



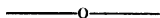






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# The Hakluyt Society.



THE DISCOVERY

OF

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS.

SECOND SERIES.

No. VII.









Nature's Son, Christchurch

THE DISCOVERY  
OF  
THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

BY  
ALVARO DE MENDAÑA

IN 1568.



*TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH  
MANUSCRIPTS.*



Edited, with Introduction and Notes,

BY  
LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY  
AND  
BASIL THOMSON.

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## PREFACE.

1878

NEARLY thirty years having elapsed since the publication of these translations was first projected, a brief explanation of the delay is perhaps necessary. It was in 1863 that my attention was first called to Gallego's manuscript by the late Mr. Michael Kerney, to whom I am indebted, not only for scholarly help in the course of these translations, but also for advice in the formation of my library during the last forty years. Having acquired the manuscript from the late Mr. Quaritch, I showed it to my friend, the late Don Pascual de Gayangos; who, taking a keen interest in it, advised me to translate it for the Hakluyt Society, and himself looked over my translation, and compared my Spanish manuscript with the copy at Madrid.

Not long after, during his researches at the British Museum, Don Pascual de Gayangos came upon Catoira's manuscript (*Additional MSS.* 9,944), containing a more detailed account of the voyage, and publication was delayed until this manuscript could be translated. A careful transcript had first to be made. This very difficult task was undertaken by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, who also assisted me in part of the translation, and his patience and skill may be judged from the specimen of the handwriting that he had to decipher, which is reproduced in Vol. II.

While my translations were in progress, I met Mr. C. M. Woodford<sup>1</sup> (now H.M. Deputy Commissioner for the Solomon Islands), who was then on the point of leaving for the Pacific. He took out with him translations both of Gallego's and Catoira's narratives, and to him we are

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<sup>1</sup> Author of *A Naturalist among the Headhunters*.

## PREFACE.

indebted for most of our notes, for the identification of the places visited by the Spaniards, and for many photographs taken specially for these volumes. It is unfortunate that his absence at the Antipodes prevented him from revising the notes and the Introduction before they went to press; for, with his high attainments as a naturalist and his unrivalled local knowledge, he would doubtless have been able to give us much additional information.

Gallego's narrative was also shown to my old friend, the late Admiral of the Fleet Sir Alexander Milne, who was kind enough to work out and lay down for me the course indicated in our track-chart of the voyage. The daily positions of the ships were also worked out independently by Mr. C. R. Chapman, Captain of my yacht, *The Dream*; and these, when laid down upon the chart, were found to correspond with Admiral Milne's track—an important factor in determining the identity of the Isle of Jesus, the land first sighted by the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, Dr. Guppy published his important book on the Solomon Islands,<sup>1</sup> and we had the opportunity of comparing his notes on the Spanish discoveries with the original narratives. Through the kindness of M. Léopold Delisle, Administrateur Général and Directeur of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the late M. Henri Michelant, Sous-Directeur of the Manuscript Department, I obtained a transcript of the anonymous manuscript in that library. I am deeply indebted to Sir Clements Markham for the great interest he has taken in the work from the beginning, and for lending me the two narratives printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*.

Having collected this material, I sought the forgiveness of the Hakluyt Society for the long delay, and found the Council still willing to publish the translations as one of

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<sup>1</sup> *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, by H. B. Guppy, M.B., F.G.S. London, 1887.

## PREFACE.

their volumes. I have had the good fortune to secure the collaboration of my friend, Mr. Basil Thomson,<sup>1</sup> through whose unremitting care and attention the work appears in its present form. I am also indebted to Miss Amalia de Alberti for work in translating and in examining originals; to my eldest daughter, Lady William Cecil, for her help as amanuensis, and to my daughter Margaret for her untiring patience in revising the translations and helping me to compare them with the Spanish originals.

Our thanks are also especially due to the Rev. R. H. Codrington, D.D., for many useful suggestions, and for the remarks upon the native languages which are incorporated in the Introduction; to the Rev. Henry Welchman, of the Melanesian Mission, whose recent return from Ysabel Island, after a long residence, has enabled him to give us much valuable information; to Colonel George Earl Church for identifying places on the Pacific Coast of America, and for information relating to Gallego's career; to Mr. J. Edge-Partington and Mr. C. V. Lucas for the loan of their photographs. One of the illustrations represents a number of Solomon Islanders, who were working on the Foulden plantation at Mackay on the Pioneer River, belonging to my late brother, Francis T. Amherst, M.L.A. of Queensland.

It will thus be seen that the delay of nearly thirty years has not been without advantage, since it has resulted in the acquisition of material which has only lately become accessible. It is a curious coincidence that this work should appear at the time when, by the Proclamation of October 6th, 1900, all the islands first discovered by the Spaniards have become a part of the British Dominions beyond the Seas.

A. OF H.

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<sup>1</sup> Author of *The Diversions of a Prime Minister*, and other works on the South Seas.



—— “ Come, my friends  
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.  
Push off, and sitting well in order, smite  
The sounding furrows : for my purpose holds  
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths  
Of all the western stars, until I die.  
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down :  
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles.”

TENNYSON.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE Solomon Islands, the most important and the most remote of the large groups of the Pacific, were the first to be discovered, and the last to be explored; if, indeed, islands of whose interior scarce anything is known can truthfully be said to have been explored. In 1568 an expedition, fitted out by the Spanish Government, spent six months among the islands, and brought back to Peru an account of their discoveries so accurate and detailed that it is possible, 333 years afterwards, to identify every harbour and islet and creek by which they passed; and yet, though ship after ship set out to seek them, they were so completely lost to Europeans that, in the course of two centuries, geographers came to doubt their existence, and they were actually expunged from the chart, until they were re-discovered by Carteret and Bougainville in the latter half of the eighteenth century. And this, although the group included eight large islands stretched like a net across the course of navigators, in an almost unbroken line for six hundred miles! There is surely nothing in the history of maritime discovery so strange as the story of how the Isles of Solomon were discovered, lost, and found again.

In order to understand how this came about it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. On 26th September, 1513, Balboa saw the South Sea from the mountains of Panama, and, wading into it up to his middle, took possession of it in the name of his sovereign, Ferdinand of Spain.<sup>1</sup> The report of this discovery made a great noise in Europe, and in 1520 Hernando Magellan was sent to force a way into the South Sea, which he did by the Strait which bears his name, afterwards meeting his death in the Moluccas. Several expeditions followed Magellan into the South Sea, despite the stirring events that kept the Spaniards occupied in Mexico and Peru. In 1525, Toribio Alonzo de Salazar discovered an island, which he named San Bartolomeo, about 14 deg. N. lat.,<sup>2</sup> but the position was so doubtful that Gallego mistook for it the Musquillo Islands, in 8 deg. N. lat. (see p. li). In 1527, Alvaro de Saavedra left New Spain with three vessels, two of which parted company in a storm 1,000 leagues from port, and were never seen again. According to Hawaiian tradition, a foreign vessel was wrecked on the island of Keei about the same period, and two of the crew lived to become the ancestors of some of the Hawaiian chiefs of to-day.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bougainville claims the honour of the discovery of the South Sea for a Frenchman, Sieur Paulmier de Gonneville, who, sailing from Honfleur in 1503, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached calm latitudes in the Indian Ocean. Driven out of his course by tempests, he discovered a large and populous land, where he stayed six months to refit, being hospitably entertained by the natives, two of whom he brought home to France. To compensate the chief's son, Essomeric, for the breach of his promise to carry him back to his native land, he gave him his heiress in marriage, and J. B. Paulmier, a Canon of Lisieux in 1663, was a descendant of this native. Mr. Ernest Favenc with more ingenuity than discrimination, has lately attempted to prove that de Gonneville's discovery, which Burney identified with Madagascar, and other writers with Brazil, was in reality the north-west coast of Australia (*History of Australian Exploration*, p. 295). It was certainly not any island in the Pacific.

<sup>2</sup> Krusenstern's *Mémoires Hydrographiques*, 1827, Pt. II, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *The Polynesian Race*, by A. Fornander, 1880, vol. ii, p. 106.

In 1537, Cortes despatched two vessels, under the command of Fernando Grijalva and Alvarado, to explore the Equatorial ocean between South America and the Moluccas, for "islands to the westward which were imagined to abound in gold."<sup>1</sup> Grijalva was murdered in a mutiny, but his ship bore away for the Moluccas, and was wrecked in the neighbourhood of New Guinea, after the crew had been reduced by disease and privation to seven persons, who, having been sold as slaves by the natives, were eventually ransomed by Galvano, the Governor of Moluccas. This expedition discovered several islands about 2 deg. N. lat.; and, as we shall presently see, an iron nail, perhaps a relic of their intercourse with the natives, was found by Mendaña in one of the Marshall Islands in 8 deg. N. lat., indicating that trade between the peoples of the Line Islands was as widely extended then as it is now.

In 1542, an expedition of five vessels left Navidad in New Spain for the Philippines<sup>2</sup> under the command of Ruiz Lopez de Villalobos, with Juan Gaetano as pilot, and Inigo Ortez de Retes (or de Rota) as one of his captains. In the following year, Bernaldo de la Torre started from Tidore on a voyage to New Spain, and claimed—as may be gathered from Gallego—to have discovered New Guinea. In 1545, Inigo Ortez de Retes left Tidore, and coasted along New Guinea.<sup>3</sup>

In 1555, the first notable discovery of islands in the Pacific was made. Juan Gaetano, who had been Villalobos' pilot thirteen years before, discovered the Hawaiian Islands, which he named *Islas de Mesa*. Unfortunately, no account of the voyage has come to light, but an anonymous MS. chart in the archives of the Colonial Office at Madrid, which is believed to be a copy of the Chart of the Spanish

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<sup>1</sup> De Couto, d. 5, l. 6, c. 5, Lisbon, 1612. Quoted by Dalrymple.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch, Spanish Colonial Office, No. 66, 1865; Fornander's *Polynesian Race*, vol. ii, p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> Galvano's *Discoveries of the World*. Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 238.



Galleon, records the discovery as having been made by Gaetano in 1555.<sup>1</sup>

In 1565, Miguel Lopez de Legaspe crossed the ocean, and founded the first Spanish colony in the Philippines.

Hitherto the expeditions to the westward had sailed from New Spain, and had followed a course north of the Equator; and Peru, being in the throes of the civil war that ensued upon Pizarro's assassination in 1541, had work enough without embarking on foreign discovery. But the great unknown ocean lay stretched before the Peruvian colonists every day, to fire their imagination. They had dipped the tips of their fingers in gold; they panted to bathe their bodies in it like the King of Bogotá, whose story was on every tongue. There was Martinez, fresh from the palaces of Manoa: there was Orellana, with eyes still dazzled by the gleaming roofs of El Dorado. It was the age of gold, and to the Spaniards the whole unknown world was yellow.

With the dawn of settled government Peru became no place for the adventurers who had come out from Spain to find a short road to fortune. They wanted virgin fields such as Cortes and Pizarro had exploited, and they drank in greedily the tales of an undiscovered continent in the west which were current among the Indians and the seafaring population of Callao. It was rumoured that the Inca, Tupac Yupanqui, in a voyage to the westward, had discovered two islands called Nina-chumpi (Fire Island) and Hahua-chumpi (Outer Island), and had brought back gold and silver, a throne made of copper, a multitude of black slaves, and the skin of an animal like a horse.<sup>2</sup> The babble of the taverns became in time debated

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<sup>1</sup> Despatch, Spanish Colonial Office, No. 66, 1866. Quoted by Fornander, vol. ii, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Clements Markham suggests that these may have been two of the Galapagos Islands (Hakluyt Soc., No. XCI, p. xiii).

questions of the palace. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who had made some study of the Inca traditions, professed to be able to fix the bearings of these islands ; and the learned men in the colony were agreed that they were the outposts of a southern continent which stretched northward from Tierra del Fuego till it reached lat. 15 deg. S., about 600 leagues from Peru.

On February 20th, 1564, the Viceroy, the Conde de Nieva, was mysteriously murdered in Lima, and the Licentiate, Lope Garcia de Castro, President of the Chancery Court, was appointed Governor, with the special duty of discovering and punishing the assassins of his predecessor. In his term of office the Inquisition established itself in Peru, and Sarmiento, having fallen under its displeasure on an absurd charge of divination, redoubled his advocacy of a voyage of discovery as a means of escaping from the tyranny of the Holy Office. It was not until 1567 that the consent of the Government was obtained, nor is it certain what terms were conceded to its originator. Pedro Sarmiento declared that, while the command was to be given to the Governor's nephew, Alvaro de Mendaña, a young man of twenty-five, he himself was to have direction of the navigation ; and the fact that his advice was afterwards declined, furnished the material for a bitter quarrel with his commander. But, inasmuch as he was rated only as captain of the *Capitana*, and his claims are ignored by the writers of all the other narratives, it seems more probable that he was giving to himself a position which he had asked for, but which had been refused.

The expedition was fitted out in haste. Two ships, the *Capitana*, of 7,000 *arrobas* (250 tons), and the *Almiranta*, of 3,000 *arrobas* (107 tons),<sup>1</sup> were purchased and fitted at a

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<sup>1</sup> Named *Los Reyes* and *Todos Santos* according to Sir Clements Markham : the names are not mentioned in these documents.

cost of 10,000 dollars, and the armament and provisions, including the materials for founding a settlement, cost the royal treasury a further sum of 60,000 dollars. The crews worked with a will. "To convert all infidels to Christianity" was the official excuse for the expedition; conquest and spoliation were the real motives. The rank and file thought of the golden sun from the temple of Cuzco; the commander remembered Cortes, Marquis of the Valley, and saw himself Viceroy of a new and a richer Mexico. Mendaña's orders were to steer for the rich islands and the continent already mentioned, and there to form a settlement, sending the ships back for reinforcements. The provisioning, being calculated on the supposition that the land was only 600 leagues distant, was, as it afterwards proved, quite insufficient. Before the ships had been three months out, the stores were running low, though they had been supplemented by rations of native food; fuse for the arquebuses, the most essential of all their stores, began to fail them when it was most required; the ships themselves, built for the calm waters of the Peruvian coast, were unfitted to battle with the terrific seas of the western Pacific.

It is difficult for anyone unacquainted with the ocean miscalled the Pacific to realise the reckless daring of the enterprise. Leaving in the month of November, with the hurricane season just approaching; crossing an ocean more than 7,000 miles in width, beset with unknown coral reefs, in crazy vessels unprotected from the *teredo*, and almost incapable of beating to windward; with the prevailing wind behind them, and a "dead beat" all the way homeward; depending on provisions that no master, in the worst days of our merchant marine, would have dared to put to sea with, the adventurers had a thousand chances to one against ever finding their way home again. And yet, though they parted company for a time, in nineteen

months both vessels were safe at anchor again in Callao, with the loss of less than one-third of their ships' companies.

Before we begin to follow the ships on their adventurous voyage, it will be well to give some account of the documents that are here translated, and of the chief persons who took part in the expedition.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

We have six manuscripts describing the voyage ; and though it is quite possible that others may be discovered either in the Archives of the Indies, or in one of the public libraries in Europe or South America, it is not likely that they will bring any new or important fact to light.

(1) The narrative of HERNAN GALLEGO, the Chief Pilot. The manuscript which is translated is in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, who purchased it from Mr. Quaritch, about 1863. There is another copy in the Royal Library at Madrid, and a third (*Add. MS.* 17,625) in the British Museum, portions of which were translated by Dr. Guppy, and published in his important work, *The Solomon Islands*. In the opinion of Don Pascual de Gayangos, who catalogued the Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum, Lord Amherst's copy belongs to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and is as old as the Madrid manuscript, both being perhaps transcripts from an older document. We produce facsimiles of the first and last pages. No trace of the chart referred to by Gallego has yet been discovered.

(2) The narrative of PEDRO SARMIENTO. This manuscript was in the Archivo General de Reino, at Simancas, near Valladolid.<sup>1</sup> It appears from the title-page to be a transcript of documents found in La Plata. Though unsigned, and written in the third person, its advocacy of Sarmiento's side in his quarrel with his commander warrant us in believing that it was written by, or in the interests of, the person to whom we have assigned it, especially as Sarmiento always wrote in the third person. The manuscript was copied by Juan Bautista Muñoz, and printed in the *Collecion de Documentos Ineditos* (tom. v), edited by Don Luis Torres de Mendoza, in 1862.

(3) First narrative of ALVARO MENDAÑA DE NEVRA. This manuscript also was printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*, having

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<sup>1</sup> The original MS. may have been removed to the Lonja at Seville, with other archives of the Indies.

been copied at Simancas by Muñoz. It is addressed to the Viceroy Castro, the writer's uncle, and it refers the reader to Gallego's report for the technical details of navigation. It is unfortunate that so admirably detailed a narrative should be mutilated, though the missing portions would probably not have added much to what we learn from Catoira's narrative, which follows the existing pages of Mendaña very closely. There is a gap of nearly a month after February 17th, 1568, which seems to show that several leaves are missing, and the journal finally breaks off at April 10th, the latter portion being lost.

(4) Second narrative of MENDAÑA. This document, which is in the Library of the Academia della Historia, in vol. xxxvi of the *Collecion de Velasquez*, was printed by Don Justo Zaragoza in his *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Austriales* (Madrid, 1882). It was addressed to Philip II of Spain, and dated 11th September, 1569. Though it is much shorter than the writer's report to Castro, it contains enough additional matter to show that it was written independently. Several new native words are given; and, as was natural in a report addressed to the king, more convincing reasons are given for the abandonment of the projected settlement.

(5) The manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris bears no signature, but the use of the first person plural in the report of the first voyage of the brigantine, which is evidently the work of an eye-witness, shows that it was written by a member of that expedition, but not by Ortega nor Gallego. It proves that among the rank and file of the expedition there was at least one educated man with high powers of observation. A French translation was published by Edouard Charton in 1854 (*Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes*). Our translation was made from a transcript furnished by M. de Lisle, the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

(6) The narrative of GOMEZ H<sup>na</sup> [sic] CATOIRA. This manuscript, written in a sixteenth-century hand, and very difficult to decipher, as may be judged from the facsimile in vol. ii, is in the British Museum (*Add. MS. No. 9,944*). It was purchased in 1835 by the Trustees from Mr. Obadiah Rich (1783-1850), who was Consul in Spain for the United States, and made a valuable collection of MSS., which he sold in 1835, when he settled in London at 12, Red Lion Square. The greater part of his manuscripts had been collected by Muñoz for his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, of which one volume only was published. Muñoz gave them to Don Antonio de Uguina, an intimate friend of Navarrete, whom he furnished with many of the materials for his *Collecion de Viages de los Españoles*. At his death they were purchased by M. Ternaux Compans, of Paris, who sold them to Mr. Rich.

Catoira was Chief Purser of the Fleet, and its official chronicler. Though parts of his narrative are identical with that of Mendaña,

who perhaps copied from him, his account of the natives is more full of gossip and detail.

(7) As a specimen of the wild stories respecting the Solomon Islands that were current in Peru after the return of Mendaña, we have included a translation of a manuscript in the Egerton Collection (No. 1,816, fol. 223) in the British Museum, itself a transcript of an older manuscript "in very old writing," but undated, which seems to have been taken down by a Captain Francisco de Cadres from the mouth of an aged South Sea Islander, named Chepo. This man may or may not have been one of the six Solomon Islanders brought by Mendaña to Peru; in any case he richly deserved the fate that was promised if he swerved from the truth. From internal evidence, we judge the manuscript to date from the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

There are many points of difference in the narratives, but there are no contradictions; and although Sarmiento's narrative, the Paris manuscript, and Mendaña's memorial to the king are all condensed and abridged, each contains some incident omitted in the others. In order, therefore, to present a connected story, we have been obliged to include a general summary of the voyage in this Introduction. The most important manuscripts are those of Gallego and Catoira. As Chief Pilot, or as we should call him, Navigating Officer, Gallego generally dismisses matters unconnected with his professional duties in the fewest words, enlarging rather upon such technical points as observations and compass bearings. Indeed, so careful is he about the latter that he defeats his object, for he generally gives the double bearings, but in so complicated a fashion that some of them are quite unintelligible. The confusion is worse confounded by the fact that his narrative was taken down from dictation,<sup>1</sup> and that the word *Sudoeste* (south-west) may easily have been mistaken for *Sudeste* (south-east) by a careless amanuensis. Composition and penmanship, on the other hand, were Catoira's profession, and to compile a faithful account of all that

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 11 and 36.

he saw and heard was an important part of his duty. That he was well fitted for the task will be admitted by all who read his admirably detailed account of expeditions, such as the voyages of the brigantine, in which he did not himself take part. He took great interest in the customs and habits of the natives and the natural products of the country, matters that did not greatly concern Gallego; and his narrative is therefore by far the more interesting of the two. But the one is the complement of the other. Without Gallego's careful observations we should have been unable to identify the places visited; without Catoira we should know but little of the habits of the natives of those remote days.

It is highly probable that Figueroa<sup>1</sup> had access to Mendaña's report, if not to Catoira's, as well as to Gallego's, for he mentions occurrences, such as the death of some of the crew at Estrella Bay, and the heaving-down of the ships at San Christoval, which are not found in Gallego, besides agreeing with Mendaña and Catoira in the number of the brigantine's crew.

### THE ADVENTURERS.

ALVARO DE MENDAÑA DE NEYRA<sup>2</sup> was born in the province of la Coruña, or Lugo, about 1542, and was therefore twenty-five years old when appointed to the command of this expedition. Nothing is known of his youth, but it is probable that he came to Peru in the train of his uncle, Castro, who was appointed President of the Chancery Court and Governor of Peru in 1564. He seems to have been a man of humanity and a sympathy with

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<sup>1</sup> *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1613.

<sup>2</sup> It was not uncommon at this period for persons to be called after their place of birth, to distinguish them from others of the same name. There are five parishes named Neyra in the province of Lugo.

natives rare enough in those days, and of a policy and self-restraint far beyond his years. With his ships' companies on half rations, he yet forbore to make raids upon the natives, despite the provocation of their unreasoning hostility, choosing rather to be guided by the humane advice of his chaplains. As in most of the Spanish expeditions of the sixteenth century, discipline was very lax, and at several points in the voyage it wanted but little for grumbling to break out into open mutiny. But Mendaña knew when it was necessary to give way. He left the question of colonizing the islands to the vote of the majority—soldiers, sailors and all; he allowed the pilots to steer for California against his own judgment; but when to obey the will of the majority would have brought the whole expedition to destruction, as in the dispute about turning back to the Philippines when within a few days' sail of California, he knew how to be firm, and how to use his eloquence to good purpose. That his frequent concessions to his subordinates were due to no vacillation of character, is proved by the extraordinary patience with which he afterwards pursued his project of colonizing his discoveries in the face of every obstacle of official indifference and the persecution of private enemies; and he never wavered in his purpose for twenty-eight years. It was hard that such a man should have lived only just long enough to know that the crowning enterprise on which he had spent his life and his fortune was to end in disaster.

HERNAN GALLEGO was a man of a different stamp. Reared in the province of la Coruña, probably on a part of the coast within sight of the little island of Scarga, he went to sea at a very early age. Nothing is known of his youth, but there is a passage in his narrative which indicates that he was promoted to the rank of pilot when he had been fifteen years at sea. In those days an efficient



navigator can scarcely have failed to be employed in taking a vessel to the Indies ; and he must already have won a reputation for knowledge of the Pacific coast when, in 1557, Ladrilleros selected him and his brother Pedro as pilots for the two ships despatched from Valdivia under his command to explore the coast of Chile as far as the Strait of Magellan. The expedition was disastrous : seventy persons of the crews perished, and the remnant had barely strength to make the homeward voyage. For the next ten years Gallego seems to have pursued his profession as a pilot on the Pacific coast, where he was known at ports as far north as Santiago de Colima. He had something more than the education of his class, for his narrative, though devoid of literary merit, shows some qualities of observation and description. More than once the vessels owed their preservation to his extraordinary skill in handling them among a network of reefs on their lee ; and he was the designer, builder, and navigator of the little brigantine with which most of the discoveries were made. The confidence which Mendaña reposed in him gave great offence to Pedro Sarmiento, who conceived for him the jealousy of the amateur for the professional.

Our knowledge of his subsequent career is much confused by the fact that the famous navigator who accompanied Pedro Sarmiento as Pilot in his first voyage to Magellan Straits, and who made over his great estate of Longotoma to the Augustine Friars of Chile, in 1606, was also named Hernan Gallego, or Hernan Gallegos Lamero.<sup>1</sup> It is at least a remarkable coincidence that there should have been two contemporary navigators, both in the king's service, both accounted the most skilful pilots of their time

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<sup>1</sup> He is sometimes also referred to as Lamero Gallegos, and sometimes as Hernan Lamero.

on the Pacific coast, and both bearing the name of Hernan Gallego; while none of the writers who refer to them thought it necessary to distinguish between them. And yet, if they were one and the same, we should have to believe that Gallego lived to 92, and commanded a ship at 85. In the narrative here translated, Gallego says "I have been 45 years at sea, and 30 of them a pilot, yet never have I seen such a storm." If this was written in 1569, immediately after the return (and Mendaña refers to the narrative in his own report made not later than September, 1569), Gallego must have been born, at least as early as 1514. It is possible, however, that the passage in question may have been written some years after the author's return, and that it referred to the date at which he was writing. We first hear of Lamero in 1578, when Drake captured a small merchant vessel belonging to him. He suffered under a general accusation of giving false reports of his voyages; and, by an inaccurate report of this adventure, he induced the Viceroy to despatch Sarmiento on his abortive pursuit of Drake to Panama, at a cost of 4,000 dollars.<sup>1</sup> In later life, his title of Almirante, at first self-assumed, seems to have been publicly recognised.

In two shipwrecks on the Pacific coast, a Hernan Gallego was cast away. In his account of Chile, written in 1649, Alonso de Ovalle wrote: "The third river is called the Gallegos, from a Spaniard of that name who sailed along these coasts, and, like another Icarus, gave his name to one of them by being drowned in the sea hard by it, at a Cape which has the same name."<sup>2</sup> The geographer Lopez de Velasco, writing in 1571-4, speaks of the Puerto de Hernan Gallegos in 48 $\frac{2}{3}$  deg., and in Espinoza's *Geography of Chile* (1897), Cape Gallegos is placed in 46 deg.

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<sup>1</sup> *Historia de Valparaiso*, by B. Vicuña Mackenna, Valparaiso, 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Churchill's *Voyages*.

35 min., on the west side of the peninsula of Tres Montes. If the name had been bestowed when Velasco wrote in 1571, it follows that this shipwreck occurred about 1570.

From the curious volume of MS. charts called "The Buccaneers' Atlas," or "South-Sea Waggoner,"<sup>1</sup> we reproduce a little plan recording the fact that in 1590, Hernando Gallegos, Pilot, was cast away in the ship *San Niego*, on the shoals at the mouth of the River Zana.<sup>2</sup>

The expression "cast away" does not necessarily imply drowning, and this Hernan Gallegos may have survived the wreck, to endow the Augustine Friars with his estate in 1606.

If Ovalle was right, it is probable that Hernan Gallego lost his life in the south of Chile, within two years of his return from the Solomons; but if he was merely guessing at the derivation of the name, "Puerto de Gallegos," the discoverer of the Solomon Islands may have ended his career, at the River Sana, in the wreck of "the galleon that abounded in treasure." The question is not, perhaps, of great importance.

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA was destined to become one of the most celebrated navigators of the sixteenth cen-

<sup>1</sup> "The Buccaneers' Atlas," an account of the coast from the port of Acapulco to the Straits of Lemaire, by William Hack, 1692, consists of a curious set of coloured charts. It was bought by Sir James Bateman, of the South Sea Company, from William Hill, who, in an autograph letter dated December 3rd, 1711, thus describes it:—"There is a large laborious ornamentall guilt booke of mine with a redde cover in your office at Broad Streete, called the South Sea Waggoner, being ye long experience of ye famous Bucknere, Captain Barth Sharpe, and of an ancient French captain that hee tooke with his booke, maps, and papers, who had used those seas 70 yeares, being all in ye said booke, composed and depicted by one Captain William Hack, deceased, of whom I, about 18 yeares ago, purchased ye said booke and paid him £70 for ye same." The book was sold lately by Mr. Quaritch for £90.

<sup>2</sup> Sana river, 15½ miles south of Eten Point, which is in about 7 deg. S. lat.

Mount of Eten nt 4  
 Leagues dist: at now  
 appears thus

5000

Shoulds of Zana

On which hath been lost  
 several rich shippes:  
 Take notice that on these Shoulds of the River Zana  
 Hernando Gallegos Pilot was Cast away in the Ship's Niogo  
 of the Cuppān malchor of Segura in the year 1599 & in the  
 Ship was abundance of Treasure



St Barhiora

From the "South Sea Waggoner", or "Buccaneer's Atlas", M.S. by William Hack, 1692.



ture. From the records of the Inquisition,<sup>1</sup> we learn that he was born at Alcala de Henares about 1532, and brought up at Pontevedra, near the western coast of Galicia. He entered the army at the age of eighteen, and having served in the European wars from 1550 to 1555, crossed over to the Indies to seek his fortune in 1557. After two years spent in Mexico and Guatemala, he went to Peru. For the next seven years he devoted himself to the study of native Peruvian history, which afterwards bore fruit in his memorial to Philip II on the Antiquities of the Incas, written to prove that they, the Incas themselves, were usurpers, and had no title to empire in Peru. He seems to have been on intimate terms with the household of the Viceroys, the Marquis de Cañete and the Conde de Nieva. On the arrival of Mendaña's uncle, Lope Garcia de Castro, as Governor of Peru, after the mysterious assassination of the Conde de Nieva, Sarmiento fell into the clutches of the Holy Office. There were questions of a magic ink that he knew of, which no woman, receiving a love-letter written with it, could withstand, and of two magic rings engraved in Chaldean characters. For these high crimes, despite of convincing proof of innocence, he was sentenced to hear Mass in the Cathedral, stripped to the bare skin, and to perpetual banishment from the Indies ; but upon appeal to the Pope the second portion of the sentence was remitted. It was many years, however, before he was freed from the persecutions of the Holy Office. His after-life, as well as the matters that had procured for him the attention of the Inquisitors, show him to have possessed some mathematical attainments, and a turn for inquiry and invention. It was he who first announced

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<sup>1</sup> *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en Chile*, por Don Jose Toribo Medina, Santiago, 1890, vol. i, p. 310. Quoted by Sir Clements Markham, who has written an excellent account of Sarmiento's life in No. XCI of the Hakluyt Society's volumes.

that Tupac Inca Yupanqui had discovered islands in the Western Ocean, and persuaded the governor to despatch the expedition here described.

He was a difficult subordinate. Warped by jealousy of Gallego's influence with his commander, he was disloyal and disobedient throughout the voyage. In his expedition to the interior of Ysabel Island, he showed exaggerated caution, and a rough-handed manner with the natives that foreshadowed the cruelties which he afterwards practised in Peru.

On the homeward voyage Mendaña sent him in the *Almiranta*, which parted company with her consort, as it was believed, with intention ; and at Realejo, whether on this account, or because he declared his intention of bringing charges against his commander, he was left behind. He was destined himself later to know the evil that may be wrought by a mutinous subordinate.

In November, 1569, Castro being relieved by the new Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, Sarmiento returned to Peru, and was at once restored to favour. Confronted with Mendaña, both before the Viceroy and the Royal Audience, he appears to have justified his conduct—no difficult matter now that Mendaña's uncle was superseded. Toledo, being resolved to sweep away the Inca family, found a ready tool in Sarmiento, who pursued Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, into the mountains, and captured him with his own hand. Thus he was the instrument of perhaps the foulest judicial murder in the whole of the Spanish annals. The young Inca was executed in the public square of Cuzco, despite the protests of the most influential Spaniards and the execration of the natives. Sarmiento felt no remorse ; for nine years afterwards he advised the King to continue the persecution of the survivors of the Inca family.<sup>1</sup> But

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<sup>1</sup> Thomar, quoted by Sir Clements Markham (Hakluyt Soc., No. XCI, p. xix).

from that day the curse of the murdered Incas lay heavy on him, and brought all his enterprises to destruction.

Sarmiento was now employed to prepare a map and a history of the Incas for transmission to the King, being, as the Viceroy wrote, "the most able man on this subject that I have found in the country."<sup>1</sup> But the persecution of the Holy Office was resumed; Sarmiento was accused of possessing certain astronomical rings—doubtless instruments for navigation—which the Inquisitors took for the tools of necromancy. The former sentence of banishment was confirmed; and, being further found guilty of showing the palm of his hand to an old woman, he was imprisoned in November, 1575, and again sentenced to banishment. But the Viceroy, Toledo, ordered his release, and restored him to the King's service under his special protection.

In February, 1579, Drake reached Callao, and acting upon inaccurate information from Hernan Gallego Lamero, whose ship Drake had captured, the Viceroy despatched Sarmiento as far as Panama in pursuit. On his return from this unsuccessful quest, he was placed in command of an expedition to fortify the Strait of Magellan, and to intercept Drake on his return. His survey of the Strait has received high praise from modern English surveyors.

On his arrival in Spain, a powerful fleet was equipped to fortify and found settlements in the Strait; and with these objects in view, a number of colonists embarked with their families. Sarmiento was now to learn the bitterness of working with disloyal lieutenants, and perhaps to remember the evil part he himself had played in Mendaña's expedition: for the command of the fleet was entrusted to an incompetent and cowardly officer, Diego

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<sup>1</sup> The history has recently been discovered in the library of Göttingen University.



Flores de Valdes, who did his best to wreck the expedition from the outset. Taking the fact that Sarmiento had quarrelled in turn with Mendaña, with Villalobos, and with Flores, we may conclude that, stout seaman and skilled navigator as he was, he lacked one quality essential to success—the faculty of working amicably with others. After founding his settlements, he was captured by one of Grenville's ships in 1586, and taken prisoner to England, where he was presented to Sir Walter Raleigh and to Queen Elizabeth, who furnished him with money and a passport to Spain; but he was taken prisoner near Bayonne by the Vicomte de Bearne, a French Huguenot, and held to heavy ransom. When he was released in 1589, broken in health and prematurely aged by ill-treatment, the Spanish Armada had been defeated. It is not certain what became of him, for it is doubtful whether the Pedro Sarmiento who was living in Manilla in 1608 was the same man.

PEDRO DE ORTEGA was a native of Guadalcanal, in the province of Valencia, and had been Alguacil-Mayor of Panama. He was rated as *Maestro de Campo*, and in that capacity he led the expedition that scaled the dividing range of Ysabel Island. He commanded the brigantine in her first voyage, and on the whole he seems to have treated the natives with humanity. At Guadalcanal, and during the homeward voyage, he commanded the *Almiranta*, and sometimes he showed a restive and independent spirit. He was at the point of death when the ship reached Mexico, but eventually he recovered.

HERNANDO HENRIQUEZ, the Alférez-General, was the only person in the expedition who was accorded the title of Don. He commanded the brigantine in her second voyage, and treated the natives with a humanity and moderation that incensed Gallego, even leaving payment for the provisions which he took from his aggressors. He

was at the point of death when the ships reached the Mexican coast.

### THE VOYAGE.

In the *Capitana* sailed Mendaña, Gallego, Sarmiento, and Catoira; in the *Almiranta*, Ortega; the complement of one hundred and fifty men, including seventy soldiers, four Franciscan friars, and a number of black slaves, being distributed between the two vessels. They left Callao on Wednesday, November 19th, 1567, and steered west-south-west, for twenty-six days, until they reached S. lat. 15 deg. 30 min.; because the Viceroy, on Sarmiento's representation, had said that "in 15 degrees of latitude there were many rich islands, 600 leagues from Peru."<sup>1</sup>

Despairing of finding land in this latitude, Gallego recommended a more northerly course, and the ships were headed north-west, despite the protest of Pedro Sarmiento, who had already fallen out with Mendaña for not stopping three weeks earlier to investigate a cloud-bank, which some soldiers had mistaken for land; and who, relying upon some assurance given him by the Viceroy, claimed the right of being consulted in the navigation. From thenceforward he seems to have been blinded by jealousy of Gallego, whose advice Mendaña was wise enough to take on every occasion, and to have headed a party of grumblers,

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Colonel G. Earl Church for the following identification of the places from which Gallego took his bearings in this part of the voyage.

*El Morro de Hacarique*.—Acari, formerly Hacari; lat. 15 deg. 40 min. S., on the west side of Cape Lomas. It takes its name from the town of Acari, twenty-seven miles inland.

*Atequipara Point*.—Atequipa Valley lies in lat. 15 deg. 50 min. S., with a difficult boatlanding on the coast.

*El Morro de la Nalla*.—Doubtless a corruption of Morro de la Chala, in lat. 15 deg. 55 min. S., 3,740 feet above sea-level. Port Chala, twelve miles East, is the nearest port to Cuzco.

*Puerto de la Navidad*.—In 19 deg. 10 min. N. lat.

who would doubtless have broken out into open mutiny but for the tact of the young commander.

A week later, on December 21st, they passed to the southward of the Marquesas, which Mendaña was destined to discover twenty-seven years later. On December 30th the patience of the pilots was exhausted, and Gallego could only pacify them by promising to bring them to land before the end of January. They held a north-westerly course until they reached the latitude of 6 deg. south, where the full force of the westerly current was in their favour; and they ran down this latitude, passing a few miles to the north of the Union group. Gallego's prophecy was fulfilled. On January 15th they sighted an island which may be identified by the description with Nukufetau, one of the Ellice group. They had now been sixty-two days at sea; their water had become tainted, and they were all eager to set foot upon their new discovery. But Gallego, doubting that so insignificant an island as this coral atoll could support life, did not care to incur the risk of bringing the ships to anchor at a place which he believed to be uninhabited, and neglected to obey Mendaña's orders until they had fallen to leeward. He was quickly undeceived. Canoes put off from the shore, manned by people "who were naked and mulattoes," the ancestors of the Micronesian population of the present time; who would not approach the ship, but put out flags and lighted fires, apparently for the protection of their island.<sup>1</sup> It will surprise no one who has experienced the force of the current among these islands to read that, once having fallen to leeward, the Spanish ships lost ground in every tack they made while endeavouring to approach the land. Even

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. H. Codrington thinks that it must have been from these natives that the Spaniards heard the word *Tauriqui* (Te ariki), for chief, since the word does not belong to the group of languages in which the dialects of Ysabel Island are included.





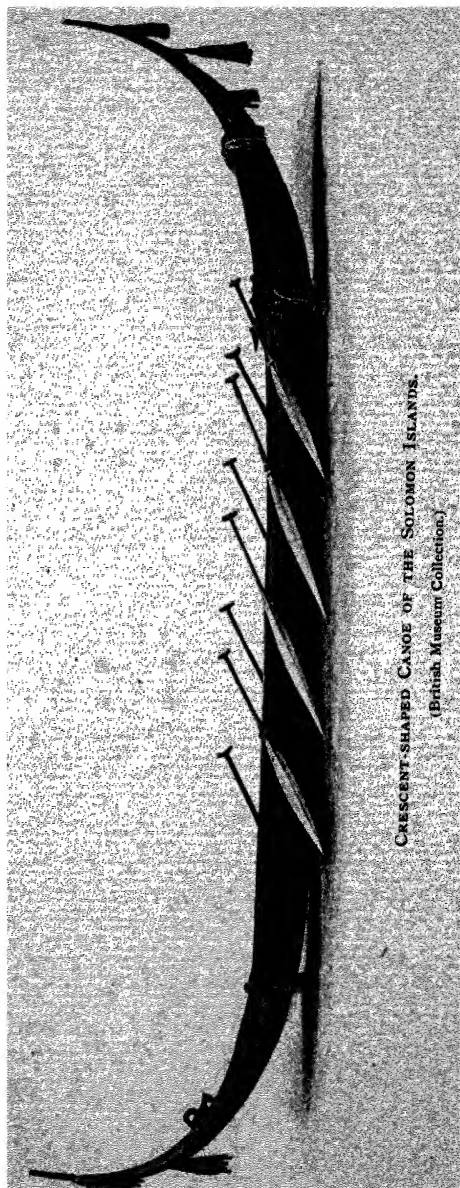
modern trading schooners, bound for an island only 15 miles to windward, have to run to 5 deg. N. to find an easterly current, occupying eight or nine days over the voyage. The natural indignation of the crew against Gallego for having cheated them of the fruits of their discovery was scarcely appeased by his assurance that he would give them "more land than they could people." Seventeen days later, they narrowly escaped shipwreck on an extensive reef, which lay right athwart their course. It being Candlemas Eve, the reef was called Candelaria—a name which has been assigned, as we think wrongly, to the Roncador Shoal. Though Mendaña and Catoira mention a reef only, Gallego says that there were "several small islands lying in the midst of it," and adds that it was 15 leagues across. This description will apply only to the Lord Howe Islands, named Ongtong Java by Tasman, and lately ceded to England by Germany under the Samoa Convention. If the Spaniards had explored the islands, they would have thrown light upon an interesting page in Polynesian ethnology: for the islands are now inhabited by the descendants of Polynesian castaways, who have the language and some of the customs of their light-coloured ancestors, combined with a Melanesian physique; and there is no clue to the date of this infusion of alien blood.

The ships now encountered what appears to have been the outer edge of a cyclone—a rare, though not an unrecorded, occurrence in this latitude. Drifting southward all the while without knowing it, they spent the next six days in fruitless endeavours to regain the reef; until, on February 7th, Gallego descried land, and the crews of both vessels, transported with delight, sang the *Te Deum*. It was Ysabel Island, the most central of the Solomon group; but the land seemed so mountainous and so limitless, that they believed it to be a continent. The natives came off at

once in canoes "shaped like a crescent moon" (the canoes shown in our illustrations), and "went about the ship, carefully seeking something to steal, and if they found anything left about, they quickly threw it overboard, for the others to pick up from the canoes;" which is precisely the behaviour of their descendants of to-day. They readily pronounced the Spanish words they overheard, even shouting "Afuera!" (Away!) to the Spaniards afterwards, when they wished to prevent them from exploring their country; and the *tauriqui* Bilebanara exchanged names with Mendaña in token of friendship, just as natives were wont to do all over the Pacific.

As they approached the shore, the ships became entangled in the barrier reef on the north side of Ysabel Island; and, but for the courage and resource of Gallego, who boldly sailed them over this coral patch into deep water, they would probably have been lost. As they gathered way in this dangerous course, they saw the planet Venus over the main topsail at ten o'clock in the morning; and, taking it for the star sent to guide the Magi (not knowing that it is a common phenomenon in these seas), they named the harbour Bahia de la Estrella, the name which has now been restored to it. They called the island after the patron saint of the voyage, Santa Ysabel, on whose day they had set out from Callao. With the piety that distinguished the Spanish adventurers of that day, their first act was to land and erect a cross and bow before it, while the Franciscans chanted the hymn *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt*.

That same afternoon Gallego landed his carpenter's crew to fell timber for the building of a brigantine, in which to explore the coast without endangering the ships. A portion of the materials had been brought with them from Callao; the rest had to be felled and sawn, and used green as it was.







Meanwhile, several exploring expeditions were undertaken in the neighbourhood of the bay. The chief, Bilebanara, who had been profuse in assurances, failed to give them the practical proof of his friendship which they most desired—an ample supply of food. The fact was that the food planted by the natives, though more than sufficient for their own needs, was not equal to meeting in addition the unexpected demands of a hundred and fifty hungry sailors; and Bilebanara had no other end in view but to disarm the hostility of the strangers, and to induce them to leave him alone. For a parallel to the political *morcellement* of Melanesia, we may look the world through in vain. Every petty tribal unit inhabiting a few square miles spoke a dialect that was almost a different language, and was at perpetual enmity with its neighbours. Every stranger was an enemy, whom it was a virtue to slay. Head-hunting canoes from other islands ranged the coast, attacking all who were not strong enough to repel them. Bilebanara was at war with Meta, his near neighbour to the eastward; and, though they both admitted some sort of suzerainty in Benebonefa, the chief of St. George's Island, the intercourse was so restricted that the natives on the south side of the island, not thirty miles from Estrella Bay, had not heard of the Spaniards, nor of the dread power of their arquebuses. It was the same thirty years ago, with this difference: that the powerful tribe of Benebonefa has vanished, its remnant having passed in this generation into the maw of the head-hunters of New Georgia and Vella Lavella; and Estrella Bay, which then swarmed with natives, is now desolate. The language of Bilebanara is still spoken, but by mountaineers of the hinterland, who now use many of the words which were taken down from the lips of their ancestors by the Spaniards, more than three centuries ago.

When two days had passed without a visit from Bilebanara, Ortega was sent inland to find him. The natives

received him coldly ; but, seeing that he made no attempt to push into the interior, abstained from attacking him. Mendaña now summoned a meeting of his officers and his chaplain, about which we, who are accustomed to regard the Spaniards of the sixteenth century as monsters of inhumanity in their relations with natives, cannot read without surprise. He pointed out that a fourth part of the provisions had been consumed ; and that, although the natives had been friendly, and had promised to barter food, yet they would not do so ; that it was necessary to the success of the expedition that food should be procured ; and he sought counsel of the Vicar, in order that he might do nothing to burden the consciences of himself and his soldiers. The Vicar's reply breathes a spirit of humanity and good sense that is often lacking in the explorers of our own day. They were free, he said, to go inland in search of provisions, paying for them in articles of barter ; and, if the natives refused to trade, they might take food in moderation, but not in such quantities as to cause distress to the natives. They were not to touch anything else, nor to commit any act of violence ; and if the natives attacked them, they were to act on the defensive, and abstain from reprisals.

Acting upon this sane advice, Mendaña despatched Pedro Sarmiento with twenty-two men to scale the ridge that formed the watershed of the island, and see what lay beyond. He was to trade with the natives, but not to take anything by force if they refused it. The expedition was a failure : the natives opposed the Spaniards in force at the foot of the range, and they spent a miserable night on the bank of a river, in the rain, discharging arquebuses every fifteen minutes throughout the night to keep the natives at a distance. Hearing from the natives that before him lay the territory of a great chief called Benebonefa (who afterwards proved to be the chief of St. George's Island at

the south-east end of Ysabel), Sarmiento lost heart, and turned back to the ships, with Bilebanara and his uncle, Havi, as guides. They were dogged by a large force of natives, who behaved threateningly, shouting the Spanish word "Afuera" (Away!), and fitting their arrows to the bowstring. Sarmiento, thereupon, hoping to keep Bilebanara as a hostage, caught hold of the shield suspended from his neck, but the chief ducked his head, and escaped. Havi, however, was secured, but that did not protect the Spaniards from attack. A soldier, Fernando Gallo, had his hand transfixed by an arrow; several natives were wounded by arquebus shots, Sarmiento himself despatching one of them with his sword; but the Spaniards fought their way to the beach without the loss of a man.

Mendaña was naturally much chagrined at the breach of his instructions, and on February 21st he ordered Sarmiento to restore the chief to his friends, together with a number of things that the soldiers had carried away in defiance of his orders. The natives behaved exactly as might be expected of them. They received Havi with great rejoicing, shouting to the Spaniards to sit down and extinguish the matches of their arquebuses, and they would bring them food in payment for their chief. They set down the food at a distance, but could not be induced to venture within range of the firearms. Two small expeditions were now despatched east and west along the coast for some twelve or fifteen miles. They found the shore westward of Estrella Bay uninhabited, as it is to this day, being "steep-to," and unsuited to settlement; but eastward of the bay it was densely populated, a contrast to its present condition.

On March 4th, Pedro de Ortega made an ascent of the main range with an escort of sixty men. They found the people of Bilebanara friendly, but when they began to climb the mountain, they encountered an inland tribe determined

to oppose their advance ; nevertheless, they pushed on to a village perched upon a high ridge, where they captured and secured the chief as hostage, just as he was attempting to get behind Ortega, the favourite position for attack. The natives having fled to the bush, the Spaniards occupied their houses for the night. Here occurred an incident which proved that friendly intercourse existed between the mountaineers and the coast people. One of Bilebanara's men who had been to the ships, and had exchanged names with Don Henriquez, approached alone, and behaved with such insolence that they tied him up beside the *tauriqui*: he escaped next day, after boldly attempting to wrest an arquebus from the soldier who guarded him. After very arduous climbing and desultory fighting with the natives, they reached the summit of the range, whence they had a view of the sea on the south side of the island, their prisoner subsequently confirming their conclusions by drawing a map in the dust, and indicating the enclosed space as *caba* (land), and the unenclosed as *sina* (sea). That night the prisoner escaped, and the Spaniards, having again obtained a view of the sea from a higher point, set out to return to the ships. They were at once attacked by a large body of natives, but, in obedience to Mendaña's humane orders, they continued to fire in the air, setting fire to huts and temples in the hope of delaying the enemy. Of two soldiers who were wounded by arrows, one died afterwards of tetanus. The killing of a native with an arquebus-shot at last checked the attack, and the Spaniards found Bilebanara's people waiting for them with propitiatory offerings of food, though many of them had been recognised as taking part in the attack. The Vicar, Galvez, and another friar accompanied this expedition at Ortega's request, to advise him what course to take in any hostilities that might arise with the natives; and we are told that the Vicar was "much edified at the

good Christian purpose" displayed by the commander, who, it must be confessed, behaved with great humanity even when judged by a modern standard, seeing that he suffered two casualties before he permitted any retaliation.

There is one very puzzling passage in this part of the narratives. We are told that besides snakes, lizards, and scorpions, two or three *sabandijas* (? reptiles) were found in each of the temples, in their nests, and that the natives fed and worshipped them. The Spaniards also found them hung upon sticks in the houses near the fireplaces, and at night they sang like birds, and *unlike other snakes*; and one of them bit a soldier, who trod upon it, without subsequent hurt.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later, while Mendaña was on shore, superintending the building of the brigantine, seven war canoes approached, and presented him with the quarter of a boy, together with some taro roots: probably the only instance in the history of the Pacific of Europeans being invited to take part in cannibalism—a custom which the natives appear instinctively to conceal from strangers. The Spaniards were much shocked, and they buried the limb in sight of their visitors, who had been on a head-hunting expedition at an island 20 leagues distant. They came from a district or island to the westward, so their chief "Bene" could not have been the Bencbonefa of St. George's Island. They went off to Hakelaki Island, then called Cuia, and lighted a large fire, from which the Spaniards drew the natural inference: the island is described by Mr. Woodford as "just the place for a cannibal feast."

Bilebanara, whose houses and temples had been spared by Ortega, now made friendly overtures, and voluntarily sent a hostage named "Diabolico" to the ships, asking

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Welchman says that the green tree-frogs are sometimes kept tied by the legs to sticks, for the sake of their piping, which may easily be mistaken for the note of a night bird.

for a Spanish hostage in exchange. While the point was in debate, a slave-boy called Terejo jumped into a canoe, and wrung from Mendaña a reluctant consent to his going. When he had been two days and a night away from the ships, a culverin was fired as a signal, and shortly afterwards he met his commander upon the beach. He was quite sorry to leave the natives, who had made a pet of him, setting their best before him, and plying him with questions until far into the night.

As a proof of this restored friendship, Mendaña undertook to help Bilebanara in his feud with the common enemy, Meta. To the Spaniards, who had had rude experience of the native method of warfare, it was not a congenial enterprise; and, when Bilebanara failed to appear at the head of his warriors, the Spaniards eagerly seized upon the excuse to dismiss all their allies but six, and to make the attack unaided. They left on March 18th, under Pedro de Ortega; but the Spaniards were too solicitous for Bilebanara's welfare after their departure to make any serious assault upon his adversary. They contented themselves with capturing Meta's son and three other natives, to serve as interpreters. Bilebanara now came off to the ships in state, made submission to the King of Spain, and forswore cannibalism. The account of his behaviour, left us by Mendaña and his Chief Purser, is most vivid and minute. Everything was done to win his confidence, except the surrender of the four prisoners, which he most desired; and which Mendaña, with the cannibal feast fresh in his memory, curtly refused.

The brigantine was launched on April 4th, fifty-four days from the felling of the first tree for her timbers, and christened the *Santiago*. Her career was scarcely less remarkable than that of two other little vessels, built in the South Sea Islands, which have left their mark in the history of maritime discovery—the schooner built by the *Bounty*

mutineers, which, manned by bluejackets from the frigate *Pandora*, was the first European vessel to anchor in the Fiji Islands ; and the *Messenger of Peace*, built by the missionary, John Williams, of native timber, without nails, paint, canvas, or caulking, which spread Christianity through Eastern Polynesia. The brigantine was undecked, and just large enough to carry thirty men with their armament and stores ; that is to say, of about four or five tons burden. She mounted a small culverin, and she was protected against attack by "waist-cloths" or boarding nettings. Pedro de Ortega was placed in command of her, with Gallego as his pilot ; and among the seamen and soldiers was one who wrote the admirable anonymous report of her first cruise which is incorporated in Mendaña's narrative. Without her the Spaniards must inevitably have perished in the Solomon Islands ; for, as Gallego pointed out in his answer to Sarmiento's protest against the boat voyage, it would have been madness to take the clumsy ships out of their safe anchorage in Estrella Bay, to beat about in a network of reefs without knowing in what direction anchorage could be found.

#### FIRST VOYAGE OF THE BRIGANTINE.

Ortega's instructions were to steer eastward in search of the lost continent pronounced by Sarmiento to lie south of the Isle of Jesus ; but as soon as Gallego had tested the seaworthy qualities of his little craft, he wisely resolved to cross no open sea in her. Sailing on April 7th, they coasted until they made the eastern point of Ysabel, whence they stood across to the Gela<sup>1</sup> group, named Florida in the modern charts. From the point of Ysabel they sighted Malaita, which they named Isla de Ramos. The native name Mala is the same to-day as it was then ; but, as in

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<sup>1</sup> Pronounced "Nngela."



the case of Tahiti, where Cook mistook the article "O" for a part of the name, and called it Otaheite, the Spaniards set down *Mala eta* ("There is Mala") as Malaita; and their mistake has been perpetuated by modern cartographers.

Mr. Woodford has been at pains to identify the islands in the Gela (Florida) group visited by the brigantine; and, with the advantage of having the journals of Catoira and Gallego on the spot, he has come to a different conclusion from that of Dr. Guppy<sup>1</sup> (see p. 30, *note*). But even his identification leaves the island of Tanakula unaccounted for. It is clear, however, that after a sanguinary encounter with the natives of Olevunga on Easter Day, the Spaniards left the group by the Sandfly passage, and stood across for Guadalcanar,<sup>2</sup> passing the volcanic island of Savo a few miles on their starboard hand. The volcano was then in eruption, as it has been more than once during the present century; and, reminded by its outline of an island that lay opposite his Galician home, a little westward of la Coruña, Gallego named it Sesarga. It happened that Lord Amherst had Catoira's narrative on board his yacht when he was cruising along the Galician coast in 1879, and he bore up to Sesarga, when one of his daughters made a hasty sketch of the island. This was immediately recognised by the coastguard at la Coruña. The white line, "which appears to be a road descending from the top to the sea,"<sup>3</sup> was conspicuous, and the general similarity of appearance may be judged by comparing the sketch of Sesarga with that of Savo drawn by Mr. C. M. Woodford, and shown in the illustration facing p. 30. This island, the only volcano in the group, was an important clue to

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<sup>1</sup> *The Solomon Islands*, pp. 207, 274.

<sup>2</sup> The proper Spanish spelling, Guadalcanal, has been followed in these translations: Guadalcanar, the present name, is a corruption.

<sup>3</sup> In Savo this "road" is a dry water-course debouching near the village of Koila. Except in very rainy weather, the water is absorbed by the porous soil before it reaches the sea.

the identification of the discoveries of the Spaniards by Fleurieu and Burney.<sup>1</sup>

Gallego, though he did not visit it, says that it was rich in food, *mamees* (? *flames*, *i.e.*, yams), *panales*, which, though translated honeycombs, probably means the *pana*, or small yam, roots and pigs. Savo is still celebrated for its yams.

Early on April 19th, the brigantine dropped anchor at the mouth of the Tu-umbuto River, on the north side of Guadalcanar. The natives, men, women and children, dashed into the sea, and dragged the boat ashore by the grapnel. Then, with cries of "Mate! Mate!" (Dead! Dead! *i.e.*, Danger!), a word which the Spaniards not unnaturally took for their own word "Matar"—to slay, they began to throw stones at the crew, who replied with their arquebuses, killing two of their assailants.

Having taken formal possession, and victualled the brigantine from the deserted village, Ortega set sail to return to the ships, passing to the west of Savo, and making Ysabel Island at the sound that separates St. George's Island from the main island, now called, after Gallego's description, "Thousand Ships Bay." St. George's Island proved to be the seat of the mysterious chief Benebonefa, whose suzerainty was admitted as far north as Estrella Bay. The native name was Veru or Boru. There is now no general name for the whole island, and the swarming population which then received Ortega on the beach has vanished: the last remnant, inhabiting a village named Konda, on the site of Benebonefa's town, having been swept away by head-hunters from New Georgia during the present generation. Ortega's proceedings at this island can scarcely be defended. The natives were friendly, but they declined to sell him

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<sup>1</sup> There was a severe eruption about 1850, in which several natives met their deaths. Govana, the chief of Koila, remembers fleeing for safety with his parents to Veivali in Guadalcanar.

any of the pigs with which the island seemed to swarm ; nor would they present him to their chief, who appeared to have heard something of the Spanish methods of obtaining "interpreters," and prudently kept out of the way. Thereupon the Spaniards seized four large canoes, and demanded a ransom of ten pigs. The natives brought four, and received two of the stolen canoes, endeavouring to redeem the others by large tusks,<sup>1</sup> which, being incomparably more valuable in the native estimate than living pigs, proved that the latter could not be caught. But Ortega was obdurate, and the brigantine sailed away with the canoes in tow.

Clearing the sound by its northern passage, the brigantine sailed along the southern coast of Ysabel Island. There the crew were twice assailed by small fishing canoes: which caused the shrewd old chronicler to reason that there could not be much cohesion among the tribes, if the tidings of the destructive power of the arquebuses had not travelled these few leagues along the coast. Here they sighted two apparent islands which must have been Cape Pitt and Vangunu, the easterly extremity of New Georgia, and named them S. Nicholas and Arracifes (Reefs). Gallego, meanwhile, had determined the breadth of Ysabel to be 20 leagues by observation, which is an indication of the inaccuracy of the nautical instruments of the time, for it is thrice its actual breadth. The brigantine passed through Austria Sound, at the western extremity of Ysabel, into Port Praslin,<sup>2</sup> whence Choiseul Island was sighted and named S. Marcos. The voyage eastward to Estrella Bay was now a dead beat against the easterly trade wind ;

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<sup>1</sup> These, as Mr. Woodford thinks, may have been the teeth of the dugong, which is common near the shores of St. George ; but the teeth of the sperm-whale and boars' tusks are also prized by the natives. The latter, however, would have been familiar to the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> The west end of Ysabel is an archipelago of small islands, as Gallego describes it, and not as depicted in the present chart.

and, when the brigantine was within a few leagues of the ships, Ortega sent on one of the canoes which they were towing, a seaman with nine soldiers, and the son of the *tauriqui* Meta, to relieve Mendaña's anxiety. By the clumsiness of her crew the canoe was stranded upon a reef, and the people spent a wretched night in walking back towards the brigantine, with bare feet along the iron-bound coast. Their native prisoner took to flight; and hunger, thirst, and the fear that the brigantine would pass them unobserved, had driven them to despair, when they came upon a cross erected by an exploring party from the ships. At the same moment the brigantine hove in sight, and picked them up. Two days later, on May 5th, they reached the ships.

#### ARRIVAL AT GUADALCANAR.

Mendaña lost no time in profiting by the new discoveries, and on May 8th the ships set sail for Guadalcanar; after an act of perhaps necessary perfidy, which must have left the worst impression upon the natives of Estrella Bay. Meta's son having escaped from the brigantine, it was necessary to secure other interpreters; and, upon the pretext that Bilebanara had not been to visit him for some days, Mendaña seized and detained two of his men who were visiting the ships, without, as far as we are told, again calling upon the Vicar to salve his conscience. Bilebanara needed no better justification for his caution and reserve.

On May 12th, the ships found an anchorage under the lee of the little islet of Tandai, which was named Puerto de la Cruz. The friars landed with a cross, and said Mass; and afterwards carried the cross to the top of a high hill, where they set it up. As they turned to come down, the natives, who had been quietly watching their proceedings, discharged a flight of arrows at them. The

Spaniards replied, killing a chief and one of his men, who, the Spaniards believed, of course erroneously, were subsequently eaten by their fellow-tribesmen. Next morning the natives were seen to be carrying away the cross on their shoulders, and Sarmiento was despatched with a party to recover it. But before he reached the hill-top the natives had brought it back, and set it up again. A few days later, they were seen to be stripping the fruit from a grove of cocoanuts in the harbour, the property of the dead chief, for whose obsequies they were required. The Spaniards had marked the grove for their own, and this was more than they could suffer ; Mendaña accordingly landed to put a stop to it. He found two natives, who knocked down the remaining fruit for the Spaniards, at the same time giving them to understand that they were free to take cocoanuts from the dead man's property, but not from the marked trees. The passage is interesting in that it describes two customs of the present day—the stripping of a dead man's plantation as a mark of honour to his memory, and the custom of making fruit *tabu* by tying leaves round the stem of the tree.

The brigantine was now caulked and victualled for a second voyage of discovery to the eastward, under the command of Don Hernando Henriquez, with Gallego as his pilot. She sailed on May 19th ; and on the same day Andres Nuñez, a lancer of Peru, went inland with twenty-two men to prospect the stream beds for alluvial gold, leaving sixty men in the ships.

This expedition, though barren of result, was full of adventure. Having travelled eight or nine miles eastward up the coast, the party struck inland, continually assailed by the natives with arrows and stones. They had with them dogs, and a native interpreter from Estrella Bay, who, Catoira remarks, was able to make himself understood in Guadalcanar, and who succeeded on several occasions in

pacifying their assailants and persuading them to give the party food. The natives seem to have acted throughout more from curiosity and fear than determined hostility, and their efforts to oppose the Spaniards' advance was but half-hearted. Only two attempts were made to prospect for gold, and in both cases the current was too strong for the washing-dish, and the annoyance from the natives too persistent for careful experiment, though the miners of the party professed to have found "indications of gold." They brought back with them some "fowls of Castille," which swarmed in several of the villages, though they were too active on the wing to be caught easily. These were the progenitors of the native poultry, which must have been domesticated in the Pacific Islands long before the arrival of Europeans, but which is now being rapidly displaced by the European breed. Two of the miners contracted fever, and Nuñez himself died a few days after his return from this expedition.

Mendaña meanwhile had not been idle. The natives in the neighbourhood of Puerto de la Cruz, if not friendly, were not openly hostile; and he penetrated several miles inland with a small party, and saw an astonishing number of villages. The population of this now almost deserted district must at this time have been very large. The whole country was under cultivation; irrigated taro plantations covered every hillside; and in the broad plains to the westward, intersected by rivers, he saw smoke rising in every direction. After reading Catoira's enumeration of the villages through which he passed, one is less inclined to doubt the number of the fighting men who are described as assailing the Spaniards later.

Although the ships had been but six months out from Callao, their stores were already running low. The daily ration was 8 oz. of salt meat, 8 oz. of biscuit, and such native food as they could obtain. But now the native

food gave out ; and the crew, with the approval of the friars, began to expostulate with Mendaña, who had refused to give them the means of bartering with the natives on their own account, though only two natives had ventured on board the ships since their arrival at the island. The unfortunate events that ensued were the natural outcome of an impossible situation. The natives would not sell food, and the Spaniards could not starve in the midst of plenty. Gentle measures having failed, Mendaña had recourse to Pedro Sarmiento, whose ruthlessness, as shown in his exploits both here, and afterwards in Peru, marked him for rough-handed work with the natives. He cleared a village of its stores, returning to his boat but just in time to prevent the massacre of her crew by a body of natives, who had already gone so far as to feel a soldier's leg to see whether it was tender. On a second expedition, Catoira relates how they got near enough to a village in the night to hear the natives laughing over the Spaniards' abortive efforts to induce them to sell food. On this occasion they captured a native by treachery, and carried him to the ship, to the displeasure of Mendaña, who foresaw what such proceedings must lead to. Another wanton capture of a little boy of six helped to precipitate hostilities. The child was the son of a chief who, according to Gallego's account, offered a pig in ransom and was refused.

The storm broke on Ascension Day. Perez, the steward, "a very passionate man," had been in the habit of landing daily for water ; but on that day, "because they saw how changed the Indians were," it was deemed prudent to send with him an escort under an old soldier, Juan de Salas, who had always preached distrust of the natives. They had not been long on shore when an unusual commotion was observed. Mendaña landed and hastened to the watering-place, noticing, as he ran, two natives making grimaces at him and holding up the leg of a dead man.

On a little islet near the river was a negro, badly wounded, who proved to be the only survivor of the ten who had gone in the boat. The rest were found mutilated and dismembered. The caution of old de Salas, the choleric outbursts of Perez, had availed them nothing. It appeared that they had incautiously gone inland to gather cocoanuts, and had fallen into an ambushade, although the survivor had a less simple tale to tell.<sup>1</sup>

Chastisement being now the order of the day, Sarmiento was not idle. It seemed that a *tauriqui* named Nano, or Nobolo, while professing friendship for the Spaniards, had collected warriors from the villages for several miles round to attack them. Sarmiento found it impossible to provoke them to open fight, though he burned all the villages within a large radius. Once or twice the natives contrived an ambush ; but one of the Spaniards' dogs detected them by scent, and saved his masters. A wounded native, whom they captured, told them that the assassins were the people of Lunga, on the San Urbano river. Thus far they had killed and wounded about forty natives ; and when Mendaña sent to the *Almiranta* for a contingent to chastise the Lunga people, he met with a refusal, the soldiers being alarmed at the accounts brought back by Ortega from a foray which he had undertaken from the *Almiranta* on his own account. On June 6th, however, they were reinforced by the crew of the brigantine, which had returned before her time, owing to the illness of Gallego and several of her crew. Three days later, while the carpenter's crew were cutting a main-topmast on the islet of Tandai, a canoe was observed to put out from the shore with a pig, while large numbers of the natives were collecting on shore. Whether they intended to kill the party on the island, as the Spaniards thought, or were bringing the pig as a peace-

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<sup>1</sup> See Catoira's account, vol. ii.



offering—which is more likely, considering the chastisement they had received—was never ascertained, because none was taken alive. A strong party from the ships intercepted the canoe; and, having killed all her occupants, quartered the bodies and laid them on the spot where the Spaniards had been massacred. It was useless to stay longer in a district wherein every house had been burnt, every ounce of native food destroyed or consumed, and every native converted into an enemy burning for revenge. On June 13th, after setting the last village on fire, Mendaña left the Puerto de la Cruz for one of the islands discovered in the brigantine, and reported by Gallego to be suitable for careening the ships, which must, by this time, have been honeycombed by the teredo.

#### SECOND VOYAGE OF THE BRIGANTINE.

We must go back to May 19th, the day on which Henriquez and Gallego had set sail in the brigantine. They coasted eastward along Guadalcanar, touching at the larger villages for food and water. The coast was densely populated, and the natives, though they received them peacefully, could not resist the temptation of throwing stones at them while they were re-embarking. In order to obtain food, Gallego pursued the same tactics that had succeeded at St. George's Island in the former cruise: he seized their canoes, and held them to ransom; provoking the people of one village to resort to a curious trick, which seems to show that the pigs were not so plentiful as the Spaniards supposed. Having made a dummy pig of straw, they carried it to the beach on a pole, as pigs are carried, and came off to the brigantine to claim their canoe; but, seeing that their trick was discovered, they attacked the Spaniards until put to flight by the report of the arquebuses. At the Bokokimbo river the natives made a

determined attempt to drag the vessel ashore by her anchor, and, being repulsed by the arquebuses, they threw up bastions in the sand to prevent the Spaniards from watering; nor were they dispersed until fired upon with the culverins. It is strange to read that, after such treatment, the same natives were induced to carry water to the vessel. At Aola,<sup>1</sup> which is described as containing "more than three leagues of dwellings," the Spaniards were received with great hospitality by over 3,000 unarmed natives. This quality of friendliness to strangers, which seems to be hereditary in the tribe, led Mr. Woodford to choose Aola as his headquarters during his first visit to the group.

Catoira's account of this part of the voyage is full of graphic pictures of native life. At one place, a single warrior came out in a canoe paddled by seven boys, "making grimaces and contortions like a devil," which is the native form of challenge. The Ysabel interpreter clapped on a mask, and went to meet him, spear in hand. The encounter was noisy but bloodless, for, after grimacing and roaring at each other for some time to the great diversion of the Spaniards, they separated, and the brigantine pursued her course. The natives were most provocative when the brigantine was leaving them; for a retreat without fighting was attributed to fear, and the tiny vessel, manned by but thirty men, was no doubt a great temptation to them. They were emboldened, too, by Don Henriquez' refusal to allow his people to fire upon them, until they had discharged their arrows: a humane policy that provoked that bluff seaman, Gallego, beyond endurance. In Marau Sound, at the eastern extremity of Guadalcanar, the report of arquebuses, discharged in the air, had ceased to have any terrors for the natives; and

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<sup>1</sup> The proper spelling, according to the native pronunciation, would be *Aula*.

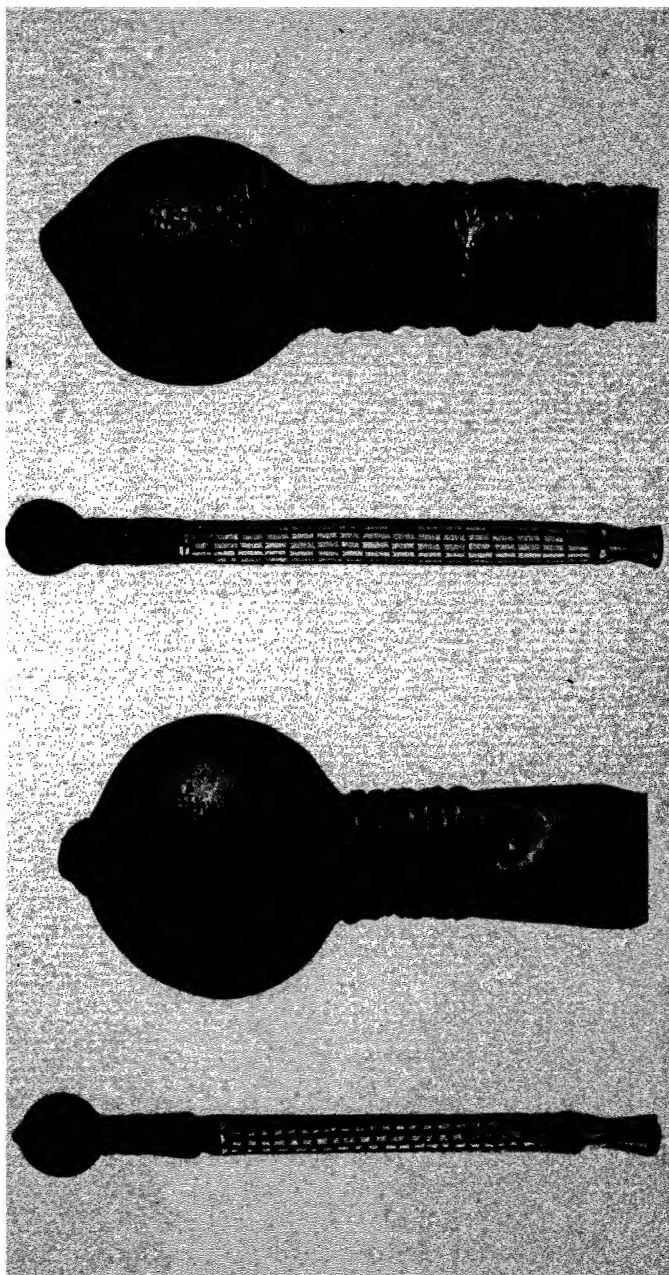
there was a sanguinary skirmish which cost the islanders several lives.

The brigantine now stood across for Malaita, making the harbour called Uhu in the Admiralty Chart. The natives boarded the brigantine, and were friendly for a time, but afterwards they made an attack in which their chief, or *mauriba*,<sup>1</sup> was killed by a shot from the culverin. In an island which seems even then to have been feared throughout the southern portion of the group, and which is still unsafe for Europeans to land upon, this is not surprising. Passing the Maramasiki Passage, which they took to be a river, though the tide was too strong to allow them to explore it, the Spaniards put into the port of La Asuncion, identified by Mr. Woodford as Ariel Harbour, and then stood across for Ulawa. Most of the Malaita natives seem to have been armed with clubs, with stone heads covered with plaited grass. One of these had been seen at the east end of Guadalcanar, and the fact that they are mentioned in most of the manuscripts testifies to the profound impression that they made upon the Spaniards, who judged them from their weight to be of gold. The soldiers carried on a brisk trade by bartering caps for them, until detected by Henriquez, who, to check them, dispelled the pleasant fallacy by hammering two of them together until they broke, though the metallic appearance of the fracture seems to have left some of the Spaniards unconvinced, despite this conclusive experiment.<sup>2</sup> Even

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<sup>1</sup> *Maeraka* is still the word for Chief in this part of Malaita.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is a valuable check upon our identification of the locality, for, as Mr. Woodford has pointed out since the note on p. 182 went to press, in this part of Malaita, and nowhere else in the Solomons, except Rennell Island, are made small, bâton-like clubs, about 18 in. long, which are said to be used for giving the *coup-de-grâce* to wounded prisoners. The handle is of hard wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl; the head is a nodule of iron or copper pyrites, bound to the handle, and completely covered over with fine grass-plaiting. They are now becoming rare, and there does not appear to be a





Mendaña took comfort from the reflection that iron-stone<sup>1</sup> "is the mother of all metals." Doubtless these stone clubs were partly responsible for the wild stories of gold in the islands that were current in Peru for many years afterwards, if not for the suggestive name of "Islas de Salomon" itself.

The following passage in Catoira's narrative is doubtless a description of the white wigs, made of grass fibre, which are still worn by the old men. "In that island (Malaita) the Indians wear caps made of white hair and Indian rubies, which they have; and some wear them blue in the middle and white at the sides."

At Ulawa the people received the brigantine peacefully, and sang to them all night; but when she put to sea, several canoes came out in pursuit of her. The pursuers now became the pursued; their canoes were captured, and in the battle that followed, twelve men and one woman were slain. The Spaniards, somewhat inconsequently, named the island La Treguada (Truce Island), because the truce was broken; but Gallego gives its native name as Uraba, which, allowing for the ordinary metathesis in Melanesian names, is identical with its present name, Ulawa. The people have no reason to love Europeans, for Surville, who was the next to touch at the island, exactly two centuries later (1769), fired upon them with grape-shot. More appositely than the Spaniards, he called the place "Contrariété," though the name referred to the disposition of the weather, rather than to that of the inhabitants.

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perfect specimen in the British Museum, but we produce here photographs of two specimens that coincide exactly with the Spanish description. For these photographs we are indebted to Mr. Edge-Partington, who is perhaps the first authority on South Sea weapons. They may here be compared with the stone-headed clubs of New Britain.

<sup>1</sup> The word *margagita* means metallic stone. In the Paris MS. it has been transcribed as *margarita* (pearl).

From Ulawa the brigantine crossed to the three low-lying islands, re-discovered in 1769 by Surville, by whom they were given their present name, "The Three Sisters" (*Les Trois Sœurs*). Gallego called them "Les Tres Marias."<sup>1</sup> They seem then to have had water and inhabitants; they are now waterless and deserted.

The identification of the Spanish discoveries up to this point has been an easy matter. The distances, the descriptions, and the bearings would themselves have been sufficient, even if there had not been native names and words to check them by. But Gallego's narrative now becomes difficult to reconcile with the present chart; and in order to understand the difficulty, we must invite the reader to peruse this part of his narrative (p. 49) with our chart of the Solomon Islands before him.

It is clear that the next island at which he touched was Ugi, where he noted a harbour for future use in careening the ships before leaving the group. Thence he crossed over to a large mountainous island, 2 leagues to the southward, and 40 leagues in length. This, it is equally clear, was the northern coast of San Christoval (as its southern side was afterwards named by Mendaña). But, on the following day, the brigantine was driven by a north-east gale to the western extremity of the island (Cape Recherche), whence a view was obtained of a large island to the south-west, 18 leagues distant, and 4 leagues from Guadalcanar. This island was named San Urban. Now, there is no island, large or small, lying south-west of Cape Recherche, nor separated by 4 leagues from Guadalcanar. Dr. Guppy's suggestion,<sup>2</sup> that Gallego mistook the eastern peninsula of Cape Surville for a separate island, does not meet the difficulty; because, in the first place, it is not

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<sup>1</sup> The native name is *Olu Malau*, "The Three Malau."

<sup>2</sup> *The Solomon Islands*, p. 222.

visible either from Ugi or from Cape Recherche ; and in the second, it lies neither south-west nor 4 leagues from Guadalcanar. The only possible explanation is that Gallego thought that Guadalcanar, viewed from the eastward, was two distinct islands, divided by a narrow strait : an illusion due, perhaps, to the low free-board of the brigantine, which limited the point of vision to 6 ft. above the water ; but with such a mountainous mass it is difficult to believe that an old navigator like Gallego can have been thus deceived. The matter must rest there ; for, although Mr. Woodford has found among the San Christoval natives a tradition that an island formerly existed between Ulawa and their island in the position of Lark Shoal, we cannot suppose that a large island south of Guadalcanar has vanished during the last three centuries. The difficulty is enhanced by the persistent references to the north and south coasts of San Christoval as distinct islands, even after the ships had approached it from the westward.

The voyage of the brigantine was cut short by a severe attack of fever and ague which prostrated Gallego and several of the crew. With the trade wind behind her, the brigantine made a quick voyage back to the ships, filled with provisions which the natives of Guadalcanar, who had taken to heart the lessons taught them on the outward voyage, were glad to give her.

#### DEPARTURE FROM GUADALCANAR.

After inflicting punishment upon the murderers, the ships set sail from Puerto de la Cruz on June 13th, as already related. They beat up against the south-east trades, standing close inshore on the alternate tacks, "a pleasant sight to the large population," according to Sarmiento ; the pleasure, we can well believe, being dashed with no regrets



for the parting guest. On the second day, Paladino, one of the pilots, died, and was buried at sea. The ships anchored under the lee of the little island of Kokobara, opposite Aola.<sup>1</sup> The people received them hospitably, probably because they too were at war with the people of "Feday"—the murderers of the boat's crew. The ships set sail again on June 18th, intending to make for Ugi, where Gallego had marked a harbour for heaving them down; but the wind and current being contrary he could not fetch it, and he was obliged to pass to the southward of Santiago. At this point he adds to the confusion which clouds this part of his narrative by mistaking the southern coast of what he had already named Santiago for "an island which had not been seen by the brigantine," "narrow and hilly," and "very close to the Island of Santiago," and by giving it the second name of San Christoval, just as he had given Guadalcanar the second name of San Urban. After seven days' battling with the wind and currents, losing on one day what they had gained on its predecessor, the ships attempted to enter a harbour; but drifting back they took refuge in another, a little to the westward, where there was a village of eighty-six houses. They landed on July 1st, being received peaceably until they began to take food from the village by force, when the people flew to arms. There was a sharp encounter, and the natives fled to the bush with the loss of several killed. The food taken from the houses was sufficient to load a vessel.

### THIRD VOYAGE OF THE BRIGANTINE.

It being intended to find a better harbour for careening the ships, Mendaña ordered the brigantine to be pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Gallego gives the native name as *Urare*. The *l* and *r* are interchangeable in the Melanesian languages.

visioned for another voyage of exploration to the eastward, under the command of a soldier, Francisco Muñoz Rico, with Gallego as pilot, and a crew of twenty-three men. They sailed on July 4th. Muñoz Rico had a shorter way with the natives than Don Henriquez. In a harbour about the middle of the island they kidnapped two boys, and captured two canoes and a quantity of provisions. A canoe now preceded them, raising the whole coast in arms, so that "we could not take anything at all in that whole island." At the eastern end of San Christoval they discovered the two small islands of Santa Catalina and Santa Ana. Gallego gives the native name of the former as Aguare, which is certainly the present name, Owariki.<sup>1</sup> His version of the native name of Santa Ana, Ytapa, may be Owaraha, imperfectly caught. On anchoring at Santa Catalina they were boarded by twelve natives, who informed them by signs that there was more land in the south-east. If the Spaniards understood them correctly, they must have been referring to the Santa Cruz Islands, more than one hundred and fifty miles distant; and it is possible that they may have heard of their existence from castaways, driven from Santa Cruz by the south-east trade wind. There can, however, have been no inter-communication between the two groups, and it is more than doubtful whether the Pouro, of which Quiros heard at Taumako in 1606, was San Christoval, as has been assumed.<sup>2</sup>

When the Spaniards made preparations to land, there ensued the sequence of incidents which had almost passed into formal procedure—a shower of stones, a volley from

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<sup>1</sup> Or Owai'i, Little Owa; Owaraha being Big Owa.

<sup>2</sup> The most convincing of the reasons given by Dr. Codrington against this identification is that the natives do not call S. Christoval *Bauro*, which is the name of one district only. (*The Melanesians*, p. 6.)

the arquebuses, the flight of the natives, and the looting of their huts. A seaman climbed a high cocoanut palm to look for land, and reported a heavy swell from the eastward, showing that there was open sea in that direction.

The brigantine now stood over to the neighbouring island of Santa Ana (Owaraha), "a low, round island with a high place in the middle like a castle." The usual formalities with spears and arquebuses prevented the Spaniards from ascending the hill, and discovering the two curious fresh-water lakes with bottoms 100 feet below sea-level, which justify Dr. Guppy's comparison of the island to a "bowl of fresh water floating on the sea;" for it is in reality a disc of coral clinging about a submerged volcanic peak. That night they lay off in the brigantine, hearing no sound "but the crowing of many cocks"—a proof that the fowls were not *megapodidæ*.

On the following morning the foraging party fell into an ambush. The natives, with their bodies painted in streaks and with boughs on their heads, attacked them furiously, wounding three Spaniards and a negro, and transfixing the arm of Muñoz with a spear, which went through shield and arm alike; but, wounded as he was, he fell upon them with his sword, and put them to flight. Having burned the village, they set sail again for the ship. On the way thither, a canoe manned by four natives put off to them: they upset the canoe, and captured three alive, the fourth dying in defending himself. After these exploits, we are not surprised to read of Gallego's objection to further foraging expeditions in this direction, namely, that the whole coast was in arms against them.

On the return of the brigantine, Ortega and Gallego were dispatched to a harbour two miles distant, to find a place for careening the ships before proceeding in search

of further discoveries. On their report that the anchorage was sheltered and hot, and the water poor, it was decided, in the interests of the sick, to careen the ships where they were. Curiously enough, Gallego makes no mention of this important work, belonging peculiarly to his department. Everything was taken out of the vessels, which were then stranded and hove down, while for three weeks the entire company camped on shore. They were not left unmolested by the rightful owners, who lay in wait for stragglers, and killed a Spaniard who had strayed out of bounds without leave. But, on August 7th, they were able to re-embark without further loss. By this time the ten natives, whom they had brought from Ysabel and Guadalcanar, had all escaped, and only two of those kidnapped by the brigantine remained.

On August 7th a "parliament" was summoned to decide upon their future movements. Not only the officers, but the friars, soldiers, and sailors, fifty-eight persons in all, were each in turn invited to give his opinion upon three propositions: whether they should settle in the islands, or go in search of other lands, or return to Peru. It appears from the various accounts of this meeting that Mendaña's orders were to settle in any good land that they might discover. To this Gallego and the other pilots objected that the ships and rigging were in such bad repair that, unless they began their return voyage immediately, they would never reach Peru alive; that they were in a hostile country, with provisions running low; and that with their small numbers their only hope of escaping massacre lay in their arquebuses, which had defective locks and an insufficient supply of lead and match; that they were too far from Peru to hope for succour; and that, though the land was good enough, there was neither gold nor silver in it to justify them in colonizing it. Sound advice, indeed; for a colony under such conditions would have been short-lived.

Ortega and the friars based their objections upon other grounds. When the Viceroy ordered them to colonise, they said, he believed the land to be near Peru ; and if he had known how remote it was, his orders would have been different. As it was, New Guinea, the land discovered by Inigo Ortiz de Retes, was so near that they voted for an expedition to the westward. This, too, was sound advice, for from New Guinea it would have been easy to make Manila. Some of the soldiers voted for settling. Juan Moreno, a Lombard, who understood gold-mining, said that he had seen indications of gold ; Martin Alonzo, an experienced miner, went further, and affirmed that there was abundance of gold. Pedro Sarmiento, if his memorial directed against Mendaña is to be believed, gave the same counsel on the ground that they were strong enough to hold their own, and that they ought to obey the letter of the instructions. But the majority were against him ; and Mendaña, who generally sought in the opinion of the majority the support which riper age would have given him, declared for a return to Peru. Whether, as Sarmiento says, "if Mendaña had wished it, a settlement would have been formed without opposition," may be doubted : more probably the expedition would have been split into two parties, and the settlement would have been abandoned as soon as made. The older heads knew too well that their only hope of security lay in the arquebuses — clumsy weapons, fired from a rest by means of a match or fuse applied to a touch-hole at the side. Six months of constant vigilance against attack, during which, for the most part, the match had to be kept lighted both by day and night, had exhausted their stores of this necessary part of their equipment. Want of match had curtailed the first two voyages of the brigantine, and now it brought the most important object of the expedition to nought.

This "parliament" of fifty-eight Spaniards, had it come

to a different resolution, might have left a mark upon the world's history. It is not difficult to conjecture what would have been the consequence of a successful settlement in the Solomon Islands. Sooner or later it would have sent out a party to find a more healthy and peaceful land. The south-east trade wind would have carried the ship westward or south-westward, where the Australian coast could scarcely have escaped them. A Spanish colony in Queensland would have played strange pranks with the destiny of Australia.

Half convinced by Sarmiento's protests that the rich continent of his dreams lay to the south-east, Mendafía determined to steer for the coast of Chile. Reasoning from his experience in the spring Equinox that the wind would change in September, he was in favour of waiting another month for a fair wind ; but, seeing the shortness of provisions, the pilots were against him. They agreed to a south-easterly course whenever the wind should serve, but urged him to start immediately. Accordingly, Mass having been celebrated on shore for the last time, the water-vessels were filled, and Gabriel Muñoz was despatched to kidnap more natives as interpreters, to reinforce the two who had not succeeded in escaping. He returned before morning with a man and his wife with an infant at the breast, and a young girl, the wife's sister. All the six were landed alive at Lima ; but the man, the young girl, and one of the boys, died soon after their arrival, "devout Christians, invoking the name of Jesus many times."

### THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE.

The ships sailed on August 11th, and after seven days beating along the coast of San Christoval, they cleared Santa Ana and Santa Catalina, and stood to the north-east. Here the little brigantine, which had served them

well despite her green timbers and her hurried building, had to be cut adrift owing to the heavy sea. The pilots seem now to have changed their minds about the south-easterly course, and to have told the crew that the only hope of reaching Peru alive lay in crossing the Line and making for California or Mexico. Mendaña, however, adhering to his belief that the wind would change with the Equinox, ordered the ships to be headed for the south-east whenever a lull in the south-east trade permitted it. On September 2nd they were but 3 deg. south of the Equator, and a few miles westward of the Gilbert Islands, of which they saw signs in "palms tied up in bundles, burnt logs and chips." Gallego believed the land from which these had drifted to be New Guinea, discovered, as he says, by Inigo Ortez de Retes, "and no one else; for Bernaldo de la Torre did not see it, nor is there a Cabo de Cruz as he says."

On September 4th, Gallego and his pilots made a formal protest against the south-easterly tacks which Mendaña insisted upon whenever the wind served, saying that they ought to steer towards one pole or the other, and not to beat about expending water and provisions to no purpose. To their general's contention that the wind would change with the Equinox, then only three weeks distant, they replied that "the landsman reasons, but the seaman navigates:" an appeal to craft-mystery before which the layman, however deep his own convictions, usually succumbs. The pilots, moreover, had the whole ships' companies with them, and the young commander, mindful perhaps of the fate of Grijalva, who had been murdered by his crew under similar circumstances thirty years before, yielded with the best grace he could muster, bidding them remember that his opinion would be justified in the hardships that lay before them. The course was now laid for California. On September 6th they crossed the Line,

expecting to see land daily. The water was already so short that they were glad to replenish their vessels from a passing shower. It was probably the constant expectation of sighting land that restrained them from bearing away for the Philippines with a fair wind; a course they would have been glad enough to follow in October, when it was too late.

On September 17th, they sighted the Musquillo Atolls of the Ralick Chain (Marshall Group),<sup>1</sup> and called them San Mateo Shoals, though Gallego seems to have identified them with the island of San Bartolomeo which Toribio Alonzo de Salazar professed to have discovered in 1535, about lat. 14 deg. north. Gallego gives the correct latitude of these islets, and his accurate description of them leaves no doubt as to their identity. Ortega and Henriquez landed in the boat and explored a village from which the people had fled, apparently to sea, for a canoe was sighted making off under sail. They found food "of bad taste and smell" (fermented pandanus fruit), a fermented drink "like *chicha*," brewing in a hole in the ground (cocoa-nut toddy), and a cock, but they found no water. They noticed, however, that the people obtained their water from holes scooped out of the stems of the palms, exactly as they do at the present day. But their strangest discovery was a chisel, made of an iron nail, from which they concluded that a ship from the Philippines had either visited the island or been wrecked there. The only vessel of whose previous passage through the Marshall Group we have any record was that of Grijalva, which called at an island in 2 deg. north lat., after the mutiny and the murder of her commander.<sup>2</sup> With the easy communication along the chain of the Gilbert and Marshall Groups, an article

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<sup>1</sup> So named by Captain Bond, who visited them in 1792.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 68, *note*.



so highly prized as iron might easily have found its way northwards, during the thirty years that had intervened.

Finding no bottom even close inshore, the ships resumed their northerly course, and on October 2nd, in 19 deg. 20 min., N. lat., they discovered the loneliest of all the atolls in the Pacific, Wake's Island, which they named San Francisco. Ships in need of water could have lighted on no more unpropitious spot. Not a cocoanut nor a pandanus has found a footing there: the only vegetation is a stunted shrub; the only living things are sea-birds. Bitterly disappointed, the Spaniards bore away, and cut down the daily ration to one pint of water, and 12 oz. of bread, though there were still more than four thousand miles of ocean to cross. The pilots of the two ships compared notes every two days, laying their course, as they believed, for the "Cabo de Fortunas," though differing in their estimate of its bearing, owing no doubt to the inaccuracies of their charts of the Californian coast, and their uncertainty regarding their longitude. All went well until October 16th, when the *Almiranta*, which had been continually dropping astern, owing to her bad sailing qualities, parted company altogether. The *Capitana* lay to for many hours to wait for her, and, as she did not appear, Mendaña concluded that Pedro Sarmiento, whose conduct more than once had verged upon mutiny, had deliberately had the course altered. When we remember that the two ships, unequal in size and speed as they were, had contrived to keep together by day and night in all winds and weathers for so many months, we may allow that his suspicions were not without reason.

That afternoon, as they lay in the trough of the sea, a hurricane from the north-east struck them, and laid them on their beam ends. If the hatches had not been closed and caulked, the ship must have gone to the bottom, for her port deck was under water to the combings of

the hatches. Seeing that she would not right herself, Mendaña ordered the main-mast to be cut down, and it went over the side with all its yards and sails. The boat followed it, and the ship, relieved of their weight, began to right herself little by little. The people below, up to their necks in water, had abandoned hope, and were listening to one of the friars, who, though himself face to face with death, was calmly exhorting them to die like Christians, repenting of their sins. The foresail was now shaken out to steady the ship, but the wind tore it to ribbons, and the sea carried away the stern-cabin. Setting a blanket and a "bonnet" (the piece laced to the after-leech of the main-sail in light winds) as storm sails, they rode out the storm for three days. "The wind came on us with such fury," wrote old Gallego, "as I had never before seen, although I have been forty-five years at sea, and thirty of them a pilot. Never have I seen such heavy weather, although I have seen storms enough." Under nothing but the fore-courses, the ship gave convincing evidence of her bad sailing qualities. She was good enough, Gallego remarks, for the coast of Peru, for which she was built, but in those heavy seas she threatened to pitch everybody overboard. The position of the ships when they encountered this disastrous gale is not very clear. Gallego estimated their distance from "Cabo de Fortunas" at 70 leagues, and says that the storm drove them 50 leagues to the south-west; but Mendaña says that the 70 leagues of the pilots were in reality 600. Both estimates, in the defective methods of dead reckoning of the period, must have been the merest guesses. All that is certain is that two whole months elapsed before they saw the shores of California; although, with a clumsy tub under her fore-courses only, making leeway whenever the wind shifted abeam, this would imply no great distance.

Their sufferings during these two months were such that

it is astonishing that any survived. Their rations were reduced to "half a quartern of stinking water, 8 ounces of damaged biscuit, and a few black beans and oil;" scurvy set in; some of them lost their sight; a dead body was thrown overboard every two days. A soldier gambled away his allowance of water, and went mad from thirst. The last of their live-stock, the white cockatoo which was being taken home to astonish Lima, had to be killed to save the life of Don Henriquez, then in the last extremity of sickness. Small wonder that the men gathered in knots, and whispered of mutiny and of setting their course for the Philippines. But Mendaña, whose rations had been the same as those of the humblest slave on board his ship, and who had yielded hitherto to every representation of his subordinates, now showed great qualities of leadership. Hearing that he had but two or three supporters left in the ship, and that the pilots were at the bottom of the conspiracy, he met mutiny half-way, and addressed his crew publicly, assuring them that to turn back now with land almost in sight meant certain death; reminding them that it was the pilots who had brought them to this pass against his wishes; and imploring them for once to put trust in his judgment. For the moment his arguments prevailed. It was natural that he should see the finger of God in his immediate justification, for on December 12th a pine-log was seen floating in the sea, and, pointing it out to the malcontents, he cried: "See what you would have done: we have reached the land." A sailor jumped overboard for it, and they cut it into many pieces, and made crosses of them, to bring fine weather. Rain fell, and by spreading sails or cloths, they caught water enough for three days. On December 19th, the Eve of Our Lady of the O,<sup>1</sup> Gallego sighted land, and next morning they were close in, near a

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 75, *note*.

point which we take to have been Point San Antonio, in Lower California. Coasting southward they entered Sebastian Vizcaino Bay, now known as the seat of the Californian whale fishery, and were there embayed for three days. They landed at the Natividad Islands on a raft, and spent twelve days in cutting timber for building a boat, and feasting on fish and fresh water; but the hostility of the Indians compelled them to put to sea. As they went on, they were puzzled by finding Cape St. Lucas in 23 deg. 36 min., a position widely differing, it would seem, from that assigned to it in the charts which they carried; and for some time they doubted whether they had been really on the coast of California; but at Santiago de Colima (N. lat. 19 deg. 5 min.), their next port of call, their doubts were set at rest by Gallego's recognition of some of the fishermen whom they met. They had previously attempted to make the "port of Xalosco," which was probably the little harbour now known as San Blas (lat. 21 deg. 32 min. N.), the principal port of the Mexican state of Xalisco, or Jalisco.

They had not been at anchor in Colima Harbour three days when, to their astonishment, they saw on the horizon the *Almiranta*, which they had long given up for lost. Not knowing that there was a harbour there, she was pursuing her voyage, when bad weather forced her to seek shelter. Like the *Capitana*, she had been dismasted in the great storm in October, and had lost her boat. Her crew, too, had almost compelled their captain to set sail for the Philippines; and, reduced to their last jar of water, had suffered the extremity of hunger and thirst. Pedro de Ortega was at the point of death, but in the delight of this meeting, which made them all shed tears of joy, he revived and recovered. The two ships lay for forty days at Santiago, and were visited by Sama, Alguacil-Mayor of the city of Mexico, who had heard of their arrival, and had

been sent by the Governor of New Spain to question them. That he was not very favourably impressed with the value of their discoveries, is shown by a letter addressed to the King from Guadalajara by the Licentiate Juan de Orosco, on March 20th, 1569, which is quoted hereafter.

The delights of the meeting were not permitted to bury all differences. Pedro Sarmiento had still to be reckoned with; and, whether on account of his share in the *Almiranta's* parting company, or his open avowal of an intention to bring charges against Mendaña, he was placed under arrest. Mendaña and Gallego both omit any reference to this episode, and Sarmiento's version of the cause must be received with caution.

At Santiago some of the sick died and some recovered; but the total mortality on the homeward voyage amounted to thirty, or more than one-fifth of the crews. There being no facilities for refitting, the ships sailed for the South on March 10th; and having touched for an hour at Acapulco for news of Peru, they steered for Guatulco (N. lat. 15 deg. 48 min.). Scarcely had they anchored there when a great uproar arose, and the people began to flee inland, having heard reports from Mexico that they were *Gente estrangera Escoseses*, which we have translated "Strange Scottish people."<sup>1</sup> Hawkins had given Mexico cause to remember him but two years before. While the *Capitana* lay the night at this port, the *Almiranta*, to Mendaña's indignation, sailed unconcernedly on her course, her pilots having now recognised the coast; but despite the start which she had, she arrived at Realejo five days behind her consort. At Caputla (the port of San Salvador, in N. lat. 13 deg. 32 min., now known as Acajutla), a barque was sent out to reconnoitre, and her people were in great trepidation until they recognised Gallego.

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<sup>1</sup> Supposing *Escoseses* to be intended for *Escoceses*.

On April 4th, they put into Realejo, now known as Corinto, to refit the ships for the voyage to Peru. It was characteristic of the Spanish system of colonial government that neither royal officers nor private persons would grant or lend any money for the purpose, notwithstanding that the repairs were obviously necessary to the King's service. Mendaña was not only obliged to pledge all his private property, but also to borrow 1,400 *pezos* from Gallego. Having been hove down and rigged, the ships were victualled at a cost of 400 *pezos*, and on May 26th they resumed their voyage. Pedro Sarmiento went no further. Whether he used a wise discretion in avoiding Peru as long as the uncle of his enemy was Viceroy, or whether Mendaña compelled him to leave his ships, lest he should cloud the triumph of his arrival, is not clear from the narratives.

The ships made Cape Guionos, in 10 deg. N. lat., their point of departure for Peru, and the remainder of the voyage was uneventful. On Sunday, July 26th, they cast anchor at Callao, and Don Hernando Henriquez set off with the news to the City of the Kings. Of the 150 men who had set out, one-third had perished.

Thus ended a voyage which, for the skill, enterprise, and bravery of its leaders, and the indomitable fortitude with which all its participants had borne their sufferings, was remarkable even in a century famous for maritime discovery. That it led to nothing was not the fault of those who had penetrated to the confines of the Pacific, and had found their way back in the teeth of every hardship which seamen can have to encounter.

The Spanish Government cannot have regarded the results of the expedition with much enthusiasm. It had been fitted out to discover a rich continent within easy sail of Peru: it had found a detached group of islands,

inhabited by naked barbarians, at an impracticable distance from any Spanish settlement. Gold and silver, the only products that could have made such islands worth exploiting, had not been brought back, whatever the explorers might say about their existence. The cold official view of the discoveries is shown in the letter already referred to.

"On the 8th of February there put into the port of Santiago near Colima, and in the jurisdiction of Mexico which is very near to this kingdom (New Galicia), two battered ships without masts or victuals, which had set out from the port of Lima in Peru, in quest of the Western islands, the Solomon Islands<sup>1</sup> and New Guinea, in accordance with information which they had of them . . . . On the other side of the Line, towards the south, they discovered many thickly-populated islands in the lat. of 16 deg. to 12 deg. . . . . In my opinion, according to the report that I have received, they were of little importance, although they say that they heard of better lands; for in the course of these discoveries they found no specimens of spices, nor of gold and silver, nor of merchandise, nor of any other source of profit, and all the people were naked savages. . . . . The advantage that might be derived from exploring these islands would be to make slaves of the people, or to found a settlement in some port in one of them, where provisions could be collected for the discovery of the mainland, where it is reported that there is gold and silver, and that the people are clothed. Should such an expedition be despatched, it could be better accomplished from this country of New Spain, which is more convenient, than by way of Peru, for the wind is always contrary for returning from these islands to Peru. . . . . Of the persons who sailed from the port of Lima, thirty-one or thirty-two were missing, including those who died of sickness, and those who were slain by the Indians in the said islands."<sup>2</sup>

Mendaña had, in fact, established nothing more than that his islands were well suited to agriculture and a promising hunting-ground for slaves; the two uses to which, *mutatis mutandis*, they are now put. Whence, then, came

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<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest official document in which the name *Solomon Islands* is used.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the Licentiate Juan de Orosco to the King. Archives of the Indies. Audience of Guadalajara; a parchment book containing various letters to the King from the Audiencia, the Bishop and others of New Galicia, 1549 to 1571. Quoted by Sr. Zaragoza.

this name of the "Isles of Solomon," which seems by common consent to have been bestowed upon them? It is to be noticed that the name is not found in any of the MSS. except Sarmiento's, which appears to have been written some time after the termination of the voyage from a collection of papers found in La Plata, and that there it occurs only in the title-page as "the Western Islands in the Southern Ocean, *commonly called* The Isles of Solomon." Lopez Vaz, the Portuguese who was captured by Captain Withrington at the River Plate nearly twenty years afterwards, had an explanation of his own. "The discoverer of these islands named them the Isles of Solomon, to the end that the Spaniards, supposing them to be those isles from whence Solomon fetched gold to adorn the temple at Jerusalem, might be the more desirous to go and inhabit the same."<sup>1</sup> The explanation is ingenious, but if Mendaña or his officers had been responsible for the name, they would assuredly have made use of it in their official narratives. It would have been easy for men bent upon such exaggeration as Lopez Vaz imputes, to twist the episode of the stone-headed clubs found in Malaita, and the statements of the prisoner from Meta's tribe and the natives captured in San Christoval, that a yellow metal was plentiful in the islands, into a prospectus most attractive to adventurers; but neither Mendaña, nor any of his officers except Sarmiento, speaks of the prospect of finding gold with any conviction. We take it that this, like so many other names, originated with the populace, the credulous frequenters of taverns and longshoremen of the quays in Santiago and Callao, listening open-mouthed to the tales of the Inca Yupanqui's spoils. In the fateful Council at San Christoval, on August 7th, it was the soldiers and seamen only who spoke with conviction about

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<sup>1</sup> *Hakluyt*, vol. iv, p. 1447.



gold, and during the second voyage of the brigantine, it was the forecandle hands who refused to be convinced, even when Don Henriquez had broken two of the stone clubs by knocking them together. The suggestion of a listener that this might be the Ophir of Scripture would be eagerly passed from mouth to mouth, firing the imagination of adventurers, and providing a text for the wildest fables of a new Dorado. The evolution of these stories may be watched in the mouth of Lopez Vaz. "The gold that they found was upon this island (Guadalcanar), whereat they landed and took a town, finding small grains of gold hanged up in the houses thereof ; but because the Spaniards understood not the language of the country, and the Indians were very stout, and fought continually against them, they could never learn from whence the gold came."<sup>1</sup> He also stated that the Spaniards, although "not seeking nor being desirous of gold," brought back from the island of Guadalcanar 40,000 *pezos* of it : a story founded probably upon the fact that, by pawning all the private property of himself and his officers, Mendaña was able to pay the shipwrights of Realejo for the repair of his vessels.

But, because the Spaniards did not bring back indubitable proof of gold, it does not follow that there is no gold in the Solomon Islands. Let us examine the evidence contained in the narratives :—

Gallego describes the prospecting expedition of Andres Nuñez in Guadalcanar—

"The miners who understand the thing, said that there was gold in that land. . . . And, whilst they were making trials, so many natives annoyed them that they were obliged to abandon the attempt. From the indication that they gave, they said that there was gold" (p. 40).

Catoira is more explicit. From his account it appears that the river sand was never properly tested, on account

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<sup>1</sup> *Hakluyt*, vol. iv, p. 1447.

partly of the hostility of the natives, and partly of the strength of the current.

Sarmiento speaks of "many indications of gold," and continues—

"An Indian called Caja of Meta, seeing in the ship certain dishes of brass and some gold coins, said that in his country, and in another region behind that island (New Georgia), he had seen much of it, and he called it *tereque*" (p. 88).

"Pedro Sarmiento saw a mineral containing gold" (in Guadalcanar) (p. 91).

"It was learned from them (the interpreters) that there was much wealth in gold and pearls and spices in those islands, and in others near them" (p. 92).

"Tariñá said that there was an indication of gold in the country; and that he, as a man who searched for mines, and had lived in the country where gold existed, knew this to be so. Martin Alonze, a man experienced in gold-mining, said that there was a great quantity of gold" (pp. 92, 93).

Mendaña describes how he showed grains of gold to one the Ysabel natives, who, pointing to the island, said—

"*'Yaro bocru; bocru* in his language signifying 'much.' I asked him what they called it, and he answered '*areque*.' I inquired whether they wore it through their noses, or in their ears, which are pierced; he said no, and made signs with his hand that it was to be found near running water" (p. 172).

"These Indians of San Christoval say also that there is gold in the rivers of their country, and that the women of Aytoro wear it round their necks in large grains as they find it, but they do not know how to melt it. These Indians call gold *aburu* in their language. The report that it is found in the rivers agrees with what the Indian told me in Santa Ysabel, though there they call it *tereque*" (p. 181).

The author of the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale says—

"Neither is there any kind of metal, gold, silver, pewter, iron, nor anything else, except little club-headed sticks of iron-stone."

It will thus be seen that none of the Spaniards saw even what alluvial gold miners call "colours" of gold, for the signs of which they spoke seem to have been based merely

upon the geological structure and configuration of the country. The "mineral containing gold," which Sarmiento professed to have seen, made no impression upon his comrades, who did not usually err on the side of incredulity : most probably it was a stone charged with pyrites. The only evidence is that of natives, who, seeing brass and gold coins, said that such metal was common, and that they wore it in beads round their necks. The natives of the present day wear no ornaments of metal ; and it is most unlikely that, if they formerly did so, the custom would have been abandoned. Far more probable is it that in a conversation carried on by signs, the natives, misunderstanding the question, adopted their usual habit of giving the answer that they thought would be most pleasing to their questioner. Nevertheless, the natives can scarcely have failed to notice the stream tin and copper pyrites which are plentiful in their islands ; and the *tereque*, which Caja declared to be found near running water, if not gold, may have been one of these metals.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the Solomon Islands are still among the unexplored portions of the globe. Though the greater part of the coast-line has been visited by Europeans, few have penetrated as far inland as the Spaniards did ; and those who live in the group, being Government officers, missionaries or traders, have other concerns than prospecting for gold in the stream beds. Europeans may live for many years in an auriferous country without knowing of the wealth beneath their feet, unless, as in Peru and West Africa, the natives themselves work the metal : natives in the same stage of development as the Solomon Islanders may see gold in the stream beds every day, without thinking of collecting it. It was by a mere accident that a gold-field was discovered in Sudest Island, which is only eighty miles from Guadalcanar, and is composed of schistose slate, a forma-

tion which Dr. Guppy noticed in Guadalcanar while passing along the coast.<sup>1</sup> The same author states that San Christoval is composed of "altered and highly crystalline volcanic rocks" of great geological age, containing stream tin, hæmatite, arsenical iron and copper pyrites: stream tin being plentiful among the quartz and slate rocks. In such surroundings the discovery of gold would not be surprising. A few years ago a trader announced that he knew of a spot in Guadalcanar where there was gold enough to load a ship. A syndicate was formed in California, and a schooner despatched to the group with a party of prospectors under the guidance of the discoverer. The ore that they obtained proved, on assay, to be mundic, and the guide narrowly escaped marooning by his indignant companions. In the course of their exploration, however, they did find gold, but not in payable quantity, and gold is frequently found in association with mundic. All that we can now say is that the geological formation is favourable to its existence, that the islands have never been prospected, and that it is quite possible that the Spaniards were right. When the Solomon Islands have passed into the hands of the Australian Commonwealth, it will not be long before the question is set at rest.

Dr. Guppy has strong things to say about the inhumanity of the Spaniards in their dealings with the natives, even while making allowance for the spirit of the time. We prefer to agree with Admiral A. H. Markham in describing their conduct, when judged by any standard, as humane.<sup>2</sup> It is true that in the almost daily conflicts the natives lost little short of one hundred, while the Spaniards lost but twelve; that at Estrella Bay, Mendaña kidnapped a friendly native as an interpreter, and an entire family in

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<sup>1</sup> *The Geology of the Solomon Islands.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Cruise of the Rosario, 1873, p. 8.*

San Christoval; and that the brigantine, especially in her third voyage, kidnapped natives and seized canoes. But none of these outrages, which were at least no worse than those committed by the recruiting vessels of our own days, was wholly wanton. During the first few months of their intercourse, the natives were invariably the aggressors. When Pedro Sarmiento captured the chief, Havi, in his first expedition inland, Mendaña immediately restored him to his friends. Every expedition despatched from the ships had orders never to take life except in the last necessity; and this order was strictly obeyed by the camp-master, Ortega, both in his adventurous journey inland, and in the first voyage of the brigantine. There is nothing more surprising in the narratives than Mendaña's consulting with his chaplains as to how he should proceed when the natives had refused to sell him food, than the friar's assurance that he might take provisions in moderation, paying for what he took, and only using weapons in self-defence. Even in the second voyage of the brigantine, when her crew might have been excused for a loss of temper with their treacherous aggressors, Don Henriquez left payment in the deserted houses for the provisions which he took in Malaita. Until the tragedy on Ascension Day, when ten Spaniards were treacherously butchered, most of the conflicts with the natives had been with the crew of the brigantine; and the defenceless position of thirty men in an open boat (a tempting prize to head-hunters) is not to be forgotten. After the tragedy Mendaña's temper changed; but, even so, his resentment against the natives was less bitter than that of La Pérouse after his boat's crew had been cut off in Samoa. It is noticeable that expeditions under the command of the superior officers were always conducted with a humanity that incensed bluff sailors like Gallego; but that when Sarmiento or private soldiers like Muñoz were in command, there was a marked

deterioration in conduct towards the natives: which is exactly what we should expect. When you have two vessels almost destitute of stores among a fierce and warlike people who refuse to sell provisions, conflicts are inevitable. The Spaniards could not starve amid abundance, nor abstain from using their weapons when attacked. Later voyagers of other nationalities, including our own, had a shorter way with the natives, with far less excuse. Roggewein, Schouten, and Surville used grape-shot with little provocation. Cook flogged Tongans on board his ship for petty thefts. It is still further to the credit of the Spaniards, that they did nothing to excite the jealousy of the native men, despite the custom of the Ysabel natives, which still exists, of offering their women for sale.<sup>1</sup>

The religion of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century was, in fact, a more active and real influence in their daily conduct than we are inclined to believe. They went to their chaplains for guidance in their relations with the natives; and that the friars were conscientious and devoted men is shown not only by the straightforward advice they gave, but by their unselfish behaviour when face to face with death in the great storm of October 17th. The simple faith which saw a guiding light poised over the head of the drowning sailor, which believed the planet Venus to be the Star of the Magi sent to guide the ships into port, and made the offices of the Church the first duty of the humblest sailor, also justified the kidnapping of natives, who were to receive in exchange for their barbarism the immeasurable blessings of conversion. Before we lightly condemn the Spaniards for kidnapping natives, let us

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<sup>1</sup> It would be well if the same could have been said of our own exploring expeditions of the eighteenth century. Compare Cook's *Journal, d'Entrecasteaux' Voyage*, and Hamilton's *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora*.

consider whether our own intercourse with the natives, controlled as it is rather by propriety than religion, is more edifying or more becoming.

It says much for the courage of the Spaniards that no white man has climbed the dividing range of Ysabel Island since their day ; indeed, in the various punitive expeditions that have been undertaken by English ships of war, marines and blue-jackets, armed with modern rifles, have seldom been permitted to advance a furlong from the coast, where they are covered by the ship's guns. That thirty men, ignorant of the country, subjected to incessant attacks from a native population four times more numerous than it is at present, should have pushed a four days' journey into the interior, armed with no more deadly weapon than the arquebus, goes far towards explaining the extraordinary success of the handful of adventurers who conquered the New World under Cortes and Pizarro. The reader of these narratives cannot fail to be struck by the good practice that was made by the clumsy fire-arms of the time, discharged, it is true, for the most part at very close quarters, but seldom missing their man at what was fairly long range for unrifled barrels.

It was now the object of Mendaña's life to plant a colony in his new discoveries. Though his voyage had dispelled the dream of a rich continent lying within a few days' sail of Peru, it does not appear to have been doubted that the Solomon Islands were but the outposts of a great mainland, as indeed they are. But for a time the attention of the Government was absorbed by a new danger at its own doors : Drake had broken into the Pacific. "When they thought to have sent colonies into these islands," affirmed Lopez Vaz,<sup>1</sup> "Captain Drake entered the South Sea, whereupon commandment was given that they should

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<sup>1</sup> *Hakluyt*, vol. iii, p. 801.

not be inhabited ; that the English, or others who pass the Straits of Magalhanes to go to the Malucas, might have no succour there but such as they got of the Indians."

The arrival of Toledo as Viceroy put an abrupt end to Mendaña's hopes of aid from the local Government, and he resolved to apply in person to the Court. Probably he sailed for Spain with his uncle Castro, the outgoing Governor, at the end of 1569 ; but it was not until April 27th, 1574, that, with the help of Castro, who was now a member of the Royal Council of the Indies, he succeeded in obtaining the Royal decree which he sought. This document, which has been preserved,<sup>1</sup> sets forth his powers in extraordinary detail. He was to take five hundred men, of whom fifty were to be married men with families, cattle, horses, goats, sheep and pigs for breeding purposes. Three fortified cities were to be founded within six years, and he was to give security for 10,000 ducats that these undertakings would be carried out. In return, he was granted the absolute government of his colony for two generations, a number of slaves, exemption from customs duties for ten years, authority to grant *repartimientos* of natives, to coin gold and silver, and to bear the title of Marquis. This grant was followed by two others, dated July 14th and August 20th, amplifying and explaining the provisions of the principal document.

Mendaña at once set about enrolling men for the expedition, and embarked at Seville in the middle of the year 1576, reaching Panama at the end of January, 1577. He was on the point of leaving for Peru when the President, Dr. Loarte, in order to avenge himself vicariously upon Castro, had him arrested. The pretext was flimsy

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<sup>1</sup> *Historia del Descubrimiento del las regiones Australes, por Justo Zaragoza*, tom. iii.



enough. The Customs officers had confiscated a bale of cloth belonging to one of the soldiers, and Mendaña had interfered to protect him from ill-treatment. This caused some excitement among Mendaña's soldiers, and, the blame being thrown upon him, he was cast into the common gaol with the negroes for four days, and was afterwards kept a close prisoner in the Corporation-house until he was able to embark for Peru. In the letter, dated from Panama on February 3rd, 1577, reporting this outrage to the King, he said that he was going to Peru in fear, for the Viceroy, Toledo, was also an avowed enemy of Castro, and might compel him to go to the Royal Audience at Quito "to await the convenience of the Government," that is, until the arrival of a new Viceroy; and therefore he implored the King to send orders to Toledo not to "interfere with the affairs of this expedition." The fears were justified, for in another letter, dated March 24th, 1580, he reported to the Council of the Indies, that Toledo had twice prevented him from sailing; the second time keeping him under arrest for many days, to the injury of a number of young women—who were awaiting the preparation of the fleet to get married and embark with their husbands, and who might be driven to an evil life by the delay—and the detriment of his own interests, since the *encomienda* of Indians which he held in Guanaco barely sufficed to cover his expenses.

We know nothing of the occurrences of the next fifteen years. Mendaña appears to have remained in Peru, for a relation of the steps taken to meet Thomas Cavendish, in 1588, refers to the Adelentado of the Solomon Islands by name;<sup>1</sup> but it was not until the appointment of Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis

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<sup>1</sup> Penelo de Leon, *Bibl. Orient y Occident*, p. 642. Quoted by Dalrymple.

of Cañete, as Viceroy, in 1590, that active preparations were begun. On April 5th, 1595, more than a quarter of a century after the return of the first expedition, all was ready, and Mendaña set sail with four ships, and three hundred and sixty-eight emigrants, men, women and children. With them went Mendaña's wife, Doña Ysabel de Barreto, and her three brothers, and the Chief Pilot was Quiros, who was himself to command an expedition to the Far West, ten years later.<sup>1</sup> It should have been an easy task for Mendaña to "run down" his latitude until he reached the Solomon Islands, and had he not been diverted by new discoveries in his path, he would probably have done so. This is not the place for describing this disastrous voyage; it is enough to say that, after discovering the Marquesas, Mendaña came upon Santa Cruz in the New Hebrides, where he proceeded to establish his colony. But disease and dissension were at work from the outset, and in less than two months Mendaña was dead and his colony abandoned. On leaving Santa Cruz, Quiros made a half-hearted effort to find San Christoval, whither, as he conjectured, one of the missing ships might have gone; but failing provisions obliged him to alter his course, when the mountain tops of the lost islands were almost in sight. Two only of the ships reached Manila, the others having passed into that romantic shadow-land of lost explorers, whose footprints, in the form of anchors of ancient workmanship and strange objects of metal, still mark many a lonely beach in the Pacific.

On his return from the Philippines by way of Mexico, Quiros presented to the Viceroy of Peru two memorials, which have been preserved, setting forth in measured argument his belief that the islands discovered by

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Guppy inadvertently makes Quiros accompany Mendaña in 1567, when he was two years old (*The Solomon Islands*, p. 248).

Mendaña screened a continent, "the Antipodes to the greater part of Europe, Africa and Asia, where, from 20 deg. to 60 deg., God has made men so useful."<sup>1</sup> Lacking powers to grant Quiros the ships he asked, the Viceroy the Marquis of Selinas, sent him to Spain with a strong recommendation to King Philip II, who sent him back to Peru with a commission to select the best two ships in the fleet for his expedition. With Torres as his second in command, he set forth on his famous journey late in 1605, discovering, besides small islands, the Society Islands, the Duff Group and the New Hebrides, but failing to find his former discovery of Santa Cruz. He enumerates the islands described to him by the natives of the Duff Group, and among them Pouro, which has been taken for Bauro, the native name of a portion of San Christoval.<sup>2</sup> The native account of neighbouring lands seems to have banished the lost Solomon Islands from Quiros' mind, and steering southward, he discovered Tucopia, and Australia del Espiritu Santo, in the New Hebrides, which he took to be the great Southern Continent. But a mutiny on board his ship compelled him to sail to Mexico without communicating with Torres, who, sailing westward, found Espiritu Santo to be an island, and passed safely through the strait that bears his name.

Quiros now set out for Spain, to press for a new expedition. In order to attain his object, he is said to have presented to the King more than fifty memorials, of which several have been preserved. In 1614, he set out for Callao with a new commission, but he died in Panama.

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<sup>1</sup> *Figueroa*, quoted by Dalrymple.

<sup>2</sup> The native spoke of arrows tipped with silver, that had been brought from Pouro. Dr. Codrington (*The Melaneseans*, p. 6) gives reasons for not identifying this Pouro with S. Christoval and the New Hebrides, as is suggested on p. 51.

His great reputation had arrested but for a moment the decay of the Spanish spirit of enterprise, and at his death there was none to take his place.

The clouds of mystery that had gathered about the Solomon Islands were now denser than ever. In the taverns of Callao, tradition touched the lost islands with the wonder of the mirage. The money advanced by Gallego for the refitting of his ships had been transmuted by Lopez Vaz into gold, obtained in truck with the natives. Quiros' discovery in the New Hebrides of a stone which yielded a bead of white metal in the smelting-pot, had swelled by 1604 to "two crowns' worth of silver in two handfuls of dust, and the people gave them for iron as much and more in quantity of silver."<sup>1</sup> The memory of seamen can dispense with printed documents; and while among the educated the existence of the Isles of Solomon came to be doubted; and successive Viceroys made it their policy to treat Mendaña's discovery as a fable,<sup>2</sup> the imagination of the illiterate saw them through a golden haze.

In fact, for all the good that geographical science had derived from these three Spanish expeditions, they might as well have never been undertaken. All the discoveries have had to be re-discovered, and the published narratives of them have only served as material for speculation and controversy. The Solomon Islands, which were delineated in their approximate position in 1587, now began to find new resting-places in the Chart of the Pacific. In Dudley's *Arcano del Mare* (1646) they are identified with the Marquesas. Delisle, early in the eighteenth century, carried them further westward; Danville suppressed them altogether;<sup>3</sup> Dalrymple, as late as 1790

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<sup>1</sup> *Narrative of a Lisbon Merchant*, Purchas, vol. iv, p. 1432.

<sup>2</sup> Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. xiv, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Guppy, *The Solomon Islands*, p. 256.

denied their existence as islands separate from New Britain.<sup>1</sup>

Their supposed latitude varied from 7 deg. to 19 deg. south, their longitude from 2,400 to 7,500 miles west of Peru. Acosta, Herrera, and Lopez Vaz placed them 800 leagues from Peru, although the discoverers themselves estimated the distance at 1,700, which is nearly 2,000 miles short of the actual distance. This error is not more than may be laid to the account of that old enemy of early navigators, dead-reckoning; for, while the latitude could be ascertained with approximate accuracy by the quadrant, the longitude could only be guessed from the indications of the "chain." As Pigafetta wrote in his *Treatise on Navigation*: "Pilots now-a-days are satisfied with knowing the latitude, and are so presumptuous that they refuse to hear the mention of longitude."<sup>2</sup> A navigator, making no allowance for current in the Pacific, may under-estimate his day's run by as much as 50 miles in the twenty-four hours, as La Pérouse found in the North Pacific; and if the East India Company's ship *Derby*, sailing from the Cape to India in 1719, could mistake the islands off Sumatra for the Maldives,<sup>3</sup> Gallego's under-estimate of longitude scarcely calls for comment. Dalrymple's ingenious suggestion that the Spanish navigators had a strong motive for placing their discoveries as far cast as possible,<sup>4</sup> may be true of the Spanish chroniclers, but not of the navigators themselves, who wrote their logs for the guidance of their own countrymen.

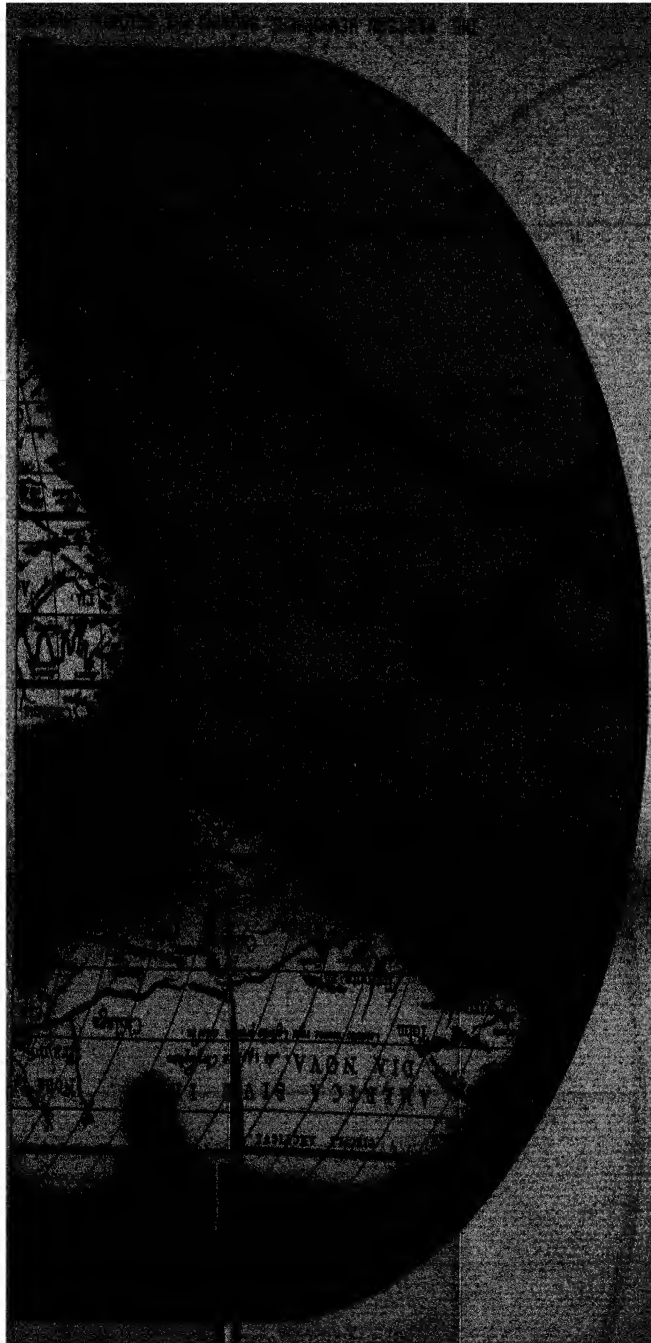
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<sup>1</sup> *Nautical Memoirs of Alexander Dalrymple*, quoted by Dr. Guppy.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Pinkerton, *Voyages*, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *North Pacific Pilot*, 1870.

<sup>4</sup> In 1496, when disputes between the two great maritime nations were foreseen, an appeal was made to the Borgia Pope, Alexander VI, to fix a line of demarcation between the spheres of Spain and Portugal. He chose the meridian of 370 leagues west of the Azores: all the undiscovered lands in that hemisphere east of that meridian were to belong to Portugal; Spain was to have all that lay to the westward. Spain broke the contract at once by claiming the Moluccas, and it





If we except a bare mention of the Isles of Solomon by Joseph Acosta in 1590, and the admissions of Lopez Vaz, made to Withrington in 1586, the first printed account of Mendaña's discovery was Antonio Herrera's vague description of the islands that appeared in Madrid in 1601.<sup>1</sup> His chart and his facts alike were derived from hearsay, for the map is at variance with the description, and both are inaccurate.<sup>2</sup> Twelve years later there appeared Figueroa's account,<sup>3</sup> through which it became possible for the islands to be identified with the discoveries of Carteret and Bougainville two centuries later. But the narratives of the discoverers remained in manuscript in the Archives of the Indies. It was considered better, as Quiros wrote in 1602 to de Morga, Governor of the Philippines, to let these islands remain unknown. Navigators, meanwhile, were re-discovering the lost group in every part of the Pacific. In 1616, Le Maire believed Horne Island (Niatobutabu) to belong to it; Roggewein, in 1722, sighted two large islands, which Dalrymple and Burney thought to be the Solomons; Gemelli Carreri, when in 34 deg. N. lat., in command of the great galcon, inferred that a canary, that perched in the rigging, had flown from the Solomon Islands, which his sailors declared to be only 2 deg. to the southward—that is, in 32 deg. N. lat. Betagh, who was a prisoner in Peru in 1721, records the arrival, not long before, of two ships that had been driven out of their course to the Solomons. In fact, the name of Solomon was made, for a

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became the business of Spanish geographers to exaggerate the distance between Europe and India, and to understate the distance between Peru and the Philippines, in order to bring the colony within her hemisphere. Thus Ramusio understates the distance by no less than 40 deg.

<sup>1</sup> *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales.*

<sup>2</sup> He suggests that the islands were discovered independently of Mendaña, whom he calls Mendoza.

<sup>3</sup> *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Quarto Marques de Cañete, por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa.* Madrid, 1613.



time, to cover every discovery in the North and South Pacific.

It was not until the Transit of Venus in 1769 was approaching that the attention of geographers was again directed to Mendaña's discoveries. While Pingré was translating Figueroa for his memorial on the selection of an observatory for the Transit, addressed to the French Academy of Sciences in 1766, Carteret was running down the latitude of 10 deg. S., "in hopes to have fallen in with some of the islands called Solomon's Islands." On reaching 177 deg. 30 min. E. long., 5 degrees west of the supposed position of the lost group, he came to the conclusion "that, if there were any such islands, their situation was erroneously laid down." Abandoning the search, he stood to the westward, visiting Santa Cruz; and, at last sighted Gower, Malaita, and Buka Islands,<sup>1</sup> of the lost group, without recognising them. In 1768, Bougainville discovered Choiseul and Buka; but, so far was he from realising the nature of his discovery, that he wrote: "En supposant que les détails rapportées sur la richesse de ces îles de Salomon ne soient pas fabuleux, on ignore où elles sont situées; et c'est vainement qu'on les a recherchées depuis."<sup>2</sup> In his chart of the Pacific, he sets down the Solomons about 500 miles north-west of Samoa, as "Isles (*sic*) Salomon, dont l'existence et la position sont douteuses."

In the following year, 1769, exactly two centuries after Mendaña's visit, Surville anchored in Port Praslin, in Ysabel Island, and touched at Ulawa, Tres Marias, San Christoval, Santa Ana, and Santa Catalina; and ignorant, like his predecessors, of the identity of his discoveries, he named the group Terre des Arsacides (Land of the Assas-

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<sup>1</sup> He named the northern end of Malaita—which he took for two distinct islands—Simpson and Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> Bougainville's *Voyage*, p. 21

sins). In 1781, Maurelle, the Spaniard, sighted Candelaria Shoals; and in 1788 Shortland coasted along Guadalcanar and San Christoval, naming the group New Georgia, under the impression that it was a new discovery.

The identification of the lost group now passed from the chart-room to the study. In 1781, M. Buâche, in a *Memoir on the Existence and Situation of Solomon's Islands*,<sup>1</sup> presented to the Academy of Sciences in 1781, proved, with admirable patience and discrimination, that the Solomon Islands must be looked for in the space of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of longitude that lay between Santa Cruz and New Guinea; and that in this very space lay the large group discovered by Bougainville and Surville. His view found no acceptance among English geographers; for Dalrymple obstinately clung to his identification of Mendaña's island with New Britain,<sup>2</sup> and Cook agreed with him.<sup>3</sup> But that French geographers were satisfied is shown by the instructions issued to La Pérouse in 1785: "Les terres découvertes, d'une part, en 1768, par Bougainville, et de l'autre en 1769, par Surville, peuvent être les îles découvertes en 1567 par Mendaña, et connues depuis sous ce nom d'îles Salomon, que l'opinion, vraie ou fausse, qu'on a eue de leurs richesses, leur a fait donner dans des temps postérieurs."<sup>4</sup> Fleurieu waited in vain for the information that was to convert his argument into certainty; for La Pérouse, after leaving Botany Bay to execute this part of his instructions, was never seen again. As Dillon discovered more than thirty years afterwards, he was wrecked on Vanikoro, where two survivors of his great company lingered on until the year before their rescue might have been effected

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Fleurieu's *Découvertes des François en 1768 et 1769, dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nautical Memoirs of Alexander Dalrymple*.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to the Second Voyage.

<sup>4</sup> *Voyage de la Pérouse, 1797*; vol. i, p. 35.

"The brave navigator goes and returns not ; the seekers search far seas for him in vain ; . . . and only some mournful mysterious shadow of him hovers long in all heads and hearts."<sup>1</sup>

What La Pérouse could not do for Buâche and Fleurieu was amply done by d'Entrecasteaux, and many of the names bestowed by the Spaniards were restored to their discoveries.

The French geographers, with nothing to guide them but Figueroa's abridgment of the Spanish narratives, had by the mere process of inductive reasoning found the Solomon Islands. Had these manuscripts been published at the time they were written, the islands would not have been lost for two centuries.

For the student of ethnology these manuscripts are full of suggestion, for they reveal to us an isolated island race, which is even now very little affected by intercourse with strangers, as they were nearly three hundred and fifty years ago. By all the laws of evolution, they should have been either progressing or deteriorating in the interval. They have done neither. As they are now, so were they then, head-hunting, eating the bodies of the slain, using the same arms, building the same vessels, wearing the same ornaments. It was not that, like the lower races of mankind, they had not made a start upon the road of progress. On the contrary, they were expert canoe-builders ; for, unlike most of the island races, they had advanced beyond the "dug-out" dependent upon an outrigger for stability, and built their graceful craft with planks, cleverly fitted together, and highly ornamented with carving and inlaying. Their houses were elaborate structures, with carven posts and walls of dyed pandanus

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<sup>1</sup> Carlyle's *French Revolution*.

leaf, disposed in chequer pattern: they hewed figures from the solid wood, with no tools but stone-adzēs, and the modern specimens of their sculpture, correct even in anatomical detail, entitle them to be called the artists of the Pacific. They were diligent and skilful agriculturalists. Their conservatism is not due to any want of the faculty of imitation. The labourers recruited in recent years for the plantations of Queensland and Fiji have in many cases been entrusted with the management of machinery; have been found good domestic servants, and far more apt to adopt European habits and European clothing than the Fijians and Samoans around them, who have been long in intimate contact with Europeans. And yet these very men, who have paraded the streets of Townsville and Suva almost foppishly clad, may be seen two months later on their native beach in Malaita, arrayed in a pandanus leaf, with rifle in hand, to shoot at the crew of a passing schooner. In the history of travel there is probably no other instance of the veil being lifted for a brief moment to afford a glimpse of the life of an isolated island race, and then dropped again for nigh three centuries, during which no ripple from the outer world came to disturb the silent backwater. If a solitary example could be held to prove anything, these documents would show that human progress is dependent upon constant impulses from other races of mankind; and that, left to itself, a people will stop at the point it had reached when it was cut off, and thereafter remain stagnant.

Three centuries have, it is true, brought a few changes. The use of the bow as a weapon by the natives of Ysabel Island has declined; and the great bow used against the Spaniards, though still employed in Malaita, and occasionally in Florida, has in Ysabel, Guadalcanar, and San Christoval given place to the spear, and has dwindled into a

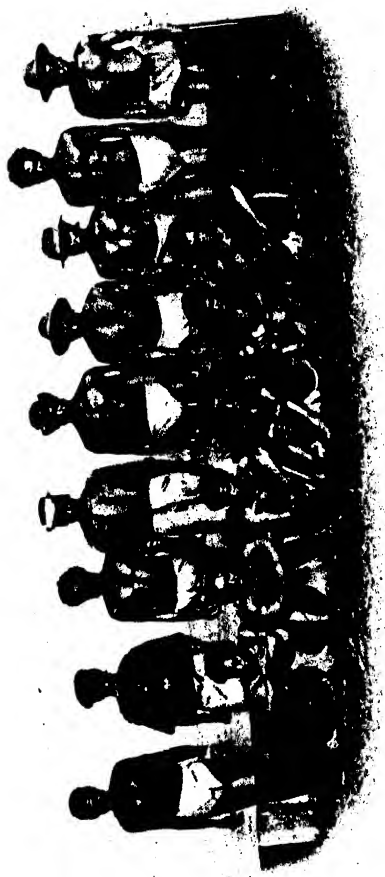
diminutive weapon for shooting fish and birds. The spears in Malaita, which were tipped with flint in 1568, are now pointed with hard wood.<sup>1</sup> Tracts of land on the north-east coast of Ysabel, and the north-west extremity of Guadalcanar, which teemed with people in 1568, are now desolate, and of the people who spoke the languages of which the documents preserve a few words, but a remnant survives. The last descendants of Benbonefa's powerful tribe, which the Spaniards found in St. George's Island, fell victims to the head-hunters of New Georgia scarce a generation ago. Head-hunting cannot be carried on for many years in succession without affecting the population; and, making all due allowance for a natural tendency in the Spaniards to exaggerate the numbers of an enemy, we cannot doubt that the population of the Solomon Islands has been steadily decreasing for a long time.

On the other hand, one acquainted with the Solomon Islanders of to-day cannot read a page of Catoira's account of them without recognising that the habits of the people are unchanged. Instances of identity of custom are too numerous to set down in detail. Then, as now, they dyed their hair a golden colour by smearing it with lime; they wore wigs, armlets cut from the shell of the *Tridacna Gigas*, plumes of cockatoo feathers, and the tusks of boars, dugong and sperm-whales; their musical instruments were the pan-pipes and the conch-shell trumpet; they chewed the betel-nut<sup>2</sup> and blackened their teeth; they used shell-money; they decorated their *tambu* houses with pig's jaws and carven images of reptiles.

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<sup>1</sup> The natives of Ugi, San Christoval and Ulawa know nothing of the origin of the worked flints that are always being turned up in their plantations, even affirming at Shortland Island that they had tumbled from the sky. Dr. Guppy assigns them to an aboriginal negrito race (*The Solomon Islands*, p. 78), but it seems from Catoira's *Journal* that they have no title to such respectable antiquity.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest description of the habit, except Pigafetta's, in the narrative of Magellan's voyage.



Amoy 4th 6 1/2 1/2

Natives of Queensland & Malacca working on the late  
Mr. Francis T. Amherst's plantation in Queensland.



## THE NATIVE LANGUAGES.

In the places that are still populated, even the language seems to have remained unaltered—a remarkable fact when it is remembered that the people of almost every district speak a different dialect, and that in the parts visited by the Spaniards there are three distinct languages. Thirty-eight native words have been preserved, and of these twenty-two have been identified. Seeing that the Spaniards asked their questions by signs, and were subject to the misunderstanding common to this means of communication, and, further, that unfamiliar native words can scarcely pass unmutated through the hands of the copyist, it is surprising that any of them have lived to be recognised. To Dr. R. H. Codrington, the first authority on Melanesian languages, we are indebted for the following comments, as well as for most of the identifications shown in the annexed vocabulary.

The Spaniards, it is to be remarked, would be likely to confound *l* and *r*, *b* and *v*, and to represent *w* as *gu*. It appears also that they used *h* as an aspirate. The languages of the islands they visited fall into two groups; the one represented by the allied dialects of Ysabel, Florida, and the adjoining coast of Guadalcanar; the other by those of East Guadalcanar, San Christoval, East Malaita, Ulawa, Ugi, and Santa Catalina. In the first of these two regions there are two distinct tongues: the one called Nggao (Gao, or Gau, as it is sometimes spelt, the *g* being pronounced *ng*, as in "finger"), belonging to the north-east part of Ysabel, including Estrella Bay; and the other called Bugotu. The words recorded by the Spaniards from this region belong to both these dialects. It is characteristic of the Nggao speech to use *kl*, *fl*, and *gl*, and we have the words *cofli* (conch-shell) and *nacloni*,



besides *bocru*, which may be a corruption of *boclu*, though the word has not been identified.<sup>1</sup> *Itapulu*, translated "brother," by Mendaña, is almost certainly *tapulu*, the inclusive first person dual pronoun, meaning "we two, thou and I," for the signs of brotherhood used by Mendaña might very naturally be interpreted by the natives as an inclusive dual. To the Bugotu tongue belong the words *hutu* (great), and *Colanha*, which, supposing *nh* to be equivalent to *ñ* as in modern Portuguese, must be *koragna* (within), the *gn* or *ñ* sound being very characteristic of Bugotu. Thus *yne colanha*, which Mendaña took for "This is Heaven," would be *ini koragna*, which in Bugotu is "This is in the middle." To these may be added *vinahu* (taro), which Mr. Woodford found to be still in use. *Teo* is the negative in both tongues. The dialect of Florida is allied to Bugotu, and in this we have *pana* (the small yam), and *mbolo* (pig), both in use to-day.

Dr. Henry Welchman, who has but lately returned from Ysabel Island, and who has an intimate knowledge of the people and their languages, sees in the vocabulary of the Spaniards some confirmation of an idea which he had formed independently—that the Nggao tongue, now spoken only by inland people, was the original tongue of the greater part of Ysabel.

In the second region, of which S. Christoval is the centre, it should be observed, first, that the sound *w* is very common, while it is almost unknown in the Ysabel-Florida region. This sound is strikingly represented in the list of words recorded by the Spaniards, in which *gu* may be taken to represent *w*. We do not find a single word spelt with *gu* by the Spaniards until they reached this second

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Codrington thinks that *bocru* may be the plural sign *joku*, by a characteristic insertion of *l* after *k*, the initial letter being an error in transcription, and that *bocru* cannot be the same word as *Veru*, as suggested in our note on p. 151.

region,<sup>1</sup> in which they give *Guan-y-China* (a chief's name, probably *Wa-ni* . . . , a common form of name), *Aguare*, *maraguasaro*. *Aguare* (or *Guare*, as it appears on p. 92), is undoubtedly *Owariki* (or *Owar'i*), the native name of Santa Catalina. In the other words the article *a*, a common demonstrative in the Fagani dialect, is apparent. *Aganiga* (apple) is probably *a gaviga*, the Malay apple (*Eugenia*), the *u* for *v* being mistaken by the copyist for *n*. The *g* in *gaviga*, like the article *a*, points to the Bauro portion of San Christoval. There are, besides, *A-buru*, *A-guru*, and *apo*, which is *a-bo*, the present word for pig.

The most puzzling word in the list is *tauriqui*, mentioned in all the narratives as the first word uttered by the Ysabel natives when they came off to the ships. Its form certainly suggests the purely Polynesian *te ariki* (the chief), and Dr. Codrington, feeling certain that such a word could never have been used in Ysabel, has suggested that the Spaniards heard it in the mouths of the people who put off from the Isle of Jesus (*Nukufetau*), and put it into the mouths of the Ysabel people by mistake. But the narratives all agree upon the point that the Jesus natives did not come near enough to speak, and that the word was in constant use by the Ysabel people. Melanesians are fond of using any foreign words they have picked up; and it is therefore possible, if the word is really *te ariki*, that they had learned it not long before from some Polynesian castaways. Mendaña, however, spells the word *tabriqui*, which is less like *te ariki*; and, though neither can be identified with any word now in use, it is possible that the resemblance to the Polynesian word may be a coincidence. *Mauriba*, given as the Mala word for "chief," is almost certainly *Maeraha*.

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<sup>1</sup> If we except *Guali*, which Gallego gives as the native name of Savo; and this may be a corruption of *Quoila*, or *Koila*, the village on the west side.

It is to be doubted whether *name* or *mamee* is a native word at all. It is more likely the Spanish word which corresponds with our *yam* and the French *igname*.

Dr. Codrington has also remarked that the accepted spelling of native place-names is in most cases incorrect. *Aguare* is, as he says, nearer the sound of Owari'i (Little Owa) than the Yoriki of the older charts. The correct pronunciation of native names is seldom to be obtained from a trader; the early voyagers set down the native names as they caught them, imperfectly, and the form was handed on. Thus *Nggela* became Gela, *Ulawu* Ulawa, *Nggao* Gau, *Aula* Aola, *Haununu* Hanono. It is to be hoped that in future surveys of the group many mistakes may be corrected. Throughout these narratives we have followed accepted, though sometimes incorrect, forms.

The manuscripts also throw light upon several minor points of native history. They prove that the natives kept the dingo dog, the pig, and the fowl, as domestic animals, three centuries ago.

The native dog of the Solomons has the pricked ears and the general appearance of the Australian dingo, but it is smaller. It prowls about the bush at night hunting for the *cuscus* (opossum); and instead of barking, it howls like a jackal. It is rapidly dying out as a separate breed, for every ship from Sydney brings European dogs to barter for cockatoos; but in several parts of the group it may still be found wild in the bush.

The native fowl, common throughout the group thirty years ago, has now been replaced everywhere by the imported European breed; and Mr. Woodford says that the natives assured him that there were no fowls in the Solomons until white men came—meaning, no doubt, fowls of the present breed. The original bird was small, long in the tail, and active on the wing.

Ginger was cultivated, and probably it was invested, as it is now, with supernatural powers in connection with fighting and the healing of the sick. The cinnamon of the Spaniards was perhaps a bark called *lakiti*, still prized by the Ysabel natives, which has a pungent aromatic taste, and forms, as Mendaña says, a thin skin upon the tongue. The almonds were the fruits of the *Canarium*, or nut-tree of the Malay Archipelago, which are still much used in native cookery. The native food has not altered in the least. Taro, the *Calladium Esculentum*, was the staple in Ysabel; *pana*, the prickly-vined yam, in Florida and Guadalcanar. The Malay apple, *gaviga*, was eaten, and the sugar-cane cultivated for food. Mendaña gives a good description of betel-chewing, exactly as it is now practised, except that he omits the areca-nut, the most essential part of the process, which dyes the saliva red. The custom of smearing the red paste over the face was as common then as it is now. Plants with variegated leaves, crotons and dracæna, were planted in the villages for ornament.

We need not smile at Colonel Pedro Xuarez' specific for the gout, for when the properties of the Solomon flora come to be investigated, there may well be additions to our Pharmacopœia.

Seeing the extraordinary difficulties under which the Spanish adventurers laboured in their intercourse with the natives, their lack of provisions, their incessant conflicts, the primitive weapons upon which their lives depended, their clumsy craft, and their attacks of fever unalleviated by the medical discoveries of the present day, it is to be doubted whether any explorers have achieved so much, and brought home so graphic and detailed an account of their discoveries, as did these Spaniards of the sixteenth century.

## NATIVE WORDS RECORDED IN THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Native Word.	Meaning ascribed by the Spaniards.	Present Equivalent.	Meaning.
<i>From Estrella Bay.</i>			
Taurique, or Tab-riqui	Chief .	None .	Perhaps Te Ariki, The Chief (a Polynesian word).
Narriu .	War .	Na rihu	The fighting.
Nacloni .	Vassal .	Neknoni, or Nanoni (Gao)	A man, <i>i.e.</i> , member of a chief's retinue.
Arra .	I .	Iara .	I.
Ago .	Thou .	Iago .	Thou.
Itapulu .	Brother .	Tapulu .	Pronoun, "We two, thou, and I."
Caiboco .	High Chief .		
Bocru .	Of many things		
Vinahu, Benau, Vinau	An edible root	Vinahu .	The taro ( <i>Arum Esculentum</i> ).
Cofli .	Conch - shell trumpet	Hofli, or Kufli	Conch-shell trumpet.
Pace, or Gase .	Woman .	Gaase .	Woman. The <i>p</i> for <i>g</i> is doubtless a copyist's error.
Suli .	Child .	Sua (child), or Sule (big)	The native may have pointed to a child to indicate age or height.
Sina .	Sea .	Tina (?) .	Rock; or perhaps <i>hina</i> , the glare on the sea.
Caba .	Land .	Kava .	Land.
Mola .	Canoe .	Mola .	Canoe.
Name, or Mamce	An edible root	—	Probably the Spanish <i>name</i> = <i>Yam</i> , not a native word. Compare the French <i>igname</i> .
Dani .	Pearl .	Davi .	Pearl shell. The <i>n</i> for <i>v</i> being inverted by the copyist.
Tacotaco .	Necklace .	Pataka (?)	To put on a necklet.
Waria .	To fight .		
Nalea, Naleha .	To eat .		
Teo .	Not .	Teo .	No.
Tereque, or Areque	Gold, or yellow metal, pyrites .		
Yne Colanha (or Colantha)	This is Heaven	Koragna; ini Koragna	Within. This is in the middle.
Hutu .	Great .	Hutu .	Great.
Pendagri garrafi	Devil .	—	Probably the name of some spirit.

NATIVE WORDS RECORDED IN THE MANUSCRIPTS—*continued.*

<i>Guadalcanar.</i>			
<i>Puerto de la Cruz.</i>			
Sago . . .	Ginger . . .	—	—
<i>E. Malaita.</i>			
Mauriba . . .	Lord, Chief . .	Maeraha . .	Chief.
<i>Gela (Florida).</i>			
Pana, Panale . .	An edible root .	Pana . . .	The small yam of Florida Islands.
Nambolo . . .	Pig . . .	Na mbolo . .	The pig.
<i>San Christoval.</i>			
Guan y China . .	The king . . .		Probably a name, Wani . . . .
Cacaq . . .	Title of official visitor . . .		" " "
Agatari . . .	Nutmeg . . .		
Aganiga . . .	Apple . . .	A gaviga . .	The Malay apple.
Maraguasaro . .	Melon . . .		
Cao, or Sao . . .	Away ! . . .	Wao . . .	Away !
<i>Santa Catalina.</i>			
Apo . . .	Pig . . .	A bo . . .	The pig.
<i>Locality not stated.</i>			
Aburu . . .	Gold, or pyrites . .		
Aguru . . .	Clove . . .		
Caquisa . . .	Cinnamon . . .		

## NATIVE PLACE-NAMES.

Name.	Locality.	Modern Native Name.
Cuia .	Island in Estrella Bay .	Hakelaki.
Cambra, Somba or Canball	Village in Estrella Bay .	Now uninhabited.
Tiarabaso .	District behind Estrella Bay	Unknown. There is a village named Baso a few miles eastward of the Bay.
Veru, or Borru .	St. George's Island .	No name for the whole island.
Gela .	Florida Group .	Gela, pronounced Nggela.
Mala, or Malaita .	Malaita .	Mala.
Urare .	Aola Village .	Aola, or, more correctly, Aula.
Uraba .	Ulawa Island .	Ulawa.
Guali .	Savo Island .	Quoila, a village on the west side.
Feday .	A district or village in North Guadalcanar	Unknown.
Tayla .	A village in North Gua- dalcantar	Unknown.
Aguare .	Santa Catalina Island .	Owariki.
Guare .	A district in San Christo- val	Probably Aguaré, applied to San Christoval by mistake.
Ytapa .	Santa Ana .	Owaraha.
Aytoro .	A province in San Chris- toval	Unknown.
Paubro .	San Christoval .	Bauro.
Mombalu .	A district in North Gua- dalcantar	Unknown.
Gaumbata .	A part of Guadalcanar .	Nggambata.



# RELACION CIERTA

Verdadera y verdadera relacion cierta  
del Porzente en la mar del Sur hecha por  
Hernando Gallego Natural de la Ciudad de  
La Coruña en el Reyno de Galicia Año  
de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo de mill y quin-  
ientos y sesenta y seis. Firmado en las  
Españas el Católico Rey Don Phelippo Se-  
gundo de este nombre y governador de los  
Indias de A Piru en su nombre el  
Illustrissimo Señor Lope Garcia de Castro

El gouernador Lope Garcia de Castro  
Hago adreçar dos cartas de Arma-  
da para el descubrimiento de las Indias

THE FIRST PAGE OF HERNAN GALLEGO'S MANUSCRIPT.

(In the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney.)





nos Salto el viento ael Susueña y nos  
duro tres dias hasta que nos hecho on altura  
de treinta y un grados Corrimos a la nur  
deste para ponernos on altura al cabo de  
~~treinta y un~~ bimer on la mar un palo de pino  
y echase un marinero por el alamar i lue  
go lo truxo a bordo y mucha correuela por  
hacer bonanza. Vióunte muchas garzotas  
~~un~~ pato y otras cosas Señales de tierra aue  
que estavamos lejos de ella por las muchas  
corrientes que avia.

A doce de diciembre nos culmo el viento  
~~delante~~ y nos ~~salto~~ a el norte bonanzable  
que ~~aparecieron~~ ~~las~~ ~~velas~~ de el may  
til por abrigarnos con la flor que  
nos ~~de~~ ~~en~~ ~~contra~~ el norte aunque no estaua  
~~en~~ ~~la~~ ~~altura~~ ~~de~~ ~~ella~~ nos ~~flor~~ y los



A True and Correct Account  
of the  
Voyage to the Western Isles  
in the  
Southern Ocean,  
made by

HERNANDO GALLEGO,

Native of the Town of La Coruña in the Kingdom of Galicia,

In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand  
five hundred and sixty-six,<sup>1</sup> during the reign over the  
Spanish Dominions of the Catholic King Philip  
the Second and the Governorship in His  
Majesty's name over the Kingdom of  
Peru of the Illustrious Lord  
Lope Garcia de Castro.

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<sup>1</sup> The year was 1567.

GENIO ET INGENIO NO.  
 MIT. DR. NICOLO ROCCOIO.  
 PATRICIO ANTEPIENSI.  
 ELASDENOV ARNIS SENATORI.  
*Allegando Ordine di Roma del 1800*

SEE ET  
 KETA

Nova Guinea, quibuldam  
 Terra de Bismarck

KOLLYNOEKA  
 KOLLYNOEKA  
 KOLLYNOEKA



## PREFACE OF FERNANDO<sup>1</sup> GALLEGO.

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I UNDERSTAND it to be incumbent on those who profess a knowledge of navigation, and who have had the good fortune to go somewhat further than others, to give an account of their success ; and there are many reasons why this is expedient, so that it should not remain hidden from those who as yet have no knowledge of it.

Christian piety is, however, my chief reason, and the more so since the spirit of Christian zeal moved the most Catholic of Catholic monarchs, Don Philippe, our Lord, to write to his Governor, the most illustrious Lope Garcia de Castro, to enlighten and convert to Christianity all infidels, and to lead them as labourers into the vineyard of our Lord. This is my chief object : to fulfil my first obligation to him who sent me. I leave this to the charity of those who, when cruising to these islands, may be driven by the force of the winds out of their course ; that by means of this account, and the chart which I shall add, they may know in what part they are, and may be able to escape from danger and enemies. This is my intention without going further. Let the curious receive this brief account, for the author, from his natural timidity, had no wish that it should be printed.

This is my object : this my wish. Receive, reader, this expression of my esteem, and may God be with you.

Farewell.

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<sup>1</sup> Except in this place, the name is spelt "Hernando" throughout the MS.







THE  
JOURNAL OF HERNANDO GALLEGO.

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HE Governor, Lope Garcia de Castro, ordered two Ships of War to be fitted out for the discovery of certain islands and a continent (*tierra firme*) for which he had been ordered to search by our Lord, His Majesty, The Catholic King Philip the Second of that name, because many men well versed in mathematics had deduced that they existed for certain in those positions. Obeying this order he selected the two Ships of War, and he appointed for General and Captain of the said fleet, Alvaro de Mendaña, his nephew ; as Master of the Camp, Pedro de Ortega of Valencia ; as Captain-General, Don Fernando Enriquez ; and, as Chief Pilot, myself, the said Hernando Gallego. The number of persons chosen for this voyage, including soldiers and sailors, four Franciscan friars, and the slaves, was one hundred, this being done with all despatch and cheerfulness on the part of those who had to make the voyage.

The fleet was fitted out with such willingness that it seemed almost impossible that everything could have been ready as it was ; and upon the 19th day of the month of

November, One thousand five hundred and sixty-six,<sup>1</sup> being Wednesday, the day of Sancta Isabel, we went out of Callao, the Port of the City of the Kings, and began our voyage; and we sailed from the said port, which is in  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees latitude,<sup>2</sup> and we beat to windward, and stood off from the land about six leagues<sup>3</sup> toward the south-west; and we put well out to sea, steering by the same course, and sailed for three days with a good wind, until we were distant from the land 46 leagues. We did not gain more latitude than one degree, making these 46 leagues to the south-west; and we carried the needles pointing due north, because those that they make in the Kingdom of Spain, particularly in the town of Seville, are, in these parts, north-west a quarter point; but we had not to make any allowance, nor add anything for compensation, nor pay any regard to this quarter point in the south-west. And, continuing our voyage on the same course, south-south-west, we went up to three-quarters of a degree with the wind rather freer than when we put to sea. The wind getting freer up to the said three-quarters of a degree, I saw that I had gone 32 leagues, and I took the altitude in  $14\frac{1}{4}$  degrees.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a curious discrepancy between the two journals in the matter of the year of departure. Catoira gives the date as November 19th, 1567: Gallego as November 19th, 1566; and he carries on this date, naming the following year as 1567; but in August he calls the year 1568, and says that he returned to Peru in 1569. Figueroa, in the first line of his account of the voyage, says that the ships left in 1567, but in the next paragraph he makes the date January 10th, 1568, and he subsequently brings the ships back to Mexico in January 1568. Catoira alone is consistent in his dates, and that his are correct is shown by the actual dates of the moveable feasts to which he refers, namely:—

Palm Sunday, April 11th, 1568; Good Friday, April 16th, 1568; Easter Day, April 18th, 1568.

The following dates are, therefore, correct:—

Departure from Callao, November 19th, 1567; landing at Estrella Bay, February 9th, 1568; return to Callao, September 11th, 1569.

<sup>2</sup> The actual latitude is  $11^{\circ} 56'$ .

<sup>3</sup> Read Spanish leagues,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  to a degree, throughout the narrative.

On the Monday following, being the 24th of November, continuing our voyage, we kept the same course for three days. I took the altitude, and at the end of the three days, in  $15\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, I found that I had made 57 leagues in the said course, east-south-east [west-south-west?], (and was) abreast of the point "El Morro de Hacarique," which is in the same latitude. And, continuing our course, we sailed on. On Thursday and Friday, which was the 28th, I took the altitude in  $15\frac{1}{2}$  degrees: with the bow-lines full we went 30 leagues, because we had the wind free from the south-east, and the next day, the 29th of the said month, steering south-west, we sailed *por masantacia*,<sup>1</sup> 37 leagues, with a good fresh wind; and on that day we had the wind free. On the 30th of the said month we made 40 leagues. I took the altitude in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees; here the winds remained in the east, and south-east, and north-east, without any showers. It was on this day, the last day of November, that the *Ecna*<sup>2</sup> was sleeping, and God willed that the ship should receive no damage. We were in the altitude of  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, east-south-east [west-south-west?] of the point of Atequipara, which is in altitude [? the direction of] of north-west and south-east, and we were abreast of the Morro de la Nalla.

The first day of December gave us a shower from the east, astern. On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, three days of the said month of December, we sailed westward in the same latitude, with the wind astern, 65 leagues in the three days. I took the altitude in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees. On our north we had the Gulf of Fego Antepeque [Teguantepeque], which is in 16 degrees north of the Equinoctial line, and if we were sailing in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  south of the Equinoctial line, we should be 546 leagues distant from that Gulf to the

<sup>1</sup> The Madrid MS. reads "Marantacia."—P. de G.

<sup>2</sup> It appears, from Catoira's account, that the ship struck against a sleeping whale.

southward. We steered westward, and in those two days we went 45 leagues. I took my altitude in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, and on the Saturday and Sunday following we went on the same course. Up to the 7th of December we went 56 leagues in the same altitude of  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees; then I saw that the needle was steady to the Pole, and neither went up nor fell away to the south-east or to the south-west, which was well. Then I asked the pilots in what region we were, and they held a hot argument, and one said one thing, and one said another; and thus we went on our voyage, sailing all about the Ocean to see if we could make land, and taking account of the birds which went in the morning and in the evening, whence they came, and whither they went to sleep at sunset; but it was all to no purpose, for some birds went to the north, and others to the south, and it was not at all certain but that they went after the flying fish which abounded in this region.

On Monday, the 8th of the said month of December, we went between day and night 30 leagues. I took the altitude in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees. I sailed in this latitude because the Señor Presidente<sup>1</sup> had said that in 15 degrees of latitude there were many rich islands, 600 leagues from Peru. But I fully determined not to follow this latitude further, for I saw no signs which could promise me that there was land about that region. Afterwards, on Monday the 8th day of the said month, we went 30 leagues to the south-east [south-west?], and we steered by the said point east [west?] four days to the 12th of December; and I took the altitude, and found myself in  $15\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, and saw that I had gone 80 leagues, the Puerto de la Navidad being due north. And here I took the opinion and compared the altitude of the other pilots, and we were in one and the same altitude, although theirs was a little higher than mine. On

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<sup>1</sup> The President of the Chancery Court (*Cancilleria*) at Lima.

Saturday and Sunday, the 14th of the said month, we went to the south-west. In those two days we made 62 leagues. On the 15th day of the month of December we went in the day's run of one night and one day, 30 leagues. I took my altitude, and found myself in  $15\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. On the Tuesday following we steered west-quarter-south. I took my altitude in  $15\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, and I found that we had gone 46 leagues.

Not wishing to follow this latitude any longer, as I did not see any sign of land, having sailed by the same latitude 620 leagues, rather more than less, I determined to abandon it. We began steering west-quarter-north, and we steered on that course four days, which were Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. I saw that we had diminished our altitude two degrees in the four days on that course, and that we had gone 166 leagues, and I took my altitude in  $13\frac{3}{4}$  degrees.

On Saturday, the 20th of the said month, we ran to the north-west a whole day's journey in fine weather, and the same day we had a shower. We always kept a look-out for land, although we had not seen signs thereof.<sup>1</sup> In this whole day's journey we went 40 leagues. I found myself in the altitude of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south of the Equinoctial line; and, as we did not discover any land, nor sign thereof, I determined to sail to the 8th or 9th degree.

On the Sunday following we went 25 leagues to the north-west, and we were in an altitude of 12 degrees.<sup>2</sup>

On the Monday following, the 22nd of the said month, in day and night we went 30 leagues, north-west-quarter-west. I took my altitude in 11 degrees.

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<sup>1</sup> Here there is evidently some omission in the MS.—P. de G.

<sup>2</sup> Between December 19th and 25th, they must have passed about midway between the Paumotus and the Marquesas, and about the 30th they must have been near Starbuck Island, which is only visible for a distance of fifteen miles.

On the Tuesday following, the 23rd of the said month, we went 30 leagues to the north-west, and I found myself in the altitude of  $10\frac{1}{4}$  degrees.

On the Wednesday and Thursday, the eve of the Nativity, we went 40 leagues to the north-west, and I found myself in an altitude of  $9\frac{3}{8}$  degrees.

On the Friday following, St. Stephen's day, we went 25 leagues to the north-west, and I found myself in an altitude of barely 9 degrees.

On the Saturday and Sunday following, the 28th of the said month, we went 60 leagues west-north-west, and I found myself in an altitude of  $7\frac{1}{3}$  degrees.

On the Monday following we ran west-quarter-north, and we went 30 leagues, and found ourselves in an altitude of  $7\frac{3}{8}$  degrees. On this day I consulted the pilots, and the consultation resulted in their telling me that I was the only one whose zeal had not flagged, since we had gone so many leagues and had not seen any land, nor signs of any. I interrupted them by saying that they need not be disheartened, for that, with the favour of God, they should see it by the end of January, and they all held their peace, and said nothing.

On the Tuesday following, which was the last day of December,<sup>1</sup> we went west-quarter-north-west 32 leagues, and I took my altitude and found that I was in  $6\frac{1}{4}$  degrees. At mid-day I examined the needle to see if it deviated from the direct line of the Pole, and it deviated north-west a third of a quarter.

On Wednesday, which was the first day of January,<sup>2</sup> we sailed onward toward the west, going 30 leagues, and I took my altitude in  $6\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, the currents being very strong.

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<sup>1</sup> 30th December. Gallego has skipped a day.

<sup>2</sup> Wednesday was December 31st.

On Thursday, the day of the new year 1567,<sup>1</sup> we went 25 leagues to the west, steering according to our fancy, and proceeding on our voyage.

On Friday, January 2nd, we went 10 leagues to the west, and the wind gave us a sign of fair weather, which appeared to us a sign that we were near land.<sup>2</sup>

On the Saturday following, the third of the same month, steering by the same point of the compass in an altitude of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, on that said day I asked the usual question of the pilots; they answered me that they had no reckoning, having already taken it in 6 degrees full.

On the Sunday following, the 4th of the said month, we went 25 days—I mean leagues<sup>3</sup>—to the west in the same altitude, because the current ran east and west.

On the Monday following, the 5th of the said month, sailing on the same course and latitude, we went 12 leagues without being turned by the current.

On the Tuesday following, January 6th, we went westward 25 leagues in the altitude of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  degrees; and on Wednesday, the 7th, we sailed on the same course westward 10 leagues. This day we had a great squall which made us strike all sail.

On the Thursday following, the 8th of the said month, we went 15 leagues, our course being west-quarter-south-west, and I found myself in an altitude of 6 degrees; and on that day the wind was in the north, and we had the sails struck, keeping ourselves in a low altitude because the wind was very strong from the north.

On Friday and Saturday, the 9th and 10th of the said

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<sup>1</sup> 1568. Catoira and Mendaña both relate that on this day a man fell overboard, and that, in rescuing him, the ships fouled, damaging the *Capitana's* bowsprit (vol. ii).

<sup>2</sup> It was actually the case. They were close to Atafu, the northernmost of the Union Group.

<sup>3</sup> This shows that a scribe was taking the notes down from dictation.

month, with a little wind, putting her head west-quarter-south-west, we went in the two days 15 leagues, in the latitude of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. I observed that the ship was going out of her true course, gaining latitude, because all the way that we had made was south of the Equinoctial.

On Sunday, the 11th of the said month, we went 25 leagues to the west, and I took my altitude in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. This day the wind shifted to north-east.

On Monday, which was the 12th of the said month, we went 30 leagues with a very fair wind to the west, in the altitude of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. This day there was a great squall and rain, which compelled us to run under easy sail. The same day those belonging to the *Almiranta* asked me how far the land might be; I answered that it seemed to me to be about 300 leagues off, and that we could not possibly see it before the end of the month.

On the Tuesday following, the 13th of the said month, we went 25 leagues west-quarter-south-west. I found myself in the altitude of 6 degrees, and we had a squall from the north which lasted an hour.

On the day following, Wednesday, the 14th of the said month, we went 30 leagues, sailing westward with many squalls, and with the wind in the north-east, for it would not remain steady, but chopped about to the north and east; nevertheless, we ran with the sheets free, and we kept the sails so because we were getting short of water. At this time some of the people were losing confidence about ever seeing land. I always said that, by God's help, it should be given to them, that they should suffer no harm.

On the Thursday following, which was the 15th of the said month of January, we had many squalls and thunder and lightning, such as we had not seen all the voyage. The wind was light in the west-north-west, and we were from the land of Peru, by the course we were taking, 1450



leagues in a direct line. On the morrow we went south-west-quarter-west, with the wind light, 15 leagues, and we were in the altitude of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. A boy went up to the main-top, and discovered land, which was a little island on the port side to the south-west-quarter-south, and we were about six leagues from it, because the island was low, and could not be seen much farther off. Steering towards it we arrived about sunset. This island is low and flat, and has round it many reefs. It has some palm-trees, and, as it were, a bay of the sea in the middle of it. There is also a beach of sand, and when we came up to it, I took my altitude in  $6\frac{3}{4}$  degrees. We wanted to send the boat to it, and, whilst discussing the question, we waited for the *Almiranta*, which was much astern. In the meantime there came from the island seven canoes full of people, and of them some turned back to shore, but the greater part came to the ship, but seeing so many people they returned to the shore, and made great illuminations that night, which appeared to be intended for the protection of their island. They also put out flags, though we could not determine whether they were of palm-tree matting, or of cotton, because they were more or less white. The people in the canoes were naked and mulattoes. When the *Almiranta* came up to us, we agreed that we could not put the boats ashore until the morrow, because it was late; but at dawn, there came on bad weather from the north-west that made us fall off a quarter of a league to leeward of the island; and when we tried to make it, we could not, because the wind was so strong that we were unable to carry sail. I pointed out that the wind was strong, and that if we persisted in returning to the island we might wreck the ships because the wind was contrary; and that it was not right to place ourselves in such a predicament, to be all lost for so small an island; for, since the island was peopled, I said, other islands could not be very far off; besides,

although so near the island, we could not find the bottom with 200 fathoms. We named it the Island of Jesus, because we arrived there the day after the 15th of January.<sup>1</sup>

And, because there were great currents, I could not go further south-west, and I could not sail nearer to the wind, which was north-west. There was a murmuring amongst the soldiers, who said that, despite the risk of being lost, they would not leave the island. Being weary of the voyage, they showed great displeasure, but I cheered them and consoled them, saying that they need have no fear, for that with the favour of God, I would give them more land

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodford is no doubt correct in identifying the Isle of Jesus with Nukufetau in the Ellice Group, in lat.  $7^{\circ} 50'$  south. It is quite true that, instead of lying 600 miles east of Candelaria Reef, the distance assigned by Gallego, Nukufetau is actually 1200 miles distant from the Reef, and that Gallego's latitude is  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , which, allowing for his usual error in excess should, perhaps, read  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; but, with the defective instruments of the time, a description of natural features is infinitely more trustworthy than nautical observation. The "Isle of Jesus" was low and flat, surrounded by reefs, and had a large beach of sand, and a bay of the sea in the middle of it. Now, Nukufetau is the only island in this part of the Pacific that exactly answers this description. The natives, who were of a tawny hue, and made signal fires at night, suggest the Nukufetau people, who, when they would sail to the island of Oaitupu, make great fires on the beach until they see an answering glare in the northern sky. In the older charts, following Krusenstern, the "Isle of Jesus" was placed in  $171^{\circ} 30'$ ; and, until October, 1898, another island, Motuiti, or Kennedy Island, reported by the *Nautilus* in 1801, was placed in  $167^{\circ} 48'$ ; but a special search having been made for it sixty miles east and west, the island has now been finally expunged from the Admiralty Charts. Dr. Guppy, writing in 1887, thought that the "Isle of Jesus" would still be discovered in about the position assigned for it by Gallego; but the Hydrographic Department now considers this most unlikely. Gallego's error in latitude may be explained by the fact that in the stormy weather which he describes, and in the excitement prevailing on board, he could take no observation, and his under-estimate of the distance between Jesus Island and the Candelaria Reef (Ongtong Java) is readily accounted for by the strong easterly current, which might easily have carried him forty miles a day for the seventeen days. By dead reckoning he fell short of the actual distance between Callao and Ongtong Java by 1600 miles; and in the last fifteen days, when he was battling with squalls and head winds, his dead reckoning of 167 leagues must have been the merest guess.

than they could people, and that this island was only 5 or 6 leagues in size at the most.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we continued our voyage, with many squalls, the north-east wind failing us, and I judged it best to direct them to steer west-north-west. We were about 12 leagues off the island, and we had the island to the north-east of us, altitude  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; and four days later—that is to say, the 21st of the said month—steering west-north-west, and following this course west-north-west, four days in 6 degrees, we went about 60 leagues, at the rate of 46 leagues a degree. And we were beating to windward, because the winds were northerly, which happens here more than in any other region.

On Thursday and Friday, the 23rd, we went to the west, running free 40 leagues. I took the altitude in 6 degrees. We had some squalls, but they did not last long.

On Saturday and Sunday, the 25th of the said month of January, we ran westward with a north wind. I took my altitude in 6 degrees.

On the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday following, I directed them to steer west, and towards evening I took my altitude in  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees: the current set towards the north, and, because the steering was difficult, we went only 30 leagues in these three days.

On the following Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, which was the last day of January, we went 6 leagues, steering west-south-west. We found ourselves in the altitude of barely 6 degrees.

On Sunday, February 1st, being 165 leagues from the said Island of Jesus, that day, about 9 o'clock in the

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<sup>1</sup> Once to leeward of this island, it is impossible even for modern schooners to beat up to it against wind and current. In order to make Apamama from Kuria, which lies only fifteen miles down-wind, Mr. Woodford found it necessary to run from  $30^{\circ}$  south latitude to  $5^{\circ}$  north latitude in order to find an easterly current, occupying nine days over the voyage.

morning, we discovered a low line of shoals with several small islands lying in the midst of them.<sup>1</sup> We were 2 leagues off them, and they lay in the direction of north-east and south-west. They were about 15 leagues across, as far as we could make out, because we could not see the end of them. We called them the "Shoals of the Candelaria," because we saw them on Candlemas Eve. And I took the altitude about the middle of them, between east and west, about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  degrees. From the Island of Jesus to these reefs we were seventeen days with the winds contrary, and those winds took us to within 50 leagues of the islands. We were coasting about all day to the south-west to see if we could arrive at them, but we could not. At sunset we had a heavy squall from the west-north-west, with so strong a wind that we had to reef our sails.<sup>2</sup> We were all that night in a cross sea, and next day, carrying nothing but the head sails, we put her head to the north. Then the wind veered to the north-west—that was Monday, the day of our Lady of Candlemas—and that night we had much rain and wind, and were obliged to strike sail, and without sails we could make no headway against the wind.

On Wednesday, February 4th, the wind went down, and we set sail, and were tacking about, with the wind west and north-west, to see if we could find the reefs, which we had left north-west-quarter-north. And, night coming on, we got a little north-west wind, and made another tack to the south-west for two hours, and then we lay-to, because it was night, and we could not see any reefs or banks like those we had passed.

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<sup>1</sup> Catoira does not mention the islands. The existence of islands shows that Fleurieu and Krusenstern were wrong in identifying this reef with the Roncador Reef, on which there is nothing but a single rock, 10 ft. high. Dalrymple, writing in 1770, was the first to point out that Candelaria was the Ongtong Java of Tasman.

<sup>2</sup> Here the Madrid MS. had a few lines more, and the whole passage differs considerably.—P. de G.

On the Thursday following, February 5th, we made sail, so as not to fall off with the north-west wind, and we ran south-west-quarter-west for 3 or 4 leagues. Then the wind lashed to the west, and we again struck sail, and lay in that position all night, with little wind. I took the altitude, and found myself in 7 degrees, 8 minutes: having been four days without an altitude of the sun, I had drifted 15 leagues south-quarter-west. I then made sail, setting her head towards the north.

And it was Saturday, the 7th of the said month of February, at the end of eighty days counted from the day we set out from Callao, the Port of the City of the Kings: and that day, in the morning, I ordered a sailor to climb to the main-top, and look towards the south for land, because there appeared to me something very high in that quarter. And the sailor reported land, and presently it was visible to us. And we hoisted a flag, so that the *Almiranta*, which was half a league from the *Capitana*, should know it, and everybody received the news with great joy and gratitude for the grace that God had vouchsafed to us through the intercession of the Virgin of Good Fortune, the Glorious Mother of God, whom we all worshipped, to whom we all prayed, singing the "Te Deum Laudamus."

Then I directed them to go on the other tack—that is to say, on the south-west tack—and the wind was west-north-west. We were distant from the land, when we saw it, about 15 leagues, it being very high, and we went on that tack all day. Having sailed 4 or 5 leagues we discovered much more land of the same island, which we believed to be a continent. But, sailing upon that tack, we were unable to reach it until the next day, Sunday, at four in the afternoon, the 8th of the said month of February, when we reached the land.

As we drew near there came out to see us many canoes or *canabuchos* [*sic*], making signals of peace. At first they

did not dare to come near the ships, but when they saw the ships approaching the land, and the General threw out to them coloured caps to re-assure them, they came close to the ship. And we launched the boat, and in it there went Juan Enriquez, the pilot, with eight arquebus-men and shield-bearers, to search for and find a port to anchor in. Some of the canoemen, bolder than the other natives, began to board the ship. I had them well entertained, giving them to eat and to drink. And, having been with us till nearly nightfall, they entered into their canoes, and went ashore. And when those who had gone in the boat saw that night was coming on, they returned without having had time to discover a harbour. And as night came on we put out to sea, and the natives in the canoes went to their homes ; and they told us that if we had gone with them, they would have given us food and entertained us. We went beating about that night with little wind, and the current carried us more than 3 leagues west-south-west over some reefs, and we were afraid of being lost upon them, because the sea was breaking amongst them.<sup>1</sup> Being in seven fathoms of water, we made an outward tack, and struck sail till morning, when it appeared that the current was driving us upon these shoals ; and, as the sea was breaking over them, we made sail, and hailed the *Almiranta* that she should keep well out, as we were in shoal water ; and thus we kept standing off until we got depth enough. Then I sent word to Juan Enriquez, who was in the boat, that he should go ashore, and look out for an anchorage for the ships ; but, seeing so many reefs, he returned to the ship. When I saw that he would not go, I myself embarked in the boat to go and look for a

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<sup>1</sup> On a calm day Mr. Woodford found that the sea only broke on a few patches, but in rough weather, with a depth of only seven fathoms, the break would be continuous. The ships probably crossed the reef just westward of Hakelaki Island.

harbour, but those in the ship saw my determination, and would not let me go. Thereupon, the General sent orders to Juan Enriquez that he should go back again to seek an anchorage. I said that I would seek it myself with the ships, for all this was mere delay and waste of time; and, commending ourselves to God, I sent a man to the foretop, and another to the bowsprit, telling them to notice when the shoals whitened; and, with the lead line in hand, and standing by all the bowlines and sheets, with the anchor cleared, in case it should be necessary to go about or to anchor, I made them steer where there were seven fathoms of water, for it appeared to me that we should not find less depth. Those in the boat not yet being able to reach shore, I determined to enter slowly myself; and, sounding, I got twelve fathoms with a clear bottom, and further on a cleaner bottom. And, at the passage through the reef there appeared to us a real star, though it was broad day,<sup>1</sup> and we took it for a guide and a good omen, and grew cheerful and full of hope. And, as we went in, the water deepened little by little, and I informed the General that we were already beyond the reef, and had found good anchorage. We hoisted a flag for the *Almiranta* to follow us, and as we neared the port which the boat had entered, they signalled to us that a good anchorage had been found. So we entered with the star ahead and anchored, and the *Almiranta* followed us in. At the entrance of the port, a great piece of earth fell, larger than the ship.

It was the day of Santa Polonia, the 9th of February of the said year, and we named the port "Santa Ysabel de la Estrella." This port is in latitude 8 degrees less 10 minutes. The island we named "Santa Ysabel:" in the language of the Indians it is called Cambra

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<sup>1</sup> In these latitudes it is not uncommon to see the planet Venus distinctly as early as two-and-a-half hours before sunset.

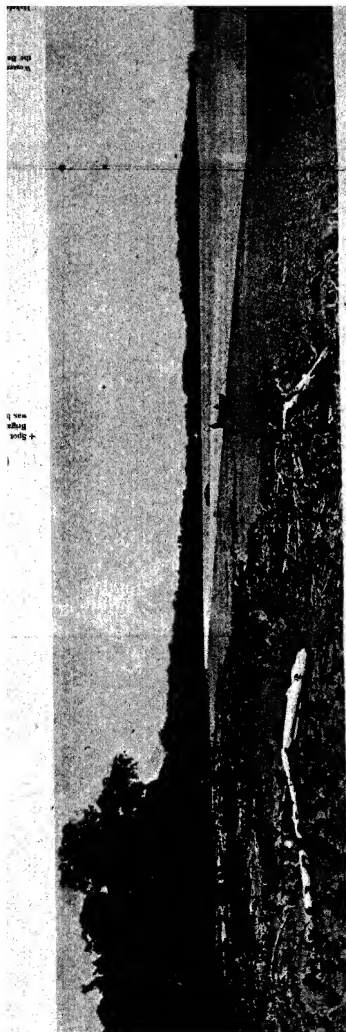
[Thambra], and the Cacique of the place was named Billebanarra.<sup>1</sup>

This port is almost in the middle of the island on the northern side, and 26 leagues south-west of the reefs. This same day most of the officers went on shore, and I took possession of it in the name of His Majesty, and erected a cross. I also looked for the most convenient place for building a brigantine. Next day we made preparations for felling, and began to cut wood, and worked with all diligence. I myself, with most of the carpenters, set the negroes to saw the planks and timber with all diligence; and, whilst we were busy with the brigantine, the General despatched Pedro Sarmiento with thirty men to go inland about 5 leagues. On the way they had several skirmishes with the Indians, and took a prisoner from them. As they were returning to the ship with him, one of the soldiers was wounded by an arrow, but no harm came of it; and the General, having treated the Indian kindly, ordered him to be set at liberty that he might go and give notice to the rest of the natives on the island.<sup>2</sup> At that time the General sent the Master of the Camp, Pedro de Ortega, to see if he could discover what land there was in the interior; and he took with him thirty-five soldiers, and some boys and negroes, about fifty-two persons in all. He was absent seven days on this service, and had many skirmishes with the Indians, wherein he burned many temples of the worshippers of snakes, toads and other insects (*otras sabandijas*). From this expedition two soldiers came out wounded, and one of them, who was called Alonzo Martin, died of tetanus, and he was a good soldier.

<sup>1</sup> This part of the coast is now uninhabited, the natives having been exterminated or dispersed by head-hunting canoes from New Georgia, Vella Lavella, and other islands. On a rocky point in the bay there are signs of former clearings, and, until a few years ago, there was a small village called Kokaibuko. Pedro Sarmiento gives the native name as "Atogla."

<sup>2</sup> How we were there, and intended no harm.—P. de G.





ESTRELLA BAY (Santa Ysabel de la Estrella).

(From a Photograph by Mr. C. M. Woodford.)

4 Spot  
Bays  
was b

Went  
the Bay

Ysabel



The Master of the Camp gave account to the General of all he had seen. These people are mulattoes, and their hair is crisp; they go naked, their private parts being covered with prepared palm leaves. They use for food a kind of maize or roots, which they call *benaus*,<sup>1</sup> and cocoanuts, and plenty of fish. I believe that they are a cleanly race, and I think it is certain that they eat human flesh.

There now came to the port fourteen armed canoes, which came to the place where we were building the brigantine, while they were saying mass on shore; and the principal Cacique of them, called a Taurique, sent a deputation to the General with a present, which was a quarter of a boy, with the arm and hand, and some roots of *benaus*. These the General ordered them to take away, in order that they might understand that our food was not human flesh. And he ordered it to be buried before them, at which they were much ashamed and hung down their heads, and returned to a small island which was at the entrance of the port.<sup>2</sup> The principal Cacique of these *canaluchos* calls himself Taurique Bene. This Taurique has his seat about 15 leagues from this port, west-quarter-north. This took place on the 15th of March.

Now, whilst the brigantine was being finished, the General sent the Master of the Camp and Pedro Roanges and Juan Enriquez, the pilots, to seek out the residence and place of the Taurique Meta, and there went with them thirty soldiers and four Indians, friends of the Taurique Billebanarra, who was at enmity with the Taurique Meta: and they went in the ship's boat, because they could not go by land, there being several rivers. After passing a promontory, they landed the people on a beach, and the Master

<sup>1</sup> *Pana*, the word still used by the Gela natives for a small species of yam.

<sup>2</sup> Hakelaki Island, just the place for a cannibal feast.

of the Camp sent the boat before them to a point about 6 leagues off, while they went by land to the said point. There they had many squalls. They remained there four days, and captured four Indians, and one of them was bitten by a dog. After one or two days the General ordered two of the prisoners to be set at liberty, and told them by signs to bring food, and that we should then surrender the other two who remained. The friendly Indians, who had been in the company of the Master of the Camp, thought that the four Indian captives should be delivered to them, and they asked the General for them, but he would not give them up for fear they should kill them, at which they seemed in great discontent.

On the 4th of April I launched the brigantine,<sup>1</sup> and they fitted her out well for the work that was intended, which was to discover other ports and islands; and therefore it was determined to send in her me, the said Hernan Gallego, the Master of the Camp, ten soldiers and twelve sailors.<sup>2</sup> On the 7th of April, we went out of the port to examine this coast and other lands, pursuing our voyage to reconnoitre this coast to the west [east?], where there is high land belonging to the Meta Taurique, whither the Master of the Camp had gone on the former expedition. And we discovered two little islands<sup>3</sup> which had many palm trees, from which we supplied ourselves with palmettos<sup>4</sup> and cocoanuts, and there I took the altitude, and found that we were in 8 degrees exactly. These islands are 6 leagues from the port of Santa Ysabel de la Estrella. The land runs south-east and north-east [north-west?].

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<sup>1</sup> She had been built in fifty-four days from the felling of the first tree. Gallego had been so closely employed, that we have to go to Catoira for the details of the two expeditions to the interior.

<sup>2</sup> Figueroa gives the number of soldiers as eighteen, a proof that he had access to Catoira's MS.

<sup>3</sup> Named Ninuha in the present Chart.

<sup>4</sup> The fruit of the fan-palm.—P. de G.

Although the needle deviated a quarter of a point to the north-east, and, the needle so remained, [the land] was in the direction of east and west-quarter-north. And sailing onward, we saw many islands in the same parallel<sup>1</sup> *hasta la provincia de Vallas* 5 leagues from our place of departure; and we anchored at a small island,<sup>2</sup> in which we found a canoe and three houses. We landed seven soldiers, and they went towards the houses in pursuit of the Indians, who carried off their canoe; and, having arrived at the houses, they found in them much food, which they brought to the brigantine. And, pursuing our voyage along the said coast, there came out to us seventeen canoes, in which came a very daring Indian, who drew up to the brigantine, and raising his bow against us, indicated by signs that we must go with him to the Cacique Babalay, who summoned us to his presence; and that if we would not go, he would take us by force and would kill us. Seeing his audacity, the Master of the Camp ordered them to fire upon him, and so knocked him down with an arquebus; and, when those in the canoe saw him fall, they all fled to the land; and presently I tacked round the turn of the land to fetch a port because it blew very hard. After we had anchored I took my altitude, and found we were in  $8\frac{1}{4}$  degrees. The trend of the island is east and west, quarter-west-north-west. This island is 7 leagues from the island of Meta, which is on the east side.

I set sail with the wind north-north-west, and because the wind was rather abeam we had to row; and after we had stood out to sea a little, I altered the course, and set sail, running south-west-quarter-west [south-east-quarter-east?], for so ran the coast; and, as we sailed on, we nearly carried away the mast. I saw what was taking place, and

<sup>1</sup> The islets enclosing the Maringe Lagoon.

<sup>2</sup> Fapula I., which lies off Gau.

ordered them to secure the sail, and set the rigging to windward, and so we stayed the mast. And the night fell with much darkness and clouds, and wind and rain, while we were outside knowing no port to run to ; and we hugged the reefs in the roll of the sea until I saw that the reefs ceased to make phosphorescence,<sup>1</sup> and that the point was passed, and I entered into a good port at four o'clock in the night, and we lay that night at our ease. This port lies 6 leagues from the place of our departure, in a large bay, and contains a town, and seven or eight populous islands.<sup>2</sup>

The next day I sent men on shore for water and wood, and on the beach we saw more than one hundred Indians approaching with their bows and arrows and clubs, which are the arms with which they fight. Fearing some ambush on land, the Master of the Camp ordered his men to embark, and presently the Indians came close to us without doing us any harm, and there came also a canoe. Seeing that they did not attack, the Master of the Camp ordered four soldiers to land, and fire three or four shots with their arquebuses to frighten them ; and, when this was done, and the Indians saw it, they discharged their arrows and fled. This took place on April 12th.

While we were in this bay we saw to seaward a very large island, which lay east and west with this bay ; in the

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<sup>1</sup> From Gau to Flokora Point there is a shore reef with a nasty break upon it. The Spaniards were in the utmost peril : they were saved by a circumstance that has served many a sailor overtaken by night among the reefs. The sea that night happened to be alive with "Noctilucae," and each roller, as it crashed upon the reef, was mapped out by a sinuous line of phosphorescence. Where the luminous animalculæ ceased to be churned into activity, Gallego knew that there was deep water.

<sup>2</sup> The native names of these are Kapika, Jagi, Sisigara, Gara, and two others. There was formerly a village in the south side of this bay called Boko. A vigorous clump of cocoanuts still marks its site, but the natives, to the number of fifty, were exterminated by head-hunters from Ronongo not many years ago.

language of the Indians the island is called "Malaita." On the west side the point of this island lies east and west with the point of Meta, and with the Candelaria Reef, north-west and south-east-quarter-east 52 leagues, and the point of this island of Malayta in 8 degrees. It is distant from the Island of Santa Ysabel 14 leagues. There are five or six small islands at the point, which in circumference may be each about 2 leagues, and there are two islands midway between the two large islands.<sup>1</sup> To this Island of Malayta we gave the name of "Isla de Ramos," because we had discovered it on Palm Sunday (*Domingo de Ramos*).

We pursued our voyage along the coast before us, and at the head of this bay we saw more than seven large canoes full of people, and we made for the shore where there were some fisheries, and the canoes came to us, and many Indians followed us along the shore, shooting arrows at us with loud yells. Seeing the boldness of their attack, the Master of the Camp ordered his men to fire some arquebuses, with which we killed an Indian, and the rest fled. Next day, which was the 14th of the said month of April, as we were running along the coast east and west [south-east?], about 6 leagues from our starting-point, there came out to us some friendly Indians, who brought us cocoanuts and what we wanted; and here we saw a pig, which was the first we had seen. On another

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<sup>1</sup> Malaita. Catoira says that they saw this island before weathering Flokora Point, which would be impossible; but he had his information at second-hand, while Gallego writes as an eye-witness. In the present Admiralty Chart (1900) the name of "Ramos" is given to the island lying midway between Ysabel and Malaita, and called by the Ysabel natives and by the Gela people "Onogo." From Gallego's position, this island would appear like two small islands close together. Now, the native name for Malaita to this day is "Mala," which Catoira correctly gives to it later in his journal. Probably the natives, pointing it out to Gallego, said "Mala-ita!" (Anglice: "There is Mala!"). It is probably too late now to restore the rightful name, the name of Malaita being too widely known.

day, we went out on a voyage of discovery from the point and end of this island, going to the south-east. From the entrance of the creek the coast runs north-north-west and south-east to the point of the island. There are several small islands near it, and from this point to the creek is 14 leagues. I took my altitude, and this point is in 9 degrees barely. And there came out against us two canoes with warriors, to ask of us one of the two Indians whom we had taken from Meta; and they shot some arrows at us, and we fired an arquebus to frighten them, and so they went away. Another day, which was the 16th of the month, being at the end of this island, we gave it the name of Cape Prieto.<sup>1</sup> From there we discovered some islands to the south-east, which are 9 leagues from this point. Some lie north-quarter-north-west and south-east, and others north-west and south-east; to these last-named we came this day, going to the south-east with a fair wind. At ten o'clock in the night we arrived at an island which is about a league and a half in circumference, and we anchored off it. It is low, and full of reefs and shoals all round it; it has many palm groves and it is inhabited, and we were there that night, and at daybreak we wished to go on shore but could not, for the island is, as I have said before, full of shoals and reefs.<sup>2</sup> It was named La Galera; and there came out to us a canoe (*canalucho*) of fifty oars, and they came to us in order of battle; and they came close to us and said nothing to us, nor moved against us, but went along with us to another large island, which was distant about a league from this one. Presently there came out many canoes, small and large, and in one of them came a

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<sup>1</sup> This Cape is spelt in three different ways in the MS. at the British Museum, viz. : Pucto, Puerto, and Prieto. In Lord Amherst's MS. it is generally spelt Prieto.

<sup>2</sup> No island in the Gela group answers this description except North Island.



principal Taurique, approaching us peaceably, and gave us beads which they are in the habit of wearing, and which are like what they have in Puerto Viejo;<sup>1</sup> and the Master of the Camp received him well, and in token of peace we gave him what we had brought with us. The Taurique presently ordered the great canoes to tow the brigantine, and bring us inside the port, and so they did. And afterwards, when we were inside, the Master of the Camp went on shore with eighteen soldiers, and I remained on the brigantine with twelve; and presently the Indians put themselves in battle array against us, throwing stones, and jeering and scoffing at us, because we asked them for some food. Seeing their disgraceful conduct, some shots were fired at them, by which two Indians were killed. Immediately they fled, leaving us their houses without defence. In the language of the Indians this island is called Pela,<sup>2</sup> and it is in a chain of five islands which lie east and west, one with the other; and it is the first on the east [west?] side, because we discovered it coming from east to west [west to east?], and it is with Cape Prieto north-west and south-east, 9 leagues from the said cape. This island is about 12 leagues in circumference; it is thickly peopled with natives, and has many huts, and the villages and towns are regular and near to each other. We gave it the name of Buena Vista, because it appeared very fertile. And there are many people like those I have mentioned above, and they go about entirely naked; they do not cover their private parts, and their faces are patterned. There are many small inhabited islands round it. I took my altitude on it at  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south of the Equinoctial. It runs east and west.

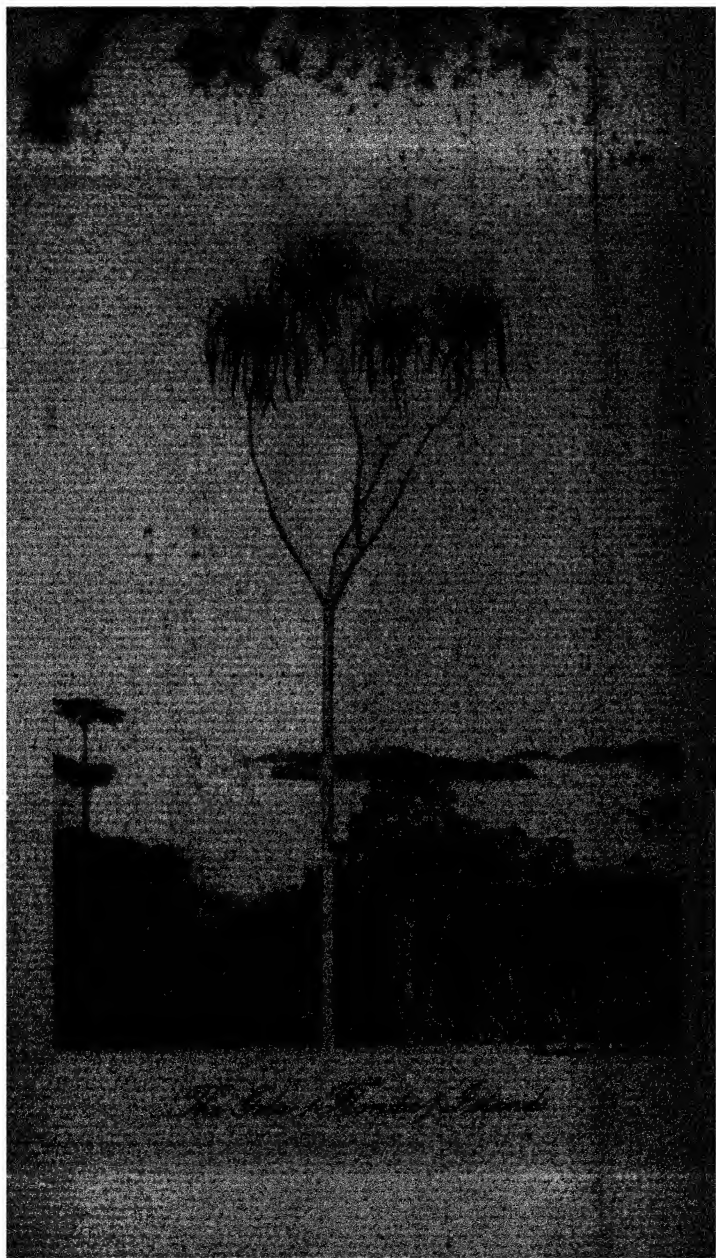
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<sup>1</sup> A town in the province of Quito, in the kingdom of Peru.—Guppy.

<sup>2</sup> The present native name of these is, collectively, Gela.—C. M. W.

On Good Friday of the said year we went from this island to another, which is about a league from it ; we found in it a quantity of cocoanuts, and we put a quantity of them in the brigantine for our sustenance. And whilst we were in this island, there came to us a canoe with three Indians, who told us that, if we would go from there to the large island, they would give us pigs, but we did not want them.

On arriving at the large island the Master of the Camp went on shore, and went up to a village which stood upon an eminence, and there they gave him two pigs, with which he came back to embark, without their doing him any harm, and we returned to pass the night at the small island. This day was Holy Saturday, and the day following, which was the passover of the Resurrection, we coasted along the island by the southern shore, and from thence we went to another island, which is about a league from it. On our arrival, there came out to us more than twenty canoes with native warriors, who tried to take us to their village as prisoners. Considering us as of little account, they began to show great rejoicing amongst themselves. I then ordered the grappling-iron to be weighed, that I might go to another and better anchorage, for we were very near the shoals. And when the Indians saw that, and knew that we were going off, they embarked very quickly in their canoes with bows and arrows and clubs, and many stones. And threatening us very much, they began to shoot arrows and stones at us ; and seeing their boldness, we replied with the arquebuses, and many Indians were killed, and all were routed. They rallied afresh, and again attacked us with more fury, although this time also they got the worst of it, and were routed a second time. There would be more than seven hundred Indians. We took three of their canoes, although afterwards we left them two and took the third. And, abandoning their



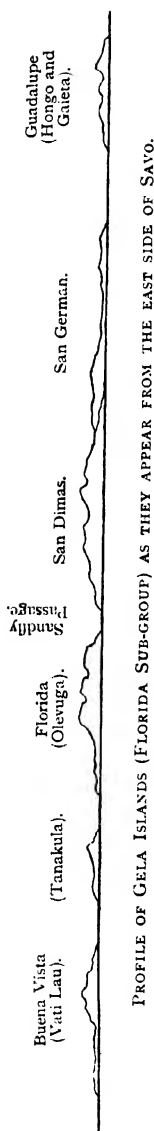


villages, they ran along an upper ridge, giving loud shrieks and yells. And presently the Master of the Camp landed with twenty men to try to bring some supplies to the brigantine, and to make friends with the natives; but they did not care to come near because of the arquebuses, of which they were much afraid; but they went on ahead, calling to one another, and sounding their conch shells and drums. Perceiving that there was nothing to be done, our men set fire to a house, after having taken possession of the island in the name of His Majesty, as we did in the others; and we gave it the name of La Florida. This island is in the latitude of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, [and lies] east and west with the island of Buena Vista. The island is about 25 leagues in circumference. In appearance it is a fine island. It has many inhabitants, although naked as is the case in most of the islands. They dye their hair a red colour; they eat human flesh; and they have their villages built as in Mexico over the water.<sup>1</sup>

That day we went to other islands, which lay further to the east in the same latitude. The first is in circumference about 25 leagues. We had no opposition from them [the natives], because they were already aware that they would gain nothing from us if they came to blows with us. We gave this island the name of San Dimas. We did not go to the other islands so as not to delay ourselves, and we named one San German, and the other Guadalupe.<sup>2</sup> Next day, in the morning, we were at another

<sup>1</sup> The natives of Florida Island still build their houses on piles.

<sup>2</sup> After a careful examination upon the spot, Mr. Woodford has come to a conclusion different from that of Dr. Guppy. He identified La Galera with North Island; Pela for Buena Vista, as the Spaniards called it), with the Buena Vista of the modern Chart (native name, Vati Lau). He identifies La Florida with Olevuga. It was here that the collision with the natives occurred, as described by both Gallego and Catoira; though the latter, deriving his information at second-hand, calls the island San Dimas. The wind being contrary, the



large island, which is on the south side of these five islands, and in the middle of the way there is another one, to which we gave the name of Sesagar [Sesarga?]. It is about 8 leagues in circumference. This island is high and round, and contains much food, *Mamees*, and honeycombs, and roots, and pigs, but they have no grain whatever. In the middle of this island there is a volcano, which is always throwing out a great deal of smoke. There is a white line on it, which appears to be a road descending from the top to the sea. This island is in  $9\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, and is distant from the island of Buena Vista, north-west and south-east, 5 leagues. From this island there came out to us five canoes, and they gave us a fish, intimating by signs that, if we would go with them to the island, they would give us pigs.

brigantine bore away for Guadalcanal, without crossing the Sandfly passage; but Gallego mentions three more islands lying eastward, which he did not visit: S. Dimas, S. German, and Guadalupe. There are in fact two, divided by the Mboli Passage, but as one is sailing away towards Savo the land appears as three islands, which shows that Gallego did not hug the shore east of the Sandfly passage, but obtained only a distant view of it. S. Dimas was therefore the land just east of the Passage: S. German, the land between Halavo and the Mboli Passage: and Guadalupe the separate island east of the Mboli Passage. It is true that from the coast of Guadalcanal the land again appears as one island, but in the return voyage of the brigantine, when off Savo (Sesarga), the Spaniards would have been confirmed in their opinion that there were three. The profile in the margin should settle finally a discussion that was active a century ago, but which is now almost forgotten.



SAVO.

(From a Sketch by Mr. C. M. Woodford.)



SESARGA.

(From a Sketch by Lady William Cecil.)





The Indians went away, and we slept that night at sea.<sup>1</sup>

Another day, which was the 19th of April, we came to the large island which we had seen, and there was a village of the Indians, and a large river. There came out canoes to the brigantine, and some Indians swimming, and some women and boys. We gave them a rope, and, drawing it, they brought us to land; and when we were near the land they began throwing stones at us, saying: "Mate! Mate!" meaning to say that they would kill us.<sup>2</sup> Firing some arquebuses at them, we killed two of them,

<sup>1</sup> Sesarga is the Savo of the Chart. Catoira states that Gallego so named it from the similarity of its outline with that of the island of Sesarga, which lies a little westward of La Coruña, opposite his home in Galicia. In 1879, when Lord Amherst was cruising with his daughters off the northern coast of Spain in his yacht, the *Dream*, they saw and sketched the island, and noticed the white line that streaked its side like a path. The coastguard at La Coruña, on looking through the sketches, at once recognised Sesarga from the drawing, which may here be compared with Mr. Woodford's sketch of Savo.

Mr. Woodford made a minute examination of the volcano in 1888. It was then quiescent, and the eruption predicted by the natives in 1877 to occur in thirty moons had not taken place. The bed of the crater was roughly circular, about a mile in diameter, quite flat and overgrown with reed, fern, and small trees. It was about 250 ft. lower than the lip, and 800 ft. above the sea. Near its north-north-east wall there is a heap of boulders, like an inverted basin, 200 ft. high, and 800 ft. in diameter at the base, covered with dense vegetation near the top, where the natives would not venture, for fear of two devils (*mandala*) that lived there. From the summit Mr. Woodford obtained a new orchid, a yellow dendrobium. At one spot near the base steam was issuing, and at the foot of the volcano there were sulphurous springs in which the natives boil their yams. The water of these springs, analysed by Mr. Liversedge, of Sydney, was found to contain hydrochloric and sulphuric acid, together with silica, iron, alumina, calcium, magnesium, sodium, and ferrous sulphide. The megapodes are here so tame, that it is said not to be uncommon for a native to be digging eggs out of one hole while a hen-bird is scratching up the sand a few yards off to deposit others.

According to native tradition there was an eruption about forty-five years ago, and several others during the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> "Kill! kill!" Dr. Guppy points out the curious coincidence between the word *Mate*, almost universal throughout the Pacific for "kill," and the Spanish *Matar*—to kill. This passage disposes of the ingenious suggestion of some amateur philologists that the word *Mate* was a relic of the early Spanish discoveries.

and immediately they left us and fled away. The Master of the Camp landed with twenty men and took possession ; as in the other village there was found a great quantity of food of roots and ginger<sup>1</sup> collected in small baskets, of which there was a great quantity in the island. We put into the brigantine what we could, including a pig, and the same evening we went on board. To this island we gave the name of Guadalcanal,<sup>2</sup> and [we called] the river Ortega.<sup>3</sup> I took my altitude in  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, with the highest point of the island of Buena Vista north and south 9 leagues, and with that of Sesarga north-west and south-east. From this place we determined to return to where we had left the ships, and so we put about, losing sight of the island of Santa Ysabel. And we passed by the island of Sesarga, which is called in the language of the Indians Guali.<sup>4</sup> We followed that course, and went near Cape Prieto, to the southward of it ; and, sailing along the coast we went by an island, which is 7 leagues from Cape Prieto, which is north-west-quarter-north-west [north-quarter-west?] with the island of Sesarga, 15 leagues. The Taurique of this island is called Bene Bonesa, and the island Veru. It is a league from Santa Ysabel. The entrance is from the south-east. This island, Veru, has a good harbour, which could hold a thousand vessels. There is a channel 6 leagues long, a depth of from 12 to 15 fathoms ; it is very clear, and it has a mouth on the north-west a league wide. This channel runs west-north-west. At the end of the island, where there is the outlet,

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<sup>1</sup> Ginger is plentiful in the bush, and in native plantations. It is eaten by the "wise men," and by warriors to give them courage.

<sup>2</sup> The natives of Florida and Sesarga call this part of Guadalcanal Kulengela.

<sup>3</sup> The Tu-umbuto River.

<sup>4</sup> The village on the south-west side of the island is still called Koila. It was probably towards this village that Gallego was pointing when the natives gave him the name Guali.

there is a large village. In the Island of Veru, which has more than 300 huts, the Indians received us peacefully, and gave us a pig, and we took three canoes of them because they refused to give us more than one pig. When they saw that we had taken their canoes, they made an exchange, giving for two canoes two pigs. We saw on this island several pearls, which the Indians brought, and which they did not seem to think much of. They brought us some teeth or tusks, which appeared to belong to some large animal which they thought a great deal of, and said we should take them, and give them back their canoe.<sup>1</sup> I was of opinion that we should give them back the canoe, and take the tusks, but the Master of the Camp did not wish it. This island is in the latitude  $9\frac{1}{3}$  degrees. I gave it the name of the Isla de Jorge.<sup>2</sup>

Pursuing our return to the ships, and coasting the island of Santa Ysabel to the west-quarter-north, about a third part of the island on the south-south-west side, we saw two large islands. We did not go to them, because the time that was given to us to return had nearly expired, and also because on this coast there are many reefs and shoals, so that we could hardly go there with the brigantine, and one could not sail near them with the ships. These islands were about 6 leagues from Santa Ysabel. They are in latitude  $9\frac{1}{3}$  degrees to the south, because they are east and west with the Island of Veru, 10 leagues. These islands that we passed by are east and west one with the other. There is much land ahead running east and west-quarter-north-west — south-east [east-quarter-south-east and west-quarter-north-west?]. Because the

<sup>1</sup> Their descendants still set a high value on boar's tusks.

<sup>2</sup> St. George's Island. Mr. Woodford obtained three native names for this island: Sindu, Tinande, and Eiri. There is now no permanent village, but he was told that about the site of Benboneja's village there was a settlement called Konda, which was swept away some years ago by head-hunters from New Georgia.

needle north-wested (*noruestava*) [north-easted?], I took the sun close by a river, and found myself in 9 degrees full. We saw many bats, so large that they are from wing to wing 5 ft. across.<sup>1</sup> The island is 20 leagues in width, because I took the sun where the ships were, which is on the north, and now on the south side I found myself in the said 9 degrees full, and on the northern side it was 8 degrees less 8 minutes, north-north-east, south-south-west, 20 leagues. Of the large islands which we saw, we gave to the one the name of San Nicolas, and to the other, which is to the south-east, the Isla de Arracifes [Reefs], because there are many.<sup>2</sup>

Going on to finish boxing the island, we went for four days. We did not go at night, because we could not navigate on account of the many reefs. And we entered into a channel, sailing on for about a quarter of a league; and, as there was no outlet, we had to go out again with the oars.<sup>3</sup> And at this time there came out against us, amongst the reefs, many Indians with their bows and arrows; and we set sail, going by the same point of the compass. And there came out 18 canoes of fishermen, and in each of them thirty Indians, with their bows and arrows, and they shot at us. We fired some arquebuses, so they fled, and left us. On the 26th of April we were amongst the reefs, and we ran aground on them; and, because in this island there are many *sueños* (sleepers) as they call them [sunken rocks?], we were forced to back to get out of them. At this time there came out against us many Indians, with bows and arrows. We fired some shots at them, but we did not repeat this, because the Indians

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<sup>1</sup> The *Pteropus Grandis*, one of Mr. Woodford's new species, described by Mr. Oldfield Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> S. Nicholas and Arracifes. Catoira does not mention these. The former must have been Cape Pitt, on Gatukai Island; the latter Vangunu Island. They form the easterly extremity of New Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, the channel was a *cul-de-sac*.

left us. Near this there are many small islands, inhabited and uninhabited. Arriving at a point of the island at the end of it, [we saw that] it runs north-east and south-west for 6 leagues, and that the island becomes narrower. We then entered a channel, which divides the island from the other small islands round it, which are many, and inhabited:<sup>1</sup> it is on the west side of this island, and at the end of it. I took my altitude, and found myself in  $7\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. The island is 95 leagues long, and in circumference more than 200 leagues. And, as we were sailing along it, there came out some canoes, and we fired some shots at them, and they left off annoying us.

And, going out of the channel, in returning east-quarter-south-east, we saw, 6 leagues [away], a large island. We did not go to it, so as not to delay ourselves. We gave it the name of the *Isla de San Marcos*.<sup>2</sup> It is in the latitude of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  degrees. It lies east and west-quarter-north-west—south-west with the island of Santa Ysabel [true bearing, east and west]. All the people that we have as yet seen are naked, and are like the Arabs of Barbary, and they recognise no chief.

And, on the 28th of the said month, as we sailed on, there came out thirty-four canoes in order of battle, to take from us the three large canoes that we were towing astern, and they followed us for more than 2 leagues; and, seeing the determination with which we [they?] came after us, we fired shots at them with a culverin and arquebuses, and with that they made off as quickly as possible.

And although we had been a long time since we parted from the ships, and were trying to return to them, the delay was compulsory because the winds kept in the east,

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<sup>1</sup> They must have passed through Austria Sound into Port Praslin, and not, as Dr. Guppy thought, through Manning Straits.

<sup>2</sup> Choiseul Island.

which was ahead of us, so that we could not arrive any sooner.<sup>1</sup> One Sunday, being anchored in a small uninhabited island, we determined to send on a canoe with nine soldiers and a sailor and an Indian who had always gone with us. And going along in the canoe from point to point, because they dared not put her to sea, through their negligence they ran amongst some reefs, and the canoe went to pieces; but by the mercy of God the people in her got away with the loss of what they took with them, the arquebuses and the ammunition being well soaked. They determined to return to the brigantine all together, but the Indian ran away from them, although he was not a native of that country. And, having all walked throughout that night among rocks and boulders along the coast, because there was no road, for fear that the Indians should come upon them, they arrived at a point where they found a cross which they themselves had put there when they passed by; and they worshipped it, and determined there to await the brigantine. At that time our brigantine loomed in the distance towards them, and they hoisted a flag, seen by those who came in her. We suspected what it was, and we went to take them up, and we found them in a very bad plight; and so pursuing our voyage, and following the coast, we arrived at the place where they were wrecked, which was near to a small island in which they had left two pigs that they had taken. And we went for them with a canoe, and took them in. We anchored in the neighbourhood, for there was much depth—I mean wind.<sup>2</sup> And, when it became fine weather, and the wind was off shore, we went inside the reefs, seeking for our ships all that day and part of the night. And on the

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<sup>1</sup> It being now May, the south-east trade wind had set in. From Port Praslin to Estrella Bay it was a dead beat to windward.

<sup>2</sup> *fondo digo viento*: another sign that the MS. was taken down from dictation.

morrow at day-break we set sail, and we arrived at the port of Santa Ysabel de la Estrella, where we found the ships, with no small amount of satisfaction and content, both on the one side and on the other.<sup>1</sup> The same day that we arrived at Santa Ysabel, the fifth day of the month of May, the general said that it was time that we should get the ships ready, and go out at once, and that we should go on to carry through what we had undertaken.

And so, on the 8th of the said month, we went out of the port of Santa Ysabel de la Estrella, and, going out beyond the reefs which are at the entrance of this port, and sailing on, at the end of two days the brigantine fell off towards the land, because she could not keep up with the ships ; so much so, that at night time we almost lost sight of her, although there were on board the pilot Gregorio Gonzales and some of the sailors and soldiers that had been in her. Fearing that we should lose her, I made signals to him that he should put her out to sea, for I considered it certain that, if one of the ships did not turn back to take her in tow, we should lose her ; and as the brigantine was a matter of great importance to us in the discovery of these islands on account of the many reefs, and as we had built her with much trouble and labour, I left the *Almiranta* to go on, and returned with the *Capitana* to look for her, with the lead line in my hand for fear of the reefs. And when about 6 leagues out at sea, I found myself in six fathoms, and put her on the other tack ; and it pleased God that we found more depth. It was night when we reached the brigantine ; not without some trouble we towed her astern in search of the *Almiranta*, which had gone on, keeping her course, after I had given them proper directions as to the course they should steer on account of the many reefs which are there. On this course, leaving

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<sup>1</sup> They had completed the circuit of Ysabel Island.

behind the islands of Beru and Flores, and many others which I discovered in the brigantine, without touching at them, at the end of four days we saw ahead the *Almiranta*, which had not found a harbour.

On Tuesday, the 12th day of the month of May, I found anchorage in the Island of Guadalcanal, which is [the island] towards which we had set out from Santa Ysabel, but we could not fetch the Rio de Ortega, where we had been with the brigantine, for it was to windward of us, 2 leagues from where we lay. That day there was so much east wind that we carried away a bolt (*clave*), and lost an anchor. And on the morrow, in the morning, I went in the boat to look for another good port, because we were anchored near the beach, about a league from it, behind a small island, which is near the said island of Guadalcanal. I sounded everywhere, and I found it was clean, and a good anchorage for the ships, because there was a large river, to which we gave the name of the Rio Gallego.<sup>1</sup> It is in the latitude of 10 degrees 8 minutes. From thence I returned to the ships, and brought them into the port, which we called El Puerto de la Cruz.<sup>2</sup>

This same day the General and the greater part of the soldiers went on shore, and I [went] also, and we took possession of the island in the name of His Majesty, as in the case of the greater part of them; and, upon a little hillock that we found there, we set up a cross, and we all worshipped it. And there were several Indians about the place; and seeing that we were turning back, some of them

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodford, who has given much time to the examination of this coast, identifies the river Ortega with the Tu-umbuto; the river Gallego with the Nanago; and the river S. Urbano with one of the small streams in the bight of the bay.

<sup>2</sup> The Puerto de la Cruz is marked on the Admiralty Chart. They anchored behind the little island of Tandai, which Catoira describes as a point, and Gallego as an island. It is both, for it is only connected with the land by a sandspit, which may then have been awash at high water.



began to shoot arrows : and we fired some shots at them with the arquebuses, and killed two Indians, upon which they left us and fled. And we went on board for the night.

Next day, in the morning, wishing to go on shore to say Mass, we saw that the Indians had seized upon the cross that we had left there, and were taking it away. Seeing their boldness, the General sent the soldiers to go and look for the cross, and to put it back in its place ; and being ready in the boat to go on shore, we saw that the Indians themselves had brought it back, and were going to put it back in its place. And it appeared that they had not fixed it well, and that it would fall, and presently they themselves took steps to set it up ; but, for fear of us, they did not finish putting it up, but fled. At that our men went ashore, and disembarked, and the General sent Pedro Sarmiento to the cross with some soldiers, and he remained on the beach with the greater part of the people. On arriving there he found that the cross was not set up straight, and so they fixed it as it was before ; Pedro Sarmiento then returned, and all embarked, and came to the ships.

In order not to lose time, I gave the order to repair the brigantine, which made much water ; and they repaired her immediately. And when she was repaired, it was arranged that Don Hernando Henriquez, the Captain-General (*Alferes-General*) and I, the said Hernan Gallego, should go in the brigantine with thirty soldiers and sailors, to explore the remaining lands of the said island of Guadalcanal. And on the 19th day of May we, the above-mentioned, set sail in the brigantine along the coast of the said island, which is called in the language of the natives, Sabo.<sup>1</sup> And the same day the General sent Andres Nuñez,

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<sup>1</sup> This name, Savo, is the present native name for Sesarga.

with thirty other soldiers, to see what there was on shore, and make trial for minerals in different clefts and broken pieces of ground : for the miners, who understand the thing, said that there was gold in that land. So they took leave for seven days to go and return. And, whilst they were making trials, being close to a large river, so many natives annoyed them that they were obliged to abandon the attempt, because they would not let them go on further with what they had begun. From the indication they gave, they said that there was gold.<sup>1</sup> They had many skirmishes on entering [the island], and they found for the first time fowls of Castille.<sup>2</sup> They took away two hens and a cock, with which they were all very much pleased, thinking that they had found a better land.

Those in the brigantine, sailing up the coast of this island from the south-east [north-west?] to the north-west [south-east?],<sup>3</sup> found many villages near a river which was about a league from where the ships lay. We went ahead, and came to the Rio de Ortega, which is another league further. The whole coast seemed full of villages,<sup>4</sup> although we did not stop there, because we had seen them before. We went on by the said coast, and came to a river and anchored in it ; and there we thought that we had better go on shore, and see what the people were like.

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<sup>1</sup> *A la muestra que dieron dixeran que avia oro.* It is not quite clear whether it was from specimens or from indications that the miners thought that there was gold.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Guppy was mistaken in supposing these to be *megapodidae*, in which the sexes are indistinguishable. That they were domestic fowls is shown in a later passage, which describes the cocks as crowing.

<sup>3</sup> Figueroa gives the course as east-south-east.—Guppy.

<sup>4</sup> At the present time the whole coast, from Tu-umbuto River (Ortega River) westward is uninhabited, a sad contrast with its condition in Gallego's day. Mr. Woodford suggests that the numerous grassy hills and flats, which are only seen on this coast and in Gela, are the remains of old cultivation. The annual bush fires prevent the trees from taking root.

And there came out to us more than two hundred peaceful Indians, with their bows in their hands, and the clubs with which they fight. And they gave us some plantains, of which there are a great many there. And after they had seen what there was, the people embarked ; and whilst we were embarking, the natives sent a few stones at us. We were then about 12 leagues distant from the ships, and on our course, going south-east, we saw many villages of the natives on another river. We named the river San Bernardino, because it was that same day. It is in the latitude of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north-north-west—south-west [? north-north-west—south-south-east], and it has a very high, rounded hill.<sup>1</sup> This river is about 4 leagues from that which we left behind us, as I take the distance to be.

We went coasting along the said island. At 2 leagues from this river we came upon a large village at the mouth of a little river. Don Hernando went on shore, and took a canoe that he found on the river, and some roots, which they call *mames*, and others call *ñames*, which they found in caves. And we told the natives to give us some pigs, and that we would give them back their canoes. And in order to detain us and gather themselves together, they said they would give them to us. And so they began to sound the instruments which they have for collecting themselves for battle, and there came more than six hundred warriors (*gandules*).<sup>2</sup> And when we were embarked, they came to the beach, with their arms and arrows and clubs and stones. And they began to shoot at us ; but for all that we did not fire a single shot with the arquebuses at them, although they did not cease shooting ;

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<sup>1</sup> Identified by Mr. Woodford with the Nalimbiu River. The high round hill is the "Lion's Head," a very conspicuous object at this point.

<sup>2</sup> Gandul is an Arabic word to designate the warriors of a celebrated African tribe who came over to Spain. Alcota de los Gandules, or Gasules, retain their name to this day.—P. de G.

and some of them began to swim, and entered into the brigantine, trying to cajole us with good words, and asking us for the canoe, saying that they would give us a pig. They even tried to take it, as we were towing it astern ; and seeing this, we threatened them, and they went ashore. Then the Indians brought a stake and a bundle of straw to look like a pig, and they laid it on the beach ; and some of them came to the brigantine, and said that there was the pig, and that we should take it and give them the canoe ; and we understood the trick that they wished to play us, and when they saw that we had discovered it, and were not coming for it, they began to throw stones at us, and began swimming, with their weapons in their hands ; but for all that we did not wish to do them any harm till we saw their boldness, and understood that they were coming to the brigantine to shoot at us with their arrows. We then fired a few arquebus shots in the air to frighten them, but not to wound anybody ; and so we went on along the coast, they following us by land ; until, on another day, the 22nd of May, we came upon a large river, with a large population, and they joined with them ; and there was so great a number of natives that they were innumerable. We named this river Santa Elena.<sup>1</sup>

There are along the coast many plains with palm groves and cocoanuts. This island had a very high ridge of mountains inland, and many ravines, whence the rivers rise ; and from the chain of mountains to the sea there are 8 leagues of plain. At the mouth of the river there are many shoals of sand, but we did not go there, but stood out from the coast to double a point of reefs. There we anchored, and the south-east winds blew so strong that there was much danger in securing ourselves under the lee of the shoals which came from the river ; but I anchored

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<sup>1</sup> The Bokokimbo River.—Woodford.

there, although there was too much wind for us to be in smooth water. The Indians came out to us, swimming with their weapons and arrows ; there were more than a thousand of them, and a great number remained on shore. And they plunged in, and dived into the water to take up the anchor, and haul the brigantine to shore ; and seeing their determination and persistency we fired some arquebuses, and killed some of them, upon which they left us and went on shore. And they made some bastions of sand to shelter themselves, and our water ran short, so that it became necessary for us to get some. At the moment when the prow touched the land, a great number of them came together to prevent us from taking it, hiding behind their bastions, and from there they defended themselves. And we charged a culverin with small shot, and discharged it against their bastions, with which some were wounded, and one killed. Seeing that there was no remedy, they left the beach, and retired to the side of the mountain ; and so we had a spot to take the canoe for water, which we brought, although the water was rather brackish. And I told them that if they did not go and bring sweeter water they should not come into the brigantine ; and, threatening the Indians, I told them that they must bring water in the jars which we gave them for it ; and the Indians took them and went for it, and brought sweet water, and put it into the brigantine. And presently all came on board, and they did not follow us any more. And we went on by the same coast for about 6 leagues, and anchored in a large place, where there were more than 3 leagues of dwellings,<sup>1</sup> from which more than three thousand Indians came out to us making signals of peace ; and they gave us a pig, and many cocoanuts, and they filled the jars of water for us, and brought them on board in their

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Aola.—Woodford.

canoes. And they came on board the brigantine to see us without weapons. And, near to the beach, about half a league seaward, were two small inhabited islands;<sup>1</sup> and further on is another small island of sand to the north-west of these two islands.

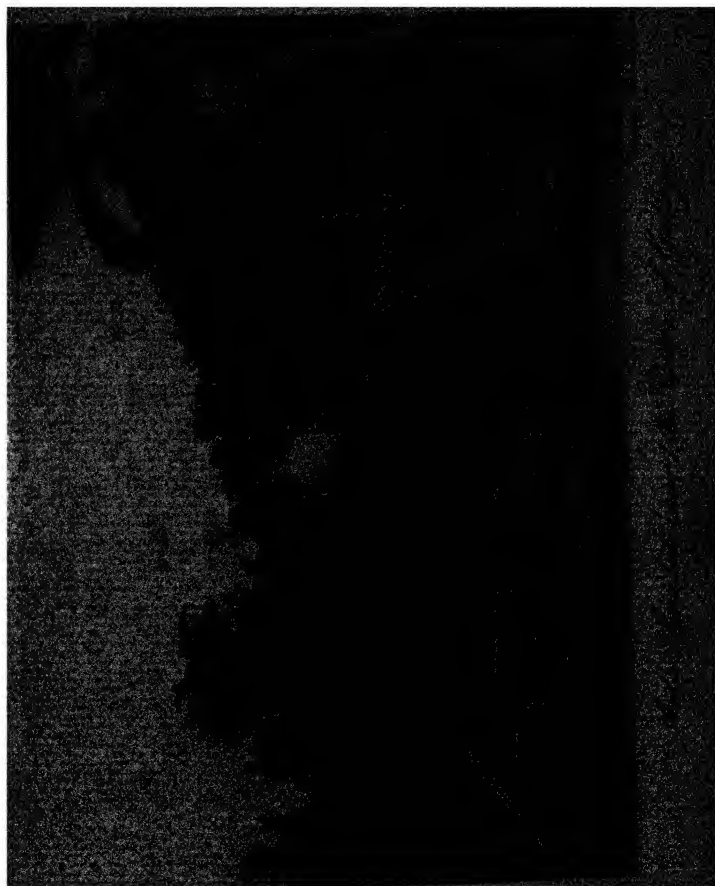
And presently we went on, going south-east, for so runs the coast, and about 2 leagues on are other two islands,<sup>2</sup> and another one of sand near them, which were not inhabited. On the 24th of May we went on, and there came out to us eighteen canoes, and they were with us till sunset; and when they were about to go they threatened us, shooting their bows at us. We fired some shots at them to drive them away, and they fled as quickly as possible; and so we pursued our route up to the point of the island, which is north-west and south-east. And we went to look for a port for the ships, in case of necessity. And we found at the end of the point many islands, and shoals between them, amongst which was a large island with a good harbour.<sup>3</sup> We wanted water, and two canoes that came in our company showed it to us deceitfully, intending to kill us, because they came with their weapons, and there joined them other thirty, one of which carried thirty Indian warriors. Having come to us who were getting water, they came on shore, and threw a number of stones and arrows and spears; and they went against the brigantine, and the greater part of those on shore attacked those who were getting water. And we, seeing their determination and boldness, fired some arquebuses, which killed some and wounded many; and so they fled, and left us two canoes without anybody in them, and the greater part went away. The large canoe was damaged; and, in the confusion that we caused them, some jumped into the sea;

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<sup>1</sup> Rura Suli and Rura Kiki.

<sup>2</sup> Kokobara and Valelua.

<sup>3</sup> Marau Sound.







and we took it with four Indians, two wounded and two unhurt, whom we put on shore ; and we treated them well, giving them their liberty and the canoe, that they might go away, and they went. And I had a boy whom I took there. I took my altitude in  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. On the south-south-east of this point the coast runs north-east—south-west. We did not see any end to this point, and the port was forty leagues from where we left the ships.

We went out of this port with much trouble on account of the reefs, and we saw south-east-quarter-east an island which was 7 leagues off. We did not go to it, because we went to the Island of Malayta, so called in the Indian language, which is with the Island of Guadalcanal and with the point where we were north-east, south-east [and] quarter-east-south-east. After we went out we sailed north-west-quarter-east [north-east-quarter-east?], 16 leagues. And we went to a good port, which had many reefs at the entrance, and there came out twenty-five canoes, with warriors shooting arrows. We fired some shots, and killed some and wounded others, and they fled back again. This port is in the latitude of  $10\frac{1}{4}$  degrees, on the coast facing south-south-west. It was named the Puerto Escondido [Hidden Port], because it is almost shut in by reefs.<sup>1</sup> We found in this island knobs of the size of oranges, of a metal that appeared to be gold, below which metal was pearlshell. They have them fixed upon a stick to fight with when they come to close quarters. Most of them carry them. These Indians are like the rest : they go about naked. This is the island which we called Ramos, and we took possession of it in the name of His Majesty.

We went out of this port, and as we were sailing round to the south-east, about 4 leagues, we discovered the entrance of a port like a river, which we thought was a

<sup>1</sup> Probably the harbour called Uhu in the Chart.

river dividing the country [in two].<sup>1</sup> We could not enter it, as there was a strong current which prevented our going into it; so we passed on for another 4 leagues, and there we found another good port, where I took the altitude, which was  $10\frac{1}{3}$  degrees south of the equinoctial. There is a small island at the entrance, which, in going into the harbour, must be left close on the starboard hand. In this port there came out to us two hundred Indians who did not attack us. To this port we gave the name of La Asuncion (Assumption), because I entered it that very day.<sup>2</sup> That day we went out of it, and we went along the coast to the south-east. Near to the end of the island we put into a small cove, and they shot arrows at us. We fired some shots at them, and they left us and fled. Having come out of the cove we went to the end of the island, which is in  $10\frac{1}{4}$  degrees. It lies north-east—south-west with the Island of Jesus, the first that we saw, which is in 7 degrees south, and  $85\frac{1}{2}$  leagues from the head of the Island of Malayta, which is north-east—south-west with the point of the said island, and is with Meta east and west 8 degrees. And it is of the thickness of the cape that makes the other point [*i.e.*, the west point of Ysabel], which is in 7 degrees, and it is, one point with the other, north-east, south-west quarter-north, west<sup>3</sup> with the Island of Jesus, 135 leagues. This Island of Malayta is 114 leagues in length, but I did not go on the north side, and therefore I do not know how broad it is. The Island of Guadalcanal

<sup>1</sup> This was certainly the Maramasiki Passage, which cuts the south-eastern end of Malaita in two.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Ariel Harbour.—Woodford.

<sup>3</sup> In order to read these complicated bearings, we must remember that Gallego usually gives the double bearing; and, whenever both bearings are to be qualified by a point, he appears to put the qualification of both bearings together at the end. This bearing would thus be read: "North-east and south-west: quarter north: west;" the "quarter north" qualifying the north-east, and the "west" qualifying the "south-west."

is very large: I do not give the size of it, because it is a great piece of land, and to go round it would take half a year; but I can say that it is very large, having gone the length of it on the north side 130 leagues. And I did not come to the end of it; because the coast trended west on the east side of the said headland, from whence I saw a very great number of large villages. From the end of the Island of Malayta we saw, east-quarter-east [east-quarter south?] another island 8 leagues from that point, whither we went, arriving at night time. We anchored near the shore, in front of a village, where there was a little river; and while we were anchoring, two canoes came out to reconnoitre us, and turned back. Afterwards at dawn, we sent people on shore to fetch water, and the natives all came out peaceably with their wives and children. All these people are naked, like the greater part of them. The women carry about a sort of fan in their hands, which they sometimes hold before them. Having taken the water, we asked for a pig, and they brought one; and, having placed it so that we could see it, they turned back to take it away. We did them no harm, and so, having embarked, we went out to go round the island. And when the Indians saw that we were going, they came out in pursuit of us, the greater part of them in their canoes, with their bows and arrows, shooting their arrows; and with an arquebus we shot the first one who came to the attack, upon which they turned and fled. And we pursued them up to the port, and we took from them some canoes, as they were intending to eat us. The peaceful Indian that we had brought with us climbed into a palm tree, and saw that the Indians were coming in bands with their war shields, and we put ourselves in battle array, and sent three soldiers to reconnoitre the people. They attacked us on two or three sides in canoes, and also the brigantine; and we played upon them with the musketry, and twelve Indians and

one Indian woman were killed. And presently they retired, and our people, who were on shore, embarked in the brigantine, and we went on, pursuing our exploration. The island is called in the language of the Indians, Uraba;<sup>1</sup> we called it "La Treguada" (Truce Island), because they attacked us after a broken truce. This island is in  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; it has much people, and food enough for the people that are there, although it is small. It is 25 leagues [in extent]. There is traffic with most of the islands that are near. There is a point on the north-west, which runs north-west—south-east up to the middle of the island, from which we took this observation of 10 degrees; and the other half runs north-west—south-east to the end of the island. And from the point of the island, towards the south-quarter-south-south-west, are some low islands, with many shoals round them. They are about 3 leagues from this island of La Treguada: to these we went, and there took water. They are inhabited. We named them "Las Tres Marias" (The Three Maries).<sup>2</sup> They lie east and west quarter north-west south-east. There is another island, which is 3 leagues from the Marias. It is low, and the people in it are like most of the others; in this we found a good harbour. We named this island "San Juan." We arrived there on the 1st of June. We took possession of it, as of all the others, in the name of His Majesty. It is 6 leagues round, and it is in the latitude of  $10\frac{2}{3}$  degrees.<sup>3</sup>

From thence we went to another large island, which is north and south with this one 2 leagues; and, before we

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<sup>1</sup> Its present name. The "L." and "R." being interchangeable, and "W" being easily confused with "B" in the mouth of a native, Ulawa is identical with Uraba. The next European to visit it was Surville, exactly two centuries later (1769). He, too, established communications with grape shot. He called the island "Contrariété."

<sup>2</sup> Named "The Three Sisters" in the Chart, after Surville. They are now uninhabited and apparently waterless.

<sup>3</sup> Ugi Island.

got there, there came out ninety-three canoes with warriors, and we had a great skirmish (*guacanara*), and took an Indian chief. And we put him below, and he got hold of a sword, and, defending himself with it, he tried to escape; but in the end the sword was taken away from him, and we bound him. We wished to send men on shore to take possession of the island, but the people pressed down upon us so hard that we could not do it. And we returned towards the island of San Juan, and I told Don Fernando that I would offer to fetch back to it before dawn, and so it was done. And in the island of San Juan they ransomed the Indian, and gave us three pigs for him. Don Fernando Enriquez gave him some *chaquiras* (coloured beads), and embraced him in token of peace.

Another day, the 2nd of June, at daybreak, we were under the island of Santiago, and there came out more than fifty canoes: and there was a dispute, because some wished to carry us off to their village. We were forced to fire some shots, so as to make them leave us, after which they left us and fled. I took possession of the island in the name of His Majesty, without any hindrance or impediment whatever, and we did no harm to them. This island is 40 leagues long on the north side, and it is narrow, and in part mountainous and well peopled. The people of this island go about naked, and eat human flesh. It is in the latitude of  $10\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, and the point upon the east side is north-west—south-east with the island of Treguada, 12 leagues, and the point on the south-east side is north-west—south-east 18 leagues with the island of Malayta. And, having all embarked to go on, there came a great wind from the north-east, which took us to the headland of Santiago, whence we saw a large island to the south-west, which runs south-west, west-south-west, or north-west. It was 18 leagues distant. It is in the latitude of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south of the Equinoctial. This island is

four leagues from the island of Guadalcanal. We named it the island of "San Urban."<sup>1</sup> On account of the illness of myself and several soldiers, we did not go on, but keeping away to leeward, we arrived at the island of Guadalcanal. We went on shore at a village, where the Indians gave us *la guacanara*,<sup>2</sup> when we passed by it, wishing to get water. And we landed the three Indians in a canoe, and they gave us a pig and some honey (*panales*). Leaving us at the village, they fled, for they had much fear of us. We gave them beads (*chaquiras*) in token of peace. We went from thence, and returned towards the ships, touching at several parts where we had been before; and the natives received us peaceably, and gave us what they had, for they were much afraid on account of the arquebuses which we carried. We went on to a port where we had been received peaceably when we passed by it. We took water there, and they gave us a pig, and they almost filled up the brigantine with *panaes*, which is the food they eat. Under the shelter of the island there is a very good harbour for the ships, and it is thickly peopled. We went out from thence towards the ships, and we reconnoitred a river, where we had been before.

We entered the river under sail, in order to take some food on board, and we arrived near a village; and when the Indians saw us, they decamped from the village. We found many *panaes* and *ñames*, with which we loaded the brigantine. I wished to take away a white parrot, which the Indians had injured, and many

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<sup>1</sup> At this point Gallego becomes confused. Santiago was evidently the north coast of the island which they afterwards named "San Christoval." Dr. Guppy thinks that San Urban was the peninsula of Cape Surville, which is connected with the main island by low land that would be indistinguishable at a distance.

<sup>2</sup> That is, they attacked us. "Guacanara" is a South American word, meaning war, fight, skirmish; perhaps also war-cry, as appears from this passage. The Spanish "Algazara" may be derived from it.—P. de G.

others of different colours ; and when the Indians saw that we did them no harm, all those that were near came back, and gave us a pig, that we might go away. Presently we passed a river, which has a large population on its bank, and we anchored in it. And the Indians began to kindle fire, and to cast it into the air (*i hechar por lo alto*), a thing that we had not seen in any other port.

Next day, which was Whit-Sunday, the 6th of June, we arrived at the ships. We found them all very sad, because on Ascension Day, the steward, four soldiers, and five negroes, going on shore for water (as they went at other times), because the Cacique of that part was a friend, and was accustomed to come on board the ship, and to give them cocoanuts, and they themselves were accustomed to bring the water in the jars ; and we trusted them on account of the friendship with which they treated us) ; going that day for water, it appears that the boat ran aground, and as she was laden they did not take care to shove her off ; at that instant, they came out from an ambuscade with weapons, and set upon them, and they did not leave any alive but a negro of mine who had escaped ; and the greater part of them they cut into pieces ; cutting off their heads and arms and legs, taking out their tongues, and sucking out their brains with great ferocity. And the negro that escaped was able to do so because he swam to an islet which was near, although they swam after him ; and, with a cutlass which he had in his hand, he defended himself in such a manner that they left him, and he reached the islet. And from thence he began to cry out to those in the ship, making signals, which they understood, and in as short a time as possible the General went on shore to see what had happened. And when he reached the shore the disaster had occurred, and the Indians had assembled on the hill ; and presently they took the dead Christians, and carried them away to bury them in the place where

it was customary to say Mass, the soldiers in one place and the negroes in another. One of the negroes slain belonged to the king, and two belonged to us, and one to the boatswain. It was something to hear the clamour and noise that the Indians made with their drums; it seemed as if it were a day of gathering for judgment, because for that purpose there were gathered together more than forty thousand Indians. And, having buried their dead, they returned to the ships with much sorrow at what had happened.

The cause that moved the Indians to war, so far as I understood what they said, was that they had taken a boy from the tribe of a Cacique, and the Cacique came to tell those of the ship *Capitana* that, if they would give him up to him, he would give a pig for him, and they did not wish to give him up. Next day the Cacique brought a pig down to the ship and said, that if they would give him the boy, who was one of his family, he would give them the pig. And they would not give him up, but took the pig by force. The Cacique, having seen what had been done to him, came no more to the ships, and a few days afterwards this disaster occurred. On another day after this sad event, the General ordered Pedro Sarmiento to go ashore with as many people as he could muster, to chastise them. He burned several villages, and killed more than twenty Indians. Then he returned to give an account of what had been done. And each day, as we went on shore, we managed to give them some chastisement. And on another occasion the General ordered Pedro Sarmiento to go to a point, which was south-east about a league and half from the ships, because there appeared no Indian whom we could chastise; for it seemed to him that all the Indians had been concerned in the treachery and in the death of the Christians. Taking two boats, and fifty soldiers in them, they landed, but found



no Indians, because they had gone into the hills. So he set fire to all the houses and villages that he found, and returned to the ship. And from a point some Indians came slowly in pursuit of him. Our people then arranged an ambuscade, by which they killed three or four Indians, and the rest fled; after which we returned towards the boats, and embarked and came to the ships. And from an Indian, whom we had taken, we learned who were concerned in the death of our people. He said that a Taurique, called Nobolo, whose village was on the bank of a river, about a league from the Rio Gallego towards the east, was the chief person concerned, together with many others, who were joined together with that purpose, with the said result.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, the 9th day of June, being on the islet near to the large island, which was near the harbour where the ships were, the men of the *Almiranta* were making a maintopmast, and the carpenter's guard consisted of some musketeers and shield-bearers, about eight in all. The Indians, wishing to make another assault like the last one, were in ambush, more than three hundred of them, determined to make the assault. About ten Indians passed over to the small island in a canoe, keeping their bows and arrows concealed. They brought a pig to deceive our men and to engage them in a parley, whilst other Indian warriors were arriving. When I saw the Indians and the canoe crossing over to the place where they were making the topmast, I ordered some musketeers to get into the boat, and with them Pedro Sarmiento; they went on, concealed by the little island, and they could not be seen from the canoe. When the boat arrived near the small island, we passed between it and the large island, near the canoe, which held

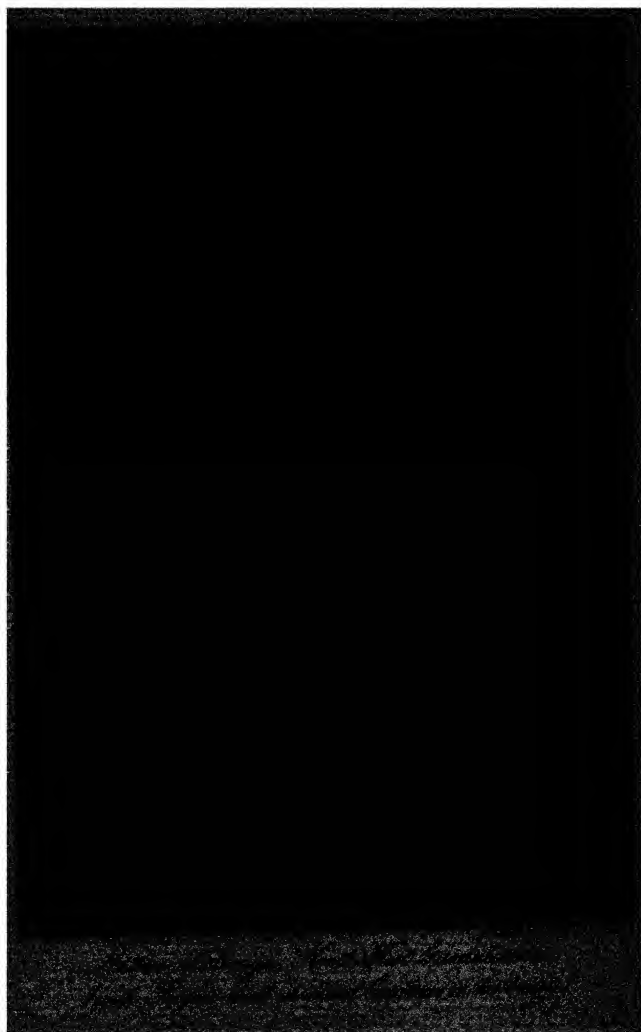
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<sup>1</sup> The part of the coast to which Nobolo belonged is called Lunga, which is not to be confused with the village of Lango near the Nalimbiu River, a few miles to the eastward.

only one Indian, because the greater part had thrown themselves into the sea. The canoe was taken with the pig, which they were taking to deceive those that were making the mast, and we returned to the ship, having killed nearly all the Indians who were in the canoc. This was the best foray that had been made, because they were much discouraged.

On the 12th of the said month of June, the General went out with the brigantine and the boat, and the greater part of his people, to inflict more chastisement on the river that lay to the eastward one league from where the ships were, and I went with him. We arrived near the river an hour before daybreak, in order that from thence we might go unperceived, and fall right upon the Indians ; but, having sentinels, they saw us immediately, and stood to arms. I remained in the brigantine at the mouth of the river, with four musketeers and the boat, so as not to let any canoe pass out. And when the General arrived at the village they had all forsaken it, and, as they found nobody, they set fire to it ; it had more than two hundred houses. Then we returned to the ship.

Next day, Sunday, the 13th of the said month of June, we set sail in the night to go with the ships to the place that we had discovered with the brigantine ; and having sailed east-south-east, about 8 leagues from where we had been lying, we had to anchor because the wind was contrary. Here the General went on shore to get some food for the sick, of whom there were many, and presently we returned to the ships ; and, the land breeze springing up, we weighed anchor and set sail. Here died Paladine, the pilot. We buried him at sea. We lost sight of the brigantine because she was ahead, and we did not see her until we came to the harbour where she was anchored, near an island half a league to windward of where we had been with the brigantine in our voyage of discovery. There





were many people, and they came out to us peaceably. We were there all day, because it was the day of Corpus Christi. Mass was said on a small island which was near the harbour. There we took water, and they gave us voluntarily pigs and many cocoa-nuts and *bananas*. The Cacique of that district is called Meso, and the village Urare.<sup>1</sup> We left this island on the port side. This district is at war with the people of Feday, which is the place where we were anchored when they killed our people.

On the 18th of June we went out of this port, continuing our voyage to search for the island of Santiago or San Juan,<sup>2</sup> which is that which we discovered and gave this name to. We beat to windward with strong head winds, trying all that time to make the island of Santiago; but, owing to the rough and contrary weather, we could not make it, and I determined to pass to the southward of Santiago, the strong wind and contrary currents preventing us from making any port. We went coasting along an island which had not been seen by the brigantine, and we were fourteen days before we made the end of the island; and in the middle of the island, owing to the contrary winds and currents, what we made one day we lost another, so we tried to find a port. We named the island San Christoval. It was our Lord's pleasure that at the end of so much hard work, we should find a very good port for the ships; and on the following day I went from the port to the ship, and went on board of her; and we were beating to windward all that night, and the heavy weather obliged us to lie in a cross sea with our sails furled. And when it was dawn we found we had fallen off 3 leagues from the port;<sup>3</sup> and, though we tried to make the port, which

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<sup>1</sup> The district is now called Lungo and the village Aola.

<sup>2</sup> Gallego here forgets that he had given the name of S. Juan to Ugi, and Santiago to the island south of it, *i.e.*, S. Christoval.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Manewai Harbour.

was to windward of us, we could not do it; and because we fell off each tack, I was obliged to put myself into the brigantine, which I did, and went off in her to seek another harbour. I made signals that they should follow the brigantine: and, the signal having been made, the ship followed the brigantine, which was outside a point of reefs that form the harbour, and so we entered into it safely. It is a good harbour, and has a village of about eighty houses; and, after dinner, the General went on shore, and the captains and soldiers with him, to take possession of the island in the name of His Majesty, which we did quietly, because the Indians received us peaceably. And the same evening we went in marching order to look at the village without doing them any harm, and we returned to the ships, determining to return to the village on the morrow for some food, of which we were in want.

On the morning of the 1st of July, we all went on shore. The General went towards one part of the village with most of our people, and Pedro Sarmiento with twelve soldiers entered into the village from another direction, with the determination of seizing food on account of our great need of it. And the Indians, seeing that we were determined, and that we were approaching the village from two sides, began to make a disturbance, and went to arms, making signs to us to re-embark. They held a meeting among themselves in a hollow, which was on the side where Pedro Sarmiento entered, and I and they all saw one of the chiefs making exorcisms and incantations to the Devil. They were certainly afraid of him, because it appeared that his body was possessed by the Devil.<sup>1</sup> And two other Indians, making great grimaces and great tremblings, took up the sand with their feet and hands, and threw it up in the air. With loud cries and

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<sup>1</sup> Heathen priests throughout the Pacific seem to have the power of working themselves into a kind of convulsive seizure.

roaring, they went towards the boats, and threw the water into the air ; at this moment the trumpets sounded to collect the people together, and so they came to where the General stood, with all the people, with their bows and arrows and their darts for throwing, and their clubs which are the weapons with which they are accustomed to fight. And they came very near our people, bending their bows, and ordering us to go away. We were forced to fire on them, and we killed some and wounded others, upon which they forsook the village and fled away from it. In it there was a great quantity of food of *panaes* and *ñames*, and many cocoanuts and almonds (*almenoras*) enough to load a vessel. We began immediately to take to the boat all that we found ; and that day they did nothing else, and the Indians did not dare to return to the village any more, and that night we embarked in our ships. This harbour is 11 degrees south : it is very close to the Island of Santiago, on the south-east.<sup>1</sup> It is narrow and hilly, and the people are like the rest.

At the end of three days, the General ordered the brigantine to go to discover more land. Francisco Muñoz Rico and ten soldiers, and I myself with thirteen sailors, went in her. We went out of the port on the 4th of July, coasting along the said Island of Paubro, for so it is called in the language of the natives, but we called it San Christoval.<sup>2</sup> Up to the middle of the island the coast runs north-west, south-east and a quarter east and west for about 20 leagues, and the other half runs east and west, quarter

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<sup>1</sup> It is here evident that Gallego thought that the northern and southern coasts of S. Christoval were distinct islands.

<sup>2</sup> The present native name is Bauro. Dr. Guppy points out that, forty years afterwards, Quiros, when at Taumaco in the Duff Group, heard of a native pilot who had come from a great and populous island called Pouro, which lay to the westward, and that he had brought thence arrows tipped with metal. The name is very suggestive to all students of Polynesian and Melanesian myth, for in Fiji, Tonga, and other groups, the spirits of the dead leap into the western ocean to pass over to Bouro, or Bulo, the land of their origin.

north-west, south-east. We entered into a harbour on this side, which is the first that I discovered with the brigantine, and remained there for a day to repair.

Next day, in the morning, we went out thence along the coast, east-quarter-south-east, and we entered into a cove shut in by reefs, near which there were three villages. We took there two boys, and the commanding officer went with all the people to reconnoitre the village, which was about a league off, and I remained in charge of the brigantine, not without some small risk, as there remained with me only three soldiers to guard the brigantine; and a few hours afterwards the people returned with two canoes that they had taken, five sucking pigs, and plenty of *panaes* and plantains, with which they embarked, and we set sail for the coast beyond.

Next day there came out to us a canoe with two Indians peacefully, and one of them entered into the brigantine. We were going to find a harbour, and we sailed on along the said coast, in which there were many villages, and the people of them very turbulent, as we expected, because a canoe preceded us, giving warning in such a manner that we could not take anything at all in that whole island. And as we sailed near the land, under a headland, there came out to us many Indians, who threw stones at us with a great noise. At the extremity of this island we discovered two small islands. This point of the island is 11 degrees and a half south of the Equinoctial. This island is about 100 leagues in circumference, and about 7 leagues broad, and thickly peopled. From this point we went to one of the small islands on the south side: it was the smallest one, and, arriving there, we anchored. And there came out to us twelve Indians, who came on board the brigantine, and remained a time with us; and, being asked by signs if there was much land ahead, they said "No!" but, in the south-east to which we were pointing, they said



there was much land, and we saw it, but, not having any time, we did not go to look at it.<sup>1</sup> And all that day and night we had much wind. We wanted to disembark, but the natives threw stones at us; and, in order to defend ourselves, we fired some arquebuses. They all fled, and we went on shore and came to the village, where we found several pigs, and many almonds and plantains. I sent a seaman up a high palm tree, to see if he could see any land towards the south or south-east, or north-west [? south-west]. And it did not appear that there was any land ahead, and a heavy swell set in from the east, which was a sign that there was not much land ahead. We named this island Santa Catalina: in the language of the natives it is called Aguaré.<sup>2</sup> It is in circumference about 40<sup>3</sup> leagues, low and flat; it has many palm-trees, and is thickly peopled, and has many reefs. It is in the latitude of 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> degrees. With the point of the island of San Christoval it bears south-east—north-west two leagues.

On the 11th of the said month we departed from this island for another island, which bears north-north-west—south-south-east with this one, about a short league. With the point of San Christoval it lies east and west, a quarter north-west—south-east [west by north—east by south?] 3 leagues. It is in the latitude of 11 degrees 36 minutes. We gave it the name of Santa Ana, but in the language of the natives it is called Ytapa.<sup>4</sup> It is about 7 leagues in circumference. It is a low, round island, with a high place in the middle like a castle. It is well peopled, and has many of the conveniences necessary for life. There is much

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<sup>1</sup> The natives may have referred to the New Hebrides group, which lies to the south-east, but the Spaniards could not have *seen* it.

<sup>2</sup> O-wariki is the native name; Aguaré is, perhaps, the same word imperfectly caught.

<sup>3</sup> A mistake for 4.

<sup>4</sup> The present name is O-waraha, which might be mistaken for Itapa by ears unaccustomed to the native language and pronunciation.

food, such as pigs, and Castilian fowls, and there is a very good port on the east [west?] side. Arriving there, we sent some men ashore, and the natives began to attack us. An Indian was killed, and they began to flee; and they abandoned the village, and our people entered into the houses to look for food; but they found nothing but three pigs, because they had put all the rest in a safe place. Night coming on, we embarked in our brigantine, and we kept off the land; and all that night we heard no noise, except the crowing of many cocks.<sup>1</sup>

Next day, very early on the 13th of July, we sent people on shore to look for some food to bring to the ship for the sick that we had. The Indians were lying in ambush. When they saw that we sent the people on shore, and that I remained with four soldiers on board the brigantine, they began with a great shout to attack our people, firing many darts and arrows. They came with their bodies painted in streaks, with boughs on their heads: they wounded three Spaniards and a negro of mine, and also the commander of the Spaniards, Francisco Muñoz; they threw a dart at him which went through his shield, and right through his arm, so that the dart came out a palm's length on the other side of the shield. And, cheering on our people, he attacked them valiantly, killing several Indians and wounding many others; so, happily, they abandoned the field and fled. Our men then set fire to the village, and obtained water, and we looked out from the highest point that there was to see if any land appeared, and as none could be seen we embarked to return to the ship. And, sailing all that day with a fair wind, we arrived at the island of San Christoval, and that night we entered into a harbour,

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<sup>1</sup> This shows that the "Castilian fowls" were not *Megapodidae*, which do not crow, but the *Gallus Bankiva* which is found domesticated throughout the Malay Archipelago, and is the parent of domestic poultry.





because there was a prospect of bad weather. Then we went ashore to a village that was there, and the Indians belonging to it fled, firing some arrows: they wounded a soldier in the throat, although not dangerously. Having taken some food, we embarked with it, though we did not wish to leave the port till the moon was up. We gave the port the name of La Palma.

Pursuing our voyage towards the ships, when we were about 4 leagues from them, there came a canoe to look at us, and see what sort of people we were; and as we were in want of Indians for interpreters, we endeavoured to take it; and so we upset the canoe, and out of the four Indians that came in her we took three alive, and one died in defending himself. And at the hour of Vespers we arrived at the Puerto de la Visitacion de Nuestra Señora where the ships were. I found that, through bad management, all the Indians that we had taken in the islands had escaped.

I gave account to the General of all that we had done and seen in that expedition, and that there neither was, nor appeared to be, any more land ahead; and said that he should consider what was best to be done, because all the extent of the land, which seemed to have no limit, lay to the west and south-east. And there was a meeting of captains and pilots, to consider what was best to be done in the said voyage, and it was ordered that the ships should be refitted to continue our voyage. And this was the opinion of the whole conference.

The preparations having been made, on Saturday, August 7th, of the said year, 1568,<sup>1</sup> all being present, I made a protest to the General and the captains; and I said decidedly that it was right that we should determine upon making use of what we met with [*i.e.*, be satisfied with our

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<sup>1</sup> Here the MS. has the correct year, 1568.

present discovery], because the ships were becoming worm-eaten and worn-out, and the rigging was getting rotten. And the General replied that it would be well for the brigantine to go for more food, of which there was a dearth. And they asked me my opinion about the return to Peru whence we had set out, and I said decidedly that it would not be well to send the brigantine for food, since all the islands at which we had been were in a state of disturbance, and the food taken away, and that it would not be well to pursue our voyage south of the equinoctial line, as we should be lost, since we were many, and we had but little food and but few vessels for storing water ; and that if we did attempt the voyage that way, after having been placed in a latitude where we might find fair weather for sailing—which would be a difficult matter, there being no land in the direction of south-south-west and south, whence fine weather might spring—and seeing that we had still to traverse 1,700 leagues of gulf (*de golfo*) and new navigation, it appeared to me to be no fixed matter for decision ; and I gave it as my opinion that we should go in search of the north, in the latitude of the first land, for in going from Peru to the said islands it is necessary to go in the direction of the southern tropic, in 30 degrees or more, to see in that direction if there be any way back to the said Peru [*i.e.*, by getting beyond the limits of the contrary south-east trade wind and the westerly current], and, when they ventured to return, it would have to be with a great abundance of water and provisions ; otherwise there would be danger of all perishing. So the pilots all adopted my opinion, together with the protest that I made before a clerk, who was Antonio de Ciesa. And, as for the opinion they asked of me concerning settling in the islands, I said that, as to that, I had only to see that the General performed and kept the instructions that he had about it ; and to this opinion they all

adhered, and all remained in agreement without any dissentient.<sup>1</sup>

And, on the Monday following, in the middle of the night when we were all reposing, the General ordered me and Graviel Muñoz [Nuñez] to go with some soldiers and make an entrance into a village, to see if we could take some Indians for interpreters. We went with about thirty men. I took an Indian and his wife and little boy, and the rest of the Indians fled, and so we returned to the ships ; and immediately we got ready to take them out, and pursue our voyage.<sup>2</sup>

On the 11th of August of the said year, we went out from the Puerto de Nuestra Señora, which is in 11 degrees south of the Equinoctial, to pursue our voyage towards Peru. And we went, beating to windward off the island of San Christoval, and at the end of seven days after leaving the said port, we had doubled the said island of San Christoval and the two islands of Santa Catalina and Santa Ana.

On Tuesday, in the evening, being hove-to, we took the bearings of the islands of Santa Catalina and Santa Ana, north-north-west 3 leagues distant, and, having looked in every direction, we saw no land. And, while we were 3 leagues from these islands, there came up a very strong wind from the south-east, which drove us to the north-west-quarter-east [north-east by east]. All that night and day, which was the night of Tuesday, we were on the same course.

On Wednesday, which was the 18th of August, we went 20 leagues from the two little islands, under courses, and we were hove-to all that night without making any way.

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<sup>1</sup> Light is thrown upon this confused passage by Sarmiento's narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Catoira, and, following him, Figueroa, says that the ships were hove down and caulked in this harbour, where they had spent forty-four days.

On Thursday, in a day and a night, we ran to the north-west by north, 15 leagues, till Friday morning, which was the 20th of August of the said year.

And following that course on Saturday, we could do nothing on account of the strong wind and sea, which came from the north-east.

And on Sunday, the 22nd of August, with squalls and calms in the morning, we went 25 leagues north-north-west—south-south-east.

On Monday, in the morning, we went 18 leagues north by east, and I took the altitude, and found that we were in 7 degrees full, south of the Equator, east and west, quarter north-west, south-east [east-by-south and west-by-north], 36 leagues from the Island of Jesus, that lay to the eastward. The Island of Jesus was the first that we had discovered before (*como*) we saw the archipelago of islands. They would not let me go on a voyage of discovery ahead, whither I wanted to go; and I consider it certain that, if they had let me go on ahead, we should have found a land very prosperous and rich, which must be there till it shall please God that it shall be discovered by whomsoever it shall so please Him. And we were not very far from it, and of its goodness I did not wish to speak at this time, because all, being despondent, desired to return to Peru.

On Monday, in the evening, the wind fell, and we put her head to the south-east-by-east, and we went 2 leagues and were becalmed.

On Tuesday we had a cross sea. On Wednesday and Thursday we went north-north-east, 22 leagues, and on Thursday, 26th August, at noon, we were in an altitude of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, 45 leagues east and west, quarter-north-west—south-east from the Island of Jesus. This island is in  $6\frac{3}{4}$  degrees east and west-quarter-north-west—south-east. That day, Thursday, in the middle of the day, we put her head south-east to south-east-by-south, and we went on



this course 4 leagues till Vesper time, when the wind fell. We put her head to the north-east, and we went all that night, and the next day, which was Friday, now to the north-west, now to the quarter-east, now to the quarter-north-east.

And we ran till Saturday, the 28th of August of the said year, in 5 degrees less a quarter, and that same day the wind fell. And we went upon the other tack with the foresail and mizzen, because the wind was strong, putting her head to south-east-by-south 4 leagues, and presently we went on the other tack north-by-east, and brought ourselves into  $4\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south of the Equinoctial. That day, at nine o'clock, the wind sprang up from the north-east, and then we went upon the other tack south-east-by-east.

We went that day and the six [following] days on the said course. Presently the wind fell, and we went on the other tack north-by-east, and we ran on this course on Monday and Tuesday, half towards the north-east, the other half north-by-east, and we found ourselves in the altitude of barely 3 degrees.

Wednesday. All that day, which was the 1st of September, we were becalmed till sunset, and at night a little wind came from the north-east. All that night and day, which was the 2nd of September, we ran to the south-east. We went about 7 leagues. The wind changed, and we put about to the north, and we went on that course till we found ourselves in 1 degree; we went about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  leagues to each degree.

On Saturday, in the morning, we went 1 degree north and south, which is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  leagues. We went on the latitudes of 2 and 3 degrees up to 4 south of the Equinoctial. We saw very many signs of land, for we found many palms, tied up in bundles, and burnt logs, and other pieces of wood, and chips (*rosuras*), which the sea brought from the

land.<sup>1</sup> It was a sign that there was land near ; and although we did not see it, we believed it to be New Guinea, for that is in no greater altitude than 4 degrees south of the Equinoctial, and Inigo Orteç de Retes discovered it, and no one else ; for Bernardo de la Torre did not see it ; nor is there a Cabo de Cruz, as he says. On the morning of Saturday, which was the 4th of September, I told Juan Henriquez, the pilot, that we ought to petition the General to go one way or the other, because we were tacking about, using up the provisions and water ; and that we should put ourselves towards one Pole or the other to go on our voyage, since he had not wished to take my opinion, but to follow his own. And so I requested him, and all this took place before Antonio de Ciesa, the clerk, all of which will appear more at length, as that petition is in the possession of the said clerk.

From Saturday to Sunday evening we went north-west 25 leagues, and we must have been in about the latitude of three quarters of a degree.

On Monday and Tuesday, the 6th and 7th of the said month, we ran to the north 35 leagues, and we found ourselves in the latitude of 3 degrees north of the Equinoctial.

And on the 8th of the said month we went north-east-quarter-east, and found ourselves in the latitude of 4 degrees ; and that day I told those in the *Almiranta* to keep a good look-out from 6 degrees to 11 degrees, because there was land ahead ; and so they did, although we went onward. In eleven days we went 25 leagues north-east-quarter-east, and we found ourselves in an altitude of 5 degrees and 5 leagues [minutes ?] north-east.

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<sup>1</sup> They were running along the chain of the Gilbert Islands, a few miles to leeward of them.

And on the 12th of the said month of September, at five o'clock in the morning, we had the sails furled, with squalls; we hoisted them in the middle of the night, when the wind chopped into the east, and we put her head north-north-west, being reefed, because of the necessity for catching some water from the showers to drink. Presently the wind chopped to the north-east, and we went north-north-west, although we made no way to the north-by-west to reach the altitude of 6 degrees, because the needle inclined to the north-east.

On the 15th and 16th of the said month the wind was freer, and we went to the north-east with little wind and fine weather. And we went about 12 leagues south-east, with many squalls.

On the 17th of the said month, with the wind north-east, we went to the north, till we were in 8 degrees north of the Equinoctial; and, being in this latitude of 8 degrees, we came upon the shoals and islands of San Bartolomeo,<sup>1</sup> the east and south-east point of which is in 8 degrees, and the other extremity at the north-west in  $8\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. We came upon these islands two hours before dawn. They run north-west and south-east, in length about 15 leagues; and they have two lines of reefs, which appear like channels on either hand. There would be about half a league between

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<sup>1</sup> The Musquillo Islands, in the Ralick Chain of the Marshall Group, were named by Captain Bond in 1792. "They form a double atoll, about thirty-eight miles in length, and trending north-west and south-east. The north-west end is in latitude  $8^{\circ} 10' N.$ , and the south-east end is in latitude  $7^{\circ} 46' N.$  Captain Bond ranged along the coasts of above twenty small islands. At the north-west end, and isolated from the rest, are two small islands about three miles apart. On comparing this description with that given by Gallego, the reader will have little doubt as to the identity of the Musquillo Islands with the Spanish discovery. It is probable that Gallego considered this discovery to be near the position of an island discovered in 1536 in  $14^{\circ} N.$  latitude, by Toribio Alonzo de Salazar, 328 Spanish leagues from the Mariana Islands, and named by him San Bartolomeo. This discovery of Salazar is marked in Krusenstern's General Atlas of the Pacific."—Guppy, p. 276.

one and the other. At the end of one or the other on the north-west are two little islands: they lie with the other, east-south-east, a league apart. There is a great depth of water; on the west side we could not find any bottom to anchor at this island. We launched the boat to go for water. In this island there are many houses and people. Between the islands, of which there were more than twenty, [we saw] a boat or canoe under sail. When they went on shore they found nothing but one Castilian cock, which they brought. The people left their houses and fled. We found a chisel made of a nail, by which it appeared that ships had passed that way.<sup>1</sup> They did not find any water, but they found some cocoanut palms bored through, which showed how they got their water,<sup>2</sup> and some pieces of *cayro* [rope?]. We beat to windward for three hours, and I could not find a bottom to anchor, there being about 1,000 fathoms (*estados*). These Indians drink *chicha* from a kind of pine-apple, and for this reason there are swarms of flies. The boat having returned with the people, we resumed our voyage.

We ran to the north till we were in the latitude of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. This was on the 21st of the said month. On that day the wind changed to the north, and we put her

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<sup>1</sup> This must have been a relic of the voyage of Grijalva and Alvarado, from Mexico to the Moluccas, in 1538, thus recorded by Antonio Galvano: "From Peru they sailed above 1,000 leagues, without sight of land on the one side, nor yet on the other of the Equinoctial. And in 2 degrees north they discovered one island, named Asea, which seemeth to be one of the islands of Cloves" (Dalrymple). Asea was, doubtless, one of the Gilbert Islands, which form a continuous chain with the Marshall Group. Then, as now, there seems to have been trade from island to island, and so precious a commodity as iron would be preserved for a much longer period than thirty years. In 1777 Cook found in Hawaii a fragment of a wide sword, a relic of Saavedra's ship lost there in 1527, or of Gaetano's visit in 1555. The family of Fatafehi, in Tonga, still preserves a plane-iron presented by Captain Cook.

<sup>2</sup> In all these atolls the natives obtain drinking-water by gouging out deep pockets in the stems of the cocoa-nut palms, to catch the rain water that trickles down them.

head east-by-north to get nearer to the land, and beat to windward, because water failed us, and the people were sick and were dying rapidly. We went on this course 20 leagues, and found ourselves in the latitude of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

On the 22nd of the said month, the wind was light in the north-east, and we put her head to the north till we found ourselves in  $11\frac{1}{2}$  degrees. This was on the 28th of September. In those days we went  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north and south,  $94\frac{1}{2}$  leagues. On the 29th and 30th of the said month we went north-north-west 12 degrees.

On the 1st and 2nd of October, in those two days we went till we found ourselves in latitude  $19\frac{1}{3}$  degrees, and we discovered a small island, low in the water, forming as it were an enclosure, like network. It was uninhabited, and surrounded by reefs. We remained all that night in a cross sea to take water, believing it was inhabited. There was nothing on it but sea-birds, and sandy places covered with bushes. This island is about 2 leagues in circumference. It was the day of San Francisco, and we gave the island the name of San Francisco. It is in the latitude of  $19\frac{1}{3}$  degrees north of the Equator.<sup>1</sup>

On the 5th and 6th of October we went towards the north. I took the altitude in 22 degrees. We went two

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<sup>1</sup> The lonely atoll known as Wake's Island, re-discovered in 1796 by the *Prince William Henry*, and visited in 1840 by Commodore Wilkes, who thus describes it: "Wake's Island is a low coral one, of triangular form, and 8 ft. above the surface. It has a large lagoon in the centre, which was well filled with fish of a variety of species: among these were some fine mullet. There is no fresh water on the island, and neither pandanus nor cocoanut tree. It has upon it the shrubs which are usually found on the low islands of the Pacific, the most abundant of which was the *Tournefortia*. The short-tailed albatross is found here; birds quite tame, though not as numerous as in other uninhabited islands. The appearance of the coral blocks and vegetation leads to this conclusion: that the island is at times submerged, or that at times the sea makes a complete breach over it." — *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 1840, vol. v, p. 267, quoted by Dr. Guppy.

days and nights, and we gained  $2\frac{2}{3}$  degrees north and south at 17 leagues to the degree. We went  $46\frac{3}{4}$  leagues.

On the 6th and 7th of the said month we sailed north-north-west. I took the altitude, and found myself in  $23\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, which is the Tropic of Cancer. In those two days we went from north to north-west—south to south-east  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  leagues and  $28\frac{3}{4}$  leagues.

On the 8th and 9th of the said month we went north-by-east till we were in the latitude of 27 degrees; and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of the said month we went north-quarter-north-west till we were in the latitude of  $28\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

On the 13th and 14th of the said month, we sailed north-north-west till we were in the latitude of 30 degrees.

On the 15th of the said month, we went 12 leagues north-east in the latitude of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  degrees.

Throughout this voyage the pilots compared notes every two days.

On the 16th and 17th we sailed north-east, and I took the opinion of the pilots of the *Almiranta*, asking them when they ought to make the land, and where the Cabo de Fortunas lay. They answered me that to the north-north-west-quarter-north there was land with a cape, and that we were about 80, or 70, leagues from it; and that we were falling off much to leeward of the land, and they could not make the cape with that wind, because the coast runs north-west—south-east, and it could not be done without stranding the vessels. This took place on the 14th of the said month, and the two vessels sailed north-east together. In the middle of the night there came a squall with a little rain. We furled the sails, and at that instant the *Almiranta* stood to windward; and so for an hour she left us dropping astern, and at daybreak we saw only the top of her mast; and we waited for her under the fore-sail only; and all that night we did not sail fast, waiting for her, going to the north-east; and at two o'clock

in the morning we struck all sail because we could not see her. That was on the 16th of the said month of October.

On Sunday, the 17th of the said month, two hours after noon, with the wind south-east, we lay with our sails furled, because there was much wind ; and we were rolling with the tempest from the north-east, for we were in a cross sea without sails ; and the wind came upon us with such fury as I had never before seen from the north-east, although I had been forty-five years at sea, and thirty of them a pilot. Never have I seen such heavy weather, although I have seen storms enough. It frightened me, for being with our sails furled, as we were, there came such a sudden onset of wind and sea, that it made us heel over below the water, up to the middle hatch on the port side of the ship ; and it had not been battened down and caulked as I had ordered it to be caulked, and the boat unplugged (*y desfondar el batel*), when I saw signs of storms. We were deluged with water, and were in such a plight that the sailors and some of the soldiers were swimming about inside the ship, trying to launch the boat ; and it pleased God and His Blessed Mother that it should go into the sea, full of cables and water, for the sailors and soldiers were not sufficient to launch it. I presently ordered the sailors to set the fore-stay-sail a little ; and although they had not let out more than two reefs, the stay-sail was torn into two thousand pieces, and there was nothing left of it but the bolt-ropes. The ship was on her beam ends for more than half an hour, till they cut away the mast ; and I ordered them to make a sail of a blanket (*frecada*), and of a piece of a *boneta*,<sup>1</sup> and with that I put the ship into her course. We ran all that night and day back to the southward. The sea carried away the stern cabin. The weather began to clear up, but we had

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<sup>1</sup> The *boneta* or bonnet was a piece of canvas, sometimes added to the lower part of the mainsail, or *papahigo mayor*.

gone out of our course more than 50 leagues, for the storm came upon us in  $31\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; and, when it began to clear up, two days after the storm had passed, we found ourselves in 30 degrees.

It was the Eve of St. Luke when that weather came, and we were from the Cabo de Fortunas north-east-by-north and south-east-by-south [south-west-by-south] 70 leagues; and when it began to clear up we were 120 leagues, rather more than less. Presently the wind sprang up, and we laid her head to the course. It was on the morning of Tuesday, and we went with the fore-courses, having no other sail, because the sailors had thrown the *bonetas* into the sea. That day, which was the 21st of October, the wind began to fall off to the north-east, with much wind and sea; and the said wind lasted till the 29th of the said month. And we were on one tack and the other, because we could not put her more across sea lest it should swallow us up: since the ship was not good in a cross sea, for she shipped seas, first on one side, and then on the other. And so it happened that we made as much sternway as headway.

On the 29th of October, in the evening, the wind chopped to the east-south-east, with so much sea and wind that we could not set any sails, for the wind carried them away, and we had no sail set that night. We had a cross sea with much wind and thunder and lightning, and it seemed as if the world was coming to an end. Next day, in the morning, I ordered them to shake out the sprit-sail for a fore-stay-sail, to run with that; and we had not gone an hour-glass' run to the north-east when the wind chopped to the south very strong, and carried away the sail, and we were without any; and we hoisted the blankets for sails, and ran that day with them; and presently the wind was in our favour, and we set the fore-courses, and we ran to the north-east that day, and next day, which was the last day of the said month of October. And the wind was chopping about



with showers, till it settled in the east, and we ran to the east, because at that time we were in a latitude of 29 degrees ; for, during the last few days, we were not able to gain any altitude, for the sufficient reason that the wind was in the north-east day and night, and sometimes fell and sometimes rose with much fury ; so it drove us to the south-east with only the fore-courses, and put us in an altitude of 26 degrees south [north ?].

This wind lasted till the 4th of November, and we were going astern, losing altitude, because we were not able to go with the sea abeam. On the 4th of November of the said year, the wind veered to the east, and we went to the north-north-east, with such favourable weather that the ship hardly required steering. We went on that course till we were in an altitude of 27 degrees. Then the wind veered to the north-north-east, and it seemed as if it brought the Devil with it, and we went east by south. Presently the wind shifted to the north-east, and we went to the south-east, very much worn by hunger and thirst, and they only gave us for rations half a quartern of stinking water, and eight ounces of biscuit, and a very few black beans and oil, because they had nothing else in the ship ; and the greater part of the people were blind from weakness, owing to having no more food to eat than I have mentioned. We were at the point of reaching a harbour, but we could not do it because we had no boat ; and we all agreed to hope that God would send us a remedy. And He provided of His great mercy on the day of Santa Ysabel to send us wind, and we put her head on her course, sailing in an altitude of 28 to 30 degrees. We dared not go higher, because the storms were still very great, and the seas would swallow us up ; and the ship was not good for such work, because with a little sea she would pitch everybody overboard, being only built for the coast of Peru, for which work she was good enough ; but for these seas and gulfs,

she was only fit to drown us all. At that time of trouble, when there was a little calm, a soldier gambled with the allowance of water that they gave him ; and, having lost it, he was like a madman, calling out all day from thirst.

This weather lasted till the day of Santa Ysabel, which was till we had made 125 leagues on our course. It lasted seven days, till the 26th of November. Presently the wind dropped and went to the north-east, and we were in an altitude of 29 degrees full. This wind remained contrary till the 7th of December, with thunder and heavy clouds, and we were driven back about 20 leagues.

On the 9th of the month of December, the wind changed to the south-south-west, and lasted three days, till we were in an altitude of 31 degrees. We ran north-east to put ourselves in that altitude. At the end of three days, we saw in the sea a pine log and much bind-weed (*corruguela*) ; a sailor jumped overboard for it, and very soon brought it on board, in order to bring fine weather. We saw many gulls, and a goose, and other things that were signs that there was land, although we were far off it on account of the many currents.

On the 12th of December the wind died down in the south-south-west, and shifted to the north so lightly that the sails hardly left the mast ; for we were sheltered by the land, which lay to the north, although we were not in the altitude of it. Rain fell, and with some bed-sheets that they had, the soldiers and sailors were able to collect water enough for three days. And, as the weather cleared up, the wind became fresher ; and, although we made but little way on account of the few sails that we had, and the many currents, yet the more we went forward the more the wind and the swell of the sea rose. But I saw that if we went on we should be near land, since we began to see signs of it.

The wind lasted till we saw land. On the eve of Nuestra

Señora de la O,<sup>1</sup> as I was standing at the side of the vessel, I saw the land ; and there were some who despaired of seeing it, and said that it could not be so. However, sailing all that night, two hours before dawn, we were one league from it, near to two small islands, which were a league from the main land, in the altitude of 30 degrees north of the Equinoctial. The day before we saw the land we had fixed the needle towards the north, going on our course north-west—south-east ; and we entered into a bay, not without great thankfulness for the mercy of God, who had preserved us through so many storms and privations of food, and when the soldiers never thought to see [the land] again. The bay looked like a corral for branding cattle. We could not see the outside point of it on account of the great distance, and because the coast ran north-west—south-east. We found ourselves shut in, and to double the point it was necessary to put her head to the westward. We anchored in five fathoms, at the foot of a beach of sand, and from thence we went out tacking to double the point, almost where we had entered. We were three days in this bay, with calms and north-west winds ; and we gave it the name of "La Bahía de S. Thomé," because we entered it on the day of Saint Thomas. It is in the altitude of 27½ degrees.

We passed the headland in the morning of Thursday, the 23rd of December. There are at the point of this bay two large islands. They have very good channels : they call them the islands of Cacones ;<sup>2</sup> we were on the beach

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<sup>1</sup> There were originally seven "Great O's" or days on which the Latin antiphons, "O Sapientia," "O Adonai," etc., were sung, and special feasts were celebrated. The first was on December 16th, and the last on December 23rd, omitting December 21st, St. Thomas's day. The "O" referred to here must have been December 20th ("O Oriens").

<sup>2</sup> Guppy identifies the bay with the Bay of Sebastian Vizcaino in Lower California, the headland with Point Eugenio, and the two islands with Cerros and Natividad Islands.

between them twelve days. We went on a raft of casks to take water, because we had no boat, the sea having carried it away. We made another raft of reeds and empty casks, and we took twelve barrels of water which we put into the vessel, with much fish that we caught.

We went from thence on our voyage, because there were some warlike Indians, and we put on board much wood which we had cut down to make a boat for the ship. We arrived near the port of Xalosco; and, as we were going to enter it, the wind came very strong, and because we might be lost, there being a cross sea, and because the port of Santiago was but 50 leagues from thence, I put out to sea to double Cape Corrientes, which is in 21 degrees. Pursuing our course to the south-east, at the end of three days and a half, on the 24th day of January, we entered the port of Santiago, where we found some fishermen, and I knew the land and the people in it, and the fishermen who were there very well. This port is near that of the Natividad, 6 leagues distant, and the bay has a good bottom. The larger island is to windward. It is 2 leagues north-west of the point, and the other, which is near the point, is half a league north and south from it. There are shoals on the south-east of the island, which extend 2 leagues further. We went along the coast north-west—south-east, till we arrived at the other point. Although on our way we found many signs that made us think that it was California, yet we were not satisfied that it was the point of California, which should have been in the Tropic, where there is the port of San Lucar, which is the point of California in the Tropic, being certain that we were in 23 degrees 36 minutes. Before arriving at the point of California, there is a point of sand stretching north-west—south-east, which is north-east—south-west.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole passage is obscure.

And on the south-east there is a river of sweet water, very large and full of fish. It is in the altitude of  $23\frac{1}{2}$  degrees north of the Equinoctial. It was the New Year of 1569 when we arrived near this river, 6 leagues to the east of it, and 18 leagues from the village of Colima. This port is in the altitude of  $19\frac{1}{4}$  degrees. There we threw out the wood that we had taken to make our boat.

At the end of the three days that we were there, on the day of San Vicente, we saw looming in the distance the *Almiranta*, which had got separated from us, and remained astern. They were in much want of water and victuals, and they had no boat, for the great storm had carried it away, as with us, and they had had to cut away their mainmast. They did not know the coast. It pleased Our Lord that we should meet in this port. God knows we were glad to find ourselves all together, knowing that Our Lord had worked a miracle in delivering us from so many storms, and the *Almiranta* had only one jar of water left. This took place on the 25th of January, the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul. And they told us what had happened to them in the great storm. While we were in this port making the barque, or boat, for the *Capitana*, we were able to buy a boat from a fisherman for the *Almiranta* in the place of the one they had lost in the storm, and to obtain what was necessary to proceed with our voyage. Thither came Sama, the Alguacil-Mayor [Chief Constable] of the City of Mexico, with some people of the City of Colima, to see what sort of people we were, and he spoke with the General.

Afterwards, on the 10th of March, we embarked. At nine o'clock in the evening there was an eclipse of the moon, and we set sail from the port of Santiago and went out of it; and at the end of an hour the moon shone again. At the end of nine days we entered into the port of Acapulco to get news of Peru, but they were not able to tell us any-

thing. We were there about an hour, and then we went out again, following our course. This port of Acapulco is in 17 degrees. It is the nearest port to the City of Mexico, from which it is distant not more than 70 leagues.

Pursuing our route along the coast, wishing to have news of Peru, we made for the port of Guatulco, and anchored about a league off it. We sent a boat to get wine and biscuit. All the people were in a great uproar, flying inland because it had been heard in Mexico that we were strange Scottish people (*gente estrangera escocese*). This port is in the altitude of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and 120 leagues from Mexico, and 80 from the port behind us, which we had passed, as I have said. We were half a day and one night anchored outside the port, and the *Almiranta* going on her course left us, without waiting for the *Capitana*, because from thence onward the pilots who were in her had recognised the coast, and the General was much annoyed that they had not looked out for the *Capitana*. And so we went out, the *Almiranta* being a day and a night ahead of us. We arrived at the port of Caputla nine days<sup>1</sup> before the *Almiranta* arrived. There a barque came out to look at us to see what people we were, and they also were disturbed, like the rest of the people; but as I had been in those parts many times, they recognised me, and so they returned to the village, understanding that we had been discovering the islands. We pursued our voyage to the port of Realejo<sup>2</sup> to repair the ship there, because we had

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<sup>1</sup> Five, as shown by the dates given at the end of the paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> At Realejo the quarrel between Pedro Sarmiento and Mendaña seems to have come to a head. Throughout the voyage he had been protesting against the northerly course followed by Mendaña on the advice of Gallego, and at Colima he seems to have been put under arrest for declaring his intention of laying a formal complaint before the King. The additional offence of trying to steal a march upon the *Capitana* by standing on without waiting for her, was too much for

neither masts nor rigging, nor a clean hull, and we could not cross to Peru in the state that we were in. We arrived at the said port on the 4th of April, and the *Almiranta* arrived on the 9th of said month. In this port we hove down the ships, and caulked them, and put in masts and rigging, of which we had need to be able to cross to Peru.

With all our need, when we arrived at this port, neither the Royal Officials nor other persons would . . . .<sup>1</sup> [*MS. torn*] or lend any money for the repair of the said ships; and seeing that they would be lost, and that it was in the service of His Majesty, I lent the General all the money that I had of my own, and I took upon myself an obligation of 1,400 dollars with which they repaired the said ships, and victualled them with another piece of gold of 400 dollars, all of which I lent for the service of His Majesty. This port is in the altitude of 12½ degrees.

We went out of the said port on the 26th day of May. We sailed to Cape Guion, and from that Cape we crossed to the coast of Peru. On the 4th of June we lost sight of the coast of Nicar . . . . [*Nicaragua: MS. torn*], and on the 5th of the said month we went to leeward of Mal Pelo. And on the 11th of the said month, in the morning, we were opposite Tacames [*Atacames?*] 4 leagues

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Mendaña, who left his insubordinate lieutenant ashore at Realejo, and sailed without him. Perhaps Sarmiento himself was not aggrieved by this arrangement, for he could scarcely have hoped for an impartial hearing of his charges against the nephew at the hands of the uncle, and there was an old sentence pronounced against him by the Holy Office still unpurged. But in November of the same year, Lope Garcia de Castro was relieved by a new Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, and Sarmiento then left Mexico for Peru, where he was confronted with Mendaña, both before the Viceroy and the Royal Audience, acquitted of blame, and reinstated in the royal service.

<sup>1</sup> "Give," according to the MS. in the British Museum.

below the Cape of San Francisco on the coast of Peru. On the 14th of the said month we anchored in Puerto-viejo. On the 19th of July we arrived at Point Santa Elena. On Sunday, the 26th of the said month of July, Don Fernando Enriquez set off with the news to the City of the Kings [Lima].

LAUS DEO.





A SHORT ACCOUNT  
collected from the  
Papers which they found in the City of La Plata,  
concerning  
The Voyage and Discovery  
of the  
Western Islands,  
in  
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN,  
COMMONLY CALLED THE ISLES OF SOLOMON.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Coleccion de Muñoz," tomo xxxvii. Copied by Muñoz from the Archives of the Indies at Simancas, and printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*. It seems to have been written by, or in the interests of, Pedro Sarmiento.





## THE NARRATIVE OF PEDRO SARMIENTO.



IN the year 1567 one Pedro Sarmiento gave to the Licentiate Castro, Governor of Peru, information concerning many islands and continents which he said existed in the Southern Ocean, and offered personally to discover them in the name of his Majesty, and with that intention he had collected proofs and made charts.

The Licentiate Castro having heard his account, ordered two ships of war to be equipped for this discovery, the one of 3,000 arrobas and upwards, the other of 7,000, which cost 10,000 dollars (assayed). They provisioned the vessels for at least a month, expending more than 60,000 dollars for munitions of war, for the supply of soldiers, armaments, stuffs, and things likely to be required, all at the cost of His Majesty, in virtue of a Royal warrant empowering him to act, which he said that he held, without counting the pay that would be due to the sailors for arrears of wages on their return.

There were attached to them for this cruise more than 70 soldiers, who, with the sailors and servants, made more than 150 men. As General of the expedition, Castro

nominated his nephew, Alvaro di Amendaña;<sup>1</sup> as Master of the Camp (*Maestre de Campo*), Pedro de Ortega; as Captain of the ship *Capitana*, Pedro Sarmiento; as Ensign- (*Alferes*-) General, Don Fernando<sup>2</sup> Enriquez; as Captain of the Artillery, Colonel Pedro Xuarez; as Chief Pilot, Hernan Gallego; also three other pilots and four friars of the Order of St. Francis.

The general wish of the people, the resolution of the soldiers, and the instructions that they carried were unanimous, that they should settle in the country that they discovered; and for that purpose they were furnished liberally with munitions of war, arms, clothing, seeds, and other things required by settlers.

It was intended that they should follow the course west-south-west up to 23 degrees, which was the latitude that Pedro Sarmiento had fixed upon; and when they had to change or take another course, that the pilots and the cosmographer, Pedro Sarmiento, should meet together and discuss the matter; and that it should be the duty of the General to order whatever they agreed upon to be carried out.<sup>3</sup>

With this commission they set out from Lima on Wednesday, the 19th of November of the year 1567, and up to the 28th of the said month they steered west-south-west, which was the course laid down by Pedro Sarmiento, 170 leagues *de altura* (sic). On that day, which was Friday, Hernan Gallego changed the course, without the consent

<sup>1</sup> Mendaña; by mistake, no doubt, Herrera calls him Alvaro de Mendoza.

<sup>2</sup> Hernando Enriquez is called Fernando throughout this MS.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing in any of the other narratives to justify the preponderance which Sarmiento here confers upon himself. On the contrary, it is evident that he was ranked no higher than Captain of the *Capitana*, with no voice in the navigation. It is probable that he is here giving himself the authority which he demanded of the Viceroy, but which was not conceded to him in the Instructions. These seem never to have been made public.

or agreement of the pilots or of Pedro Sarmiento, which was obligatory by the Instructions.<sup>1</sup>

Pedro Sarmiento spoke to the General about this change of course with much persistency, and told him publicly by word of mouth that he ought not to consent to it, and that he ought to have it altered, since he would miss the discovery and be lost, and they would be departing from the instructions of His Majesty and of Castro. The General would not do this, but acquiesced in the course set by the pilot.

Sailing on this course, and having gone about 280 leagues from Lima, on Thursday, 4th December, at the hour of vespers, a soldier named Alonzo Rodriguez Franco, and another named Manuel Alvarez, discovered land to the north-north-east, and several soldiers affirmed it to be so. Judging from the course and the altitude, which was 14 degrees south, Pedro Sarmiento affirmed it more than any one else; but although he petitioned the General, begging him to go thither and take possession of it and explore it, the General would not do so, neither he nor the Chief Pilot; and they sailed onward, falling off in latitude and leaving the land, which was on the left hand towards the south, according to signs which they saw every day. This confirmed what Pedro Sarmiento was saying, and had said before.<sup>2</sup> And they went on, falling off in latitude and going out of the course which Pedro Sarmiento said they ought to take, more than 750 leagues from the above land which the General said he would not take possession of, until they were 1307 leagues distant from the city of Lima. This the Pilot did with the consent

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<sup>1</sup> From west-south-west, in 15° 30' south latitude.

<sup>2</sup> There was no land within 500 miles of their position. The soldiers had seen a cloud-bank, or what sailors call "Cape Fly-away." Neither Gallego nor Mendaña thinks the episode worthy of mention.

and permission of the General, in order, they say, to lay his course for the Philippines.

In this state of affairs, being in a little more than 5 degrees whither they had fallen since they were in 15 degrees, the General, finding himself out of his reckoning, and without hope of discovering land, sought the counsel and opinion of Sarmiento, who gave it to him, and made them steer west-by-south (*Oeste cuarta al Sudoeste*) because there was no possible means of returning to the land which lay behind them, as the weather was contrary.<sup>1</sup> And having gone up to 7 degrees, 4000 [*sic*] leagues from Lima, they discovered an island which they called "Jesus," as they had discovered it on that day, the 15th January.<sup>2</sup> Although small, it was populated, and it had a large fishery. Seven or eight canoes came out from it, with people in them to speak to them.

Pedro Sarmiento besought the General to take possession of this island, but he would neither do this, nor go towards the south in search of the continent which Sarmiento promised to discover.<sup>3</sup> Within twenty-four hours the General and the Pilot preferred to deviate from the course, to decrease their latitude, going away from the land, which was a great grief to the soldiers. We went down to 5 degrees, and here again Pedro Sarmiento directed the course; and having gone upwards of 130 leagues to the westward of the island of Jesus, in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, they dis-

<sup>1</sup> Gallego does not mention any change of course. Throughout this part of the voyage he gives the latitude as  $6^{\circ}$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south.

<sup>2</sup> The feast of the "Holy Name of Jesus" used to be observed on January 15th in Spain and the Netherlands. Writing of Seville in 1637, de Quintanadueñas says that this feast was assigned to January 15th in the old Breviaries and Missals for more than 150 years before his day (*Santos de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, p. 333).

<sup>3</sup> From the other narratives it is evident that Mendaña wished to touch at the island, but that Gallego, who believed it to be uninhabited, neglected to obey his orders until they had fallen too far to leeward to beat up against wind and current.

covered some shoals ahead which they named "de la Candelaria," on 1st February.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th February of the said year, 15 leagues to the south-west-south of these shoals, they discovered the island of Atogla, which they called "Santa Ysabel de la Estrella," because, as they were entering the harbour of Somba at mid-day, they saw a bright star. Here they anchored and landed; they took possession for His Majesty; they erected a cross and said mass.

Here came the *Tauriquis*, who are the chiefs of that land, especially the *Tauriqui* called Biley Banharra, in the name of his father called Salacai, and of his brother called Riquia, and their vassals, and made submission to the three Kings of Castille three or four times, which was confirmed by a clerk in public form. The first Spaniard who went inland to explore this island was Pedro Sarmiento, with fifteen men. He went 7 leagues inland, and during his return his friend Biley had skirmishes with him five times; but the islanders were punished and beaten off, and the Spaniards recovered their prestige, and the others had great fear.

Pedro de Ortega went inland another time by the same road, and arrived at the province of "Tiaragajo."<sup>2</sup> He had a skirmish, and repelled the Indians, two Spaniards being wounded, one of whom died afterwards of the wound on board ship.

Another time Pedro Sarmiento went inland to restore liberty to a governor called Havi, who had been taken in a skirmish during their first excursion; and he restored their former friendship which was of great advantage, and he made Biley come afterwards and ratify the friendship and ask pardon.

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<sup>1</sup> Ongtong Java. See p. 16, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> Mendaña calls it "Tiarabaso": Catoira, "Baso." There is now a village called Baso on the Meringé Lagoon; the land of Meta in the Spaniards' time.

Pedro de Ortega went out to Meta, and took three interpreters ; and afterwards Pedro de Ortega went out of this port in the brigantine, and sailed round all this island of Santa Ysabel, and discovered many other islands towards the east, the south, and the west.

This island is thickly peopled and mountainous, and more than half of it faces west. It is a high, mountainous country. The people are of about our stature, cheerful, of a bright reddish colour rather than mulatto. They go about naked, but some of the women are clothed. There is abundance of natural food, roots and fruits, pigs and fowls of Castille, many doves, grey pigeons, and other birds of beautiful plumage, which are palatable and wholesome ; there is much timber fit for building ships and houses, and many excellent *manglares* for the masts of ships ; here they built the brigantine of a timber which contains much resin and dye (*drogas*). There is ginger, cinnamon, sandal-wood of various kinds, aloes, sarsaparilla, and *china*.<sup>1</sup> In the port of La Estrella there is much coral, *lucaios* of various colours, specimens of large pearls, a very transparent crystal, and many indications of gold. An Indian called Caja of Meta, seeing in the ship certain dishes of brass, and some gold coins, said that in his country and in another region behind that island, he had seen much of it, and he called it *tereque*.

They are cleanly in the villages. They live collected together in a gathering of regular villages ; there is no confusion or disorder. There are chiefs whom they call *Tauriqui*, and other chiefs they call *Caibococes* ; they have courts of justice ; they are temperate in their eating and drinking ; they shew affection towards their wives ; they are good labourers ; they are musical, and sing in concert

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<sup>1</sup> China root, a drug from the East Indies formerly esteemed for the purposes for which sarsaparilla is used.



with voice and flutes ; they are industrious, inquisitive, and fond of learning new things, and of giving information about their own things ; they believe in the immortality of the soul ; they call God and the Heaven *Colanha* ; they call the Devil *Pondagri-garrafri*, and him they worship ; they have sacred places wherein they bury their chiefs, and the common people outside ; they punish drunkenness. The land is healthy, and we did not see any conspicuous malady, or contagious disease. The island has good rivers and harbours : the water is clear, palatable, and wholesome. They navigate along the coast in what they call *molas*, which are very light. By the compass this island is 280 leagues in circumference, and by the roadways more than 350 leagues. They have thirty-seven principal provinces, in all of which there is ginger and cinnamon, especially in grain, and much sugar-cane and other very profitable things. They call the cinnamon *caquisá*, and the ginger *sago*. To the westward of this island\* there is an archipelago of innumerable islands, and towards the south one sees a great stretch of land which they called San Marcos.<sup>1</sup> It lies about 12 or 15 leagues to the southward. This is the place about which Caja informed them concerning the gold.<sup>2</sup>

They went out from this island of Santa Ysabel on the 8th May, and they went to the others that they had discovered on the east side of this island ; they passed in sight of, and very near, the islands of La Galera, Buena-vista, Florida, and San Dimas, which they call collectively by one name, Gella.<sup>3</sup> The land is pleasant in appearance,

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<sup>1</sup> New Georgia. But the Spaniards named it S. Nicholas, and gave the name S. Marcos to Choiseul Island. Ortega had a better view of this large island from the dividing ridge of Santa Ysabel than Gallego, who saw it only from the sea-level.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the Spaniards misunderstood Caja, who was only trying to convey to them that the natives of Rubiana, who are artists and inlayers as well as head-hunters, were more skilful craftsmen than the men of Santa Ysabel.

<sup>3</sup> Gela, their present native name.

neither high nor low, thickly populated, and abounding in food.

They arrived at the large island which the natives call Gaumbata, and the Spaniards Guadalcanal, on the 11th May, when they took possession for His Majesty, and erected a cross, and said Mass in the port of the possession in the province of Mombalu, where there was a *Tauriqui* called Mano, who came peacefully to the Spaniards, and made obeisance to the Kings of Castille, and enrolled himself for royal service.

From this port went out a commander called Andres Nuñez with twenty-seven men, who went inland 7 leagues. He found large villages with much people and food ; he met with some resistance, but he got through all well.

From the same port went out Don Fernando Enriquez in the brigantine, and coasted along this island about 90 leagues, and arrived at another very large island which is called Los Ilfes.<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards called it San German,<sup>1</sup> and from there appeared another which they call De Ramos, in which there are great tracts (*cuerpos*) of country thickly peopled.

In this island of Guadalcanal, the natives whom they had thought friendly killed nine Christians by treachery, without their having done them any harm ; in consequence of this the Captain, Pedro Sarmiento, punished them. He went up into the country for nine days, during which they threw spears at him at random, and he suffered much hardship. They burned many villages, and at the same time they took and killed other islanders who had attacked some Spaniards who were on a small islet, and they took interpreters from the country.

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<sup>1</sup> The name Los Ilfes is not mentioned in the other narratives. Probably the north side of S. Christoval is meant. The name S. German had been given to one of the Florida sub-group in an earlier voyage of the brigantine.

This island of Guadalcanal, for its fertility and the mildness of its air, for water, for agriculture, for cattle, and for fitness for growing things of Castille, is the best of those in this region. It appears to be of very large extent. Neither from one part nor the other could one have any idea of the end or circumference of it, without taking observations from both east and west to determine the size of it. They have not so much timber as in Santa Ysabel, and for this reason fewer sea-going canoes. The people are the same as those in Santa Ysabel, but better disposed. They have no places of worship, nor do they understand what they should worship. It was supposed that they live in simplicity of religion, which is a good disposition for receiving whatever they may be taught.

There are fields full of ginger, cinnamon, sugar-cane, almonds of Castille, long-shaped filberts, *plantanos* [plantains?], cocoa-nuts,\* fowls, pigs, fish, sandal-wood of various scents (*drogas*), and many other things. They are cleanly; they live together in bodies. There are harbours on the sea-coast, at distances of from 1 to 2 leagues and more. The best villages are on the rivers, which are very calm; the water is wholesome and soft. Pedro Sarmiento saw a mineral containing gold, and other things of worth and value. They were in the island forty days and upwards.

Then they left in the ships, and, coasting along Guadalcanal, they went, sometimes hugging the shore, sometimes putting out to sea—a pleasant sight to the large population.<sup>1</sup> They passed by the islands of San German, and the greater part of those mentioned above. They anchored

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<sup>1</sup> The south-east trade wind had now set in, and they were beating to windward.

at the island of Guare,<sup>1</sup> which the Spaniards called San Christoval ; they landed there on the day of the Visitacion de Nuestra Señora, and they called the village by that name. From hence there went out in the brigantine a commander called Francisco Rico. He coasted along this island 100 leagues to the south. He discovered two more islands, Santa Catalina and Santa Ana, which were small and thickly peopled. They attacked him, and wounded the commander and a soldier severely ; but the Christians came off victorious. Here the interpreters, whom they brought from the other islands, escaped, and they took here five or six others whom they brought to Lima ; and it was learned from them that there was much wealth in gold, and pearls and spices in those islands and in others near them. Here they were several times attacked, and one Spaniard was killed ; nevertheless they repaired the ships, and held a consultation about making a settlement.

Fifty-eight persons gave their opinion's, the greater part being soldiers ; and the pilots, captains and friars all praised the country as being fertile, healthy, and well-peopled. Some of the others were of opinion that they should not settle there, because they said that there were too many natives, and the Spaniards were few, and had not sufficient ammunition, and were far from Peru. The fault, if there were any, was the General's, because, if he had wished it, a settlement would have been formed without opposition.

One Juan Moreno, a Lombard, said that he was right. Tarifino said that there was an indication of gold in the country ; and that he, as a man who had searched for mines and had lived in the country where gold existed, knew this to be so.

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<sup>1</sup> Gallego gives the native name of S. Christoval as Paubro : the present native name is Bauro. Guare may have been the name of the district.

Martin Alonzo, a man experienced in gold-mining, said that there was a great quantity of gold, and voted that they should settle there.

Others said that they ought to go to seek the land of which Sarmiento had spoken when they started. Sarmiento gave his opinion that they should settle there, saying that they had plenty of men and ammunition, and he always urged that they should observe and comply with the instructions of His Majesty and the Governor Castro.

Pedro Sarmiento and the pilots then gave their opinion regarding the course which they should take, and Pedro Sarmiento gave the course of the ships with all the bearings, and stated his opinion that they should follow a south-west [-east?] course in search of the other land which he wished to discover at the beginning, lying opposite Chile.<sup>1</sup> The three pilots were of his opinion. Gallego, although he also said that he should do so, did not perform what he had promised, but steered instead for New Spain, in defiance of the resolution, and it was a miracle that they escaped, for they suffered from hunger, thirst, and soreness in the gums; and some of them died.<sup>2</sup> In 33 degrees the General left the *Almiranta*, in which went Captain Sarmiento, who followed his proper course; and if it had not been for him, under God's Providence, they would have been lost.

They reached the city of Colima in New Spain with the *Capitana*, where, because Pedro Sarmiento had evidence to lay before His Majesty, they seized and harassed him; and from thence they came to Realejo, where the General left Pedro Sarmiento, and went to Peru.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If they had taken his advice they would never have reached Peru alive, for the trade wind would have been right in their teeth, and they would have been beating against a strong easterly current. Foreseeing this, Gallego decided upon a northerly course.

<sup>2</sup> Between thirty and forty, according to the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 78.

They could not gain much information about the country, because neither had they sufficient time, nor did the General wish to examine it, nor to take possession of it. The good land for trading for gold may be gathered from this account as being on the left hand towards the south, opposite Chile.



This is a consecutive account  
of all that happened and took place in the  
discovery of the islands which the illustrious  
Sr. ALVARO DAVENDAÑA [*sic*] went to dis-  
cover, from the year 1567 to the year 1568,  
by order of the illustrious Licentiate  
CASTRO, his uncle, Governor and  
President of the Kingdoms  
of Peru.

Extracted *de verbo ad verbum* from the account which he sent to  
the said Lord President, the tenour of which is  
as follows.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From the Muñoz Collection, tom. xxxvii, taken from the Archives at Simancas, and printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*. There is a gap of some three weeks after February 17th, indicating that several sheets are missing, and the narrative finally breaks off at May 10th, 1568, the latter portion being lost.







THE  
NARRATIVE OF MENDAÑA.

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MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD,



THE events which befell His Majesty's fleet, formed for the discovery of new lands in this South Sea, according to your Lordship's command, and all things that happened in the gulf from our departure until our arrival at and discovery of the islands, and also in the islands, are as follows :—

As your Lordship saw, we embarked in this port of Callao on Wednesday the 19th of November, 1567, at four in the afternoon ; we set sail and plied to windward, but did not get out, nor make any headway that day.

On the following Thursday, the 20th of the said month, we left the port of Callao of the City of Los Reyes, and began to navigate towards the west-south-west ; and as the Chief Pilot, Hernan Gallego, will give your Lordship a particular account of the courses and latitudes of our navigation, and of all things touching the navigation, and of how we ploughed the seas, I will not state them here.

On Sunday, the 30th of the said month of November,

at daybreak, the ship *Capitana* struck a sleeping whale, which frightened some of the people ; this day we had the first heavy fall of rain, though we had had a few light showers before.

On Thursday, the 1st of January, 1568, having come down from 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  degrees to 6 degrees, as Hernan Gallego and I were sitting after nightfall at the side of the vessel near the poop, we heard a splash in the water, and Hernan Gallego raised the cry of "Man overboard !" We looked, and saw a man who was crying for help. I recognised him as a half-breed, the son of Pedro de Cevallos, who had accompanied Mateo Pinedo. We threw him ropes to catch, but he could not do so ; then we unlashed a hen-coop which was hanging outside the poop, and threw it to him that he might keep himself afloat, but he did not see it, for it was not very light. Fortunately for him, there was not much wind, and the sea was calm, and, though the ship was moving, it was but slowly. Hernan Gallego tried to turn back for him, but the wind was so light that the ship would not go about. Then he ordered the sails to be furled, and we shouted to the lad, who answered, but we judged from his voice that he was already exhausted. In the meantime the *Almiranta* was drawing towards us, and we shouted to her to pick him up, but she could not do so ; and as we lay with the sea on our beam, it being night, she came so close to us that we feared lest she should carry away our bowsprit ; but it pleased God that she should pass clear of us, doing no damage ; and, when she had gone on, we shouted to the lad again and received no answer. Then we thought that he was drowned, and I bade them all recommend him to the care of Our Lady, and we all did so. Then we shouted again, and he answered very faintly, at which we rejoiced greatly ; and, seeing that he could never reach the ship, two of the sailors, named Domingo Hernandez Gallego and Juan Rodriguez Mendez, jumped

overboard. We threw one of the hatches into the sea with a sounding-line (*soldalesa*), which Juan Rodriguez took along with him. The sailors swam on, shouting to make sure of where he was, and, having reached him, they placed him on the hatch, for, having been an hour in the water, he was tired with swimming. From the ship Juan Enriquez drew the line in very carefully lest it should break, and so brought the lad to it; and it is my belief that Our Lady delivered him miraculously, because we recommended him to Her; and some affirm that, when he answered, they saw a light like a candle above the spot, and he himself, when he was back on board, declared that he had seen a light above him.

On Thursday, the 8th of January, a sailor named Juan Rodriguez fell overboard, but it pleased God that there should be a cable hanging from the poop, to which he clung; and, had he not done so, he would have been in great danger, for there was a fair wind.

On Wednesday, the 14th of the said month, at nightfall, we had heavy showers and such fierce winds from the east and north-west, that we were forced to furl our sails. They lasted a short time, and that night, for the first time during the voyage, we had thunder and lightning.

On the following Thursday, the 15th of the said month of January, 1568, being about 1,400 leagues east and west from this coast of Peru, steering due west, a little after nine o'clock in the morning, a lad called Trejo,<sup>1</sup> being aloft, first sighted land upon the starboard side to the south-west [*sic*]. Saying nothing, the lad came down to where I was, and told me that he had sighted land, and asked me to send a sailor aloft to see. I told this to Hernan Gallego, who immediately sent a sailor, but he sighted the land before he got up, and shortly afterwards we all saw it. When

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<sup>1</sup> This lad's name is given by Herrera, who must have had access to this MS., for it is not given in the other narratives.

Pedro Sarmiento saw it, he said that it was the volcanoes which form some high islands off the coast of New Guinea ; but we soon perceived that it was a small low island in a different latitude. Hernan Gallego, seeing that it was so small and low, would not approach it, taking it to be a desert island, but he asked me whether I wished to go thither ; and I answered that we had come out for that purpose, and that he should steer for it. It was about noon, and we sat down to dine ; after dinner, Hernan Gallego again asked me whether I wished to touch at the island. I, seeing that he had not steered for it when I answered him the first time, replied that such was my will, for I had not come out to trade but to discover land, and though it were but a sand-spit (*farellon*), His Majesty's orders were to give an account of it, such being the purpose of our voyage. Then he gave orders to steer east and take the island, which we were already leaving behind, and we returned towards it, though much against the pilot's inclination, "for he thought that it was uninhabited, and it seemed to him that we would find near it larger islands at which we might touch. When we drew near, we found it so small that it was not more than six leagues in circumference. This island was very full of trees like palms ; towards the north it had a reef, which entered the sea a quarter of a league, and towards the south was another smaller reef. On the west side it had a strand lying lengthways, with reefs in different parts. This is on the west side, for we could not go round (*boxar*) the east side because of the weather. Taking this island from the sea outwards [*i.e.*, facing the island], it has a shape like two galleys, with a copse in the middle which appears like a fleet of ships.<sup>1</sup> When we were within a little less than half a league of the island, the Chief Pilot ordered the sails to be furled until the other ship should

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<sup>1</sup> A good description of Nukufetau.

come up, because we could find no bottom. When the sails were furled, a sailor who was aloft said that he thought that he saw canoes approaching ; then others went up to look, and said that they were rocks upon which the sea was breaking. Then the first sailor went up again, and maintained that if they were rocks the sea would be seen breaking upon them more plainly, and that the objects he saw rose and fell upon the waves. When they drew nearer we perceived that they were canoes, and that men were coming in them. Then I ordered the men to come down, and, though many wished to arm themselves, I would not allow it, saying that it was unnecessary, for there would not be so many men on that island but that we could drive them off with sticks if they came near us, and therefore they must all remain calm and quiet. We saw that the Indians were approaching in little canoes, a man in each, for from the ship we counted seven or eight Indians in seven canoes, and afterwards two put back to shore, and the other five came on to examine the ship ; and when they were within bow-shot, or a little further off, they raised the oars with which they were rowing, and turned back with shouts. Seeing this, I ordered signals to be made to them with a white cloth to induce them to return, but it was useless. When they had returned to shore they also displayed white signals, and in a little while they placed them all along the shore, and, if it had not been so late, we would have lowered the boat ; but we put off doing that, and also seeking a port for the ships, until the next morning. It was fifty-seven days from our departure from Callao till our arrival at this island, during which we had a favourable wind and a calm sea.

In the meantime the *Almiranta* had come up, and when she drew near I ordered the pilot to set sail, in order that we might not have the sea on our beam so close to shore, and be unable to find a bottom. Thus we tacked all night

between the sea and land. During the night I gave orders to the men, and appointed a post for each, in order that, in case anything unforeseen should occur they might not be unprepared, and each one might know what to do in case of necessity. We passed a quiet night in great tranquility until the morning watch. During the first watch the *Almiranta* showed a light, to which the Indians responded with a light on shore, and, when she extinguished hers, the light on shore was extinguished likewise. The men were very contented, hoping to take the island, to which I gave the name of "Jesus," because we reached it the day after that festival.<sup>1</sup> The gulf which we traversed from Callao de Lima to this island I called "Golfo de Concepcion," because we were in it on that feast of Our Lady. This is the largest gulf navigated, nor was any larger seen in the whole discovery.

To return, however, to what occurred to us in endeavouring to touch at the island. At daybreak the weather clouded and it began to rain; then a strong wind arose, which was aided by the current, so that we began to edge away very perceptibly; we managed to get near the shore, and might have anchored easily, but, when it was light, we looked for the *Almiranta*, and could not see her. We tacked out to sea again, and saw her very far to leeward of the island. I told the pilots to put back to shore, for now the other ship had seen us and would follow; they replied that they thought it impossible for that ship to reach the island, since she was so far to leeward; but that if I wished to put back to land, they would do so, though they warned me that it would be very dangerous for the ship *Almiranta*, which might be lost in endeavouring to reach the land, and thereupon they bade me decide, saying that they would obey my orders. I told them to rejoin the other ship, and,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 86, *note*.

if both could reach the land, it would be wrong not to do so, since the men were very anxious to take in water; for, though our supply was not exhausted, it was all bad, and we always drank it reluctantly, which was the truth. They replied that they would be very pleased to do so, and steered towards the said ship. She was following the land tack and we the sea, and so she passed us; then she went about, and took the sea tack, and then both ships took the land tack, and thus we continued tacking all day to reach the island; but the wind and rain were so heavy and violent, and the current so strong, that we were clearly falling off more than 6 leagues from it. The pilots, seeing how we were losing way, told me that we could not reach the island, for I might see for myself how we were falling off, and, that if we remained there until the next day, we should lose so much that we should not be able to get back to our present latitude of 6 degrees; besides, the weather was very bad, and showed signs of growing worse, and it seemed that we ought not to endanger the ships, especially the *Almiranta*, which was small; and we should very soon reach other land, where we could find a port and provide ourselves with whatever we required. I replied that it was not my intention to endanger the ships or their crews, and that with God's help we should, no doubt, find other and better lands; but that, this being the first we had sighted, I wished to take possession of it in the name of His Majesty; but that, if in attempting to reach it the ships would be endangered, I bade them desist and pursue our voyage, for His Majesty's service was my only concern. Then the pilots steered west-south-west upon a bowline (*bolina*), which was all they could do until the wind increased. The island is in the latitude of barely 7 degrees.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This paragraph was Meñdana's defence against one of the charges which he knew that Pedro Sarmiento intended to bring against him—that he neglected to touch at what Sarmiento regarded as an island outlying his *tierra firme*.

That day, Friday, we advanced very little before nightfall, because we had spent nearly all the day tacking to reach the island. Upon the course we were following Hernan Gallego thought that he saw another island, though I thought it uncertain; but he said that he could not touch at it because it lay to windward, and the rain and darkness were very great; but when he pointed it out to me, it seemed to me to be nothing but the clouds.<sup>1</sup>

On the following Saturday, the 17th of the said month of January, the wind freshened, and we steered west-north-west, still with heavy rain. This day the pilot told me that he had never seen such a storm in the South Sea as on the day when we were off the island, for he had seen many signs of hurricanes and great storms, and we experienced one so severe that they said the like had never been seen in the tropics before.

From Friday, the day we left the island, until the end of the following Monday, we advanced 40 leagues west and west-north-east [west-north-west?], and as the prevailing winds were north-west and west, I said that it would be well to go down to 6 degrees in order that we might increase our latitude when I wished, for the currents and north-west winds would prevent us from reaching the equinoctial line, and we could go south when we liked. On the said Monday, the 19th January, Hernan Gallego took the sun, and found 6 degrees of latitude; then he gave orders to steer west-quarter-north-west, in order to alter our latitude by degrees until he could take the sun again.

On the following Tuesday and Wednesday we steered the same course for 20 leagues in the said latitude of 6 degrees.

On the Thursday and the Friday we went westward for

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<sup>1</sup> It is possible that in tacking they sighted Nui, or Funafuti, each visible about fifteen miles from the masthead, if they made long tacks.



20 leagues more in the said latitude of 6 degrees, with heavy rain all the time. On Friday the downpour lasted twelve hours without ceasing, during which no fires could be lighted in the ship, and it was impossible to cook the food.

On Saturday and the following Sunday, the 24th and 25th of the said month of January, we advanced 35 leagues with such strong winds from the north-west that our ship sailed under her courses ;<sup>1</sup> and although sometimes we might have set more sail, we did not do so because we were waiting for the *Almiranta*, whose sails were furled ; and thus, waiting for her, we lost one quarter of our way, sometimes because she sailed slowly, and sometimes because her sails were furled. Yet, in spite of this, and of our having refrained from touching at the island in order not to endanger the said ship, those on board of her questioned us why we had not touched at the island. I answered that, though we could have done so, we did not, for fear that they might be cast away. They replied that if I had done so they would have followed, even at the cost of carrying away their masts and losing their lives. I replied that this was just what I wished to avoid.

On the following Monday and Tuesday we advanced 25 leagues westward in the latitude of 6 degrees.

On Wednesday we advanced 15 leagues. On this day we took the sun, and found  $5\frac{1}{4}$  degrees of latitude, and I ordered Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, to steer south-west, because the currents were carrying us to a lower latitude.

On the following Thursday and Friday we advanced 10 leagues and were becalmed ; and when the wind blew it was from the west, with heavy rain, and so boisterous that we were obliged to furl the sails.

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<sup>1</sup> *Papahigos*. The *papahigos mayor* is the mainsail, and the *papahigo menor* the foresail, both without the bonnet or piece sometimes added to the lower part.—Note by Muñoz.

On the following Saturday, which was the last day of January of the said year 1568, owing to calms and contrary winds, as on the previous day, we advanced only 5 leagues.

On Sunday, the 1st of February, at two o'clock in the afternoon or thereabouts, the wind being light, although we had been obliged to take in sail three or four times, always advancing with care and keeping a strict watch ahead, as we were steering west, Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, saw breakers on the starboard side, and sent a man aloft to see if land was in sight; but there appeared to be nothing but a reef six leagues in length, lying from south-west to north-east. We coasted along it at about a league distant, the sea breaking over it in every part.<sup>1</sup> I ordered it to be named Candelaria [Candlemas] Reef, because we sighted it on the eve of that festival; it is well within the latitude of 6 degrees. We cruised about it all that day to see whether we could approach or touch at it, and whether it had any wood or water, thinking that it might contain some very low land: not that we required them then, but in case calms should bring us to need them. We cruised along the reefs until the hour of vespers, tacking occasionally, because the wind blew almost directly upon them, but at that hour the wind began to fall until it was entirely from the west, blowing from over the reefs. As we could not reach them with such a contrary wind, we turned north-north-west; then the wind veered to west-north-west and west, with occasional squalls, heavy rain, and whirlwinds, so that we were obliged to furl our sails and remain in a cross sea all night.

On Monday, Our Lady's feast of Candlemas, and on the

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<sup>1</sup> This description would apply to the Roncador Reef better than to Ongtong Java; but since Gallego distinctly mentions small islands among the shoals, and estimates the extent of the reefs at 15 leagues, and further gives the latitude at  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , there can be little doubt that the Candelaria shoals were identical with Ongtong Java.

following Tuesday, we had a cross sea, because the wind was in our teeth with heavy rain. The wind and rain were so continuous that, as soon as a storm had passed from stem to stern, it was blown back upon us; and sometimes we saw rain storms coming upon us from stem to stern, starboard and larboard; and when we thought that they had passed over they returned immediately, with wind from every quarter and constant thunder.

On the following Wednesday, the 4th of the said month of February, the weather grew a little calmer, and we tacked one way and the other, endeavouring with a light wind to approach the reef, in order not to lose distance. At night the wind blew from the west, and we furled our sails.

On the following Thursday, in order not to lose ground, we set sail and steered south-west-quarter-west in the latitude of 6 degrees, leaving the reefs behind, and went in search of the land, which, as we thought, could not be very far off. At night a contrary wind sprang up, and we furled our sails. On the next day we saw many signs of land such as cocoa-nuts, palm branches snakes, toads, crabs, oranges, and many other things, which gave us great joy.

On the following Friday, the 6th of the said month, we advanced but little, being becalmed, and the little wind that sprang up was contrary; and so we lay with sails furled most of the day and through the night until the following morning.

It pleased God that, on the morning of the 7th of the said month of February, the Saturday after we had sighted the reefs, being 15 leagues from them, and steering north-north-west, with the foresail set and the wind west-south-west, in order not to decrease our latitude while the wind was generally northerly, Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, sighted land, which seemed very high. As it was so large and high we thought that it must be a continent. It lay

15 leagues distant when we sighted it, and we were all that day and the next making for it. As soon as the natives saw us there came out many small canoes with Indians, all equipped for war, with bows and arrows and lances of palm wood. Then they made signs of peace, saying many times *tabriqui, tabriqui*, and I said to some soldiers who were beside me that I thought they must be asking for the captain, and bade them point me out if they said it again, and then we should understand them. They did so, and the soldiers pointed to me, saying, *tabriqui, tabriqui*, after them. Then they called to one another, and all looked at me, and I made them signs to draw near and come on board, but they would not. Then I asked for a red cap, and threw it overboard, and they picked it up and gave it to a chief who was in a canoe, and he put it on his head, and the rest returned to beg for more. Upon this, other canoes came out with other *tabriquis*, and all begged for caps. I threw out three or four others, which they picked up and gave to the chiefs who were the *tabriquis*; but this, and the many signs of friendship which I made them, were of no avail. They eagerly watched the signs that I made them, which were beckoning with my hand, making the sign of the cross, and raising my hands to heaven; and they did the same, especially one of them, who did so many times. But, in spite of all, they dared not come on board, until a sailor jumped over the side and swam to one of the canoes; seeing this, they drew near, albeit with great signs of fear, and about two dozen of them came on board. I embraced them with a great show of friendship, and ordered food and drink to be given to them; they ate meat and preserves, but no biscuit; they tasted the wine, but did not drink it, because they did not like the taste. They pronounced the words that they heard us say in our tongue, and we did the same with theirs, and one of them repeated the Pater Noster and Credo, pronouncing it as

well as we ourselves did. I ordered a shirt to be given him, and some beads to the rest, with caps, bells, and other presents. They went about the ship, carefully seeking something to steal, and if they found anything left about, they quickly threw it overboard for the others to pick up from the canoes. One of them climbed to the top by the rigging as lightly as the most practised sailor. Their canoes are very well made and very light ; they are shaped like a crescent, the largest holding about thirty persons. They are so swift that, although our ships under sail started two leagues ahead of them, with a good wind and all the sails set, they caught us up within the hour. Their speed in rowing is marvellous ; they row in the fashion of the people of Cartagena.

We could not enter the port that day, since it was late, and we did not know the way. Therefore, I sent fifteen soldiers in the boat, with arquebuses and targets, to find an anchorage before nightfall. Seeing them set out, half of the natives went with them very contentedly, and the rest remained on board, each *tabrique* importuning me to choose the port in his district. At nightfall they all withdrew. Before it was quite dark the boat returned, having found no port. The soldiers who were in it reported that, when they were near the shore, a large canoe came out, containing seventeen or eighteen Indians, who showed signs of hostility, their chief standing up and brandishing a club, and the rest their bows and arrows. This petty chief spoke loudly to our men as he drew near, but a chief who was in one of the canoes accompanying the boat—the same who had taken a silver cup which I gave him, for though he would not drink the wine he took the cup—went on and confronted the approaching Indians, and began to argue with them, whereupon they retired without attempting anything further, and our men returned to the ship. When the chief saw them turn back he was very sad, and called

upon them to accompany him, making signs that he would give them food and drink in his own territory.

We tacked all night between the land and sea, and came so close to a reef that we were in great danger, and lay at an angle (*ariste*)<sup>1</sup> with the reef, unable to turn; but it pleased God to deliver us from this peril, and we stood out to sea till it was day. I wished to punish the soldiers who were on watch, because they had not warned the man at the helm; but they exonerated themselves, saying that they had warned the pilots, and they had taken no notice, because the *Almiranta* was in front, a little to leeward, and was therefore in greater danger than we were, being nearer.

On the next day, Monday, I sent out boats and men to find a port, which they had had no time to do the night before; and while the ships were plying to windward, following the boats, we found ourselves over a ridge of rocks (*restinga*) formed by the reef aforesaid. The ridge appeared to be quite a league in length, and, in order to get out to sea again, we sailed out over it upon a bow-line. We were certainly in great peril, for we could see the bottom very clearly, and we were in four, five, and six fathoms, and did not know when there might be less depth. When we were in deep water again, Hernan Gallego considered it better to stand in at once for the shore, without waiting until a cross wind might set in, and bring us to destruction; and, though many advised me not to let him do so until the pilot who had gone to find a port should signal to us, or come to fetch us, I replied to all those who said this that I trusted Hernan Gallego as a very skilful man, as indeed he is, and I would not prevent him from entering the port if he dared to do so; and I bade him do whatever he thought best for the good of all. He ordered two

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<sup>1</sup> Arista?

anchors to be made ready, and with the sheets and the line (*trisa*) in his hand, in case it should be necessary to drop anchor over the shoal, he steered for the land again ; thus resolved, we bore upon our course, firmly persuaded that Our Lord favoured us through the intercession of His Divine Mother, and of the three Magi who had ever been our advocates: for, at about ten o'clock in the morning, after we had put out to sea, and just as we were re-entering the shallow water, we saw about the middle of the main top-sail a resplendent star, which we took to be a guide sent to us by them to show us the passage through the shallows, because we entered them at a part where the bottom was clearly seen and the entrance narrow ; and when we had passed them we found good anchorage in several fathoms, and so we found a port according to our great desire. And because we had sailed from the kingdom of Peru upon the feast of Santa Ysabel, and also because she had been our patroness throughout the voyage, I called the island Santa Ysabel. I called the port Bahia de la Estrella (Bay of the Star). As soon as the *Capitana* anchored a number of canoes came alongside, and the Indians stared in amazement at a sight which was so novel to them. As the *Almiranta* was entering, and approaching us who were lying at anchor—she having put to sea again when we did—I ordered a salute to be fired in order to cheer the soldiers, who were depressed and fatigued by the voyage ; the guns and muskets were accordingly discharged, at which the natives were much amazed.

On this day, Monday, the 9th of February, as soon as the *Almiranta* had cast anchor, I disembarked with my Master of the Camp, Ensign-General, and Captains, and Fray Francisco de Galvez, the Vicar, and all the other clergy that I had with me, and a few soldiers, and we went on shore. Then I ordered them to set up a large

cross, which Fray Francisco de Galvez carried upon his shoulders, and he supported it while we paid our devotions to it, and rendered thanks to Our Lord, who had guided us safe to port, and brought us thither in peace and concord with all. Then I ordered it to be set up in a convenient spot, and having erected it, we again adored it; after which the said Father Francisco and the other clergy recited the hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*. Then, with the necessary formalities, I took possession of the land in the name of his Majesty.

The next day, Tuesday, I ordered Mass to be said, and commanded all the soldiers and sailors and the greater part of the people to attend it, and commend themselves to Our Lord. The said day there came on board a chief whom they call *tabriqui*, which signifies "lord;" his name was Bileban-Arra, and his territory lies near this port, which, in the Indian tongue, is called Samba; it is on the summit of an eminence, half a league from the port. He differed from the Indians who accompanied him in wearing on his head a turban, formed of numerous black and white feathers, and on his wrists armlets made of very white bone which looked to us like alabaster.<sup>1</sup> A small shield, which they call *taco-taco*, hung from his neck. He brought me a present of cocoa-nuts, which I accepted, giving him other presents in return. At his earnest request I allowed him to come on board, he first making the signs of peace which I had seen made to me the day before; I did the same, and then he asked me to give him a cap, offering me one of his bracelets in exchange. Understanding that he would then come on board, I ordered a cap to be tied to a rope, and lowered to him, and he took it and tied the bracelet to another rope, but would not leave hold of it

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<sup>1</sup> *Ajorcas* (armlets) is a word of Arabic derivation. These armlets are made of the giant *Tridacna* shell rubbed down to the necessary shape with infinite labour. They are worn above the elbow.



until he had the cap in his hands. He waited until some of his Indians were on board, and when he came up a negro was playing a tabor and flute, and he and the rest began to dance a strange dance. I made him sit down, and began to ask him what they called the sun, the moon, the sky, and other things; and he named them all in his tongue, which is such that it may easily be learned by us, as ours by them, for they speak very distinctly, and without the affectation (*de papo*) of the people of Peru. They seemed very eager to learn our words, and asked us to teach them, at which we were greatly rejoiced, because of the good fruit, which, please God, might be borne when we taught them our holy Catholic Faith, to know and serve Him.

This chief asked me by signs what my name was, and, when I replied that it was Mendaña, he answered that his was Bileban-Arra, and he rejoiced greatly at hearing my name, and learning that I was a *tabriqui*, and he asked me to exchange names with him. This we did: I was called Bileban-Arra, and he took my name; he was very much pleased and satisfied, and, that he might not forget it, he kept on repeating "Mendaña, Mendaña." He invited me to visit him next day, saying that he would give me food, and, when I made signs that I would do so, he was highly pleased.

The next day, Wednesday, I went on shore in the morning to hear Mass; and while I was doing so, there came twenty-two canoes of other *tabriquis* of this island, who came to gaze at us, a great novelty to them; among them was one called Meta, who would not land, although I called to him. While I was on shore, there came two brothers of the *tabriqui* Bile, and they brought me cocoa-nuts and other food that they had. Among those who accompanied them were two well-built Indians, and they asked me to go with them, for their brother Bile was expecting

me, and these two strong Indians were to carry me on their shoulders up the hill. When I declined to go, they withdrew, and the *tabriqui* himself came to the ship, bringing me cocoa-nuts and other provisions. Their musical instruments are a number of pipes of reed, bound together in order according to size like an organ, upon which they play with their mouths, as upon the fife;<sup>1</sup> they have also large shells which they call *cofils*.<sup>2</sup> I ordered the fife and trumpet to be played, and afterwards some of the soldiers sang to the guitar; they were astonished at our instruments, and still more at our singing. Then they danced, being very fond of this exercise; and, as I gave them a few presents and treated them well, they came to see me every day, although I gave them but little to eat; but, every time they came to the ship, they brought their arms.

One day, when we had seen neither canoes, nor even Indians on shore, four or five of another faction came to see me, and these did not seem so willing to make friends with us as those of Bileban-Arra, for they would not come on board, nor even approach the ship. They came arrayed for battle, standing in their canoes with bows and arrows in their hands. Our friend, Bileban-Arra, seeing their attitude, came out from his port with four or five canoes full of men, himself standing very erect in one of them: for when they come in this manner their intention is hostile, otherwise they remain seated.<sup>3</sup> Looking very ferocious, he approached, and when the others

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<sup>1</sup> The pan pipes, here described, are still in use.

<sup>2</sup> Though the conch-shell is called *Tavuli* by the coast tribes of Ysabel Island, Mr. Woodford found that the bush natives of Mount Guku behind Estrella Bay call it *Hofli*, so pronounced as sometimes to sound like *Kofli*.

<sup>3</sup> The present custom. When a war-canoe is approaching a village to attack it, they stand up in the canoe while the chief addresses the spirits.—Woodford.

saw him they turned and fled, and he pursued them. Seeing that he was gaining on them, they surrendered, throwing themselves down in the canoes. Seeing that they surrendered, he spoke to them and let them go; and he was very merry over this, and we gathered from it that they had enmity and warfare between them. He came afterwards to the ship, and showed me plainly by signs that Meta, the *tabriqui* before mentioned, who would not land, was plotting to kill me, together with other *tabriquis* of the island, his friends, among whom he named the following: Riari, Babalay, Coboia, Sambe, Maelago, Ciamarrotovo, Ganigo, and four or five others who, he said, were coming together to kill and eat us; from this we gathered that they were cannibals. He told me that they had called upon him to join them against me, but that he had refused, and bade me call him if they came against me, and he would help me; after which he returned to his dwelling.

This *tabriqui*, Bile, then remained two days without coming to see me, by which I understood that he had renounced my friendship and joined the others, and that some treason was on foot. Thereupon I resolved to send some one to visit him, to learn what he intended and what he was doing. I sent the Master of the Camp, Hernando Henriquez, and Captain Pedro Sarmiento with twenty soldiers. When they reached his camp he received them more in fear than in friendship, and in his hut they saw nothing of any kind, except two little dogs. The *tabriqui* offered them cocoa-nuts and water, but only gave them a small cane full of water; and, though they asked for more, he would not send for it, nor did he seem to have any other kind of vessel. Their chief food is cocoa-nuts, and a kind of root which they call *vinahus* [taro?]. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Here occurs the following passage: "Convidaron à los nuestros con algunas mujeres, y como ellos hiciesen asco y escupiesen dellas, por darles à entender que no se las habian de tomar, se admiraban,

While this was going on the Master of the Camp ordered some to go forward a little, to see whether there were any roads ; but when a soldier set off to do so, the Indians called him back before he had gone twice the breadth of the quarter-deck, and he returned for fear of offending them ; and, when the Master of the Camp heard that they had not allowed him to go, he ordered him to take an earthen jar which he had given to the Indians, and to go where he had ordered him upon the pretext of fetching water ; and he ordered the soldiers to remain where they were, and advance no further, and Don Hernando Enriquez remained with them. The Master of the Camp and Captain Sarmiento took the *tabriquí* by the hand, and walked away from the rest, talking to him. He led them to a hut much lower down, and showed them to his father ; they told me that he seemed very pleased to see them, and they were also pleased ; he was a man who looked like a ruler, whose person shewed authority ; he was very old and very tall, with a white beard so long that it reached to his waist ;<sup>1</sup> he was whiter than his children, being almost as white as a Spaniard ; his name is Salacay. They remained with him awhile, and, as the conversation appeared to the Indians to last too long, they began to tell them to go, saying : "*fuera ! fuera !*" ("away !"), which they had learnt from me, having heard me say it to the soldiers when they came to see me ; and as they said it so haughtily, our men withdrew in order not to offend them, and came back again. When the Master

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y más de que no las trujesemos. Y como algunos de los nuestros se apartasen á orinar, ellas se iban tras ellos para ver con qué, y hubo una que se llegó á tomar de la falda del sayo á un soldado por verlo. Como los nuestros se escusasen, se subió un indio escondidamente encima de un árbol, donde algunos se apartaban á orinar, para verles sus vergüenzas, porque no sabian qué juzgar de nosotros."

<sup>1</sup> This is very rare among the Solomon Islanders, who, as a rule, are almost beardless.

of the Camp told Don Hernando that he had seen Salacay, the father of the *tabriqui*, Bile, he wished to go back and see him, and they returned together; but when they arrived at the place, they found no sign of Salacay, nor of any other Indian, but only various articles of dress and some beads which I had given them; they did not touch these, nor injure anything belonging to them, although they might have taken many things besides food, for they had every opportunity. Seeing a *mochadero* close by, they went to see what it contained, but they found no gold nor silver, nor anything worth a tomin,<sup>1</sup> nor even any vessel from which to eat and drink, nor anything to sleep upon.

One day there came to the ship some Indians belonging to another chief, in four canoes, in which they brought three women; and when they saw that we had no women with us they thought to tempt us by asking us to buy them. I made signs to them that we refused, and that we could not bear the sight of them, and bade them take them away, which they did immediately. Some of these women are well-favoured, and fairer than those of Peru; their hair is very red, and cut short beneath the ear.

Seeing that since our arrival at this land we had not explored it at all, because Bile had not come to the ship as usual, and we did not know whether it was an island or a continent, I assembled the Master of the Camp, and the captains, and in their presence I asked the opinion of Fray Francisco de Galvez, the Vicar, touching my own conscience and that of my soldiers, telling him that I wished to send inland to explore the country; that it was three months since we left the port of the City of Los Reyes, and we had not touched land until we came to this port of La Estrella; that a fourth part of the provisions had been

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<sup>1</sup> "Tomin" is the word used in the Indies for a coin worth about eight martos.—Muñoz.

consumed, and yet we had seen nothing ; that we could not leave this port for thirty days more, because we were building a brigantine to explore the coast, and that it would therefore be well to spare the provisions, and avail ourselves of the food used by the natives ; for that, though I had sufficient victuals in the ship to last for some time, it was still necessary to go in quest of other land, and we might live upon what the land produced so long as we remained in this port ; that I had made peace with the *tabriqui* of the land, and he treated us with friendship and visited us, but that, though I had asked him by signs to bring us food and he would be paid for it, and had sent to visit him in order to confirm our friendship, yet, in spite of all, neither he, nor his Indians, would bring us anything, but on the contrary had become estranged from us, and would not come to the ships as they did before ; and that my chief desire was not to burden my conscience, nor that of my soldiers, but to order all things as best befitted the service of God and of His Majesty ; and therefore I called upon him to give me his opinion in the matter as seemed best to him.

To this the said Vicar, Fray Francisco de Galvez, replied that he was aware that I had done all that I could, and had made friends with the *tabriqui* who was the chief, and with his Indians, giving them gratuitously some of the articles of barter, and that I might very well go inland in search of provision, paying for it with other things ; and that, if the natives refused to barter it, I might take some in moderation, but not in such quantities that they would feel the want of it, and not touching any of their other property, nor their wives and children. And in case they should not allow us to take provision when they professed friendship for us, if they defended it, and made war upon me, and so broke the peace, in such a case I and my soldiers might very well defend and guard what we had

taken in the way of provision, so long as we did not pursue or attack them, but only defended ourselves.

Upon this I told the Master of the Camp, and the other captains who were present, to give me their opinion ; and they replied that it would be well to go inland and explore the country, and I agreed with them. Therefore I arranged that on Monday, the 16th of the said month of February, Captain Pedro Sarmiento should set out with sixteen soldiers and six servants to carry the provisions. He was to go through the land of this *tabriqui*, Bileban-Arra, and push on until he reached the summit of a mountain which formed a chain that could be seen from the port, from whence he might survey the character of the land, and ascertain whether it were an island or a continent, and discover what food the natives had ; he was to bargain with them in a friendly way, and, if they would give him food in barter, he was to bring back as much as he could carry ; but, if not, he was to take nothing against their will, and to do them no harm, but to pursue his journey. The limit of time that I gave him was four days for going and returning ; and, though he might have taken some provision by force if they would not sell it, I told him not to do so, that our cause might be better justified, and that they might not suppose that we meant them any harm ; and upon their return, according to their report, I would consider what was best to be done.

They set out before daybreak upon the day aforesaid, and, as the Indians had posted sentinels, they were aware of it, and began to blow certain large shells which they call *coflis* ; and, hearing them, our men went up to a level place to wait until it was light. When it was day they began their march, and on the height near the dwelling of the *tabriqui* they came upon more than one hundred Indians who had assembled there, prepared for fighting. As our men approached they shouted to them to come

near, for they were friends ; the Indians would not do so, but retreated, our men following them, towards a piece of ground further on which was inhabited ; and as they pushed on, they overtook the Indians, and spoke to them, and made friends with them. They asked our men, by signs, whither they were going, and if they were looking for Bileban-Arra, their chief, and they answered in the affirmative ; the natives replied that he had gone further down, and that this was the land of another chief ; but our men went on, and the Indians remained where they were. When our men had passed, the Indians went round by another way to guard their huts, and stood in fours at the entrances, crying to our men : "*afuera ! afuera !*" and, that they might not think that we would do them any harm, our people passed on, and let them alone. After going a good half league they came upon six huts standing together, which were painted, and better built than those of Bile, and there was a temple there. Here they found many Indians, besides the hundred they had left behind who had come by another road ; our men gathered from this that they were assembling to do battle with them, which the Indians called *narriu*.

Our men advanced and asked them for some water, but they refused, saying that they had none, and thereupon our men left them and began to march forward, straight towards a river which they saw there. When they reached the bank of the river they found the *tabriqui*, Bileban-Arra, there, with more than two hundred Indians. Our men approached him, and asked him to be friends with them, to which he agreed, but they did not think his friendship was sincere. Then Captain Sarmiento asked the *tabriqui* to come down with him, and he did so with his Indians ; they saw many Indians higher up the mountain, blowing shells to assemble their men ; then they saw some Indians upon the bank of the river, and joined them,



and made friends with all of them. When our men were in the river, they saw upon the further bank of it another party of Indians who were coming down the mountain towards the place whither they were making ; but our men continued to cross the river, that the Indians might not suppose that they were afraid of them. The river has many windings, so that they were obliged to cross it many times before they reached the foot of the mountain range ; and, as it was then very late, Captain Sarmiento thought it better to spend the night there, and endeavour to find shelter from the rain, until the next day. It rained so heavily all night that they were unable to strike a light ; they were wet through and covered with mud, in which they were even obliged to sleep ; their provisions got so wet that they could not eat them ; but they found in the neighbourhood a quantity of cocoa-nuts and palmetto, which they ate.<sup>1</sup> . . . .

On the morning of the next day, they set out from that island, and crossed the arm of sea of which the Indians had told them ; and having done so, they saw four or five canoes full of Indians coming towards them ; they called to them, but they refused to come until twenty-

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<sup>1</sup> At this point the narrative breaks off. The next paragraph relates to Pedro de Ortega's excursion eastward along the coast, nearly a month later, and it is evident that several leaves of the MS. are missing. From the other narratives we learn that seven exploring expeditions were undertaken while the ships lay in Estrella Bay.

(1) Ortega's expedition, to ascertain why Chief Vilevanara had not revisited the ships.

(2) Sarmiento's expedition, on February 16th, here described, resulting in the capture of the chief's uncle, Havi.

(3) Sarmiento's excursion, about February 21st, to restore the prisoner to his friends.

(4) The expeditions of Gabriel Muñoz and Diego Davila along the coast in both directions, on February 24th.

(5) Ortega's ascent of the main range, on March 4th, with fifty men, resulting in the discovery that Santa Ysabel was an island.

(6) Ortega's expedition to the territory of Meta, and the capture of four natives.

(7) Enriquez's ascent to look for the brigantine.

The MS. breaks off in No. 2 and resumes in the middle of No. 6.

eight canoes had assembled, in which there were one hundred Indians or more. Our men awaited their arrival on the shore, but they would not approach; then the Master of the Camp spoke to them, calling them brothers, and bidding them disembark, for he would do them no harm. Upon this the Indians that they had with them as guides, who had hidden themselves, thinking that these were a party of Indians belonging to Meta, now recognised them as *naclonis*—that is, vassals—of Bileban-Arra, their chief. When the Master of the Camp heard this, he made them come forward to speak with those in the canoes; and when the latter saw them they were very glad and made much of them; and they told them that our men were going to kill Meta, at which they were very glad; then they landed, and the Master of the Camp embraced them, and gave them several presents, for which they thanked him, and gave him some provisions and six Indians to go with our men against Meta. Then they went forward along the shore, and saw several of Meta's Indians come out to look at them, and spy where they were going. They came close to the dwelling of Meta, which is upon a height beyond a strip of populated land, which they could not reach that night, as it was late.

At that time many of his Indians were scattered about the shore, and when they saw our men approaching and calling to them, they fled towards the thicket (*arcabuz*).<sup>1</sup> Seeing that they could not reach the dwelling, and that the Indians would not wait for them, they resolved to camp upon the shore; and, finding no convenient site for the purpose, the Master of the Camp thought it better to send on a few soldiers to see whether there was a more suitable place for camping in. Going forward the better to explore the

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodford thinks that this word, "Arcabuz," or "Arcabuco" (thicket), is used throughout the MSS. for "mangrove."

place where they were, one of the soldiers saw an Indian come out of the thicket off his guard, and carrying a little *vinahu* ; he endeavoured to seize him, thinking that, as he was alone, it would be safer to capture him, but the Indian threw himself into the sea : this availed him nothing, for the soldier seized him at last, and, as he was struggling in the water to escape so that the soldier could not get him out, a dog that they had with them seized the Indian by the arm, and then he kept quiet, and they brought him ashore and bound him, and brought him to the place where the Master of the Camp had remained. They slept that night in this place, and were as uncomfortable as on the first night, because of the heavy rain which prevented them from striking a light, for, when they succeeded in doing so, the rain quenched it immediately, and thus they were very tired and wet. They found a quantity of cocoa-nuts and palmetto, which they ate, for they had nothing else.

The next day the Master of the Camp went with twenty-five soldiers, to see a large tree which he had been told was covered with cocoa-nuts, and which was very near the place where they were encamped. He ordered them to cut it down, and they found that it bore more than two hundred cocoa-nuts, all of which they gathered and put into the boat. When they had finished gathering them, the Indians understood that they were only seeking provisions and would do them no further harm, and about eighty of them came and brought them some roots of *vinahu*. The Master of the Camp received them very well, making them many signs of friendship, and beckoning to them with kind words, calling them brothers ; and he brought them to the place where he had encamped, and, his orders being to take not more than four or six of them as interpreters, he did them no further harm than to capture four of them, one of whom was the son of the *tabriqui*, Meta. As he was leading them straight to the huts, still holding them by

the hands, they thought that the interview had lasted long enough, and they endeavoured to make off. Then some of our men caught hold of them, and threw them down and bound them ; and as the rest were well provided with bows, lances and clubs, they separated from our party, and our men stood on their guard in case they should attack them ; they did not dare to do so, but turned their backs and retreated slowly, although the son of the *tabriqui* made a loud outcry while he was being bound, calling upon Meta, his father, to come to his aid. When they had been bound they were placed in the boat, and the Master of the Camp ordered Gabriel Muñoz to embark in it, with several soldiers to guard them in case any canoes should appear ; and they were to go towards the ship, while he and the rest pushed forward along the shore. The boat with the Indians and the cocoa-nuts reached the ship before the Master of the Camp. They told me that, as they came along at night, all the Indians had untied themselves, but they could not understand how they had done it, for they had bound them securely with their hands behind their backs ; when they discovered that they were free, they bound them again. I ordered the cocoa-nuts to be distributed among the company. The Master of the Camp and his men arrived later, having been two days longer in returning to the ship, for I had allowed them four days for going and returning ; and, their provisions having got wet, they had nothing to eat for three days but cocoa-nuts and palmetto, which is not sustaining food. They all arrived in good health, but very fatigued from the bad roads and the wettings they had undergone from heavy rains and fording rivers. When they arrived, the four Indians who had gone with them asked me to give them the four prisoners, saying that they wished to take them to their *tabriqui*, Bile, that he might eat them. I told them to go and fetch him to the ships, and I would

give them to him, and thereupon they went off well pleased.

The next day he sent a message that he could not come, but would do so the next day without fail. In the morning he sent six Indians, requesting that I would send him the boat, in which to come off with his *naclonis*; and I ordered the boat to go, and a few soldiers in it. First he sent thirty Indians in the boat, saying that he would come later; he assembled eight canoes full of Indians, and after a little while he himself came, very fine with many bracelets of bone<sup>1</sup> upon his arms, and a plate of the same round his neck, and bracelets of very small stag's teeth,<sup>2</sup> and very small stones resembling coral,<sup>3</sup> which he wore on his arms and legs. He came with such gravity and dignity as we could not but admire in a savage; he approached, seated in his canoe, after all his *naclonis*, which signifies vassals, had arrived and entered the ship. He remained for a while looking at us, his cheek resting on his hand, and, although I called him he did not reply; when we laughed at his gravity, feeling himself inclined to laugh he cunningly covered his mouth with his hand. He gradually approached the ship, and, as he did not come on board, I called him; then he asked me if I wished to kill him, as he was much frightened. I bade him have no fear, for I was his friend and brother, and I told him to come on board at once. He ordered one of his brothers, who was behind him in the canoe, to take off all the bracelets he wore on one arm and the plate from round his neck, and then had them well washed; when this was done, he bade me send my men aside and seat myself, for he wished to come on board. When I had ordered the men to stand aside, and had seated myself, he came up with the utmost gravity, and stood at the side a moment,

<sup>1</sup> Shell.

<sup>2</sup> Boars' teeth.

<sup>3</sup> Shell money.

looking at the ship, and seeing that there were many people under the awning, he came along the side to where I was, and seated himself beside me without speaking; then he made the sign of the cross with his hands, and looked up to heaven; then he raised his hands, and put the bone plate round my neck and the bracelets on my arm, and after doing this, he remained awhile without speaking.

I understood that he was making me a great present and that they thought a great deal of it, for these things are only worn by chiefs. When he thought fit to speak, he told me that he had been much afraid that I would kill him, and therefore he had not been to see me; but from henceforward he would do so, and would bring me provisions, for he wished to be my friend, and his Indians should be my *naclonis*, and he and I would be the chiefs of that country. A few moments before I had asked him who was the principal *tabriqui* in this country, and he replied *Ago*, which signifies "Thou," and afterwards *Arra*, which means "I," and that he and I would be *itapulus*, which means brothers, and that all the natives should be my *naclonis*, which means vassals, and they would all serve me. As we had told him before that the Lord God was King of Heaven, Earth, and Sea, and of all Creation, and that the King of Castille was a great chief and Lord of all the Earth, he asked me to explain this to him.

I told him that God was the *caiboco*, which with them signifies "Great Lord," and *bocru*, which means "of many things," and that he was King of Heaven and Earth, and of the sun, moon, and stars, and of the whole world; and that the King of Castille was the great lord of the earth, and I, and all of us, were his vassals. Then he made a gesture which was not that of a savage, for he raised his outstretched hand to heaven palm downwards, and with a finger of his other hand pointed upwards, asking if God was up above; and when I gave him to understand that

such was the case, he turned his finger downwards, pointing to the ground, and inquired if the King of Castille was on earth ; and I gave him to understand that he was, whereupon he showed great astonishment and a kind of joy, saying that he wished to visit him. Then we spoke of other things, and I expressed my pleasure at his coming, and ordered a collation to be served to him. He remained on the ship for some time, very well contented and joyful at the friendship which I showed him ; and, though the Indians of Meta were prisoners in the stocks, he would not look at them more than once, showing his superiority in this. When he was leaving he asked me to give them to him, for he wanted to take them with him ; I told him, with kind words, that I could not do so, and begged him from thenceforward not to be at war with Meta, but to make friends with him. He replied that he did not wish to be friends with Meta ; I had previously asked the son of Meta whether his father would make friends with Bile, and he replied that he would not. Then I made Bile understand that he and his Indians ought not to eat human flesh, pointing out the harm which it did them ; and he replied that he would do so no more, but would bury it, making a show of digging up the earth and throwing it back again. Then they withdrew, well pleased, and brought me two canoes full of cocoa-nuts and *vinahu*.

We kept Meta's four Indians prisoners until Wednesday, the 24th of the said month of March, when, seeing that their people did not come for them, in order that they might not suppose that we had killed and eaten them, according to their own custom, I resolved to send two of them, the oldest and most miserable, to tell Meta that such was not the case, but, on the contrary, that we treated them very well, as indeed we did ; also to tell him to come and see me, for I wished to be his friend, and to bring me some provisions, and I would release his son and

the other prisoner. When the prisoners left they said that they would tell him all this, and would bring us plenty of provisions and several things which, enumerated in their tongue, we could not understand. This they perceived, and explained themselves very clearly by signs ; and they have some witty sayings and repartees, which were very remarkable in savages.

After the two Indians had gone to their own people, a fortnight elapsed, at the end of which there came four Indians in a canoe, one of them being another of Meta's sons, brother to him who was our prisoner. I was on shore hearing Mass at the time ; they approached the ship, and gave some provisions which they had brought, but it was very little ; when the two brothers recognised one another, they were so moved that they shed tears of joy, although the Indians did not dare come up into the ship, but stood trembling with fear. Then the Master of the Camp and Pedro Sarmiento put out in the boat, and brought them to me on shore that I might see them ; but, hearing the discharge of an arquebus, and being afraid to approach, they turned and fled. And when they told me that they came from Meta, I embarked in the boat to go and speak with those who still remained, and I took with me the Indian prisoner that he might speak with them ; but they would not stay longer than to give two pieces of cloth to the prisoner, and they retired without speaking.

They began to build the brigantine on the 13th February, for in the meantime we were looking for a suitable place in which to build it, and one where there was good timber, for what we had brought with us was not sufficient to build half the boat. We found such a quantity of good timber in this island that many ships might be built there. It was finished on Saturday, the 3rd April, and launched on the following Sunday, which was Lazarus Sunday (*El de Lazaro*).



On the following Wednesday, the 7th of the said month of April, the Master of the Camp and Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, set out in the brigantine with thirty men, soldiers and sailors included ; Pedro Sarmiento and some of the soldiers considered this ill-done, thinking that the ships ought to have gone with the brigantine. This secret murmuring having come to my knowledge a few days before, I summoned the Master of the Camp and the pilots, and asked their opinion on the subject, and all agreed to abide by the decision of Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, he being a man who understood the matter so well. He replied that it was not proper for the ships to leave this port, where they were in safety, until it was known whither they were to go, because we might be lost through having no knowledge of this region, in which there seemed to be many shoals, and in the course of our navigation we might easily get in somewhere from whence we should find it impossible to get out, or some contrary or violent wind might drive us helplessly upon some island or shoal. Hearing this opinion from Hernan Gallego, by which all had agreed to abide, it seemed right to me to adhere to the first arrangement. Since the day on which we left the first island that we sighted, some of the soldiers had criticised my proceedings behind my back, asking for what reason we had not touched there ; and even the Captain, Pedro Sarmiento, told them that we had left a kingdom behind, and that I would not do as he advised, so that some were disheartened, and I was obliged to speak to them and encourage them. Therefore, it seemed to me that the first expedition of the brigantine should be towards the east from whence we came, until they sighted the point of the said island, and that afterwards they should seek the latitude of 10 degrees, or thereabouts, and put to sea in search of any other land or island for which the ships could steer, and, if they found none, that they should

return, and we should go forward ; but that, should they discover any, they should find a port before returning, in order that the ships might not be obliged to ply to windward, and be in peril from contrary winds and weather. In this way, if the land were good, we should have to go no further, and, if it were not, the men would have no cause to complain of its being left behind ; for, though all were loyal servants of His Majesty, the complaint of some of them, that land had been left behind, affected their good will in going forward.

Bileban Arra came to the ship on Good Friday, the 16th of April. Many days had passed since we had seen him and he had been so friendly with me. As I had given him to understand before how vast was the territory of His Majesty, and what a great chief he was, I repeated the same thing on this occasion, and showed him on the map the part that represented the sea, to which he listened very attentively ; then I told him that everything that I pointed out as land was under the dominion of the King of Castille, and I showed him a small island marked upon the chart, and said that this was his own country ; he was much amazed, and assured me that his island was very large, but I said that it was no larger than that which I pointed out. All this conversation was carried on in a few words of his language, and by signs, which they are very quick at understanding. I told him also that His Majesty had many *tabriquis* for *naclonis*, and I myself was his *nacloni*. Then he gave his allegiance to His Majesty, saying that he and his *naclonis*, and his *paces*, which signifies women, and his *sulis*, which signifies children, wished to be the *naclonis* of His Majesty and to serve him. I took possession in His Majesty's name, and Bile came without being sent for, and voluntarily gave his allegiance. When I said that he was now a friend and *nacloni* of the King of Castille, both he and his companions were much pleased,

and showed that they were very glad of it. Afterwards, when his Indians came to the ship, they would inquire after the King of Castille, and say that they wished to see him.

That day he told me that as the Master of the Camp and his men were passing the territory of a *tabriqui* called Brata in the brigantine, many Indians put out in canoes, and called to him to approach, saying that they would give him provisions, and that, as he came towards them, they began to shoot at him with arrows, the Master of the Camp warding off the arrows with his shield and sword, calling to them that they were his brothers, and bidding them to be quiet, for he meant them no harm ; but it was of no use, for while he spoke the Indians only shot their arrows faster against our men, who then fired upon them from behind the waistcloths of the brigantine, and killed twenty of them, among whom were two chiefs. Then the Indians had grappled with the brigantine, and our men had struck at them with partisans, and secured several canoes with the spikes of their partisans, and this had been seen by some of the Indians who were with him.

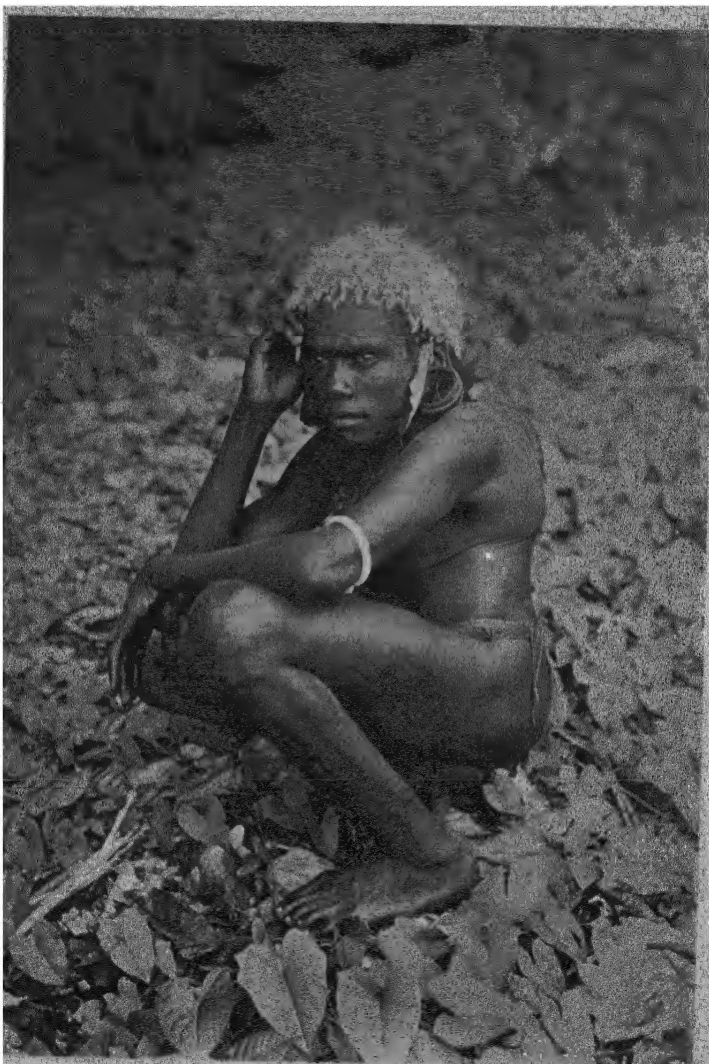
He returned on the morning of the next day, and he seemed to understand that, having declared allegiance to His Majesty, he was bound to do more than he did before, for he brought me cocoa-nuts and *vinahu*, and a very large turtle on which there was as much meat as on a sheep, the flesh being very savoury, like veal. He would not come on board, but he ordered his Indians to give me this present, and went away to the place where the brigantine had been built. When he saw how the timber had been cut down, and watched the forging of iron, and the sawing of some planks, he was much amazed. Then he returned, and went for the first time on board the *Almiranta*, which he had never seen ; then, thinking that it was getting late, he came to bid me farewell, and spoke

to me from his canoe, asking me if I would go with him to his house. I bade him a friendly good-night, and told him to come and see me often. He begged me to give him a plate to eat from, for they have none, and I ordered one to be given to him, and he went away well pleased.

After Bile had tendered his allegiance there came more Indians to the ship, bringing more provisions than before. Four days later there came a brother of Bile, called Riquia, who is chief of another faction, who, though he had been to see me before, had always gone away immediately ; and when he heard that his brother had tendered his allegiance like himself, for he had done so before, it seemed to him that our friendship was well confirmed, and he remained on board with his Indians, and slept there all night. And they said that they wished to stay with me, and go to visit the King of Castille, and I made much of them, and they went away very well pleased.

In this island of Santa Ysabel there are parrots, white, green, red, tawny, and variegated ; some of them are marked like magpies, and some are multi-coloured. There are also peacocks, pheasants, eagles and other birds of prey ; there are doves, larger than the largest wild pigeons of Spain, and some have a fleshy protuberance above the nostrils, like half a pomegranate, very red. Their plumage resembles that of the peacock's tail. There are also small dogs like those of Castille. They eat the bark of a certain tree which resembles cinnamon, but it smells rather like fennel, and its taste is exactly that of cloves ; when a little is placed on the tongue it forms a thin skin, as does the finest cinnamon ; they prize it highly, for on two occasions they gave me pieces that did not weigh half an ounce. There are trees which yield a gum with a very pleasant aromatic smell, and others from which blood seems to flow when the bark is cut ; and if it is cut between the bark and the core and thrown into the water it dyes it a deep





*The Village Hunchback.  
(Kimbou)*

*Photographed by G. S. S. S.*

blue, the core being yellow ; we discovered this in felling timber for repairing the ships. There is sarsaparilla, and abundance of sweet basil, tarragon, and *blite*,<sup>1</sup> which the Indians do not know. On the little hillock above the place where we built the brigantine, we found a kind of grass which Gaspar de Colmenares grasped in his hand, and wherever the leaves touched him he said that he felt as if he had been burnt, so great was the pain. I looked at the hand, and saw that wherever the grass had touched it the skin was burnt as if with fire. There are fragrant odours from the trees and herbs all over the mountains in this island. There are also oranges, which the Indians do not eat, nor even know of ; there are cypress nuts resembling those of Cartagena in shape and colour ; they grow upon a thistle, but the Indians do not eat them ; their natural smell is like that of a pippin ; I would never allow any to be eaten : there are trees which bear a white flower which smells very much like jasmine, and the blossom of another tree smells like musk-rose.

There are Indians of different complexions in this island ; some are of the same colour as those of Peru, others are black, and a few are quite fair, these being either they who rarely leave their houses,<sup>2</sup> or young boys. They all curl and dye their hair, and some dye it a light colour ; some are naturally fair. The women are better looking than those of Peru, but they disfigure themselves greatly by

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<sup>1</sup> Muñoz says that *tarragon* is the dragon-wort, and *blite* a pot-herb of two kinds, white and red.

<sup>2</sup> The signs of mixed origin were probably more conspicuous 350 years ago even than they are now. Confinement to the hut always has the effect of bleaching the skin ; and, in Fiji, chiefs' daughters are sometimes confined to the house during the daytime for several years, in order to lighten their complexion, and so enhance their value in the marriage market. They are called *tambu-singa* (forbidden the sun).

blackening their teeth,<sup>1</sup> which they do on purpose, both men and women; the boys and girls are better looking, and less ill-favoured, because their teeth are white. The women wear their hair cut short, so that it does not reach their shoulders; it is very ruddy (*rubio*).<sup>2</sup> The men clip their hair in various ways; some have a tonsure like friars, some cut their hair as we do, some shave nearly half their heads from the occiput, some leave a patch of hair which looks like a cap worn on one side; some leave two locks on the temples, which grow so long that they reach from above the ear to below the breast, and they wear it in a plait; others do not cut their hair, but make it into curls like a turban; they curl the ends on each side until it reaches to the ears, and then they make another small curl from the occiput to the forehead. Their tongue and lips are very red, for they colour them with a herb which they eat; it has a broad leaf, and burns like pepper; they chew this herb with lime which they make from white *lucaios*, which is a stone formed in the sea like coral; and having a piece of this lime in their mouths, it makes a red juice, and this is why their tongues and lips are always so red; they also smear their faces with this juice for ornament. Although they chew this herb, they do not get this red juice unless they mix it with the said lime.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Woodford remarks that their descendants carry a black mineral substance, in ornamented calabashes, for the purpose of blackening the teeth. He thought that it was iron pyrites.

<sup>2</sup> By being bleached with lime. The hair, except in rare cases, is naturally black.

<sup>3</sup> This is an excellent description of betel-chewing, as it is practised at the present day. The lime, formed of burnt coral (*lucaios* may be a Peruvian word), is carried in an ornamented gourd, closed with a palm-leaf stopper. The betel-nut is put into the mouth with a leaf of the climbing pepper; the carved lime-stick, moistened with saliva, is dipped into the powdered lime and carried to the mouth, and the saliva is immediately dyed blood-red. The red paste of the chewed betel is often smeared upon the face for ornament, and also dabbed upon any part of the body to cure local pain. A favourite remedy is



In this island there are bats so large that, for fear of being accused of falsehood, I would not mention their size if they had not been seen by everybody in the fleet. I measured one which we killed, and it measured more than three feet from the tip of one wing to the other ; the head and body is like that of an *ajo*, with thick fur, and they have canine teeth.<sup>1</sup>

We were expecting the brigantine every moment, but it did not appear, and Bile was neglecting us, not having come near the ships for twelve days ; from which we concluded that he had gone with men to the place where the brigantine was, and that he was contemplating some knavery, as there were so few men in it. I resolved to send Don Hernando Enriquez, the Ensign-General, to his dwelling to enquire into this, and also to speak to him and tell him to come to see me, if he was there, and to contrive to bring him back with him, because I wished to see him before he could set out. He started one morning at day-break, and when the Indians saw him coming, some of them came to the water's edge to receive our men, and told them not to climb the hill, because the brigantine was approaching, and they had seen it. Not believing this they climbed the hill, and, having reached their destination, they used every endeavour to see Bileban Arra and speak with him, and they found him in his dwelling. Don Hernando addressed him with a great show of friendship, but he would not come, and he took to flight. In order that they might not suppose that any harm was intended

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to spit some of the paste into the patient's ear, a treatment which Mr. Woodford narrowly escaped when suffering from fever.

Betel-chewing is practised in the Malay Archipelago, New Guinea, and as far east as the Solomons. Farther to the eastward, kava-drinking takes its place as a stimulant. This is, perhaps, the earliest description of the custom.

<sup>1</sup> The *Pteropus Grandis*. It is eaten by the natives as a delicacy, and the wing bones are used for the barbs of spears and for mat needles (see p. 155, note). The *Ajo* is probably a Peruvian animal.

towards them, and thus break the friendship that existed between them, they refrained from pursuing him. They presumed the cause of his flight to be that, seeing the brigantine returning, he feared that we would carry him off in our ships. Seeing this, some of his Indians again approached our men, and told them that the brigantine was coming, and offered to lead them to a place whence they could see it; thither they went, and saw the brigantine nearing the port. As the *tabriqui* appeared no more, they returned to the ships, and with them came twenty Indians, who brought me some provisions; they reached the ships at the same time as the brigantine—at noon on the 5th of May. I saw that they had not on board the brigantine the Indian whom they had taken as interpreter, being one of the two captured from Meta, as aforesaid. They told me that they had lost him,<sup>1</sup> and suggested that Bileban Arra's men had arrived at an opportune moment, for it seemed to me very necessary not to leave that place to explore what had been discovered without interpreters; I ordered two to be detained, which was done, and I dismissed the rest, embracing them and giving them several presents. I bade them tell Bile that I had taken these Indians because he had not been to see me, but that this did not prevent me from being still his friend and his brother, and that I only took them to show to the king of Castille, and would then send them back. I said this that he might not feel aggrieved, and regard my action as a breach of our peace and friendship.

To return to the brigantine; I received it with great joy, for we were growing anxious at the delay, not only because of the time which had elapsed, this day making four weeks since they had set out, but also because four soldiers had died of sickness in this port, and many others

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 36.

had fallen ill with fevers which oppressed us, and therefore we were eager to set out again. It pleased God that the Master of the Camp and the Chief Pilot and their men should arrive in good health, at which I rejoiced greatly, and also at the good news which they brought me, that they had discovered other and better islands. The events that befell them during their navigation, and in the said islands, are as follows :—

THE REPORT WHICH WAS MADE TO ME OF THE FIRST  
VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY IN THE BRIGANTINE.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, the 7th of April, at the hour of vespers, the brigantine set sail upon a voyage of discovery, having on board Pedro de Ortega of Valencia, Master of the Camp, whom your Worship appointed captain of the expedition ; and Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot of the fleet. Your Worship saw the deep feeling we experienced in separating from the rest of our comrades, since, God be praised, great harmony and brotherhood have reigned among us all in the service of God and our king. We proceeded along the coast with a contrary wind, and at midnight we were obliged to put into port ; the wind fell, and with the land breeze (*terral*) we set out again on Thursday morning, the 8th of April. On the morning of the next day, Friday, we cast anchor at the islet where we slept when we went to explore the territory of Meta, on a former occasion. Here there came many canoes full of Indians, men and women, who, after some of them had gone round our brigantine refusing to approach, all withdrew to the other side of the island. We cut some palmetto ; and, the wind being still contrary, we arrived

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<sup>1</sup> This report seems to have been written by some member of the brigantine's crew other than Ortega and Gallego.

that night opposite the territory and dwelling of Meta, and slept there.

The next day, Saturday, during the morning watch, with a land breeze which was barely sufficient, we put to sea, in order that when the wind changed we might proceed upon our way;<sup>1</sup> and presently, in the morning, eight canoes came out and kept close to us for a long while, and gave us two fishes; but, when the wind and sea increased they left us, and we were obliged to put in to the coast. When we had cast anchor the Master of the Camp ordered Francisco Garcia, a native of Tarifa, to land with eight soldiers and the servants, and examine some huts which were close by, to see if there was any food there, in order to spare as much as possible our own, which was scarce. The Indians, who were on the shore to the number of about thirty-five or forty, would not wait, although we called and entreated them, but went up and assembled near the huts; and when our soldiers went up towards them, began to discharge arrows and stones at them; our soldiers gained the height by firing a few arquebuses in the air without harming the Indians. Entering the huts, they found a large provision of *panaes* and cocoa-nuts, and brought back the servants laden with them; and when they had embarked we passed the night opposite the huts.

The next day, which was Palm Sunday, we put out with the land breeze, and we discovered towards the North an island which we called "Isla de Ramos." Towards eight o'clock in the morning four canoes came from the coast where we had passed the night, signalling to us to return to their dwellings, for they were our friends and would

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<sup>1</sup> In all the larger islands during the season of the south-east trades, the sea breeze drops at sunset near the shore, and a steady land breeze springs up about 8 p.m., continuing until sunrise the next morning. The Spaniards were following the usual custom of coasters plying to windward.

• give us food, *panaes* and cocoa-nuts ; and they made signs to us to throw them a rope, and they would tow us back. In a little while sixteen canoes had assembled, containing one hundred and thirty Indians, well-armed with bows and arrows and clubs, and in one of them was an old man standing armed, and he went round and round the brigantine, threatening the other canoes, and saying that he must be the one to tow us, and signing to us that we must go with him, or he would kill us all. They surrounded us fearlessly, and with great audacity began to discharge their arrows at us ; when they had discharged several, the Master of the Camp ordered us to fire upon them. The old chief was killed by a shot from an arquebus, and he fell out of the canoe into the sea, and we saw him no more. Immediately the others took to flight, still shooting arrows at us, whereupon we fired a few arquebuses at them, which did them some damage, and they made off, and we saw no more of them. • Then, the wind being contrary, we put back to the coast to which the canoes had gone. We lay all that day at anchor, the wind and sea being high, and all the Indians from the canoes stood upon a high hill, at about the distance of an arquebus shot ; they shouted to us all day, but attempted no hostility. We waited, hoping that the wind would grow calmer in the afternoon ; but, on the contrary, it freshened, and the Chief Pilot, being of opinion that, if it should grow more boisterous, we should be badly stationed, and be in danger of being driven upon an ironbound coast, ordered the men to take to the oars ; and, by dint of great labour on the part of the sailors and negroes, we got out to sea and set sail. We doubled a point, and then the wind increased, and we entered a bay with great fear, for it was a dark night, and the coast is full of reefs and shoals which it is very difficult to avoid, even in the daytime. We cast anchor, and on the next day, Monday, we approached the land to take in water.

Here we saw four canoes in the direction of the sea, and about eighty Indians on the shore. Three Indians, armed with bows, landed from one of the canoes and joined those upon the shore ; they signed to us to land, making gestures of friendship. The Master of the Camp sent Alvaro Rodriguez on shore with eight soldiers, and, the tide being low, they waded ashore with the water to their waists ; they called amicably to the Indians, who retreated, apparently preparing to attack them ; when our men were at a little distance from the brigantine the Indians began to shoot arrows at them, to which the soldiers responded without killing any of them, whereupon they took to flight. We took in as much water as we required, and remained there all that night.

In the morning of the next day, Tuesday, we entered a large bay, which seemed to us to be the mouth of some great river ; it was no small joy to us to think that, if we should find a great river, this was probably a continent. As we followed our course in the bay, there came towards us eleven canoes, in which were one hundred and fifty Indians, well armed with bows and arrows. We approached the shore at a spot where we saw some huts, from which we believed that we saw some nets hanging, and we thought that they might have some fish which they would be willing to barter for something else. We cast anchor and called to them, but they did not dare to come near us ; and presently those on shore began to shoot arrows at us, their example being followed by those at sea. We began to fire upon them, and a bullet struck one who fell dead, others being wounded, and thereupon they immediately took to flight. We went farther into the bay, and found an archipelago of islands at the end of it,<sup>1</sup> but there was no sign of any river. The land all round the bay

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 24, *note*.

• was covered with huts, and seemed more peaceful and better cultivated than that of Bile. Having left the bay, we went and slept in a port further along the coast, our purpose being to advance along the coast until we reached the latitude of 12 degrees, without stopping except to take in wood and water.

The next day, as we were setting out, the Indians came in peaceful guise, and said that they wished to be our friends if we would do them no harm. The Master of the Camp beckoned to them, and gave them to understand that we were friends with the *tabriqui* Bile and with other *tabriquis* of the island, and that we hurt none but those who attacked us first; and thereupon they came and joined us. Then came a *tabriqui*, who was called Bedea, and he brought us a quantity of cocoa-nuts, *panaes* and other things which they have, and the Master of the Camp gave him some beads and a knife, with which they were very pleased.

On Maundy Thursday, at daybreak, we set sail with the land-breeze, and followed the coast, and within the space of a league it was seen for certain that the land was an island, because it gradually diminished and trended away towards the west. The pilot thought fit to cross over to an island which was seen more to the south than the Isla de Ramos. We crossed to the said island from Santa Ysabel, the distance being about 8 leagues. We arrived more than two hours after nightfall, and found many reefs near it. We cast anchor in three fathoms, and the anchor dragged twice, but at last we anchored in twenty-five fathoms. We were very anxious that night, because of the high wind, though after the first watch the night became very fine. We gave this island the name of La Galera, because it was very small, about 2 leagues in circumference, and shaped like a galley.<sup>1</sup>

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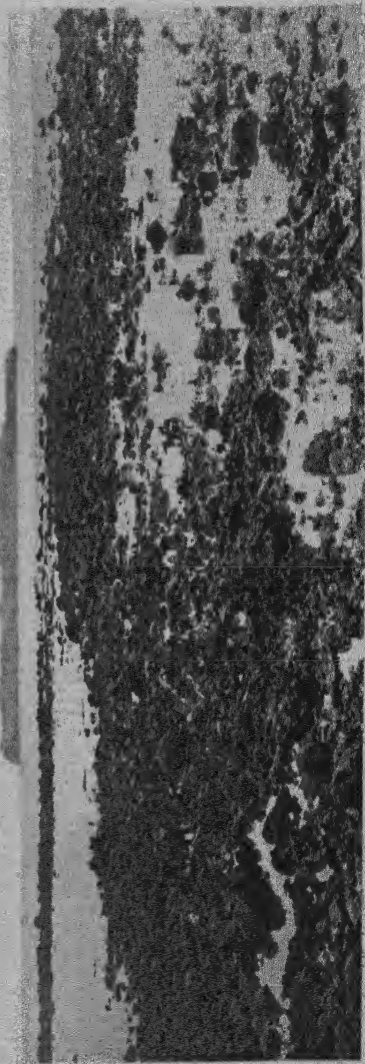
<sup>1</sup> North Island. See p. 29, *note*.

The next day, Good Friday, we left this island for another,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leagues distant, a land of bare mountains and grassy flats (*sabana*), with many clearings sown with *panaes*; we gave it the name of Buena Vista. We saw a large canoe approaching, and when it drew near we counted twenty rowers on each side; in it were forty-five Indians, laden with a quantity of food; we understood that these food-stuffs were their staple of trade and commerce between the islands. Then there came a smaller canoe, in which there was a *tabriqui*; they came very close to the brigantine, showing us a string of beads like those found in the idol-temples (*guacas*)<sup>1</sup> of Peru; and the Master of the Camp showed them what we had; they came nearer, and we gave them a string of beads from Spain; the *tabriqui* sent him the string which he had showed, and the Master of the Camp put it round his neck, and the *tabriqui* did the same. Then he sent another rather larger string, telling him to put it round his leg, and the Master of the Camp did so, and returned him another and a larger string, together with a bell and a knife. They made signs to us to land, and in a moment sixteen canoes assembled, containing more than one hundred and fifty Indians. We threw a rope to the large canoe in order that they might tow the brigantine, and it was a pleasure to see with what speed they did so; each of them wanted a rope, and such was their joy that I think that they had already apportioned us among themselves. More than two hundred Indians were now assembled upon the shore, so that they numbered altogether more than three hundred and fifty. The tide being low, the brigantine could not get in very close to the shore, and the Master of the Camp landed in the water up to his waist,

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the shell money which is manufactured on the neighbouring coast of Malaya.





North Island named La Estero from its resemblance to a Estero



with ten arquebusiers, three sailors, four negroes and a half-breed, so that we numbered nineteen in all, leaving the brigantine well guarded by the other soldiers and the Chief Pilot, who were on board, intending, if the Indians attacked us too vigorously, to frighten them by landing and firing the culverins (*versos*).

The *tabriqui* who was with the canoe came to us with all the Indians, and the Master of the Camp made much of him, and gave some more beads to him, and also to some of the others who appeared to be chiefs. In the presence of the *tabriqui* and of all the Indians, the said Master of the Camp took possession of this island in the name of your Worship as His Majesty's Governor, and of the neighbouring islands, which were numerous, though small. We asked them for food, saying that we would pay for it, whereupon the *tabriqui* led us to some other huts, farther from the place where we landed, and there they threw us down but ten cocoa-nuts in all. The Master of the Camp remarked that this was very little food for us; the Indians consulted together, and the *tabriqui* ordered that no more were to be given, and returned to the Master of the Camp the string of beads which he had given him. Having received it, the Master of the Camp gave it back to the Indian, who seemed to grow very angry at this; and, taking it, threw it on the ground. Then the Master of the Camp refused to take the cocoa-nuts, and we went towards the brigantine, they following us. When we reached the huts, seeing that there was an abundance of palmettos upon the shore, the Master of the Camp ordered three or four to be cut down to serve us for food; when the Indians saw this they began to make a disturbance, and the Master of the Camp told them that, since they would give us no provisions, and we had given them of what we had, we must get food somehow; but if they would give us some we would not

cut down the trees. We waited for a time, but as they would not bring us anything, we began again to cut down the palmettos, whereupon we were attacked by more than thirty Indians, who molested us with stones and arrows. The Master of the Camp would not allow us to fire upon them, and made signs to remind them of the friendship which they had shown us; nevertheless, as they would not desist, but were pressing us hard, he ordered us to fire, and at the first discharge an Indian was killed by a shot from an arquebus, and others were wounded. They all turned their backs, and made a rush to escape from the palm-grove. The Master of the Camp ordered that no more shots should be fired at them unless they attacked us again; but when they reached the shore, they rallied again, and sent another shower of stones and arrows at us. Then the Master of the Camp told an arquebusier who stood near him to fire at an Indian who was leading the attack, brandishing a two-handed club, and inciting the others. He shot him in the chest, and he fell instantly, the others taking to flight. The Master of the Camp ordered us not to pursue them, but to return to the brigantine, which we did. The Master of the Camp was deeply grieved that these things should have occurred upon a day so holy as Good Friday, the day of the Passion of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ; but had we acted otherwise the result would have been worse, for we were obliged to return to the brigantine waist-deep in water; and they might have done us great damage, and suffered great loss themselves from the culverins fired by those in the brigantine. And as your Worship and your Master of the Camp and his soldiers had from the first resolved that this voyage of discovery should be carried out with the least injury to any one, and the greatest service to God, Our Lord, and the King, our master, great care was taken to do no hurt, except in averting some greater

evil to ourselves or to the Indians embarked in our brigantine. At about the hour of vespers, when all the canoes had dispersed to their respective places, we went and anchored for the night at a small island a quarter of a league distant. We landed when it was already late, and found a hidden store of cocoa-nuts; there were about eight hundred or a thousand, and we placed them in the brigantine, and kept good watch all night.

In the morning of the next day, the eve of Easter Sunday, there came a canoe containing three Indians, who came close to us, saying that they were our friends, and would do us no harm if we did them none. The Master of the Camp told them that he believed them to be friendly, and bade them provide us with food and we would pay them for it. They told us to take from the island what cocoa-nuts we chose, for there was an abundance of them, and they would bring us *panaes*, which are a kind of root resembling the potatoes (*papas*) of Peru.<sup>1</sup> The Master of the Camp made signs to them to bring us some pigs, which they call *nambolos*,<sup>2</sup> for, from the many jaw-bones of these animals which they had seen, they judged that there were some in the island. The Indians promised to bring some, but seeing that they did not return we went to their huts, and, when they saw us, they went up the mountain in the direction of the other huts. The Master of the Camp landed with ten of his soldiers, three sailors and three negroes, and we went up the hill after them. They retreated to the huts, and from thence sent two Indians with a pig resembling those of Castille, bidding us take it and go away. The Master of the Camp embraced

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<sup>1</sup> *Pana* is still the name of the small yam, the staple food of these natives, throughout Ysabel and the Gela Islands. It resembles the potato in outward appearance.

<sup>2</sup> *Mbolo* is still the native word for pig in the Gela (Florida) group only. *Na* is the article.

them, and said that he considered them his friends, and went with them to the huts, and the Indians waited for him until there were about five hundred standing round ; we joined them, treating them with great affection and friendship, and we asked them for more pigs. They said that they had very few, because they had to be brought from other islands, but they would give us one more, and then we could go in peace. We took the two pigs, and gave thanks to God that he had given us food for Easter-day.

This island is thickly populated ; all the people are well-grown and good-looking. The country should be healthy, for the mountain appeared to be as parched with heat as it is in Spain.<sup>1</sup> There are many old men among them ; we came across one who was more than one hundred years old, and a woman who was more than one hundred and twenty. I think it very certain that they would soon be brought into complete subjection. It will be easy to implant our holy Catholic faith amongst them, for we found no *mochaderos* or idol-temples here. They are more civilised in all things than those of the island of Santa Ysabel, but they go naked, with only a strip of cloth about the loins. There was no sign of silver or gold among the natives ; it is held as certain that there are pearls, because we found some shells of pearl-oysters, but the water was too deep for us to put it to the proof.

In the morning of the next day, which was Easter Sunday, we set sail for an island opposite, to which we gave the name of San Dimas, and which was half a league distant from Buena Vista. In the port from which we set sail to leave the place where we were we saw a star as clear as the morning star, which gave us great pleasure

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<sup>1</sup> The Gela islands are a striking contrast to the heavily-timbered slopes of Ysabel. They abound in bare plains, covered with coarse grass, and the annual bush-fires prevent trees from taking root.

it being so notable a day. In this contentment we pursued our course to the said island of San Dimas, discovering many other islands on every side, some large, some small, some merely peaks rising from the water (*mogotes*). We gave the largest island the name of Pascua Florida. As we approached the island of San Dimas, a few canoes came out towards us, their number gradually increasing to twenty-five, all very well equipped; four of the largest carried forty and fifty-five warriors (*gandules*), with their bows and arrows, clubs and baskets of stones to fling with the hand. They drew near to the brigantine, and each of them endeavoured to take us to their own lands. They said many things to us on the way which we could not understand, but which showed that they wished to be friends with us. But as, on the other hand, we saw them preparing their bows and arrows, and emptying their baskets of stones into the canoes, we signified to them, with the friendliest words and signs that we knew, that we wished to be at peace with them. Thereupon we cast anchor very close to the shore, at which the Indians were not a little pleased to find that they would be able to catch parents and offspring in one nest. For, seeing a brigantine no larger than one of their large canoes, with only thirty persons in it, there was the greatest joy in the world among them; and the greater number of the canoes surrounded the brigantine, and two of the largest ran ashore to join the people on the land. Those on the sea and those on shore numbered altogether six hundred warriors (*gandules*), rather more than less. As it seemed to Hernan Gallego, the Chief Pilot, that we were very close to the shore and to some rocks, and that when the tide went down we might be stranded, he ordered the . . .<sup>1</sup> to be raised, and, when the Indians saw this, they thought that we wanted to

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<sup>1</sup> *Hueso* in the original.

get away, and flew into the greatest possible fury, and with loud shouts began to shoot arrows and stones at us from every side. The first arquebus shot brought down an Indian in one of the canoes; other arquebuses were aimed at the same canoe, and three other Indians fell. All the soldiers fired with good aim, sinking three or four canoes, and killing ten or twelve men, and wounding many. Though I expected that in the fighting more would be killed, they having already rallied three times, seeing the damage which we did them, they gave up the struggle and retreated, without having harmed one of us, although they had sent many arrows and stones into the brigantine, which the soldiers warded off with shields with great coolness. A little while after they had all disappeared, eight or ten Indians appeared upon the shore, making signs that they wished to make peace, and throwing their arms upon the ground. The Master of the Camp made signs that we were willing, and that we would do no harm except to those who injured us. They said that those who gave us battle belonged to another country. After the Master of the Camp had dined, he landed with ten arquebusiers and myself, but, despite our assurances, the Indians on the shore would not wait for us. Seeing that they would not approach, the Master of the Camp, in their presence, took possession of this island called San Dimas and of all the small islands which surrounded it, in the name of your Worship as His Majesty's governor.

The next day, which was Monday in Easter week, we left the island of San Dimas to go to another very large island which appeared in the south-west, but we could not reach it, the wind being so light.<sup>1</sup> On the way we saw another island which, as it resembled an island near

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently they left the group by the Sandfly passage.



Galicia, the Chief Pilot called Cesarga.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen small canoes came from this island, containing about one hundred Indians, and some of them joined the brigantine, asking us to go to their land; but though we were only two leagues distant from it, the Master of the Camp would not go thither before we had been to the other island, which seemed the largest piece of land we had yet seen; and as we could not get to it that day, he would not put into it at night, thinking that there might be shoals and reefs as with the rest. We lay all night with the sea on our beam until the morning watch.

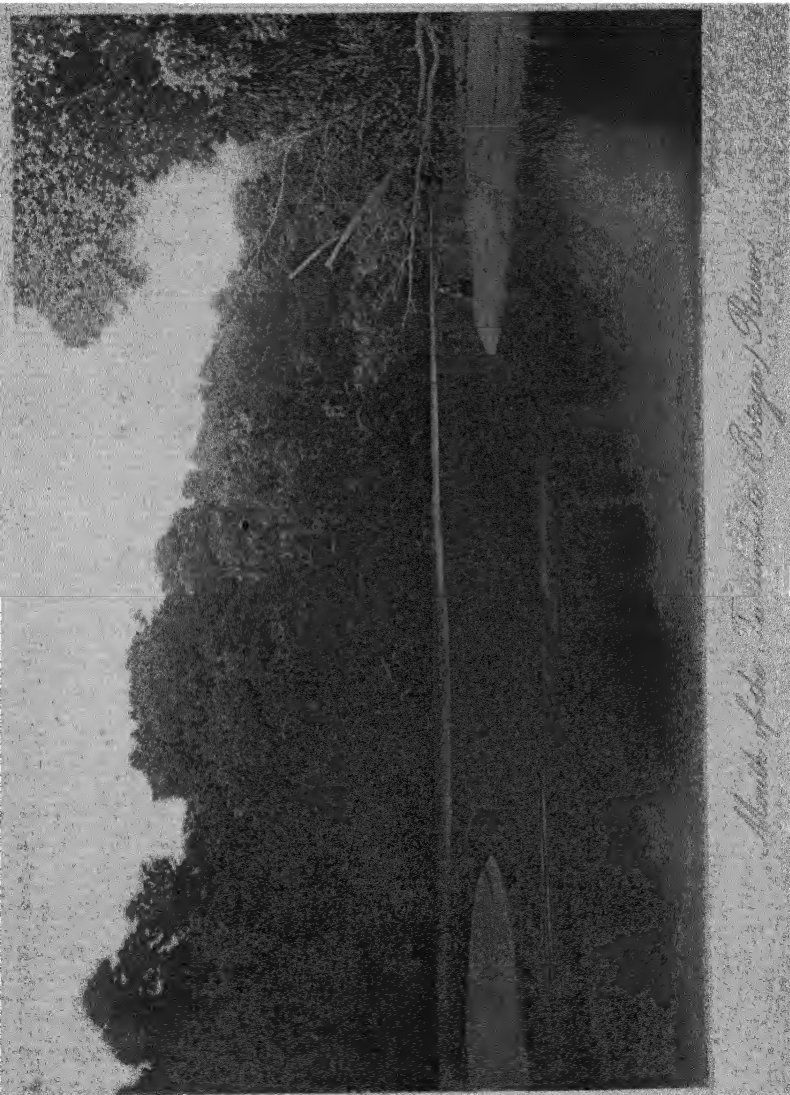
The next day, the last day of Easter-tide, we reached the land, which was the largest that we had yet seen, with many savannahs and bare mountains. The shore is very clean and free from reefs, and the prow of any rowing vessel can be run straight on shore. We were surprised that no canoes came out to meet us, as at the other islands, for there came only three very small canoes, and many Indians swam out, the women and children standing up to their breasts in the water. They numbered about two hundred altogether. Our brigantine cast anchor, and immediately all the Indians began to drag at it, hoping to tear us away from it and tow us ashore. When we prevented them both men and women began to hurl showers of stones at us, and in order to frighten them we fired several arquebuses in the air in order not to hurt any of the women and boys, but nevertheless an Indian was killed. The Master of the Camp landed with six arquebusiers and four shield-bearers, and found a village of twenty-six houses or huts, very large and well-built. They were made of

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<sup>1</sup> Savo (see p. 31, *note*). The people of this island speak a language quite distinct from any in the Solomon Islands, even in respect of grammar. It has affinities with the languages of Ambrym and Nengone. Dr. Codrington is disposed to think that it is an archaic Melanesian dialect.

reeds covered with grass from the savannah, for as far as we could see from the coast there did not appear to be any palms whatever, which is a sign of very good soil and a mild climate. Like Callao de Lima, this village is near the shore, on the bank of a very rapid river, which seemed to come from a great distance, and those who understand these things say that it must surely be a land of gold. In the huts we found a great quantity of their provisions, which are *panaes* and *ñames*, which we took for our food. The Master of the Camp, in your Worship's name, as Governor for His Majesty, took possession of this land as he had of the rest, and gave it the name of his native place, which is Guadalcanal, and he called the river Ortega. In one of the huts we found a basket full of roots of green ginger, which gave us great pleasure; and if the land had not been so large and the men too few to be divided into two parties, the Master of the Camp would have taken two days' journey into the interior, not only to inspect the river and several creeks, but also to see whether he could find any spices. The land shows signs of being very large, and well fitted for anything.

The Master of the Camp ordered us to set sail for the island of Santa Ysabel, where the ships lay, as we had been absent from them for many days, and we feared that if we spent as many days in returning your Worship would be anxious; besides, we had reached the latitude of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and no further land was in sight. Though the Master of the Camp wished to go on to the latitude of 12 degrees, the Chief Pilot did not think fit to put to sea in such a craft, but only to go from land to land, for fear of a violent wind. Therefore we went upon our way, intending to ask your Worship to come with the ships to this island of Guadalcanal to inspect it, and to examine the rivers and creeks, and to go round the island with



Mouth of the T. river to Oregon, River



the brigantine ; because in the opinion of the pilot and others it is certainly larger than San Domingo or the island of Hispaniola, and still larger islands might appear upon the other side of it. We steered all that night in the direction of [the island of] Ponemanefa, which is an island near that of Santa Ysabel, in which the Indians say that there is a great quantity of pigs and deer.

At nightfall, on Wednesday, the 21st of April, we approached the point of the island of Ponemanefa ; the island is called Borru,<sup>1</sup> and it is separated by a quarter of a league from that of Santa Ysabel, and less at other points. We went in more than 7 leagues among these islands ; there is a very good bottom, and all the carracks<sup>2</sup> of the world could enter there ; it is well sheltered from all winds, because there are many twists and turns, and very good bays. The entrance by which we went in is to the south-east, and the exit to the north-west. This Ponemanefa has a quantity of land in the island of Santa Ysabel ; he is the most powerful of all the *tabriqueis*, and therefore they call him *Tabriquei-Caiboco*, which signifies "great lord," and all the others fear him.<sup>3</sup> This Ponemanefa has his dwelling and habitation in the island of Borru, where the Master of the Camp landed with twelve arquebusiers, and eight shield-bearers, and walked along the shore, where there were many huts, well-kept and clean, but containing no food of any kind ; the Indians did not carry arms. They marvelled at the sight of us, though they said that they had heard of our coming,

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<sup>1</sup> Or Veru, according to Gallego. The word is probably the same as *bocru* (p. 126), and means "great" in the dialect of S.-E. Ysabel.

<sup>2</sup> Carrack—a kind of large vessel, slow in navigation.—Muñoz.

<sup>3</sup> Ponemanefa is evidently the same chief whose name, according to Catoira, was invoked by the people behind Estrella Bay to induce Sarmiento to desist from climbing the dividing range. His influence was probably acknowledged all along the south coast of Ysabel, and for some distance inland.

and we told them that if they did us no harm we would do them none. A little later more than one thousand Indians assembled, divided into many bodies, without any arms whatever; the Master of the Camp made presents to many of them, and told them to fetch the *tabriqui*, for he had several things to give him. They replied that the *tabriqui* was afraid, and dared not come to him; and in spite of all assurances the *tabriqui* would never appear. Having reached the house of the *tabriqui*, which stands in the midst of the others, the Master of the Camp, in the presence of all the Indians, took possession in the name of your Worship; then he said to the Indians that, since they were our friends, they should give us some pigs, for they had plenty, and the land seemed to swarm with them; they ran into the woods when called, and the Indians would not give us any, but little by little made off into the woods, and abandoned their dwellings. We pushed forward to some huts, where we found a little pig which they had left tied up, and in a very large *gaepou* there were four canoes, which, from their size, seemed to belong to the *tabriqui*. The Master of the Camp ordered them to be launched, and, when this was done, we embarked in the brigantine. Then the Indians came to the shore, demanding their canoes. The Master of the Camp replied that, since they professed to be our friends, and the *tabriqui* had not been to see us, and they would not give us any pigs, we had taken these canoes which belonged to the *tabriqui*, but, if they wanted them, we would return them if they gave us ten pigs; they brought two, and we gave them one of the canoes; and as it was late we put out from the shore, and remained there all night.

In the morning of the next day, Friday, there came a canoe with two Indians bringing us two more pigs, and we gave them another of the canoes; and we told them that if

they wanted the other two they must bring us four more pigs, or otherwise we would carry off the canoes. We waited for some time, but, as they did not appear, we took the other two canoes away with us. This island has a very favourable appearance; it is thickly populated, for in this place alone there were more than one hundred and fifty houses or huts, very well built, and there were more than one hundred canoes drawn up on shore. The island is about 25 leagues in circumference; we called it San Jorge. We resolved to go round the island of Santa Ysabel, in order to make certain of its size, and see whether any islands appeared to the south of it.<sup>1</sup>

We went along the coast on Friday and Saturday without seeing any people, nor any canoe whatever, until Sunday, the 25th of April, when there came to us eight small fishing canoes, none of which held more than four Indians. They kept pace with us for awhile as we sailed along. Seeing that they were so few, and that there was nothing in their canoes but fishing nets, we took no care to have a piece of match alight, in order to avoid wasting it, since it was this that we were most in need of. We were talking to them thus off our guard, when on a sudden an archer from every canoe began to discharge arrows at us; and, while we were getting the match alight, they sent a good shower of arrows amongst us, wounding one of the soldiers, who presently revenged himself, for he brought down an Indian with his first shot, and another soldier killed a second, whereupon they all took to flight, with two Indians dead, and others wounded. Then, from some reefs ahead of us there appeared twelve canoes, which had been

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<sup>1</sup> It is strange that the writer, keenly observant as he was, makes no mention of the islands of St. Nicholas and Arracifes (New Georgia) which Callego saw (p. 34).

employed in fishing, intending to do the same as the others, for an Indian stood up in the canoe which was in front of the rest, brandishing a bow. To avoid further harm, the Master of the Camp ordered us to fire on them from afar, and we discharged three arquebuses at them, striking the side of their canoe. They hastened back to the rest, telling them what had occurred, and none of them approached us again.

The people of this island are very brave, and there is no friendship between them. This is easily seen, because we had been two months and a half in the island of Santa Ysabel, and all the island was not acquainted with our coming except here and there; for at every league, six little canoes, or two or three, ventured out and discharged two dozen arrows at us: whereas, if they had been a people under the power of a principal chief whom they were bound to obey, seeing a brigantine with so few men in it, they could with great facility have done us considerable injury by persevering in the fight, if three or four hundred canoes had assembled. All the coast being full of shoals and reefs, we did not dare to keep on our course at night, and that same Sunday night we entered a bay and cast anchor; and here at daybreak on the next day, Monday, we saw a sight so extraordinary and well-nigh incredible, that I set it down here. At the end of the bay, on the further side, we saw flocks of bats fly past, to the number of more than two thousand, as large as kites, the smallest of them being as large as doves. It is true that some days before, in Puerto de la Estrella, where we built the brigantine, a soldier with his arquebus at night-fall had killed one which measured five feet from the tip of one wing to that of the other; its head was larger than that of a hedgehog, its wings as large as those of a sparrow-hawk, with one very large nail in each wing larger than the rest. It is certain that if these creatures bite like those



found on continents they would be sufficient to devastate a kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

All that Monday we went forward along the coast without seeing any canoes, and on that day the Chief Pilot took the latitude, and found it  $7\frac{3}{4}$  degrees.

The next day, Tuesday, the 27th of April, the Chief Pilot, Hernan Gallego, thought fit to enter a canal which he believed would lead to the other side of the island ; and all that day we went through archipelagoes of islands, large and small,<sup>2</sup> in which the current was very strong, and that day a few canoes came out to us, as usual : these were bolder, for they shouted at us all the night from land and sea.

On the next day, Wednesday, we came out of this archipelago of islands, which must have numbered more than eighty, large and small. We emerged into the sea on the north side, and there came out from the said islands twenty-five well equipped canoes, with the same boldness, as the others showed. We fired on them from afar, and they made off before we did them any harm : for it was our intention to return to the ships as soon as possible, as your Worship would be anxious at our delay. We were not able to do this as speedily as we desired, the wind being against us for reaching the ships ; and, though it fell a little at night, we did not dare to go forward in the dark, because of the many shoals and reefs which surround the island, and are found two, three, four, ten, and twenty leagues out to sea ; and there are many near

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<sup>1</sup> These huge bats, like those in Tonga, frequent certain trees during the daytime, where they hang in countless numbers, looking like some strange and repulsive fruit. Mr. Woodford was taken to one of these colonies in Shortland Island, Bougainville Straits, and was allowed to shoot some. In Tonga they are regarded with superstitious awe, and their occasional desertion of the colony is regarded as portending the chief's death. A migration in May, 1900, was held to portend the death of Ata, which certainly occurred a few weeks later.

<sup>2</sup> Austria Sound.

the shore, so that we greatly dreaded the thought of getting out from that island with the ships.

We continued along the coast until Sunday, the wind being still contrary, at which we were all much grieved, thinking of the anxiety which your Worship and the rest must be enduring through our delay. The Chief Pilot said that one of the very large canoes which we had with us could go easily with half a dozen soldiers, in a day and a half, and that it would be a great satisfaction to your Worship. The Master of the Camp approved of this, and many of the soldiers cheerfully volunteered to go. Then the Master of the Camp sent six soldiers—four arquebusiers, and two shield-bearers—a sailor and a negro with their equipment and provisions, with orders that, since the land ahead of us was very secure from Indians, they having knowledge of our coming, they should go forward along the coast. Accordingly they separated from us on Sunday, the 10th [2nd?] of May, at noon, and continued on their way for four leagues, until, an hour before nightfall, and as they were passing to windward of some reefs, the wind blowing heavily and the sea growing rough, they could not keep the canoe steady, in spite of all their efforts, and they were driven sideways upon the reefs, where the canoe was dashed to pieces, and they nearly perished, some of them being unable to swim. With great trouble and danger they reached a small island formed by the reef, where they thought to have perished at the hands of the Indians if God had not miraculously favoured them, for all the ammunition for their arquebuses was wet, and they could not use them. Being in this fear of attack from the islanders, they decided to leave two pigs, which they had with them, hidden in the island, and bare-footed as they were, to go in quest of the brigantine. Those that could not swim crossed from the island to the shore upon the planks of the canoe, the rest swimming.

Then they began to make their way over the rocks with their bare feet, as best they could, in which they suffered greatly ; but seeing that it was a matter of life or death—for if we passed them with the brigantine without seeing them, they were lost—all drew strength from weakness, and showed great courage both in this and in facing what might occur should they meet with the natives. Besides this, the woods were so thick that they were often obliged to go through water which reached to their chins. Pushing forward that night through all these difficulties, they came to three estuaries which they could not cross ; and therefore they resolved to make a raft, which they lashed with their drawers and handkerchiefs, and on this those who could not swim made the crossing, and the others swam holding on to it. When day was just breaking, they came to a point on the shore where we had dined and set up a cross on the previous Sunday ;<sup>1</sup> they derived great consolation from the sight of it, and threw themselves upon their knees to adore it, giving thanks to the Lord who had saved them from so many dangers, and beseeching His Divine Majesty, through the intercession of His most glorious Mother, to be pleased to hear and assist them in their necessity, and not to allow them to be devoured by the savages of that island. Having finished their prayer, they resolved to make a raft as well as they could, in order that, if the whole of Monday passed without their discovering the brigantine, they might return at night upon the said raft to the island where they had left the pigs, and hiding there in the woods by day, make their

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<sup>1</sup> A proof that the disaster occurred only a few miles from Estrella Bay, for the cross must have been erected by an exploring party from the ships. From Gallego's account it appears that they reached the ship only twenty-four hours after they were picked up. They saw no natives, because this part of the coast is unsuited to settlement, and the only natives who now visit it are head-hunting canoes passing up and down the coast.

way back to the ships at night. Besides the hardships aforesaid, they had to endure extreme hunger and thirst. While they were making the raft Our Lord was pleased to deliver them, and send the brigantine thither ; and with no little joy at the sight they gave Him thanks, and signalled to the brigantine with handkerchiefs. We were astounded when we recognised our comrades, thinking that they had received some injury. We put in to them, and they embarked, exhausted by hunger and thirst and the hardships of the road, and with their feet badly wounded by the rocks. Though they had lost their clothes and linen they had with great difficulty preserved their arms, and had lost only an arquebus and two swords ; here they lost the Indian whom we had brought with us as an interpreter, and whom they had taken with them, and they could not find him. After this we proceeded on our way until we reached the ships.

To return, and give your Lordship an account of what the brigantine brought in the way of stores. It consisted of three pigs, and a large quantity of the provisions used by the natives, which are cocoa-nuts, and certain large roots which they call *ñames*, and others smaller, which they call *panaes*, and which are better than potatoes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Here the narrative breaks off, the concluding portion of the manuscript in the Archives at Simancas being lost.



A SECOND NARRATIVE  
of the  
Discovery of the Isles of  
Solomon,

Addressed from Lima to KING PHILIP II OF  
SPAIN, by ALVARO DE MENDAÑA,  
on September 11th, 1569.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This document is to be found in the Library of the Academia della Historia, in Vol. xxxvi of the Collección de Velasquez. It was printed by Don Justo Zaragoga in his *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes* (Madrid, 1882). It is an abridgment of the mutilated narrative which here precedes it, but it contains some additional particulars.





THE  
NARRATIVE OF MENDAÑA.



ERE my knowledge and discretion in giving your Majesty this brief account of the voyage of discovery which, as General, I made to the South Sea by order of the Licentiate Castro, Governor of Peru, equal to the faith and goodwill with which I offered my person to the hardships and dangers thereof, in the service of your Majesty, I might feel assured that my account would be pleasing to you ; but, since in those who cannot render the service they desire, the will should be taken for the deed, I beseech your Majesty to accept mine, in consideration of the faithfulness with which I served your Majesty.

We embarked at Callao, the Port of the City of Los Reyes, on Wednesday the 19th of November, and, though we made sail, it being very late, we did not get out of the port until dawn the next day, the 20th of the said month of the year 1567. We steered our course west-south-west until we were well within the latitude of 15 degrees, and then we altered it to west-quarter-south-west until we were within a quarter of the latitude of 16 degrees ; and in this

latitude and sometimes in less, as the needle varied, we sailed west for twenty days with a fresh wind and calm sea, until, according to the opinion of the pilots, we were more than 800 leagues from the City of Los Reyes. Seeing that we had found no land upon the course which we had followed, and that, according to our information from Peru, and the distance we had travelled, we ought to have sighted it long before, I ordered our course to be changed, with the intention of ploughing the sea in every direction until I found it. Steering west-south-west [west-north-west] we went down to well within 6 degrees of south latitude ; and, seeing that upon this course also we found no land, I ordered them to steer west, and we followed this course for twenty-four days, at the end of which it pleased God that we should come upon a small low island about 6 leagues in circumference. We took it to be uninhabited, until we came close to it, and saw seven canoes of Indians approaching. They came near enough to reconnoitre the ships, and then turned back ; and although we made signs to them, and beckoned to them with a cloth, they would not come back. I remained there, waiting for the *Almiranta*, in which came Pedro de Ortega, Chief Alguacil of Panama, who served your Majesty upon this expedition as Master of the Camp, with the intention of landing ; but, as it was very late when he arrived, we deferred it until the next day. Although the night was very calm and clear, the weather changed just before daybreak, and a great storm arose, and the sea struck the side of my ship so heavily that it broke a small bulkhead beneath the deck house. This island is in the latitude of barely 7 degrees ; we gave it the name of "Jesus," because the time for celebrating that feast was close at hand when we discovered it ; it was discovered on the 15th of January of the year 1568.

Seeing that bad weather had overtaken us, and that the wind and storm were increasing every hour, the pilots



thought that it would be well to put to sea with the ships, and not to be so close to land, and therefore we steered west-south-west with the bow-lines taut, in the hope of soon sighting more land, since this, which was so small, was inhabited. Fifteen days after we had left it, we came upon some shoals, upon which we should have been lost if God had not shown mercy to us, for it was very dark when we came upon them, and the weather was fair, and suddenly a violent gust of wind struck us on the prow, and forced us to furl our sails more hastily than we wished ; and when it had spent its fury, the weather grew fine as before. The pilot ordered the sails to be set again, and this was hardly done when the wind blew again as before ; and this occurred five or six times, the wind returning as soon as we had shaken out the sails. Seeing this, we lay with the sea on our beam, waiting till it was day in order to set sail again ; and we had not advanced a league before we found ourselves upon the shoal, and, though we were not half a league from it, we could not see it. Upon this we all rendered thanks to God for having delivered us from this danger, recognising that His hand had sent the contrary winds to save us from destruction. We gave them the name of the Baxos de la Candelaria, because we discovered them on the eve of that feast [Candlemas]. They are well within 6 degrees of south latitude, and about 180 leagues from the Isle of Jesus.

Eight days after we had passed the shoals, we discovered so large an island that, when we sighted it, we thought that it was a continent ; we discovered it on the 7th of February, 1568. In approaching it we ran no less risk of losing our lives than we had in approaching the aforesaid shoals, for, when we reached it, it was so late that, though we sent men in a boat to find a port, they had no time to do so, and in a place where there were so many Indians, it was not wise that the boat should go too far from the side

of the ship at night ; and therefore we were obliged to ply to windward until the morning. In tacking backward and forward, we chanced upon a reef which juts out from the shore, and being over it we tried to turn back, but the ship would not go about. Seeing ourselves in these straits, we called upon Our Lady, for we had no hope of help except from Heaven ; and when we were in the deepest affliction, thinking that we must strike upon the rocks where we must all perish, either by drowning or at the hands of the Indians, the ship went about, and we steered out to sea. The reason why we approached so close to the land was that the *Almiranta* preceded us, and was therefore in great peril, and if she had been as large as the *Capitana*, she must have been lost. After we had got clear of this reef we plied to windward until morning, and when day broke, that hardships and tribulations might not be wanting to us just when we thought ourselves out of danger, we found ourselves in another still greater, for we found that the ships were over a reef which ran out to sea, springing from the reef upon which we had been the night before, and we were but four or five fathoms above the living rock, not knowing in what direction to steer to find more depth ; and if the ships had struck they would have gone to pieces, because it was all rock, and when it came to putting back to sea the wind was right in our teeth. We again had recourse to prayers and petitions, according to the custom of navigators when they are in dangers such as we were in at that moment ; and it pleased God that the wind should shift a little, and, with the bow-lines taut until the bulwarks of the ship were almost under the water, we put out to sea. And, that we might more clearly understand that it was God who released us from these perils through the intercession of His Blessed Mother, whom we ever called upon to intercede for us, He deigned to give us a sign in the sky and on earth, and it was in this wise.

After we had put out to sea, it seemed to the Chief Pilot that, as it was now near mid-day, it was not wise for the ships to await the return of the boats, which had gone to seek a port, because they would be very late, and the change of wind might bring bad weather, and prevent our reaching the coast of the island ; and that the most prudent course would be to put into land with the ships and find a port. So we resolved to turn back, having the anchors ready and the sheets held in the hand, in case it should be necessary to anchor upon the shoal ; and steering for the shore in this manner we saw a very bright and resplendent star, which appeared on the right side of the mainmast, and steering to the right we entered a port with no mishap whatever. At the entrance we saw a mountain above the sea, all of living rock, from which a large piece covered with trees fell into the water with a great shock and noise ; and although it sometimes happens in Spain that a star is seen at noon, that we should see one when we were in such necessity, and should then succeed so well in entering the port, causes us to regard it as the work of God, and to believe that it was from His hand that this beacon was sent to lead us safely into port.

When both the ships had cast anchor we landed, and set up a cross upon a height. Fray Francisco de Galvez, the vicar of the Franciscan friars whom we had with us, carried it upon his shoulders to the most convenient place that we could find ; and when it was set up we all said a prayer, and the clergy chanted the hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt* : and then I took possession of all that land in the name of your Majesty. On the same day when the ships arrived, there came one of the principal chiefs of the island, to whom belonged the port in which we were ; who, after performing some ceremonies with me, came on board, and I made him presents and treated him well, and we became friends. Our manner of making friends originated with

him ; he asked me by signs what my name was, saying, in his own tongue, "*cybeago*" [or "*en cybeago*"] and, when I had understood him, I told him my name, and he said that he was called Bile-Banharra, and requested me to change names with him, so that he should be called Mendaña like me, and I should be called Bile like him ; and so we did, and we remained on very good terms.<sup>1</sup> These Indians have very apt tongues, for they pronounced our words as clearly as ourselves, and one to whom the Creed was recited in Romance, repeated it as clearly as if he had been a Spaniard.

We remained in this island three months, for the purpose of building a brigantine in which to explore the land, and cruise along it, for as yet we did not know whether it was an island. This delayed us for many days, because it was the rainy season when we arrived, and it rained continually, and we had few workmen. In the meantime two expeditions were made into the interior, one by Captain Pedro Sarmiento, and the other by the Master of the Camp, Pedro de Ortega ; and before either of them was made, Pedro de Ortega, with a few soldiers, went, in my behalf, to visit the *tauriqui* Bile, who showed him to his father, who is called Salacay, and he rejoiced greatly to see him, although Salacay did not take much notice of him ; he is a man of good disposition, white and very old, with a great white beard. After seeing him they returned.

Before I sent to visit Bile there came to see the ships five canoes of Indians, well provided with the arms which they use, which are bows and arrows, lances and clubs. They did not dare to come on board, and Bile, who perceived them from his village, which is on the summit of

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Captain Cook's account of his intercourse with the chiefs in Tahiti. The rite of making friends by an exchange of names has been noticed in many parts of the Pacific.

an eminence, went to meet them with four other canoes full of men, for they must have been his enemies. When those who were near the ship saw him coming, they put off, and Bile pursued and overtook them; and when he reached them they all surrendered, bending with their breasts upon the gunwale of the canoes, and he passed through their midst, and we could see that he spoke to them sharply; then he let them go without harming any of them. This Bile looked very wild and fierce in the bravery that he displayed; he was standing erect in the canoe with a very high crest of black and white feathers on his head, with many armlets of very white bone on his arms, and bracelets made of very small coral with little white teeth between them,<sup>1</sup> and a small shield round his neck, and a large two-handed club in his hand. On leaving the canoes of these Indians he came on board, and told me that several *tauriquis* of the islands were plotting to assemble and come to kill me; and he told me their names, which were: Meta, who assembled the others, Rau, Baualay, Couoa, Sanbe, Maelago, Ciamarratouo, Ganigou,<sup>2</sup> and four or five others whom he had asked to join with them, but they had refused; and he bade me call for him if they came, and he would come to my assistance with his followers. I thanked him very much for his offer and clothed him, and he withdrew well pleased. After this he was two days without coming to see me, and, suspecting that he had joined the conspiracy of the other chiefs, I sent Pedro de Ortega to visit him, and by these means to discover what was going on.

The events which occurred during the expeditions of

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<sup>1</sup> Shell money.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 115, where these names are differently spelt. The forms given by Catoira (vol. ii) are more consistent with the form of native nomenclature. Mr. Woodford collected eighty-seven names from this district, and, though none of these are among them, the forms can be recognised.

Pedro Sarmiento and Pedro de Ortega into the interior <sup>are</sup> as follows: Pedro Sarmiento went first with seventeen soldiers and six servants to carry four days' provisions for all. On the first day they journeyed for about 6 leagues, and reached the bank of a very cool river, very cheerful to the sight; and they crossed this river many times, because of its numerous windings. Here he found the *tauriqui* Bile, who was not in his village when they passed through it. He camped that night upon a height with his men, seeing that along the banks of the river, and about all the country within sight, there were many Indians. The next day he resolved to return, thinking that he had not men enough, although the soldiers wished to go forward to the place which I had appointed, which was a mountain range at the foot of which they were, that they might ascertain if the sea were visible on the other side, and find out if this were an island or the mainland. Then he returned to the ships with the news given him by the Indians, that there was a great chief who called himself Ponemanefaa. Bile went with him as far as his village, leading him by a better and shorter road than the one by which he had come. It appeared to him that the Indians were about to attack him, for, after they had reached Bile's village, Bile said to them in our language, "Fuera, fuera!" and he tried to seize Bile, and they came to blows, and the *tauriqui* escaped. They wounded one of the soldiers in the head with an arrow, and the Spaniards defeated the Indians, and captured the brother of Salacay, and uncle of Bile, and brought him to the ships. I set him free after three days, in order to regain the friendship of Bile; and to show gratitude for his liberty, the Indian, when he was going, returned and embraced me. Pedro Sarmiento himself accompanied him to his village, and, such was the delight of the Indians at seeing him, that they wept with him for joy; and being grateful for this good deed done to

them, they told our people to be seated, and they would bring them food. Then they brought many cocoa-nuts and *vinahu*, a root which they eat instead of bread. Our men took leave of the Indians, who said that from thenceforth they would continue to visit me. After Sarmiento had returned from taking back the Indian whom he had captured, seeing that his expedition had been profitless, I sent Pedro de Ortega with thirty arquebusiers and fifteen shield-bearers, and fifteen servants to carry eight days' provision for all, with orders to climb to the summit of the mountains to reconnoitre and see what was there, and to bring an account of everything. He was eight days going and coming, and he climbed the mountains, where he found a *tauriqui* who was lord of that province, which is called Tiarabaso.<sup>1</sup> He went by the river which Pedro Sarmiento crossed, and at the crossing of the river and all along the way, many Indians came out to meet him peacefully, until he climbed to the summit, from whence he saw a great squadron of Indians and the *tauriqui* with them. The latter came to speak to Pedro de Ortega, and it seemed to him that both he and his Indians had some evil design, for, while he was with him, he called for his club to an Indian who carried it, and the Indians became restless; and therefore he seized the *tauriqui*, because, while he was a prisoner, the others would not dare harm him. And so it proved, for, while he held the chief prisoner, they did not attack him. But one night the *tauriqui* escaped and fled, and then the natives attacked him, and he fought with them every day until he reached the lands of Bile. On the last day on which he fought with them, they had a battle which lasted from daybreak until nearly three in the afternoon. They wounded two soldiers, piercing the thigh of

<sup>1</sup> Called Tiaragajo by Sarmiento; Baso by Catoira. There is now a village called Baso in the Meringé Lagoon.

one with an arrow, and the arm of another, and he who was wounded in the arm died eight days afterwards, for the wound mortified. Pedro de Ortega returned through the village of Bile, and, when he reached it, the chief gave him many cocoa-nuts for his men. He brought news that the land we were on was an island; for so he was told by the *tauriqui* of Tiarabaso, and they saw the sea on the other side.

While Pedro de Ortega was inland there came to the port a *tauriqui* who called himself Bene, whose territory lay to the west of this island. While I was hearing Mass on shore he arrived with fifteen canoes full of men, well provided with arms, and he sent me a quarter of human flesh which seemed to be that of a boy, with some roots of *vinahu*, saying to me in his language, "*Naleha, naleha!*" which signifies "eat it." I accepted the present, and, being greatly grieved that there should be this pernicious custom in that country, and that they should suppose that we ate it, I ordered everyone to stand aside so that the *tauriqui* might see what was done. Then I caused a grave to be dug at the water's edge, and had the quarter buried in his presence, and said to him in his language, "*Teo naleha arra,*" which signifies "I do not eat it." He regarded this very attentively, and, seeing that we set no value on the present, they all bent down over their canoes like men vexed or offended, and put off and withdrew with their heads bent down.

In order to occupy the soldiers, and to prevent their being idle while the brigantine was being finished, I sent Gabriel Muñoz and another soldier named Diego de Avila along the coast, each with twelve soldiers, one to the east and the other to the west. Gabriel Muñoz, who went west, penetrated 4 leagues along the coast, but found nothing to report except a large river which flowed into the sea, with a very shady bank to which he gave the name of San



Matias because it was his feast that day.<sup>1</sup> Diego de Avila also advanced four leagues to the east, and found a large population of Indians; he spoke to them and asked them to be friends, and, when our people told them not to be afraid, they approached and became very friendly, and said that they would come and see me, although they were afraid of the arquebuses, knowing the harm they could do. He found a river and gave it his name, calling it the Rio de Diego de Avila.

When the brigantine was finished, as it was not proper to go and explore with the ships in a land where there were so many shoals, I sent Pedro de Ortega in it with thirty men, including soldiers and sailors, with the Chief Pilot, Hernan Gallego, for his pilot. He was a month going and coming, and before he went on this expedition, because we had no interpreter to speak for us in such other land as we might find, I sent him to the territory of Meta, which is 10 leagues along the coast from the port in which we were, with twenty arquebusiers, fifteen shield-bearers, and four of Bile's Indians as guides. He brought back four Indians, two of whom said they were the sons of the *tauriqui* Meta. I set the other two free, and Pedro de Ortega took one of Meta's sons with him in the brigantine as interpreter,<sup>2</sup> and the other remained with me in the ship. I showed him all the spices which I carried, and he recognised clove, nutmeg and ginger; but he said that there was no pepper, mace and cinnamon, though in his land they have the bark of a tree which they eat, and which resembles cinnamon, although the taste is very different, for it is

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<sup>1</sup> The coast to the westward of Estrella Bay is uninhabited, being unsuitable for native settlement.

<sup>2</sup> He could not have been of much use as an interpreter, for the languages of Gela and Guadalcanal are quite different from that of the northern coast of Ysabel. Catoira, however, records conversations carried on with the Guadalcanal people through another Ysabel interpreter.

like allspice ; they call it *laquifa*. I showed him pearls and grains of gold ; he said that there were many pearls in the sea, and they call them *daui* ; and with regard to the gold, he pointed with his hand to the island, saying, "*yaro bocru*," *bocru*<sup>1</sup> in his language signifying "much." I asked him what they called it, and he answered *areque* ; I inquired whether they wore it through their noses, or in their ears, which are pierced ; he said no, and made signs with his hand that it was to be found where there was running water.<sup>2</sup>

It was very right not to go exploring with the ships without sending the brigantine in advance, because, considering the many shoals which the brigantine found, it would have been impossible for the ships to have escaped striking upon them, and we should all have been lost. In this expedition Pedro de Ortega discovered much land. The first which he discovered (after coasting the island of Santa Ysabel, which was the name I gave to this first island where we cast anchor, and the port I called Puerto de la Estrella, in memory of the star we saw in the sky when we entered it) was a very large island to which he gave the name of "Isla de Ramos." He did not touch at it, but from the size it appeared to be, and the parts which they saw, it seemed to the Chief Pilot to be about 300 leagues in circumference. He gave it this name because it was discovered in the morning of Palm Sunday. He discovered another small island about 2 leagues in circumference, which he called La Galera, and other islands near it, one called Buena Vista, another San Dimas, and another

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<sup>1</sup> This word is the same as the native name of St. George's Island, *Borru* or *Veru*. It probably meant "Great," "Great Island" being a common name for islands in Melanesia. Compare Vanua Levu (Great Land) in Fiji.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the man mistook the gold for iron pyrites, which is very plentiful in the sand of the stream-beds. On p. 182 the word is given as *tereque*.

Ísla de Flores [or La Florida], each of which must be more than 20 leagues in circumference; between them are other small islands from 2 to 3 leagues in circumference. The first of these islands is about 8 or 9 leagues from that of Santa Ysabel. Besides these said islands he discovered one to which he gave the name of Guadalcanal; according to the opinion of the pilots it was more than 300 leagues in circumference. After this he discovered an island which is near that of Santa Ysabel to the south, more than 30 leagues in circumference, according to the opinion of the Chief Pilot; he gave it the name of San Jorge, and in the language of the Indians it is called Borue [or Veru]. In this island is the king of the island of Santa Ysabel whom Pedro Sarmiento heard of when he went inland; he is called Ponemanefaa [or Benebonefa], and the Indians say that he is *cayboco*; he would never allow Pedro de Ortega to see him. The distance between this island and that of Santa Ysabel is half a league in some parts, and one league in others. There is a very good bay between these two islands, 7 leagues in width, in which any ships, however large, may anchor, for the depth is from 12 to 15 fathoms in every part, and it has a clear bottom. In a village where they landed in this island of San Jorge they found many very large canoes, and two very thin jars of clay, and throughout all the countries we went to, we did not find any other clay vessels but these; the Indians said they had brought them from another land far off.<sup>1</sup> After passing this island Pedro de Ortega coasted along the island of Santa Ysabel, and discovered three islands to the south-west thereof, each of which appeared to the pilot, judging from their size, to be more than 100 leagues in circumference, but they did not touch at them.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably from the islands in Bougainville Straits where pottery is made. An excellent description of the process is to be found in Dr. Guppy's *Solomon Islands*, p. 62.

One was called San Marcos,<sup>1</sup> another San Jeronimo, and another, Isle de Arracifes (Isle of Reefs), for there are many reefs between all these islands. He completed the circuit of the island of Santa Ysabel, and returned to the ships. He had many skirmishes with the natives, but it pleased God that they should not kill any of the Christians. He found ginger in the island of Guadalcanal by chance, without thinking or knowing what it was, for though it is abundant in these islands the natives use it very little.

While Pedro de Ortega was exploring, Bile came twice to the ships, and I endeavoured to make him understand that I was a vassal of your Majesty, and by your command had come to that country to see him and the other *tauriquis* on behalf of your Majesty, and to bring them to the knowledge of God and of our holy Catholic faith. He was very attentive to all this, and when he asked me where the King of Castille was, I replied that he was in Castille, his own land. He asked me again if he was a very great lord, and, in order to make him better understand what I wanted and what he desired, I took a sea chart, and showed him what was sea and what was land, and, pointing to a very small island, I said that this was his country, and that all the rest belonged to your Majesty, and that all the *tauriquis* and chiefs of these lands were *naclonis*, which signifies vassals, of your Majesty. Then he asked me where God was, and if He was a great lord ; I replied that God had made the *colantha* and *caba* and *fina*, which is the heavens, earth, and sea, and that from Him we had life, and that He had created us all, saying many of these words in his language. He thought that he had understood me, and wishing to signify the same to me, he made a sign in the following manner. He raised his open hand in the air and

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<sup>1</sup> Mendaña is in error. The two islands that lay south were named S. Nicholas and Arracifes : S. Marcos (Choiseul) lay west.

said in his language, "*yne colantha*," which signifies "this is Heaven;" then with the finger of the other hand placed upon that which he had stretched out, he said in our tongue, "aqui Dios," and in his own, "*cayboco hutubocru caba bocru fina*," which signifies, "King and great lord of the earth and sea;" and then he pointed to the earth, saying, "aqui Rey de Castilla *cayboco caba*," which signifies "lord of the earth." I replied that so it was, and he was well satisfied, seeing that he had made himself understood. I told him that since he was my friend and brother, and that I was a vassal of your Majesty, he ought to be one also. He assented, saying that he, his children, and brothers, and all his *naclonis*, were *naclonis* of your Majesty like myself; and he adhered to this whenever the question was put to him, and thereupon I caused a deed to be drawn up in proof that he rendered allegiance to your Majesty, and accounted himself your vassal.

When Pedro de Ortega returned from exploring with the brigantine, I immediately went out with the ships to go to the Island of Guadalcanal. I coasted along that of Santa Ysabel, and passed in sight of Ramos and Buena Vista, which fully deserved its name, and of the greater part of those near it. We anchored at the Island of Guadalcanal under the shelter of a point, and near a river which we called Gallego. I landed, and took possession for your Majesty, and from thence I sent Don Hernando Enriquez, my Ensign-General, to explore in the brigantine. In the meantime I despatched an expedition into the interior, sending a soldier named Andres Nuñez, who was a lancer in Peru, in command of twenty soldiers. He went 4 or 5 leagues inland, and had many skirmishes with the Indians; but it pleased God that not one of his soldiers should be wounded; he died, alas! six or seven days after his return. Another day I went two leagues inland with twenty-six men and Pedro de Ortega. We

climbed a small steep hill which we saw, and from which a great part of the island was visible. From the time I landed until we reached the top of the hill, I counted thirty villages and more. From the summit of the hill we saw towards the east and the south-east many thickly-populated plains; and it is not surprising that the plains should be populated since the mountains are.

Seeing that much of the provision we had brought from Peru was exhausted, and that we did not know how long we should be delayed there, or what weather we should have, it seemed well to me that we should avail ourselves of what was to be had in the country, and for that purpose I treated with several *tauriquis* of the coast, that they should give me provisions, and I would give them some of the beads and bells, and other articles of barter which I carried. They flatly refused, and seeing what little good there was in them, with the agreement and counsel of the captain and the clergy, we went inland to find food, and brought back to the ship three or four boat-loads of roots, which are very good and sustaining; at which the Indians became unruly, and in order to revenge themselves set an ambush one day. For ten men went in a boat to fetch water, and though I warned them not to remain on land longer than was necessary to get the water, they feasted upon some cocoa-nuts which they found gathered in a palm-grove, and the Indians, seeing them thus occupied, fell upon them and killed nine, only one, a negro, escaping by swimming. I punished them for this the next day, burning many of their villages, and also killing some Indians. The day on which these nine men were killed was the feast of the Ascension of our Redeemer.

In his exploring expedition with the brigantine, in which he carried thirty men, including soldiers and sailors and the Chief Pilot, Don Hernando Enriquez was absent eighteen days, returning quickly because the Chief Pilot

and several of the soldiers were ill with fever. He coasted along the island of Guadalcanal towards the east for more than 30 leagues. All that part of it which he passed was thickly populated in large villages; he saw a town which extended for more than 3 leagues, all in a plain under palm trees.<sup>1</sup> From thence he discovered an island which the natives call Malay, which is near Ramos, the same that the natives call *Malayta*.<sup>2</sup> Pursuing his discovery from thence, he reached an island which the Indians called Uraba, and he called it "Atreguada;" after this he discovered three other islands close to it, which he called the "Tres Marias;" these are small, but Atreguada is about 25 leagues in circumference. He also discovered two other islands, one of which he called Santiago and the other San Juan, 10 or 12 leagues in circumference. He had many skirmishes with the natives both by land and sea, but he always defeated them, and they did not wound one of his soldiers; the brigantine met with a storm on the way back. All these islands are so crowded with people that it is amazing.

When Don Hernando returned with the brigantine we left the port in which we were anchored, and which we called La Cruz, to go to the island of Santiago;<sup>3</sup> and after we had doubled the island of Guadalcanal the weather was such that we sought a higher latitude. In coming out from between the island of Santiago and that of Guadalcanal, we met with a very severe storm; and after many promises and prayers, God was pleased that we should reach the port of an island which we discovered, which we called San Christo-

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<sup>1</sup> Aola, the present seat of the Resident Commissioner. Gallego gives the native name as Urare.

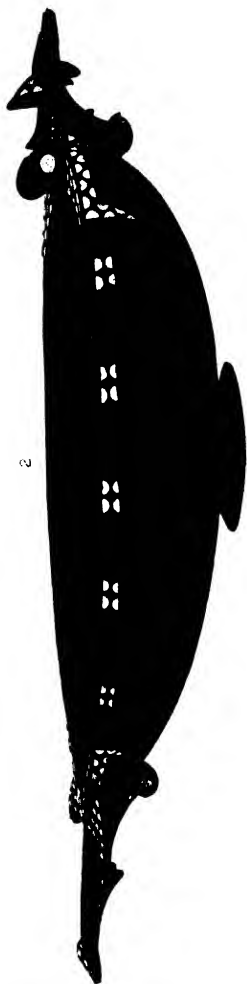
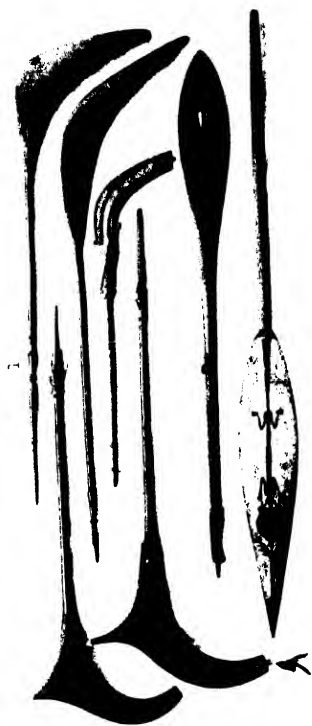
<sup>2</sup> See p. 25, *note*. Mendaña's confusion is probably owing to the natives having sometimes used the words "Mala" (the real name of the island), and sometimes "Mala-ita!" ("There is Mala").

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Ugi, because Gallego had seen there a suitable place for careening the ships.

val. Before we got very close to the shore, the Chief Pilot went with the brigantine to find the port, making signals to us to follow with the ships ; and as the day on which we cast anchor in this port was the feast of the Visitation, we gave it that name. I landed at a little village which was built on the water's edge, and in the presence of the Indians I took possession of the land for your Majesty. I spoke to the natives, and we were on friendly terms. On the morning of the next day we landed with the intention of bartering for provisions, and when we had done so, an Indian made a kind of incantation ; drawing a circle, he stood within it, and shouted aloud. All the Indians looked disturbed at this, and he began to tremble until he was on the point of falling, and he went and held on to the *bahazeque* [*sic*] of a house. We understood that he had invoked the Devil. Then he and all the others took up their arms and came towards us, making signs to us to begone. They would not listen to us, but as it seemed to me that we might still end peacefully, I advanced a little from the others, but he brandished a lance which he had ready to hurl at me ; and, seeing that it was now impossible to conclude anything with them, I ordered several arquebuses to be fired, and then we attacked them and gained the village, and the next day Mass was said there. There was an abundance of their provisions in this village, and we took what we thought necessary to the ships.

After we arrived at this island, I sent Francisco Muñoz Rico, a soldier, to explore in the brigantine with thirty men and the Chief Pilot ; he was eight days in coming and going. He coasted to the end of the island of San Christoval, and at the extremity he discovered two small islands, each of which was a little more than two or three leagues in circumference ; we called them Santa Ana and Santa Catalina ; they are thickly populated. On each of





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British Museum



these islands he had a skirmish with the natives, and in that on the island of Santa Ana they were closely pressed, for the Indians fought valiantly, and wounded a soldier in the head with a lance, so that the lance remained in the wound, and the soldier fell to the ground, at which the Indians were greatly encouraged, but he rose up when another drew the lance out of the wound. They wounded another soldier in the thigh with a lance, and pierced the captain through his shield, strap, and arm, till the lance stood out more than a span on the other side, which it seems impossible that a man should be strong enough to do with a lance destitute of iron. Not only this shield, but those of all the company were pierced through and through by the lances. Our men fought valiantly until they put the Indians to flight, and then they embarked, and returned to the ships, where they were healed of their wounds.

Francisco Muñoz brought four Indians as interpreters, because ten Indians whom we had brought from the other islands, fled from us at this island, and of these which he brought two also fled.

After Francisco Muñoz had returned, bringing a report that upon the course which we had followed hitherto there was no more land, and that the Indians indicated that land lay south-west, as the Indians of Guadalcanal and Santa Ysabel had said, since we had no provisions for going back and discovering more land, I assembled all the company, captains and soldiers as well as pilots and sailors, and asked them all without distinction what was best to be done, and whether we should make a settlement here or not. They were all of opinion that we ought to return and give an account of what we had done, for we were very few for settling, and most of the people were sick ; that besides this we were in want of ammunition, such as lead and match, and most of the locks of the arquebuses

were damaged, and some had burst ; that this land was so remote that those who might settle there could not be succoured, and that the course most conducive to your Majesty's service was to return and give an account of what had been done ; but that, notwithstanding, if I bade them stay, they would do so. Seeing that they were all agreed in the opinion that we ought to return, having already prepared the ships with the little pitch and rigging we had left, I ordered the pilots to make ready to start ; and as we had with us only two Indian boys as interpreters, it seemed to me that this was not enough ; and in order that, if these should die, others might be left, I sent Gabriel Muñoz to keep watch one night near a village which was close by, and to bring back two or three Indians. Before morning he returned, with a married Indian and his wife with an infant at the breast, and a young girl, the wife's sister. All these that we brought became Christians, and displayed great diligence in learning their prayers. The married man and one of the boys, and also the young girl, died in the city of Los Reyes, devout Christians, invoking the name of Jesus many times. Many thanks should be rendered to Our Lord, because He has shown mercy to that land, and has begun to call to Himself the people thereof, who have been for so many years without the light of faith.

All the islands thus discovered are thickly populated, and are all within sight of each other. The island of Santa Ysabel is very long and narrow, and, though 200 leagues in circumference, is not more than a degree in breadth ; this island is less populated from Puerto de la Estrella to the west, because it is near the seat of the *tauriqui* Bile, who, being very ferocious, is the cause of its being uninhabited. In spite of this, according to the population and the Indians who were seen, we concluded that 30,000 fighting men could be raised there ; and from

the island of San Jorge, which is near it, although it is small, more than 10,000.<sup>1</sup> From the island of Guadalcanal, both from what we saw of it and from the report of the Indians, more than 300,000 fighting men could be raised, and from Buena Vista and San Dimas, and the Isla de Flores [La Florida], with those near it, more than 50,000; and from the island of Santiago, from what was seen of it and from the report of the Indians, more than 100,000; and as many from that of San Christoval, which has a circumference of more than 100 leagues. The Indians we took as interpreters, who are natives of that island, say that the king thereof is called *Guan y China*, and at certain times he sends out a visitor whom they call *cacagu*, who has a guard of 10,000. Nevertheless, all the Indians in this island fear the island of Ramos [Malaita], which is at war with all the others.<sup>2</sup> The profitable produce of this island is cloves, ginger, and nutmeg; of these three we brought back, only a little ginger, which was gathered by chance; the Indians call cloves *aguru*, and nutmeg *agatari*. They also say that there are pearls. I brought back the shell of an oyster in which the pearls are found, and, considering its size, they cannot fail to be good ones. These Indians of San Christoval say also that there is gold in the rivers of their country, and that the women of Aytoro wear it round their necks in large grains as they find it, but they do not know how to melt it. Aytoro is a province in the interior of San Christoval. These Indians call gold *aburu* in their language. The report that it is found in the rivers agrees with what the Indian told me in

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<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, an exaggeration, but it is evident that the population in 1567 was at least four times greater than it is now. Head-hunting and epidemics are the most probable causes of the decrease.

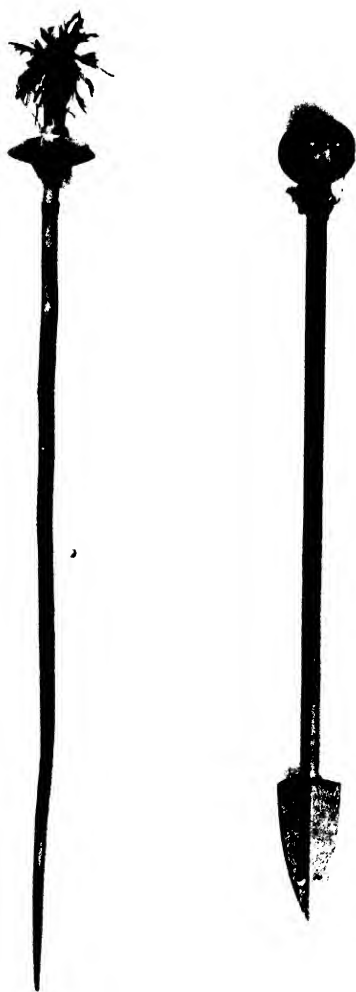
<sup>2</sup> It is so still, nor is it safe for Europeans to explore except in strong parties.

Santa Ysabel, though there they call it *tereque*. Spikenard is also found ; I have brought a specimen of it to show to your Majesty ; it was found by a fortunate chance, for the Indians neither use it nor have knowledge of it. It was recognised by a soldier (formerly an apothecary), who, landing at the island of Guadalcanal, found it at the water's edge, near a river which flows into the sea. There is also sandal-wood ; this was identified here in Los Reyes by the doctors, who, while examining the Indian arms which I had brought back, found two lances of a reddish wood, which, from its colour and fragrance, they declared to be sandal-wood. Ebony is also plentiful ; they make arms of it, which they use in warfare. We found in these islands some clubs, seemingly of metal covered with woven palm ; they are very heavy, and are used in warfare ; they are really made of pressed ironstone,<sup>1</sup> and its presence is a very good sign, for it is the mother of all metals. I also asked the Indians if there was any silver, and showed them some, but they said that there was none in their country.

There are many fruit trees in these islands bearing good fruit ; the Indians say that there are apples like those of this country, and they call them *aganiga* in their language ; and there are also melons ; I saw some, but they were very small, and, though they looked like ours, it is not certain that they are the same. In their language they call them

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the account of these clubs found at Puerto Escondido, at the east end of Malaita, on p. 45. Gallego says that they were "of metal which appeared to be gold." The word used in the text is *margagita* (ironstone), which seems to have been transcribed in the Paris MS. as *margarita* (pearl). It is clear that they resembled the stone-headed clubs now made and used in New Britain, two of which are shown here in a Plate. The stone is of a very hard and heavy volcanic formation, containing specks of pyrites, which, in the inflamed imagination of Gallego and his companions, became gold. These clubs do not seem now to be made in the Solomon Islands, though, from the number seen in Malaita by the Spaniards, it is evident that they were then manufactured in the group.



STONE-HEADED CLUBS.

1. From New Britain.
  2. From New Ireland, probably imported from New Britain.
- (British Museum Collection).





*maraguasaro*, and they say that they are good when it does not rain, but worthless when it does. They have pigs and hens like those of Spain, and numerous wild pigeons, larger beyond comparison than ours; there are many parrots of all colours, and some very white. The soil is very fertile, and the roots of the trees are very deep; all the trees and herbs of that region are aromatic. There is abundant sweet basil on the mountains, and all the flowers on the trees are of a very bright colour. I found a certain gum upon a tree, discovering it through the strong odour which it exhaled, and I brought it to the ship. A captain of artillery, named Pero Xuarez,<sup>1</sup> who was suffering from the gout, put some on his feet at night, and the next morning the pain had disappeared, and since we arrived here he has often assured me that he has never had a touch of it since.

When the ships were ready, and I had consulted the pilots as to the course we ought to follow in returning to Peru (my intention being to steer south-east and east-south-east if the weather served, in quest of the coast of Chili, as I told them many times), we left Puerto de la Visitacion in the island of San Christoval. The said pilots determined that we should go in quest of New Spain, although, before we put out, as well as afterwards, I bade them many times consider the course they were following: saying that by way of New Spain, even with very favourable weather, we could not reach Peru in six months; and, further, that we were navigating in the wrong direction in going north in the winter season, when we must needs have bad weather, and that it would be better to wait on shore until the sun had passed the Equinox, and the weather had changed as it did in the March Equinox, and in the meantime they could go with the brigantine to seek provisions. But they would

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<sup>1</sup> Described elsewhere as Colonel Pedro Xuarez.

approve of none of these things, saying that the landsman reasons and the seaman navigates; and that it was better to put out, and, if the weather served, sail south-east, navigating in accordance with the weather. I replied that the weather would change with the September Equinox, which was only a month distant, and we would be in a region where we could not avail ourselves of it. But nothing would move them from their first opinion.<sup>1</sup>

We left Puerto de la Visitacion on Wednesday, the 11th of August, of the year 1568; we were seven days in doubling the island of San Christoval, and those of Santa Ana and Santa Catalina, for the wind was south-east and contrary. After doubling them we steered north-east until we were 35 or 40 leagues east of the island named Jesus, and there the wind changed to north-east, so that we were able to steer south-east-quarter-east, and then I gave orders to turn. This wind lasted but a short time, and, as it was near the Equinox, and the wind in these regions changes with it, as we had found in the month of March, it was now unsettled preparatory to settling in one quarter. Consequently, every time that the wind served for steering south-east and east-south-east, I ordered the ships to be put about in order that we might sail according to the wind. We had already met with rough weather, and, during a storm the chief lateen yard of my ship was broken, and the sail torn to pieces. Seeing that I persisted in following a south-east course, and in going south and not north, they agreed among themselves to make a representation to me, which they did. Seeing that I would not follow the advice of the pilots, the soldiers came to me, and begged me for

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<sup>1</sup> The pilots were probably right. Even after the September Equinox the prevailing winds are east and south-east, with calms and gales, and westerly winds seldom blow for more than three days in succession until latitude 30° S. is reached. In beating to windward the ships would have passed through a region bestrewn with reefs.

the love of God<sup>1</sup> not to order the navigation in a direction in which we must all perish and be drowned, for the pilots said that it was impossible to go south, and escape with our lives, and that I was repaying them badly for working with me in the service of your Majesty, if I would reward them by taking them to their death. The sailors clamoured also, and they were so weak that they could hardly manage the sails. Seeing that they all thought it an error on my part not to follow the opinion of the pilots, I replied that my sole intention was to pursue a prudent course of navigation ; and since they all thought that the pilots were right, they might proceed in peace ; but I bade them remember that time would bear me witness in the hardships which we should have to endure. The joy of all was so great at seeing that I had resolved to steer for New Spain, that it seemed to restore life to all.

After all this we crossed the line, and, reaching  $8\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of north latitude, we discovered some shoals and small islands which numbered more than fifteen or sixteen. All these islets, some of which are a little less than a league in circumference, are surrounded by a reef. Pedro de Ortega and Don Hernando Enriquez landed upon them. Some of them are inhabited, and, though there were huts and fire in the place where they landed, they saw no inhabitants, for they had fled. Among the reefs and islands we saw three sails, like those of a raft, and I suspected that the Indians of the island had put to sea. Leaving these islands, which to our knowledge had not been seen by any of the fleets which had been to the Philippines, and giving them the name of San Mateo Shoals,<sup>1</sup> we reached latitude  $19\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, where we discovered another island, which I judged to be 8 leagues in circumference ; it is very low land. We

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<sup>1</sup> The Musquillo Islands (see p. 67, *note*). Gallego, thinking that they were the islands said to have been discovered by Salazar in 1536, and named by him San Bartolomeo, omits this name of San Mateo.

approached it with the ships to see whether we could find an anchorage, and to take in water if there was any there, for we were in great want of it, having found none at the former reefs. We made the circuit of the island, and saw that the sea entered it in some parts, and that it was completely deserted, containing nothing but sea birds ; brambles were the only vegetation. Finding that it was useless, and that there was no water, we put to sea, and cut down the rations, giving to each a pint of water and twelve ounces of bread. We gave it the name of San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> because it was discovered on the eve of that feast.

On leaving this island we steered north-north-east and north, and sometimes north - north - west, because of the *Almiranta*, which could not keep her luff as we did, so that we were driven upon her ; and upon these courses we reached  $32\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of north latitude, where I asked the pilots at what point we were. The pilots of the *Capitana* found that we were 70 degrees from the coast of New Spain, and those of the *Almiranta* found that we were nearer. We continued in this latitude all night, and in the morning we could not see the *Almiranta*, and so we furled our large sails to wait for her. We continued thus until noon, but, as she did not appear, I ordered all the sails to be furled, and so they remained until sunset, when we saw her to windward, but she was hardly visible because of a mist which had fallen. As it was night, in order not to lose way, we set our foresail and mizzen, and so continued until the morning of the next day, which was the eve of St. Luke's day, the 17th of October, when a violent hurricane arose, the wind blowing so violently from the north that, though all the sails were furled, it caused the ship to heel over to port till the beam ends were under water to the hatches, which had been closed and caulked when we saw the storm increasing.

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<sup>1</sup> Wake's Island (see p. 69, note).

Not a soul on board expected to escape from this peril, and the lamentations of the people were such that it broke one's heart to hear the piteous words that they spoke to one another. One of the friars whom we had with us behaved very well, for, after singing the Creed with those who were with him below, he encouraged them to die like Christians, exhorting them to true contrition and repentance for their sins. We who were on deck, calling upon God, endeavoured with blows of the mallet to get the boat launched, in which by God's help we succeeded. There was so much water in the ship, and she was lying at such an angle, that many of the people below were swimming. Seeing that the launching of the boat had done no good, I told the pilots that we must cut down the mainmast, but they objected, saying that we should be lost, for we would be unable to navigate; at last, against their will, upon my saying that we could manage the 70 leagues to the coast with the foremast, they had it cut down, and it fell into the sea with the sails and yards. When the mast fell, the ship began to right herself little by little. Wishing to spread the foresail in order to handle the ship, while we were unfurling the sail, the wind caught it and tore it to pieces, of which the largest was not sufficient to patch an old sail. Hastily we fetched a blanket, and made a storm sail of it, and thereupon the ship bore up and righted, the water ran out of the scuppers, and with the pumps we threw out what was below. We sailed with the blanket all that day and the next, until the weather grew fairer and we could bend a foresail. Three days afterwards, when the fury of the storm had abated, I ordered an inspection of our victuals and water, and, finding that there was very little, in order that it might not fail us altogether, we cut down the rations to eleven ounces of biscuit, but it was so damaged that we could not eat quite six, although we had no other food. The water was cut down to half a pint each, my share not exceeding

that of any private individual, and upon this allowance of bread and water we lived for three months ; for when the pilots said that we were 70 leagues from land we were really more than 600. The distance from the land, and other storms which we endured, in which we were on the point of perishing, made the men long to turn back, not only because they thought that the pilots did not know where we were, but also because we were suffering from great sickness and hunger. Many had their gums swollen until the flesh covered their teeth ;<sup>1</sup> others lost their sight through weakness, and others fell ill of fevers ; and even when we had a little help and comfort, we threw a man overboard every day ; their chief consolation was to call me to see them die ; and not only did I feel great sorrow and compassion when I saw this, but even now, whenever I call to mind how I looked upon their death, it touches me to the soul and overcomes me.

All the men were firmly bent on turning back, thinking that it was the only way to save their lives and put an end to much hardship and misery ; and they gathered in knots and circles discussing how I could not only be prevailed upon to put back, but forced to do so. Being informed by a soldier that there were only five on my side against all the rest, I went to them and told them that they were out of all reason in wishing to put back, adducing many reasons and arguments to prove that it was wrong, and that it was better to go on. In reply, they urged the hardships they were suffering, saying that they spoke thus because of our present necessity, which was past hope of succour, and bidding me not to make it a point of honour not to turn back, since it was more in the interest of your Majesty's service to put back to the Philippines where we should all

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<sup>1</sup> From scurvy.

be saved, than to perish thus. They bade me take counsel with the pilots upon the question, from which I suspected that the idea of turning back originated with them ; and I replied that I did not want the opinion of the pilots, for it was through following their advice, and their want of confidence in me, that we were in such necessity. I bade them believe me now, since they had not done so before, and consider that the contrary weather we were having was in the last quarter of the moon, and that if we turned back in such weather it would change with the new moon ; that if we went 200 leagues to sea in the present weather we could not return if we wished, being without sails, and that we must of necessity perish at sea of hunger and thirst, and be so weak that the survivors would not be able to throw the dead overboard ; and, since they saw that I endured as much hunger and necessity as themselves, and valued my life as highly as each one of them did their own, I bade them believe that I was acting for the good of all, since we could not by any means be more than 100 leagues from land. They were somewhat pacified by these words, though not sufficiently to induce them to give up the idea of turning back, but they thought it would be better to wait for the change of the moon. In the meantime, God, who is the true helper in all necessities, was pleased to assist me, and turn the men from their plan of going back ; the weather grew calm, and during the calm I saw floating upon the water towards the ship a large piece of wood, very clean, and without bark ; and, pointing it out to the men, I said, " See what you would have done ; we have reached the land." Then I sent a sailor overboard for it, and he brought it back. The wood had a very sweet smell, and we cut it into many pieces, each of us taking one. After we had found the wood, we were eight days in reaching land, which we sighted on the eve of Nuestra

Señora de la O;<sup>1</sup> and on the morning of the next day we reached it in 30 degrees of north latitude.

Though we were approaching the land, we did not increase the rations of bread and water, but, in our joy at seeing it, we did not feel the hardship. We coasted along the land as far as California, which lies differently from the way in which it is represented. As we cruised along it we entered a large bay, in which we were three days unable to get out.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards we reached California, and, at the extremity thereof, in a corner, we saw a river, having found no other on the whole coast. We anchored near it, and I landed with six soldiers, as many servants, and the Chief Pilot, upon a raft which we made of planks and some casks. We took back three or four casks of water, and some albatross and seagulls which I shot, of which we made broth for the sick, and with the timber which we cut to make a boat, we embarked and went to the port of Santiago de Colima. We reached it on the 23rd of January<sup>3</sup> and, though we rejoiced that "we had escaped from our long sea voyage, and had reached a Christian land, it was no small grief to us to think that our comrades in the *Almiranta* were drowned, for from the day before the storm we had not seen her, and that was now three months past. But as the mercies which God shows to man are always brought to perfection, He was not only pleased to save me from hardship and perils, but He saved them likewise, and, that we might recognise it as the work of His hands, He brought her into the same port the day after I arrived; and, in order to convince us more certainly that He had brought her thither, He sent the *Almiranta* contrary

<sup>1</sup> December 20 (see p. 75, *note*).

<sup>2</sup> The Bay of Sebastian Vizcaino. Mendaña named it San Thomé (see p. 75).

<sup>3</sup> Gallego says January 24th.



weather, and forced her to return when she would have gone on, not knowing that there was a port. Our delight at seeing each other was so great that we wept for joy. Pedro de Ortega arrived so ill that I thought that we should have to bury him the next day ; but the joy of seeing us brought him to himself very quickly. The ship arrived like ours without a mainmast, for, during the storm when we cut ours down, they did the same. Their ship heeled over like ours, and they threw their boat overboard ; they suffered the same lack of bread and water, and the same dissension about putting back. We remained for forty days in that port, where some of the men recovered, and some died ;<sup>1</sup> and, as there was no means of repairing the ships there, we went from thence to Nicaragua, where they were repaired, although your Majesty's governor and officials would not give anything towards it. I was obliged to borrow money for it, and to pledge the gold and silver which I had. When they were repaired, which took two months, I set out for Peru, and reached the port of Callao of the City of Los Reyes on the 11th of September, 1569.

God keep your Majesty's Catholic and Royal person for many years, with great increase of kingdoms and dominions.  
Your Majesty's humble servant who kisses your Royal hands,

ALVARO DE MENDAÑA.

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<sup>1</sup> Between thirty and forty died on the homeward voyage (see vol. ii).









ABU-SALAM ZAMADER

President