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To cite this article: José María Moreno Madrid & David Salomoni (2022) Nuno Da Silva's *Third Relation*: An Unknown Report on Francis Drake's Voyage (1577–1580), *Terrae Incognitae*, 54:1, 64–82, DOI: [10.1080/00822884.2022.2048246](https://doi.org/10.1080/00822884.2022.2048246)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00822884.2022.2048246>



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Published online: 30 Mar 2022.



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Nuno Da Silva's *Third Relation*: An Unknown Report on Francis Drake's Voyage (1577–1580)

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This paper presents a hitherto unknown account of Francis Drake's voyage (1577–1580). The author is Nuno da Silva, a Portuguese pilot whom Drake seized on the Island of Santiago in Cape Verde. Since Da Silva was released in Huatulco on 13 May 1579, the account only covers events up to this date. The transcription of the source in its original language (Spanish) and an English translation are provided.

KEYWORDS Francis Drake; Nuno da Silva; early modern history; maritime history

Cet essai présente un compte rendu jusqu'ici inconnu du voyage de Francis Drake (1577–1580). Son auteur est Nuno da Silva, un pilote portugais capturé par Drake sur l'île de Santiago du Cap-Vert. Comme Da Silva a été libéré à Huatulco le 13 mai 1579, le compte rendu ne comprend que les événements jusqu'à cette date. La transcription de la source dans sa langue originale (l'espagnol) et une traduction en anglais sont fournies.

MOTS CLÉS Francis Drake, Nuno da Silva, les débuts de l'histoire moderne, l'histoire maritime

Este artículo presenta un relato hasta ahora desconocido del viaje de Francis Drake (1577–1580). El autor es Nuno da Silva, un piloto portugués secuestrado por Drake en la isla de Santiago en Cabo Verde. Dado que Da Silva fue liberado en Huatulco el 13 de mayo de 1579, el relato solo cubre los hechos hasta esa fecha. Se proporciona la transcripción de la fuente en su idioma original (español) y una traducción al inglés.

PALABRAS CLAVE Francis Drake, Nuño da Silva, Edad Moderna, historia marítima

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Introduction

The unknown document that we are presenting is part of the manuscript 51-V-36 preserved at the Ajuda National Library in Lisbon. The source title is “Relacion de Nuno de Silva piloto portugues del viaje que hizo con el Drac desde la Isla de Cabo Verde por el estrecho hasta Huatulco 1583” (fl. 123–127). It is a copy datable to the eighteenth century by its paleographic characteristics. It contains a report delivered by the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva about the voyage he undertook with the Englishman Francis Drake between 1577 and 1578. This report was first produced in 1583 in Madrid, where Da Silva was deported after being released by Drake in Huatulco.

As far as we can ascertain, this source has been unknown until now, and the location of the original document is still unidentified. The value of this account comes from its wealth of information about Francis Drake's sailing enterprise during the period Da Silva participated. The document reports some important details, such as the names of the ships in the fleet and Drake's surprisingly precise intuitions about the latitude at which the northwest passage of the American continent was located. This manuscript adds to other narratives of the same events by Da Silva because it explains events in its own unique way and adds details that do not appear in his other narratives, which we have highlighted in the notes. In addition, the annotations in the manuscript's margins are of great interest, as they allow us to observe a “conversation” at a distance between Da Silva and an anonymous glossator (there was most likely only one glossator). We have included all the glossator's additions in the notes below. This dialogue bears witness to the lived reality of the first globalization. Not infrequently, in fact, it appears that the anonymous glossator corrects some details reported by Da Silva since the glossator's descriptions correspond better with the actual environment. This introduction provides background on Da Silva, Drake, the voyage, and publications about it; our English translation of *Third Relation* and a transcription of the original Spanish text follow.

Francis Drake's circumnavigation (1577–1580) was a landmark event in Early Modern maritime history. On the one hand, it called into question the formal monopoly held by the Spanish crown over the Pacific Ocean and its possessions in South America; on the other, it repeated the nautical feat achieved by Fernão de Magalhães and Juan Sebastián Elcano almost six decades earlier. Given the importance of the expedition, reports of Drake's voyage did not take long to reach English printing houses. Richard Hakluyt's (1553–1616) *The principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation* (1589)¹ included the first of these accounts under the title *The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe*

¹ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, and discoveries of the English nations: made by sea or over land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compass of these 1500 years: divided into three several parts according to the positions of the regions whereunto they were directed; the first containing the personal travels of the English unto Indæa, Syria, Arabia ... the second, comprehending the worthy discoveries of the English toward the north and northeast by sea, as of Lapland ... the third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America ... whereunto is added the last most renowned English navigation round about the whole globe of the earth* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, deputies to Christopher Barker, printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, 1589).

of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577.² The third volume of the second edition of *The principal navigations* (1600)³ includes five short reports of Drake's voyage, one of them being a slightly altered reprint of *The Famous Voyage*.⁴ It was not until the year 1628, however, that an extended account of the expedition was published, entitled *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted*.⁵ The text was composed by Francis Drake—homonymous nephew of the celebrated Corsair—and dedicated to Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick.⁶ Several manuscripts written on the occasion of the voyage were the basis for these printed works. Notable among them are the “Memoranda, apparently relating to this voyage,”⁷; the “An account of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, 1585”; “documents relating to Francis Drake's proceedings against Thomas Doughty”⁸; “John Cooke's Narrative”⁹; “A discourse of Sir Francis Drake journey . . .”¹⁰; and, of course, the journal of Francis Fletcher.¹¹

Efforts to piece together these diverse accounts began in the mid-nineteenth century, when the Hakluyt Society published *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (1854),¹² a compilation of all the printed and manuscript sources we have quoted so far.¹³ This collection instantly became a mandatory reference for any research on Drake's circumnavigation and the basis on which the voyage was reconstructed from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first years of the twentieth. The limitation of Hakluyt's edition, which encompasses only the English sources, was recognized, and partly addressed in 1914, when the Hakluyt Society published Zelia Nuttall's *New light on Drake*.¹⁴ Nuttall made translations of many

² About the 1589 edition of *The Famous Voyage* see: David B. Quinn, “Early accounts of the Famous Voyage”, in *Sir Francis Drake and the famous voyage, 1577–1580*, ed. Norman Joseph William Thrower (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 33–49.

³ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, Vol. 3 (London: George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie and Robert Barker 1600).

⁴ Hakluyt, *The principal navigations*, pp. 730–742.

⁵ Francis Fletcher and Francis Drake, *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted; Carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher preacher in this employment, and divers others his followers in the same* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1628).

⁶ A second edition was printed in 1635 and a third in 1653, both published by Nicholas Bourne. Francis Fletcher, Francis Drake, and Willem Cornelisz Schouten, *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, 1628 and The relation of a wonderful voyage by William Cornelison Schouten, 1619* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 16–17.

⁷ “Memoranda, apparently relating to this voyage,” London, British Library (hereafter, BL), Western Manuscripts, Harley MS 280, fo. 81–82.

⁸ “An account of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, 1585; documents relating to Francis Drake's proceedings against Thomas Doughty,” BL, Western Manuscripts, Harley MS 6221.

⁹ BL, 1577–1578, Western Manuscripts, Harley MS 540, fo. 93.

¹⁰ BL, Western Manuscripts, Harley MS 280, fo. 83–90.

¹¹ Fletcher's original journal is lost. A fragment of it was copied by the apothecary John Conyers in the seventeenth century (“Reverend Francis Fletcher: Narrative, as eyewitness, of the first part of Sir F. Drake's second voyage in 1577 round the world, 1677. Copied. Sir Francis Drake, Admiral: Narrative of the first part of his second voyage round the world by Rev. F. Fletcher: copied in 1677,” BL, Western Manuscripts, Sloane MS 61).

¹² Francis Drake, Francis Fletcher and William Wright Vaux (Ed.), *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios*, ed. William Sandys Wright Vaux (London: Hakluyt Society, 1854).

¹³ The seventeenth-century fragment of Francis Fletcher's diary was not published as a stand-alone document, but as comparative-complementary notes to *The World Encompassed*.

¹⁴ *New Light on Drake. A collection of documents relating to his voyage of circumnavigation, 1577–1580*, ed. Zelia Nuttall (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914).

documents issued by the Spanish and New Spain institutions available, which greatly contributed to the expansion and enrichment of research on Drake's journey. Nuttall's work was sparked by a fortuitous finding in the Archivo General de la Nación (México): a declaration given by one Nuno da Silva about "how he was taken prisoner by English pirates on his way from Oporto to Brazil, 23 May 1579."¹⁵ It would be inaccurate to say that Nuttall was the first scholar to take note of Da Silva's existence, since the Portuguese pilot is at least quoted in almost every English source to which we have referred so far, included printed ones.¹⁶ Among Drake's contemporaries, Francis Fletcher is the one who most fully grasped Da Silva's contribution to the expedition, stating that "if the Portugal pilot had not been appointed of God to do us good, we [would have] perished without remembrance."¹⁷ The only English source in which Da Silva is wholly omitted is Francis Drake's *The World Encompassed*, in which all traces of the pilot are erased. This choice is consistent with Drake's aim of making his uncle the sole protagonist of the expedition.¹⁸ On the whole, however, Nuttall was the first to realize Da

¹⁵ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. xiv.

¹⁶ In *The Famous Voyage*: "a prize, and Nuno da Silva a Portugal pilot taken" (Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, p. 732.); in *The voyage of M. John Winter into the South Sea by the Streight of Magellan, in consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577*: "Here [Isla de Brava] the General discharged the Portugals, giuing unto them our Pinnesse which we built at Mogador: with wine, bread, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of February, taking one of there companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silva" (Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, p. 750); in *A Discourse of the West Indies and South Sea, written by Lopez Vaz, a Portugal, born in the city of Elvas, continued unto the yere 1587*: "And so having provided two ships and three businesses in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and coming to the Islands of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal ship laden with wine, the Pilot whereof being a Portugal called nuno da Sylva, he carried along with him, who was a great help and furtherance unto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugal pilot himself" (Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, p. 791). Hakluyt even reproduced a text entitled *The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot, called Nuno da Silva, for the Vice-roy of New Spain, the 20 of May in the yere of our Lord 1579, in the city of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugal-Indies: wherein is set down the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, that took the aforesayd Nuno da Silva at S. Jago, one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and carried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Haven of Huatulco, in New Spain, where he let him go again* (Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, pp. 742–748). The original text of this relation, in Spanish, has survived in three manuscripts: two of them preserved in the Archivo General de Indias ("Apresamiento de Nuño de Silva por Drake: Costa de Brasil", 1579, Seville, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Patronato, 266, R.17); and another one in the Library of Congress (Washington): "Memoria de la Costa Rica del Mar del Norte [with three other narratives]", ca. 1579, Washington, Library of Congress (LC), Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Kraus, H.P. Sir Francis Drake no. 1). It was first published in Dutch in Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, and everything suggests that his source was one of the manuscripts kept in the Archivo General de Indias. William Philip translated Linschoten's text in his English version of the *Itinerario* (1598), and two years later it was reprinted by Hakluyt in *The Principal Navigations*. See Benjamin P. Draper, "A collection of Drake bibliographic items, 1569–1659," in *Sir Francis Drake and the famous voyage, 1577–1580*, ed. Norman Joseph William Thrower (Berkeley / Los Angeles / London: University of California Press, 1984), p. 183.

¹⁷ Drake and Fletcher, *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios*, p. 35. Cited in Louis B. Wright, "English Explorers' Debt to the Iberians," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra (Separata)*, XXVIII (1980), p. 82.

¹⁸ Quinn, "Early accounts of the Famous Voyage," p. 39. Equally removed is the moment when Nuno da Silva is captured, narrated by Fletcher: "Now the Portugals of the shipp having been discharged and set freely at liberty, as hath been said, we reserved to our own service only one of their company, one Sylvester [Silva], their pilot, a man well travelled both in Brasilia and most parts of India on this side of the land, who, when he heard that our travel was into Mare del Zur, that is, the South Sea, was most willing to go with us." Fletcher Drake and Wright Vaux, *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, p. 26.

Silva's potential as a primary source on Drake's circumnavigation, and almost a score of documents published in *New Light on Drake* are directly related to him.

Nuno da Silva was likely born around the 1530s in Porto or Lisbon.¹⁹ His parents were Alvaro Joanez, a seaman, and Joan da Silva. He was "brought up by the latter until he had reached the age of 8 years, after which his uncle Adan Fernandez, a pilot, took him to Brazil."²⁰ The young Da Silva sailed with Fernandez "in vessels belonging to the Armada of the King of Portugal until he reached the age of 20 years, when his uncle died."²¹ Then, he "continued to navigate between Portugal and Brazil, first as a sailor, then as a pilot, and finally as a captain and pilot combined, of merchant vessels."²² In November 1577, he left Porto for the Island of La Palma to pick up a shipment of wines to be delivered to Brazil.²³ Kidnapped by Francis Drake while on a stopover in the archipelago of Cape Verde, Da Silva never completed the voyage. He then sailed with the Corsair until 13 April 1579 when he was released in the port of Huatulco (México).

By that time, the authorities in New Spain were well aware that an English fleet was plundering Spanish possessions in the Pacific and were eager to put a stop to it. It goes without saying that Da Silva was an extremely valuable informant under these circumstances. Thus, the Portuguese pilot was immediately seized by Huatulco authorities and interrogated by the Major Gaspar de Vargas. The result of the questioning was a report known as the "First Relation,"²⁴ which was enclosed in a letter sent to Martín Enríquez de Almansa, the Viceroy of New Spain, on 14 April 1579.²⁵ Grasping the importance of Da Silva's first-hand knowledge of Drake's voyage, Enríquez de Almansa summoned him to his presence and interrogated him on 20 May 1579, leading to the so-called "Second Relation."²⁶ Shortly thereafter, on 23 May 1579, Da Silva was examined again, this time by the Inquisition. This "deposition" is the longest and most detailed account of the journey of all the surviving ones attributed to him.²⁷

¹⁹ Mickaël Augeron, "Autour de Francis Drake et de son voyage dans les Mers du Sud. La place et le rôle du pilote portugais Nunho da Silva (1578–1579)," in *Terres marines* [online], eds. Frédéric Chauvaud and Jacques Péret (Rennes, 2006), pp. 341–349. See also Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 245, 256, 269, 296.

²⁰ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 296.

²¹ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 297.

²² Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 297.

²³ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 297.

²⁴ Two copies with slight variations in "Apresamiento de Nuño de Silva por Drake: Costa de Brasil", 1579, AGI, Patronato, 266, R.17. Translated in Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 245–252.

²⁵ The letter also contained "a description of Drake and his ship, as furnished by the three men captured by Drake the day before." On Da Silva, Gaspar de Vargas comments: "He [Drake] carries with him a Portuguese pilot who is very skillful. It seems that it is he who governs and directs this Armada. This Portuguese speaks the English language as though it were his own and he is the General's all in all." Draper, "A collection of Drake bibliographic items, 1569–1659", p. 182. The letter (original in "Apresamiento de Nuño de Silva por Drake: Costa de Brasil", 1579, AGI, Patronato, 266, R.17) was translated by Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 238–241.

²⁶ See note 16.

²⁷ According to Nuttall, the original document is preserved in the Archivo General de la Nación (México) with the shelfmark "Inquisition. Volume 85. Correspondence. Part 17. XVI Cent. General Archives. "Indiferente." We have tried to contact the archive, both to request the original document and to verify that the shelfmark is correct, but in vain. A different version of this manuscript was sent to the Council of the Inquisition in Spain. Nuttall locates it in the Archivo General de Simancas, and provides the shelfmark "Cartas del Consejo de su Magestad de la Santa General Inquisicion, 1580 (lib.DCCLXII, fol.4)," which seems to be outdated. Once again, we were unable to find the document. Luckily, Nuttall had access to both, and published a translation comparing them. See Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 295–322.

Despite being a strategic asset for the Spanish Monarchy, Da Silva's stay in New Spain became uncomfortable when he was accused of heresy and collaboration with Drake.²⁸ Found guilty of "assisting at the Lutheran prayers and sermons on board the Englishman's ship and of performing heretical acts of reverence and submission, without having been compelled to do so by force or by fear,"²⁹ Da Silva was "sentenced to make 'public abjuration de vehementi' in the *auto-da-fe* of 1582 and to 'perpetual exile from the Indies.'" ³⁰ With his reputation in doubt, he embarked on the Fleet of the Indies that same year, heading for the Iberian Peninsula.

On arrival in Seville, he was arrested and once again interrogated by the President and Judges of the Casa de la Contratación.³¹ In Madrid, however, Philip II was waiting to welcome the Portuguese pilot with open arms. Indeed, as a "portion of an unsigned letter, dated 30 July 1583 addressed to the members of the Royal Council, Madrid, which relates to the return of Nuño da Silva to Spain" states, "His Majesty [Philip II] particularly wished to know what manner of navigation he [Nuno da Silva] had made and all that had happened to him."³² A Consulta of the Council of Indies shows that the King's desire was soon satisfied; the Portuguese pilot was already in Madrid by 27 August 1583. The Consulta further explains that Antonio de Eraso had sent Da Silva's deposition to the Council, where it was read by the President and Officials of the Casa de la Contratación, together with "another declaration he [Da Silva] had made in New Spain, sent by the Viceroy."³³ After examining both accounts, the Council resolved that "Francisco Draqs took him by force,"³⁴ and therefore he was not guilty. However, "the rutter that he had written of that voyage, and the draft that he also had, all written in his language"³⁵ were requisitioned as well as other papers related to the journey. The Council concluded that there was no reason to arrest him, especially considering how poor he was; thus, they suggested that the monarch grant him *merced* and alms to get some benefit from him.³⁶

Philip II's response can be found, as usual, in the margin of the said Consulta. He approved the seizure of the rutter and the draft and moreover ordered Da Silva to produce another report of what had happened on the journey. This document would remain in Madrid, and it was stipulated that Da Silva could not keep a copy of it.

²⁸ Nuttall devotes a full chapter of his book to the "Documents relating to Nuño da Silva's trial by the Inquisition." See Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 295–381; and Augeron, "Autour de Francis Drake et de son voyage dans les Mers du Sud."

²⁹ José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905), p. 58. Quoted in Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 393.

³⁰ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 394.

³¹ Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 397.

³² Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 397.

³³ "[...] y luego se vio la dicha confesion y por ella y por otra declaración que hizo en la nueva españa que avia embiado el virrey". "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 27 August 1583, AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.170. Authors' transcription and translation. It refers to the "Second Relation".

³⁴ "[...] que el cosario Francisco Draqs le llevo por la fuerza." "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 27 August 1583, AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.170.

³⁵ "[...] se le a tomado el derrotero que el avia escripto de aquel viage y el borrador que asi mesmo tenia, todo escripto en su lengua." "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 27 August 1583, AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.170. Nuno da Silva's rutter ("Derrotero de Nuño de Silva," 1583, AGI, Patronato, 33, N.3, R.30) was translated by Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 273–295.

³⁶ "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 27 August 1583, AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.170

Philip II acknowledged both Da Silva's innocence and the hardship he had endured, and accordingly gave instructions that the pilot should not be arrested, but rather, given some assistance.³⁷ The Council of Indies proposed granting him "up to ten or twelve slave licenses,"³⁸ to which the sovereign answered:

It is fine. And I think it would be good to employ this pilot here, in the Armadas or fleets where possible, because if he were to go to his land and remain free, we do not know what he would do or with whom he would sail. And when everything has been agreed with him, he can be given the licenses to avail himself of them.³⁹

It seems that Da Silva accepted the offer, but on one condition: he wanted to return to Porto to visit his wife and children. From there, he would "go to serve wherever he is commanded."⁴⁰ The Council's suggestion to Philip II was that "he could be given license for two months for the said effect,"⁴¹ with the requirement that he return to Seville immediately after his stay in Porto. Once there, he would receive a Real Cédula sanctioning the slave licenses previously agreed upon, from Gómez de Santillán, President of the Council of Indies. Then, Santillán would "make him serve on one of the galleons of the Armada and [he would] instruct the captain to be very careful with him, so that he does not go anywhere without a license from Your Majesty."⁴² Philip II's approval of the plan can be read in the document's margin.

On 7 October 1583, a Real Provisión was addressed to Gómez de Santillán, informing him of Nuno da Silva's arrival. It stated that,

he is not to be arrested or to be annoyed or molested in any way by the jailor of the prison in Seville or by any other person. On his arrival there, you are to employ him in our service, according to the order that we shall send you, to carry a certain dispatch that is to be delivered to him, which is being written and will be sent you shortly.⁴³

Five days later, Royal Treasurer Antonio de Cartagena was ordered to disburse 100 *reales* to Nuno da Silva for use on his journeys to Porto and Seville⁴⁴; everything was

³⁷ "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 27 August 1583, AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.170.

³⁸ "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 3 September 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.176.

³⁹ "Esta bien, y creo que lo seria mirar en ocupar por aca a este Piloto en las armadas o flotas que se offresan, porque si se fuesse a su tierra, y quedasse con libertad no sabemos lo que haria ni con quien navegaria, tratese desto, y mirese lo que convendra, y quando se aya concludido con el en todo, se le podran dar las licencias que aqui dezis para que se valga dellas." "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 3 September 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.176.

⁴⁰ "[...] desde alli yra a servir donde se le mandare". "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 20 September 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.182.

⁴¹ "[...] que se le podria dar licencia por dos meses para el dicho effecto." "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 20 September 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.182.

⁴² "[...] que le haga servir en uno de los Galeones de la Armada y encargue al capitan tenga mucha quenta con el para que no vaya a otra parte alguna sin licencia de V. M." "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 20 September 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.182.

⁴³ "No sea preso ni se le haga vexacion ni molestia algunas por el alcalde de essa carcel ni otra persona y quando ay llegue le ocupareis en nuestro servicio conforme a la orden que nos os enbiaremos con cierto despacho que se le ha de entregar." Real Provisión al doctor [Hernando] Gómez de Santillán, presidente de la Casa de la Contratación, para que ocupe en el servicio de S.M. a Nuño de Silva, piloto, que llegará próximamente a Sevilla," 7 October 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 426, L.27, F.62 r. Translation by Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 398.

⁴⁴ "Carta acordada del Consejo de Indias a Antonio de Cartagena, su receptor, dándole orden de pago de 100 reales a Nuño deSilva, piloto portugués," 12 October 1583 AGI, Indiferente, 426, L.27, F.62 v. Translated by Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 399.

ready for the Portuguese pilot to set off on his long-awaited return home. Unfortunately, from this point on, Da Silva disappears in the papers of the *Casa de la Contratación*. We do know that he was in Porto by the end of the century,⁴⁵ but his wanderings between being “hired” by Philip II and that time remain unknown.⁴⁶ What is certain is that, by the 1590s, he had achieved some international renown. This is evidenced, for example, by Joan Martine’s atlas of 1591, which was drawn in Naples.⁴⁷ On the sheet devoted to South America—which already shows an insular Tierra del Fuego—present-day Drake Passage bears the following caption: “Channel discovered by Nuno da Silva, Portuguese pilot of Francis Drake.”⁴⁸

Nuño da Silva’s Relation of the Voyage He Made with Drake from the Island of Cape Verde through the Strait to Huatulco

On the third day of September 1583, Juan de Ledesma, scribe of the Government Chamber of the Council of Indies, by order and commission of the Lords of the aforementioned Council in the City of Madrid, took and wrote Nuño da Silva’s oath according to the law, so that he could say and declare what he saw and knew about the voyage he made with the English corsair Francis Drake, and he said the following.

Nuño da Silva, Portuguese native of Lisbon in Portugal, pilot of the Brazil Run, at the beginning of November 1577, set sail to Brazil after departing from Porto and stopping in La Palma to load ships with wine. His ship was named after St. Sebastian⁴⁹ and was full of goods to be carried to Todos Los Santos Bay.⁵⁰ On 19 January 1578, being near to the port of Santiago of Cape Verde,⁵¹ where he was going to harbor to take what was necessary for his voyage, seven ships appeared. The flagship boarded Silva’s ship, and with the help of a boat the Portuguese vessel was seized, and its men taken in front of the general Francis Drake, Englishman. Then, on January 21, they went to Brava Island⁵² where the Portuguese men of the seized ship were left on the land. However, Drake kept Silva isolated, not allowing

⁴⁵ This is thanks to documentation located by Amândio Barros, which he made public in the *XIX International Reunion for the History of Nautical Science (Casa de la Ciencia – CSIC, Seville, 15–18 November 2021)*, in a presentation entitled “Ships and Pilots of the Strait. European Technology and Shipping Interests in the South Atlantic in the 16th Century.”

⁴⁶ Nuttall states that his name did not appear among the pilots salaried by Philip II in 1583 or subsequent years. Following Lopes Vaz’s account, she argues that the pilot might have been alive in 1587. She also speculates (without any documentary evidence) that he might have settled in Plymouth by the end of the sixteenth century, taking advantage of Francis Drake’s “characteristic generosity.” Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 393–396.

⁴⁷ “Atlas mit Seekarten,” 1591, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS. Ham. 430.

⁴⁸ “Canal descubierto por nugnos de silva piloto portgues de fran[cis]co drache.” See Henrique Leitão and José María Moreno Madrid, *Desenhando a Porta do Pacífico. Mapas, cartas e outras representações visuais do Estreito de Magalhães, 1520–1671 / Drawing the Gateway to the Pacific. Maps, charts and other visual representations of the Strait of Magellan, 1520–1671* (Lisboa: ByTheBook, 2021), pp. 172–175.

⁴⁹ This is the only report attributed to Nuna da Silva in which the name of his ship is mentioned.

⁵⁰ Baía de Todos os Santos is a large bay in the Brazilian state of Bahia.

⁵¹ Archipelago of Cabo Verde is a former Portuguese colony off the north-western African coast.

⁵² Island of the Archipelago of Cabo Verde.

anybody to talk to him, and from there they sailed south-east by south until the end of January. And Silva could not take the height⁵³ because he was held prisoner, so Drake took his rutters and sailing tools from him. Drake also asked him about the Brazilian coasts and navigation to India made by the ships of São Tomé, and he [Da Silva] told him what he knew, and the route that the ships follow in their return from Brazil to Spain,⁵⁴ and told him that they made their approach at 41 degrees and the route was at 42.⁵⁵

From the end of January, they kept sailing south-east by south until they reached 4 degrees south [of the Equator] and from there [they sailed] 2 [degrees] south-east until March 13. Then, they found themselves at 13 degrees and from there they kept sailing south until the April 5, when they saw land at 30 degrees. They had not seen land since they left Brava Island. This land was near River Plate, and on April 12, they saw land at 34 degrees and two thirds. On the 14th of the same month, they entered River Plate until 25 or 30 leagues,⁵⁶ where they took water from the ships, and from there they got back on their south-east path until they exited the river. And from there, they sailed south-south-west following the coastline, whose seabed at 1 or 2 leagues from land was 8 or 9 fathoms deep. And this way they proceeded until the port of San Julian,⁵⁷ which the English called *Abravillas*, located at 49 degrees south, where Magellan had wintered. The Englishman entered here on June 20 and remained until August 27. Another day Drake and five men went on land and sailed through the river about a league. Then, four big *indios* came to meet them and killed two of the five Englishmen and the others went back on the ships. In addition to this, they saw many other big *indios*⁵⁸ who prevented the Englishmen from going on land for water and wood by shooting them with arrows. He gave *cada* [?]⁵⁹ to the ships, which were three, because he left them there. He [Drake] left this port of San Julian with these three ships on August 17th, a Sunday morning. And sailing along the coast heading toward the Strait on 20th of the said month they arrived at the mouth of the Strait, which is at almost 53 degrees.⁶⁰ There he found shelter until the 23rd of the month. He entered the Strait at noon with east and east-north-east wind on the stern, and the three ships sailed through the Strait, and they saw many columns of smoke on the northern shore. They sailed all day and night, and the next day in the morning they found three small Islands, which were 50 leagues inside the mouth of the Strait. And there he hunted a lot of ducks, many of which could not fly,⁶¹ and he remained there until Monday night when he set sail and kept going through the Strait, never crashing into shallows.

⁵³ Refers to the height of the sun as a parameter needed to calculate latitude.

⁵⁴ Indicating the Iberian Peninsula because the Union of the Crowns occurred in 1580.

⁵⁵ The numbers refer to degrees of latitude.

⁵⁶ "1588, Rio da Prata, 14-4-1588" is written on the left side of the folio.

⁵⁷ Bay on the Southern coast of Patagonia (hosts the current city of Puerto San Julian), the location where a mutiny occurred during the first world circumnavigation led by Magellan.

⁵⁸ Giants of Patagonia, as Antonio Pigafetta and other travelers to the New World called the natives.

⁵⁹ This word is probably an error by the transcriber; we have not changed the original.

⁶⁰ It refers to the Strait of Magellan. "No esta smo en cincuenta y dos y medio" [It is not at 52 and a half [degrees] is written on the left side of the folio.

⁶¹ What Da Silva calls ducks were in fact Magellanic penguins.

On September 1, he reached a group of Islands located in the same Strait, which has no good harbor on its southern shore. The next day in the morning he set sail following the Strait and further on he found another Island where he stole a canoe from four *indios*, who were left on land. He used the canoe to reach a narrow of the Strait, whose width is comparable to the distance from Plaza de Madrid to San Hieronimo,⁶² or even less. On both sides [of the narrow], there are mountain chains, and those on the northern side are higher than those on the southern side, which nonetheless represented a good location to build forts. And from there the *Mar del Sur*⁶³ appears, and sailing [through it, Drake] exited the Strait and entered the *Mar del Sur* on 6 September 1578. During the day, he saw land on both sides half a league away and one league away, and the widest part was two leagues and a half. From the *Mar del Norte*⁶⁴ until halfway [through] the Strait the land is flat and apparently good, with many trees and water streams.⁶⁵ From halfway [through the Strait] on, there is a snowy mountain chain, and the narrowest part is located eight leagues before exiting to the *Mar del Sur*. From one sea to the other, the Strait is 110 leagues long, and when entering the *Mar del Sur*, where the land ends, are drilled rocks from side to side, which can be a signal for those who entered the strait from the *Mar del Sur*.⁶⁶

From there he kept sailing along the coast of Chile with three ships, and on the 7th of the said month [i.e. September], they saw an archipelago of small Islands where a north-west wind ran over their prow, which made them sail toward southwest. He set sail *mar larga*, *mar en traves*⁶⁷ and on September 28, he lost the smallest of the three ships, whose name was *Maragela*, which drifted away, and they saw it nevermore.⁶⁸

On October 1, he set sail heading toward northeast and both ships kept sailing until the 7th of the said month without using main sails or bonnets. He landed at 51 degrees on an Island where he stayed for an hour because of a broken rope, and he sailed with a northwest wind. On the 8th of the same month, the other vessel, which was the admiral ship, drifted away and it disappeared. Drake kept sailing *mar en traves*,⁶⁹ and on the 24th of the said month, he set sail and reached land at 54 degrees and ½ and three leagues in open sea. The next day he entered a cove where he took water and wood, and he set sail because he could not wait for the wind. On the 28th of the same month, he anchored in another port, where he stayed for 4 or 5 days, and there they saw *indios* and canoes that were coming from everywhere. Here,

⁶² This is the only report in which Da Silva use local spacial references from Madrid while being interrogated in order to be better understood by his inquisitors.

⁶³ *Mar del Sur* was the Spanish name given in 1513 by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to the Pacific Ocean.

⁶⁴ *Mar del Norte* refers to the Atlantic Ocean.

⁶⁵ “Tierra llana no tiene arboleda” [Flat land has no trees] is written on the left side of the folio, a commentary from someone who witnessed the entry into the Strait and corrected Da Silva.

⁶⁶ The original word in the text for rocks is *pechas*, which does not seem to have a proper counterpart in present-day Spanish, and was translated according to the context.

⁶⁷ After thorough investigation we have not found an equivalent expression in English; therefore, we have retained the Spanish word for the original text.

⁶⁸ *Maragela* is a corruption of *Marygold*.

⁶⁹ See note 61.

another rope broke but he set sail again. Then, he reached a group of Islands that is at 57 degrees and 10 leagues from land where he took water and wood. On the 25th of the same month, he set sail heading toward north, and on the 31st, they arrived on a small Island⁷⁰ where they took many birds.

On November 1, he set sail going toward northwest and on the 25 of the same month he arrived at an Island located at 39 degrees, 12 leagues from land and inhabited by *indios*. There Drake disembarked with two Englishmen and the *indios* gave them rams. The next day they went to take water and the *indios* kidnapped two Englishmen, shooting the remaining 10 of them with arrows, and then they fled. From there, he sailed along the coast,⁷¹ and on December 3, he reached a land at 32 degrees and ½. There he spoke with the *indios* and one of them called *Phelippe* who spoke Spanish told him that six leagues from there was the Port of Santiago,⁷² where there was an *indio*,⁷³ and he went there and with the help of 80 men took the said *nao*. He took the ship, which was loaded with supplies and was unarmed, and he seized 12 of its 14000 golden pesos and two men; and this happened on December 6.⁷⁴

From there, he set sail, and following the coastline he anchored twice, at 30 and 25 degrees. He kept sailing until 18 degrees, and he stopped in a good port of the province of Chile. And while there taking water, they were not afraid of Spanish threats, but a sentinel shot a harquebus that stirred the Englishmen and caused them to make ready to face the danger. Although many Spanish arrived riding horses, eventually capturing one Englishmen, the rest of them had already gotten back on board.

On December 22, he [i.e. Drake] anchored in another port where they saw some Spanish and *indios*, and he stayed here the rest of the month, where he assembled a boat that had already been partially build in England. On January 10, using that boat, he went back to the port where the Spanish kidnapped his companion, and he thought that there was a boat, and he wanted to steal it. He did not arrive at that port because the wind blew against him and he could not take water, then he swayed and prepared the artillery. He set sail on January 29 and he went to Callao.⁷⁵ Here he took two vessels, one loaded with clothes and the other which had already been unloaded, and burned one of them. In the one that was loaded with clothes from Spain, they found 30 or 40 silver bars. In the said ship, there was only one Flemish man, who Drake took with him. He also took the other ship and another one he had found in Chile. Then Drake set sail on the aforementioned boat,⁷⁶ sailing along the coast to seize a ship docked in the port of Potosí, and when he arrived at that port,

⁷⁰ This Island is one of the three “Penguin Islands” [Marta, Isabel, and Magdalena] located in the Strait of Magellan.

⁷¹ “Puerto de Quintero” (present day Quintero City, in the province of Valparaíso, Chile), is written on the left side of the folio.

⁷² “Los Reyes” is written on the left side of the folio.

⁷³ We do not know who the *indio* referred to in the text is, but probably an acquaintance of *Phelippe*.

⁷⁴ The two men were probably pilots, and the rest of the crew was left on land.

⁷⁵ Present-day Peruvian city, Callao.

⁷⁶ The source refers to the boat as *chalupa*.

he found the ship empty and took it. A man from land told him: "Ah thief, in just 2 hours you have lost more than 700 bars," [and then Drake] left this port.

On February 9, he seized the existing supplies of the ship *y los amarró la buelta de la mar*⁷⁷ and he set them adrift on the high seas. He kept sailing along the coast, and on the 15th of the said month he took a ship that had departed empty from the port of Los Reyes,⁷⁸ and he took the pilot and the master. That day he entered the port of Callao of Lima,⁷⁹ where he found around 17 ships,⁸⁰ of which he cut the ropes [anchoring them to the port], but he did not find silver or gold. Then, he set sail bringing with him a ship that had just arrived from Panama loaded with clothes from Spain, whose people killed an Englishman and fled with a boat to land, leaving five black men and a lad that he [Drake] brought with him. The next day in the morning, February 16,⁸¹ two large ships went after him, and when he saw that they were approaching he left the ship he had taken in the port of Callao with the three Spanish pilots [on board], but he kept with him the aforementioned Flemish pilot. The two Spanish ships stopped their pursuit of Drake to seize the ship he left behind, allowing Drake's escape: and this happened six or seven leagues away from Lima.⁸²

The Corsair continued along his way until Paita,⁸³ where he seized another ship bound for Lima, which was loaded with clothes of that land, whose pilot was kidnapped and the pieces of silver on board stolen. Then, he let the ship go with the rest of the cargo. At Paita, he found another ship loaded with clothes from Spain, whose people fled to land on a boat. Only the master and the pilot remained on board, while the Corsair kidnapped the latter and stole supplies. One of them said two men [master and pilot] told him that a Spanish ship belonging to S. Juan de Antonio, which was loaded with silver, had already departed and was in front of them. That same night he seized another ship on its way to Lima and kidnapped one black man who was on board. The next day in the morning he seized another ship loaded with rigging and other things for the ship of Panama [?] which had to go to the Philippines. From this ship, he stole some pieces of gold, and they hanged a mestizo because he had hidden a bar of gold.

He then put the people of this ship on a boat, and eventually took the empty vessel with him. On another day, March 10, he abandoned the said ship,⁸⁴ and this same day, he encountered the ship of S. Juan de Antona [sic] near the cape of San Francisco,⁸⁵ one league from the coast, and he took it in the evening.⁸⁶ They said that the ship carried 1740 silver bars and many caskets full of innumerable *reales* and gold, which were all moved to Drake's ship. Then, he abandoned the ship he had

⁷⁷ See note 61.

⁷⁸ Present-day Peruvian capital, Lima.

⁷⁹ Callao is an independent city (est. 1671), serving as a port and bordering the city of Lima.

⁸⁰ "Eran once grandes y chicos" [There were eleven big and small], referring to the number of ships found in Lima by Drake is written on the left side of the folio.

⁸¹ "Trece" [Thirteen] is written on the left side of the folio.

⁸² "Eran dos leguas" [It was two leagues] is written on the left side of the folio.

⁸³ Present-day Paita, the second most important Peruvian port after Callao.

⁸⁴ "Bravio era de brava" is written on the left side of the folio.

⁸⁵ Cape in the northern part of present-day Ecuador.

⁸⁶ The expression used to indicate evening in the text is "a las Ave Marías."

taken. From there he headed toward Nicaragua and anchored at the Island of Pinos.⁸⁷ Two days later he seized a ship going to Panama loaded with sarsaparilla, corn, and lard. After this, he swayed and put the artillery on the second deck leaving on the main deck only a 600-pound piece. From there he set sail to Huatulco carrying with him a pilot from the Philippines⁸⁸ called Colchero, and on his way, he ran into a ship led by don Francisco Francisco de Zárate. From that ship, he took some *traça de la tierra*⁸⁹ and a pilot called Hulando [sic] Pascual, and he left Colchero. Once in Huatulco he found a ship that was loaded and ready to depart. At this sight, Drake jumped on land, sacked everything he found around there, and broke the religious icons of the churches, stole the silver, the decorations, and left me [Nuno da Silva], the witness [in Huatulco]. Then, he kept sailing bringing with him Colchero's ship, which he had taken on the coast of Nicaragua, and he did not take pilot, nor sailor, nor any Spaniard, but a black man, a maroon, who was in prison in Huatulco. He set sail at Maundy, at Thursday's dawn with wind coming from land and [Nuno da Silva] does not know which way he followed.

[Nuno da Silva] said that sometimes Drake showed [him] a nautical chart in which was drawn a strait portraying the north-western passage toward Terranova⁹⁰ and [Drake] said: "here you see the path I have to follow." And [Da Silva] heard Drake saying that the entry of the Strait from the *Mar del Sur* was at 76 or 77 degrees.⁹¹

And Nuño da Silva said that during his entire voyage with Drake he never took the height of the sun nor had he the chance to do it. The degrees, he said, were told to him by a black man named Diego, who was carried by Drake. [Diego] told him that he heard those measurements from Drake himself, when he, his pilots and sailors were taking the height.

Item. He [Nuno da Silva] said that from the moment he entered the Strait [of Magellan] until the moment he exited it he did not see any other entry or exit apart from the ones he had already said, nor did he believe there was any other entry. Nonetheless, there are some bases or coves, and they were always sailing west and taking down north-west.

And he gave other declarations about this affair in front of the viceroy of Mexico, the inquisitor of Mexico, and the President of the [*Casa de la*] *Contratación*, and all the people who heard from him seemed to fail to understand that he was always telling them the same things because he was under oath.

⁸⁷ "Es sino la Isla del Caño" [Is none other than Isla del Caño] is written on the left side of the folio.

⁸⁸ The pilot was not a native Filipino, but a Spanish pilot of the Manila Galleon Run.

⁸⁹ This expression probably refers to a map.

⁹⁰ In the document Terranova is called *Bacallaos*, literally "Codfish." This name comes from the Portuguese designation "Terra Nova dos Bacalhaus."

⁹¹ In Nuno da Silva's deposition before the inquisition he stated that this strait was located in 66 degrees latitude north. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 318–319.

Brazilian Coast Is Sailed

Nuño da Silva said that he knows all the Brazilian coast that begins on the north side of the *Capitania de Tamaraca*, which is located a little more than 7 degrees south of the Equator.⁹² From there you go to Pernambuco,⁹³ *Capitania* of Duarte Coelho, which has the port in Recife, which is placed 8 degrees south. From there you sail along the coast north-south by north-east until the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from there to Bahia you go halfway north north-east, and the other halfway north-east, south-west. Bahia is located at 13 degrees where there is the city of Salvador. From there the coast goes north-south until Cabo Frío, which is at 23 degrees and from the *Barra* to the Isleos⁹⁴ there are 30 leagues, and it is located at 15 degrees.

From the Isleos to *Puerto Seguro*, there are 30 leagues, and the coast goes north-south. Puerto Seguro is located at 17 degrees, and the settlement is owned by the heirs of Pedro de Ocampo. From there the coast goes north-south until the *Abreollos* [sic], which are 30 leagues of shallows, but there is a channel close to land, which the pilots of that place know how to sail. From this *Abreollos* to the *estritu* [sic], there are around 44 leagues, and it is located at 20 degrees.⁹⁵ This *Capitania* is owned by the heirs of Basco Fernandez Cutiño. From there to Cabo Frío there are 60 leagues, and from Cabo Frío to Rio de Janeiro there are 8 leagues: you must go east-west by north-east/south-west until San Vicente. Rio de Janeiro belongs to the king. From the *Vestiosa*, which is a castle, to San Vicente there are eight leagues east-west. This Island of San Vicente is two leagues long and one league-wide, and it has two towns: Santos and San Vicente, which is the one belonging to the heirs of Martín Alfonso de Sousa. San Vicente is located at 24 degrees.

Relación de Nuño de Silva Del Viaje Que Hizo Con El *Drac* Desde la Isla de Cabo Verde Por El Estrecho Hasta Huatulco⁹⁶

(123 r) A tres días de septiembre de 1583, Juan de Ledesma, escribano de Cámara de Gobernación del Real Consejo de las Indias, por mandado y comisión de los señores del dicho consejo en la Villa de Madrid, tomó y escribió juramento en forma de derecho a Nuño de Silva, para que dijese y declarase lo que vio y supo del viaje que hizo con el corsario *Francisco Drac*, inglés, el cual dijo lo siguiente en suma.

Nuño de Silva, portugués natural de Lisboa en Portugal, era piloto de la carrera y Costa del Brasil. Y que por principio de noviembre de 1577 años, yendo el dicho Nuño de Silva al Brasil, que había partido de Oporto para cargar de vinos en la Palma, la nao se llamaba San Sebastián y llevaba carga para la Bahía de Todos los Santos. Y a diez y nueve de enero

⁹² On the left side of the folio is written: “oeastasmo de la vanda del sur cinco leguas de Pernambuco. Esta en 8° 1/3” [We were already under the Equator five leagues from Pernambuco].

⁹³ Present-day Cabo de Santo Agostinho in Pernambuco.

⁹⁴ Isleos was also known as San Jorge.

⁹⁵ “18 grados” [18 degrees] is written on the left side of the folio.

⁹⁶ The transcription criteria respond to a single objective: to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text. For this reason, we have opted for modernization. The spelling has been corrected according to the current Spanish orthographic standard, and the use of upper- and lower-case letters has been standardized. Punctuation, which was virtually absent in the manuscript, has been added to the text. Finally, we have not repeated the marginalia in footnotes because it can be consulted in the English translation.

del año 1578, estando cerca del puerto de Santiago de Cabo Verde, donde iba a surgir a tomar lo necesario para su viaje, vinieron siete navíos y la capitana abordó en el navío del Silva, y con una lancha le tomaron la gente y tomaron el navío portugués, y los llevaron a la capitana en la cual estaba el General de todos llamado Francis *Drac*, inglés. Y fueron a la Isla Brava a 21 de enero, y echaron todos los portugueses de la nao tomada en tierra, y al Silva llevó consigo, no consintiendo que nadie hablase con él. Y desde allí navegaron al sueste, cuarta del sur, hasta cinco de enero, y el Silva no podía tomar la altura por ir preso; antes *Drac* le quitó el derrotero y aparejos de navegar, y le preguntaba por la Costa del Brasil y navegación de la India de las naos de San Tomé. Y él le decía lo que sabía, y la derrota que a la vuelta traían los navíos del Brasil a España, y le dijo que venían por cuarenta y un grados, y su derrota era por cuarenta y dos.

Desde fin de enero siguieron por el sueste, cuarta al sur, y hasta fin de febrero hasta cuatro grados al sur; y desde allí al sueste hasta

(123 v) 13 de marzo, que se hallaron en trece grados. Y desde allí al sur (?) hasta cinco de abril, que vieron tierra en 30 grados, porque hasta allí no la habían visto desde la Isla Brava. Era esta tierra cerca del Río de la Plata, y a los 12 [días] de abril vieron tierra en 34 grados y dos tercios, y a catorce del mes entraron en el Río de la Plata arriba hasta 25 o 30 leguas, donde hicieron aguada desde los navíos. Y desde allí volvieron a salir la vuelta del sueste hasta salir del río, y desde allí al susudueste a luengo de Costa, por fondo de 8 o 9 brazas, a una y a dos leguas de tierra. Y así caminaron hasta el puerto de San Julián, que por otro nombre se dice por los ingleses *Abravillas*, que está en 49 grados al sur, donde internó Magallanes. Entró el inglés aquí a 20 de junio y estuvo en él hasta 27 de agosto. Otro día, *Drac* con cinco [hombres] fueron en tierra el río arriba, como una legua, y vinieron a ellos cuatro indios grandes, los cuales mataron dos ingleses de los cinco, y los otros se volvieron a las naos. Y demás de esto vieron otros muchos indios grandes, los cuales defendían saltar en tierra a los ingleses que iban por agua y leña tirándoles flechazos; aquí dio cada (?) a las naos, que fueron tres, porque las otras dejó allí. De este puerto de San Julián salió con estas tres naos a 17 de agosto, domingo de mañana, y navegando a luengo de la Costa la vuelta del Estrecho. Y a veinte del dicho mes llegaron a la boca del dicho Estrecho, que está en 53 grados escasos, y allí estuvo surto hasta 23 del mes, que entró por el Estrecho a medio día con viento leste y lesnordeste a popa. Y fueron navegando por el Estrecho todos tres navíos, y vieron en la tierra de la banda del norte muchos humos, y navegaron aquel día y noche. Y otro día de mañana hallaron tres islas pequeñas dentro del mismo estrecho, 50

(124 r) leguas adentro de la boca, y tomó muchos patos, de que hay muchos que no vuelan; y allí estuvo hasta lunes noche, que hizo vela y siguió el Estrecho, y nunca toparon bajíos.

[El] primero de septiembre surgió entre unas islas que están en el mismo estrecho, no buen puerto a la banda del sur. Otro día de mañana se hizo a la vela siguiendo el Estrecho, y adelante halló unas islas donde tomó una canoa de indios con cuatro de ellos dentro, y dejolos en tierra, y [se] llevó la canoa; y navegando llegó a una angostura del Estrecho, que será como desde la plaza de Madrid a San Jerónimo, y aún menos. De ambas partes hay sierras, y de la banda del norte más altas que la del sur, y en ellas hay muy buena disposición para hacer fuerzas, especialmente a la dicha banda del sur. Y desde allí se

parece la Mar del Sur, y navegando salió del Estrecho al Mar del Sur a seis de septiembre [de] 1578; y que va malo (?), y de día veía la tierra de ambas partes a media legua, y a legua, y lo más ancho de dos leguas y media. Y desde la Mar del Norte hasta la mitad del Estrecho es tierra llana, y al parecer buena y con muchos árboles y riberas de agua; de la mitad adelante es sierra nevada, y que el más Estrecho es ocho leguas, antes de salir al Mar del Sur. Y que el Estrecho de una mar a otra tiene ciento y diez leguas, y al desembarcar al Mar del Sur al cabo de la tierra están las pechas horadadas de parte a parte, como puede que es señal para los que entran en el Estrecho por el Mar del Sur.

Desde allí prosiguió su navegación la vuelta de la Costa de Chile con los tres navíos, y a siete del mes vieron un archipiélago de islas pequeñas donde le dio un viento norueste por la proa que le hizo volver la vuelta del sudueste; y en saliendo a la mar larga se puso mar en través, y a los 28 [días] de septiembre se le perdió uno de los 3 navíos, el más pequeño, que se apartó y no le vieron más, que se llamaba *Maragela*. Y el primero de octubre

(124 v) dio vela la vuelta del nordeste, y fueron navegando los dos navíos hasta siete del dicho sin llevar velas de gavia ni bonetas, y fue a surgir en tierra de cincuenta y un grados al pie de una isla, donde estuvo una hora porque se le rompió el cable. Y navegó con viento norueste, y a los ocho del mes se le apartó el otro navío, que era el almiranta, y no pareció más; y el *Drac* pasó adelante mar en través, y a los 24 del mes hizo vela y fue a surgir en tierra de cincuenta y cuatro grados y medio, tres leguas a la mar. Otro día entró en un abra donde tomó agua y leña, y se hizo a la vela porque no pudo aguardar el viento. Y a los 28 del mes surgió en otro puerto, donde estuvo cuatro o cinco días, y vieron indios y venían canoas de una parte a otra; aquí le reventó otro cable. Y se hizo a la vela y fue a surgir en unas islas que están en cincuenta y siete grados, diez leguas de la tierra firme, donde se proveyó de agua y leña; y a los 25 del mes se hizo a la vela la vuelta del norte, y a los 31 del mismo mes llegaron a una isla pequeña donde tomaron muchos pájaros.

[El] primero de noviembre se hizo a la vela la vuelta del norueste y a los 25 del mes llegó a una isla que está en 39 grados, doce leguas de tierra firme, poblada de indios, donde *Drac* entró con dos ingleses; y los indios les dieron carneros, y otro día fueron a tomar agua y los indios le tomaron dos hombres ingleses, y a los demás, que eran diez, los flecharon y huyeron. Y saliendo de allí navegó a luengo de la Costa, y a tres de diciembre fue a surgir en tierra de 32 grados y $\frac{1}{2}$, donde tomo lengua de los indios; y uno de ellos llamado *Phelippe*, que hablaba español, le dijo que seis leguas de allí estaba el puerto de Santiago, donde estaba un indio. Y fue allí y tomo la dicha nao, y el inglés llevaba 80 hombres consigo. Estaba el navío que tomó cargado de bastimentos, y le tomó sin ofensa, y tomó en él doce o catorce mil pesos en oro; esto fue a 6 de diciembre. Llevó dos hombres del dicho navío, y el mismo navío.

(125 r) De allí salió, y siguiendo la Costa fue a surgir a 30 grados, y a los 25 pasó adelante hasta los 18, que surgió en un puerto bueno de la provincia de Chile. Y estando allí tomando agua sin recelo de gente, una centinela disparó un arcabuz, con que hizo alterar los ingleses y ponerse a punto; y aunque vinieron muchos españoles a caballo, ya se habían embarcado y tomado uno de los ingleses.

Y a los 22 [días] de diciembre fue a surgir a otro puerto donde estuvo todo el mes dicho, donde vieron algunos españoles e indios. Aquí armo una lancha que llevaba

labrada de Inglaterra, y a los diez de enero volvió en la lancha al puerto donde le habían tomado el compañero, entendiendo que había allí una nao y procurar tomarla, y no llegó por serle el viento contrario [y] no pudo tomar agua; aquí dio lado y sacó la artillería a lo alto, que la llevaba en el lastre. Salió de aquí a los 29 [días] de enero y fue a Callao (?). Aquí tomo dos navíos: la una cargada de ropa de España, y la otra había descargado. Y quemó la una de ellas, y en la que tenía ropa de España se hallaron treinta o cuarenta barras de plata. Había en la dicha nao un solo hombre flamenco, y lo llevó consigo, y la otra nao y la que tomo en Chile. Y *Drac*, partiendo de allí, se fue en la chalupa a luengo de Costa por tomar un navío que estaba en el puerto de Potosí. Y cuando llegó al puerto halló la nao sin cosa ninguna, y lo llevó; y un hombre desde tierra le dijo: “Ah ladrón, que por dos horas has perdido más de 700 barras.” Y salió de este puerto.

Y a 9 de febrero tomó de los navíos el bastimento que había, y los amarro la vuelta de la mar, y los dejó ir solos a la vela la mar adentro, y fue la Costa adelante los dejó ir solos a la vela. Y a 15 del mes dicho tomo un navío que partió de Los Reyes vacío, y el piloto y maestre del

(125 v) del navío dejó, y los dos hombres llevó. Y ese día entró en el puerto del Callao de Lima, donde halló como 17 naves, y les cortó las amarras a todos. No halló plata ni oro, y así se hizo a la vela, llevando consigo un navío que acababa de llegar de Panamá cargado de ropa de España; y la gente del navío le mató un inglés, y huyó en el batel a tierra, quedando dentro cinco negros y un muchacho que se llevó en la nao en la mercadería.

Otro día por la mañana, 16 de febrero, salieron dos navíos grandes tras él, y cuando los vio cerca dejó la nao que había tomado en el dicho puerto del Callao con tres pilotos españoles que traía dentro, y el flamenco arriba dicho lo lleva consigo. Y como los dichos dos navíos que salieron del puerto toparon la dicha nao que había dejado el cosario, se detuvieron y volvieron con ella, y dejaron ir al cosario; y esto sería como seis o siete leguas de Lima. El cosario prosiguió su camino hasta Paita, donde tomó otro navío que iba a Lima con ropa de la tierra; y de él tomó al piloto y algunas piezas de plata, y dejó el navío ir con lo demás. Y en Paita halló otro cargado de ropa de España, y la gente se huyó a tierra en la barca, quedando el maestre y piloto, y el corsario tomó el piloto y algunas cosas de bastimentos; y uno de los dichos dos hombres le dijo como iba delante el navío de San Juan de Antonio, cargado de plata, y que hacía allá. Y esa misma noche tomó otra nao que iba a Lima, y de ella tomó un negro que se echó en la *calusta* (?). Y otro día de mañana tomó otro navío cargado de jarcias y otras cosas para las naos de Panamá (?) que habían de ir a las Filipinas, en la cual tomo algún oro y las cosas que aviso, y ahorcaron un mestizo porque escondió un tejo de oro. Echó la gente en

(126 r) en la barca y llevose el navío, y otro día, diez de marzo, le dejó; y este mismo día topó con la nao de San Juan de Antona [sic] sobre el Cabo de San Francisco, una legua a la mar, y a las Ave Marías la tomó. Decían que llevaba 1740 barras de plata, y muchos cajones de reales y oro; no sabe la cantidad, y todo lo pasó *Drac* a su nao y dejó la que había tomado. Y de allí atravesó a Nicaragua y surgió en la Isla de Pinos, y allí dio lado a su navío, y desde a dos días que allí llegó tomó un navío que iba a Panamá, cargado con zarzaparrilla, maíz y manteca; y dado lado echó la artillería al lastre, [y] solo dejó encima

una pieza de 600 libras. Y de allí en camino a Huatulco, llevando consigo un piloto de las Filipinas llamado Colchero. Y en el camino topó un navío en que iba don Francisco de Zárate, del cual tomó alguna traza de la tierra y un piloto llamado Hulando Pascual [sic], y dejó al Colchero. Y llegado a Huatulco halló un navío que estaba cargado para consonante, y saltando en tierra saqueó lo que halló por allí y rompió las imágenes de las iglesias, y robó la plata y ornamentos que había, y dejó a este declarante, y pasó adelante llevando consigo la nao del Colchero que tomó en la Costa de Nicaragua. Y no llevó piloto ni marinero ni otro ningún español, sino un negro que estaba preso en Huatulco, *perchimarán* y salteador de caminos; y se hizo a la vela [el] jueves de la Semana Santa al amanecer, y que salió con viento terral y no sabe que vía llevó.

Y dijo que algunas veces *Drac* mostraba una carta de marear, y mostraba pintado un estrecho que iba a los Bacallaos, y decía: “veis aquí el camino que tengo de llevar.” Y que oyó decir al *Drac* que la entrada del estrecho por la Mar del Sur estaba en 76 o 77 grados.

Y dijo el dicho Nuño de Silva que en todo el viaje que fue con el *Drac* nunca tomó la altura del sol, ni tuvo lugar para ello. Y que los grados que ha dicho él lo sabe porque se lo decía un negro que se llamaba Diego, que llevaba el *Drac* consigo, el cual le decía que se lo había oído decir así al mismo corsario, y verle tomar la altura, y a los pilotos y marineros que allí iban.

Ítem. Dijo que desde que entró hasta que salió del Estrecho no vio ni entendió que hubiese otra entrada ni salida más de la que tiene dichas, aunque hace por algunas bahías y ensenadas; y que siempre fueron gobernando al oeste, y cargaban sobre el noroeste.

Y dice que hizo otras declaraciones de este negocio ante el virrey de México y ante los inquisidores de México, y delante del Presidente de la Contratación de Sevilla, y no se le ha mostrado que toda se entienda ser una misma cosa y verdad por el juramento que tiene hecho.

Costa Del Brasil Se Corre

Dijo Silva que sabe toda la Costa del Brasil que comienza de la banda del norte de la capitanía de *Tamaraca*, que está en siete grados largos de la otra parte de la línea. De allí se va a Pernambuco, Capitanía de Duarte Coelho. Tiene el puerto de *Arechife*, [que] está en ocho grados. Desde allí corre la Costa al Cabo de Santo Agustín norte sur, y toma de la cuarta del nordeste; y de allí para Bahía se corre el medio camino.

(127 r) nornordeste, y el otro medio se corre nordeste sudeste. Está la Bahía en 13 grados, donde está la ciudad del Salvador. De allí se corre la Costa norte sur hasta el Cabo Frío, que está en 23 grados. Y desde la barra a los Isleos, que se dice por otro nombre San Jorge, hay 30 leguas y está en 15 grados.

Desde los isleos a Puerto Seguro hay treinta leguas, [y] corre la Costa norte sur. Está Puerto Seguro en 17 grados, y la población es de los herederos de Pedro de Ocampo. Desde allí va la Costa norte sur hasta los *Abreollos*, 30 leguas de bajos a la mar, pero hay canal junto a tierra por donde se navega con pilotos de aquella tierra que lo saben. Desde este *Abreollos* al Estrecho hay 44 leguas poco más o menos. Está en 20 grados. Esta capitanía es de los herederos de Basco Fernandez Cutiño [sic]. De allí a Cabo Frío hay 60 leguas, de Cabo Frío a Río de Jenero [sic] hay ocho leguas. Correse levante poniente, [y] toma de la

cuarta del nordeste sudueste hasta San Vicente. El Río de Genero [sic] es del Rey. Desde la *Vestiosa*, que es un castillo, a San Vicente, hay ocho leguas leste oeste. Esta isla de San Vicente, que es de largo dos leguas y de ancho una, tiene dos villas: la de Santos y la de San Vicente. Es de los herederos de Martín Afonso de Sousa. Está San Vicente en 24 grados.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Henrique Leitão for his reviews of the text and suggestions for improvement. They also thank Nuno Vila-Santa, Juan Acevedo, Luís Campos Ribeiro, and José Manuel Malhão Pereira for their help in translating complicated words and expressions. Lastly, they are grateful to Šima Krtalić for revising the final English text. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 833438).

Disclosure Statement

The authors report there are no competing interests to declare.

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