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 the Straits of Magellan
 Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa
 Excerpt
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I.
 NARRATIVE AND ROUTE
 OF THE
 VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY
 TO THE
 STRAIT OF THE MOTHER OF GOD,
 FORMERLY CALLED "OF MAGELLAN"

I.

Causes for sending the Expedition.—Appointment of Pedro Sarmiento.—Fitting out of the Ships.—Instructions of the Viceroy.—Orders of Sarmiento.—List of Officers.



AFTER Don Francisco de Toledo,¹ Viceroy of Peru, sent two ships, with more than 200 men, in pursuit of the pirate Francisco Draquez,² which arrived at Panama without finding more than a report of his proceedings, and returned to Lima (of which your Majesty will have notice), con-

¹ Don Francisco de Toledo, a younger brother of the fourth Count of Oropesa, succeeded the Governor Lope Garcia de Castro in the government of Peru, in 1569, with the title of Viceroy. He was a man of great energy and resolution, devoted heart and soul to his public duties, but narrow-minded and unsympathetic. His cruel execu-

² Sir Francis Drake. He was at Callao on February 15th, 1579.

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4 RESOLUTION TO EXPLORE THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN.

sidering the importance to the security of all the Indies on the South Sea, for the service of God our Lord, the increase and preservation of His Holy Church which your Majesty holds and maintains in these parts, and that which it is hoped will be established, and not to leave anything unexplored for the service of your Majesty and your subjects ; as well as because there was the public fame and fear of the two English ships, consorts of Francisco Draquez, which remained behind on the coasts of Chile and Arica,¹ and which had carried their arms into those ports, so that the people did not know what to do, ceasing their business, because the merchants feared to risk their goods, and the sailors to navigate ; and it being the public fame that Francisco would return by the Strait, as he now knew where it was ; for all these reasons, and to prepare for future events, he determined to send to and discover the Strait of Magellan, which it was held to be almost impossible to discover by the way of the South Sea, owing to the innumerable openings and channels which there are before arriving at it, where many discoverers had been lost who had been sent by the Governors of Peru and Chili. Although persons had been there who entered by the North Sea, they never succeeded. Some were lost, and others returned, so tossed about by storms and uncertain of what could be discovered, that there was a general dread of that navigation.

The object was to dispel this fear once for all, and that the Strait might be explored and properly surveyed and examined throughout to ascertain the best plan for closing

tion of the young Inca Tupac Amaru, at Cuzco, in 1571, is a foul blot on his character. But he regulated the administration, and his *Libro de Tuzas* was the text-book for the guidance of future Viceroyes. He ruled Peru for thirteen years, returning to Spain in 1581. He died in 1584.

¹ Of these two ships, the *Elizabeth* went back into the strait and returned home ; and the *Marigold* foundered at sea.

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APPOINTMENT OF SARMIENTO.

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it and so guarding those kingdoms against an enemy, a matter which concerns his Majesty's service more than is generally understood, no less than his kingdoms and estates, and the bodies and souls of their inhabitants.

This having been well considered in council with the Royal Audience of Lima, the Royal officers, and persons of great experience in the government of things pertaining both to sea and land, it was resolved that two ships should be sent to the above said Strait of Magellan. Within ten days of the vessels returning from Panama the Viceroy began to make preparations. Although he was unwell, he went personally to the port, which is two leagues from the city, went on board the ships and, with lanthorns and officers, examined them down to their keels. From among them he selected the two strongest, newest, and best sailers and purchased them for your Majesty.

He ordered the captain, Pedro Sarmiento, to undertake the responsibility of this voyage of discovery with the title of Superior Captain of both ships; and Pedro Sarmiento,¹ to serve His Majesty, accepted it, notwithstanding many things which might have made him decline. But as his habit always was to risk his life in the service of his King and natural Lord, it was not for him to turn back nor excuse himself, for fear of death nor of the dangers that were notorious, nor because it was a service from which all others turned away. Rather, he offered himself the more willingly to the service of God and of your Majesty, so that if his deeds should equal his will your Majesty will be certainly well served.

As soon as they bought the ships, the business of equipment was put in hand, as well the carpenter's and blacksmith's work, the supply of ropes, sails, and provisions, as all other needful things. There were assisting in

¹ Sarmiento writes of himself in the third person.

the port for the despatch of the ships Don Francisco Henrique de Lara,¹ His Majesty's agent, and a Knight of the Habit of Santiago, and Pedro Sarmiento, who went to and fro from the city to the port superintending the fitting out and the entry of men, and arranging for the pay of the sailors and for assistance from the soldiers. This was a very troublesome business, for as the enterprise was one of great danger and little profit, no one wished to embark in it, and many ran away and hid themselves. At last the necessary number was got together—112 in all, half sailors and half soldiers. As the summer was passing, and there was no time to lose, the Viceroy came to the port a second time, and personally superintended all the preparations until they were completed. The work of the marine department was usually executed by the Licentiate Recalde, Judge of the Royal Audience of Lima, who carried out the orders of the Viceroy with much diligence. The Treasurer and Accountant in Lima superintended the business of wages, outfit and victualling, as directed by the Viceroy. With this diligence the ships were got ready sooner than it was thought possible.

The squadron being ready for sea, the Viceroy named the large ship *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza*, to which Pedro Sarmiento was appointed as captain; and the smaller one, *San Francisco*, which was made *Almiranta*. Juan de Villalobos was appointed Admiral.² In order to take leave of them his Excellency ordered to appear before him on

¹ See note further on.

² The Spaniards made the title of *Almirante* peculiar to sea-commanders in the time of Alfonso X (1252-1284), and it afterwards became, with them, the title of the second in command of a fleet. Edward I, the brother-in-law of Alfonso IX, introduced the title of Admiral into England, but as that of the commander-in-chief at sea. Eventually the *Almirante* became the chief commander in Spain also.

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INTERVIEW WITH THE VICEROY.

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Friday, the 9th of October 1579, the Captain-Superior, Admiral, and the other officers and soldiers who were then present in the city. He spoke to them affably and seriously, not concealing the great difficulty of the undertaking on which they were employed, at the same time putting before them the rewards and recognition they would receive, and charging them to work for the service of God our Lord, and of his Majesty, and for the honour and reputation of Spain. After this he delivered the banner to the Capitan-Mayor, who handed it to the Alfez, Juan Gutierrez de Guevara. They all kissed his Excellency's hand, who dismissed them with his blessing.

On Saturday the Capitan-Mayor¹ went on board, followed by the other officers, soldiers, and sailors who were in the city. On the same day, in the port and in presence of the Licentiate Judge Recalde and the Royal officers, the Secretary, Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel,² read the instructions of the Viceroy to the Capitan-Mayor, Admiral, and Pilots, which were as follows. I insert them here because the Viceroy ordered that I should submit them to the Royal person of his Majesty and to his Royal Council of the Indies.

¹ Sarmiento. "Captain-Superior", also called "Capitan-Mayor" or "Chief Captain".

² Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel y de los Rios was the son of Francisco de los Rios and of his wife Ines de Navamuel, and was born at Aguilar de Campo. He was Secretary to the government of Peru under five Viceroyes, from 1569 to 1596. The Viceroy Toledo was a witness to the marriage of his brother Francisco with Juana Aliaga, a daughter of one of the first conquerors of Peru. Afterwards Don Alvaro's daughter married her cousin Don Geronimo Aliaga, from whom descended the Counts of Luringancho. Don Alvaro Ruiz de Navamuel died on June 27th, 1613. He wrote a history of the administration of Don Francisco de Toledo while he was Viceroy of Peru, dated Dec. 1578, previous to the departure of the expedition of Sarmiento.

“INSTRUCTIONS OF THE VICEROY.

“For the honour and glory of God, and of the Virgin Mary His Mother and our Lady, whom you Captain Pedro Sarmiento are to take for Advocate and Patron of the ships and crews under your orders, for this discovery and enterprize in the Strait of Magellan, with which you have been entrusted by reason of the experience which you have acquired in your own person in undertakings and operations of war both by sea and land during the ten years that I have been in this kingdom; and that you may, by your labours and diligence, further the service of His Majesty the King our Lord and safeguard these realms so that they may not be occupied by the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith as they would desire, thus placing in peril what has been gained.

“As you have seen, two ships have been armed and equipped for this service, the one named the *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* which goes as *Capitana*, in which you, the said Pedro Sarmiento sail as Captain, and the other named *San Francisco* in which Juan de Villalobos goes as Admiral. It, therefore, is convenient to the service of God our Lord and of the royal Majesty, as well as to the success of the voyage, that the said Admiral, Pilots, officers, sailors and soldiers of the said ships, *Capitana* and *Almiranta*, should obey you the said Pedro Sarmiento as Captain of the said squadron. It is thus provided and ordered in conformity with the titles of the said officers, which you and the said Admiral bear, on pain of what is incurred by those who disobey their captains, and this is given as an instruction to the said Juan de Villalobos, Admiral. And you shall communicate with him the orders contained in these Instructions, forming your decisions as most in accordance with them, so that all shall perform their respective duties with the fidelity that binds them, in a business of such importance. Besides what is contained in the rules, you shall observe the following Instructions, on pain of what is incurred by those who do not obey the orders given them in the name of his Majesty our Lord the King.

- I. “First you are directed and ordered to take particular care that you and the people under your orders shall behave yourselves, during the voyage, as becomes Christians in

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the service of our Lord, for the duty on which you are employed makes it important that you should be specially particular on this point and that you should punish whoever acts in a contrary way as the offence may deserve.

- II. "There will be delivered over to your charge the two ships now ready in this port, the *Capitana* named *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* and the *Almiranta* named *San Francisco*, supplied and furnished with double stores, and with provisions and munitions, and artillery and arquebuses from the royal arsenal, which will be delivered to you with a memorial of the whole by the Royal Officers of this city. You are to give a similar list to the masters of the said ships whose duty it will be to serve them out ; and you are to notify this my Instruction to the pilots, that they may know and not be in ignorance of what is directed and ordered to be done.
- III. "Having set forth with the good fortune that God may grant, from this port, you shall take the route you have, and which we have arranged, without touching on the coast of the kingdom of Chile, but making for 54 or 55, according as you shall find it most convenient for reaching the mouth of the strait. You shall give the route to the said Admiral, pilot, master and officers of the said ship *San Francisco* that they may navigate so as to follow you, and the lantern is always to be shown by both ships by night. You shall communicate whenever it is possible, assigning a rendezvous in case you are separated by a storm, so as to return to or to wait one for the other, and, in conformity with the weather and what is possible, you shall thus follow your route.
- IV. "In the course of your navigation, you are to understand that all that occurs, as well the courses by which you steer, as the lands that you sight and discover, is to be written in a book that you are to take for that purpose, as well yourself as the said Admiral in the other ship, and also you are to make a chart. This you are to do, in your own person and on board your own ship, in the presence of Juan Desquibel and Francisco de Trejo, Notaries, who have been appointed to the said ships.

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Besides this you are to give orders to the said Admiral, pilot, master, and other persons of the said *Almiranta* that they do the same; and what may be thus written is to be read in public on board the said ships every day. This is to be recorded by the notary of each ship, that it may appear in what manner this order is obeyed, and what authority has been given to it. If any of those on board the said ships should consider that the truth has not been kept to, or that any circumstance ought to be set down or noticed, what they say is to be noted, that all may be recorded, and they shall sign their names to it, jointly with the chaplains who go in each of the ships, the notary witnessing the signatures.

- V. “Throughout the voyage you are to take care, as well yourself in the one ship, as the said Admiral in the *Almiranta*, to shape your courses, and to watch and note carefully the routes, and currents and tides that you encounter, and the winds as they blow during the course of your voyage; as well as the reefs, rocks, islands, lands, rivers, harbours, anchorages, and bays that you may meet with. These are to be recorded in each ship, in the books which you are ordered to take for this purpose; and on the charts which you and the other pilots are instructed to make, consulting and comparing that of one ship with that of the other, communicating for that purpose as often as you can, and as the weather will permit. You are to understand that, when it is possible, you are to set up high crosses at points selected by you, as beacons for those who may afterwards be passing; and where no names are given, you shall record the positions in the said books and in the charts.
- VI. “When you are in the latitude of the entrance to the Strait, you shall be much more careful to observe all the features of land and sea that you may find, noting the conveniences for settlements, and if there are any signs of people having been there before, without omitting to enter every detail. You are diligently to make yourself acquainted with all the mouths leading from the sea into the Strait; you are to measure them and give them

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names, surveying alike their width and their depth, and explaining in which of them there are the greatest conveniences for fortifying.

- VII. "Having done this, you are to enter the said Strait by the mouth that appears to you most convenient, and you are to proceed, in company with the other ship, *Almiranta*, without leaving or parting from each other, so that what one sees the other may see, and that both may bear testimony to all that may happen. Throughout the extent of the Strait to where you come out you are not to desist from writing the same descriptive details, and you are to take special care to note whether on one or the other coast there is any settlement, and what people are living in it, with all the details that you are able to obtain, noted down with the utmost clearness and precision.
- VIII. "Wherever you may see fit to stop and go on shore, you are to take possession, in the name of His Majesty, of all the lands and provinces and ports you will have reached, performing the necessary acts and solemnities which are to be testified in public form by the notaries you take with you.
- IX. "When you fall in with any settlement of Indians, after having made friends by giving them such things as you carry for the purpose—scissors, combs, knives, fish-hooks, coloured buttons, mirrors, bells, glass beads and other articles of that kind, you shall arrange to take some Indians for interpreters from that place to any other which seems most convenient. You are to treat them well, and by means of the said languages, or in the best way you can, you are to converse with the natives, and hold discourses and conversations with them, so as to learn their customs, character, and manner of life, with particulars of their religion and of the idols they worship; also you are to collect particulars respecting their sacrifices and religious ceremonies, and to ascertain whether the people have among them any doctrine, any kind of learning, and how they are governed, if they have kings, if so, whether they succeed by election or by right of blood, or whether the government is republican,

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what rents and taxes they give and pay, and what persons and things are those which they most esteem. What products have they in their land, what things do they bring from other parts, which they hold in estimation. Ascertain whether there are metals in the land and of what kinds; whether there are spices or any kind of aromatic drugs. For this inquiry you are to take some specimens of spices, such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, and others, to show the people and find out whether they know them. You shall also inform yourself whether there are any kinds of stones or precious things such as have value in our country. You are to inquire about the animals, wild or domestic, and concerning the quality of plants and trees, whether wild or cultivated; also touching the supplies of provisions to be had, and such as are profitable you shall obtain for your voyage. You shall take nothing from the Indians against their wills, but only by barter, or when given voluntarily. In this manner you are to inform yourself and give an account of all the things you possibly can, without being detained or hampered, or allowing so much time to pass as to hinder the principal objects of the voyage.

- X. "Having arrived in the North Sea, you shall take steps to join company with the other ship, if you should have been unavoidably separated, for the purpose of exploring the entrances to the Strait on that side, and ascertaining the conveniences for fortifying and forming a settlement there; and you shall do this either personally or by employing those in your ship. This is to be done with the same care and diligence as you are ordered to use in examining the other entrances to the said Strait. If there should be time for one of the ships to return, it shall be that which you shall select, and she is to return by one of the entrances, not being the one by which you have come out, but one of the others of those that it is understood that there are in the said Strait. For it will be of little use to discover one if another is left for the pirates. She is to have the information which you have been ordered to collect, and which shall be most useful