
Document 1596D

Mendaña & Quirós—Narrative by Quirós, as edited by Zaragoza

Sources: MN ms. 951; Royal Palace Library, Madrid, ms. 1686; published by Justo Zaragoza, Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes, Madrid, 1876; translated by Sir Clements Markham as The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606, Hakluyt Society, 1904.

Translation of Zaragoza, by Markham

...

The ship was unfit for sea, full of sick, in want of water and food...

Things being put right, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess that they were in the latitude of 11° [S] and that, in accordance with the agreement, she must order what should be done. She replied, that as the island of San Cristobal was not in sight, and the *almiranta* could not be found, she would shape a course for Manilla.

The Chief Pilot made his course NW with the wind SE to avoid New Guinea, which was very near, and not to get among the islands...

On that course we continued to sail until the 27th of the month, when we were in 5°... We began to experience great waves coming from NW and NNW, which knocked the ship about, and it was worse when there were calms or light winds: a sign that these winds come from the other side of the line. This continued nearly as far as the Ladrone Islands. There were also variables up to 5° N, where breezes sprang up from NE which lasted all the voyage. If the sun should be near the zenith when it was in Capricorn, I know not how it would be on crossing the equinoctial line.

We sailed on until the 10th of December, when I found the latitude half a degree from the line, a position in which the sky was clear, the air quiet, the sea smooth, but no land in sight; but so cold at night that it was necessary to use blankets. Yet in the



Alvaro de Mendaña was 50 years old in 1595. (*From a drawing by Luis Carlos de Legrand, lithographed by J. J. Martínez in José March y Labores' Historia de la Marina Real Española, Madrid, 1854*)

day the sun was so hot, that even when it was near the horizon the heat could hardly be borne.

The galeot had not been seen for several days, for she had parted company;¹ so, wishing to comply with her obligations to the *capitana* [flagship], the Governess ordered that her Captain should be notified that, on pain of being declared a traitor, he should keep his position, and not be more than half a league off. For it seemed that the *capitana*, from her general unseaworthiness, and having her mainmast sprung, could never reach safety. Yet on that night the galeot [had] stood on another tack, and disappeared, without being any more seen.

¹ Ed. note: We may surmise that the galliot San Felipe separated from the flagship at about 3°S. It made an independent crossing to the Philippines, probably passing close to Palau on the way to the north side of Mindanao.



Governess Isabel Barreto consulting with the officers. *After the death of her husband, Governor Mendaña, Doña Isabel took the decision to seek relief at Manila. (From Jules Verne's *The Exploration of the World*, f.p. 397)*

The ration that was served out consisted of half a pound of flour, of which they made mashed-up paste with salt water, baked in the hot ashes; half a quart of water full of powdered cockroaches, which made it very nauseous and stinking. There was not much good fellowship, owing to the great sickness and little conformity of feeling. What were most evident were the ulcers coming out of feet and legs, the sadness, groans, hunger, infirmities, and death, with mourning for those whom it concerned. Scarcely a day passed without throwing one or two overboard, and on some days there were three and four. It came to this: that there was no little difficulty in carrying the dead up from the between decks.

The sick became rabid from the effluvia of mud and filth that was in the ship. Nothing was hidden. All the prayers were for water; some begged for a single drop, showing their tongues, pointing with their fingers, like the rich man and Lazarus. The women, with children at their breasts, prayed for water, while all complained of a thousand things. Here could well be seen the good friend, he who was a father or a son, the charity and patience that was shown. Here, too, might be seen one who could accommodate himself to the times, and who could be resigned. Many deaths without confession took place¹, and other evils which to think of together were to feel above measure. The *Salve [Regina]* was recited in the afternoon, before the image of Our Lady of Solitude, which was all the consolation in this pilgrimage.

There had come on this expedition a venerable old man and good Christian, who in Lima was *barchilon* [bachiller?], and served in the hospital of the natives. His name was Juan Leal, which he was through all the events he was concerned with. This servant of God and worthy man, in poor health, for he was convalescent, without rest, which in good sooth it had been well if he had found, but he only sought time to occupy himself night and day without ceasing—was he who, in camp and on board, and in the present voyage, devoted himself to the service of the sick with cheerful faith. He showed that his bowels were full of charity, for all that was done for the sick passed through his hands. He bled them, cupped them, made their beds, helped them to a good death, prepared and accompanied their bodies to sepulture, or got them out of danger; a man, in short, who did well in word and deed, though deeply feeling the numerous miserable sights he beheld. But there were ears to which his voices reached, and not finding doors, they returned to their master, who afresh converted them into more love and care to help, as he did help with his accustomed piety.

Chapter XXVII. Of the state in which the ship was as she continued her voyage, and of the death of the hermit.²

A list was made of the surviving sick, and each one was given, besides his ordinary ration, a plate of fritters helped out with honey and treacle, and in the afternoon a mug of water with a little sugar to help as sustenance. Those who were a little stronger had double rations to enable them to work at the pumps four times a day, at which they suffered fearfully, for some hid themselves, others sat down, and others stopped, saying they could not work. Night passed without being able to give rest from the evil that was near, for its clamors and forced necessities were two things which it was not possible to remedy.

The rigging and sails were so rotten that repairs were incessant, and splicing and sewing was constantly needed. The main mast was sprung from the step, and the step of the bowsprit, from not being morticed, hung on one side, taking the bowsprit with it, which caused us great anxiety. The sprit sail with all its gear fell into the sea, and none

1 Ed. note: The priests had died; there remained only a lay brother.

2 Ed. note: The chapter numbering in Markham does not follow that of Zaragoza.

of it could be recovered. The main stay carried away a second time, and it was necessary to make another stay with part of the hemp cable, and the backstays of the mainmast, which were unrove for the purpose. There was not a yard that was not bent downwards owing to parted lifts, the topsail ties were gone, and perhaps for three days at a time the sail was flapping in the waist, because no one cared to hoist it with a rope that had been spliced thirty-three times. We took down the topsails and mizzen in order to mend the courses, which at last were the only sails we used. Of the hull of the ship it may be said with truth that only the beams kept the people above water, for they were of that excellent wood of Guayaquil called *guatchapeli*, which never seems to grow old. The ship was so open in the dead wood that the water ran in and out of the ship when we sailed on a bowline.

The sailors, from the hard work and their weakness, and from seeing the ship in such a state, set no store by their lives; and one of them said to the Chief Pilot that he was tired of being always tired, that he would rather die once than many times, and that they might as well shut their eyes and let the ship go to the bottom. They did not want to work, saying that neither God nor the King required them to do what was impossible. The men said they were without strength, and if one took another in his arms he was unable to hold him up. If they should die, who was there that could revive them? The Chief Pilot answered one of them that if he should jump overboard, the Devil would have him body and soul. Many others said that as he knew how to command, he should give them nourishment from the jars of wine, oil, and vinegar which the Governess had, or that it should be sold to them in exchange for their work; that they would give receipts and pay at Manilla, or make a return in kind. They said this was necessary for them in order to recover strength to work the ship, and that if they all died she would die also. When there was the greatest necessity for them, then they would show her needs and remember what had passed. The Chief Pilot submitted their prayer to the Governess several times during the voyage, saying it was much worse to die than not to expend stores. She said that there was more obligation to her than to the sailors who talked of her favor, and if two were hanged the rest would hold their tongues. The Chief Pilot answered that he only referred to the matter in order to apply a remedy to pressing needs, that the sailors were good men, that if he advocated their cause it was not for any obligation he owed to them, but that the ship might be taken where she herself wished, and that the obligation to please her did not relieve him from the duty of his office, the pay being equal to the debt. At last she served out two jars of oil; but they were soon used up, when the complaints were renewed and continued throughout the voyage.

The soldiers seeing so long a time before them (for no time is short to those who suffer) also said a good deal; that they would gladly exchange this life for a sentence of death in a prison, or for a place on a bench in a Turkish galley, where they might die confessed, or live in the hope of a victory or a ransom. Hope in God, whose power is greater than all our necessities, said one, for that will prove an armed voyage, and above poverty.

This death, which I hold to be a happy termination to a life of good works when received with meekness, was doing service to the Lord in calling, in good time, our dear Juan Leal, who went to his reward in heaven for the merits of what he had done on earth. He died alone and forsaken, like the rest. He was exemplary in his life and customs, he valued the world and its affairs for what they were worth, he went about dressed in sackcloth next to his skin, and reaching half down his legs, with bare feet, and long hair and beard. He had passed many years in this severe course of life, serving hospitals, after having previously served for many years as a soldier in Chile. On the same night a sick man fell overboard, it was not known how, crying out for help; but he was left and was no more seen.

Chapter XXVIII. How there was a proposal to elect a General; the reply of the Chief Pilot to it; the advice given by a man to the Governess, and the loss of the frigate.

The Chief Pilot took great care of the water, as there was little left, and, by secret means, there were great wasters of it. He was therefore present when it was served out. The Governess used it very largely, requiring it to wash her clothes, for which purpose she sent a jar to be filled. The Chief Pilot said that the position should be considered, and that it did not seem just to use so much water, when there was so little. At this she took great offence, and felt it so much that she said very angrily:

— “Cannot I do what I please with my own property?” The Chief Pilot answered:

— “It belongs to all, and it will go to all. The cup is good for him that cannot wash, and it is your duty to curtail your own allowance, that the soldiers may not say that you wash your clothes with their life’s blood. You should put a high value on the patience of those who are suffering, for they might take by force what there is in the ship. Starving people sometimes know how to help themselves.”

Upon this the Governess took the keys of the store room away from the steward, who was an honest man, to whom the Chief Pilot had entrusted them, and gave them to one of her own servants. There were not wanting those who said to the Chief Pilot that he ought not to allow himself to be ruled by a woman, and that if it was put to the vote, the majority would be for a man. But the Chief Pilot answered that they should leave her to enjoy her just title for the brief space that remained. When the time came that he was forced to act, it would then appear more reasonable to say what is now said without considering her.

One honest man was anxious to see less bickering in the ship, and more order and peace than prevailed there. Knowing that some of the hungry and suffering people had determined to force their way into the store room when it was opened, and knowing what must happen from this project, whether fights or other mischief, so that the little food that remained would be got by blows—he said many things to the Governess touching her rule. There were not wanting those who told her not to trust him, and knowing this, he spoke thus to her:

— “Consider, Lady, that those who speak to you are not saints, and well they show it in what they say, for they seek their own benefit and the evil of others. Trust in the men in whom your husband trusted, for have you not seen that in his necessities and your own they have loyally done their duty, seeing your risk. Be assured that here there is no one who desires to rise, nor who would consent to it, nor any who do not owe to you a sole obedience in all that is just.” She replied:

— “Here they come with complaints that I do not wish to hear.” He answered:

— “Do not listen to them nor believe them, and treat the men well. See with what heavy loads they are laden. They might throw them off, and refuse to carry them, or make some evil agreement, so as to agree afterwards. Be sure that each one thinks that, although miseries overflow, compensations are not wanting. To these your brethen be considerate. Do not look upon them as a petty government of many heads without feet, or of many feet without a head. Reflect well on what are new affairs. These people wish for little, and here they suffer much. They owe nothing, yet they owe much; and what they owe to you they dissimulate. If they had not come here, no one would owe anything, nor would what is wanted now be wanted; and to you all is more than owing.”

At last this man asked her:

— “What ought he to do who was warned that some wanted to kill others on board the ship?”

She answered that she would look out. He then said:

— “I know that it was you yourself and your brother who plotted to kill me, and you sharpened the knives; but I did not believe it easily, though I was told by a friend. Nor did I fall in caution, though now I may. You see here how it has been made sure, and if you should wish it, you can have assurance, though you may not believe who it was that deceived you. I am not afraid of what I have told you and excused, for there are very few women with such heads as Dido, Zenobia, and Semiramis.”

With these troubles we went on steering the same course, NNW, until Tuesday, the 17th of December [1595], when we were in 3°30' N. The men in the frigate were worn out by work at the pump, and it was necessary to give them three more to help them at their labor. Sailors were sent to check the water, which was coming in at many places. No diligence availed, and she could not keep up with the *capitana*. The people were very sad, yet desirous to save the vessel because the body of the *adelantado* was on board. Knowing the danger, the Chief Pilot said to the Governess several times, that it seemed right to abandon the frigate, taking off the people, who would be safe, while the ship would be better manned. As he could not prevail, he said to Don Diego de Vera, Captain of the frigate:

— “You know how to complain; how is it you do not know how to make things safe? Do you not see that it will be the death of yourself and your companions? Come on board this ship, for here you will be welcomed like brothers.”

At last the frigate was lost sight of at night, for which cause the Chief Pilot eased off the sheets, and waited until the next day in the afternoon. The soldiers began to make an outcry, saying it was no time to delay the navigation, for that the frigate would not

Two core chapters from the Zaragoza edition

CAP. XXXII.—De cómo se tuvo vista de una isla de la parte del Norte, y el peligro grande en que el galeon estuvo puesto.

Con viento Leste y Lesnordeste que ya se llevaba, se fue siguiendo el rumbo Nor-noroeste, y el siguiente sábado se tuvo vista de una isla en cuya demanda se fue con ánimo de buscar puerto y provision; más no le pareciendo bien al piloto mayor ir de noche por junto a tierra no conocida, mandó virar la nao. Los marineros, gente harta de trabajar, le dijeron no los fatigase tanto, y que bien se podía ir más adelante. Ayudó uno del consejo que se fuese hasta cierta punta. El piloto mayor largó al trinquete la escota, y cambiado el timon, fué la nao virada; y parece fué inspiracion de algun ángel, pues si no se vira, sin remedio alguno se pierde, como abajo se dirá. Fué haciendo y diciendo que hasta adonde estaba conocia ser la mar limpia y que más adelante no sabia lo que la nao toparia.

Al cuarto del alba se volvió la nao, y vino a amanecer donde anochecido habia. Mandó subir un marinero al tope, como lo tenia de costumbre mañana y tarde, y avisó que a la vuelta del Noroeste iban unos grandes arrecifes, y no les veía su fin. El viento era Nordeste y poco y travesia. La nao no llevaba velas de gavia para tenerse a barlovento; los bajos llevaban el agua a sí. La nao estuvo tan cerca de ellos que ya no se buscaba remedio, estando todos con la muerte tragada. Cierta persona hizo en su corazon una peticion y promesa a San Antonio de Padua, y fué servido el Señor que este dia, que lo era de su santo nacimiento, la nao salió de este peligro en que estuvo, y a las tres de la tarde se acabaron de doblar los bajos y puedese decir de milagro.

*De la isla salieron indios en sus embarcaciones de velas, y sin ellas: por no poder pasar el arrecife saltaron en el, y desde allí llamaban con las manos. A la tarde, por el remate de los bajos, vino un sólo indio en una pequeña canoa. Púsose a barlovento y lejos; y por esto no se pudo divisar si tenia barbas, por ser aquel paraje de las islas de los **Barbudos**. Pareció ser hombre de buen cuerpo, desnudo: traía los cabellos largos y sueltos; apuntaba de hácia habia venido, y partiendo cosa blanca con las manos, lo comia, y empinaba cocos como que bebia. Fué llamado, y no quiso venir.*

Era ya tarde, y a esta causa subió un marinero al tope a mirar la mar, y avisó de unas isletas bajas y muchas restingas, en que la nao estaba metida como en corral. Hubo otro poco de desabrimiento, con pareceres que si se hubieran de seguir (como de quienes no lo entendian), prometian daños. La nao se puso a camino, y se navegó al Nornoroeste.

Esta isleta [sic] tiene de elevacion de Polo ártico seis grados largos. Es casi redonda: bojea treinta leguas. No es muy alta en demasia: tiene mucha arboleda, y por sus laderas muchas rosas y simenteras. A tres leguas parte del Oeste tiene cuatro islas rasas, y otras muchas junto a sí, y todas cercadas de arrecifes. Pareció ser más limpia por la parte del Sur.

appear, that she may have gone ahead, and that if not it was God for us all and each for himself. The Chief Pilot answered that it would be an ill deed to abandon that vessel full of friends on the high sea, without such a pilot as could take her to safety. If she parted company, she could not be secure of reaching port. She was never more seen.¹

Chapter XXIX. How they came in sight of an island bearing north, and of the great danger in which the ship was placed.

With the wind from the E and [E]NE the ship continued her NNW course, and on the following Saturday she came in sight of an island, for which they steered cheerfully in hopes of a port and provisions. But as it did not appear well to the Chief Pilot to go too near an unknown land during the night, he ordered the ship to be tacked. The sailors, accustomed to work, said they were not tired, and that they were quite ready to go on.² The Chief Pilot eased off the foresheet, put the helm down, and the ship went round. This seemed to be the inspiration of an angel, for if she had not been put about she would certainly have been lost, as will be seen further on. Up to where the ship was the sea was clear and unbroken, but further on it was not known what the ship would strike against.

At dawn the ship stood in to where she was before night. A sailor was sent to the mast-head, as was the custom morning and evening, and he reported that to the NE [rather NW] there were some great reefs, the termination of which he could not see.³ The ship had no after sails to enable her to work to windward; and the water was breaking over the rocks. The ship was so near them that there appeared to be no escape, and death seemed ready to swallow us up. A certain person made a prayer and a promise, in his heart, to St. Anthony of Padua; and it served the Lord that on this day, which was that of His holy birth, the ship come out of the danger in which she was placed. At three in the afternoon she doubled the reef, it may be said by a miracle.

Natives came in their canoes from the island under sail, others paddling. As they were unable to cross the reef, they jumped on it, and made signs with their hands. In the afternoon one single native in a small canoe came round the end of the reef. He was at a distance to windward, so that we could not see whether he had a beard, the position being near the island of the **Barbudos**. He seemed to be a good-sized man and naked, with long, loose hair. He pointed in the direction whence he had come, and

1 Ed. note: There is a possibility that this small ship may have reached Pohnpei, and that a colony of lost white men, whose blood line would have soon become mixed, was founded there.

2 Ed. note: Error in translation. The sentence should read: "The sailors, the people necessary for the maneuver, told him not to tire them so much, and that they could very well keep going." Another sentence is also missing here: "A member of the council advised that they could go to a certain point."

3 Ed. note: Another sentence is missing: "The wind was NE, light and abeam."

CAP. XXXIII.—De cómo se tuvo vista de las islas de los Ladrones, y lo que allí pasó.

*Siguióse el rumbo Nornoroeste, y lunes primero de Enero se halló altura de catorce grados. Gobernóse al Oeste franco. El viento era largo y fresco; y miércoles tres del dicho, al amanecer, se tuvo vista de dos islas de los Ladrones, en cuya demanda se iba. La una era **Guan**, y la otra la **Serpana** [Rota]. Pasóse por entre las dos, que se corren Nordeste Sudueste por canal de diez leguas arrimado a la de Guan. Cayó un hombre a la mar estando mareando el trinquete, y no había en toda la nao más de una cuerda, y ésta la tenía uno en la nao, que echada a la mar acertó de ser en parte donde salía el caído debajo la nao, a la cual asido, subió arriba ¡gracias a Dios!*

De la isla de Guan salieron muchas piraguas con sus velas y muchos de aquellos indios ladrones, que son unos hombres fornidotes, de razonable color. Venían diciendo charume [= chamore], que quiere decir amigos; herrequepe [= arepeque], que quiere decir daga hierro, que esto es lo que venían a buscar, por ser muy amigos de ello. Como venían tantos, y se daban mucha priesa, se encontraban y trastornaban algunas embarcaciones, cuyos dueños nadando las volvían boca arriba con grande facilidad. Son embarcaciones de dos proas; virando la vela están a camino, sin que se vire el bajel. Trajeron muchos cocos, plátanos, arroz, agua, petates, y unos grandes pescados voladores y dorados, y todo lo dieron a trueque de hierros viejos. Con esta gente y refresco, la de la nao se alegró extremadamente. Acabóse el rescate: fueron los indios, dos menos, que mató un arcabuz, por un pedazo de arco de pipa [robado].

Los soldados instaron mucho con el piloto mayor que tomase puerto en la isla para procurar que comer. Buena fué u voluntad, mas dejólo de hacer por no tener aparejos en que echar la barca al agua: y esto lo dijo a todos; mas ellos instaban más, diciendo a manos la echarían. Preguntóles:

— ¿Y al recoger, qué será? Respondieron:

— ¿Qué más que se quedase allí? El piloto mayor dijo:

— No está bien perder la barca, habiéndose de navegar por entre las muchas islas que se iban a buscar.

Porfiaron mucho; mas él, haciéndose sordo, siguió al Oeste franco su camino hasta viernes doce, que se tomó del sol trece grados.

breaking something white with his hands he ate it, and had coconuts for drink. He was called to, but did not want to come.

It was evening, and, for that reason, a sailor went aloft to look out. He reported two small islands and many rocks, by which the ship was surrounded as in a yard. There was reason for despondency, as whatever course was taken (to those who did not understand) seemed to threaten danger. The ship was put on a course steering NNW.¹

This islet [sic] is in latitude 6° [N]. It is nearly round, and about 30 leagues in circumference. It is not very high. It has many trees, and at their sides there were flowers and cultivated patches. At 3 leagues to the west there are four low islands, and many others near them², all surrounded by reefs. The sea appeared to be more clear [of dangers] to the southward.

Chapter XXX. How they came in sight of the Ladrone Islands, and what happened there.

Continuing on a NNW course, they were in 14°N latitude on Monday, the 1st of January [1596]. The wind was west, and the ship was going free.³ On Wednesday, the 3rd of the same month, we came in sight of two of the Ladrone islands, for which we were making. One was called **Guan**, and the other **Serpana**. We passed between the two, which lie NE and SW, by a channel 10 leagues wide, keeping on the side of Guan. A man who was handling the foresail fell overboard; and in the whole ship there was only one line. It was thrown over where the man had fallen alongside, who got hold of it and came up, thanks be to God!

Many canoes came out from Guan under sail, with a number of Ladrone natives in them, who are stout men of a reasonable color. They were crying out *charume* [= *chamore*], which means friends, and *heoreque* [= *arepeque*], signifying “give us iron”⁴ which is what they seek, being very fond of it. As so many came there was a great press, and some canoes fouled each other and were overturned, whose masters swimming, turned them over again with great ease. They are built with two prows, so that they can turn the sail without having to turn the canoe. They brought many coconuts, plantains, rice, water, and some large fish, giving all in exchange for old iron. Those of the ship were delighted with these people and their refreshing provisions. The exchange being completed, the natives went away, all but two who were killed by an arquebus, owing to a matter of a piece of cask hoop.

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- 1 Ed. note: I think that the predicament in which they found themselves had to do with their inability to reach the northern harbor of Pohnpei, which they could see dotted with islets and rocks.
 - 2 Ed. note: The text can be interpreted as follows, with reference to the main island: “It has 4 low islets 3 leagues to the west of it, and many others near itself...”
 - 3 Ed. note: Inaccurate translation here. They headed due west, with the wind pushing them... The switch to the first person plural is not found in the original (see inset).
 - 4 Ed. note: We have seen many times before that such an expression means Don’t shoot!

The soldiers insisted much with the Chief Pilot that he should go into port at this island and procure provisions. He was very willing; but he gave it up because there was no gear for getting the boat into the water. He said this to all; but they still insisted, saying they could do it with their hands. The Chief Pilot replied:

— “And how will you get it on board again?” They answered:

— “Why cannot it be left here?” Then the Chief Pilot said:

— “It is not well to lose the boat, having to navigate among so many islands of which we go in search.”

They were very persistent; but he turned a deaf ear, and continued to shape a westerly course until Friday, the 12th, when, on taking the sun, he found the latitude to be 13° N.

Chapter XXXI. How, when they came in sight of the Philippine Islands, the ship was in many dangers, and how she anchored in a good harbor.

The Chief Pilot navigated only by information, and without a chart, seeking for the cape of Espiritu Santo, the first land of the Philippines. At daybreak land was sighted, being the peak of a high mountain; and nothing else was then seen owing to a shower of rain that came on. The land was welcomed with as much content as if we had really reached a safe haven. Some said: “Soon we shall hear Mass and seek God. There is no longer danger of death without confession, for that is a land where Christians dwell.” Amidst these anticipations and great rejoicing, there were others so weak that they could not stand on their feet, and who were like skeletons ready to die; and their refrain was that they no longer wished to bring to light their propped-up bones. Presently they all applied for a double ration of water, for the want of it caused the greatest sufferings. But the Chief Pilot said that he could not give more than the cup, for there was very little left, and we should still be at sea some time before we anchored.