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Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa

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# Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa to the Straits of Magellan

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA  
EDITED BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM



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

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

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108012874](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108012874)

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2010

This edition first published 1895

This digitally printed version 2010

ISBN 978-1-108-01287-4 Paperback

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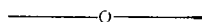
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NARRATIVES OF THE VOYAGES

OF

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA

TO

THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.

No. XCI.

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‘Aquel que alli se ofrece es el Sarmiento  
Nuevo Teseo del austral undoso  
Laberinto del liquido elemento  
Minotauro de espumas proceloso :  
Al Drake ira ce impedir el fiero intento  
Y demarcado el bosforo sinuoso  
Domando el golfo con triunfante entera  
Su capitolio hará la Hesperia arena.”

*Lima Fundada, Canto VII.*

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TO THE  
STRAITS OF MAGELLAN.

*Translated and Edited, with Notes and an Introduction,*  
BY  
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, AND  
PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY,  
4, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

M.DCCC.XCV.

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## INTRODUCTION.



EDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBÓA was one of the most eminent Spanish scientific navigators of the sixteenth century. His admirable work up the Gulf of Trinidad and in the Straits of

Magellan is well known to English naval surveyors; but his reports have never been translated. The present volume contains translations of his narrative which was published at the end of the last century, and of his important reports which first saw the light in 1866.<sup>1</sup> Some account of the surveys of Sarmiento and of his unfortunate attempt to establish a colony in the Straits of Magellan is given in *Burney's Voyages*.<sup>2</sup> But the Admiral's authorities were confined to the published narratives, to Argensola, and to the story of Lopez Vaz in Hakluyt. He was

<sup>1</sup> In the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v. Madrid, 1866,

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii, 1806.

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unacquainted with the reports of Sarmiento himself, which have recently been brought to light.

To discover the birth and parentage of the great navigator it has been necessary to have recourse to an ominous authority, namely, a deposition preserved in the Records of the Inquisition.<sup>1</sup> From this document it appears that his father was Bartolomé Sarmiento, a native of Pontevedra in Galicia, who married a Biscayan lady of Bilbao, named Gamboa. Pedro himself was born at Alcala de Henares in about 1532, but he was brought up in his father's home at Pontevedra, a place near the sea on the western coast of Galicia. The country round Pontevedra is watered by many streams, is well wooded, and enjoys an equable climate. The small port of Bayona is within a few miles of the town, and here it was that Alonzo Martin Pinzon found refuge when returning as second in command, in the first voyage of Columbus. Having passed his boyhood in the pleasant environs of Pontevedra, Pedro Sarmiento entered the military service of Spain at the early age of eighteen. He served in the wars of Europe from 1550 to 1555, and then crossed the ocean to the Indies, to seek his fortune. He appears to have been two years in Mexico and Guatemala, whence he proceeded to Peru in 1557.

During seven years he devoted himself to a study of the history of the Incas, and he probably made

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<sup>1</sup> *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en Chile*, por Don José Toribio Medina (2 tom., Santiago, 1890, 8vo), I, cap. xiii, p. 310.

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several voyages along the coast. When he arrived, the Marquis of Cañete was Viceroy of Peru, who induced the Inca Sayri Tupac to come to terms and reside in the valley of Yucay under Spanish jurisdiction. But when Sayri Tupac died in 1560, his brothers again became independent in the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. The Marquis himself died in 1561, and from 1561 to 1564 the Conde de Nieva was Viceroy. Sarmiento appears to have been on intimate terms with the new Viceroy and his household, and probably held some office in the viceregal court. This came to an end after the mysterious murder of the Conde de Nieva in a street of Lima, on February 20th, 1564; and the persecutions of the Inquisition appeared to have commenced with the arrival of the new Governor of Peru, Lope Garcia de Castro, in the autumn of the same year. Sarmiento was persecuted by the Holy Office for having been reported to have said that he knew how to make a certain ink with which, if a woman was written to, she would love the person who wrote the letter, though before she might have disliked him. His defence was that a female servant of the Conde de Nieva, named Payba, was talking nonsense about love affairs, and that he had told her that he had heard about such ink in Spain, but that he believed it to be a lie. There was also another equally absurd accusation about two rings engraved with Chaldæan characters, which were suspected of having been made by astrological art. Sarmiento, in his defence, said he had shown the rings to

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his confessor, who said there was no harm in them.

The sentence was that he should hear mass in the cathedral at Lima, stripped naked, with a candle in his hand, and that he should be perpetually banished from the Indies. Until his departure he was to be kept in the Monastery of San Domingo at Lima, without any books, fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and reciting seven penitential psalms. Sarmiento appealed to the Pope, and obtained a commutation of the banishment, with license to reside at Cuzco and other parts of Peru until 1567. It was years before he was free from annoyance and persecution, and it was due to the great value of his services that he was protected by the Government from the intolerable tyranny of the Inquisition.

It may, I think, be gathered from this persecution that Sarmiento was of an imaginative turn of mind, fond of investigating any unusual phenomena, and of satisfying his curiosity touching all that was strange or occult. His subsequent history proves him to have been a good mathematician, and a man gifted with the inventive faculty. The history and antiquities of the Incas had a fascination for him and, during the first ten years of the residence in Peru, he travelled over the country, and collected much information which had escaped the attention of his predecessors. It was Sarmiento who first announced that the Inca Tupac Yupanqui had made an expedition by sea to the westward, and had discovered two islands called Nina-chumpi and Hahua-

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chumpi. He believed that he had obtained information from the Incas which would enable him to fix their positions approximately, and he seems to have thought that they would constitute a valuable possession, worthy of being added to the Spanish dominions.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1567 Sarmiento made a proposal for the discovery of these distant western islands to the Licentiate Castro, then Governor of Peru. In one of his memorials to Philip II he represented that he knew of many islands in the South Sea which were undiscovered until his time, and that he offered to undertake the enterprise with the approval of the Governor of Peru. Lope Garcia de Castro took him into the royal service, offering the command of the expedition and the whole government of the fleet to him. But Sarmiento insisted that it should be entrusted to a young nephew of Garcia de Castro named Alvaro de Mendaña; with the object of inducing the Governor to further the equipment and

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<sup>1</sup> Miguel Cavello Balboa, in his *Miscelanea Austral*, also mentions the voyage of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, which, he says, lasted more than a year. He discovered the two islands of *Hahua-chumpi* and *Nina-chumpi*, and returned with many black prisoners, much gold and silver, and a throne made of copper and skins of an animal like a horse. He started from the coast of Manta, north of Guayaquil, so that the two islands may have been two of the Galapagos, “Nina-chumpi” would mean Fire Island, and “Hahua-chumpi” Outer Island. There were volcanic eruptions on Narborough Island of the Galapagos group in 1814 and 1825.—See *Las Islas de Galapagos y otras mas poniente*, por Marcos Jimenes de la Espada.

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despatch with greater zeal. He, however, stipulated that he should have the conduct of the discovery and navigation, and that no course should be altered without his consent.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed captain of Mendaña's ship, the *Capitana*, named "Los Reyes"; the pilot being Juan Enriquez, and the treasurer Gomez Catoira. On board the other ship, *Almiranta*, named "Todos Santos", was the Camp Master Pedro de Ortega, and the Chief Pilot Hernando Gallego. The two ships sailed from Callao on Wednesday, the 19th of November 1567.

Sarmiento intended to steer W.S.W. until he reached the 23rd parallel, and this course was persevered in until the 28th of November. On that day the Chief Pilot, Hernando Gallego, altered the course without consulting Sarmiento, and in defiance of the instructions; and in this proceeding he was supported by Mendaña.<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been their intention to abandon the discovery and make for the Philippine Islands. Sarmiento made a strong protest, but to no purpose. Mendaña and the Chief Pilot persisted in their more northerly course for forty days, in spite of the constant re-

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<sup>1</sup> Memorial of Sarmiento to Philip II, dated Cuzco, March 4th, 1572, in the *Tres Relaciones de Antiquedades Peruanas publicadas el Ministro de Fomento*, p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> *Breve relacion que se ha recogido de los papeles que se hallaron en esta ciudad de La Plata, cerca del viaje y descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente de la Mar de Sur, que comunmente llaman de Salomon*—*Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvii; *Documentos Ineditos*, v, Cuaderno iii, p. 210.



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monstrances of Sarmiento, who was supported by Pedro de Ortega, the Camp Master. Sarmiento urged that the lands of which he was in search were to the south. No land being sighted after so many days Mendaña became alarmed, and requested Sarmiento to resume charge of the navigation. He ordered a W.S.W. course to be shaped, but by this time the ships were in 5° S. and too far to the westward to retrace their steps to the position he wished to reach. He, however, said that land would be sighted on the next day, and this proved true. An island was discovered which received the name of "Nombre de Jesus". Then the "Candelaria" rocks were sighted on the 1st of February 1568, and on the 7th the great island was discovered, called "Atoglu" by the natives, and by the Spaniards "Santa Isabel de Estrella". Herrera says that it was first seen from the masthead by a boy named Trejo. The ships were anchored in a bay named "Estrella", possession was taken, and a brigantine, which had been taken out in pieces, was put together. Sarmiento then conducted a reconnoitring expedition inland, but met with hostility from the natives; while Ortega examined the coast on board the brigantine and discovered several other islands. He gave one of them the name of "Guadalcanal", after his own native place near Seville.

In May the expedition left Santa Isabel, and, after sighting Malaita, Galera, Florida, and Cesarga, anchored off Guadalcanal. On the 19th and 22nd Sarmiento accompanied Mendaña and Ortega in

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excursions into the interior, ascending a mountain, and enjoying a magnificent view. Afterwards a boat's crew was massacred by the natives, and Sarmiento was obliged to make severe reprisals. In August the expedition removed to the island of San Cristobal, where they remained for forty days, refitting and taking in supplies, and here the brigantine was abandoned. The whole group was named the Solomon Islands.

Sarmiento now desired to return by way of the islands discovered by the Inca, and submitted a report on September 4th, 1568. But Mendaña insisted upon steering east, and, when all the pilots remonstrated, he shaped a course for Mexico. On the 23rd of January 1569, they reached the port of Santiago de Colima, refitted at Realejo, and returned to Callao on September 11th. During the voyage there had been many disagreements, and Mendaña intended to bring charges against Sarmiento when he arrived at Lima. As little justice could be expected from the uncle in adjudicating on his nephew's conduct, Sarmiento considered it to be the wisest course to leave the ship at Realejo, and wait at Guatemala until the Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro was relieved of his command.<sup>1</sup> Taking

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<sup>1</sup> There are several narratives of the first voyage of Mendaña, when the Solomon Islands were discovered. A full account, which was used by Burney, is contained in Book v of the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, 4<sup>e</sup> Marques de Cañete*, por D. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa (Madrid, 1614). This work was reprinted at Santiago de Chile in 1864, in the *Coleccion de*

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the whole of the conflicting evidence, and comparing the various statements, it is clear that there was much incapacity and mismanagement, and that the expedition was saved from disaster on more than one occasion, and especially on the voyage home, through the seamanlike skill and scientific guidance of Pedro Sarmiento.

In November 1569, Lope Garcia de Castro had been relieved by Don Francisco de Toledo, brother of the Count of Oropesa, who came out to Peru with the restored title of Viceroy, which had been in abeyance since the murder of the Count of Nieva. He was a man advanced in years, devoted heart and soul to his public duties, energetic and resolute, but narrow-minded and unscrupulous. On hearing of his arrival Pedro Sarmiento returned to Peru, and he appears to have been at once restored to favour and taken back into the service by the new Viceroy. Sarmiento was confronted with Mendaña, both before the Viceroy and before the Royal Audience, and his explanation of his proceedings

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*Historiadores de Chile.* Herrera gives a short notice. The narrative in the *Documentos Ineditos* is from a manuscript found at La Plata. The Report of Mendaña himself at Simancas only takes us down to May 1568, the rest being lost. There is a copy in the *Muñoz Collection*, tom. xxxvii. The pilot Gallego wrote a journal, and the manuscript is in the British Museum. Another copy is in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney. Full extracts from it are given in Mr. Guppy's work. There is also a very interesting manuscript narrative of the voyage by the Treasurer Catoira, in the British Museum, but it has never been printed.

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during the voyage was held to be completely satisfactory. Toledo then invited him to attend him in a visitation of all the provinces of Peru. His colleagues were the Jesuit historian Acosta, the Judge Matienza, and the accomplished lawyer Polo de Ondegardo. It was the belief of the shrewd but narrow-minded Toledo that there could be no security for Spanish rule while the natives retained a feeling of love and veneration for their ancient sovereigns. He resolved to get the last of the Incas, named Tupac Amaru, into his clutches, and soon after his arrival at Cuzco in 1571, he organized an expedition to penetrate into Vilcabamba with this object.

Hernando de Arbieta was the general of this force, with Pedro Sarmiento as "Alferez General". It was little more than a pursuit. The young Inca Tupac Amaru, with a few followers, fled down a mountain path with dense forest on one side and a precipice on the other. He was closely followed, and Sarmiento himself captured the ill-fated boy, who was brought in triumph to Cuzco. The Viceroy then committed a judicial murder which was alike a wicked crime and a gross blunder. The youthful sovereign, Tupac Amaru, was executed in the great square of Cuzco in October 1571; in spite of the protests of the most influential Spaniards, both lay and clerical, and of the outraged feelings of the people.

Pedro Sarmiento was aiding and abetting in this cruel and atrocious crime. He was unrelenting and

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felt no remorse; for nine years afterwards he advised the King to continue the persecution of the surviving members of the Inca family.<sup>1</sup> From that time his good fortune departed. His great ability and loyalty obtained for him important posts, but in spite of skill and patience, of extraordinary resolution and dogged determination, his ill-luck never left him to the day of his death. The curse stuck to him—retribution for the murder of the last of the Incas.

After the execution the Viceroy Toledo employed Sarmiento, as “the most able man on this subject that I have found in the country”, to prepare a map and to compile a history of the Incas for transmission to the King. His object was to show that the Incas had originally usurped the country from the former possessors, and that consequently it was just to depose their descendants. With a letter dated in the valley of Yucay, on March 1st, 1572, Toledo sent home this history, together with a genealogy and a map prepared by Sarmiento on four cloths. The bearer of this important despatch was Geronimo Pacheco. The cloths

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<sup>1</sup> “I left in Lima the eldest son of Titu Cusi Yupanqui, named Quispi Titu. He is in the house of a half caste, his cousin Francisco de Ampuero. I advise that the King should order these Incas to be brought to Spain, or somewhere away from the people of Peru. The people always retain the memory of the Incas in their hearts, and adore every one of Inca lineage.”—Report, 15th April 1581 Thomar. *Papeles Históricos del Ex<sup>mo</sup> Señor Conde de Valencia de Don Juan*.

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are fully described in the covering letter. Their historical truth and accuracy were certified by thirty-seven experts of the principal *Ayllus* or lineages of the Inca family, and by the Spaniards Polo de Ondegardo,<sup>1</sup> Alonso de Mesa,<sup>2</sup> Mancio Serra de Leguisamo,<sup>3</sup> Juan de Pancorvo,<sup>4</sup> and Pedro Alonso Carrasco,<sup>5</sup> most of them among the early conquerors. The notary Navamue. says that on the four cloths were written and painted the figures of the Incas and their wives, with their *Ayllus* or lineages. On the first cloth was depicted the fable of Tambo Toco, and of the creation by Vira-cocha. On the second was a map, with the positions of the towns, executed by Pedro Sarmiento.

The history of the Incas, which accompanied the cloths, was long supposed to have been lost. But

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<sup>1</sup> The accomplished lawyer and statesman who came to Peru with the President Gasca. He was Corregidor of Charcas, and afterwards of Cuzco, and studied the laws and administration of the Incas with minute care. He wrote several invaluable reports.

<sup>2</sup> Alonso de Mesa was one of the first conquerors, and owned a house in the square of Our Lady at Cuzco, near that of Garcilasso de la Vega. His son was at court in 1600, and the Inca family sent him a petition to be delivered to the King.

<sup>3</sup> This is the conqueror who is said to have gambled away the golden sun of the temple at Cuzco in one night. He is more honourably known as a defender of the cause of the natives. He married an Inca princess.

<sup>4</sup> Juan de Pancorvo was one of the first conquerors who occupied a house at Cuzco with his friend and comrade Alonzo de Marchena.

<sup>5</sup> Another of the earliest conquerors to whom a house at Cuzco was granted in 1557.

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the original document has recently been discovered in the library of the University of Göttingen. The binding was of red silk, with a coat of arms the size of a page, signed “el Capitã Sarmi de Gãboa”. Under the red silk there was another binding of green leather. This was probably the copy sent to the King. The document formed part of the celebrated library of Abraham Gronow, which was sold in 1785. It consists of eight leaves of introduction and 138 of text. Pages 4 to 8 contain the dedication to the King, written at Cuzco and signed by Sarmiento on March 4th, 1572, in which the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo is belauded, and the claim of Philip II to the title of King of Peru is set forth.

The second page contains the title, surrounded by an ornamental border. “*Segunda Parte de la historia general llamada yndica, le qual por mandado del Ex<sup>mo</sup> Francisco de Toledo, Gobernador y Capitan General de los reynos del Peru y Major-domo de la Casa Real de Castilla, compuso el Capitan Pedro Sarmiento.*”<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the history the

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<sup>1</sup> The work contains accounts of the early possessors of Peru and their chiefs, of the first settlers at Cuzco, of the fabulous origin of the Incas, of their march to Cuzco, of the mixture of fable with history, of the entrance of Manco Capac into the valley of Cuzco and his disputes with the Alcabizas over the arable lands, of the succeeding Incas, of the war with the Chancas, of the rebuilding of Cuzco by Pachacutec, of the conquests of Pachacutec, of the *Mitimaes*, of the Colla war, of the reign of Tupac Yupanqui, of his building the fortress of Cuzco, of the reign of Huayna Capac, of the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa, of the coming of the Spaniards. He places the duration of the Inca dynasty from 565 to 1533.

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author says that it will be divided into three parts, the first containing the natural history, the second a narrative of the tyranny of the Incas down to the death of Huascar. The first and third parts never appear to have been written. But the second part, now at Göttingen, contains the history of the Incas. Its discovery is very important, and all students of American history will look forward to the publication of the text with great interest.

In the following year the persecution of the Inquisition was resumed. A trumpety charge was brought against Sarmiento respecting some astronomical rings, doubtless for purposes connected with navigation. The ignorant dolts thought they had to do with necromancy. One false witness deposed that Sarmiento had been publicly flogged at Puebla de los Angeles, in Mexico, for having made a graven image. In November 1573 he presented a pamphlet of twelve leaves, in the Holy Office, to show that the astronomical rings were not superstitious, but that they were practically useful. After long delay the sentence of the Inquisition was that Sarmiento was a dangerous man and that he must fulfil his former sentence of banishment. But at that time he was serving under the Viceroy, in an arduous campaign against the Chiriguanos, in the dense forests to the eastward of the Andes. On their return, the Holy Office was informed that Sarmiento was a valuable public servant, and that he could not be spared. The irritating persecution of the Inquisitors was, however, continued. Sarmiento was next accused of having shown the



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lines on the palm of his hand to an old woman, and told her that they would cause him to kill two people in Peru. He was found guilty, imprisoned in November 1575, and again sentenced to be banished. But once more the Viceroy Toledo interfered, ordered his release, and placed him under special protection. Sarmiento continued to be a captain in the King's service, in high favour with the Viceroy, and was in that position when Francis Drake arrived at Callao in February 1579.

Sarmiento was employed in the unsuccessful chase of Drake as far as Panama, and when the Viceroy resolved to send ships to the Straits of Magellan to intercept Drake on his return, and to fortify the passage with a view to preventing the entry of any pirates who might attempt to follow Drake into the South Sea, Sarmiento was appointed to the command of the expedition. Toledo was not a man to entrust such a service to any one from motives of friendship or personal predilection. He was cold and unsympathetic, and was devoted wholly to the good of the service. He must, therefore, have formed a very high opinion of the capacity of Sarmiento, and of his special fitness. Undoubtedly he was right. Sarmiento was a thorough seaman, possessing all the scientific knowledge of his time. Long accustomed to the command of men, he knew how to treat them, how to win their confidence, and how to get good work from them. He had forethought and presence of mind. Above all he was endowed with that indomitable perseverance which deserves, if it does

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not always command, success. He was very superstitious, but his strong religious beliefs inspired his own acts, and tended to fill his followers with like enthusiasm. He was a true-hearted, loyal man.

The original copy of the narrative and route journal of the voyage through Magellan's Strait, written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, addressed to the King and legally certified by a notary, is in the Royal Library of Madrid. Argensola, in his history of the Moluccas, gives an abstract of it, extending to considerable length.<sup>1</sup> The journal was edited by Don Bernardo Yriarte, and published at Madrid in 1768. The Editor made diligent search for Sarmiento's charts, but without success. He thought it possible that they might be in the "Casa de Contratacion" at Seville, or in the depository of the Franciscan Convent at Cadiz, but they were not to be found. The Journal is now translated for the first time. "Narrative and Route of the voyage and discovery to the Strait of the Mother of God, formerly called of Magellan, by the Captain Don Pedro Sarmiento y Gamboa." Sarmiento was the first to survey and give a detailed description of the Strait. Magellan was in the Strait from October 21st to November 27th, 1520, but the historians of his voyage give no detailed descriptions. The fleet of Garcia de Loaysa and Sebastian del Cano entered the Strait on April 8th and left it on

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. iv, pp. 109-136.

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May 26th, 1526.<sup>1</sup> Simon de Alcazava<sup>2</sup> entered the Strait in January 1535, but his ships never got through. He was murdered by his crew. In 1557 Juan Ladrilleros was sent from Chile to examine the approaches to the Strait from the Pacific side, and discovered the island of Chiloe and the Chonos Archipelago, but did not enter the Strait.<sup>3</sup>

Francis Drake entered the Strait on August 20th, 1578, and cleared it in seventeen days, passing out into the Pacific on the 6th of September.

Thus Magellan, Loaysa, Alcazava, and Drake, were the predecessors of Sarmiento, but the historians of none of these voyages have given an account of the Strait to be compared for a moment with that of the accomplished Spanish surveyor. Sarmiento discovered and explored, in three perilous boat voyages, the intricate channels leading from the Gulf of Trinidad. He described his voyage through the Strait in great detail, and in a most interesting narrative. His work has received the

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<sup>1</sup> The narrative of the expedition under Garcia Jofre de Loaysa was written by Andres de Urdaneta, one of his captains. It is in the *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvi, and was published in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos* (Madrid, 1866), tom. v, cuaderno i, pp. 5-67. Burney gives an account of the expedition gathered from notices in Gomara, Herrera, and Galvano.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the voyage of Alcazava was told by the notary Alonso Vehedor. It is in the *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvi, and was published in 1866 in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v, cuaderno ii, pp. 97-117. There is another account by Juan de Mori, one of the officers.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the voyage of Ladrilleros is in the life of the Marquis of Cañate, by Figueroa.

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high praise of modern English surveyors from Fitz Roy to Nares, and Sarmiento consequently takes a foremost rank among the navigators of the sixteenth century.

When Sarmiento arrived in Spain, his representations, and those of the Viceroy Toledo, led to the equipment of a large fleet to fortify the Strait and to form settlements, with which object a number of colonists were embarked with their families. The command of the fleet was entrusted to a most incompetent officer named Diego Flores de Valdes, while Sarmiento was to be the Governor and Captain-General of the forts and settlements in the Strait. This arrangement led to disaster and ruin. For Sarmiento had no power until the Strait was reached, and could only advise and protest.

The second document in the present volume is a Report by Sarmiento, written from Rio de Janeiro on June 1st, 1583, the original of which is preserved in the *Coleccion de Juan Bautista Muñoz*. It gives some account of the equipment of the fleet, and is particularly interesting because it describes the system for the supply of charts, and the details of an observation for an eclipse of the sun, to ascertain the longitude of Lima.

The third document contains an enumeration of the names of the ships and officers of the fleet of Diego Flores and Pedro Sarmiento.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From the *Navarrete MSS.*, copied from the Archives of the Indies.

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The narrative of the voyage, of the disgraceful conduct of Diego Flores, of Sarmiento's inexhaustible patience and determination, of the final establishment of two settlements in the Straits of Magellan, and of the subsequent misfortunes and adventures of Sarmiento, is contained in the fourth document, which is a detailed report by that deserving but unlucky officer himself.<sup>1</sup> This is the history of a great calamity: the story of a resolute and loyal man battling against insuperable difficulties and, though succumbing in the end, yet continuing the brave struggle against fate to the last gasp. But there was a curse on the executioner of the last of the Incas.

Sarmiento sent home another detailed Report, from Pernambuco, dated 18th of September 1584, which is preserved but still remains in manuscript.<sup>2</sup> I have a copy of the Pernambuco Report, which I have collated with the translated Report in this volume, noting any additional information or discrepancies.

The fifth and last of the documents forming the present volume is the Deposition of Tomé Hernandez, one of the survivors of the settlers in the Straits of Magellan, who was taken on board by Cavendish in January 1587, and escaped near Valparaiso. The

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<sup>1</sup> MS. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tom. xxxvii, copied from the original document at Simancas. Published in the *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos*, tom. v, cuadernos, iii, iv and v.

<sup>2</sup> *Navarrete MSS.*, copied from the original in the Archives of the Indies.

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Deposition was taken many years afterwards at Lima, by order of the Prince of Esquilache, the Viceroy of Peru.<sup>1</sup> It is a harrowing tale.

When Tomé Hernandez was embarked by Cavendish, the other survivors of the settlers landed by Sarmiento were abandoned to their fate. There were fifteen men and three women. The *Delight* of Bristol, commanded by Captain Andrew Merick, entered the Straits of Magellan in December 1589, and found one Spaniard at Port Famine. He said he had been there six years, and that he was the sole survivor out of 400 settlers landed in 1582. Captain Merick took the wretched man on board, but he died on the passage home and his name is not given.

It is not quite certain what became of Pedro Sarmiento, after his return to Spain from captivity. He wrote a letter to Philip II, entreating him to send succour to the abandoned settlers in the Straits, dated November 21st, 1591. He then appears to have gone out to the Philippine Islands by way of Mexico. The Governor of the Philippines, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, sent an expedition to conquer Tidore, under the command of Captain Pedro Sarmiento and of Juan Ronquillo, nephew of the Governor. The landing was opposed, but the defenders were repulsed, and Sarmiento formed an

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<sup>1</sup> Published at the end of the volume containing the Journal of Sarmiento, in 1768. It was obtained by the Editor from the collection of the Mariscal de Campo Don Eugenio de Alvarado.