Finally, I will evaluate the correlation between Guillen's personal life story and the rising sense of individualism in early modern Europe and colonial Mexico in religion, politics, and identity and the scandal Guillen caused with his own individualistic tendencies.

Theoretical

While constructing my arguments and critically analyzing primary and secondary sources, I will be examining the figure of imposters and picaros in the early-modern period and detailing what such individuals can tell scholars about that era. The picaro sheds light on several aspects of society. They speak to a period of political unrest and upheaval, from the English Civil War, to the decline of the Spanish Empire, as well as to the various riots and revolts that took place in Mexico. Additionally, the picaro, a liminal figure both culturally and economically, acts as a conduit for both early-modern novelists

(and playwrights) to express their anxieties about an uncertain future, and for real life historical picaresque personalities to personify this period of confusion. The picaresque is an important literary genre because it is so evocative of the tumultuous early modern zeitgeist. In a picaresque novel, the picaro gives life to both the material quest for survival in a declining economy and the existential questions of spiritual significance and the nature of the self in the seventeenth century.

I have been chiefly influenced by two theoretical frameworks: that of *Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel: A First Exploration into Commensurable Perspectives* (2014) edited by Binne de Haan and Konstantin Mierau, and Stephen Greenblatt's 1973 *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. *Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel* is a compilation of essays written for the 2012 conference "Participating in the City: Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel." All of these essays focus on the intersection of microhistorical methods and the picaresque novel and as such are inherently interdisciplinary, highlighting concepts from historical and literary scholars. The main purpose of the conference and book was to encourage scholars to further investigate the unique connection between microhistory and the picaresque novel. In the theoretical essay "Bringing Together Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel: Studying Menocchio, Guzman de Alfarache, and Kin," Konstantin Mierau and Binne de Haan argue that since the first generation of microhistorical studies was largely based on rural life, and the picaresque was largely focused on urban life, this has caused an unnecessary rift between the otherwise extremely similar genres of study. Haan and Mierau also note how, "individualized, particular perspectives are

quintessential for microhistory, biography, and the picaresque novel.”⁴ The link between these three forms should be of utmost interest to scholars, they argue. Furthermore, they also assert that, “the ambiguous nature of picaresque referentiality, and the first-person narrator of humble origins that opens the narratives of Guzman and kin, have not ceased to fascinate scholars; they represent a source of both life on the margins in the sixteenth century, and for the subjective, individualized experience of that life.”⁵ This conceptualization of the picaresque will be at the forefront of my mind as I attempt to construct Guillen’s sense of self, as well as the way others viewed his personality and actions. In “Microhistory and Picaresque” Giovanni Levi, a pioneering microhistorian, discusses a variety of picaresque classics and their historical connections and then goes on to point out the challenges that the melding of the microhistorical and the literary picaresque may present. While Levi firmly believes novels are fictional and should be viewed as thus, he also asserts that history as a field should welcome literary outlooks in favor of an interdisciplinary tradition stating, “but I for one am convinced that the study of history can renew itself only if it emerges from its isolation and connects with other ways of giving expression to what often remains marginalised from our experience of the world.”⁶ My research attempts to fulfill this scholarly call to action, as I have an interdisciplinary outlook.

⁴ Bin de Haan and Konstantin Mierau, *Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel: A First Exploration into Commensurable Perspectives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2.

⁵ De Haan and Mierau, *Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel*, 5.

⁶ De Haan and Mierau, *Microhistory and the Picaresque Novel*, 8.

Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* is often cited by historians working in the cultural history of modern Europe, another notable example being *The Return of Martin Guerre* by Natalie Zemon Davis. While Greenblatt's book chiefly focuses on sixteenth-century England, its chief arguments can be situated in most early modern countries. Greenblatt built on the work of previous scholars of the early modern period that saw "a change in the intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities," in order to explain "an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process."⁷ Furthermore, Greenblatt argues that a general lessening of the control of the Church and Christianity (ostensibly due to a weakening of the previous uniformity of Catholicism and the rise of the nation-state's power) brought about the need to shape one's own identity.⁸ While Guillen himself was a devout Catholic, I argue that the society he lived in was sufficiently imbued with self-fashioning, at least in the more elite circles he frequented. Like my own research, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* relies heavily on literary texts to support its claims as Greenblatt believes, "great art is an extraordinarily sensitive register of the complex struggles and harmonies of culture."⁹

Primary Sources

There are limited primary sources relating to William Lamport, and even fewer are available to me due to the ongoing Covid-19 Pandemic which has severely limited the use of archives for scholars around the world. I have not been able to travel to any

⁷ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 2.

⁸ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 3.

⁹ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 5.

international archives (which is where all of the sources related to Guillen are housed) in time for completion of my thesis. I will chiefly analyze the available texts written by Guillen himself in order to gain insight into how he constructed an intellectual picaresque persona by raising his personal story to mythic proportions. In addition to analyzing the language of Lamport's own writing, in texts like the "Proclama Insurreccional para la Nueva España," I will also be examining the extant sources available to me that others have written about him. By doing so, I will be viewing what he conveys as a self-presentation, or auto-biographical work that may often veer far from the truth.

In chronological order, the first primary source that I will investigate is the "Orden y votos, institución de justicia evangélica" which is a 1631 transcript of an interrogation made for students in the Irish College, Santiago which Guillen attended in his youth and relates to a disciplinary action taken at the college when several boys attempted to escape without a license. This source seems to have been recorded as a form of record-keeping. Guillen was the youngest person to participate in this escape, although he claims he did not participate in it and only witnessed the proceedings. This source is one of the earliest known documents relating to Guillen and shows how he might have been a trouble maker since he was a teenager attending college in Spain, and may also prove some of the accounts Guillen told while in the Inquisition court about his education and residence in Spain. On the other hand, this source does not contain many personal details and seems to be a standardized document any misbehaving student would have written about them.

The transcript entitled "Propuesta al Rey Felipe IV para la liberación de Irlanda", was written by Guillen sometime between 1639-1640 is a letter written to Felipe IV,

King of Spain, beseeching him to aid the Irish cause of Independence. In the letter, Guillen requests that the King utilize the Spanish military (8,000 troops specifically) to assist in the imminent Irish rebellion. In exchange, he offers to make Ireland a protectorate of the King of Spain as a “Republica libre” in the style of Venice, to supply Spain with infantry from Ireland to fight in their many European wars, privileges for Spanish nobility who came to Ireland, and for Ireland to pay some form of tribute to Spain to fund its protection. The idea of Ireland becoming a protectorate of Spain is attributed to the great Irish revolutionary Owen Roe (also known as Eugenio O’Neill). The insurrection did eventually occur (without help from the Spanish) in 1641 and lasted from 1641 until the late 1640’s, although the exact date of Irish defeat is debated.¹⁰ This source proves that Guillen was indeed an Irish revolutionary and held revolutionary political beliefs before his Transatlantic voyage to New Spain. Additionally, it shows Guillen’s familiarity with the political process of his time, diplomatic writing, and military strategy. In other words, Guillen was utilizing his vast education to attempt to help his country of origin and his wit in order to try and subvert English control.

Guillen wrote “Proclama por la liberación de la Nueva España de la sujeción a la Corona de Castilla y sublevación de sus naturales” while living in New Spain around the 1640s. The text is available in print and online through the AGN (Archivo General de la Nación) in Mexico City. In this text, Guillen makes radical demands for the time, such as advocating for the freedom of slaves and the return of indigenous land, in addition to positioning himself as the potential king of New Spain and the ideal man to put into

¹⁰ Andrea Martínez Baracs, *Don Guillén de Lampart, hijo de sus hazañas*, (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012), 15.

action these revolutionary ideals. I plan to interrogate how Guillen represented himself as an intellectual picaresque in this text, and how his radical political ideas would have been perceived in New Spain. Additionally, I will investigate the potential political influences and life experiences that informed Guillen's radicalism.

There exists an Inquisition trial that led to Guillen's long imprisonment; however, due to the current Covid-19 Pandemic I was unable to travel to the archives to examine it directly. In this instance, I will resort to reading excerpts and summaries of the trials, and an online transcription of the final Inquisition trial which essentially condemned Guillen to death. Ryan Dominic Crewe's article "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico" contains many lengthy excerpts and summaries of the original Inquisition trial written when Guillen was first arrested. In this article, Crewe discusses Guillen's life trajectory as well as the inquisition trial in question. Crewe goes into great detail regarding the trial and reproduces substantial parts of the original inquisition trial, especially the words of Guillen, the inquisitors, and those that testified against Guillen that I will be able to use in my research.

In 1650 Guillen wrote "Pregón de los justos juicios de Dios, que castigue a quien lo quitare" before he fled from the Inquisitorial prison where he had been held captive for eight years. This document is essentially a criminal accusation against the inquisitors and he succeeded in nailing it to the doors of the Inquisitor's headquarters before he was captured.¹¹ Furthermore, this document attests to Guillen's belief in freedom and self-determination. The fact that he had enough self-confidence in his own intelligence and

¹¹ Baracs, *Don Guillén de Lampart*, 20.

moral ideals to formulate such a treatise and continue to distribute them upon his escape are a testament to both Guillen's ego and his inventiveness. Within the Inquisition record noted above, as transcribed by Raul Salinas, the Inquisitors allude to the vitriolic attacks Guillen made towards them in this text.

Finally, the last primary source I examine and potentially the most useful, is the 1659 inquisition document of the sentencing and execution of Guillen. This source was transcribed by Raul Salinas in the original Spanish from the original transcript currently housed in Mexico. This document, while not as detailed as the proceedings in the 1642 case, does summarize all of the proceedings that led to the inquisition to sentence Guillen. While I am unable to have access at the 1642 case, having access to the full 1659 case will give me the ability to gain a substantial understanding of the proceedings, how Guillen presented his life story, how the inquisitors viewed his story and persona, as well as the opinions of anyone who testified against Guillen.

Historiography

My historiography focuses on three key areas: the literary field and historical works regarding rogue-ish characters in the Early Modern world, historical works concerning colonial Mexico and early modern Europe, and biographical works written on William Lamport. The literary works that inform my analysis include classic works of the picaresque genre as well as secondary works concerning picares, imposters, and rogues which were a common motif found in both literature and history. Because Lamport lived in both Europe and Mexico, it is imperative that I understand the European culture that shaped him as a young man and the Mexican culture and societal structures that would shape his later life. Finally, I will be utilizing biographical works written on Lamport

himself. These works are intrinsic to my research as I will be building upon the various ways other scholars have depicted him to introduce my own hypothesis.

The Picaro/ Imposter

Since the picaro could not exist in literature without the first texts that referenced them, I will use seminal picaresque novels such as *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (1554), written by an anonymous author, *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599), by Mateo Alemán, *Don Quijote* (1605), by Miguel de Cervantes, and *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690), by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, to gain insight into the literature itself and to investigate the various ways in which a picaro character could manifest himself in real life. Additionally, since picaresque novels were runaway bestsellers in the 17th-century, despite attempts to censor them, and Lamport was notoriously well-read, one can assume that he read them and may have emulated their plots in his own life. I will also employ secondary literary and historical texts on rogues and picaros in the Early Modern world. Claudio Guillen wrote *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History* (1971) which includes an essay entitled “Toward a Definition of the Picaresque” regarding definitions and classifications of the picaro that he has observed. These classifications include: the fact that the picaro is not merely a wanderer, a jester, or a have-not, but something more complex entirely, that the picaresque is pseudo-autobiography and written in the first-person tense, that even the narrator of a picaresque tale is inherently partial (and by extent, unreliable), that “the total view of the picaro is reflective, philosophical, critical on religious or moral grounds,” that the picaresque focuses on the material level of existence, that the picaro himself operates under many different cultural trappings (professions, classes, cities, and nations), that the

picaresque embodies a “combination of social climbing and detachment from national ties,” and finally that the picaresque narrative is episodic in nature which allows for “endless stories within stories.”¹² While Guillen attempts to describe what defines a picaro and a picaresque novel, he also states that, “No work embodies completely the picaresque genre.”¹³ This observation is crucial to my thesis; while I may argue that Guillen de Lampart is *almost* a textbook picaro, there are also aspects of him that defy categorization, as with any living and breathing human being, past or present. Overall, Claudio Guillen’s essay on the picaresque is not only highly influential for all scholars studying the picaresque, but it will be highly referenced as I attempt to prove William Lamport’s picaresque identity.

The highly respected socio-historical scholar Jose Antonio Maravall published his last book *La Literatura Picaresca Desde La Historia Social, (Siglos XVI y XVII)* in 1986, a complex tome that views the picaresque genre through a socio-historical lens. Maravall was influenced by Claudio Guillen’s conceptualizations of the picaro and picaresque genre and cites his ideas throughout his work. In the text, Maravall grapples with issues such as the realism present within the picaresque, an issue many scholars are interested in, and he sees a correlation between the painstakingly slow downfall of the Spanish Empire and subsequent rising inequality in Spain as an impetus for the creation of the picaresque novel and the character of the picaro. On the subject of literature representing real life, Maravall writes, “La literatura no es retrato, más si testimonio en el que se

¹² Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 72.

¹³ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 72.

refleja una imagen mental de la sociedad; podrá no tener siempre un correlato materializado ni darse ninguna fiel correspondencia entre aquella y esta, pero no por eso la participación activa de la literatura en la vida de los grupos es menos real.”¹⁴ *La Literatura Desde la Historia Social* will give me insight into the world Lamport inhabited when he lived within the 17th-century courts, and likewise the highly stratified and impoverished reality he would have encountered outside of those confines. Additionally, Maravall’s work will inform my ideas of the picaresque as a product of the unique factors present in Early Modern European culture as well as Lamport’s picaresque sense of individualism.

Literary scholar Jennifer Cooley wrote *Courtiers, Courtesans, Picares, and Prostitutes: The Art and Artifice of Selling One’s Self in Golden Age Spain* in 2002, which builds upon the work of both Guillen and Maravall and examines how the Golden Age of Spanish literature in Spain evaluated and expressed individualism and the construction of one’s self. The representation, or illusion, of certain personas, Cooley argues, could help people appear more wealthy or noble than they were in actuality. Cooley equates the rise of individualism with the shifting economic systems of early modern Europe, most notably the rise of capitalism and the shifting of power from nobility to the bourgeoisie. Within her work, Cooley analyzes works such as Ubeda’s *La Picara Justina* and Castiglione’s *The Book of the Courtier*. Cooley’s research is highly relevant to my idea of an intellectual picaresque since William Lamport self-consciously stylized himself in a certain way in an attempt to gain political power. Additionally, while

¹⁴ José Antonio Maravall, *La Literatura Picaresca Desde La Historia Social, (Siglos XVI y XVII)*. (Madrid: Taurus, 1986), 74.

Cooley's research uses works of literature as her main points of focus, because she analyzes the ways in which literary trends reflected wider trends in culture, it is also relevant to my work as a historian. On this topic Cooley writes that "literary production [is] one among many faithful registers of early modern mentalities."¹⁵ Her interdisciplinary lens will be demonstrative as I explore the manner in which early modern people saw their lives reflected in literary works, and literary works reflected in their lives.

Javier Villa-Flores published "Wandering Swindlers: Imposture, Style, and the Inquisition's Pedagogy of Fear in Colonial Mexico" (2009), which is instrumental in my understanding of imposters in colonial Mexico. In this article, which is primarily focused on records of imposter inquisitors and law officials in colonial Mexico, Villa-Flores touches upon the cultural and social influences that led to the widespread popularity of imposture in the early modern world, such as popular novels, plays, and shifting ideas regarding identity in the early modern world. Villa-Flores notes how, "Both in early modern Europe and colonial Mexico, travel offered the possibility of appearing to be someone other than oneself."¹⁶ The ability to shape oneself and the rise of individuality in the 17th-century was a widespread phenomenon, something Lamport, a creature of his time, resonated with immensely.

¹⁵ Jennifer Jo. Cooley, *Courtiers, Courtesans, Picaros and Prostitutes: The Art and Artifice of Selling One's Self in Golden Age Spain*, (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2002), 1.

¹⁶ Javier Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers: Imposture, Style, and the Inquisition's Pedagogy of Fear in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* vol. 17, no. 2 (2008): 272.

Ana Maria Lorandi's 2009 *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques* details the life of a similar megalomaniac imposter living in Peru at the same time as Guillen. In many ways, the story of William Lamport mirrors that of Pedro Bohorques, a poor Andalusian picaro who travelled to the Viceroyalty of Peru in the 1620s, immersed himself among the indigenous culture of the region, and eventually proclaimed himself to be Inca. Bohorques, like Lamport, was eventually imprisoned for many years and was executed in 1667. Both men were accused of being entangled in the supernatural with the help of natives to achieve their goals.¹⁷ In fact, Bohorques was imprisoned in Lima in the same year that Lamport would be burnt at the stake for heresy in 1659.¹⁸ While both Bohorques and Lamport attempted to use the support of the disenfranchised natives of their respective lands to bolster their false claims of royalty, Bohorques represents the more traditional aspects of the picaro, astute and preternaturally sly, but his story also contains elements of the intellectual picaro, although to a lesser extent than Guillen. Nonetheless, the fact that two highly similar instances of the picaresque and reality intertwined in two mid-seventeenth century colonies speaks to the epoque as one that lent itself to imposture particularly well. Beyond writing of Bohorques himself, Lorandi also touches upon the general cultural sphere of romanticized individualism, writing, "In the High Renaissance, the ideal of the heroic deed no longer entailed winning a damsel's love, the destruction of monstrous beings, or any simple demonstration of personal valor; the heroic deed was now to attain a personal

¹⁷ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 202.

¹⁸ Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 189.

kingdom.”¹⁹ This heroic ideal undoubtedly influenced Guillen and his wildly dramatic view of himself. By studying other historical picaro “types,” I can understand common attributes between them and Guillen, as well as ascertain the ways in which Guillen was unique.

Historical

Next, I consulted historical secondary sources focusing on colonial Mexico and early modern Europe (chiefly Spain and the British Isles). I used histories written from both a cultural and social lens. Jonathan Israel's 1975 *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670* (1975) is a seminal work of social history in the field that gives great insight into the complex nature of race and class in colonial Mexico. Israel is concerned chiefly with the ways in which the average Mexican navigated life, and as William Lamport was neither average nor Mexican, this text serves to inform my understanding of how Mexico functioned as a society broadly. Israel shows how in seventeenth-century New Spain, Spanish enterprise was dependent on the labor of natives.²⁰ Many Spaniards and criollos feared the unity of natives, blacks, mestizos, mulattos, and all the other casta variations, which was something Lamport directly supported. Israel notes in 1663, the Audiencia of Mexico reported that Indians and blacks who had before never associated amongst themselves were now, “in certain areas fraternized constantly, joining in each other’s drinking, gambling and crimes.”²¹ The

¹⁹ Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 75.

²⁰ Jonathan I. Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 26.

²¹ Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 58.

specter of racial unity was clearly a major threat to Mexican government officials at the time, as Israel proves.

Unlike Israel's socio-historical approach, Linda Curcio Nagy's *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City* (2004) uncovers how elaborate government-sponsored celebrations and public rituals "...attempted to promote a shared history and values among these diverse and potentially "dangerous" groups."²² The extent to which New Spain's government went to undermine racial and class divides extends Israel's broad study on race and class in Colonial Mexico. A semblance of prosperity for the government of New Spain to propagate as there was an economic decline in the latter half of the 17th century, especially due to a decline in silver production from 1641-50, the time in which Lamport was captured.²³ Curcio-von Nagy writes, "Most rulers believed that surrounded by all the insignia of power, they could impress the populace with grand conspicuous displays, thus instilling a respect for the legitimacy of the government. [...] They symbolized the perfect government- unified, efficient, organized, accessible."²⁴ This idea of grandiosity and prestige is subverted by Lamport with his unruly and burgeoning ideas of American home rule. Curcio von-Nagy's contribution to Colonial Mexican scholarship focuses more on the complexities of Mexican identity in the time period, and the elaborate manipulations of the colonial government to avoid potential conflict, and as such does not go into much depth on the way dissidents or imposters like Lamport were viewed in New Spain. In this way, I am able to incorporate her

²² Linda Ann Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 5.

²³ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 8.

²⁴ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 18-19.

understanding of the ideology of New Spain's government with my exploration of picaros and how they may have been viewed by elite colonial officials, particularly those in power that imprisoned and condemned Guillen de Lampart to burn at the stake.

Additionally, Gabriel Haslip-Viera's 1999 *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City: 1692-1810*, aptly covers the topic of its title, crime. Late-colonial Mexico City was a hot spot for criminal activity, and everyday life was seemingly saturated with theft, assault, and vagrancy to the point that, "urban society and even civilization itself seemed to be threatened and on the verge of chaos."²⁵ Haslip-Viera explores crime, mostly the urban criminality of the poor, by focusing on the social and economic factors that fostered the rise of a criminal class, and to interrogate how urban colonial society reacted to crime with efforts such as an "elitist attitude towards crime", crime control, and the creation of institutions to maintain public order.²⁶ I incorporated his ideas surrounding colonial Mexico's unique relationship to crime as well as his conceptualizations of the atmosphere of Mexico City during the time in my thesis.

Another influential historical text for my research is Nora E. Jaffary's 2004 *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*, which is a study of Mexican "ilusos" and "alumbrados," or false mystics, and how they were viewed by the Mexican Inquisition. Jaffary argues that, "the inquisitors founded their determinism of false mysticism only partly in an examination of the religious practices of the accused."²⁷ The

²⁵ Gabriel Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692-1810*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 9.

²⁶ Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City*, 25.

²⁷ Nora E. Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 14.

text spans a long space of time, the entire colonial period, and as such, I will mainly focus on the trials and observations that deal with the seventeenth century. Her investigation of the inquisition and its history in the Old and New World is key to my understanding of the Inquisition and its operation in Mexico. This text was particularly useful for understanding the ideology of the Inquisitors, and furthermore, how this ideology shaped their understanding of William Lamport, who would eventually be convicted of heresy. While he probably would not have been viewed as a false mystic, he was extremely devout despite his supposed interest in psychoactive substances and witchcraft. His piety was authentic, but his expression of said piety was undoubtedly heterodox, thus making his religious experience closer to that of a false mystic than the average person. Methodologically speaking, I was influenced by Jaffary's analysis of colonial Inquisition records as she explores the sentiments of both the accuser and accused, something I sought to do in my thesis. Jaffary's contribution to the field of Colonial Mexican history is significant, as she added vast nuance to previously held beliefs about how the mystics were viewed and how prevalent they were, especially that, "...these mystics are more aptly perceived as representatives of a wider segment of New Spanish society, rather than viewed as aberrations from colonial norms."²⁸

Finally, Seymour Liebman's 1970 *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition* provided both context of colonial Mexico in the 17th-century and is relevant as Guillen de Lampart was a defender of Jews living in New Spain and most likely developed close relationships with many during his time in jail. Most relevant to my

²⁸ Jaffary, *False Mystics*, 14.

studies is chapter five entitled “The Spaniard and the Spanish Inquisition” and chapter ten entitled “The Drama of 1625-1650” which deals with the particulars of the Inquisition in Spain and New Spain, the aftermath of the mass migrations from 1596 to 1625, and the subsequent persecution of the Jews by the Inquisition. While Guillén de Lampart was very much a devout a Catholic, he held an uncommon affinity for Jews living in New Spain, and even defended their religious freedom vehemently in some of his writings. He would have been imprisoned with many of the Jews who were captured in the same year he was, and as such would have interacted with many of them in depth, thus making understanding their unique cultural lense key to understanding Guillén himself. It is also relevant that *The Jews in New Spain* explores colonial Mexican history from the point of of an “outsider, someone who was both integrated and pushed outside of acceptable society, very similar to the situation of Lamport, who, although he was a Catholic and fluent Spanish speaker, would always represent the “other” due to his Anglo appearance and cultural trappings.

Biographical

Finally, I have read most of the relevant available literature written on Don Guillen himself. One work, *La mitificación de Don Guillén de Lampart* (2015) by María Isabel Terán Elizondo and Carmen Fernández Galán, is a historiographical essay on the most influential works on Guillen and offers a critique on what is lacking so far in the extent scholarly work that focuses on his life. In general, Elizondo and Montemayor present Gullen de Lampart and his legendary status as a kind of historical rorschach test on which scholars and writers project their personal convictions, made manifest in the many contradictory, dramatic, and highly variable conclusions that various authors have

come to.²⁹ In the 2010 chapter entitled, “Mexico’s Irish Would-Be King” from *The Human Tradition in the Atlantic World 1500-1850*, Sarah Cline details Lamport's biography with special emphasis on the transatlantic nature of his life. While I myself will be focusing on Guillen’s time in Colonial Mexico, having a firm understanding of his upbringing in Europe is crucial. On the diplomatic relationship between early modern Ireland and Spain Cline writes, “his story illuminates not only one typical transnational religious alliance during the era of the Counter-Reformation but also the limits of that same cross-cultural cooperation when one partner becomes too ambitious.”³⁰

Ryan Dominic Crewe’s 2010 article “Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico” discusses Guillen’s life trajectory using sources found in European and Mexican archives previously understudied, as well as his revolutionary political stances in later life and subsequent imprisonment and execution. In many ways Crewe’s analysis of Lamport’s life is typical, and like Cline he professes that he is attempting to move “...beyond national narratives, this study broadens these questions in light of Guillen's travels, his familiarity with Iberian political philosophy, and his personal encounters with the Indians, Creoles, and Africans who formed Mexican society.”³¹ While Crewe is a Colonial Latin American historian by trade, he also places an emphasis on transnational and global history in all of his work. Andrea

²⁹ Maria Isabel Teran Elizondo and Maria del Carmen Fernandez Galan Montemayor, *Esencias Novohispanas Hoy Narrativa Mexicana Contemporánea y Reconstrucción Literaria de la Nueva España*, (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2015), 194.

³⁰ Sarah Cline, *The Human Tradition in the Atlantic World, 1500-1850*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 1.

³¹ Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 55.

Martínez Baracs' 2012 *Don Guillén de Lampart, hijo de sus hazañas* gives a brief overview of the life of Guillen and also offers insight into his inquisition trial in particular.

In conclusion, not many scholars (historical or literary) have done extensive research on the fascinating character of Don Guillen de Lampart, but those who have seem to have only scratched the surface. Certainly, none have analyzed in-depth the picaro nature of Don Guillen beyond a cursory label, and no scholar has touched upon his unique status as an intellectual picaro. While all of these texts survey Guillen's life and point out that his life has taken on a literary sense of drama, none have analyzed the way in which the picaresque narrative informed and shaped his life's trajectory, or the ways in which he fashioned himself as a high society picaro. I hope to interpret Don Guillen's story in a fresh light by using both a very diverse historiographical survey, and by analyzing his own writings in a more nuanced manner. By incorporating a strong basis of secondary sources, my analysis of Guillen's life will be undergirded by the historical and literary work of other scholars.

In chapter two of my thesis, I will discuss the history of the seventeenth century in Europe (chiefly Ireland and Spain) and the literary development of the picaro in early modern Europe. In chapter three I will analyze Guillen's identity and how he presented himself in writing and deed as a Catholic, a political revolutionary, and an intellectual. In chapter four I will consider the ways in which others viewed Guillen: the nobles who presided in the courts of Madrid during Guillen's tenure in Spain, the Criollos of Mexico City, members of the indigenous communities in and around Mexico City, free and enslaved Africans living in Mexico City, and most importantly, the members of the

Mexican Inquisition who oversaw Guillen's trial and condemned him for heresy. In chapter five I will conclude my thesis and explore Guillen's enduring impact on Mexico's history and imagination.

Chapter II: The 17th Century, Century of the Picaro

Italy and Germany
 France, Flanders, Scotland and Britain
 Poland and Transylvania
 Russia, Ireland, Wales and Spain
 And the whole world is summed up
 In the mirror of your sword and pen.
 -William Lamport³²

Many literary scholars view the picaro as a solely fictional invention. This observation is technically true, as mentions of the picaro as a standardized figure began after the anonymous publication of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in 1554 in Spain. The picaro, however, is much more than a mere fictional creation, because the picaro was also a literary representation of the very real phenomenon of the rogue. As Europe transitioned from the Medieval period to the Early Modern period, society underwent great change. The Protestant Reformation ushered in a more decentralized, personal relationship with God, and this new religious belief would revolutionize the very essence of European existence. The exploration (and exploitation) of the Americas would usher in the ability (or illusion thereof) to transcend one's station of birth as well as the metaphysical opening of the world known today as globalization. The widespread popularity of

³² Don Guillen, 'Letrero del retrato del prodigioso joven Don Guillen Lombardo de Guzman, ITMBC, Expediente Lamparte, fo. 149.

Original reads: Italia y Alemania
 Francia flandes, escocia con Bretana
 Polonia y transilvania
 Moscovia Irlanda Gales y españa
 Y todo el mundo en suma
 El espejo es, de tu acero y pluma.

published works, made possible due to the fifteenth-century invention of the printing press, and publicly performed plays all came to a head in the seventeenth-century. It only makes sense, therefore, that the picaresque, a character that thrives in uncertainty, change, and upheaval, would take center stage during this century both on and off the page of novels. Javier Flores-Villa, on the topic of imposture, a common thread among picaresque tales and real-life historical picaros, writes that during the early modern period, imposture and identity fashioning were infamous in both Europe and the Americas, “a tendency reflecting a profound ambivalence regarding unstable identities at the time.” Furthermore, he writes, “while Renaissance drama playfully enacted the virtuosity of the false presentation of the self, picaresque and rogue literature from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century titillated the reader with the exploits of various masters of deception.”³³ Imposture, an almost immutable trait of the picaresque, acts as a very real phenomenon to understand the widespread phenomenon of the picaresque made manifest in reality.

In a time when the very fabric of reality might have seemed to be unraveling, the picaresque thrived in the imagination of the average reader and playgoer, and in historical reality. There are several examples of real life picaros, although I will focus on just two from France and Spain respectively. My purpose in showcasing the existence of picaresque types in countries other than Spain or Mexico is to underline the international nature of the picaresque, and to paint a picture of the picaresque-infused landscape of Europe during the

³³ Javier Flores-Villa, "Wandering Swindlers: Imposture, Style, and the Inquisition's Pedagogy of Fear in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 17, no. 2 (2008): 254.

time that William Lamport would have been traipsing about the countryside and cities of several nations. While the picaresque narrative began with the publication of *Lazarillo de Tormes* in 1554 in Spain, picaresque narratives were also published in places such as France (*Roman Comique*, 1651), Germany (*Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 1669), and, albeit a bit later, in England (*Gil Blas*, 1715), although translations of the popular *Guzman de Alfarache* were being published widely in the seventeenth-century in English, French, and German.³⁴ The international nature of the picaresque novel corresponds to the international nature of the historicism of the picaro himself.

By exploring other historical picaros, my argument that William Lamport was himself a historical picaro, will become more believable. I have classified these historical figures as picaros due to their adherence to the guidelines set down by Claudio Guillen in 1971, but I have adapted some of these classifications to account for the real-life picaro. The first feature of the picaro, the fact that the picaro is not merely a wanderer, a jester, or a have-not, but something more complex entirely, exemplifies the unique-ness of the picaro as an early modern creation and not merely a blend of earlier medieval literary tropes.³⁵ Next, Guillen states that the picaresque is pseudo-autobiography and written in the first-person tense, using the “I” pronoun.³⁶ Many real-life picaros chose to write about themselves, and this is where modern scholars are able to interpret their lives. These “auto-biographical” stories are often dictated to a court or written by the picaro's own

³⁴ Alexander A. Parker, *Literature and the Delinquent: the Picaresque Novel in Spain and Europe, 1599-1753*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 7.

³⁵ Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 75.

³⁶ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 81.

hand and are commonly filled with outlandish tales of adventure and the exaggeration or dramatization of certain events in their life. Guillen asserts that even the narrator of a picaresque tale is inherently partial and by extent, unreliable, even going so far as to say that, “the picaresque tale is, quite simply, the confession of a liar.”³⁷ The real-life picaro, being himself the unreliable narrator of his own life, had no trouble lying, and would often do so, not to hurt others, but to improve their social standing, or avoid punishment by authority. Guillen states next that “the total view of the picaro is reflective, philosophical, critical on religious or moral grounds.”³⁸ In this sense, the picaro questions authority and cultural norms extensively, and while he has no trouble breaking the law or shocking society, he does not do so on a whim, but rather due to conscientious objection or urgent personal necessity. The picaro is an “ongoing philosopher” who never ceases to learn, and “a constant discoverer and rediscovered, experimenter, and counter where every value or norm is concerned.”³⁹ Guillen relays that while picaros were adept at pretending to have a higher social class or aspiring to greatness, they were often short on cash and picaresque novels often focus on the material level of existence.⁴⁰ Picaros will often act out of necessity in order to obtain money or food, the most infamous and ingenious manner being imposture, pretending to be someone they were not, or creating a persona or identity that was more prestigious than their true status in society. Finally, Guillen expresses that the picaro operates under many different cultural trappings (professions, classes, cities, and nations) and that the picaresque novel embodies a

³⁷ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 92.

³⁸ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 82.

³⁹ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 82.

⁴⁰ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 83.

“combination of social climbing and detachment from national ties.”⁴¹ This classification is undoubtedly due to the social upheaval that took place in the early modern world; many during this period would have resisted and complained about the uncertainty of changing class and national ties, but the picaresque accepted this reality and sought to make the best of the shifting tides. Guillen himself was most likely born to a fisherman, although he claimed to have royal blood, and he climbed the ranks of Spanish society to become an accomplished scholar, military leader, and asset to the Spanish crown. The picaresque is an opportunist, and he can always find a window when all the doors are closed shut. While some of these categorizations seem only applicable to the literary, this is not entirely relevant, as above all, in my search for historical picaresques, I am looking for a literary, dramaturgical quality to their life story.

The first picaresque that I evaluate, Arnaud du Tilh, popularized in *The Return of Martin Guerre*, by Natalie Zemon Davis, could be considered a standard, archetypal picaresque. While the Du Tilh saga begins in the 1550's, the same decade that *Lazarillo de Tormes* was first published, it is highly unlikely that Du Tilh was influenced by this novel. It is more likely, however, that characters like Du Tilh, circulating in the greater theater of life in Europe, may have actually been the influence to the development of picaresque tales. Du Tilh, a Basque man living in France in the mid sixteenth-century, lived by his wits, and by his extreme opportunism and propensity to bend the laws of society, was eventually condemned to death. In 1556, Du Tilh arrived in the town of Artigat claiming to be the long-lost husband of Bertrande de Rols, whose real husband,

⁴¹ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 84.

Martin Guerre, had abandoned her more than a decade ago. Du Tillh most likely heard intimate accounts of the town and the real Martin Guerre's wife, Bertrande, as well as her family from Guerre himself while on the battlefield in Spain.⁴² Bertrande accepted Du Tillh as her husband and they lived as man and wife for many years. Eventually villagers, such as the real Martin Guerre's uncle, began to voice their suspicions that "Martin" was really an imposter. Eventually Arnaud du Tilh was found guilty of impersonating Martin Guerre, stealing his inheritance, and seducing his wife in multiple trials and sentenced to death. The dramatic narrative of the Martin Guerre saga has many twists and turns, and the key player, Arnaud du Tillh stands apart from many historical figures as quite the character. Du Tilh had a rather typical life growing up in the diocese of Lombez, yet stood apart from the villagers with whom he grew up. Natalie Zemon Davis described him as, "wonderfully fluent of tongue" and with, "a memory an actor would envy."⁴³ As he grew up, du Tilh was characterized by those who knew him as "dissolute, a youth of bad life, and absorbed in every vice" and was known to be prone to spending his days drinking, gambling, and frequenting women of ill repute.⁴⁴ Du Tilh was even suspected of practicing magic due to his crafty intellect, although nothing ever came of this accusation. Tired of his mundane village life, and after some acts of theft, he left to adventure around Europe as a foot soldier, before eventually ending up in the town of Artigat where he would eventually meet his death. Once in the village, and as his impersonation began, he quickly wove a web of intricate lies by carefully studying those

⁴² Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 82.

⁴³ Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, 37.

⁴⁴ Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, 37.

he interacted with and expertly plying them for any crumb of information about Martin Guerre that would lend to his authenticity. This “golden-tongued peasant from Sajas” sought to create a life for himself, albeit on a very small scale, and escape the economic perils of being one of many sons dividing up a small inheritance by impersonating another.⁴⁵ He cared very little for the social and religious mores of his time, and subverted the rules to get by in a world that objectively cared very little for him. Du Tilh, unlike William Lamport, had no true education, and was far more prone to acts of petty crime than grand sweeping acts of profligacy such as piracy or treason, but his performance of the charismatic trickster easily leaps off the pages of history as exceptionally modern, charismatic, and picaresque.

The next historical picaro that I analyze has more in common with William Lamport, a person I would also categorize as an intellectual picaro, as he was highly educated for the time in addition to his innate sense of wit and charm. Pedro Bohorques was a poor Andalusian picaro who travelled to the Viceroyalty of Peru in the 1620s, immersed himself among the indigenous culture of the region, and eventually proclaimed himself to be Inca. Bohorques was eventually imprisoned for many years and was executed in 1667.⁴⁶ Ana Maria Lorandi, Bohorques’ biographer tellingly writes: “Imposter, hoodwink, hero, or visionary: any such term would describe Pedro Bohorques, an emotionally unstable yet witty and seductive man from Andalusia capable of unexpected and contradictory behavior.”⁴⁷ It is also interesting that Bohorques, like

⁴⁵ Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, 37.

⁴⁶ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*, (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press), 202.

⁴⁷ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 99.

Lamport, was educated by Jesuits before he emigrated to the Americas. Since he came from humble means, it is unlikely that he obtained a rigorous education, but he knew enough to read and write, which was a vastly superior education than the average person could show in the seventeenth-century.⁴⁸ Bohorques' intellect was finely tuned and Lorandi relayed that, "It appears that his remarkable power of recall was considered supernatural and, many times, the work of the devil."⁴⁹

It should be noted that Lorandi undoubtedly disapproves of the "picaro" label for Bohorques, writing, "But the conduct of Bohorques zigzagged; he neither fit the picaro stereotype, nor that of the utopian dreamer. This must have been the reality for many marginal characters in this period. Picaresque literature constructs certain archetypes that do not reflect the ambivalence of the human psyche in real flesh-and-blood individuals. One should not be surprised by the ambiguities in Bohorques's story: he was not a prototype, but showed the multiple facets of a complex personality."⁵⁰ I disagree, preferring to believe that the label of "picaro" is not a condemnation or unnecessary categorization of an otherwise free spirited man who defies all categories, but a means to understand certain trends within the Early Modern era. Bohorques *does* classify as a real historical picaro, and his shapeshifting and multifaceted nature do not obfuscate his "picaro-ness," but rather further exemplify it, as is the case with the highly similar William Lamport. Claudio Guillen, in attempting to typify the picaro wrote that "a full definition of the term 'picaresque' cannot be attempted here" and that he would instead

⁴⁸ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 74.

⁴⁹ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 203.

⁵⁰ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 209.

propose to “sketch a way toward such a definition.”⁵¹ I propose doing the same of historical picaros that Guillen does with his literary definition: to sketch a way *toward* such a definition of the historical picaro, since even if I were to happen upon a perfect, “textbook” exhibition of a picaro, because the very idea of a picaro himself is so illusory, total certainty would remain perpetually out of reach.

Both of these men, while living in different countries, and in the case of Arnaud du Tilh, even slightly different centuries, shared many common attributes of the picaro. Both men travelled extensively and would have met people from all walks of lives that expanded their worldviews, which further propelled them towards “social climbing and detachment from national ties.”⁵² Both picaros engendered some form of imposture in their lives, implicitly, by pretending to be someone else for many years. Both were “reflective, philosophical,” and “critical on religious or moral grounds” as they actively sought to mold their lives into their own definitions of good, just, or “improved,” by any means necessary.⁵³ They often utilized their preternaturally fine intellects to further their aims, and while du Tilh was not himself educated extensively, both had a unique way of thinking that allowed them to bend the rules of society in a creative manner. In the end, both were killed by the political or religious authorities of their regions for their attempts to undermine the status quo of their respective societies. Claudio Guillen writes, in the case of the literary picaro that, “the author, of course, has tampered with the cards, so that hardship and bitter lesson conspire at every turn to shape the hero into an enemy of the

⁵¹ Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System*, 71.

⁵² Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System*, 84.

⁵³ Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System*, 82.

social fabric, if not into an active foe.”⁵⁴ In the case of Du Tillh and Bohorques, a tampering author did not endow them with a rebellious nature, and their antagonistic view of the ‘social fabric’ came from their own volition, personal experience, and the sometimes perilous societal conditions of their era.

The picaresque tradition sheds light on the intricate workings of the early modern world as the fantastical visions of the medieval era were supplanted by a grittier and more realistic version of reality. As stated by Alexander A. Parker, “the modern novel is born when realism first supplants the fanciful idealistic romance, namely the novels of chivalry. The realism is ushered in with the Spanish picaro.”⁵⁵ The picaro, however realistic in terms of the economic turmoil of the seventeenth-century, did have desires of his own. Ana Maria Lorandi exemplifies this transition when she writes, “in the High Renaissance, the ideal of the heroic deed no longer entailed winning a damsel’s love, the destruction of monstrous beings, or any simple demonstration of personal valor; the heroic deed was now to attain a personal kingdom.”⁵⁶ This “personal kingdom” writ large can be represented by the widespread colonization efforts undertaken by Europeans and the expansion of territory for political, religious, and economic reasons, but for the picaro, the personal kingdom was the pursuit of self-discovery, a hitherto unthinkable concept, and a journey that William Lamport would attempt to undertake.

Historical Context- Europe (Ireland and Spain)

⁵⁴ Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System*, 80.

⁵⁵ Parker, *Literature and the Delinquent*, 6.

⁵⁶ Ana María Lorandi, *Spanish King of the Incas*, 75.

The Seventeenth-Century was a time of great tumult and strife on a global stage, particularly in Western Europe and New Spain. As Guillen de Lampart's life was international, I will briefly overview the historical context of Seventeenth-Century Ireland, Guillen's country of origin, Spain, the European country that most shaped Guillen's interests and self-conception, and most prominently New Spain, the colony in which Guillen would be condemned to death. Born in the port region of Wexford in south-eastern Ireland in 1611, William Lamport's first home was a country in shambles. While his family was of Old English stock, descended from twelfth-century Norman conquerors, they were not quite English or fully Gaelic by the Irish standards, making Guillen already a born outsider even in his native land.⁵⁷ The British colonization of Ireland had begun nearly a century before Lamport's birth, a highly controversial act at the time. Additionally, while the English crown converted to their version of Protestantism, Anglicanism, the Irish remained by and large staunchly and passionately Catholic, the religion that William Lamport would fervently follow, albeit in a decidedly heterodox manner, until his dying day. Catholics made up under 5% of the English population by this time, making them a considerable anomaly, a fact which William would have been painfully aware of during his time in London during his teenage years.⁵⁸ The main conflict plaguing Lamport's early political conscience would have undoubtedly been the English conquest of Ireland during his youth. The innumerable battles and land seizures that almost always favored the English directly affected his and his families lives

⁵⁷ Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," *Oxford University Press*, vol. 207, no. 207 (2010): 56.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey Parker. *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 325.

and livelihoods. Lamport's extended family claimed to be of noble blood, although they most likely worked as merchants, and even as pirates.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Inquisition claimed his father was "un pobre pescador de humilde prosapia, como todos los demás de la generación de este reo."⁶⁰ In addition to being forced to give up their ancestral land, many of the Irish nobility had their titles revoked.⁶¹ In 1630, King Charles I of England reneged on promises he had made to Ireland; in exchange for new taxes to pay for Ireland's defense, he would relax their requirement to call the king the Supreme Governor of the Church of Ireland (a preposterous request of a Catholic nation), and to guarantee families the titles to lands that they had held for sixty years or more. The anti-Catholic discrimination, widespread land confiscation, and lack of self-government faced by the Irish reached a head in 1641-1642 with a large uprising, incidentally the same year that Lamport was arrested for his own foiled insurrection in Mexico.⁶² The overarching sense of injustice and anger at the draconian authority that governed Ireland in the 17th century would have left an indelible mark on Lamport and likely influenced his later sympathies for the plights of the enslaved Africans and disadvantaged indigenous peoples living in Mexico City.

There was a sizably large Irish diaspora in continental 17th-century Europe, which Lamport himself joined in the 1630's, which was in reaction to "...military,

⁵⁹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 57.

⁶⁰ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", transcribed by Raul Salinas, https://www.academia.edu/33105406/SENTENCIA_Y_EJECUCI%C3%93N_GUILLEN_DE_LAMPART, accessed on May 10, 2021, 2.

⁶¹ Parker, *Global Crisis*, 360.

⁶² Parker, *Global Crisis*, 360.

political, and socio-economic events in Ireland” as well as “the availability of a Catholic education abroad, commercial links with European ports, and the shortage of manpower in [continental] Europe’s armies.”⁶³ It is estimated that at least 175,000 Irish emigrated in the seventeenth century, and 32,000 Irish soldiers served in various continental armies between 1605 and 1641.⁶⁴ Many Irish, like Lamport, chose Spain as their ultimate destination, as the Spanish Crown’s staunch defense of the Catholic faith made it an appetizing option for Irish fleeing religious persecution. The connection between Ireland and Spain had been meager up into the 16th century when the Spanish and Irish increasingly formed trade relations. These relations were strengthened after Catholic Spain’s support for the Irish rebels during the 1601-1603 Battle of Kinsale, after which, “the King of Spain promoted Irish immigration to his dominions whenever it appeared to benefit him” and even began granting Spanish nobility titles to the Irish nobels loyal to Spain.⁶⁵ In fact, William’s grandfather, Patrick Lamport was executed in 1617 by James I for aiding Don Juan de Aguila’s Spanish fleet which disembarked in Kinsale in 1600.⁶⁶ In 1614, 3,000 Irish soldiers served the Spanish king in Flanders and Spain and by 1660, 9/10ths of the dynastic leadership of traditional Ireland were living in Spain or the Spanish Netherlands.⁶⁷ The Irish-Catholic university that Lamport attended in Santiago de Compostela was established in 1605 in the Galicia region of Spain, the most popular

⁶³ Ciaran O’Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601–40*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2.

⁶⁴ O’Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 3.

⁶⁵ O’Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 5.

⁶⁶ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 57.

⁶⁷ O’Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 3.

region of Spain for Irish immigrants. Interestingly, the presence of so many exiles in a concentrated area attracted both English and Irish spies who disguised themselves as merchants, which turned many of these urban centers into hotbeds of foreign espionage activity.⁶⁸

In the 1620's, Guillen would travel to Spain after a short tenure in Dublin and London to continue his studies, and according to him, a short stint as the hostage of a group of English pirates off the coast of France. In the seventeenth-century, Spain was entering a definite economic and political decline in stark contrast to her fifteenth and sixteenth-century days of glory. In 1621, the year King Philip IV ascended the Spanish throne, Spain consisted of the Iberian peninsula, Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, the Southern Netherlands, and the numerous Spanish possessions in the Americas (notably New Spain), Asia, and Africa.⁶⁹ However physically large the Spanish empire, its strength became increasingly hollow as the century passed. Despite the many costly and seemingly never ending wars that Spain mobilized across Europe, King Philip made no territorial expansion and there were no significant improvements in political relations. Between the 1620s and 1640s, Catalonia, the Basque Regions, and Portugal would all start major revolts.⁷⁰ By 1638, during the time Guillen would have been residing within Spain, the crown owed over 182 million ducats to foreign bankers.⁷¹ Unlike Ireland, which was being overtaken by outside forces, Spain's undoing came from within, leading to great turmoil for the general populace.

⁶⁸ O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 38.

⁶⁹ Parker, *Global Crisis*, 254.

⁷⁰ Parker, *Global Crisis*, 284.

⁷¹ Parker, *Global Crisis*, 289.

Guillen certainly possessed an innate sense of charisma and social intelligence as he quickly fell into the ranks of Irish and Spanish nobleman during his studies in Santiago's Colegio de Niños Nobles which enabled him to, join a distinguished group of educated Irishman who were entering the Spanish ecclesiastical and military institutions at that time."⁷² He received a scholarship to study at the Colegio de Irlandeses in Salamanca, when two years into his studies, Don Gaspar de Guzman, the count-duke of Olivares, positioned him in the highly prestigious Colegio de San Lorenzo el Real at the Escorial in Madrid, which was at the time known as "a training ground for elite servants of the monarchy."⁷³ Thus placed at the beating heart of Spain, Don Guillen would have been privy to the latest trends in speech, dress, court etiquette, baroque art, and the latest literary publications of the time. According to Richard Kirwan, "the attendance of young noblemen at universities allowed noble scholars to observe elite cultures at close quarters. In such an environment, young students could 'improve' themselves by abandoning old and absorbing new social habits and manners."⁷⁴ Already prone to picaro traits, such as in the case of his anti-English pamphleteering, supposed stint as a pirate off the coast of France, and the disciplinary action taken against him for attempting to escape his college while a teenage student at the Irish College in Santiago, in Madrid, Guillen would begin to shape himself into a new kind of picaro, that of an intellectual and elitist persuasion.

⁷² Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 58.

⁷³ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 59.

⁷⁴ Richard Kirwan, *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*, (London: Taylor & Francis Group), 2.

While Guillen spent time at the Spanish court (eventually being expelled for supposedly adulterous behavior), he existed as a liminal figure, both an intellectual and a soldier, without a clear sense of identity in the highly stratified society of Spain. Madrid court life in seventeenth-century Spain was a place where, according to historian Felipe Ruan, “individual existence and identity became profoundly representational in nature, consisting primarily of how one exhibits one’s position to everyone else.”⁷⁵ Aristocrats in this environment also had a growing fascination with the picaresque, incited by the picaresque protagonists tendency towards boldness and daring expressions of freedom.⁷⁶ In this sense, it may have been because of, and not despite, Guillen’s outsider status that led to his transformation into a court darling and pet of count-duke Olivares; he knew how to play by the rules, *and* artfully bend them.

Historical Context- Mexico

As almost all of the extent writings of Guillen were drafted in New Spain, this area of the world proceeds Guillen’s European upbringing in matters of importance. If Spain was reaching the nadir of its empire, stagnating in a whirl of baroque excess and despair, seventeenth-century Mexico, although tumultuous in its own right, was in the process of creating a unique culture and society separate from the metropole. In the realm of politics, New Spain was acquiring more autonomy, in no small part due to the growing power of criollos, Spaniards born in Mexico or the Americas, who were gaining in prestige, power, and money. Economically, New Spain experienced the rise of a more

⁷⁵ Felipe E. Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano: Identity and the Forms of Capital in Early Modern Spanish Picaresque Narrative and Courtesy Literature*, (New Jersey: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group), 6.

⁷⁶ Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, 12.

capitalistic economy, one that led to the creation of more wealth for the upper tiers of society and less wealth accumulation for the lower rungs. New Spain, like Spain, was a land that thrived on entertainment, stories, and performance. In Mexico City, theater was the principal form of entertainment for all classes. Literature and intellectual pursuits were transmitted across the Atlantic, but also highly influenced by the cultural traditions of the indigenous populations, local flora and fauna, and the increasingly “Mexicanized” way of thinking, speaking, and writing. Mexico City in particular was home to peoples of all races (principally indigenous peoples, particularly the Nahua, Spanish Criollos and Peninsulares, free and enslaved Africans, and an increasingly large number of people who were of a mixture of races, of which the sixty different caste descriptions at the time were a testament to), and less prevalent but still present were miscellaneous Europeans from non-Iberian countries like Guillen, and Jewish Europeans who were increasingly being forcefully expelled or coerced to leave due to discrimination in their own countries.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, many of these groups did not find respite from persecution in the New World. Within such a bustling city, crimes and misbehavior of many varieties were all too common, a fact which did not escape the powerful Mexican Inquisition which arguably reached its zenith of power in the mid-seventeenth-century. The character of the picaresque would have invariably been a household name in seventeenth-century Mexico City due to the varieties of criminals that walked its streets, as well as the literary and dramaturgical culture that infiltrated all walks of life.

⁷⁷ Linda Ann Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 4.

Since its colonization, New Spain had been held under the power of a complex bureaucratic network based in Spain and administered principally by viceroys chosen by the Spanish Crown. By the seventeenth-century, Mexico City in particular, “was at once a distant outpost of imperial government, a metropolis, a city grounded in its region, and a compact local society focusing inward.”⁷⁸ The seventeenth century was also one of considerable unrest. Several uprisings and disturbances occurred in 1611, 1612, 1624, 1692, and 1692, including fear of alleged civil unrest in 1609-1612, 1665, 1665, and 1701. Many of these revolts or near revolts were incited by Indigenous people and those of various castas, perhaps making Lamport’s ideas of enfranchising and including indigenous and enslaved Africans in his plans of rebellion even more dangerous to officials at the time.⁷⁹ Despite the rumblings of revolt, or rather because of them, the Mexican government strove to “promote a shared history and values among these diverse and potentially ‘dangerous’ groups” with frequent and elaborate unifying festivals that included all members of Mexican society.⁸⁰ In this way, “most rulers believed that surrounded by all the insignia of power, they could impress the populace with grand conspicuous displays, thus instilling a respect for the legitimacy of the government. [...] They symbolized the perfect government- unified, efficient, organized, accessible.”⁸¹ This idea of grandiosity and prestige is subverted by Lamport’s unruly and burgeoning ideas of American home rule which placed justice and reason above tradition, prestige,

⁷⁸ Richard Boyer, "Mexico in the Seventeenth Century: Transition of a Colonial Society," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 3 (1977): 455.

⁷⁹ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 5.

⁸⁰ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 5.

⁸¹ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 19.

and image. Good governance relied heavily on the viceroy's moral character and Christian piety, something Lamport professed in words but oftentimes neglected in his personal life. In essence, the *appearance* of a cohesive, united, and powerful government was almost more important to the local rulers of the time than a truly just and equanimous urban environment. Economically, seventeenth-century New Spain should be viewed, "not as a century of depression, but as one of transition to capitalism, economic diversification, and vigorous regional economies, both subsistence and tied to the market economy based in Mexico City."⁸² There was an economic decline in the latter half of the seventeenth century, especially due to a decline in silver production from 1641-50, around the time in which Lamport was captured by the Inquisition.⁸³

It is well documented that Colonial Mexico City was a vibrant center for theatre and entertainment, but at the time not everyone agreed with the sometimes bawdy or extravagant ways in which Mexicans celebrated or socialized. As early as 1633, Phillip IV commented on the "decline of customs and licentious lifestyle" of those in New Spain, and even blamed the political tensions regarding local bureaucratic rule in New Spain on the decline of propriety and divine retribution.⁸⁴ According to a 1646 royal decree, three moral and religious failings that were to be targeted in particular were: "the corruption of bureaucrats in New Spain, the abuses of the clergy, and sexual licentiousness."⁸⁵ *Donjuanismo*, or womanizing, was especially rampant at the time, the

⁸² Boyer, "Mexico in the Seventeenth Century: Transition of a Colonial Society," 478.

⁸³ Curcio, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City*, 8.

⁸⁴ Juan Pedro Viqueira Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, (Oxford: SR Books), 1.

⁸⁵ Viqueira Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 3.

ultimate accomplishment of a distinguished Don Juan being to successfully seduce a nun, to the chagrin of polite society.⁸⁶ Alcohol consumption was also increasingly regulated in the seventeenth century, with a special focus on pulquerias in order to limit public disorder stemming from drunken behavior.⁸⁷ Additionally, the Crown sought to preserve tradition by ordering the way judges could travel in carriages with the viceroy, the use of pillows during religious ceremonies, and the wearing of clothes associated with another social group.⁸⁸ Such specific edicts represent a wider fear of losing control, or of the perceived chaos of the loss of traditional power structures. Above all, the seventeenth century in New Spain cemented the burgeoning sentiment that “individual wealth more than birth determined power,” thus even further blurring the lines of social distinction.⁸⁹ Because of this, the importance of elite social customs began to be more negotiable, which threatened many at the upper echelons of society. The public awareness (particularly elite) emphasis on moral decline is especially relevant as Guillen entered New Spain right around a time of perceived moral decline in the colony, making his libertine appearance a more highly perceived threat than it may have been in earlier decades.

Colonial Mexico City was a hot spot for criminal activity, and everyday life by the 1690’s was seemingly saturated with theft, assault, and vagrancy to the point that the ineffective colonial officials believed that, “urban society and even civilization itself

⁸⁶ Viquiera Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 4.

⁸⁷ Viquiera Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 6.

⁸⁸ Viquiera Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 7.

⁸⁹ Viquiera Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 7.

seemed to be threatened and on the verge of chaos.”⁹⁰ Although no major studies on the topic of crime in the first half of the seventeenth-century in Mexico City yet exist, it can be assumed that the stage for the proliferation for later criminal activity was being set if it was not already in full swing. Many factors such as rural to urban migration, unequal wage scales, and inadequate resources such as food, water, and housing were factors that led to criminals seeking to merely get by in an ever more competitive economy. Young men, for example, were especially scrutinized since they supposedly had the largest propensity to disrupt the status quo, but wealthy persons or persons of noble birth were given special considerations because of their rank in society. Within Mexico City’s “rigid stratification and extremes of wealth and poverty, [it] had all the elements that sociologists have suggested are necessary for the rise of social disorder and the creation of a criminal class.”⁹¹ Petty crime was all too common, and while many criminals would have been typified as *pícaros* at the time, the vast majority would not have been intellectual *pícaros*.

A notable instance of picaresque-adjacent behavior during the period was the prevalence of imposter inquisition officers who would roam the less-regulated peripheral zones of New Spain to swindle innocent people, a practice which was also widespread in Europe.⁹² Just as in Europe, the newfound viability of travel, even transatlantically, made imposture a more feasible task possibly than ever before.⁹³ In order to uphold their false

⁹⁰ Gabriel Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692-1810*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 30.

⁹¹ Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City*, 38.

⁹² Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers", 253.

⁹³ Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers", 255.

appearances, the imposters relied on performance: they dressed in clerical robes or habits, used a mixture of authentic and forged seals, veneras, or letters, utilized “prodigious speech patterns” and made ample use of illustrious quotes in Latin to appear more literate in biblical matters than they really were, and even displayed “authoritative bodily gestures, as in sentencing, admonishing, or blessing while sitting on a chair.”⁹⁴ At this time there were no reliable forms of identifying people, and as such “the impostors’ unstable identities made manifest the limits of the state’s mechanisms of identification and authentication.”⁹⁵ One example of an imposter in colonial New Spain was Lorenzo de Torquemada. Torquemada, a Mercedarian friar, travelled from 1640 to 1642 between Chiapas and Guatemala threatening innocent civilians to expose their sinful ways, claiming to represent the Inquisition. Like Guillen, Torquemada was also apprehended by the Inquisition in the early 1640’s, but rather than being imprisoned for many years only to be executed, Torquemada was sentenced to serve three years as a galley slave.⁹⁶ Unlike the intellectual picaresque, as represented by Guillen, these imposters acted on a small scale on the periphery of New Spain, making them harmful in the eyes of the Holy Office, but not as threatening as a revolutionary and scholarly imposter like Guillen. These “wandering swindlers” were a major threat to Mexican society at the time and secular and religious authorities found them to be a menace to the moral fabric of society. Another imposter, named Antonio Benavides, Marqués de Vicente, fashioned himself as a *visitador*, or royal official, and after arriving in Puebla he was arrested as an imposter.

⁹⁴ Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers", 265.

⁹⁵ Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers", 255.

⁹⁶ Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers", 258-259.

There is speculation that his arrest was brought on by local officials seeking a scapegoat for the sacking of Veracruz by the pirate Lorencillo, and even during Benavides' time opinions were mixed of his identity. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the celebrated poet and nun of the late Colonial Period even wrote a poem, "El Tapado", dedicated to support the freedom of the mysterious imposter. Unfortunately Benavides was tortured relentlessly by the Inquisition, which led to his attempted suicide, and he was eventually executed.⁹⁷ The case of Antonio Benavides points to the fact that while imposters were generally regarded as harmful by the Inquisition, only imposters that impersonated high ranking officials (such as a *visitador*, or the bastard brother the King of Spain, in Guillen's case) were punished severely.

The justice system, like that in Spain, was characterized by its highly bureaucratic nature, but was much less powerful overall. On that note Jonathan Israel eloquently states, "It was no longer by the sword that disputes in New Spain were settled; from now until the end of the colonial era, for almost three centuries, the weapons of struggle were to be the various legal implements provided by the Spanish state and Church and no others."⁹⁸ The Inquisition in particular was the religious arm of the Mexican judicial apparatus. Contrary to popular belief, the Inquisition did not exist as a monolithic and all powerful tool of oppression, but was in fact rather disjointed in practice, especially when it came to acts such as censorship in New Spain.⁹⁹ While indigenous members of society

⁹⁷ Leonard, Irving, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 161-162.

⁹⁸ Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 58.

⁹⁹ Martin Austin Nesvig, "'Heretical Plagues' and Censorship Cordons: Colonial Mexico and the Transatlantic Book Trade," *Church History* 75, no. 1 (2006): 3.

were excused from the Inquisition, if not for condescending reasons, due to their status as new Christians and perceived lack of understanding of Christian laws, those from Protestant or Muslim nations were viewed with special condemnation by inquisition judges. Such biases were so prevalent, Martin Nesvig writes, that, “countless letters by the inquisitors in Mexico City warn comisarios of the infections of the heretical lands of Germany and England, and of the “cancer” spreading across the Atlantic. In fact, in inquisitional procedure the nationality of the defendant was routinely included [and] being from such an “infected land” removed the potentially exculpatory repentance that was afforded Spanish suspects.¹⁰⁰ It was very likely that Lampart, due to his Irish and Old English ancestry and appearance, may have been viewed with an air of suspicion, possibly as Protestant-adjacent, despite his staunchly Catholic views.

In regards to inquisitorial censorship, picaresque novels were explicitly targeted in Mexico at various times as heretical, and a series of royal edicts banned the transatlantic shipment of “‘libros de caballería’ or chivalric, picaresque, and knights-errant novels such as *El Cid*, *Amadis de Gaula*, *Guzman de Alfarache*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Primaleon*, or generically titled ‘romances.’”¹⁰¹ In addition to heretical literature, one could also be tried and/or imprisoned by the Inquisition for having unorthodox religious beliefs, such as “*ilusos*” and “*alumbrados*,” also known as false mystics. The character of those under investigation was also held in suspect and “people who accrued circles of followers around themselves, people who exhibited too much self-pride and independence in their religious expressions, and those who contravened codes of

¹⁰⁰ Nesvig, ““Heretical Plagues” and Censorship Cordons”, 11.

¹⁰¹ Nesvig, ““Heretical Plagues” and Censorship Cordons”, 12.

behavior deemed appropriate for their sex” were viewed with suspicion.¹⁰² If one was imprisoned by the Inquisition, they could expect dim conditions, although communication with other prisoners was not too difficult. Holes were made in the walls for messages to be passed back and forth, and the slaves who brought meals often carried messages from prisoner to prisoner as well. According to Seymore Leibman, between 1642 and 1644, when Guillen was himself imprisoned, “many meetings were held by each of the communities during which each member was assigned a name which was to serve as a password in the secret cells. Some of these were Big Dove, Great Hat, Pilgrim, Big Parrot, and Little Dove. Many of the men used the Nahuatl, Zapotec, and other Indian languages, which most inquisition officials did not know.”¹⁰³

The Autos de Fe of the Mexican Inquisition were of particular note during the period. Designed to “instill fear in the observers,” the Autos de Fe, literally translated as an “act of faith” were a morbid and pompous affair that acted as a public spectacle and ritual. In the Autos de Fe, those accused of heresies carried out a public ritual of repentance. Autos de Fe would often be an all day affair. In one auto de fe in March 30, 1648, the prosecution of 28 prisoners lasted from seven in the morning to seven at night.¹⁰⁴ Those condemned would either undergo physical punishment such as whipping or torture, and in the most extreme cases, the condemned would be burnt at the stake, as was Guillen de Lampart. A large factor for prosecution, trial, and punishment of so-called

¹⁰² Nora E. Jaffary, *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 5.

¹⁰³ Seymour B. Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition*, (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press), 235

¹⁰⁴ Gregorio Martín de Guijo, “Diario, 1648-1664.” (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa), 9.

criminals in the autos de fe's could have been the financial motivation, as large amounts of possessions and money were confiscated from those who were prosecuted.¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

Amidst the backdrop of such complex change and societal disruption, it is clear why the pizarro triumphed as a popular and notable figure in both literature and real life in the seventeenth-century. The pizarro represented the complex blend of rebellion and resignation that plagued society of the time period. Under harsh economic conditions, crime was sometimes a necessity for the average person to survive in both early modern Europe and the colonial world. The pizarro and picaresque author, highly cognizant of such absurdity, mocked this cruel fate in deed and writing. Such daring ideas and cavalier ideas towards authority were often too threatening to the existing power structures of the time, resulting in the death of many historical pizarros known and unknown to history. Guzman de Alfarache himself, of the eponymous *Guzman de Alfarache*, ended up as a galley slave at sea serving the Spanish Crown, repentant of his past life, where he writes down his story as a warning to other would-be pizarros and mischief makers. Mateo Aleman, author of *Guzman de Alfarache*, was imprisoned many times for debt in Spain, eventually moved to New Spain in the early 1600's to escape accusations of his Jewish ancestry where he disappeared into anonymity.¹⁰⁶ In this chapter I have laid out the historical trends that may have led to the creation of real life pizarros in Europe and the Americas. Guillen was influenced by the literary and historical pizarros of his day, either directly or indirectly. Additionally, his formation as an intellectual was influenced by the

¹⁰⁵ Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain*, 224.

¹⁰⁶ Parker, *Literature and the Delinquent*, 42.

diaspora of Irish colleges in early modern Europe and the increasing importance society placed on learning and education. These two facets of Guillen's era led to his self-stylization as an intellectual picaro. In the following chapter, I will analyze the way in which one specific historical picaro, William Lamport, viewed himself by carefully examining his extant writings.

Chapter II: Astucia Diabólica and the Identity of don Guillen de Lampart

Introduction

Many scholars have outlined the life trajectory of William Lamport, but few have attempted to explore his actions and writings with a critical eye. In this chapter I analyze the ways in which Lamport defined himself and presented himself in society. By understanding the political, social, and economic factors of day to day life in Early Modern Europe and colonial New Spain, the identity formation of Guillen is undergirded by a historical structure that is not mere conjecture. The main source of my analysis is based on the way Guillen spoke about himself, whether in his own pen, or, to a far lesser extent through the ways others describe him in his Inquisition trials. It should be noted that neither Guillen, nor the witnesses and Inquisitors from the trials are necessarily unbiased. Guillen's self-conceptualization is primarily shaded by his ego, and those of his detractors are more often than not clouded by disgust, contempt, or the pressures of the tense atmosphere of an Inquisition trial. When reading his many treatises, proclamations, and letters, however, several themes emerge: his identity as a Catholic, as a political revolutionary, and as an intellectual. All of these identifications connect to the time period in which he lived in directly: the Catholic Counter-Reformation ideology of Europe and New Spain, and the renewed interest in political philosophy and intellectual pursuits for privileged members of society at the time.

The first and most apparent trend was that Lamport steadily and passionately proclaimed himself to be a true and faithful Catholic. To be sure, in Counter-Reformation Europe and Mexico, it would have been expedient to defend the Catholic faith; religion permeated every facet of life during this period, especially when it was pitted against a

competitor, Protestantism. Guillen, however, did not merely represent himself as a good Catholic, in some ways he truly believed himself to be a cut above the rest in his faith, an idea which I explore in depth in the next section. In addition to his Catholicism, Lamport also tended towards extremist political beliefs. Political ideals in the Early Modern period included absolutism and monarchism which were almost unanimously the order of the day, and individual freedoms were a far distant goal, if not entirely unthinkable for the average person at the time. Some early political theorists, most prominently Thomas Hobbes, were active around the time of Guillen's life, but even Hobbes' seminal works were published during the time of Guillen's imprisonment. In the absence of qualifying political terminology, Guillen can be categorized as a radical or revolutionary to some extent, but ultimately he sought power for himself, using the political order of the time to his own benefit rather than creating and implementing a new political system. The last characteristic that Guillen promoted was his intellectualism. His intellectual tastes had a humanistic and polymathist flair; he sought knowledge from all subjects, particularly the classics and the sciences, even going so far as to use his learning to support his case in his Inquisition trial. If Lamport was truly a commoner, since the historical reality does not confirm his nobility in any way, he would have truly relied on his intelligence and wit alone to progress in the Spanish universities and Court to earn favors and privileges, unthinkable to someone who was most likely the son of a fisherman.

The Catholic

Guillen repeatedly defines himself by his Catholic identity within his many writings and Inquisition trials. Born in Ireland during the implementation of state-sanctioned Protestantism in England, his early childhood would have been imbued with

pro-Catholic sentiment, often residing on its virtue of being non-Protestant, just as his adult life in Spain would also have been. In his inquisition case, Guillen refers to himself as, “[un] fiel catolica cristiano, descendiente de tales, y natural del mas catolico reino que se conoce.”¹⁰⁷ In Spain at the time, the notion of “Catholic” as a racial or ethnic category became increasingly popular, as opposed to the new Christians, or *conversos* of previous Jewish or Muslim faith. In Spanish America, however, “the notion of purity gradually came to be equated with Spanish ancestry, with Spanishness.”¹⁰⁸ Because of the saturation of Catholicism in politics, art, and day-to-day life, in both his Native Ireland and adopted country of Spain and colony of New Spain, it is impossible to assert whether or not Guillen was a true-believer. What can be assessed, however, is how he described Catholicism, and his personal relation to his faith. In many ways Guillen *was* a fierce defender of the faith, although in a manner that religious authorities then and now would have unanimously declared as heretical. This tug of war between the “correct” forms of Catholicism that were institutionally recognized at the time, and Guillen’s own conceptualization of his faith, is a theme found within many individuals born in Europe and the Americas during the time of the Counter-Reformation. After the Protestant Reformation, several smaller sects of Protestantism broke off, fueled by individualism and the printing press, the religious ideas, opinions, and the assertions of a variety of people were legitimated. Catholicism in particular rejected all other faiths, and attempted

¹⁰⁷ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, transcribed by Raul Salinas, https://www.academia.edu/33105406/SENTENCIA_Y_EJECUCI%C3%93N_GUILLEN_DE_LAMPART, accessed on May 10, 2021, 6.

¹⁰⁸ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 2.

to formalize the Catholic tradition to become more unified across nation-states and cultural barriers, especially after the ecumenical Council of Trent which took place in the 16th century. In this section I argue that Guillen, in his own way, asserts his faith above any national ties, in order to lend credence to his otherwise precarious identity. As he can not rest upon his nationality, since he exists as a kind of transnational refugee, or his nobility, as it is most likely fabricated, his unorthodox Catholicism was most likely authentic. Guillen is not alone in this abandonment of a rigid national tie, as in the picaresque tradition, many picaros forego national ties in the pursuit of adventure, and some, such as in the case of Guzman Alfarache, ultimately rest on their Catholic faith alone at the end of their life.

Guillens education and early life, while often cloaked in Catholicism and ostensibly orthodox beliefs, is speckled with his dabbling in heresy or heretical thoughts. In his formative years, Guillen received a rigorous education in both religious and secular topics from Jesuits in Dublin and London, and several colleges in Spain. He claimed to have been instructed by “un maestro llamado Juan Gray, hereje” in mathematics during his time at the University of London.¹⁰⁹ While studying in London, he published a panegyric titled “Carolum anglie et mani fidem” in which he affirmed his Catholic faith and spoke against the English government, which led to an arrest and execution warrant.¹¹⁰ In order to escape, he fled to France where he was captured by “piratas Ingleses herejes.”¹¹¹ Eventually, Guillen claims, he was able to convert these pirates to

¹⁰⁹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 2.

¹¹⁰ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 2.

¹¹¹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 2.

the Catholic faith, which could have been either a boastful and contrived symbol of his own perceived charisma and evangelical prowess, or a show of genuine desire to bring others to the faith.¹¹²

Upon his disembarkment in New Spain, Guillen became interested in gaining political power. His reasoning, he claims, is that he only sought power at the behest of the count-duke Olivares to serve in Mexico as his personal spy to observe unrest among the criollos and to monitor the new viceroy's government. At first, Guillen proved to be adept at ingratiating himself into Mexican society; after working for a time in a minor position in the viceregal government, he obtained a job working at a tutor for the principal clerk of the cabildo, Don Fernando Carrillo, but after he passed away, Guillen was left without a patron to support him. It was during this time that Guillen met Don Ignacio Fernando Perez, an indigenous community elder, from the village of San Martin Acamistlahuacan near the silver mines of Taxco. Although Guillen had been referred to Don Ignacio to help him redress labor grievances from the mines, he soon became Guillen's accomplice in psychedelic experiences. Guillen believed the answers to Don Ignacio's legal issues could be found in peyote, the hallucinogenic drug traditionally used by native shamans.¹¹³ Guillen believed that those under the influence of peyote could see the future, and yet did not seem at all concerned about the implications of divination from a Christian perspective, to the shock and horror of the Inquisition.

¹¹² "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 3.

¹¹³ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 71.

According to Guillen, his interest in stoking the flames of rebellion in New Spain was inspired greatly by his faith. For him, the mercy of God and the intercession of the Virgin Mary encouraged and inspired him towards “está justificada y heroica facción.”¹¹⁴ Towards the end of his life and tenure in the Inquisition prison, Guillen had compiled around 918 psalms written in Latin, the historical form of religious poetry of both Christianity and Judaism. While these poems were in many ways extremely pious and reverent to his faith, there are breadcrumbs of heresy and enough shocking claims to make clear these are no ordinary psalms. In his more traditional Psalm 283, Guillen reveres Jacob, Moses, Abraham, and David, prominent Jewish figures of the Old Testament and ends exclaiming to God: “Ilumina, oh Dios, a todos cuantos esperan en la sombra de la muerte tu antigua piedad a través de los siglos.” In his Psalm 292, Guillen seems to be yearning for martyrdom to bring him closer to God, as he writes, “Mi herencia es la Providencia de Dios y su virtud mi refugio: sacrifique mi vida por mi Dios, deseando morir por El.”¹¹⁵ Many early Christians believed that martyrdom was the holiest path to salvation, and the most obvious emulation of their savior, Jesus Christ, who was himself a martyr. This belief, although less popular, still persisted into the Early Modern period, especially as religious persecution ramped up in all religious sects.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, by identifying as a potential martyr, Guillen reveals his innermost belief to be that of perceived righteousness. He truly believed that he was wrongfully imprisoned

¹¹⁴ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 128.

¹¹⁵ Citalli Bayardi Landeros, “Tres Salmos Inéditos de Don Guillén de Lampart,” *Literatura Mexicana*, vol 9, no. 1 (1998): 214.

¹¹⁶ Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press), 250-314.

and his death would bring him closer to God and salvation, regardless of the authority of the Inquisition to excommunicate him from the Catholic Church. In his Psalm 326, Guillen's poetry takes an anti-semitic turn and he criticizes Jews for not converting to Christianity, and even proclaims himself a prophet, writing, "Sabed que el Señor Dios de Israel me ha designado su profeta para vosotros con el fin de predicar ante vosotros y ante todos los caminos de su verdad."¹¹⁷ He continues, admonishing the Jewish people for not quickly changing their synagogues to churches, and warns them that failing to do so will result in their damnation.¹¹⁸ The Inquisition claims that Guillen was far from an anti-semite, and that he defended the Jewish people, "apoyando [ellos] con sus escritos [...] y defendiendo herejes judaizantes, mostrando el veneno de sus rabiosas entrañas contra el justo castigo que en ello hizo este Santo Oficio."¹¹⁹ It is interesting that Guillen, who at the beginning of his imprisonment would stand up for the Jewish people and argue for their ability to practice their faith in peace, now proclaimed himself a prophet ordained to convert them to Catholicism. This change of heart pointed to an increasing turn towards religious orthodoxy, and a very personal interest in the damnation of souls, as he would have suspected that his own death may have been around the corner.

In Guillen's last inquisitorial trial, which relaxed him to the State to be executed, the Inquisitors continuously repeated, with a sardonic tone, that Guillen professed to be a staunch and faithful Catholic. In one instance, relaying his 1651 escape from prison with fellow inmate Diego Pinto, they wrote that Guillen boasted that he, "...era más puro y

¹¹⁷ Landeros, "Tres Salmos Inéditos de Don Guillén de Lampart," 216.

¹¹⁸ Landeros, "Tres Salmos Inéditos de Don Guillén de Lampart," 216.

¹¹⁹ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 14.

más católico que cuentos había en el mundo, arrogándose el heroico título de defensor de la fe para engañar así al compañero.”¹²⁰ By professing his faith, a lie, the Inquisition argued, he was leading innocent souls to eternal damnation. When reading Guillen’s Psalms, one can’t help but wonder if he was aware of the contradiction between his genuine faith, his egocentrism, and his openly heretical viewpoints. It is most likely that Guillen, despite his fierce Catholicism, had more in common with his Protestant enemy than he would have liked to admit. He took no issue with the authority of God, and he clearly took great inspiration from the Bible: his greatest criticism of the Christian faith was the dogmatism of those who abused their power, Catholic Kings or Catholic religious authorities who transgressed the bounds of religious guidance and devolved into despotism. As outlined in the following section, at the time that he wrote his independence document, he wished to ensure that New Spain, even independent from Spain, would still be in communion with the Catholic Church and in a trade partnership with Rome. Within the documents available to us, Guillen never criticized God, Jesus, Mary, or any of the saints, only the ecclesiastic officials and Catholic Kings who he saw as power hungry and misguided. When asked by the Inquisitorial Tribunal why he chose to forgo confession, Guillen responded, “pues no lo sabe sepa que está en parte donde no hay fe, ni ley, ni razón, ni justicia, sino todo tiranías y maldades; porque aquí no hay otra cosa que crueldades, tormentos, azotes, galeras, sambenitos, muertes, y quitar honras por quítame allá esas pajas.”¹²¹ When treated with genuine cruelty, it is easy to imagine that many prisoners faithful to God had similar opinions about the Inquisition at the time. In

¹²⁰ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 15.

¹²¹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 17.

this sense, it is clear that Guillen was pious, but due to the ties Catholicism had to his personal identity, and various cultural and legal pressures, he remained Catholic, until the point at which he was officially excommunicated.

The Revolutionary

While Early Modern political philosophy was in its relative infancy compared to the revolutionary age of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe and the Americas, Guillen's political beliefs demonstrate that even in the early seventeenth century, some members of society were beginning to contemplate ideas regarding popular sovereignty. Scholars such as Ryan Dominic Crewe have suggested that Guillen was most likely influenced by the writings of people such as Bartoleme de las Casas, who harshly critiqued the treatment of the natives of the Americas by the Spanish conquistadors and early settlers, and late sixteenth-century Spanish philosopher Francisco Suarez who argued for just rule and the potentiality of regicide in the event of an unfit king.¹²² It is likely that, in addition to his study of contemporary political philosophers, Guillen was also highly influenced by the political ideas of Ancient Greece and Rome. Due to his extensive schooling in both Ancient Greek and Latin, he would have read the seminal texts of political philosophy that would later influence the revolutions of independence movements of later centuries. Living in a time of immense classical revival and humanist sentiment, at least in the universities, Guillen would have found many great minds to discuss and ponder such lofty ideals while completing his studies. In this sense, Guillen was a century or more ahead of the curve in terms of political philosophy. In

¹²² Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 77.

contrast with his contemporary, Viceroy Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, also educated in elite Spanish schools around the same time as Guillen, who believed in gradual reform and detested popular uprisings, Guillen held an undeniably revolutionary stance, at least at the time of his arrest in 1641.¹²³ It is interesting that Guillen had, or seemed to have, a slightly favorable view of the monarchy based on his older papers, and upon his arrival in New Spain his opinions evolved to become more radical. I argue that Guillen consistently held anti-authoritarian views, influenced by his tumultuous childhood spent escaping English tyranny and discrimination, that he downplayed during his time in Spain. All of his benefactors and patrons were either directly or indirectly linked to the money of the Crown, and in this way, even if he was sceptical of the authority of the King, he could not fully explore his more radical tendencies while he was enmeshed within court life. It was not until he was forcibly expelled from the Court and his adopted land that Guillen, spurred by a sense of freedom and anonymity in a new land, and perhaps resentful of his untimely exit, began to fully question the sovereignty of the king. I also argue that, upon seeing for himself the conditions which many indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans were living in in Mexico City, and even potentially interacting and befriending some, he was immensely moved, having been exiled from his homeland and discriminated against for his own ancestry. At this point, he felt, perhaps prematurely, that he had the skills necessary to liberate them and rule a nation. His writings on the topic of revolution in New Spain were lucid and eloquent, not at all the ravings of a mad man as other scholars have insinuated. In general, Guillen's hubris ultimately led to his arrest; had he been

¹²³ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 77.

more secretive about his endeavours and spent more time plotting, he might have been more successful.

In the first extant letter written by Guillen around 1639-1640, addressed to King Phillip IV, Guillen implores the King to come to Ireland's aid in order to, "...dilitar y defender la santa fe católica, para huir la tiranía y cautivario que sufren, para verse libre de tan abominable servidumbre, para prevenir las nuevas vejaciones que inventan, para vengar las injurias cometidos contra el mismo cielo."¹²⁴ Guillen then goes on to describe the miserable conditions of persecuted Catholics living in Ireland at the time: they needed to pay money in order to attend mass, Catholic burials, marriages, and baptisms were prohibited, priests were banished, the sacraments were destroyed, and "de todo consuelo religioso el irlandés se priva."¹²⁵ In this letter, Guillen unabashedly appeals to the King's Catholic faith as the biggest incentive to come to Ireland's aid. Guillen writes that the King is the "único defensor de la fe" and even that the Irish are actually "legítimamente sangre española por descendencia."¹²⁶ Guillen was constantly complimentary towards the Spanish kingdom and the King, and one of his proposed benefits to helping the Irish is that "que, vencidos los ingleses, sean los irlandeses naturales en los reinos de VM y los españoles en Irlanda."¹²⁷ Guillen might have been negotiating out of desperation, but the fact that he proposed a sort of primitive version of dual citizenship, perhaps a combination of nations, between Ireland and Spain is a testament to his appreciation of

¹²⁴ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 153r-154v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 87.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 87.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 89.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 93.

Spain and the Spanish Crown at one point in his life. Guillen's distaste for tyranny is also palpable in this early letter; he vividly depicts the abuses of the English in Ireland, describing how the English usurped the ancient noble families of Ireland and how "quien hoy fue señor, mañana se halla esclavo miserable."¹²⁸ In this letter, Guillen took a more elitist stance than he would in New Spain, as he clearly supports the noble families of Ireland; this may be due to the fact that his audience, the King, would have been more sympathetic to the plight of a lord than a lowly shepherd, but it might also showcase the evolution of Guillen's loyalties. His most striking comment is that, if Ireland could get free of the English yoke, despite the help of the Spanish, Guillen would still wish that, "el reino de Irlanda se gobierne por Consejo de Estado como República libre y sin dependencias de VM, como Venecia y otras sin virrey ni persona alguna que tenga mando absoluto."¹²⁹ By proposing that Ireland would not only be a free nation-state, but a Republic free of absolute rule by king or an appointed official, Guillen was proposing something truly revolutionary.

Guillen's *Proclama Insurreccional Para la Nueva España*, dated sometime between 1640 and 1642, is a bold proclamation for the rebellion and independence of New Spain, the freedom of enslaved Africans, and the return of ancestral lands, powers, and titles to the indigenous community of Mexico. Instead of promoting rule by the Spanish monarch and subsequent appointed bureaucrats like viceroys, Guillen argues for the rule of a monarch with limited powers elected (although he never specifies the exact details of an electoral process) by the groups who supported the popular rebellion.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 88.

¹²⁹ Ibid, 94.

Based on the appearance of the *Proclama Insurreccional*, in which there are many lines crossed out and phrases written in the margins, it appears that this treatise was a draft and not the final product. Despite this, the paper is clear in its motive and eloquent of speech; its ideas are radical and seemingly far-fetched, but they are not beyond the realm of possibility, the revolutions of the 19th century attest to this, thus making it a *very* dangerous document. Within the first paragraph, Lampart writes that the possession of Mexico by Spain was cruel and its conquest unjust, and that the lands were taken “sin más justificación que el pretexto de introducir nuestra santa fe catolica en ellos, lo que en ninguna ley positiva divina ni humana se pudo practicar, pues la creencia no supone premio temporal en su predicación, sino eterno.”¹³⁰ In this statement, Guillen echoes the assertions of critics of the early colonization of the Americas, such as de las Casas, who did not find evangelization a sufficient means to conquer an entire people or incite violence against them, as conversion needed to be a personal decision made of free-will.

In addition to advocating for the independence of New Spain, Guillen continues to critique Spain's abuse of power across the Atlantic in Europe, bringing up the recent rebellions, which occurred in his words “con buenas causas,” in Portugal, Catalonia, Navarre, and Biscay, arguing that the people rebelling in these areas against Spain were correct, because Spain had precipitated actions against them which “ni tiene acción legitimada alguna a ellos.”¹³¹ His solution to such injustices, “causa más que urgente”, was to “poner en ejecución y práctica cualquiera celoso caballero su restauración y

¹³⁰ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 99.

¹³¹ Ibid, 100.

restitución, y adjudicarlo a los que tienen voto para elegir espontáneamente por su príncipe, que los gobierne en paz y los defienda en guerra, y los premie en ambos.”

Additionally, Guillen claimed that people may be obliged to depose their Spanish rulers if they were not, and could not, be legitimate rulers, especially if they enacted violence without reason upon them.¹³² In the margins, Lampart writes in a haphazard stream of consciousness on the rights of kinds, the importance of elections, and the ecclesiastical and secular authorities: “Aunque los reyes poseyeron bien estos reinos se pueden ya quitar y aún se deben y por qué?/ Elección verdadera y segura, y legítima./ Lastimoso estado de los eclesiásticos./ Nuevas razones de nueva elección. Los seglares rematados.”¹³³ The haphazard state of many of the writings are a testament to Guillen’s frenzied state, but despite this, the majority of the document is lucid.

In his *Proclama*, after a lengthy introduction, Guillen outlines several ideals and rules which he would enact if able to obtain a position of power in the Mexican government. He declares that, “...en adelante sean desmembrados y apartados de la corona de Castilla todos estos reinos de la gran America y sus adyacentes, sin obedecer a otro príncipe que al que fuere elegido a su tiempo, so pena de incurrir la indignación sonora.”¹³⁴ Not only did Guillen wish to declare independence from Spain in Mexico, he also sought to declare independence on the behalf of *all other Spanish-American colonies*, a dubious notion considering the immense size of Spanish possessions at that time, and his unfamiliarity with any other colonies besides New Spain. Economically,

¹³² Ibid, 103.

¹³³ Ibid, 103.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 120.

Guillen wished that “el comercio sea libre y sin derechos” and proposed that New Spain would ally and trade with Rome, France, Venice, Holland, Portugal, and Ireland.¹³⁵ It is interesting that Guillen decided that Holland would be a worthy ally considering their Calvinist religious predilection, and his previous battle experience fighting in the Netherlands, but it is likely that he made his decision on a shrewd business sense and not any love for the Dutch. The constables in charge of seizing Guillen’s possessions found amongst his papers drafts of letters to several kings in Europe, as well as to the pope, attempting to form trade agreements with the newly independent New Spain, which demonstrated Guillen’s earnestness.¹³⁶

On the topic of race, Guillen criticizes the treatment of the indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans of New Spain, while also offering his own solutions. If he were to become ruler of New Spain, he swore to “sacudir el grave yugo y tiranía que padecen estos reinos, dando libertad a todo género de oprimidos y relevando a todos de cualesquiera opresión que padecieron, en la forma y manera con las calidades que se siguen.”¹³⁷ Such an ideal spoke not just of reform, but of justice for all; whether this would have been truly possible on a mass scale is impossible to know, but it would have been an extremely frightening concept to the order and status-obsessed government of Mexico, whose world already seemed to be cracking at the seams. Guillen condemns slavery, an uncommon position at the time, writing, “La mesma afliccion y pena causa la

¹³⁵ Ibid, 120.

¹³⁶ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 53.

¹³⁷ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martínez Baracs, 118.

tirana esclavitud de tanto numero de negos, mulatos, berberiscos y otros infinitos ramos que penden de estos troncos, cuyo derecho de naturaleza esta usurpado, con poco temor de Dios, por los espanoles.”¹³⁸ Not only does he criticize the practice of slavery, but also the Spanish who were involved in the slave trade, insinuating that they were being sinful. He continues critiquing the Spanish, arguing that, “les reducen a la misera esclavitud y servidumbre, pena la mas fatal, pues apeteponese la libertad mas dulce y amable de la misma vida, igualandose con los brutos animales en el aprecio y maltrato.”¹³⁹ Guillen further defends the humanity and dignity of slaves stating, “...siendo asimesmo cristianos y miembros católicos de la iglesia, están privados de lo que es más que el vivir, que es la libertad.”¹⁴⁰ In this way, Guillen’s arguments would predate future abolitionists, who also made similar arguments stemming from their Christian faith. Guillen believed that “liberty” and not mere life, was something to fight for. If he could gain power, Guillen proposed to grant “voz y voto” to “los naturales, y los libertados [freed slaves], como los españoles.”¹⁴¹ For “los naturales que prueben ser defraudados de sus haciendas desde la conquista hasta hoy,” these lands would be restituted, and all indigenous nobles would be elevated to the status of all Spanish nobles “sin excepción ninguna.”¹⁴² For the former slave owners, Guillen has little pity, and suggests that they hire on their former slaves for a wage, but that they would henceforth be forbidden from physically hurting or punishing

¹³⁸ Ibid, 108.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 108.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 109.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 120.

¹⁴² ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 124.

their slaves in any way.¹⁴³ In an act of poetic justice, slave owners who attempted to inhibit their slaves from participating in the rebellion would themselves become slaves under Guillen's rule. Interestingly, all of these opportunities and privileges would only be allowed to the slaves and indigenous people who supported Guillen's rebellion.¹⁴⁴ Those who did not support him would remain in the same conditions as under Spanish colonial rule.

It is very likely that, in addition to supporting enslaved Africans and the indigneous peoples of Mexico, he interacted with and made personal connections with them too. Within Guillen's personal belongings, scraps of paper contained lists of Spanish words translated into an African language, with phrases and words ranging from "shirt" to "may the Devil take you."¹⁴⁵ While this does not definitely prove that Guillen befriended any African slaves, it does show that he had a genuine interest in their culture, and his desire to free them, even with stipulations, points to a genuine desire for their wellbeing. Additionally, after escaping from prison in 1651 for a brief period, he had planned on arriving at an African maroon community near Veracruz, but he was ultimately recaptured.¹⁴⁶ This points to a potential relationship between Guillen and the maroon community, made either prior to his imprisonment, or within the walls of the prison. Don Guillen certainly had a close, if complex, relationship with Don Ignacio, an indigenous community elder from San Martin Acamistlahuacan, at least until his

¹⁴³ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 125.

¹⁴⁴ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 125.

¹⁴⁵ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 67.

¹⁴⁶ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 82.

imprisonment at which time Don Ignacio testified against Guillen. While the exact details may never be known, it is clear that Don Ignacio, or Don Ignacio and Guillen, took Peyote, a hallucinogenic cactus native to Mexico, in order to ascertain whether Guillen would take power in Mexico.¹⁴⁷ According to neighbors who testified against Guillen, the pair met frequently for months in secret, plotting a rebellion.¹⁴⁸ It may be that Don Ignacio testified against Guillen for fear of his own livelihood and implication in the plot, but the evidence is inconclusive. What is known, however, was that Guillen advocated for the return of native ancestral land and political authority, likely influenced by information from Don Ignacio regarding the atrocious labor conditions in the silver mines in Taxco.

Despite his extremely progressive and revolutionary policies, Guillen wished to keep the ecclesiastic apparatus already in place in Mexico. Rather than report to the Spanish government, they would report to Guillen's new government, a switch which he viewed as obvious and simple. He wished to keep the current appointed religious authorities in place, since they had been confirmed by the Pope.¹⁴⁹ While it could be argued that Guillen, with so many radical positions already, feared popular support for his rebellion would diminish if he held more revolutionary policies on Catholic rule in his government, it appears that he truly believed that the Church's authority was generally well-positioned and important, and it is not until after a long tenure in the Inquisition's jail that he began to resent the Church's power, or atleast the power of the Holy Office of

¹⁴⁷ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 71.

¹⁴⁸ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 73.

¹⁴⁹ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 126.

the Inquisition. In fact, Guillen explicitly states that all those held in public jails and the Inquisition prison were to be freed by his command, “menos los rebeldes y obstinaces en sus errores contra nuestra santa fe catolica.”¹⁵⁰ Guillen earnestly professed his faith and asks for others to pray for him and his mission, writing, “...para su mayor servicio pido y suplico a todas las comunidades, así religioso como religiosas, intercedan con su divina Majestad me alumbre y me encamine para mayor honra y gloria suya, y libertad y bien de estos vasallos.”¹⁵¹ Overall, Guillen did not view his faith as an impediment to his revolutionary politics.

At the end of his treatise, Guillen appeals to the reason and goodness of any potential supporters of his cause writing, “amonestamos y exhortamos a todos, de cualquiera calidad que sean, que con toda paz y tranquilidad se reduzcan a la razón y justificación propuesta.”¹⁵² Using both the carrot and the stick, love and fear, he continues, “y serán premiados con suma grandeza. Y obrando en lo contrario será forzoso (aunque con sumo desconsuelo de nuestro corazón, tan inclinado a la clemencia y benignidad y liberalidad), proceder con el furor militar que en estas ocasiones es permitido, y procurar reducirlo por armas.”¹⁵³ Although so much of Guillen’s life story is unaccounted for, it is very likely Guillen did indeed fight in many wars, and in some cases in a position of leadership, making his threat of violence for those opposed to his

¹⁵⁰ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 127.

¹⁵¹ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 126.

¹⁵² ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 129.

¹⁵³ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 128.

rule not at all empty. It is unclear if he would have been able to rally sufficient popular support to truly take over New Spain, but his imprisonment and execution were a testament to his danger to established rule as well as to the perceived propensity for Mexican society to revolt at the time. Guillen's political ideals were clearly inspired by the Greek and Latin political systems of which he had profound knowledge due to years of studying their language, culture, and history. His views on slavery were exceptionally progressive for his time, and similar views would not become widespread in New Spain until almost two centuries later. He melded ideas of religious monarchy with a sort of proto-democratic and capitalist ruling system, and while it might seem haphazard to our modern ideals of a carefully crafted government, his ideas were ingenious and sensational for the time.

The Intellectual

If it is true that Guillen did not come from noble stock, then the fact remains that all of his achievements in Europe were based on merit and not money or heritage. Both socially aware and with a predilection towards the classics, mathematics, astronomy, and the arts, Guillen would have been especially impressive to the sponsors of his education, prompting them to fund his university career in Spain. While scholars have pinpointed the seventeenth century as a time in which public education and literacy were beginning to take hold in Europe, Guillen received an undeniably elite education for the time.¹⁵⁴ His speech, as attested to in his writings, was elevated beyond the norm, and he might very well have carried himself with an air of pretension. For Guillen, his intellectualism, along

¹⁵⁴ James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 81-82.

with his Catholic faith, formed the immutable characteristics of his identity. Unlike his faith, however, his intellect was his and his alone; although he had relied on sponsors to receive his lofty education, the knowledge he gained was his to do with as he pleased. While Guillen's political beliefs were surely based on the discussions he had and the numerous books he had read, they stemmed from his identification with that of a thinking man. Scholars like A.C. Grayling believed the seventeenth-century to be just as prominent in the history of Europe as the eighteenth-century, and in the course of the century, "...the mind-set of the best informed people [...] changed from being medieval to being modern."¹⁵⁵ It is apparent that Guillen was one of these "best informed people." Additionally, Guillen's meritocratic success marked the rise of an educated class of people, who in later centuries would more or less comprise the ruling elite. "The university," writes Richard Kirwan, "led to the formation of a new elite; an academic cohort that comprised professors, students, and peripatetic or cosmopolitan scholars."¹⁵⁶ In Spain, many schools of thought such as *culteranismo*, categorized by the utilization of complex speech patterns and ostentatious displays of knowledge utilizing frequent references to Ancient Greek and Roman cultures, and *conceptismo*, characterized by wit and clever utilization of wordplay with literary devices such as the double entendre, flourished in the seventeenth-century. Those who participated in these Baroque intellectual trends were self-aware and unabashedly proud of their erudition. The very complexity of speech would have been nearly impossible to understand for the

¹⁵⁵ A. C. Grayling, *The Age of Genius: The Seventeenth Century and the Birth of the Modern Mind*, (New York, NY: Bloomsbury), 1.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Kirwan, *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*. (London: Taylor & Francis Group), 3.

uneducated, and extremely confusing for the uninitiated older generations. Guillen's writings, with complex speech patterns, an abundance of Greek and Latin references, and a very modern sense of humor and irony make it very likely that he participated in these schools of thought while in the collegiate atmosphere, and perpetuated their unique form ever afterwards.

The three largest intellectual influences of Guillen would most likely have been the Classics (Greek and Latin language, literature, and philosophy) and the sciences. The influence of the classics took hold of Guillen at a very young age: he supposedly wrote, in Latin, the damning pamphlet against the English that would precipitate his exile from the country when he was in his early teens. When he was in Mexico, he would work as a tutor of Greek and Latin, and while he spent his last few years in the Inquisitorial prisons, he would become a prolific writer of Psalms in Latin. In his *Proclama*, Guillen appeals to the reason and classical knowledge of the reader, referencing more than a dozen Ancient rulers and notable figures: "No subió de esclavo la fortuna a emperador a Pertinax? Marino y Maximo, no alcanzaron el cetro siendo herradores? [...] Al imperio no se levantaron los toscos pero valientes emperadores Aurelio, Maximino, y Hércules? Valentiniano y Valente, hijos de padre cordonero, no senorearon el imperio romano? No fueron dueños de la diadema Justino y Justiniano, los dos bueyeros? Mauricio y Teodorico, emperadores, no fue notario aquel, tendero ese otro? Isaurico, Traulo, Basileo, Macedonio, todos de humilde aliento pero dueños del orbe por su virtud y ajustado gobierno? y con otros infinitos."¹⁵⁷ In each case, Guillen seems to be saying, if they, from

¹⁵⁷ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 153r-154v, Transcribed by Andrea Martínez Baracs, 109.

humble origins could rule nobly, why can't I? God, Guillen believed, did not pick just rulers based on "los linajes ni prosapias" but rather based on "lo moral de sus acciones."¹⁵⁸ But further than morality, by referencing so many illustrious historical figures, he is also referencing his education and intellect, which he believed would have further led credence to his eligibility for political rule.

Guillen professed to have received a high degree of education in mathematics and science. While he does not reference such ideas as frequently as his other interests, they had a marked influence on his adventurous curiosity. In his Inquisition trial, Guillen even argues that he used mathematical calculations about his astrological inquiries, which led him to believe that his trespasses against the Catholic stance on fortune telling were not as grave. The court transcription reads that Guillen, "...respondiendo haber cometido delito contra el Santo Oficio y que podía ser que, como inclinado a las matemática su astrología, hubiese levantado como levantó dos o tres figuras de nacimientos sin pasar de lo licito y permitido."¹⁵⁹ As the Inquisitors referred to astrology as "esta ciencia," astrology itself may have even been perceived as a science, if not a heretical form of science.¹⁶⁰ Astrology is brought up again, when Guillen defends his observation of planetary movements, which the Inquisitors interpreted as trying to predict the future. The court transcription reads that Guillen argued that, "...él no había observado horas planetarias para la consecución de buenos sucesos," and rather that, "...era permitido esta

¹⁵⁸ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 153r-154v, Transcribed by Andrea Martínez Baracs, 109.

¹⁵⁹ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 6.

¹⁶⁰ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 6.

observación según la ciencia astronómica.”¹⁶¹ This conflation of astrology with astronomy would not have been uncommon at the time, considering the centuries long correlation between the two dating back to Ancient civilizations in Europe, as well as their commonalities within the indigenous communities of Mexico, one such famous example being the claim that the astrologers under King Motecuhzoma II predicted the arrival of the Spanish by observing the constellations of Gemini in the night sky.¹⁶²

When Guillen was caught after his 1651 escape from prison with his cellmate Diego Pinto, Guillen was portrayed as the sole perpetrator of the escape, the mastermind behind such a treacherous action. Guillen, the Inquisitors argued, had swayed Diego with his “astucia diabólica” which corrupted his heart.¹⁶³ In such a way, Guillen’s intelligence acted as a seductive contagion, and in their eyes, his knowledge proved to be just as infectious as his heretical ideas. The Inquisition portrayed Guillen as a corrupter, not just as a corrupted person, thus comparing him to Satan himself. Charismatic persuasion is also a characteristic of the picaresque, and the crafty intellect of Guillen’s matches such a portrayal. The Inquisition consistently points to the fact that Guillen was living in relative poverty when they imprisoned him, and to the fact that despite his lack of material wealth, he acted in a confident and ostentatious manner befitting of a nobleman. In this manner, Guillen’s erudition lent him the cultural norms of the elite nobleman that he pretended to be.

Conclusion: Noble Insanity or Complexity?

¹⁶¹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 9.

¹⁶² Guilhem, Olivier, *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado), 258.

¹⁶³ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 15.

Many scholars have grappled with the question of Guillen's genius and potential insanity. As much of his early life story may have been embellished by Guillen himself, it is difficult to know what his mental state was before arriving in New Spain. It is known, however, that shortly upon his arrival in New Spain, he began to tell others that he was the bastard son of Phillip III, and the half brother of the current King, Phillip IV of Spain. He dabbled in psychedelic drugs in an attempt to gain knowledge into the likelihood of a successful rebellion he planned to lead, presumably by asking an indigenous man, don Ignacio to ingest the drug, peyote, in lieu of himself, but Guillen may very well have used peyote himself. If Guillen had been under some psychosis due to this, it would seem obvious that he would have attempted to repent and avoid further imprisonment. Guillen attempted no such thing, and remained unrepentant until the day he was sentenced to death. Thus, three scenarios are possible: Guillen lied by claiming to be the bastard half-brother of the King to gain legitimacy in the eyes of his peers, Guillen eventually believed his own lie out of insanity, or he was telling the truth. This claim, in the absence of DNA evidence, is impossible to substantiate. In Guillen's *Proclama Insurreccional para la Nueva España*, Guillen details his supposed relation to the King in a matter-of-fact manner, almost half way through the treatise. Guillen writes, in novelesque manner, about the way in which his mother likely conceived him writing: "Pero soy hijo verdadero del serenísimo príncipe y señor don Felipe tercero, que Dios haya, y de la ilustre señora condesa de Riff, que paso con el barón su marido a la corte al año de mil y seiscientos y trece, que condujo a su costa mil infantes irlandeses a España y pasó con ellos a Flandes donde, volviendo a Madrid con su esposa, fue Dios servido llevarle para sí en el camino, habiendo sido casado antes con el Ilustre señora condesa de Media

dejando a mi madre de pocos años, y de peregrina beldad llegó a la corte viuda, y pidiendo licencia de volver a su patria Su Majestad el rey mi señor se enamoró de su hermosura, con tan honesto recaro que nunca fue sabido sino con gran secreto, como al fin amor de semejantes príncipes.”¹⁶⁴ Despite his convictions, and the complex story surrounding his heritage, there is no evidence to conclusively prove or disprove his royal blood.

In Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s seminal play *La vida es sueño*, a work which Guillen very likely saw shortly after it was written in Madrid, the story’s protagonist Basilio begins to go insane locked away by his father, the King. Basilio laments, “Yo sueño que estoy aquí de estas prisiones cargado, y soñé que en otro estado más lisonjero me vi.”¹⁶⁵ Just like the protagonists of the popular plays and literary works of the Baroque period of his day, Guillen’s perception of reality and fiction blurred, and his basis of reality slowly drifted away during his long imprisonment. Guillen de Lampart most likely entered his Mexican Inquisition cell with a perception of himself; he either believed in his identity as Don Guillen, intellectual, noble, bastard heir to the throne of Spain, future liberator of Mexico, and faithful Catholic, or he knowingly fabricated some or all of his identity. Some scholars, such as Citalli Landero, write of don Guillen’s genuinely simple upbringing: “...de Lampart pertenecía a una minoría, no era reconocido expresamente como alto funcionario, ni tenía una jerarquía política ni un alto nivel socioeconómico. Todo su grandeza residio en su genio visionario, cuyas revelaciones

¹⁶⁴ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Colección Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martínez Baracs, 120.

¹⁶⁵ Pedro Calderón De la Barca, *La vida es sueño*, (Newark: European Masterpieces), 127.

llegaron a confundirse con la locura que en ellas percibimos, como lo hicieron los verdugos que la desencadenaron.”¹⁶⁶ By the end of his imprisonment, and at the time of his execution, Guillen would have been a shadow of his former self, and yet he still clung to his ideals. He refused to repent or seek reconciliation with the Catholic Church, despite professing his true faith. He would not denounce his bold statements as lies, or even show an ounce of regret for his criticism of the Inquisition apparatus. Even in the midst of his imprisonment, he was able to write psalms in Latin, and critique the establishment of the Inquisition using his knowledge of history. As I will explore in the following chapter, Guillen spoke to the Inquisitors with a disrespectful tone, even when his life was in clear danger. Whether Guillen met his death in the fogs of insanity, or with a clear yet obstinate mind, he must have, in some way, truly believed his own story. Guillen began his life in a picaresque manner, which was bolstered by his scholarly ambitions. He would end his life in prison in the same way, the defiant trickster who attempted to use his scholarly knowledge to outwit the Inquisitors, to no avail. Guillen’s story, as clouded by conjecture and fantasy as it is, necessitates the opinions of others to weigh in. In the following chapter, I will discuss how others, the nobles in the courts of Spain, criollos living in Mexico, the Natives of Mexico, enslaved Africans living in Mexico, and the Inquisition, might have perceived Guillen.

¹⁶⁶ Landeros, “Tres Salmos Inéditos de Don Guillén de Lampart,” 215.

Chapter III: The Picaro's Audience Introduction

In the picaresque literary tradition, the minds and thoughts of the characters a picaro interacts with are very rarely explored to a deeper extent. In works such as *Guzman de Alfarache*, the picaro himself pushes the plot forward with his powerful self-determination and oftentimes haphazard whims. As he rambles through Europe and the wider Mediterranean, Guzman encounters a wide range of characters, people he usually swindles or uses in some way to get ahead, and continues on his wayward path. In the case of the real life picaro Guillen de Lampart, however, the people and communities that he interacted with did express their opinions of him in ways that the modern scholar can examine. By comparing their notions of Guillen with his own self-purported identity, Guillen's status in the Early Modern world, and by extension those like him, free-thinking intellectuals and radical political ideologies, becomes clearer. As an outsider Irish national in both parts of the world, Guillen's personality, opinions, and status invariability received attention wherever he went, but this attention was received differently based on who interacted with him. Five groups of people were important to Guillen's life story: the nobles who presided in the courts of Madrid during Guillen's tenure in Spain, the Criollos of Mexico, that is Spaniards born in New Spain, members of the indigenous communities in and around Mexico City, free and enslaved Africans living in Mexico City, and most importantly, the Inquisitors who oversaw his trial and condemned Guillen for heresy. The majority of these people resided in New Spain, as the widest variety of sources attributed to Guillen have been related to his time in New Spain. The opinions of those of the Spanish Court and those living in New Spain also serve as a

testament to the cultural differences between the homogenous and relatively rigid social stratification of Spain in comparison with the profoundly heterogeneous and comparatively open society of New Spain. While Spain and New Spain shared many cultural facets such as a common language, religion, and wider governing force, the Crown, their differences began to become much more pronounced in the seventeenth century. It should also be noted that the categories I have concocted for Spain do not include moriscos or conversos, people of Muslim and Jewish ancestry who may or may not have practiced their old faiths, and the categories for New Spain do not include people of explicitly mixed race, a very large group in seventeenth-century New Spain, nor does it include peninsulares, the Spaniards residing in New Spain who were born in Spain, or other foreigners, who like Guillen originated in non-Hispanic countries, most notably other parts of Europe, Northern Africa, or Asia, or which New Spain had a sizable population at the time. This omission is due only to a lack of pertinent sources, since to speak of these groups of people in relation to Guillen with any kind of authority would devolve into hearsay and unfounded evidence. Additionally, because of the nature of the sources available to me, I have had to make inferences based on the actions of Guillen and those he interacted with in some instances. Nonetheless, by focusing on these five groups and their perceptions of Guillen, a clearer picture of Guillen and his role in society emerges. The diversity of groups of people that Guillen interacted with is, if nothing else, a testament to his ability to traverse all rungs of society, to varying degrees of success.

The Spanish Court

While studying in Spain in the 1630s, Guillen became well acquainted with the wealthy noble elites of the Spanish courts. When Guillen first arrived in the Spanish region of La Coruña in Santiago de Compostela, he managed to secure a spot at the Colegio de Niños Nobles with the aid of Irish lords and the marquis of Mancera, a local Spanish lord.¹⁶⁷ During this time period, the region of La Coruña was a hotspot for Irish refugees fleeing persecution by the English, and Guillen would have been one of the close to 175,000 Irish residing in the region during the seventeenth-century.¹⁶⁸ If Guillen was telling the truth about his noble Irish ancestry, he could have secured a spot at this elite school with high status familial connections, but if he was really, as the Mexican Inquisition repeatedly attested, just a fisherman's son, he would have had to have joined the school based on his intellectual prowess, and personal persuasive abilities. It is also not unlikely that Guillen lied, attesting to his nobility, and creating a rousing back story, similar to that he told during his Inquisition trial, to the nobles he hoped to convince. They, unlike the Inquisitors, would have been sympathetic to Guillen's plight. It is during his tenure at the Colegio de Niños Nobles that William Lamport hispanicized his name to 'Guillén Lombardo' and added the honorific title of 'Don.'¹⁶⁹ The relatively common practice of commoners making the transatlantic journey to the New World and adding honorific titles to their names would eventually lead to a more regimented system of proving your familial "purity" with the creation of birth records, classifications, of

¹⁶⁷ Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," *Oxford University Press*, vol. 207, no. 207 (2010): 58.

¹⁶⁸ Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale: Irish Emigration and Identity Formation in Early Modern Spain, 1601–40*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 3.

¹⁶⁹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 58.

genealogies for those seeking access to prestigious institutions or offices, but such qualifications would have been rare in Europe, where nobility was often more obvious due to a families notoriety in a certain region and pattern of speech and dress.¹⁷⁰ In this way, Guillen would have been in a unique situation; he would have been in close proximity to other noble Irish families in Spain and he would have noticed that they were generally accepted by the Spanish elites, and far more respected than the poorer Irish immigrants who had come in droves around that time.¹⁷¹ In some instances, members of the Irish nobility could even attain high positions in the court systems, such as when the second generation Irish noble the Count of Bearhaven was appointed to the councils of war and finance in 1648.¹⁷² By presenting himself as an Irish noble, rather than an Irish commoner, Guillen would have raised his likelihood of attaining success immensely. The picaresque trait of seeking upward mobility by using one's wits would have had ample time to blossom in an environment surrounded by other Irish nobles at the Colegio; it is here that he may have learned further how best to present himself as a man of noble ranking.

While at the Colegio, Guillen drew the attention of other Irish and Spanish nobleman due to his scholastic successes, and he thus received a slew of scholarships to study at elite universities such as the Colegio de Irlandeses in Salamanca, and just two years later, at the Colegio de San Lorenzo el Real at the Escorial, after the count-duke of

¹⁷⁰ María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 5.

¹⁷¹ Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 207.

¹⁷² Ciaran O'Scea, *Surviving Kinsale*, 207.

Olivares personally recommended his placement there.¹⁷³ It is likely that far from a simple admirer of Guillen, the count-duke became a patron of his in the mid 1630's. A panegyric found in Guillen's papers commemorating the count-duke, which was displayed at court celebrating the return of foreign emissary Cardinal Gaspar de Borja from Rome, was signed by Guillen as Don Guillen Lombardo *de Guzmán*. Scholars such as Ryan Crewe argue that the addition of the count-dukes surname on Guillen's signature connotes a patron-client relationship between the two, which was likely spurred by "the count-duke's increasing reliance on foreign 'soldiers of fortune' in those years of mounting crisis, due to the shortage of qualified Spanish personnel."¹⁷⁴ Beyond serving as a successful soldier after his years of university schooling, Guillen also claims to have aided in carrying out "state secrets" and working as a spy for the Spanish court, claims that cannot be substantiated due to a lack of a paper trail.¹⁷⁵

In order to be accepted into Spanish court life, and even reside in the courts for some period of time, Guillen would have quickly picked up on the ins and outs of propriety that were prevalent. Certain forms of speech, decor, and dress would have been enforced in such a sheltered environment, and Guillen must have been proficient enough with such protocols to be trusted by the count-duke and other members of the court. According to Felipe Ruan, *The Spanish Courts*, which Phillip II fixed in Madrid, contributed to the development of a distinct 'court society', separate from other spheres

¹⁷³ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 59.

¹⁷⁴ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 60.

¹⁷⁵ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 60.

of life, and which “served as an ‘exemplary center,’ at once national and international in its range.”¹⁷⁶ Within the Spanish court, “individual existence and identity become profoundly representational in nature, consisting primarily of how one exhibits one’s position to everyone else,” and the mastering of public ostentation and self-display were tantamount to maintaining one’s social position.¹⁷⁷ In this sense, despite Guillen’s humble beginnings and complete reliance on the court for financial security, he would have played the part of a noble man, Irish in origin, but a faithful Catholic loyal to the Spanish crown nonetheless. Due to the sustained loyalty of the count-duke, at least until his expulsion from the Court in 1640, I argue that Guillen was proficient in presenting himself as such. His sustained patronage via scholarships to study at prestigious universities also stands as a testament to Guillen’s intelligence and likeability to those in power. The court nobles may have accepted Guillen as a sophisticated member of society, and likely have found his erudition, a highly prized trait at the time, to be charming. If his speech patterns were consistent with his writing style, Guillen may have peppered his speech with allusions to Classical Greek and Latin heroes, and may have even alluded to his studies of the sciences, a burgeoning yet little understood field at the time. His allusions to popular contemporary plays, such as the 1636 *La vida es sueño*, suggest that he also understood and participated in more popular forms of entertainment, rendering him able to converse about both profane and more specialized topics at the

¹⁷⁶ Felipe E. Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano: Identity and the Forms of Capital in Early Modern Spanish Picaresque Narrative and Courtesy Literature*, (New Jersey: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group), 6.

¹⁷⁷ Ruan, *Pícaro and Cortesano*, 6.

court.¹⁷⁸ Judging from his personal writings, Guillen was fluent in Spanish, and probably spoke with little to no accent due to the young age (his young teens) in which he would have become acculturated to the Spanish world. On military (and potentially espionage) assignments, Guillen travelled across Europe, traversing land from the Netherlands to Italy in service of the Crown. Guillen likely appears in three portraits from this time, a sketched portrait by Jean Marie della Faille, apprentice to van Dyck, an oil painting by Antoon van Dyyck, and most notably, an oil painting by Peter Paul Rubens.¹⁷⁹ In the painting by Van Dyck, Guillen appears with a long scroll of parchment speaking to Jean-Charles della Faille, a prominent Flemish Jesuit priest at the time. In the painting by Rubens, Guillen stares directly at the viewer with a piercing and determined gaze, dressed in body armor with a red sash draped across his chest. Both paintings, taken together, form the closest visual representation of Guillen that scholars have today: a man of great intensity, and schooled in both the scholarly *and* military arts. In this sense, while he would have been an outsider (his Irish heritage would have been common knowledge due to the large number of Irish immigrants in the Spanish kingdoms at this time), he would have more akin to a half-outsider, able to traverse the world of the Spanish courts just as he had to use his social intelligence to purportedly survive as a pirate of the Atlantic coast. In the picaresque narrative, the picaresque protagonist also existed as a “half-outsider”, and was able to assimilate to the region in which he inhabited without truly

¹⁷⁸ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 114.

¹⁷⁹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 60.

fitting in, even if the host population was ultimately fooled by his facade.¹⁸⁰ Despite this, Guillen may have felt stifled by such rigid displays of social status. With his affair with the female courtier Doña Ana de Cano, he flagrantly disobeyed the social mores of the Catholic Church and court life, possibly leading to a dismissal from court and his journey to Mexico.¹⁸¹ In this sense, Guillen may have been seen as a peculiarity, accepted and tolerated up to a point, and because of a lack of any concrete ties to the nobility in Spain, he was expendable, useful only as much as he was able to play by their rules.

The Criollos of New Spain

When Don Guillen first arrived in New Spain in 1640, he set foot in a world both familiar and entirely different to anything he had ever before seen. The languages he would have heard, depending on the area of Mexico City that he traversed were Spanish, Nahuatl and other indigenous languages from surrounding provinces, various African dialects, particularly those from Western and Northern Africa, and even the occasional English or French speaker engaged in trade missions. The colors and dyes on the fabrics would have looked different than those made in Spain, and even the style of clothing worn by the elites of Mexico City would have been slightly different from those in the court of Spain, perhaps a bit out of date even. The proliferating culture of New Spain was not lost on its residents, particularly on the criollos, or Spaniards born on Mexican soil, who were beginning to form a new, unique identity, separate although similar to that of Spain. In the beginning of the seventeenth-century, a few decades before Guillen arrived,

¹⁸⁰ Guillén, *Literature as System*, 97.

¹⁸¹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 62.

criollo patriotism, a form of proto-nationalism, first emerged.¹⁸² At this time, the criollos were faced with “nostalgia for the heroic epoch of the conquest and the exotic grandeur of the native empires” and heightening political and economic tensions between them and the Spanish born in Spain, or Peninsulares, who were increasingly seizing control of trade and governmental position at the time.¹⁸³ Guillen would have been acutely aware of these tensions, and he quickly ingratiated himself with the criollos living in Mexico City.

Guillen claimed that this was under orders of the count-duke Olivares, and that he had been tasked with assessing “stirrings” among the criollos, but without strong evidence of this, it can be assumed that Guillen saw the criollos for what they were: necessary allies if he was to successfully foment a revolution in Mexico.¹⁸⁴ While it may have seemed more obvious for Guillen to seek relationships with elite peninsulares, due to his familiarity with the customs of the Spanish court and schooling in Spain, his singling out of criollos makes sense. Crewe argues that, “in common with the Old English in Ireland, Mexican creoles were uneasy colonial descendents of conquerors and settlers, unified only by a sense of entitlement to rule in the land where they were born, a disdain for indigenous populations [...], and an ambivalence towards a distant crown that was simultaneously the source of their oppression and of their legitimacy on conaured soil.”¹⁸⁵ While Guillen may have been more *familiar* with the cultural trends of the peninsulares, due to his previous time spent in Spain, he would have been more *comfortable* around the criollos

¹⁸² D.A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2.

¹⁸³ Brading, *The First America*, 2.

¹⁸⁴ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 65.

¹⁸⁵ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 66.

with whom he would have shared a disdain for their lack of political autonomy and a desire for more political power.

Upon arrival in New Spain, Guillen found a way to cultivate relationships with the elite criollos of Mexico City, first with a temporary and nominal job working for the viceregal government, and then working as a tutor for the sons of the escribano mayor of the cabildo, Don Fernando Carillo, who was both wealthy and politically influential. Although Don Carillo died only a few months after hiring him, Guillen must have grown close with the family because he soon moved into their home where he was able to participate in a rich social life, meeting frequently with prominent criollos. During this time, Guillen even began to court the daughter of a notable criollo family, whose identity is unfortunately unknown.¹⁸⁶ Although he purported to be in Mexico to spy on criollos, by the time he was arrested, he had become integrated into their society and any genuine espionage activity would have been compromised by the friendships he had made. Guillen made good use of his introduction into criollo society, and soon became engaged in a plot headed by Bishop Palafox to overthrow the current viceroy, Viceroy Don López Pacheco, who was sympathetic to the peninsulares, and thus attracted the derision of criollos. While Bishop Palafox did eventually gain the viceroyalty, his rule was short lived, as King Phillip IV quickly appointed a new viceroy who would be more loyal to the crown rather than to the criollos.¹⁸⁷ Jacinto de Soria, an agent of Bishop Palafox who Guillen had met during this time, testified during Guillen's first Inquisition trial against Guillen, stating that Guillen held the impression that the Spanish empire was on the

¹⁸⁶ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 67.

¹⁸⁷ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 69.

precipice of falling, stating unrest such as the revolts in Portugal and Manila and the wars in Brazil and Flanders as evidence, which is cross-testified by Guillen's enthusiastic mention of the revolts in the Spanish empire in his *Proclama*.¹⁸⁸ By the time Palafox had left office, and a new viceroy was soon to be instituted, Guillen would have been at a standstill. Not only had his political ambitions in Mexico been dashed, but his patron Don Fernando was dead, and the Carillo family was in a less favorable economic position with the head of their household gone.¹⁸⁹ It is not entirely surprising that soon after this ordeal Guillen began to experiment with astrology, divination, and mind-altering substances (although he claimed to not ingest them himself), to decide his next move.

By all accounts, Guillen appears to have been generally accepted by the criollos he encountered in Mexico City, at least until his capture by the Inquisition, when many testified against him, most likely out of fear for their own livelihoods. The patronage, however short or meager, by the Carillo family suggests that Guillen was useful and interesting enough to be employed and supported while he was in Mexico City. The fact that he was hired as a tutor is a testament to his intelligence, in the absence of his reputation at the Spanish universities following him to the New World. Just as in Spain, however, Guillen remained an outsider, not a criollo, and not even a peninsular. Others, such as the neighbors who initially brought Guillen to the attention of the Inquisition for plotting a rebellion and purportedly practicing divination, were immediately put off by Guillen. The race of these neighbors, people like Felipe Mendez and Gomez de Sandoval, are not described in the Inquisition records. Since the Carillo's had moved to a humbler

¹⁸⁸ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 66.

¹⁸⁹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 70.

part of Mexico City and were still allowing Guillen to stay with them, it is possible that these neighbors were middle to lower-middle class criollos and peninsulares, or even mestizos who may have held a grudge towards the formerly elite criollo family brought low. It is known, however, that the man who turned Guillen into the Holy Office was Captain Felipe Mendez Ortiz.¹⁹⁰ In their testimonies, they highlight Guillen's alliance with the indigenous Don Ignacio and play up their experimentation with peyote and interest in political sovereignty for indigenous groups, something Guillen frequently spoke of. Guillen even reportedly spoke to anyone who would listen about his plans, overly excited and forgetting discretion. Although he had thus far known how to play to his audience, how to behave in various situations with delicacy and prowess, in the period shortly before he was imprisoned, Guillen seems to have lost all inhibitions and misinterpreted the manner in which colonial society functioned. His neighbors were horrified when he even read them a draft of his independence plot, a plan which included his intentions to return Native lands and re-establish indigenous nobility to its former heights, and even to free enslaved Africans who supported his cause.¹⁹¹ While Criollos and Peninsulares held starkly different political ambitions, they almost always agreed on their supremacy over the other ethnicities of Mexico. His plans must have been sufficiently threatening and foreboding enough to instigate multiple people to inform the Inquisition of his motives.

¹⁹⁰ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 85.

¹⁹¹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 85.

Guillen did indeed stoke the fears of the criollos with his support of the natives and enslaved Africans, but beyond this his political ambitions were decidedly in favor of the criollos. By cutting off the Spanish Crown, and instating himself as ruler, Guillen implies that the future government officials beneath him would be local criollos. At this time, the criollos may have had a bourgeois sensibility, more interested in positive trade relations and increasing local governmental power over time rather than revolutionary premises. Indeed, Guillen pays more lip service to his revolutionary ideals of freedom and justice than concrete proposals that would have benefitted the criollos. His appeal was not one of peaceful reform, but one that required civil unrest. As discussed in chapter 2, seventeenth-century Mexico was host to many smaller revolts and uprisings, all led by castas, natives, and Afro-Mexicans. His denouncers were privy to the effects of revolts from personal experience, and a large revolutionary movement would have been viewed as an even bigger threat to their way of life. Almost as a cliché, the criollos, especially those of the relatively recently established middle class, would not have been interested in putting their stability in jeopardy, one that their descendants most likely strained to obtain as immigrants from the Old World. To put it simply, they had more to lose and less to gain than the less privileged members of society, thus making Guillen a rabble rouser and a rogue in their eyes, not at all a welcome voice of liberty. The criollo world may have been frustrated with their lack of autonomy, and proud of their new and burgeoning self-identity as habitants of the Americas, but they would not be ready to actively fight for their independence for almost two centuries.

The Natives of New Spain

While the criollo influence was gaining in New Spain, that of the indigenous community was waning. In the seventeenth-century Mexico City, the initial conquest of Mexico City, then named in the Nahuatl language Tenochtitlan, had already occurred more than a century before, but the process of colonization was far from over in the eyes of the Spanish. The indigenous residents of Mexico City ranged from poor laborers to elite intellectuals and nobles, although the latter were beginning to lose the prominence they had held in the sixteenth-century by the time Guillen arrived in Mexico. It is important to not view these Native Americans as a monolithic group, as while many in Mexico City would have identified as Nahua, due to the capital's Mesoamerican roots as the head of the Nahua-speaking Mexica empire, natives from all over the colony of Mexico and the Americas from many stations of life made Mexico City their home.

While it cannot be known the extent of Guillen's association or friendships with the native peoples of Mexico, there is concrete evidence that he was associated with Ignacio Fernando Perez, known as Don Ignacio, a *principal* (community elder) from the village of San Martin Acamistlahuacan, close to the nearby Taxco. Additionally, according to Don Ignacio, the Indians of Taxco were supportive of Guillen's plot for independence and they claimed they would support him monetarily with 500 pesos by stealing pieces of silvers from the mines in which they toiled.¹⁹² According to the testimonies made against him by his neighbors, he also visited a fortune-telling priest in Iztapalapa to inquire into the likelihood of his future as the Viceroy of New Spain, but the details are murky.¹⁹³ Besides these definitive interactions, Guillen would have seen and

¹⁹² Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 74.

¹⁹³ Crewe, "Brave New Spain," 74.

potentially spoken to the local natives that lived in Mexico City as he went about his daily errands. He clearly had knowledge of the history of the conquest of Mexico, as he speaks out against its brutality in his *Proclama*, evocative of de las Casas, and he would have been schooled by Don Ignacio in the contemporary plight of the natives when he informed him of the horrors of the silver mines in Taxco. Beyond this, there is very little evidence that Guillen knew much about the indigenous culture of Mexico, besides their mistreatment. In his *Proclama*, Guillen mentions neither the glorious past of the Mesoamerican civilizations, nor any first-hand accounts of the brutalities inflicted upon the indigenous members of society. Given his intellectual bent, it is interesting that Guillen does not give any hint to the reader that he is in touch with indigenous culture or history. Even though at the time works detailing the history and culture of indigenous peoples in the Americas, in particular Juan de Torquemada's 1614 *Monarquia indiana*, which paid particular attention to New Spain, would have been circulating in Spain and New Spain, Guillen seems to either never have read them, or does not deem such information important enough to mention.¹⁹⁴ Additionally, many indigenous scholars, particularly in Mexico City, were chronicling their histories at this time, notably Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxóchitl, a meztizo nobleman and scholar of Mexica and Spanish ancestry. In his independence writings, Guillen mostly speaks in a philosophical manner with vagaries and grand hyperbole about the politics of justice. Guillen's *Proclama* is, without a doubt, ahead of its time and evocative of the noble ethos of equality, but it is telling that it is more of a caricature of the natives as inherently

¹⁹⁴ Brading, *The First America*, 3.

downtrodden than a humanistic portrait of their situation. This was likely a rhetorical strategy to posit Guillen himself as the rightful ruler of Mexico, someone who would single handedly save the indigenous peoples, a naive and paternalistic notion to say the least.

Despite the lack of insight into indigenous history and culture, Guillen may have truly been viewed as a plausible, if not outlandish, champion of indigenous freedoms by some natives. While Guillen would have been viewed with suspicion by the criollos for his Irish-heritage, it may have lent him some credibility as someone who knew first-hand ethnic-based persecution. The criollos and peninsulares were generally expected to uphold the current hierarchy, but an outsider such as Guillen would not have been as tied to any specific loyalty. His past as a military leader may have also intrigued the natives, as the warrior was a highly esteemed position in pre-Columbian cultures, particularly for the Mexica and their rivals and allies, a memory which would not have been entirely lost at this point. Guillen's religious heterodoxy and interest in divination, astrology, and psychoactive substances would have been viewed as far more acceptable by the natives than by the criollos. Many indigenous communities practiced Catholicism, but still held some, or in many cases total, allegiance to their pre-Columbian deities and traditions, even as the Spanish fervently attempted to dispel these old pagan beliefs. Overall, Guillen only deeply affected the most disenfranchised members of the indigenous community, namely the miners of Taxco, those that would have been desperate for help of any kind to escape an exploitative situation. He was unable to gain access to the very powerful native nobility in either Mexico City or Texcoco, allies who would have been very useful, but may have insisted on more involvement with his independence plot, which may have

undermined Guillen's own delusions of ruling Mexico alone. Ultimately, we will never know if Guillen would have been successful had he had more time to plot his insurrection, but it seems unlikely he would have gained widespread support with minimal knowledge of the various indigenous cultures, languages, and histories of Mexico.

The Free and Enslaved Africans of New Spain

When Guillen arrived in New Spain, it held the second-largest population of enslaved Africans and the largest population of free Africans in Spanish America.¹⁹⁵ The practice of slavery was a widespread and relatively accepted fact of commerce and trade in the Americas, and something that Guillen detested, writing in his *Proclama*, “La mesma afliccion y pena causa la tirana esclavitud de tanto numero de negos, mulatos, berberiscos y otros infinitos ramos que penden de estos troncos, cuyo derecho de naturaleza esta usurpado, con poco temor de Dios, por los espanoles.”¹⁹⁶ Some enslaved Africans would have been forcibly taken to the Americas very recently, still speaking solely their native tongue, and others would have been acculturated to the Mexican culture and Spanish language to varying degrees.¹⁹⁷ By the seventeenth-century, Guillen, however, promised freedom *only* to the slaves that supported his independence movement, and had little to say for the free Africans of New Spain. In this sense, his support for the Africans, while genuine, is also pragmatic. He needed soldiers to fight for

¹⁹⁵ Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1.

¹⁹⁶ ITEM, Biblioteca Cervantina, Coleccion Conway, Papeles de Guillen de Lampart, ff. 40r-47v, Transcribed by Andrea Martinez Baracs, 108.

¹⁹⁷ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 1.

his cause, and a free African had more to lose than an enslaved African, therefore by focusing his efforts on those currently enslaved, he might have garnered a more willing supporter base. As in the case of the natives, Guillen depicted the Africans living in New Spain as wretched, poor, and horribly mistreated. Even though enslavement was a brutal condition, Guillen's view was one-dimensional, and spoke very broadly without any personal or scholarly knowledge on the institution of slavery of the peoples who populated the continent of Africa. While the criollos wanted increased power and prestige, and the indigenous communities generally yearned for a *return* to their previous autonomy, the community of enslaved Africans would have desired, for the most part, simply a ground on which to stand, the acknowledgment of their personhood. Guillen's political ideas would have granted them both freedom from enslavement, and the right to elect government officials, if they supported his endeavours. There is little evidence that free Africans would have benefitted from Guillen's plot, which is relevant due to the high manumission rates in New Spain. In this sense, the enslaved Africans who Guillen targeted as potential allies would have weighed the cost-benefit of their chances at a slow and arduous process of gaining their freedom over time within the Mexican legal system, or the potentially quicker, but much more dangerous option of fighting with Guillen.

The only hard evidence that Guillen interacted with Africans in New Spain are the pieces of parchment found among his belongings with phrases from various African languages written on them. This suggests that Guillen had some contact with enslaved Africans, perhaps even those that had recently arrived in the Americas as they were still speaking their mother tongue. In one of the inquisition testimonies, a slave living in the household of the Carillos is briefly mentioned, which could have been another contact

point for Guillen.¹⁹⁸ It is also likely that Guillen had contact with Africans during his imprisonment, because when he briefly escaped in 1651, he had planned to head to one of the African maroon communities of escaped slaves in the area surrounding Veracruz, a small pueblo called San Antonio.¹⁹⁹ Guillen was outspoken and bombastic, but he was also strategic and it would have been unlikely that he set his hopes on a location he had only heard of in passing. He may have had connections to the area, made before his imprisonment, or he was acting on the hopes that the maroons would accept him upon arrival. Unlike the evidence that at least some indigenous people supported Guillen, there is none pointing to the support of free or enslaved Africans for Guillen. This could be due to the fact that while Don Ignacio, a spokesman of his indigenous community in Taxco was present at the Inquisition trial, no Africans were present. Perhaps because Don Ignacio and other natives were not under the authority of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, but Africans and their descendents were, there may have been a reluctance to speak out in court by any Africans with information on Guillen, even to denounce him.²⁰⁰ Additionally, almost 50 percent of all Inquisition proceedings involved Africans and people of African descent; with the power and fear that the Inquisition held among the populace, Africans had a larger incentive to steer clear of involvement in such an institution than any other group in Mexico, save perhaps practicing Jews or Muslims.²⁰¹ Unfortunately, given the intrinsic diversity between freedom and slavery, the widely

¹⁹⁸ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 85.

¹⁹⁹ Crewe, "Brave New Spain: An Irishman's Independence Plot in Seventeenth-Century Mexico," 82.

²⁰⁰ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 4.

²⁰¹ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, 9.

differant cultural practices based on their countries of origin or if how long they and their families had resided in New Spain, and a relative lack of research in comparison with other groups in New Spain, it is much more difficult to perceive how Guillen would have been viewed by the Africans in New Spain that he interacted with. While his ideals were aimed at equality and freedom, it is unclear how his relative lack of insider and personal knowledge of Africans living in New Spain would have impacted their level of support.

The Mexican Office of the Inquisition

The Mexican Inquisitors would ultimately be the most important group of people that Guillen interacted with in his life, as they held both the keys to his freedom and the power to end his life. The Mexican Inquisitors attributed certain traits to Guillen, (his Catholicity, radical political sentiments, and intellectualism), but rather than viewing them as Guillen did, as intrinsic traits of his character, and in a positive light, they would have been seen as highly threatening. His Catholicism was immediately questioned and deemed insufficient by the Inquisitors, as attested to their firm belief that he dabbled in magic, fortune telling, and psychoactive drugs. Guillen's radicalism was abhorrent and incomprehensive to the highly conservative Inquisitors who believed that political reform threatened the monarchy, and their status as a highly powerful and influential group. The Inquisitors repeatedly made reference to Guillen's learnedness, but rather than admire his verbal prowess or expansive education, as they themselves would have been highly educated as well, they preferred to label such intelligence as dangerous. The inquisitors encountered many picaro types in their courts, but an intellectual picaro was more uncommon. According to Javier Villa-Flores, imposters, swindlers, and petty criminals were all too common during the Late Colonial Period in New Spain. These roguish

characters often sought to use their wiles to trick others into giving them money or goods, in the case of men who pretended to be members of the Mexican Inquisition.²⁰² These tricksters sought material gain and a temporary improvement to their livelihoods, while Guillen sought to overthrow the entire colonial system of New Spain, making him much more dangerous. Unlike the Spanish court, criollos, natives, and Africans that Guillen knew, the Mexican Inquisitors left a detailed examination of their opinion of Guillen in their highly expressive documents. Inquisitorial papers were often peppered with personal anecdotes and opinions by the transcriber, and the scribe who transcribed Guillen's case often included defamatory diatribes about him while discussing his wrongdoings, a testament to their distinctive hatred of him.

The first and foremost case made against Guillen by the Inquisition was that he was a heretic, and that he had no respect for authority. The final inquisitorial case reads his condemnation: "del desdicho de haber cometido muchos y diferentes delitos contra nuestra santa fe Católica valiéndose de medios prohibidos y reprobados, como eran el peyote y astrología judiciaria para saber sucesos futuros dependientes del libre albedrío, a Dios reservados y usando de remedio para la curación de algunas enfermedades supersticiosas y en que necesariamente intervenia pacto explícito, o por lo menos, implícito con el demonio, consultando asimismo astrólogos y haciendo por sí juicios de algunos nacimientos [...]"²⁰³ Additionally, an unknown source claimed that Guillen

²⁰² Javier Villa-Flores, "Wandering Swindlers: Imposture, Style, and the Inquisition's Pedagogy of Fear in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* vol. 17, no. 2 (2008): 272.

²⁰³ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", transcribed by Raul Salinas, https://www.academia.edu/33105406/SENTENCIA_Y_EJECUCI%C3%93N_GUILLEN_DE_LAMPART, accessed on May 10, 2021, 1.

believed certain stones could be used to make himself invisible, that certain spells “palabras escritas” could be used to cure impotency, and that he had even attempted to obtain an herb to make the viceroy of Spain rape women (“...que habia solicitado una yerba o raiz para que la virrey esta Nueva Espana le quisiese mucho y por el consiguiente le habian de querer forzosamente las mujeres.”)²⁰⁴ Guillen denied all of these claims, “negó todo tacando a sortilegio y adivinaciones”, but the Inquisition, nevertheless took them quite seriously, enough to list them first, most prominently, and most numerous on the list of charges against him.²⁰⁵

Beyond his alleged dabbling in magic and witchcraft, Guillen also spoke out against the Inquisition, saying, “con insolencia”, “pues no lo sabe sepa que está en parte donde no hay fe, ni ley, ni razón, ni justicia, sino todo tiranías y maldades; porque aquí no hay otra cosa que crueldades, tormentos, azotes, galeras, sambenitos, muertes, y quitar honras por quítame allá esas pajas.”²⁰⁶ Guillen was insistent that he despises the Inquisition, not the Catholic Church or the Catholic faith, but the Inquisitors viewed all of the above as one heresy. Just as Martin Luther, in the sixteenth century, under the guise of defending his beloved Church, critiqued specific operations of the Church, notably the practice of granting indulgences to reduce one's time in Purgatory, Guillen railed against the institution of the Inquisition. In fact, the Inquisitors stated that many of Guillen’s writings, “no solo mostró espíritu heretical sino que se contiene muchas heréticas formales de los herejes de Lutero, Calvino, Pelagio, y otros heresiarcas.”²⁰⁷ Not only this,

²⁰⁴ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 8.

²⁰⁵ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 8.

²⁰⁶ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 17.

²⁰⁷ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 23.

but Guillen even questioned the apostolic seat of the Pope, stating, “Y que lo uno y lo otro no consienten al Papa jurisdicción en lo temporal.”²⁰⁸ The inquisitors wrote that he had a heretical and hateful spirit towards the Inquisition, and even took to writing down his grievances against the institution.²⁰⁹ Guillen even compared the treatment he received by the hand of the Inquisition similar to that of the persecuted early Christians under Emperor Nero and Diocletian and stated that he would have reneged on his faith, “si no fuera por la pureza de su fe.”²¹⁰ Such blatant disregard for decorum or respect may have been viewed more harshly by the Inquisitors, because Guillen, in all his deportment as a Spanish gentleman, should have known better than to speak in such a manner. His decision to behave in such a way, despite his aristocratic pretensions, would have made his behaviour especially jarring. Before some of the Inquisitors Guillen even stated that Mahomed, the prophet of Islam, “pueden ser llamados angeles en comparacion con estos,” because, “Mahoma enseno su secta por fuerza de armas a lo publico y por lo que era, mas estos prevarican de la fe catolica con armas secretas y sacrilegas, mas horrendas que las inventivas de Neron y con capa de las misma fe.”²¹¹ It is unknown what horrors Guillen may have been subjected to in order to say such things, but according to the Inquisition documents, they were the unwarranted ramblings of a madman, which seems highly unlikely given their lucid and pointed nature.

Beyond his so-called heretical actions and beliefs, Guillen was viewed as a radical revolutionary by the Mexican Inquisitors. Even though the Inquisition was a religious

²⁰⁸ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 26.

²⁰⁹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 24.

²¹⁰ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 19.

²¹¹ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 22.

institution of law and order, it was indirectly tied to the state, and heresy and treason were often linked to one another under their court system. That being said, the Inquisitors did not dwell as obsessively on his political views as they do on his many heretical accusations. Instead, they noted his political proclivities as the icing on the cake of Guillen's wayward ideologies; if his heresy were not enough, they seemed to say, just wait until you discover his *political* ideals. The inquisitors note that Guillen was tied to independence plots briefly, saying that he was "conspirando contra el Rey nuestro Señor," but nothing else of note is discussed.²¹²

Guillen's intelligence was repeatedly referenced by the Inquisitors in his trial manuscript. While Guillen claimed to be of noble blood, the bastard brother of the King even, the Inquisitors repeatedly point to the fact that Guillen was only clever enough to present himself as such and that he was clearly dishonest. Diego Pinto, the prisoner that Guillen briefly escaped with in 1651, was described as "hombre corto, rústico, y humilde," and the inquisitors claim that Guillen tried to, "por astuto y cauteloso [...] señorearse de él, a traerse y sujetarle a sus dictámenes le hizo relación [...] de su origen y ascendencia, estudios, puestos, y dignidades, afectando mucha grandeza en su persona, engrandeciendo con grandes y prodigios títulos y dotes de nobleza [...] haciéndole creer con repetidas pláticas y con mucha jactancia que era hombre de singular importancia."²¹³ In this instance, the Inquisitors seem to claim that *they*, unlike Diego, were immune to the trickery of Guillen. The Inquisition points to Guillen's intelligence on multiple other occasions, but always in the form of backhanded compliments. In one instance his

²¹² "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 1.

²¹³ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 15.

persuasiveness is referred to as “astucia diabólica,” linking Guillen’s intelligence back to his heretical beliefs, in another claiming his “verbosidad” was only an artificial mechanation used by Guillen to fool others.²¹⁴

In sum, the Mexican Inquisition had a very poor opinion of Guillen, but they also viewed him with intrigue. He seemed to have vexed and taunted them; his intelligence acted as a conduit for his intricate heretical and political views, making him both interesting and even more menacing than he would have been had he presented himself as merely a picaro or petty criminal, and not as an intellectual picaro. It seems that Guillen, as he began to understand his inevitable fate, might have even decided to purposely ridicule, embarrass, and make fun of the Inquisitors that he faced. It is telling that the Inquisitors defined Guillen as similar to men who were, “vanos, ambiciosos, simulados, cavilosos, maldicientes, vengativos, contumielosos, y llenos de otros vicios que todos cabían en este reo.”²¹⁵ Many of the critical comments made by the Inquisitors show that they were simultaneously entertained and in awe of Guillen and his performative nature, and also disturbed at the depth of his so-called depravity. The opinion of the Inquisitors is, in fact, similar to the thought process of the reader of a picaresque novel. Horrified by the nerve and corruption of the protagonist, but also beguiled by his charm and quick wit, the reader forms a dynamic interest with the picaro that oscillates between pity, frustration, hatred, and fascination. It is unlikely that the Inquisitors ever explicitly stated his similarity to the picaro, mainly due to its restricted status in the Americas, but one can

²¹⁴ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 17.

²¹⁵ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 25.

wonder if they ever entertained such an idea as they beheld before them their frustratingly obstinate prisoner, the heretical imposter Don Guillen de Lampart.

Conclusion

While Guillen perceived himself as a devout Catholic, a political radical, and an intellectual, not all of society, either in Spain or Mexico, viewed him in that same light. Guillen was accepted within the noble and intellectual circles of Spain due to his ingenuity and ability to attract wealthy sponsors. His time there relied heavily on artifice, as his patrons, like the count-duke Olivares, would have expected loyalty to the Crown and its political goals. In New Spain, Guillen came into his own political beliefs, finally able to freely express himself (until he was caught for doing just that) and where he encountered one of the most diverse populations of the world at the time. Here Guillen befriended many of Mexico City's elite criollos in order to ingratiate himself to a group of society that had both growing autonomy and a burgeoning sense of proto-nationalism that he hoped to exploit. The criollos were impressed by Guillen's schooling and connections in Spain, but he was ultimately too radical for most of them. Some members of indigenous communities of Mexico City and its surrounding areas were attracted to Guillen for his radical positions on the return to an indigenous-centric ruling system, but ultimately he only garnered definitive support from Don Ignacio and the desperate mine workers of Taxco. While Guillen almost certainly had connections to those of the enslaved and free Black population of Mexico City, and possibly maroon communities in Veracruz, there is no proof that he had any support from them. Neither groups were especially well understood by Guillen, and his knowledge of their history and culture was limited, and his interest in them centered on their oppression brought on by the

transgressions of the Crown. Ultimately only the Mexican Inquisition, which would condemn him to death by relaxing him to the state, had a similar impression of Guillen that he himself held. Their opinion of Guillen was like the inverted vision that Guillen himself saw. His Catholicism, which Guillen saw as the pure and undying flame which fueled his exploits, was viewed as entirely and unquestionably heretical by the Inquisitors. While his political radicalism was not as widely documented by the Inquisitors, it undoubtedly fueled their fear of his potential power had he walked free. His intellectual prowess, both his social intelligence and notable experience in the classroom, were constantly noted by the Inquisitors as possessing an uncanny quality that had the power to convince and deceive, just like Satan himself. In this sense, Guillen's picaresque characteristics undermined his intellect. Perhaps if Guillen had more backing in Mexico City, or if he had used less controversial means of assessing the likelihood of a revolution taking place other than divination, he would have been more successful. Just as in the Classical Greek stories that he would have been so familiar with, Guillen's hubris could not resist speaking about his plans before they could be fully planned out, and just as in the picaresque novels that so much of Mexico and Spain were enthralled by, Guillen's inability to follow the rules in defiance of societal standards made him no friend of those in power. Like a jester, one of the many faces of the picaro, Guillen attempted to juggle too many connections and friendships. Guillen straddled class and racial differences wherever he went, but his expertise could only stretch so far, and his patience wore thin with the Inquisition as he became tired of portraying himself as a gentleman, playing into their perception of him as a scoundrel. Ultimately, Guillen's demise stemmed from his intellect and picaresque self-representation. Guillen would be proud to know that he

succeeded in defying the Inquisition in one final way: in the papers that condemned him to death, written by El Conde de Santiago, Dr. Lucas de Alfaro, Dr. Alfaro writes, that Guillen, “...se queme en vivas llamas de fuego hasta que se convierta en cenizas y de él no quede memoria.”²¹⁶ Far from being reduced to ashes and forgotten by time, Guillen’s life, ideas, and legacy have been noticed by scholars and writers in Mexico for centuries, and as of late, his story has been told globally, traversing the world just as he once did.

²¹⁶ “Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart”, 39.

Conclusion

Guillen Lampart was a man skilled not only in the liberal arts and sciences, but also in artifice. In the gilded halls of courtly Madrid, he learned how to behave according to his given audience, how to shock, and how to fit in. Within his short life in freedom (he was to spend seventeen years imprisoned), Guillen purportedly lived as an exile, a scholar, a soldier, a courtier, a spy, a revolutionary, an unorthodox religious mystic, and above all else, a man who sought to define himself, even though he was constantly being defined by others. Due to the many hats he wore, and the many ways he presented himself and was perceived, it is almost uncannily difficult to pin down Guillen. What is apparent is that Guillen's shapeshifting identity and self-presentation were almost certainly a product of his time and place; early Modern Europe was a place where men were beginning to create new identities for themselves, and these ways of being could, unlike in previous centuries, change, sometimes dramatically, within the course of their life. If the Inquisition is to be believed, and Guillen's father really was a fisherman living off the coast of Ireland, it was very likely that Guillen would have been condemned to a similar fate. The flux and radical changes underpinning the political, cultural, and religious bedstone of Europe had a profound influence on the ways in which average people could seek to improve their lives. Many, such as in the case of Arnaud du Tillh, the man who made a living as an imposter in sixteenth-century France, improved their lot in life with tricks and wit, fooling others into believing the tales they wove. In other cases, as with Guillen, tricksters took inspiration from literary tales and intellectual currents in order to define their identity. The picaro and the intellectual cosmopolitan scholar were two surfacing identities of early modern Europe; the picaro a creation that

was first typified in Spain, although he arguably had existed for longer before his spirit was given a name, and the scholar, who would have been a broad fixture of European life for some time. Guillen took inspiration from both of these tropes, inspired by the literature, chiefly by the picaresque narratives that were so popular at the time, and by his intellectual formation at prestigious English and Spanish universities. Unfortunately for Guillen, his multitude of identities and duplicity of speech reached a pinnacle in New Spain, where rather than being viewed as a charming court oddity, his exuberant personality, presentation, and ideals were viewed as dangerous rather than exciting. Guillen's life reaches us today as an encapsulation of the turbulence of early Modern Europe which created as much originality and genius as it did confusion and insanity, and the culture clash between the Old and New Worlds, who for all their similarities, were beginning to drift apart, particularly as colonies in the Americas such as New Spain began to form unique and separate identities.

As stated in the previous chapter, Guillen's memory was not, as Dr. Lucas de Alfaro predicted, fated to be burnt to a crisp like his mortal body.²¹⁷ There are echoes of Guillen and his ideas throughout Mexican history, even if they are often implicit rather than explicit. Guillen had his pulse on proto-Enlightenment trends that would later take the world by storm just a century or so later, but his ideas were simply too radical for the time to be taken seriously and gain the support he needed to succeed. Additionally, he deeply understood the injustice of the inequality that indigenous and enslaved Mexicans lived under, given his own mistreatment by English invaders in his own country and the

²¹⁷ "Sentencia y Ejecución de Guillen de Lampart", 39.

alienation that came from being separated from his native culture. Not only that, but Guillen also exemplified the picaresque archetype which had taken Europe by a storm and would continue to fascinate Mexicans in literature and popular culture for years to come. Guillen's intellectual spirit and personality were ahead of his time, which in a world with one foot in the medieval ethos and one charging forward into modernity, ultimately made him a dangerous outcast.

At the end of the seventeenth-century, on June 8, 1692, Mexico City was home to a large riot. Contemporary reporters, notably Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, blamed the riot on maize and wheat crops which had failed that year and caused food prices to rise substantially.²¹⁸ The riot, originally headed by natives, was eventually joined by Mexicans of all races, although by all accounts all of the rioters hailed from the lower classes of society. Thousands filed into the streets, plundering store fronts, setting fire to the viceregal palace, and chanting diatribes against Spanish rule and bad governance.²¹⁹ Although many smaller riots had occurred during the seventeenth-century in Mexico City, the 1692 riot was one of the largest recorded. That such a significant riot took place just decades after Guillen's failed revolutionary stint in Mexico City is, if nothing, a testament to his understanding of the restlessness lurking beneath the surface caused by the unequal treatment of so many in the city. As the riot was spurred by hunger and despair, rather than any political philosophy headed by leaders, it did not lead to any

²¹⁸ D.A Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 370.

²¹⁹ Brading, *The First America*, 371.

meaningful change, but it does speak to the desperation of many poor Mexicans at the turn of the century.

When an independence movement finally did blossom in early nineteenth-century Mexico with enough popular support to successfully overthrow the crumbling Bourbon monarchy, it was led by the criollos, the American-born Spaniards that Guillen had engaged with to mixed success during his own failed political campaign. This independence movement was headed mainly by elite criollos, spurred on by the tightening grip of Bourbon control and a lack of criollo autonomy more than anything else. The revolutionary spirit of Guillen's ideas would not be fully realized until the Mexican Revolution, which reconciled egalitarian ideas of justice in racial and class categories, while openly bolstering Mexico's self-autonomy. Although the independence and revolution movements were uniquely Mexican, and it is highly unlikely that Guillen's writings or ideas were circulating or even spoken of at the time, it is telling that he was able to tap into the undercurrents of the trajectory of Mexican history at such an early hour. It was hubris of Guillen, a newly adopted foreigner, to believe he could lead Mexico as a lone figurehead. Nonetheless, it is not without merit that Guillen's statue stands today at the entrance to Mexico City's iconic *Ángel de la Independencia*, in memory of those who dedicated their lives to fight for Mexico's freedom. In this statue, which is placed near the entrance of the mausoleum underneath the *Ángel* holding the remains of leaders in the independence movement, Guillen stands defiantly, head held high, with his arms bound behind him to the stake on which he was burnt alive. His presence in the independence and revolutionary movements of Mexico is, just like his monument, hidden yet striking when you look beneath the surface.

Guillen's spirit is seemingly resurrected in times of upheaval, and more than two centuries after Guillen's death, in 1872 Vicente Riva Palacio published *Memorias De Un Impostor* based on his life. Vicente Riva Palacio worked as an author, historian, and politician during his life. Riva Palacio drew inspiration from the original texts and inquisitorial sources he read in the Mexican archives, but much of what he wrote in *Memorias* was dramatized and apocryphal.²²⁰ In his novel, Riva Palacio plays up Guillen's involvement with astrology and divination, invents love interests, such as a Jewish woman named Isabel de Silva that Palacio pairs with Guillen during his time in prison, and portrays Guillen almost atheistically hostile towards religion, despite the evidence that he was devoutly Catholic, albeit in a way outside of the confines of orthodox Catholicism.²²¹ Palacio, who like Guillen was also imprisoned for his beliefs for some time, certainly related to Guillen. *Memorias* was written as Mexico reeled from a period of instability which included civil war, European intervention, and sweeping reforms. In many ways, this idealization and hyper-dramatization of Guillen as a man who rebelled against the rigid religious structure of the time speaks to Palacio's time in history, when ecclesiastical reforms and secularization were taking place. As is the case with many historical novels, in *Memorias* the political biases of Palacio take center stage over any allegiance to historical accuracy. Unlike many of Guillen's contemporaries in

²²⁰ Maria Isabel Teran Elizondo and Maria del Carmen Fernandez Galan Montemayor, *Esencias Novohispanas Hoy Narrativa Mexicana Contemporánea y Reconstrucción Literaria de la Nueva España*, (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 2015), 194.

²²¹ Verónica Hernández Landa Valencia, "Entre la historia y la ficción: la tragedia de Guillén de Lampart en *Memorias de un impostor*, de Vicente Riva Palacio," *Literatura Mexicana*, vol.28, no. 2 (2017): 35-61.

seventeenth-century Mexico, however, Palacio's generally sympathetic portrait of Guillen highlights how public perception of him changed over time as public opinion caught up to Guillen's radical opinions. In the 1860s and 70s, when Palacio was writing his novel, Mexico was an independent nation, slavery had been abolished decades before, and religious freedoms had advanced incredibly since the Inquisition's despotic reign over much of the seventeenth-century.

William Lamport was a microcosm of the transnational nature of the mid-colonial Spanish empire and the tumult of early modern Europe. By studying his life, we can gain greater insight into the ways people viewed identity in the seventeenth-century, due to the globalizing Atlantic region that allowed so many to transcend their status in society at birth. Some used this new freedom to gain monetary wealth, and others sought to fashion their identity based off of lofty intellectual ideals and literary trends, such as in the case of Guillen. The highly turbulent time period in which Europe saw both the peak of the Counter-Reformation and Thirty Years War, and New Spain saw economic downturn, burgeoning American-identity, sporadic civil unrest, and widespread religious dogmatism, created a world teeming with uncertainty. It is no surprise that Guillen could sense the vast inequality present in New Spain. His outsider status made him privy to the rigid social stratification and lack of autonomy that many Mexicans may have sometimes experienced as par for the course, but his lack of true familiarity with Mexico, her people, and her deep culture and history, ultimately made him an undesirable candidate to fuel real change. His ideas, while compelling, failed to deeply convince his audience, and ultimately the Criollos, natives, and freed and enslaved Africans of Mexico would not support him leading to his condemnation by the Mexican Inquisition. As a true

intellectual pizarro, Guillen sought adventure and intrigue, an unmoored life subject to his whims alone, all under the pretense of intellectual superiority and the conviction that he could make the world a better place. Like many literary pizarros who infuse their musings with social critique, Guillen clearly points out the wrongs of political structures and imbalances of power between the haves and have-nots. Unlike the standard pizarro, Guillen infuses his idealism with action and an intellectual bedrock. Ironically, it is his fiercely intellectual side that undermines his goals; the Inquisition, so used to the “standard” pizarro, a criminal who broke rules and rebelled in order to get by with roguish charm, was frightened by Guillen’s erudition. He was a rebel with a cause, a carefully crafted cause, even if he ultimately failed to win the hearts and minds of the people he wished to help. Ultimately, Guillen’s identity would have certainly transcended the intellectual pizarro label that I have given him. Such a label is useful for scholars studying trends and patterns within a larger historical time period, but they will always fail to accurately and fully depict human beings. Although he is often tied to his political ambitions, he was also a true adventurer, curious about the world and its inhabitants, ravenously hungry to learn about the arts, the sciences, and even military strategy, and an example of the complex experience many Christians had with their faith in the seventeenth-century. It is my ardent hope that future scholars, armed with the full arsenal of available sources on Guillen and those who interacted with him, will be able to further explore his life and bring about a comprehensive account of his life and times. Doing so will elucidate complex undercurrents in multiple places in the early modern transatlantic world, a true example of the growing interconnectedness between peoples and nations that we now view as commonplace.

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