

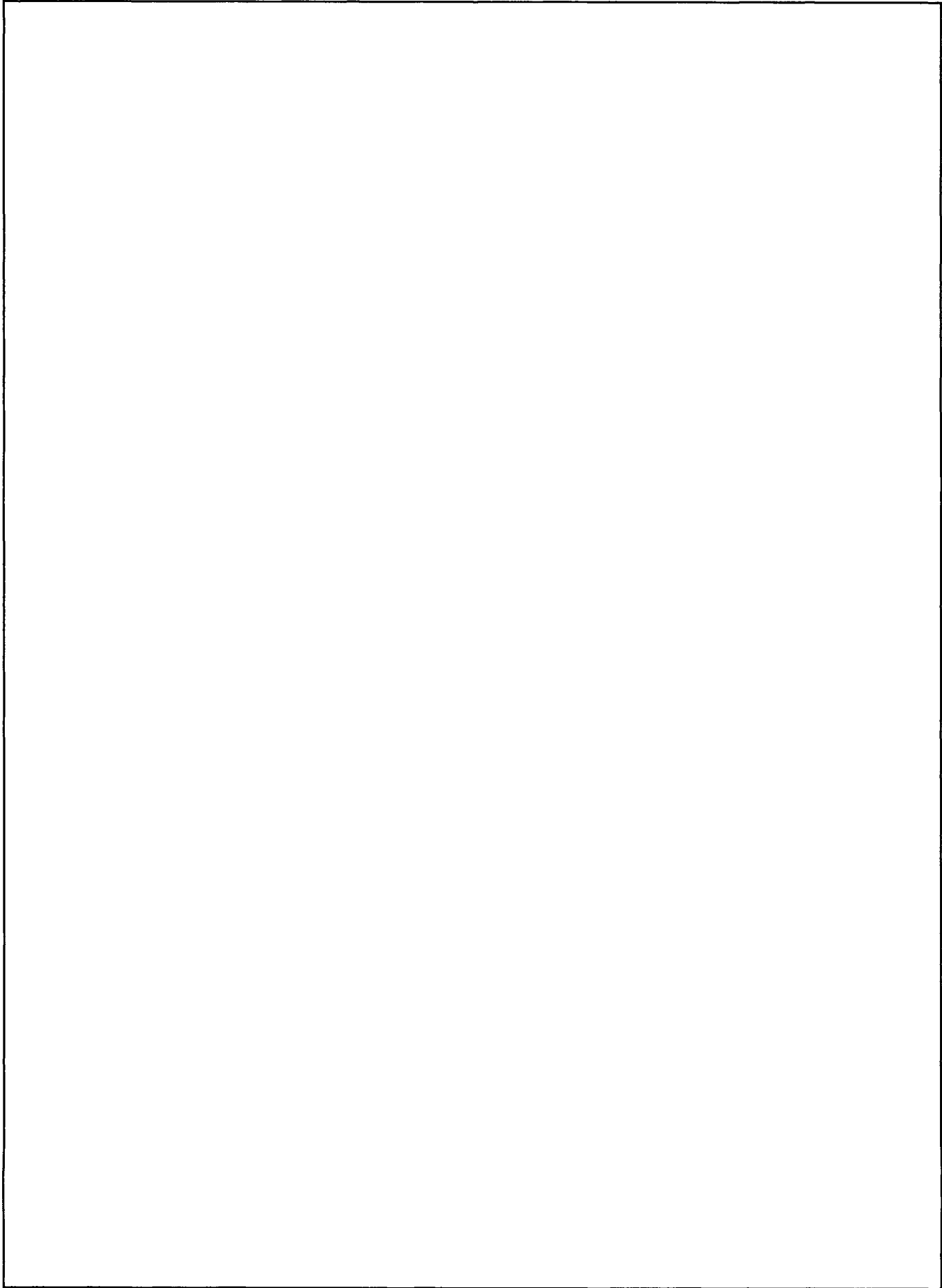


HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

VOLUME 2
PRELUDE TO CONQUEST

Rodrigue
Lévesque

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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 2 — PRELUDE TO CONQUEST
1561-1595**

Compiled and edited
by

Rodrigue Lévesque

**LES ÉDITIONS
LÉVESQUE**



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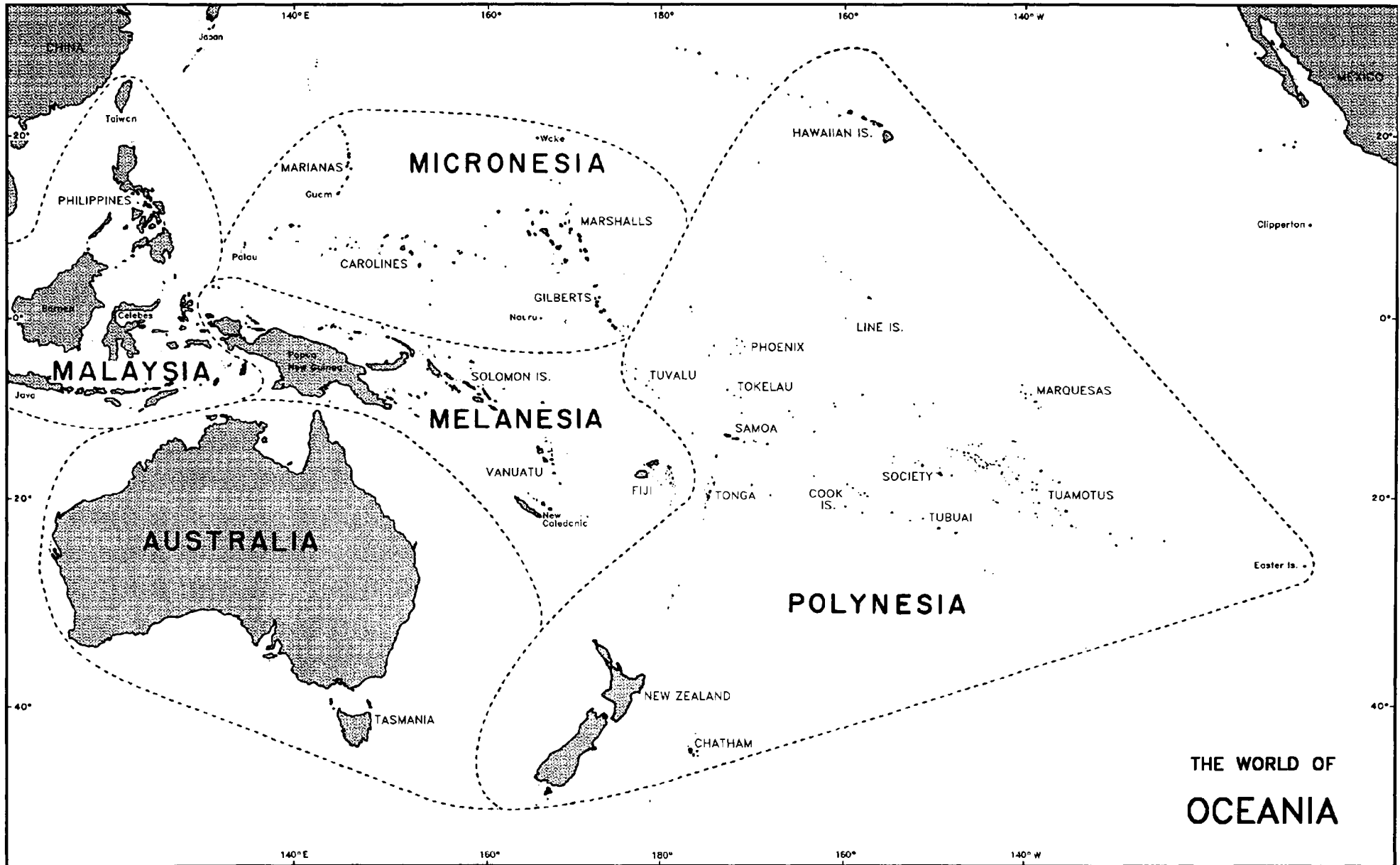
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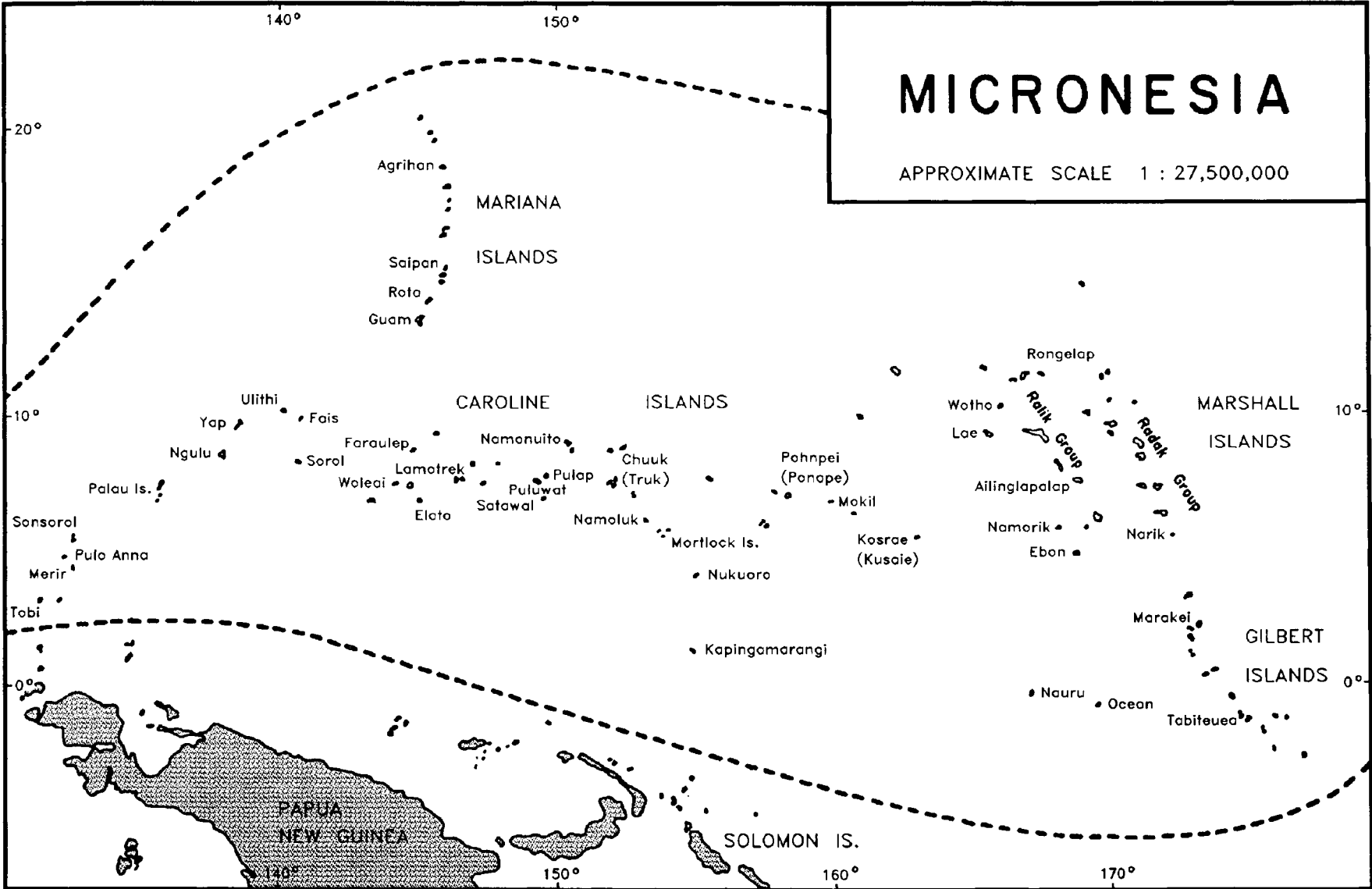
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Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
AHSI	Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit magazine, Rome).
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Jesuit archives, Rome).
ASAO	Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania.
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
ca.	Circa (Latin for "about" or "approximately").
CCSF	Cross-Cultural Survey Files, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
FBG	Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
Laval	Laval University Library, Québec.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN)
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz (Mercedarian Sisters of Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain).
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
M/V	Motor vessel.

NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NSW	New South Wales, Australia.
NYK	Nihon Yusen Kaisha [Japan Shipping Line Co.]
NYPL	New York Public Library.
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscans).
OMCap	Ordo Minorum Capuchinorum (Capuchins).
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
OP	Ordo Praedicatorum (Dominicans).
ORSA	Ordo Recollectorum Sancti Augustini (Recollects).
OSA	Ordo Sancti Augustini (Augustinians).
OSF	Order of St. Francis.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PCCA	Palau Community Action Agency.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, ANU.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
PSIC	Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
RAN	Royal Australian Navy.
RN	Royal [British] Navy.
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His Imperial [German] Majesty's Ship.
SS.CC.	Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).
STM	"Ships Through Micronesia" [a book in this series]
TNL	The National Library, Manila.
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).
UH	University of Hawaii (Sinclair Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UST	University of Santo Tomás, Manila.
UTK	University of Tokyo.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.





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Foreword

“La verdad es el alma y la esencia de la historia.” [The soul and essence of history is the truth].
Martín Fernández de Navarrete, in vol. iv of his *Colección de los viages*, 1837.

Major events of the period 1561-1595

All the voyages across the Pacific before **Legazpi** (1565) had taken place from east to west, and every attempt at finding a return route had failed. As Legazpi intended to colonize the Islands of the West, it became of paramount importance for him to discover the route back to New Spain. It was Father **Urdaneta** who was to solve this problem by drawing a lesson from the Atlantic experience, which consisted in gaining more northerly latitudes in order to catch favorable winds for an eastward passage. The right season for such a navigation was to be learned with experience.

Urdaneta was not in fact the first man to cross the Pacific from west to east. It was Captain **Arellano**, who had separated from Legazpi's fleet, who actually did it first aboard the small patache San Lucas. However, the plan had been Urdaneta's and he is properly credited as the navigator who made the first, official, eastward crossing of the Pacific.

The Pericón relief expedition of 1566 was a disaster from beginning to end. One of the most bloody mutinies in the annals of Pacific history took place aboard the lone ship San Jerónimo. Finally, the leader of the mutiny and his adherents were marooned at either Ujelang or Enewetok in the Marshalls.

Another important expedition covered in this volume is the first expedition of **Mendaña** (1568), who was aptly assisted by Captain Pedro de Sarmiento. Although his objective was the Solomon Islands, their return voyage crossed Micronesia and some new islands were discovered, notably Wake Island.

During this period also, the colonization of the Philippines was finalized and contacts were established with China and Japan, although dangers of invasion had to be faced from both of those countries. More importantly for Micronesia, almost-yearly communications were established across the North Pacific, and the first shipwreck of a galleon in Micronesian waters occurred in 1568. This led to the first meaningful contacts between Micronesian natives and outsiders.

In 1580, Spain had established political control over Portugal, which was to last for 60 years. When a Portuguese ship, under Captain João da Gama, went from Macao to Acapulco in 1589-90, it was without permission. As of that time, the Pacific Ocean became a Spanish lake.

Main sources quoted in this volume

1. **Col. de Navarrete:** Tome 17 of Martín Fernández de Navarrete's facsimile edition of his manuscript in the Museo Naval in Madrid, published by Kraus-thomson in Liechtenstein in 1973.

2. **Col. de Ultramar:** Volumes ii and iii of the second series published by RAH Madrid in 1886-87, which deal with the Philippines, e.g. vol. ii, pages 94-475 and vol. iii, pages v-70.

3. **Col. de Indias:** Vol. 13 of the first series published by RAH Madrid between 1864 and 1884, edited by Pacheco et al.

4. **B&R:** The Blair & Robertson series entitled The Philippine Islands.

5. **Col. de diarios:** Volume 5 of the collection published by the Instituto Histórico de Marina, Madrid, 1947.

6. **FBG8:** Volume 8 of the Filipiniana Book Guild series of reprints, entitled The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines by Spain (Manila, 1965).

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, July 1992.

Note on place names

Place names are given as they appear in the original documents, except that the more common or modern spelling is given in brackets, whenever necessary; the latter form is used in the index to refer to all equivalent forms.

Document 1565A

Legazpi—Background to his expedition

1. Organization of Legazpi's fleet

Vessel	Type	Tons	Captain	Pilot(s)	Note
San Pedro	Ship	500	M. López de Legazpi	E. Rodriguez Pierre Plin	1
San Pablo	"	400	Mateo de(l) Sa(n)z	J. Martínez Fortún Diego Martín	2
San Juan	Patache	80	Juan de la Isla	Rodrigo de Espinosa	3
San Lucas	"	40	Alonso de Arellano	Lope Martín	4

Notes:

1. The Master was Martín de Ibarra. The boatswain was Francisco de Astigarribia. The flagship San Pedro, formerly the San Felipe, was towing a skiff. It was sent back to New Spain that same year of 1565.

2. Capt. de la Isla replaced Capt. Carrión at the last minute. The Master was Juan María. The *almiranta* San Pablo, formerly the San Andrés, was despatched from Cebu to New Spain in 1568 but was shipwrecked at Guam.

3. Capt. de la Isla wrote an account of the voyage. The patache San Juan (de Letrán) made the voyage to New Spain in 1567.

4. The crew of the patache San Lucas was composed of 20 men. Capt. Arellano replaced Capt. Sanchez Muñoz at the last minute. Capt. Arellano separated from the fleet soon after leaving New Spain and made the return passage **before** the flagship San Pedro made the first official eastward passage. The San Lucas made a second voyage to the Philippines in 1567, in company with the San Pedro.

5. The total complement was 380 people (150 seamen, 200 soldiers, 30 others, including servants).

2. Royal officials and other gentlemen with the fleet

—Andrés Cauchela, Royal Accountant. He wrote letters.

—Hernando Riquel, Royal Notary. He wrote a letter.

—Andrés de Mirandaola, Royal Factor. He wrote a letter.



Governor and Captain General Miguel López de Legazpi. *Born in Zumarraga, Guipúzcoa, Spain, he went to Mexico in 1545, where he became clerk of the Cabildo or municipal government. He was appointed in 1561 to lead an expedition to discover and colonize the Islands of the West. He first created a settlement at Cebu in 1565 but in 1571 founded Manila. He had despatched the first trading galleon from Cebu in 1565. He died from a heart attack at Manila on 20 August 1572. (From El Oriente, Manila, 24 October 1875)*

—Guido de Lavezaris, Royal Treasurer. He had taken part in the Villalobos expedition.

—Mateo del Sa(n)z, Master-of-camp (military rank equivalent to Colonel).

—Lieutenant-Colonel (Army) Andrés de Ibarra.

—Major (Army) Luis de la Haya.

—Captain (Artillery) Martin de Goiti.

—Captain (Army) Juan Maldonado.

—Estéban Rodriguez, Pilot Major. He kept a logbook (See Doc. 1565Q).

—Pierre Plin, pilot. He kept a logbook (See Doc. 1565R).

—Jaime Martínez Fortún and Diego Martín, pilots. They kept a common logbook (See Doc. 1565S).

—Rodrigo de Espinosa, pilot. He kept a logbook (See Doc. 1565T).

—Felipe de Salcedo, 16 year-old grandson of Legazpi. Was placed in charge of the successful return attempt of 1565, but was under the benevolent supervision of Father Andrés de Urdaneta.

—Gerónimo de Monçon, position unknown.

3. Costs of the fleet

Source: Col. Ultramar ii, pp. 461-3.

“List of the pesos de oro that have been expended for the ships that on order from H.M. have been built in the port of Navidad for the voyage to the Western Islands, to construct the said ships as well as for the necessary things for the said voyage and for the pay of the captains and soldiers, in addition to the outfitting of the said fleet as recorded in the book entries and warrants of the Most Illustrious Viceroy Luis de Velasco and of this Royal Audiencia that are recorded in the account book of H.M. that is in my charge and to which I refer.”

—It seems that, according to the said book, from the date of 13 December 1557 when the said ship project was begun by order of the Illustrious Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco until 1 September 1563 when Ortuño de Ibarra and Francisco de Montealegre were accountants, the detailed expenses, according to the said book, amount to **171,849 pesos**, 5 tomins, 8 grains of common gold, plus **24,951 pesos**, 2 tomins, 8 grains of mined gold.¹

—Also from the said book, it appears that from the 1 September 1563 when I, Hernando de Villanueva took over the post of accountant, until 2 March 1565, there were spent for the said fleet and its despatch the sum of **192,269 pesos**, 4 tomins, 3 grains of common gold, plus **1,947 pesos**, 5 grains of mined gold.

—Also it appears, according to the data provided by Pedro de Yebra, who was then assistant treasurer of the City of Veracruz, that there were spent in the said city for the

¹ Ed. note: B&R3:177 says that the common gold was a money of account, commonly supposed to have been worth 15 reals; there were 7 tomins of gold in 1 peso. The mined gold was in the form of bars and/or coins.

despatch of the said fleet in things that were necessary **18,349 pesos**, 5 tomins, 6 grains of common gold, plus **52 pesos** of mined gold.

—So it appears that the total and sum that have been spent in the said fleet and its despatch until 2 March of this said year of 1565 is **382,468 pesos**, 7 tomins, 5 grains of common gold, plus **27,400 pesos** [sic], 3 tomins, 1 grain of mined gold. Because the Bachelor Martinez, purveyor of the said fleet, and Rodrigo de Ategueren, paymaster, have not yet submitted the account of the tributes they have collected from the villages and towns of the said province that have been spent in the said fleet, it is not possible to close the books until the above-named submit it to H.M.'s accounts, when it will be possible to do so.

This list was extracted on 5 March of this year of 1565.

Fernando de Villanueva.¹

4. Biographies of the Augustinian friars aboard

Sources: 1) Fr. Elviro J. Pérez, Catálogo bio-bibliográfico de los religiosos Agustinos de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de las Islas Filipinas... , Manila, 1901; 2) Fr. Juan de Medina, Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas, Manila, 1893.²

Fathers Urdaneta, Rada and Aguirre were aboard the flagship, whereas Fathers Herrera and Gamboa were aboard the *almiranta* San Pablo.

Urdaneta, Fr. Andrés.—His biography has already been given in Volume 1 of this series. To repeat the main events of his colorful career, he was born in Villafranca, in the province of Guipúzcoa, in 1498. Orphaned as a child, he became a soldier, then a cosmographer. He took part in the Loaysa expedition and could have been in command of the Villalobos expedition if he had accepted the appointment. Instead he intended to become an Augustinian friar; he took the habit on 20 March 1552. After taking part in the present expedition, he retired from active life. He died in Mexico on 3 June 1568, at the age of 70.

Herrera, Fr. Diego³ de.—Born in Recas in the province of Toledo, he made his religious profession in Toledo on 10 March 1545. He was transferred to New Spain in 1561. Almost as soon as he had arrived at Cebu, at the departure of Fr. Urdaneta, he became prior of the Cebu convent. In 1569, he was elected Provincial of the Philippine Province and in that capacity journeyed to Mexico. He returned to Cebu (passing again by Guam) in 1570. He moved to Manila when that city was founded in 1571. He made a second voyage to Mexico and Spain in 1572 (or 1573), passing a third time by Guam in 1576. However, he did not have the opportunity to leave an account, because the 1576 galleon was wrecked on the Catanduanes coast of Luzon and all the missionaries

1 Ed. note: About the same total amount of money was spent later on to send relief ships to Legazpi. See, *inter alia*, B&R3:179-180.

2 Ed. note: Although published at so late a date, the Medina history was written in 1630.

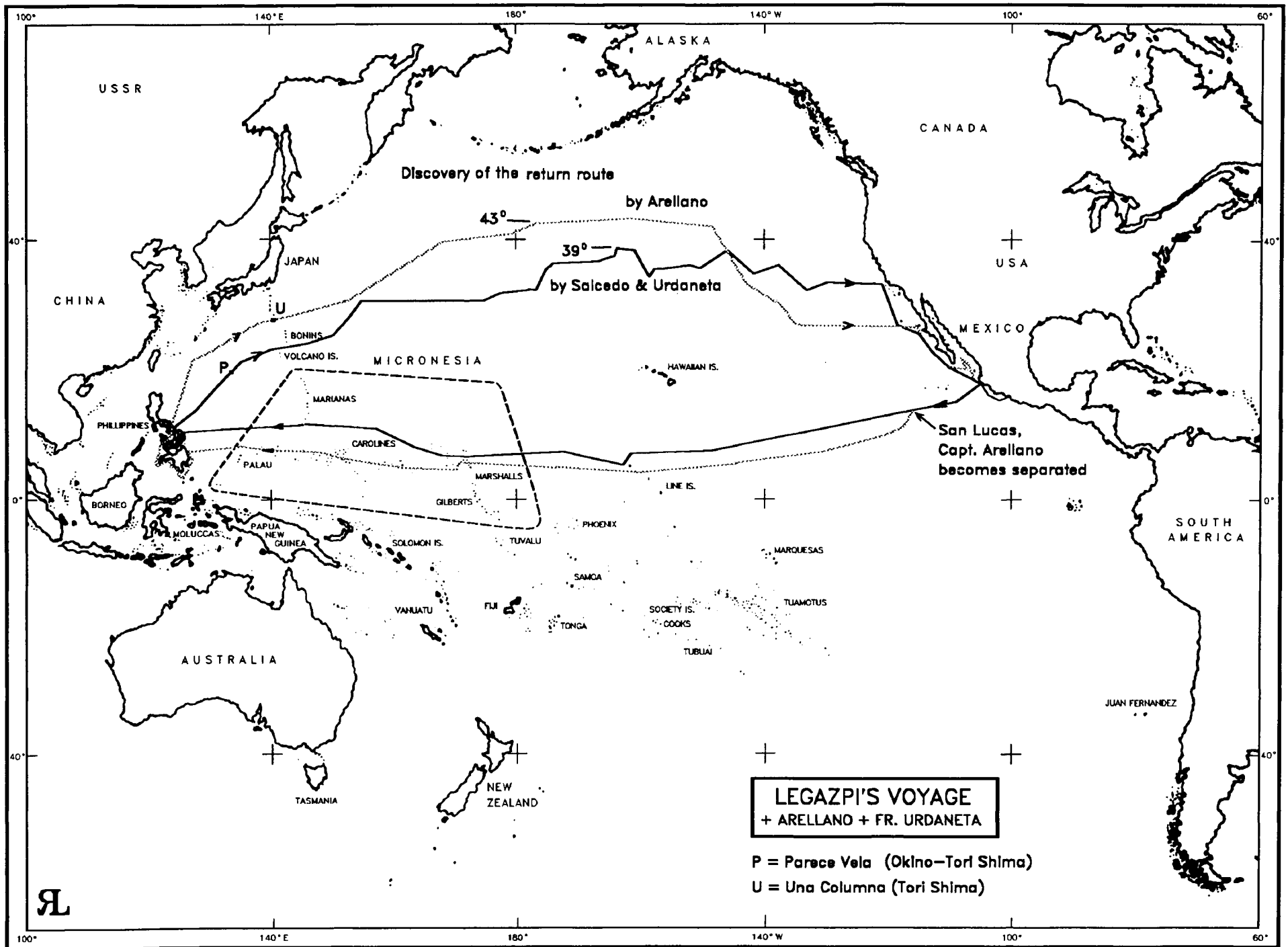
3 Ed. note: Not to be confused with Fr. Martín de Herrera.

either drowned or were slaughtered by the natives when they tried to reach the shore. Fr. Herrera was to have been the first bishop of Manila.

Rada Fr. Martín.—This astronomer and theologian was born in Pamplona on 20 July 1533. He studied in Paris and at the University of Salamanca where he graduated with a Master's degree in sciences and oriental languages. He became an Augustinian friar on 21 November 1554. Three years later, he was sent to New Spain. He could have become Bishop of Jalisco but chose instead to become a missionary to the Philippines. He was Prior in Manila during the first absence of Fr. Herrera. In June 1575, he went to China with Fr. Jerónimo Marín, as an envoy, and thus became officially the first Spaniard to enter the Chinese empire. He returned to Manila in October of that year and soon undertook a second voyage to China with Fr. Albuquerque. However, the captain of the junk that was carrying them dumped them ashore on the northwest coast of Luzon. He died at sea in June 1578 between Borneo and the Philippines, during a naval campaign that Salcedo led against the Chinese pirate Limahong. Fr. Rada is best remembered for the hundreds of Chinese books he carried from China and sent to Europe; they were the first of their kind to have been seen there.

Aguirre, Fr. Andrés.—He was born in Vizcaya and became an Augustinian in Salamanca in the early 1530s. In 1536, he was already in Mexico. Having made the round-trip of the Pacific with Urdaneta in 1565, he returned to the islands in 1578 with a mission of 9 Augustinians. He became Prior of the Manila convent in 1580, and Provincial in 1581. He then made another voyage to Spain, returning to Manila in 1593, thus passing a third time by Guam that same year. He died soon after arriving at Manila (in September 1593).

Gamboa, Fr. Pedro.—Born in Mara in the province of Soria, he studied in the convent in Mexico. He was in Cebu from 1565 to 1567 only, when he was picked by Legazpi to go back to Spain to report on the condition of the colony to King Philip II. He died at sea on 27 July 1567.



Document 1565B

**Legazpi—Letter from the King to the
Viceroy of New Spain, dated Valladolid
24 September 1559**

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1/23; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 10, pp. 94-97; summarized in B&R 2:78-79; Col. diarios 5:139-140; translated in FBG 8:1-3.

Letter from Philip II to Luis de Velasco

[From] the King,

[To] Don Luis de Velasco, our Viceroy of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia, whose seat is in that City:

I have read what joy you have written about the commission and program we ordered you to send for new discoveries by sea and the opinions from other persons whom you gathered for this purpose; namely, about the manner the ships should be sent and how many, what tonnage they should have, what people and provisions they should take, and what route they should follow. We received also a copy of the Instructions sent to you, with the note you wrote in the margin of each chapter. Having understood everything, with the confidence I have in your person, I have decided to return the same to you in order that, as a person who understands this undertaking, you may do and provide as you see fit to the service to God, our Lord and to us, and with as little expense as possible from our fund.

Therefore, by virtue of the commission sent to you to make the said discoveries by sea, I hereby order you to prepare two ships of the specified tonnage and construction and with the men that are suitable and necessary, which you shall send for the discovery of the Islands of the West in the region of the Moluccas. You shall instruct those who are going in the voyage to do according to the Instructions sent to you, and order them to take some spices as a trial shipment and return to New Spain. Having done this, you shall instruct them what to do to determine whether the return voyage can be



King Philip II of Spain (1556-1598). *His name was first given to the Leyte-Samar Group of islands by Villalobos and later extended to the whole Philippine archipelago.*

ascertained and how much it will cost. You shall also order the men whom you will send in the expedition not to enter by any means the Moluccas Islands in order not to break our agreement with the Most Serene King of Portugal. Nevertheless, they may enter the other islands that are near them, like the Philippine Islands and the other islands that are outside the demarcation line of Portugal but inside ours, which are said to have spices also.

With reference to your suggestions on the artillery, barter goods and other things, proposing that they be sent from here so that the ships you will send for said discovery may be well provided on their outward voyage and return, so that they may be able to defend themselves at sea and on land from those who would attack them, and so that the barter goods they will carry will be better taken care of, I have considered them and have also heard Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión about whom you have written us to the effect that we can trust him in this enterprise. It appears that you should know what is contained in the memorandum. We are sending a copy with this letter, signed by our Secretary, and in such manner we have ordered our officials of the House of Trade in Seville to send you all that you mentioned, which they will comply with according to what has been written to them.

The letter which you suggested written to Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, of the Order of St. Augustine and who is there in that City, requesting him to go in those ships because of his experience and knowledge about the Spice Islands for his having lived there, is enclosed herein together with another for his Provincial, which is requesting the latter to give the proper instructions and to do his best so that his order will be accomplished.

Likewise, we are sending with this the letters which you asked to be sent blank for persons of your choice to go in the expedition and effect the desired end, which you well understand. The important instructions they they shall be given is that they should not be detained by trade or barter, but should return soon to New Spain, as what is important in the expedition is to know the return route, inasmuch as the outward route is known and can be made in a short time. You shall give us a report of what has been done.

Undertakings of this sort should not be divulged nor disclosed to many persons, although we understand it has been known that you have been given our permission to make the discoveries you choose. Henceforth, you shall take care to be more reserved in similar things, as [indiscretion] in this kind of enterprise has caused inconveniences.

Valladolid, 24 September 1559.

I, the King.

—Notarized by Eraso.

Assigned by Bribiesca.

Don Juan Vasquez Agreda Jaraba.

Document 1565C

**Legazpi—Letter from King Philip II to
Father Urdaneta, dated Valladolid
24 September 1559**

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 1; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 11, pp. 98-100; translated in B&R 23:122-123 and FBG 8:4.

[From] the King,

[To the] Devout Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, of the Order of St. Augustine:

I have been informed that as a layman you accompanied the Loaysa expedition and that you had passed by the Strait of Magellan and the Spice Islands, where you spent 8 years in our service. Inasmuch as we have now ordered Don Luis de Velasco, our Viceroy in New Spain, to send two ships for the discovery of the Islands of the West, towards the Moluccas, and to give them orders what to do according to the instructions sent to him; and because of the wide knowledge you have about those Islands and your familiarity with the route to those places, you being a good cosmographer, it would be of great value if you join the said ships for service in matters concerning navigation as well as for the service of God, our Lord.

I, therefore, entreat and ask you to go in the said ships and do whatever the Viceroy orders; for aside from serving thus our Lord, I shall order to have this recorded so that you will receive proper compensation.

Valladolid, 24 September 1559.

I, the King.

—By order of His Majesty: Francisco de Eraso.

Assigned by Briviesca.

Don Juan Vazquez Agreda Jaraba.

Document 1565D

Legazpi—Reply from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 28 May 1560

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 7; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 12, pp. 100-106; summarized in B&R 2:79-81, as follows.

Mexico, 28 May 1560.—Velasco writes to the King in answer to his letter, saying that he will do his utmost to fulfil his commands in regard to the voyage. He says: "it is impossible to go to the Philippine Islands without infringing the contents of the treaty, because the latter are no less within the treaty than are the Moluccas, as Your Majesty can see by the accompanying memorandum, made solely for myself by Fray Andrés de Urdaneta. This latter possesses the most knowledge and experience of all those islands, and in the best and most accurate cosmographer in New Spain." He asks the King to show this memorandum to any living members of the Loaysa expedition in order to verify it. The King should redeem the Spaniards captured by the natives in the Philippines and other islands near the Moluccas. To do this and to resupply the ships would not be in violation of the treaty made with Portugal. In case the ships should depart before the King's answer is received, the Viceroy will order them to act in accordance with the above-mentioned memorandum. The vessels of the expedition will consist of two galleons of 200 and 170 or 180 tons respectively, and a patache. Wood, already fitted, is to be sent in the galleons, with which to make small boats for use among the islands. "The man in charge of the work, writes me that the cables and rigging necessary for these vessels will be all ready, by the spring of '61, at Nicaragua and Realejo, ports in the province of Guatemala where I have ordered these articles made, because they can be made better there than in all the coast of the Southern Sea; and because they can be brought easily from those ports to the Port of Navidad, where the ships must take the sea." The artillery and other articles sent from Spain for the vessels have arrived. The letters written by the King to Urdaneta and the Augustinian Provincial were delivered, and both have concurred with the contents thereof. "It is most fitting that Fray Andrés go on this expedition, because of his experience and knowledge of these islands, and because no-one in those kingdoms or in these understands so thoroughly the required course as he; moreover, he is prudent and discreet in all branches of the business, and

has an excellent judgment.” He assures the King that the return voyage to New Spain will be made as quickly as possible.

In a postscript he adds that all due secrecy has been observed in regard to the purpose of the fleet, and it has been given out that it is for the trade with Peru and for coastal defence; however, it is rumored that they are for the voyage westward.



Father Andrés de Urdaneta, O.S.A. *As a young Spanish Army captain, he had taken part in the Loaysa expedition. He became a friar at 55 years of age. In his sixties, he accompanied Legazpi and became the official discoverer of the return route across the North Pacific. (From B&R 2:163, from a painting by Madrazo in the Augustinian College at Valladolid)*

Documents 1565E

Legazpi—Reply from Fr. Urdaneta to the King, dated Mexico 28 May 1560, including a memorandum

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 7; Col. Ultramar ii, doc 13, pp. 106-113; Col. diarios 5:142-145; summarized in B&R 2:81-82; translated in FBG 8:5-9.

Letter from Fr. Urdaneta to Philip II

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

Early in May of this year, 1560, I received the order of Your Royal Majesty issued at Valladolid on 24 September, 1559, by which I was instructed to go in the ships of Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of this New Spain, which he is sending by order of Your Royal Majesty to the Islands of the West. That order I obeyed, it having come from Your Majesty, whom I have always served. I kiss Your Majesty's royal feet and hands for the favor and remuneration Your Majesty has deigned to grant me, your chaplain and servant.

The information given to Your Royal Majesty that I had gone in the expedition of Commander Fray García de Loaysa, which he made in the service of Your Majesty to the Moluccas Islands, is correct. That was in 1525; and I was in said expedition for eleven years, after which I returned to Spain in 1536 when in Valladolid I gave to Your Royal Majesty a report and account of what had happened in that voyage. For eight years of the eleven I stayed in the Moluccas and their boundaries, serving Your Majesty as a soldier and captain as well as taking charge of the Royal Treasury, until by royal order we had to leave freely those islands to the captains of the Most Serene King of Portugal. I returned, therefore, from the Spice Islands.

In 1552 our Lord God deigned to call me to the religious life in which I am now. I served Your Majesty most of the time that I was here in New Spain, where I was given positions of responsibility by Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, in affairs of war as well as in those of peace. After entering the religious life, I have been offered similar important assignments in the service of your Royal Majesty by the Viceroy,

Don Luis de Velasco. And now, upon receipt of the order of Your Royal Majesty, I informed Fr. Fray Agustin de Coruña, Provincial of the Order of our Father St. Augustine here in this New Spain, about it and he and the whole organization willingly and with the affection they have in serving Your Majesty, obeyed it. Thus, the Father Provincial has ordered me to prepare for this voyage with three other religious. Considering my age, which is now 52 years¹ and the poor health I now have and the much work which from boyhood I have had, I felt I needed to pass in peace the little time that remains in my life. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the great zeal of Your Majesty in serving God, our Lord, and in spreading our holy Catholic faith, I have decided to commit myself to this expedition, trusting only in Divine Providence and mercy, through which I expect to serve well His Divine Majesty and Your Royal Person.

The Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, informed me of the order of Your Royal Majesty concerning the voyage to the West and I told him what I thought would be convenient to render better service to God, our Lord, and to Your Majesty. His honor, the Viceroy thought it wise that I express to Your Royal Person my opinions. Thus, together with this goes my opinion about the voyage so that Your Majesty may order and provide what is best for your service. I beseech Your Majesty to accept my willingness to serve our Lord and Your Majesty, whose royal person and great dominion may God keep and increase with greater kingdoms and seignories and may He thereafter take Your Royal Majesty to the celestial glory to rejoice in that Eternal Kingdom for which you were created.

Mexico, 28 May 1560.

S.C.R.M., I kiss the Royal feet and hands of Your Majesty. Your Majesty's humble chaplain and inferior servant,

Fray Andrés de Urdaneta.

Memorandum from Urdaneta to the King

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

It seems that there could be an inconvenience or scruple in making the voyage which Your Majesty orders to the West from this New Spain. By the way it is ordered to be undertaken, the ships are to go directly in search of the Philippine Islands. It is also expressly declared in the order that they should not enter the Molucca Islands, in order not to break the agreement between Your Majesty and the Most Serene King of Portugal.

But it is clear and evident that the Philippine Islands are not only inside the demarcation of Portugal, but also that the easternmost point of the said Islands is in the meridian of the Moluccas and the main portion is West of the meridian of the Moluccas.² The agreement on the demarcation is that to the east of the Moluc-

1 Navarrete says in a marginal note: This is a mistake, because according to the writers of his Order, he was born in 1498, and, therefore, he should have said 62 years.

2 Ed. note: Emphasis mine.

cas Islands from 17° N latitude, measuring 297-1/2 leagues from the equator, a line is drawn from pole to pole. To the West of the said line, which forms a semi-circle, none of the ships of Your Majesty and none of your subjects may enter, or settle, or trade, until the cancellation of the existing sale or agreement. The said Philippine Islands, as I have said, are not only inside the demarcation [of Portugal], but the greater part of them lies in the western part of the meridian of the Moluccas.

In view of this, it seems there could really be a kind of inconsistency in the order of Your Majesty directing the expedition to go to the Philippine Islands without either a legitimate or a pious cause. It appears to me that Your Majesty would better be served if you order two galleons and a patache to set sail from this New Spain to discover the sea West of this in the regions that the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, may order; going up to the border of the demarcation line of the Most Serene King of Portugal, which is, as I have already said, that line which stretches from pole to pole 297-1/2 leagues from the easternmost point of the Moluccas, so that Your Royal Majesty may know about the lands, islands and people that are inside your demarcation. Once those lands are discovered and known, Your Majesty may provide and order what is best to be done for the service of our Lord, God, and of Your Majesty, and for the welfare of the natives of those lands that have been discovered.

Besides, Your Majesty has been informed that in the Philippine Islands and in other islands nearby, some Spaniards, the subjects of Your Majesty, were lost. They had gone there with the Loaysa expedition, which left Spain in 1535; as well as in the ships sent by the Marquis del Valle from New Spain in 1527, as in those sent by the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza from New Spain also, in 1542; not to mention others who were lost in a ship¹ of the Marquis del Valle in bad weather as they were coming to New Spain from Peru. It will be a good and a pious thing to do if Your Majesty send for them; as according to information given Your Majesty, said Spaniards who were lost from those vessels are prisoners and captives of infidels in the said Philippine Islands. Your Majesty will be well served, as well as our Lord, God, if for the sake of those Spaniards, Your Majesty's subjects, and out of pity to them, the said ships that shall set sail for the discoveries shall reach the Philippine Islands where said Spaniards are held captives; and upon arriving and landing in them learn from the natives of those Islands what Spaniards are present there and in the neighboring islands; and, having learned about them, pay their ransom or buy them and their children, if they have any, to save their souls,

To effect their rescue, the ships should carry such merchandise as would please the natives best. Rescued or ransomed in this manner, the said Spanish captives shall be brought back to New Spain when the weather is favorable for their voyage, without going to the Moluccas nor engaging in trade or bartering, with the exception of buying some goods that are worthwhile seeing as samples or purchasing supplies and other things needed for the voyage. And to make this expedition successful, may it please

1 Ed. note: The ship Sntiago, Captain Castilla, of the Grijalva expedition.

Your Majesty to order a search for the best pilots possible; besides the previously mentioned persons, for the said expedition. Thus, the most accurate reports can be made about the new discoveries as well as about the route, and distance from New Spain to the Philippine Islands and their neighboring islands; and determination can also be had of the place where the 180° longitude of the demarcation of Your Royal Majesty reaches.

It appears then that there is not only a justifiable cause in going to the Philippine Islands in search of your captive subjects and in liberating them, but also in our obligation to look for those who got lost while serving Your Royal Majesty. Aside from serving God, our Lord, and liberating the captives from the infidels, the expedition can take advantage of learning the language and of getting information, of which Your Majesty will be very much pleased.

Fray Andrés de Urdaneta.

Document 1565F

**Legazpi—Second letter from the King
to Fr. Urdaneta, dated Aranjuez
4 March 1561**

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 1; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 16, pp. 118-119; Col. diarios 5:146; summarized in B&R 2:82-83; translated in FBG 8:10.

Letter from Philip II to Fr. Urdaneta

[From] the King

[To] Fray Andrés de Urdaneta of the Order of St. Augustine:

I have read your letter of 28 May 1560, and learned therefrom that you are offering yourself, in accordance with our request, to go to the Islands of the West in the ships that Don Luis de Velasco, our Viceroy of that land [New Spain] is sending in compliance with our order. I thank you very much for your willingness to join this expedition considering it a service to God, our Lord, and to us. I shall order this to be placed on record so that you will be compensated accordingly. I, therefore, order that, in accordance with your offer, you make the voyage and place in it all the trust afforded by your religion and kindness, given that in regard to the advice you sent everything has been endorsed to the Viceroy so that he may provide what is convenient in accordance with his orders.

Aranjuez, 4 March 1561.

I, the King.

By order of His Majesty, Francisco de Eraso.

Document 1565G

Legazpi—Letter from the Viceroy regarding the preparations, dated 9 February 1561

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1.23; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 14 & 15, pp. 113-118; summarized in B&R 2:83-84.

Synopsis by Robertson

New Spain, 9 February 1561.—The Viceroy writes to the King concerning the fleet. Two ships and one small vessel are being built, and will be provisioned for the voyage to the Western Islands and the return to New Spain. They will be fully equipped by about the end of the present year.

“It is necessary that Your Majesty have two pilots sent to me for this expedition, men skilled and experienced in this navigation of the Ocean Sea, because, although I have three, I need two more, so that they may go two by two aboard the ships... I have appointed Miguel López de Legazpi, a native of the province of Quipúzcoa, and a well-known gentleman of the Lezcano family, as the general and leader of those embarking in these vessels who, all told, soldiers, sailors, and servants, number from 250 to 300 people. He is 50 years old and has spent more than 25 years in this New Spain. He has given a good account of the offices he has held, and of the important affairs committed to him. From what is known of his Christian character and good qualities hitherto, a more suitable man, and one more satisfactory to Fray Andrés Urdaneta, who is to direct and guide the expedition, could not have been chosen; for these two are from the same land, and they are kinsmen and good friends, and are of one mind.”

Document 1565H

Legazpi—Second memorandum by Fr. Urdaneta about the planned route, dated Mexico 1561

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23, n° 15; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc 2; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 17, pp. 119-138; summarized in B&R 2:84-87.

Summary by Robertson

Mexico, 1561.—Urdaneta, in a second memorandum to the King, points out the greater advantages of Acapulco as a port, than those possessed by the port of Navidad. It has a more healthy location than the latter, is nearer Mexico City, and supplies can be taken there more easily. The lack of necessities, “such as wine, oil, etc., from Spain” and its unhealthy location have debarred workmen from going to the port of Navidad; hence the completion of the vessels has been retarded, and about a year must pass yet before they will be finished.” It is of great advantage that the port whence the men embark be healthy... because if they embark from an unhealthy land, many fall sick before embarking, and many die afterwards while at sea... The port of Acapulco appears to have a good location, so that a dockyard might lie fitted up there, where vessels can be built, and may there take and discharge their cargoes; for it is one of the foremost ports in the discovery of the Indies—large, safe, very healthy, and with a supply of good water. It abounds in fish; and at a distance of 5 or 6 leagues there is an abundance of wood for the futtock-timbers of the vessels, and, some distance farther, of wood for decks and sheathing, and pines for masts and yards.” Further, the district about this port is reasonably well populated. Urdaneta says that if material for making the artillery be sent from Spain, and good workmen, the artillery can be made in New Spain; as well as anchors. “In this land there is copper in abundance, from which artillery can be made” which only needs to be refined. The Augustinian makes some interesting observations regarding social and economic conditions in Mexico, and suggests that it would be very advantageous to compel many youths who are growing up in vagabondage to learn trades, “especially the mestizos, mulattoes, and free negroes.” Weapons,

ammunition, and defensive armor must be sent from Spain for this expedition. Urdaneta requests that hemp-seed be sent, in order that ropes may be made in New Spain. He tells of a plant, *pita* [agave], growing in this country which can be used as a substitute for hemp, and many plants of it must be planted near the ports. The pitch, tar, and resin, the instruments and charts for navigation, etc., must be sent hither from Spain. They need good workmen. The King is requested to allow them to make use of any workmen in the other provinces of “these parts of the Indies”, paying them their just wages; likewise to take what things they need, paying the just price. It is advised that the necessary trees for shipbuilding be planted near the ports, and that ranches be established nearby to supply food.

The second section of this document treats of the navigation to the Western Islands; and Urdaneta maps out various routes which should be followed, according to the time of the year when the fleet shall have to do primarily with New Guinea as the objective point of the expedition, the Philippines being considered as only secondary thereto.¹

Speaking of the **Ladrones** and their inhabitants, Urdaneta says: “The islands of the Ladrones are many, and thirteen of them are said to be inhabited. The inhabitants are naked and poor. They eat rice, have many cocoa palms, and use salt. They fish with hooks made from tortoise-shell, being destitute of articles made of iron. They place a counterweight in one end of their canoes, and rig on them lateen-like sails made of palm-mats. It is quite important to explore this island [i.e. Guam] thoroughly, or any of the others, in order to discover and ascertain accurately the navigation that has been made up to that point, and their distance from the Moluccas and the Philippine Islands. Those islands are somewhat less than 370 leagues from Botaha².” The “modern maps that have come to this New Spain” are in his opinion incorrect, as certain coasts are drawn more extensive than is actually the case. Calms must be avoided and the trade winds caught, in order to facilitate navigation. The errors of former expeditions must be avoided, as well as a protracted stay at the Philippines “both because of the worms that infest that sea, which bore through and destroy the vessels, and because the Portuguese might learn of us during this time and much harm might result thereby.” Besides, Spaniards as well as natives cannot be depended upon to keep the peace. By leaving New Spain before the beginning of October 1562, much expense and the idleness of the ships will be avoided. In case land be discovered within Spain’s demarcation, Urdaneta requests the King to provide for its colonization by supplying a captain and some of the people and religious—or even that the general himself remain there, “if the natives thereof beg that some Spaniards remain among them.” He asks the King to ascertain the truth of the report that the French have discovered a westward route “between the Land of the Cod-fish and the land north of it.” If it be true then trade might be carried on more economically from Spain directly west than by way of New Spain, and the fleets will be better provided with men and equipment.

1 Ed. note: See below for full translation of this whole section.

2 Ed. note: Another name for Guam on some maps.

Navigation plan, by Fr. Urdaneta

The navigation which, with God's help, I think should be made from this New Spain to the west, should be at the beginning of October of this year of 1561, or not later than the beginning of November. If we could get away by that time, we would sail to the W 1/4 SW [W by S] for 600 leagues until reaching the latitude of 14° and 1/2 N, and from this point due west in search of **San Bartolomé** which will be found between 14° and 14° and 1/2 of latitude.¹

It is necessary to try and sight this island and anchor there to find out if it is inhabited, and in what part of it is the watering place, as it is very important that there should be fresh water in this island, even though it be uninhabited, because it is 690 leagues, more or less, closer to New Spain than either the Moluccas or the Philippines.² Here water and wood could be taken on the outward voyage as well as on the return voyage, if the return course cannot be otherwise. If the island in question could be settled, it would surely be of much benefit as a port-of-call, even if it be settled by delinquent men who deserve death or permanent exile.

Once this island of San Bartolomé has been sighted and water and wood been taken, the course set from there should be W by S until 1° and 1/2 have been lost, i.e. down to 13°, and from there run due west in search of the island of **Botaha**, which is one of the Ladrões.³ By staying on the latitude of 13°, it cannot be missed. There would be about 330 leagues from San Bartolomé to this island.⁴ The Ladrões are numerous; they say that 13 of them are inhabited. The inhabitants are naked and poor; they eat rice, and have many coconut palms and salt. They fish with hooks made of tortoise-shells and they go wild for anything made of iron. They come sailing aboard canoes that have a counterweight to one side and are fitted with mat sails shaped like lateen sails.

It would be very important to survey this island or any one of the others, in order to study the route followed up to that time, and how distant they are from the Moluccas and the Philippines, because in the matter of San Bartolomé an error could be made by encountering another island at the same latitude but farther east. Eleven of the 13 inhabited islands are from Botalia [sic] toward the north.⁵

From the Ladrões Islands to go in search of the Philippines, one must sail W by S until reaching 11°, or something less, and once at that latitude run on a due west heading until encountering the islands in question. There would be just under 370 leagues between the island of Botaha to these.⁶

1 Ed. note: Urdaneta had already visited Taongi with the Loaysa expedition in 1526.

2 Ed. note: In 1561, the known islands called the Philippine Islands by the Spanish consisted in just the Visayas.

3 Ed. note: This is Guam, then erroneously referred to on public maps as Baham, Botaha, Botalia, hence Botalid and Volid, and other misprints.

4 Ed. note: The actual distance is over 400 leagues, or 24° of longitude.

5 Ed. note: Urdaneta got this information from Gonzalo de Vigo. Then and now, not all of the northern Marianas were inhabited on a regular basis.

6 Ed. note: His distance is over-estimated, as there are about 330 leagues.

If, however, we will not be able to leave New Spain until after the 10th of November, and not later than the 20th of January, or a few days later, we will have to adopt another course, by running SW directly in search of New Guinea, until we get to a latitude of 25°, or 30° of latitude south of the equinoctial, if at first we do not meet with its coast, because if that coast does extend toward the antarctic pole, or toward the Strait of Magellan, and it is hoped it does, although the coastline may not extend that far in the E by S direction, which is the trend of the coast discovered so far, but runs to SE instead, then we would meet with it before we get to 30°. I am of the opinion that such a coast, as laid down on the modern charts that have come to this New Spain, exceeds by more than 100 leagues the limit that has been discovered. Be that as it may, if it runs SE from the last cape that was discovered, we are bound to run into its eastern part before reaching 30°. If, by sailing as far as 30°, as I have said, we do not reach the said coast of New Guinea, then, weather permitting, we would run due west for 200 leagues, or more, and if we still do not reach it within these 200 leagues, from that 30° point, we would run WNW in order to reach the said last cape that has been discovered, which is in 5°, according to the narrative and sketch map which I have of the said coast.¹

Depending on which part of the said coast of New Guinea we find and the time we find it, weather permitting, we would follow the coast and survey it for as long as we wish, provided that we try and arrive at the Philippines not later than the beginning of November 1562. It seems that if we were to leave the port of Acapulco not later than the 20th of January, or before, as I have said, with the favorable fresh breezes that we would then have we could cross the equinoctial in a few days; this is what we must aim to do as we should not cross it during the equinox² because at such a time some great calms are usually encountered below the equinoctial, something that is to be avoided. So, while sailing south of the equinoctial at the time period in question, we would have ample time to discover the said coast of New Guinea, and many other islands there might be.

If, however, we cannot leave the coast of New Spain during the whole month of January to go by the southern route, as I have said, we would wait until the month of March, or later, until we get weather good enough for a voyage by the Arctic, or northern, route, by following the coast of New Spain that runs WNW, and weather permitting, although we may have to sail at some distance from the coast, we would sail until we get to a latitude of 34° or more, where we should try and examine the country along the coast discovered by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo.³ After having taken whatever necessary from that coast, and having spoken with the Indians, even if only by sign language,

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- 1 Ed. note: This document, now lost, was probably the one cited by a couple of old catalogues (See B&R 53:242) whose title (translated) was: "Geographic table of the South Sea, with all the voyages and sailing directions discovered until then." It contained many small maps.
 - 2 Ed. note: Before 1582, they were still using the Julian calendar by which the spring equinox occurred on about 11 March.
 - 3 Ed. note: There exists a narrative of this voyage of discovery of the northwest coast (1542-43) by Juan Paez in Col. de Indias, t. 14, pp. 165+.

about a "big water" which they had mentioned to Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo as existing inland beyond that place, we should go in search of it by following the coast to see what it is, as this water could be a sea [lying] beyond some headland where this land ends. We would already have learned by sign language if it is salt or fresh water, and if God wills that we might discover what it is, we would then turn to W by S until reaching 37°, or 35°, and from there we would run due west, discovering what there is between this land and that of China, until getting near the islands of Japan, unless we should meet first with something of such importance that we are satisfied with it. From there, we should direct our course to the Philippine Islands, without going any further westward.

In the case where we do not follow the western coast of New Spain, as stated above, we would go up as far as the latitude of 37°, and from there run west, as stated, until reaching the meridian of the Island of Botaha, which is one of the Ladrões, and from there we would make our way to the said Ladrões Islands, so as not to get lost, and from there go in search of the Philippines. Or else, we could go from the said point at 30° plus, [directly] in search of the Philippines. One way or another, our voyage would thus end up there.

I have planned these routes this way, so that, in case we cannot depart at the beginning of November [the correct time] at which to depart from New Spain, when leaving late from here, we would not get there with enough time to comply with what Y.M. orders us to do, and prepare ourselves for the return, because it is convenient that with the first winds suitable to go from there to here we should leave without waiting for the steady winds (good to sail here) to have established themselves. The reason for this is that such winds have always been found to last but little time. So, we must depart from there [early], so as to be on this side [i.e. east] of the Ladrões, if at all possible, by the time the favorable winds begin; we should not wait in the ports of the Philippines for [the beginning of] the favorable winds, which are the *vendavals*, even if we have to make the first part of this voyage by brute force. If we do otherwise, the same thing could happen to us that has happened in the past voyages; for instance, by getting there late, we might have to wait for one year, which would be a great inconvenience, not only on account of the many worms found in those island seas that cause ships to be lost, but also because in the interim the Portuguese might find out about us, of which some harm could come to us. The same could happen if we stay too long among the natives of those islands, as they are with a bad disposition, and our Spanish too, wherever they go and stay for a while, friendship usually lasts but for a little time. Although we should normally avoid all the disadvantages that can cause any harm, the more reason to do so during this voyage.

If there should be a reason to wait in New Spain until the beginning of October of the year of 1562, that too would be inconvenient. For one thing, the ships lose much by being so long idle, and for another, the costs would greatly increase. To avoid all of these things, and to take advantage of the time to explore the above-mentioned coasts, it would be convenient to sail as soon as the ships are ready to sail, unless Y.M. wishes to order otherwise.

In case we find during this voyage some good land, already discovered or that we might discover, provided that it is outside the pawn¹ and that its natives should ask for some Spanish to stay with them, it will be necessary for Y.M. to be pleased to order if you would be served that some captain with some men and religious stay in that land, or if it should be fitting for the General himself to stay with the necessary men, so that the will of your Majesty be complied with in everything.

At this New Spain, we have heard that the French have discovered a passage to the sea west of this New Spain between the land of the Cod-fish and that which extends toward the north; after entering the western sea at 60° or more, they [apparently] sailed W by S as far as down as 50° and found a true ocean by which to sail easily to China, to the Spice Islands, Peru, and New Spain, and everywhere else that one can sail to in that western sea; that on their return to France, they followed the north coast of Florida and that they found an exit toward the sea of Spain and France by a lower latitude than they had left it, given that there were no more than 40° or so where they went in, and not more than 50°. Because Captain Pedro Melendez has some understanding of what happened, according to the news we have received here, and because he will make a report to Y.M., I will say no more than it would be very important to discover if this is true from Spain, and if it is, and a passage is found as they say, and the land is inhabited, they should try and make a settlement at the narrowest point of that strait, or at the place that appears to be the most important, so that the ships going from Spain to the west, and from the west to Spain, could make a stopover there; from that place, they could hinder all the foreigners wanting to sail through that strait to the western ocean, given that it would evidently be possible to sail directly from Spain to China, and the Moluccas, and the other parts of that western ocean. Also, many expenses could be saved by not having the spice trade managed from this New Spain or anywhere else, in addition to having the ships better equipped with men and anything else that is necessary.

In order to carry out the above said, it is necessary to send someone who is a person experienced in business at sea and ashore, zealous in the service of God and of your Majesty. From what I have heard here about General Pedro Melendez, he could be safely entrusted with this business, but another with greater ability [would do], although this business would come out alright as he has the ability for it. I beg Y.M., regarding this matter as well as the other things mentioned in this report and memorandum of mine, to please receive my offer of service to the best of my weak forces; although the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, has ordered me to make a report to Y.M. about a few things that I thought appropriate regarding these discoveries, the zeal of the service of God and of your Royal Majesty has given me cause to deal with it. If anything in this report may be found convenient for your royal service to have ordered, although the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco endeavors to provide for this business with much care, still Y.M. may be pleased to give him some orders.

1 Ed. note: He refers to the contract or conditional sale made with the King of Portugal.

Document 1565I

Legazpi—Letter from Legazpi to the King, dated Mexico 26 May 1563

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 7; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 18, pp. 139-140; summarized in B&R 2:87-88 as follows.

Summary by Robertson

Mexico, 26 May 1563.—Legazpi writes to the King that “the Viceroy of this New Spain, without any merit on my part, has thought best to appoint me for the voyage to the Western Islands, to serve Your Majesty, putting under my charge the fleet prepared for it—not because this land has few men who would do it better than I, and by whom Your Majesty would be served better on this voyage, but rather, because no-one would give himself up to it with a more willing spirit, as I have ever done in my past duties.” He assures His Majesty that he will have the utmost care in this expedition. For the better success of the voyage he has “asked the Viceroy for certain things, which seemed to me necessary... and others of which, in the name of Your Majesty, he should grant me, which although they were not of so great moment that they were fitting to be asked from so exalted and powerful a personage, the Viceroy defers and sends them to you, so that Your Majesty may order his pleasure regarding them.” He asks these things for “so important a voyage” not as “a remuneration for my work, since that is due Your Majesty’s service, but as a condescension made with the magnificence that Your Majesty always is accustomed to exercise in rewarding his servants who serve him in matters of moment.”

Document 1565J

Legazpi—Two letters from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 25 February 1564 and 15 June 1564

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 7; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 19 & 20, pp. 140-145; summarized in B&R 2:88-89.

Summary by Robertson

Mexico, 1864.—The Viceroy writes to Philip II on February 25 and again on June 15, excusing the non-departure of the fleet. In the first letter he says that the delay is due to the proper victualling of the vessels for a two-year voyage, and the non-arrival of certain pieces of artillery, etc., which were coming from Veracruz; the things that were to be sent from the City of Mexico could not be sent until the fleet was launched, as they would spoil if left ashore. Everything will be ready by May.

In the second letter he excuses the delay as, owing to calms and contrary winds, the vessels bearing the “masts, yards, and certain anchors” for the fleet did not arrive at the port of Navidad until June 10. It still remained to step the masts and make the vessels shipshape, and to load the provisions; and they will be ready to sail by September. “Four vessels are being sent, two galleons and two pataches;... they are the best that have been launched on the Southern Sea, and the stoutest and best equipped. They carry 300 Spaniards, half soldiers and half sailors, a chosen lot of men... Six religious of the Order of Saint Augustine go with it, among them Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, who is the most experienced and skilled navigator that can be had in either Old or New Spain.” He encloses a copy of the instructions to Legazpi, in order that the King may assure himself that his commands have been obeyed. The best pilots have been secured. The questions of routes, seasons, and other things have been discussed with Urdaneta and others who have made the voyage before. “I trust... that the expedition will come to a successful end, and that Your Majesty will be very much served therein, and in all that shall hereafter occur in it.” Notice will be given to the King of the departure of the fleet by the first vessel leaving for Spain after that event.

Document 1565K

Legazpi—Final instructions given by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, dated 1 September 1564

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1/23; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 4; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 21, pp. 145-200; Col. diarios 5:147-171; summarized in B&R 2:89-100; translated in FBG 8:11-40.

Instructions to Miguel López de Legazpi

The order that you, Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and General by His Majesty appointed for the discovery of the Islands of the West and by the very illustrious Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, former Governor and Captain General of New Spain and President of the Royal Audiencia, which has its seat in New Spain, and who is now dead, have to keep and observe in the voyage and expedition that, with God's help, you have to make for the said discovery, with the ships, which to this effect, by order of His Majesty, were built and are in the Port of Navidad of New Spain, on the South Sea coast, is as follows:

First, you will go to the Port of Navidad, where will gather between 300 and 350 men, who are soldiers and sailors and who, by order of the said Viceroy in the name of His Majesty and the expense from his Royal Treasury, are prepared to go on the expedition with their Captains and officials. Upon your arrival at the said port, in the presence of the officials of His Majesty who are appointed and designated to go on said expedition and who are: Guido de Lavezaris, treasurer; Andrés Cauchela, accountant; Andrés de Mirandaola, factor; and before a notary who will testify, you will be presented, above all things, four ships that are now in the said port and which by order of His Majesty and the said Very Illustrious Viceroy were built recently in His Royal name. Two of these vessels are big and two small: the largest is the galleon named **San Felipe**¹, the flagship, which you, the General, have to take; and the other vessels are

1 Ed. note: Soon to be renamed the San Pedro.

the *almiranta*, named **San Andrés**¹; the patache San Juan de Letrán, under Captain Juan de la Isla, and another patache called San Lucas which shall be under Captain Hernán Sanchez Muñoz. With these ships are boats, skiffs, sails, tackles, cables, anchors, and all other implements and appurtenances belonging to the said ships, without lacking anything. All these will be inventoried and shall be placed under your charge. Their presentation to you will be done in the name of His Majesty by the Bachelor Martinez Allende, Mayor of the City and Province of Michoacan, who is in the said Port of Navidad as Judge Purveyor of the said fleet.

Having been presented the said vessels and everything that pertains to them, you will assist and appoint as pilots, masters, boatswains and clerks of the vessels, persons whom you will deem worthy, capable and experienced and distribute accordingly to those who are in said Port in place of those who have refused to join and determine the salaries according to the jobs they will be assigned to. In the same manner you will appoint the artillerymen and other officers needed in each vessel. You will order each and everyone what to do in accordance with his position and job and you will assign in each of the vessels all the seamen as you may find necessary and in accordance with the experience of everyone of them.

Also, you will take charge and make an inventory in the said port, before you set sail, of the entire artillery, big and small, arquebuses, ammunition, offensive and defensive weapons, and other arms that His Majesty has in it, and of the two frigates and tools, as well as of the negro officials of these, and of all the provisions that were prepared for the said fleet, such as biscuits, dried meat, bacon, wine, oil, vinegar, fish, cheese, peas and chick-peas, as well as other things, all of which should be listed and inventoried according to classification, each thing to its kind, in a book you will keep in your possession and duly signed by you and by the above-mentioned officials of His Majesty who are going in the said expedition. You will, therefore, take charge of everything, seeing to it that nothing should be in the fleet that is not accounted for in writing. The presentation to you of these things will also be done in the name of His Majesty by Bachelor Martinez.

Furthermore, you will also assume charge in the said port of all the merchandise and barter goods which, by order of the Viceroy in the name of His Majesty, were bought by Ortuño de Ibarra, the Viceroy's agent and provider in this New Spain, with the approval of the other officials of the Royal Treasury. The merchandise and barter goods have been brought to the said port and are there for barter and trade in the expedition. All shall be accounted for in writing, and you taking charge of them through inventory, including each kind according to the preceding chapter. These goods were taken from this City to the said port by the Auditor Andrés Cauchela and they will be presented to you by Bachelor Martinez.

After the four ships, their rigging and equipment, the artillery, ammunition, provisions, barter goods and merchandise and all other things which have to go on said ex-

1 Ed. note: Soon to be renamed the San Pablo.

pedition have been presented to you, as already said above, you will give a copy of the presentation or transfer, duly signed by you, to the officials of His Majesty who are joining said expedition, holding them responsible for all said things, before the notary, so that they, being such officials, will be obliged to make an account of these things in their books, as Royal property and dispose of same with the corresponding payment if and when you so order or when ordered by this Royal Audiencia, or by the officials of His Majesty of this New Spain, or by any other person authorized to do so in his Royal name. There should appear in your book, duly signed by said officials at the bottom of the transfer document, a statement showing why they have received the copy and why they were made to take charge of all the said things, because it is in you and in them in whom it is incumbent to keep and take care of all and everything that belongs to the Royal treasury which are being carried on the expedition from this New Spain, as well as of those things that you will acquire by trading or by any other way in those lands you will discover.

And because it is necessary that the artillery, arquebuses, ammunition, arms, supplies, merchandise and barter goods and the other things that will be taken in the expedition be distributed among the ships, according to their needs, and also the men who will go in each, according to your discretion and prudence, you will order their distribution in the manner you consider most convenient, as we trust much in your person. All the items, properly inventoried, shall be placed under the charge of the Captains and Masters and persons whom you trust, making yourself and said officials, in writing, responsible, particularly of what each of them will receive from you, classifying the things according to their kind; as, for instance, the ships with their equipment in one part; the artillery, ammunition, and arms in another part; and the provisions in a separate part, as well as the merchandise and barter goods. In this way everything will be listed and inventoried, signed with your name and the names of those officials and persons to whom the things will be transferred, and entered in your book and in that of the officials, so that everything will be always clear and well accounted for. You will order that each ship have a record of everything in it, from the ship itself down to the least important item, as is practiced in the voyage to the Indies.

Upon presentation of the artillery, ammunition, arquebuses, and of all the other items, you will order that Martin de Goiti, who is appointed Captain of the said artillery, being a trustworthy man and fit for the job, be with you and the officials of His Majesty, the Master-of-Camp, the artillerymen and the persons to whom the presentation will be done. You will also order that said Martin de Goiti be given a list of all that goes in the fleet pertaining to the artillery, arms and ammunition, and that he be responsible for each, so that he can have knowledge of it all, as all the things mentioned pertain to the office of the Captain of the Artillery.

Having completed such presentation in the manner stated above, you will order that a copy be made of the list of all that was handed over, signed by you and the officials and the persons to whom the things were given charge, for the said Bachelor Martinez, so that he will take the same to this City of Mexico and deliver it to the officials of His

Majesty in New Spain, who shall have it in their possession, kept in the box with three keys; and in this manner a copy of the same is sent to His Majesty and his Council of the Indies, so that any time it becomes necessary, all that is sent with the expedition, and in whose charge each thing is given, can be seen and known, and an account can also be asked for from the persons who are responsible.

After this, you will order all the men who are there, and who are from 300 to 350 in number, to gather together. They are the soldiers who, by order of the Viceroy and by their conduct, were selected by Captains Mateo del Sanz and Diego de Viedma, as well as the seamen who have been accepted for the voyage. All being assembled, you will make a general review of all of them who are going on the expedition and prepare a list, stating their names, residences, parentage, age, and personal marks; stating also who are going as soldiers and who as sailors, their officers, and the compensation to be given to each, as you know how much has been fixed for captains and how much for soldiers. Indicate the compensation of each for the whole voyage, and the sailors will be compensated according to position each will be assigned to. You will keep a record of all this in a book which you will have in your possession to be signed by you and the officials; and you shall have the same record entered in the books which they keep in their possession. A copy of all these, as before, shall be given to Bachelor Martinez, who shall turn it in to the Royal officials of New Spain, together with other accomplished records, so as to enable them to have complete information and be able to give it if and when asked to do so. You shall take along with you a copy of the salaries paid by the officials in this City to all the men, so that you can check it when you will have your general review, and find out if a soldier or a sailor is missing among those who have been paid.

When all this has been accomplished, you shall assign to each ship the captain and soldiers who will go in it, taking into consideration the total number of men and the need of each ship, using your good judgment. You shall take with you in the flagship, Captain [Navy] Mateo de Sanz, who is appointed Master-of-Camp, and two officials of the Royal Treasury, the Royal Flag, the Chief Ensign, and the noblemen who were given preference over others in accompanying you and the flag, and the other necessary persons. All this, as has already been said, is entrusted to your prudence and wisdom, which you shall exercise in everything as we trust in your person.

On the *almiranta* you shall designate as Captain and Admiral of the entire fleet the person whom you think most qualified and befitting among those whom you are assigning in the said ship; he must be trustworthy, capable and experienced, as you have such men among those you are taking with you. You shall give him instruction and order as regards what he has to do and be responsible for in the voyage as well as other things. In this *almiranta* galleon, it seems that one of the other officials of the Royal Treasury should go; because the merchandise, the barter goods and supplies which go on the expedition, with the artillery, arms, and ammunition ought to be distributed among the ships, principally in the two bigger vessels. It is wise that one of the officials take the *almiranta*, so that he may make an account of all that is carried in the said ship.

With regards to those who will have to go in the two pataches, you and the said officials can appoint two persons, one for each, to take charge and be responsible of all that will be provided in each vessel.

In the bigger patache [i.e. the San Juan], Juan de la Isla shall go as Captain, as has already been arranged, and you shall provide him with soldiers and seamen as you will deem it necessary so that he will be well equipped.

For the smaller patache [i.e. the San Lucas], which is to serve as tender for the bigger vessels, and which also will be used for the discovery of ports, rivers, and for such other uses as are necessary and befitting for the purposes of the expedition, Hernán Sanchez Muñoz is appointed Captain. You shall provide the said patache with all the men it needs to set it in order.

The 300 arquebuses that are being provided in this expedition from His Majesty's stores, you shall distribute among the soldiers who will need and who do not have them. These soldiers will be few in number, because almost all of them have theirs. The rest of the weapons will be placed in reserve in the flagship and in the *almiranta* ship to be used when necessary. The same should be done with the protective arms which have been made, the shields and corselets, distributing them as you deem it wise, as you know how neglectful soldiers and sailors can be, especially at sea, in the care of arquebuses and other arms. You shall order the Captain of the Artillery and the other captains and masters of the vessels to have the soldiers and sailors take good care of the arms, keeping them always clean and ready for use; and for this purpose, they shall be required to do it frequently.

Special care shall be taken of the supplies of food and beverages as things of great importance, so that they may be well preserved and kept free from spoilage. They shall be distributed and used wisely by limiting the rations reasonably. They shall be placed under the charge of very trustworthy persons. Inasmuch as the voyage is long and the return still uncertain—but God willing, you will be able to make it, through your service—it is befitting to give great care and attention to said supplies, so that there may not result any disorder and that we shall not fail to achieve our goal on account of lack of supplies.

To this effect, it is, likewise, necessary to have no servants or superfluous attendants go on the expedition. As you well know, this having been told already, no more than 300 to 350 persons—soldiers as well as sailors—must go. Provisions were prepared and provided for only this number; and although they seem plenty and sufficient, if more persons will go, especially useless ones, these provisions will not last long and, hence, cause inconvenience. You shall not, therefore, consent or permit the soldiers and the other persons who are going on the expedition to take with them in the vessels, in any manner, servants or attendants. But because such servants and attendants are indispensable to the important persons, you will permit the Captains, the Chief Ensign, the officials of His Majesty and the Sergeant Major to take some servants, besides those you will have for yourself.

Furthermore, you shall not permit natives or negroes, nor women, married or not, to go aboard the vessels, either as passengers or for any other reason, except a dozen negroes, male and female servants, whom you will apportion in all the ships, as you consider advantageous.

When all this has been done and the vessels are ready and all supplies, artillery, arms and ammunition, merchandise and barter goods, water and firewood, and all things necessary for the voyage have been loaded, you shall order the manner the religious men, of the order of the blessed St. Augustine, may go aboard, who are going in your Company to serve God, our Lord, and His Majesty, and to bring our Holy Catholic Faith to the natives of those lands. They shall go with you aboard the flagship and in the *almiranta*, apportioned as you and they would have it. They shall be given suitable quarters, and particular attention and care should be taken that they shall be well treated, respected, and revered, as required by their person, religion, and organization.

You shall then order everybody to be aboard their respective ships in the manner already explained and, in the shortest time possible, set sail with the best of luck. Make sure that all the men confess and receive communion before going aboard; and on the day you set sail, if possible, have everybody hear a Mass of the Holy Ghost, so that God, our Lord, may grant you good voyage and guide and enlighten you as always under His divine will.

Having presented yourself to the expedition as previously stated, before you set sail from the Port of Navidad, you will, as a nobleman, take oath and swear by the Gospel before Bachelor Martinez, the purveyor and provider of the said expedition; and the notary shall certify it, as well as the oath which you will be required to swear before this Royal Audiencia that you will perform faithfully your office and position as Governor and Captain General, which were bestowed upon you in the name of the King, exerting all your efforts in the Royal service for the growth of the Royal wealth and heritage.

You shall report to His Majesty and to this Audiencia in his Royal name, or to the person ordered by His Majesty, all the discoveries and benefits or advantages you will, in any manner, obtain, as a good and faithful servant and subject, and not to any other person; and directly or indirectly you shall neither hide nor do anything to the prejudice of His Majesty or to his Royal patrimony and property; and you shall give a correct report and account of everything, being a trustworthy person.

Having taken the aforesaid oath, you shall have the officials of the Royal Treasury, all the Captains, noblemen and soldiers, the pilots, masters of ships, and the sailors who will go on the expedition take theirs before you and the notary, who shall certify publicly, swearing on a missal and on the Gospel that they will obey you as their Governor and Captain General; that they comply with whatever you order them to do in everything and for everything; that they will stage neither mutiny nor uprising; and that they will follow your route and flag, without denying, absenting, or deviating themselves, for any reason, from the service of His Majesty and from obedience to yourself, at sea as well as ashore, under the penalty of perjury and infamy, and of disloyalty and trea-

son, as action will be taken against anybody who will do the contrary. Likewise, they shall obey your captains, in your name, at sea as well as ashore, under the same penalties.

And in order to give example to those to whom the Holy Catholic Faith has to be declared and manifested in those lands you will reach, in compliance with your obligation to the service of God and His Majesty as a Christian and an honorable man, it is befitting that the men you have under you on the expedition live the Christian and Catholic way. You will see to it that this is done and that the name of our Lord and that of His glorious Mother are always revered and honored and not blasphemed, and neither those of the Saints. Have special attention to this and let the blasphemers and public sinners be punished severely.

So that the property and belongings of those who die among the men in the expedition are given proper care, you shall assign persons of good character and trust as administrators of said belongings. Such persons must swear that they will make good use of said belongings that will be entrusted to them, and they will not permit at the auction and sale that the owners of said belongings be defrauded. They shall do everything proper for the advantage of same, as if such property was their own. Likewise, the persons in charge of said belongings shall not keep them for their own particular profit and benefit; rather, they shall register and send the proceeds of the same, as soon as there are available ships, to the heirs of the dead, noting down the name of the dead, his address, his heirs, and an account of all his belongings. You shall take special care that it is done and complied with and the administrators of the property referred to must give an account of the things entrusted to them, so that carelessness and negligence will not be found in the administration of the same. For their work the administrators shall be given emolument, a certain percentage per thousand, which is modest and limited, in the manner due in New Spain, since it involves but little work.

Likewise, before you set sail, you shall issue orders and instructions signed by you, to the Admiral, the Captains, Pilots and Masters of the vessels of the expedition, to the effect that they will all follow the flagship and your flag and signal light; mentioning their specific names in each vessel and instructing them what to do and observe with reference to the entire voyage, going as well as returning, at your discretion and consideration. Order them not to deviate under penalty which you, on behalf of His Majesty, will impose on the person and the property of those who will rebel and disobey.

On the day that all will go aboard to sail, you shall order and provide, that, in each of the ships of the expedition the watch shall be distributed in groups, for the day as well as for the night, without accepting any replacements unless one is sick, so that no misfortune may befall on you through carelessness. Besides it is important that the men get used to this so that it may not be strange to them when during emergencies they will have to do it.

Having complied with all that was instructed and having unfurled the sails with God's blessings, there being a favorable and advantageous wind, you shall undertake your voyage for the discovery and possession of the Islands of the West, sailing towards

the Moluccas, but without entering, for any reason, the said islands, so that nothing goes against the agreement of His Majesty with the most serene King of Portugal. You shall enter the other islands near them, like the Philippines, which are not included in the agreement and are inside the demarcation of His Majesty, and which are said to have spices also. In order to reach those islands and obtain the principal goal His Majesty is after—to bring to the inhabitants of those places our Holy Catholic Faith and to discover the return route to this New Spain to the credit of the patrimony of the Royal Crown of Castile, through trade and barter and through other legitimate ways, which with a clear conscience should be carried on to bring back some spices and some of the wealth found in those places—you shall take your route straight with the advice and opinion of the pilots who are going with you, sailing straight to the said islands, in search of the **Nublada Island**¹, which Ruy López de Villalobos had [re-]discovered.

Having surveyed the aforesaid island, you shall sail to claim the island called **Roca Partida** which is in latitude 17°, 110 leagues, more or less, from Nublada Island, in which you shall try to anchor to know whether it has a good port and good drinking water, sounding it first to find out if it is deep enough to anchor without danger. After surveying this island, you shall sail to the **Reyes** and the **Corales Group**² where you will be able to provide yourselves with fresh water and other things there available, as was done by those who were there with Captain Villalobos. From those islands you will proceed to the Philippines, which are centrally located in the adjoining region, where it is believed there are spices, gold, and other things of value, being very rich lands. If to reach them, you have to pass the **Matalotes** and the **Arrecifes**³ which must be 200 leagues ahead, more or less, you will try to talk with the natives in these islands, which are big and inhabited, according to those who went there with Villalobos, and know what towns they have, what manner of living and business they pursue, and what can be bartered or traded with them, in order to know what they have in those islands.

Having reached the Philippine Islands and adjacent territories, and the Moluccas, without entering these as previously instructed, you shall try to survey them and look for ports that are in them and know and learn about the towns, particularly their wealth, as well as the mode of living of the natives. You shall find out what their trade and business are and with what nations, and what the value and price of their spices among them. You shall find out, too, what varieties of spices they have, how much of these the merchandise and barter goods you have can bring in exchange, and what other things can be of advantage and benefit. Try the best you can to use all means to make peace and friendship with the natives, presenting to those whom you consider to be nobles and chiefs the letters of His Majesty which you have for them, putting first the addresses

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- 1 Ed. note: As was said in Volume 1, this refers to the island of Santo Tomás, discovered by Hernando de Grijalva, and now called Socorro, one of the Revillagigedo Archipelago.
 - 2 Ed. note: That is, the Ratak or northeastern islands of the Marshalls, as was explained in the documents of the 1542 sub-series, in Volume 1 of this series.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fais and Ulithi respectively.

and then closing them. Convey to them the good will and love His Majesty has for them, offering them some gifts, as you would like it to be done, and treating them very well.

You shall barter with them the merchandise and barter goods you have with you for spices, drugs, gold, and other valuables which you will find there. If you find the land rich enough and good enough for you to stay, stay where you find it convenient and where you will have friendship and goodwill, which you will keep unbroken. Once you have settled and have found out that, for the service of God, our Lord, and of His Majesty, it is befitting that you stay where you have settled yourselves with some religious, to the extent of having to inform His Majesty and this Royal Audiencia in his name, you shall send to this New Spain a person or persons of trust in a vessel or vessels you think best with the news and report of what you have accomplished and where you stay. They shall bring with them the goods you will have bartered and traded and, at the shortest time possible and with care and diligence, they must return to this land so that the return route will be known here, which is the principal aim of the expedition, having known that the outward voyage can be done in a short time. If you decide that you yourself return to this land in person, leaving in that place where you would reside persons to take your place with some religious, you are hereby advised to choose as leader, whom you would leave behind to take your place, a man of great trust, and he be left well provided with all the necessities of life until he receive aid. You shall require him to maintain good relations with the friends you have made, taking care that he does neither oppress them nor do them harm. He must be always careful and on the alert so that he does not suffer harm himself through his carelessness.

As you probably know, in the year 1542, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy and Governor, who at the time was in this New Spain, sent for the discovery of the said Islands of the West Captain Ruy López de Villalobos with some ships and men, and this having reached some of the aforesaid Philippine Islands and lost in them some ships, some of the Spaniards who were with him were left among the natives. His Majesty, anxious about the welfare of his subjects desires to know whether any are still alive, and if they are to be found among the natives. If such is the case, order that they be rescued from oppression and set free and returned to their lands to be pitied and given aid. Make a diligent effort to find out if some of said Spaniards are still living in some of the said Islands and do your best to rescue them even by ransom, and bring them to your fleet, with their children, if they have any; and thus, God, our Lord, and His Majesty will be well served by having freed them from the infidels. Those whom you will rescue will give you information and report of what they have seen and learned and on what there is in those places where they had stayed and will tell of other things they know.

If, after arriving at the Nublada Island or the Roca Partida, the weather a day or so before or after does not permit you to sail straight to the Philippine Islands, you shall turn northwest until you reach latitude 35° to 37° and, once in this altitude, you shall sail straight west and whenever you discover some land, set foot on it and find out how the place is and if it has ports, if it is inhabited, and whether the inhabitants are rich

and refined. You shall talk with the natives in order to be informed of the things there are in that land, and to find out if they have communication with people from other places, what trade and business they have, how much is worth to them the merchandise and barter goods you have with you, and what other useful things they have, such as what have been mentioned earlier as regards the Philippines. For our purpose, it is important that the spices and drugs are of value and importance among the natives themselves, so that when His Majesty would decide to redeem these islands, the spices and drugs found there and within their borders could be traded in those places where they demand higher prices. It is, then, necessary that you gather all kinds of spices and drugs as samples in exchange of the remaining barter goods and merchandise carried in the expedition. In this manner you will know more about the trade in those places for the benefit of the Royal Treasury. Strive to reach the said Philippine Islands and the other islands near them.

You shall get information from the natives of the Philippine Islands, and from the Spaniards who live there if you find some of the latter in the Islands or in places nearby; and if the Portuguese have already built some towns or new fortifications in some of the territories there after the agreement made between His Majesty and the King of Portugal, or after Captain Ruy López de Villalobos had arrived in them; you shall make the proper investigation about this particular thing, getting testimonies in writing which you shall bring or send together with the earliest communications and dispatches you will deliver to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia, in his name.

While you make the aforesaid investigation as instructed, you shall discover in the West whatever you can inside His Majesty's demarcation, without entering the Moluccas as previously stated; and wherever you find inhabited lands secure all the supplies that are necessary for your fleet. If you find an island rich and its inhabitants willing to make friends with you, and if some religious and some Spaniards with them or the religious alone will be safe among the natives, you shall order to stay those you would like to stay in the islands informing the religious and some principal officials in the fleet. If the land is rich, prosperous, and well inhabited and you believe it will be befitting and advantageous to have it for God, our Lord, and for the advancement of the Royal Crown, as well as for the good and the welfare of the men who are in the expedition and of those who will go there in the future, you shall stay in the island, in those places or parts of it where the safety of the ships and health of the men are assured and where the enemies cannot molest you.

In the shortest time possible afterwards, you shall send a vessel or two to this New Spain, forwarding a detailed account and report to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia of all the events that have occurred since your departure from the Port of Navidad until the time you send such report. You shall state the quality and wealth of the land, the places you have occupied, your future plans, the aid you believe necessary to be sent to you, the ships, the men, the artillery, ammunition or other things; and you shall state also the route to be taken by those who will take to you the aid you need. On board the vessels you will send back to this New Spain, make an effort to send for His

Majesty a great quantity of gold, stones, drugs, spices and other things of value which you can find there, as well as of those you can obtain either through barter with the goods and merchandise you are carrying from His Majesty or through voluntary offerings made by the natives to His Majesty or by other means. All that you will send must be registered in the record book of the vessel or vessels that you will despatch and leave everything to the care of the person or persons you will select.

Regarding the natives of these places, discussed in the above paragraphs, you will be very careful that nobody vex and offend them; rather, treat them with great prudence as a people of great dignity as it is being told they are people of reason and pride, and white like ourselves, because the higher their culture the better they become. It is but proper that when you come near any part of these Islands of the West, or even before you find them, you order all the captains of the vessels and others to be on the alert and, with their weapons ready, to engage in battle the vessels that may want to attack you. Likewise, the artillery should be always ready for the same purpose.

Whenever you come to any port, island or land for discovery and survey during the course of your voyage, you shall get information on the customs, the standard and manner of living, and the attitude of the natives. You shall also investigate their religion and sect, what they worship, what rites and sacrifices they perform and how they are governed. Find out if they have kings; if these are elected or if they rule by right of succession; if they govern as republics or as hereditary monarchs, and what tributes or taxes they give to which person and in what manner. Find out also what things on earth they value most and what things precious to them they get from other places and which of the things you have they like best.

Either you yourself or those whom you will designate shall upon landing, take possession, in the name of His Majesty, of the lands, islands, and places you discover; and degrees and documents shall be issued and attested by the notary in the presence of witness and in accordance with the solemnity of the occasion. These decrees and documents, together with a report on everything that has transpired in the expedition, shall be sent to this Royal Audiencia in the accepted form so that they shall be believed.

Furthermore, you shall order the pilots who are going in said fleet to take notes of the voyage they will make, going as well as returning, noting very well the routes, observing the currents and streams, and the prevailing winds in each season of the year. They shall also note down and sketch all the islands and lands they will discover, locating them in their true latitudes and giving the distance they believe they have covered from the Port of Navidad to those places. All the pilots will note down all the routes and everything that has been ordered, as well as the sand banks they will come across and everything else that is important to know for the subsequent voyages. They must take notes of the ports and places in which ships can anchor in their outward voyage and their return; and where provisions of water, firewood and supplies can be secured in case of necessity. In this regard the pilots should meet and agree with each other in order to have their observations and sketches fixed in the charts.

Take note that, as has already been said in this Instruction, the natives of the islands referred to are wise and rich and they have great rulers. They will not understand why, coming purposely to their lands by order of so great and powerful a prince as the King of Castile, our Lord, you do not bring them particular presents of great value and price, notwithstanding the fact that you bring with you some good articles which will be very much appreciated among them. So that they may not have the occasion to remark that, going to trade in far-off places like theirs, the merchandise you are carrying are few, you shall tell them that your voyage was not exactly to their places; rather, it was the weather that obliged you to stop there, although we have heard that in those places there are princes and great men and persons of many qualities with whom His Majesty wishes to have friendship and brotherly relations so that there may be intercommunication and trade between their subjects and vassals. You will offer them friendship in the name of His Majesty, giving them some of the best presents, those that please them most. In all this, you are instructed to exercise great prudence, as expected of your person. You shall not seek vengeance for any indiscretion; nor shall you or your men hear any ill feeling towards them. Above all, there must be peace and friendship as is to be expected from our treatment and intercourse.

When you come to inhabited places and you wish to talk peace and friendship to the inhabitants by all means have the talks done aboard the flagship, where you are. But when these cannot be done but ashore, you shall order your captains or other persons to handle the talks for you as, being a person of authority and high office, it will not be proper for you to disembark. Moreover, the natives may not dare do your person any treacherous act, knowing that you are the head of the whole fleet. Nevertheless, should there be a prince or great personage who would want to see you and make peace and friendship without taking himself the trouble of going aboard your vessel and would like to make peace with nobody else, you should avail yourself of the advice of the persons whom you would consult under similar circumstances and meet such prince or personage at sea aboard the boat of the flagship, taking with you the boats of the other vessels, well equipped with men and artillery, to defend yourselves from any treachery and save you from being caught unprepared. Under such circumstances, you shall not get far from the galleons so that, in case of necessity, you can be protected by the artillery and can return to the ships easily.

The person you shall send ashore to make such peace and friendship shall go with at least two boats well equipped with men and artillery and the place where they will meet with those with whom the treaty is to be made shall be the beach very near the place where the boats will be within sight of the galleons, so that, should there be treachery against them, they could easily take the boats and return to the galleons. Before you send men ashore to negotiate peace, require the natives to send you as hostages some of their leaders, who shall be taken to your flagship and remain there and be treated well while peace and friendship are being negotiated. If the natives themselves would require some of your men as hostages, you might give some of those you have less need and whose loss would not affect you greatly. Every time any or some of your

men go ashore to talk with the natives, order that they first get hostages to assure themselves of adequate protection; and no-one, neither soldier nor sailor, should go to any place ashore, except those whom you have given an assignment.

In any inhabited places you anchor, order that great vigilance be observed, especially during the night, on the cables of your ships, as the natives are likely to cut them and tie to them ropes to pull the galleons towards land until they run aground and then kill and rob those who are aboard. In like manner, at night as well as during the day, order that the boats, when aboard, be tied up with chains and locked, so that the natives in those places do not steal them, and so that those of your men, too, who are bad Christians and unfaithful, may not get away in them.

In lands where you propose to settle or anywhere you come to land, you and your captains shall attend no feast, celebration or banquet, even if invited, because in such celebrations the natives are apt to do treacherous acts. Likewise, instruct those whom you will send ashore that, if they are offered cooked food, wine or water, the natives eat and drink first of what they offer, as in many of those places the natives use to poison the food, especially the drinks.

In case you find no opportunity to live among the natives, either because they would not allow you to do so, or it appears to you too risky owing to the small number of men you have, or because of any other reason; and you believe you should return to this New Spain with the whole fleet after you have made peace and friendship and trade agreements for the future with the rulers and natives of those lands; and having acquired from them, by trade or barter, a good quantity of gold, silver or goods that will demand good prices here and effect the recovery of the expenditures and costs incurred in the expedition, you shall return bringing an account and report of the things from our kingdoms which can be taken to those lands which are of great value to the natives, as well as of the things that can be brought back from there, and the prices, ours as well as theirs. But in any case, among trustworthy men, it will be opportune that some of the religious in your company agreeable to you and to them to remain there because it will be of great consequence in the future for the conversion of the natives as well as for the preservation of the friendship and the peace which you will make with them.

And because it could be possible that you would even reach the Japanese islands while navigating according to the instructions, a part or some parts of which, according to indications on the globe, are not included in the agreement [with Portugal], but are inside the demarcation of His Majesty and with which, we are informed, the Portuguese are engaged in trade, you are instructed to avoid them if you can possibly do so. In case, however, you meet them you shall not, for any reason, be hostile to them; rather, treat them as friends but without trusting them nor the natives of the lands where they have been, nor the natives in places where they have never reached. When you meet the Portuguese in the friendliest of terms, you shall try and see the sea charts and notes they use in their voyages and secure some from them even through purchase; or, at least, have them copied.

Whether you find Portuguese, or not, find out if in those lands there are some missionaries who work for the conversion of the natives. If you can talk with those natives, you will learn their language, what those islands are, what is in them, and all they know about those places. You will find out if the Portuguese have some forces there, where and how; what people live in them; and what trade and business they carry on; in short, you will find out about everything that you think you should know, so that you yourself can bring a true account or send a report of everything. If, perchance, the Portuguese would fight or attack you, defend yourself, and, having a justifiable cause, assure your victory. If in your battle you will be victorious and have them under your power, treat them well and bring or send to this New Spain three or four of them whom you would select, in order that we can draw some information from them and His Majesty have knowledge about them.

If the Portuguese have trespassed the boundaries and have had their business and trade within the demarcation of His Majesty against the agreement of the Kings of Castile and of Portugal, you shall investigate and, after consultations with your captains and officials of the Royal Treasury, take such action as is required for the service of His Majesty and the welfare of the men and the fleet.

It is said that in the Japanese islands and in lands within their boundaries, the natives carry on a big trade by sea and sail in large galleons. If you come across some of them treat them well and you shall not permit that they be offended by any means. Seek their friendship, telling them that by order of this Royal Audiencia, in the name of His Majesty, you were bound for some islands, but owing to unfavorable weather you were compelled to arrive at their lands; nevertheless, it would be your great pleasure to know them and value their friendship, which you will keep. Then seek information from them to learn where they are from, who their ruler is, and where they are bound for; and if they are traders, what merchandise they have to sell. Find out if they know the Portuguese, and if these usually come and trade in those places and up to what place, if they have built up fortresses and forces and where these are located, and who they have with them, who their rulers, who their friends and their enemies. Inquire from them of everything that you think best, and put all information in writing, extensive as well as in detail, duly certified by the notary and then transmitted or delivered to this Royal Audiencia. If, perchance, those natives have with them goods that you believe of great value and it would be wise to barter them with yours, you should do it, if they permit. And in case they do not carry goods with them, show yours to them that you may know if they have goods to trade in their lands.

If, however, such vessels as you will meet are a fleet of pirates and threaten to attack you, let them understand by signals that you do not want to fight, and at the same time be on the alert to defend yourselves. If they insist upon fighting, then defend yourselves exerting your efforts to win with the help of our Lord, not allowing your vessels to lie broadside as much as possible because of the enemy's firepower, but firing your artillery earlier for your defence as your artillerymen are expert, careful and good in their manner of fighting.

Coming out victorious in such a battle and capturing some of their vessels and men, although they are to blame for the battle and the damages caused to both sides, you shall, nevertheless, treat the captives very well and return their ships and other belongings to them. After obtaining from them all the information you need to have, set the captives free, letting them know of the greatness of the King, our Lord, who wills that his subjects do no evil to anybody, and treat everybody with truth and friendliness anywhere they arrive and trade in the manner the other people do. If the vessels are really pirates, who make it their job to rob all kinds of people, do what you think best in the service to His Majesty and for the welfare of the men in the fleet after investigating them and finding them such and after consultation with the captains and officials of the Royal Treasury.

Having served God from the time of your arrival in those Islands of the West, wherever you find spices, drugs, gold or silver or any other merchandise which has to be purchased or bartered proceed to set your prices, which should be the cheapest possible, according to the value of the goods among the natives themselves; and assign the highest price you can on the merchandise you are carrying from His Majesty considering their high purchase price and their justifiable value once delivered there. It should be in such a manner that the trade will be useful and beneficial to His Majesty, taking into consideration the amount spent on this voyage and the great expense that will always be incurred in the trade in the future. The prices which you will agree with the natives and the contracts you will have concerning those prices must be fixed so that these would not go higher in the future at their pleasure or by force. To this effect you will require that the agreement and fixing of prices be done in formal writing.

Anything that you will purchase or barter, whether spices, drugs, or other goods of value, will use the balance in their land, because among the natives it is customary to measure weight in terms of the *bahar*, which in some places is worth four quintals, and in others, more or less.¹ In fact their weights are heavier than those used by Spaniards. To this effect, take with you the Roman weight and scale with the weights of the kingdoms of His Majesty; and in the port, before you set sail to those parts, order a balance made of iron or steel, to weigh four quintals, and which will correspond to a *bahar*, because with this, as well as with those used in those islands you reach and with those you bring from His Majesty's kingdoms, you will determine which will bring greater advantage to the Royal Treasury.

In any of the places you come with the fleet and make a trade agreement with the natives on merchandise of any kind, as well as in supplies and barter goods, instruct under pain of heavy penalty that anything purchased or bartered should be done by the officials of the Royal Treasury who are attached to your expedition. These shall make a record and account of all that was purchased, to be signed by them and kept in your possession. You shall not permit any other person, either for himself or for another, to

¹ Ed. note: In fact, the *bahar* seemed to have weighed as many as 5 Spanish quintals (1 quintal being 100 pounds).

purchase from or barter anything with the said natives, except the officials of the Royal Treasury upon your order, even if the goods be supplies, which at present is necessary, as, otherwise, it can cause the raising of prices.

As it is known that some of the persons in your fleet carry with them barter goods for their own use, and it is good, whenever it will be possible that they are to be benefited as persons who serve His Majesty, you will permit, after the officials had traded and bartered for His Majesty according to what has already been said, where there is gold or silver, up to 50,000 pesos of mined gold, barter be made next for the said persons, up to 10,000 pesos, of such mined gold, in gold or silver, by said officials with your permission and approval. After the barter is made in the amount of 10,000 pesos for those persons, the officials will resume bartering anew for His Majesty, up to another 50,000 pesos of such gold. As before, the officials will again barter for the persons in the fleet in the amount of another 10,000 pesos. In this same manner the trade and barter of all other barter goods in the fleet shall continue in all places where you will find gold, silver or precious stones, silk cloths or silk skeins or similar merchandise; excepting drugs, spices and goods of great bulk, because the spices and drugs will be reserved for His Majesty, and no-one can bring them by any means, except by express permission of this Royal Audiencia in His Royal name. Endeavor to distribute as you deem wise among the persons in the fleet the goods bartered for them according to the quality of the goods and the quantity of barter goods each carries with him.

Likewise, you shall endeavor to have all the goods bartered or purchased for His Majesty, as well as for private persons in the expedition, registered in the record books of the vessel in which they are carried, declaring specifically the kind of goods, their owners, and to whom they are consigned, so that everything shall have an account and His Majesty will not be defrauded of what belongs to him, with the exception of the supplies bartered for the sustenance of those who go on the expedition. By these presents, in the name of His Majesty, it is declared and ordered that, pending future Royal orders to the contrary, all persons, notwithstanding their status or condition, who are going on said expedition in the service of His Majesty and who bring or send some of the aforesaid merchandise and bartered goods, with the exception of spices and drugs and goods in bulk, which are reserved, may pay here in New Spain five per cent of the goods themselves or of their value as assessed by the officials of the Royal Treasury who are stationed here or by their deputies.

Since it may be possible, that in places where you come to trade you will find big quantities of merchandise and goods for barter with the natives, and the merchandise and barter goods you have from His Majesty are not adequate, you shall permit all the persons in the fleet, through the officials mentioned, to trade and barter all that they carry for barter, after complying with their obligations to the property of His Majesty.

Where merchants or other persons who are not going in the expedition have brought to the fleet some goods to be sold or bartered in those places, you shall not permit their disposal, either total or partial, until merchandise and goods have been bartered or purchased for His Majesty and for those persons who are in his service in the fleet. After-

wards, the said merchandise and goods belonging to other persons who are not in the fleet shall be bartered through the said officials and with your approval and permission, and by no other means. Whatever is thus bartered shall likewise be recorded in the ship books, as it is declared and ordered that they pay His Majesty, for the privilege, seven per cent, besides what ought to be paid as freight charges, as the vessels belong to His Majesty and the fleet was organized at the expense of the Royal Treasury. This must be done until His Majesty provides otherwise.

According to information, in those parts of the West, the inhabitants have the custom to trade, sell, and barter slaves from one place to another. As you will have need of some of the slaves to learn their language and also to have information about those islands, you shall order the purchase or barter of some from different places for this purpose, treating them well so that they will like you and tell you always the truth. You shall not allow a native in any place to be captured or taken by force; rather, as has already been said, he shall be obtained through barter or as present to you from some prominent man. Neither shall any soldier buy or barter a slave during the voyage in order not to increase those to be fed. But when, God willing, you land, and settle in a certain place, you will permit the captains and the rest of the men to buy or barter slaves to serve them. However, they shall not be permitted to sell or bring said slaves to New Spain until His Majesty so provides and orders. Nevertheless, it would do good if two or three of the slaves are taken to New Spain so that the people here can see them and learn from them things about their lands.

In any island or land you will decide to settle, as has already been said, it is preferable that you live on the seacoast where there is a good and safe port. You shall order the establishment there of a **fortress** where you yourself, or the person to take your place in case you have to come to New Spain, shall stay. The fortress shall be mounted with artillery for its protection and security and inside you will have two houses built, one for your residence and of the men of your choice, and the other for storing the merchandise and barter goods of His Majesty, the artillery ammunition and the magazine. At the entrance of said fortress a ditch shall be dug and a light bridge built. Quarters shall be constructed outside the fortress but very near it for the rest of your men who will have to remain there. You shall provide guards inside the fortress during the night, by turns, as you may believe convenient, so that there will always be some men on the watch inside the fortress whom you shall order to have with them their defensive and offensive weapons always ready for any encounter. Likewise, you shall have each and all of the soldiers ready in their respective quarters, their arms well equipped and ready for any eventuality; and if you shall think it wise, you shall permit them to leave their quarters with their arquebuses, lances, and other weapons. It usually happens that in lands where strangers have newly settled, the natives assault and jump on them to kill or capture when they see them careless or unprepared. It is, therefore, important that soldiers go always armed so that any time a similar thing happens they are always ready with their arms. Furthermore, seeing the soldiers armed, and not alone, discourages the natives from doing them any harm.

In places where you will arrive and settle, you shall prohibit under severe punishment any soldier or other person to go out to the villages of the natives without your permission and enter their houses and take anything from there and from their fields by force or against their will. The soldiers shall not leave their quarters without your permission. They shall be prohibited most especially from fraternizing with the native women in those places because, aside from offending God, such association may bring much harm. Even if such women come to your quarters or vessels, you shall not admit them; you shall send them back to their towns in the most courteous manner.

Until the fortress and the houses mentioned above are finished in the places where you go to settle, you and those persons whom you may have with you shall stay aboard ship at least during the night. Once the fortress and the ditch are finished, you may go and stay there, leaving the ships well guarded and as near as possible to the fortress. Once the fortress and the quarters are built you will secure vessels with oars, like some galleys and brigs, and a frigate, for your use whenever you have need of them.

Near the fortress you shall have a church built, where masses will be said; and close by there shall be a house for the religious who are going with you, so that they may be accommodated well and may have peace and quiet. There the Spaniards can seek satisfaction for their spiritual needs, and the natives can have closer contact with the priests to their own contentment. In any business you will have with the natives, let there be present some of the religious who are with you in order to profit by their good counsel and opinion and in order that the natives, too, may understand the great attention we give to them. Seeing the soldiers respecting and revering the religious, the natives will in the same manner respect them. This becomes very important when the religious, having an understanding of their language, or through interpreters, will let the natives know the teachings of our holy Catholic faith, and these will believe them. As you well know, the most important thing His Majesty desires is the propagation of our holy Catholic faith and the salvation of the souls of those infidels. For this purpose, in any place you will settle, you will strive in all manner to help the religious and give them your support to enable them to communicate with the natives in the places where you settle and to go to their villages so that the natives will find their good example edifying and in their contact with them they will learn the local language easily. Once the religious have learned the language, they can teach the natives our holy Catholic faith, convert them to it, and make them love and obey His Majesty.

Since you have with you in the fleet some native interpreters who understand some of the local dialects as they are from those places, you shall do your best to treat them well, regardless of race. If the contrary is done, if they receive ill treatment, they can cause you great harm.¹

Although it is understood that in the expedition you are to undertake, as well as in other things you are ordered to do, you shall follow all the instructions given, bad

1 Ed. note: These natives were probably Malay slaves brought to Spain and to New Spain by the survivors of the previous expeditions.

weather may hinder you from following the routes contained in this Instruction and it may be necessary that you make changes, in this case as well as in others, according to the weather and events. From the opinions of the persons mentioned in this Instruction, you will do that which will bring about the desired end of the expedition and what will be most proper for the service of God and of His Majesty. This and all that pertains to the expedition is entrusted in your faith, prudence, and zeal for God's and His Majesty's cause, having always the zeal to reach the said Philippine Islands and its adjoining lands and to discover the route back to New Spain at the shortest time possible, bringing or sending here spices and other things of value available in those places.

You will have to bear in mind that His Majesty's will and his principal wish, next to the service of God and our Lord in this expedition, is that you or the person you will think best to send back to New Spain must discover the return route from those islands to this land, as the route to them, which is done in a short time, is already known. Hence, whether it be your person or another of your confidence who will have to come, you shall send immediately the vessel or vessels you will have to send to New Spain and discover the return route from the Islands of the West. In case you remain in those islands, let the person you will send here bring a report stating where you would stay and where you would be found by those who would go to look for you and the route they will have to take.

As you well know, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is going in that expedition. By order of His Majesty, whether you choose to return to New Spain with the vessel or vessels and leave behind a captain with some men, or send here another person and you remaining there, you will order Fray Andrés de Urdaneta to return in one of the vessels for the discovery of the return route; because, next to God, we trust in his experience and knowledge about the weather in those lands, and in his other qualifications, all of which will make certain the return to New Spain. It is, therefore, important that Fray Andrés de Urdaneta come in any of the ships you will send back; and he will have the vessel and the captain he chooses and nothing else, as we are sure God, our Lord, and His Majesty will be well served, and you will promptly get the men and all the help that you will need.

And when you will have to send a vessel or vessels to this land as you remain in those islands, you shall permit the men you have in the fleet to write freely the letters they want to send to His Majesty and to this Royal Audiencia, signed by them, and then to send those letters sealed and nobody shall by any means open them because, aside from being a bad act, it will be an act of disservice to His Majesty. You shall hand in and entrust the said letters to the person or persons you will send back to New Spain to head the vessel or vessels and shall order that as soon as he reaches any port or place in New Spain, he shall gather all these letters, and together with yours, he shall pack them well, close, and seal and address [the package] to this Royal Audiencia, so that after your letter has been read and understood, the other letters can be delivered to their addressees, but not before, being aware of the inconveniences or even harm that may arise if the

facts about the discoveries will be divulged before they are known by the persons who represent His Majesty.

Aside from this, you shall instruct and order the principal person whom you will send with the vessel or vessels that until notified by the Royal Audiencia that it has received notice of the arrival of the vessel and the receipt of the letters no person shall be allowed to land, and if one is allowed to do so he shall have no communication with any Spaniard or inhabitant of New Spain or to talk about the lands they have settled or about the voyage. You shall order him [the principal person] to assign a person of trust or confidence to land with the letters and walk to the town, where he will meet some natives or a Corregidor to whom he will inform about his arrival, as within the boundaries of the ports there will be posted Corregidores to whom he will show his identification [papers] as he arrives. He shall hand the letters with trust to the person who bears the authorization from this Royal Audiencia to receive them. You shall also instruct that the messenger does not divulge anything to such persons but only to hand the letters, showing the message. The Corregidores will provide food and other necessities to those who shall return with the vessel.

In difficult and important cases it is desirable and necessary to seek the opinion and advice of intelligent and experienced persons who are zealous in serving God and His Majesty. Such consultations make things clear and good resolutions are possible; otherwise, inconveniences occur. Consultations will be necessary in making peace, in deciding what to do when the natives in those lands break the peace agreement, in determining the place where you ought to land and settle or in changing settlements, on whether to send back two ships together or just one to this land and how they should make the voyage, on whether you remain there or come in person and leave behind in those islands another with a determined number of the men, and in making many other important decisions. You will need those consultations to obtain accord and mature judgment. Of the persons who are going with you in the expedition, it seems best that you should consult and agree with the religious, especially Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, for his experience and personal qualities, which are known to you; with the Treasurer, Guido de Lavezaris, who has been to those places; with the other officials of the Royal Treasury, as well as with Master-of-Camp Mateo del Sanz, the Captains, and such other important persons with whom you have trust and confidence. You should do this to get the best results.

As you well know, all of us will die sometime; if, perchance, (may God, our Lord, forbid) it happens that you, General Miguel López de Legazpi, die during this voyage, on the way to, during your stay in the lands you will reach, or on the way back here, by these presents, in the name of His Majesty, the person who due to your death will succeed you as Governor and General of the expedition is expressly ordered to inviolably observe and comply with all what is contained in this Instruction, as if said Instruction were directed to him; otherwise, His Majesty will be greatly displeased.

This Royal Audiencia believes that in case, by God's will, you will pass away from this life, either while on your way for the discovery of the Islands of the West or while

staying on those places, or while on your way back to this New Spain, some inconveniences will likely occur. There being no person appointed to succeed you as Governor and Captain General of the said expedition, the expedition will remain without General and Chief to direct and command it. Wishing to provide a remedy for such a contingency, the said Royal Audiencia appoints as Governor and General a person among those in the fleet who is of confidence and who is believed capable for the position. For this purpose a royal "Provision" is issued from this Royal Audiencia so that such person whose name is mentioned in the "Provision" may take charge of the fleet and direct and govern it as its General upon your death. This "Provision" is kept in a steel box, more or less a palm in length and a palm's breadth and two inches in width, closed and nailed, wrapped with linen cloth and sealed with three Royal seals so that neither you nor any other person may be able to know who is appointed General until God has disposed of your life. Once the box is opened and the "Provision" uncovered, the person appointed in your place is known.

You are ordered to take custody of the sealed box and keep it closed and sealed until you pass away. You will order to have it turned over to the officials of the Royal Treasury who are in the expedition, in the presence of the notary, who will certify to the transfer. Those officials, in the presence of the Master-of-Camp, the Chief Ensign, the Captains, the Sergeant Major, the religious, and the other important persons in the fleet will have the said box opened publicly by a blacksmith before the notary. The key used in locking the box shall then and there be destroyed and no duplicate key should be kept to reopen it. The process of opening the box, the disclosure of the "Provision," and the name of the person appointed Governor and General must be attested to and certified. Thereafter, the appointed Governor and General having taken his oath and made his pledge of homage and loyalty, as you have done according to the Instruction of this Royal Audiencia when it was presented to you, we order that he be accepted and obeyed, by reason of your death, as Governor and Captain General of the expedition by all the persons in the fleet, whatever their status or position, under the penalties contained in the said "Provision" and those which will be imposed by His Majesty. Such is the order that you will leave in the testament, codicil or any other declaration you will make prior to the hour of your death. This Instruction shall be handed over to your successor for compliance.

Because it would be also possible that the person selected and appointed in the said "Provision" as Governor dies before or after taking the position, in which case all the inconveniences resulting to the lack of a successor will be again present; and because the Royal Audiencia wishes that the expedition be always taken care of well and that there always remain a Chief to direct and govern [the expedition], another appointment has been made by this Royal Audiencia in another Royal "Provision" contained in a smaller steel box and placed upside-down, six inches long and six inches thick, sealed with three other Royal seals. The person thus appointed will succeed as Governor and General of the expedition if you and your successor die. You shall also take custody of this box containing the second appointment; and about the time of your death you shall

order that it be turned over, together with the other box, to your successor as per instruction given, so that the person who will succeed you will at the time of his death hand the said box to the officials who will open it in the manner stated before and announce the person who will succeed in the position left vacant by the death of your successor. To him [the second successor] shall be handed this Instruction for his safekeeping and compliance as your successor will have done in your place. Thus, upon your death and the death of the person appointed to succeed you, the person named in the second "Provision" shall follow the order of succession and no other:

Licentiate Valderrama

Dr. Orosco

Dr. Ceynos [Cisneros?]

Dr. Vasco de Pyga

Dr. Villalobos

Dr. Villanueva

In the city of Mexico on the first day of September, 1564, the President and Auditors of the Royal Audiencia, appeared before me, Antonio de Turcios, Chief Notary of the Royal Audiencia, and ordered the presentation, as hereby presented, of this Instruction, which contains 14 pages and signed by the said President and Auditors, to Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General of the expedition which is being sent by order of His Majesty for the discovery of the Islands of the West, so that he may make use of this Instruction and comply with all its contents.

The said Miguel López de Legazpi received the Instruction and promised and swore to God, our Lord, by the sign of the Cross, on which he placed his right hand, and made his pledge of homage as a nobleman by the words of the four holy Gospels, his hands clasped and placed between those of the illustrious Licentiate Valderrama, of His Majesty's Council and Visitor General of this New Spain, a noble knight, once, twice and thrice; once, twice and thrice; and once, twice and thrice, as is customary in Spain, that he will set out in service to His Majesty as Governor and General of the said expedition for the discovery of the above-mentioned islands; that he will keep and comply with the Instruction and no other; that he will perform well and fulfill faithfully the duties of his office and position as Governor and Captain General, which is given him in the name of His Majesty, King Philip, our Lord; that he will do his best to serve his King and increase the patrimony of the royal Crown of Castile; that he will report personally, or through the person ordered by His Majesty or by the Royal Audiencia, on the expedition and on all discoveries and advantages he will acquire or accomplish as a good and loyal subject and servant to the Royal Audiencia and to no other; that he will not, directly or indirectly, withhold or do anything against the service to His Majesty nor against his Royal Treasury; and that he will keep secret this Instruction and all its contents, without revealing it to any person until the expedition has set sail, under penalty of perjury and infamy and of having incurred a grave offence against his Lord and King in doing the contrary.

He signed it with his name. And if he erects a fortress, he will have it done for His Majesty and to him he will turn it over and he will not use it to assist any person other than His Majesty and the persons authorized by letters or orders, and he will defend it in his Royal Name until death.

Miguel López de Legazpi.

Copied from the original. Antonio de Turcios.

Document 1565L

**Legazpi—Letter from the Audiencia to
the King, dated Mexico
12 September 1564**

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 6; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 22, pp. 200-205; summarized in B&R 2:100-101 as follows.

Summary by Robertson

Mexico, 12 September 1564.—A letter from the Royal Audiencia to the King informs the latter of the changes which they have made in the instructions given to Legazpi by Luis de Velasco, who has died. The general and other officers have left for the port of departure, and the fleet will sail some time in October. The first instructions, which were in "accordance with Urdaneta's opinion, were to sail toward New Guinea and coast along its shores in order to discover its products and other things. "It seemed to this Royal Audiencia, discussing and communicating in this regard with persons of experience, who have been in these regions, that, although it be true that the discovery of New Guinea would be important, especially if the riches asserted should be found there, it is not fitting that the voyage thither be made now—both because, as it is new, it has not hitherto been navigated; and because, doing so now, it would be necessary to deviate widely from the course to reach the Western Islands, and the return voyage would be delayed; and it would be running a great risk to navigate in an unknown course." The King's letter of 24 September 1559, is cited in support of the Audiencia's change in route, and they "determined to order the general to sail directly in search of the Philippine Islands, and the other islands contiguous thereto, by the same route taken by Ruy López de Villalobos." The Audiencia do not agree with Urdaneta that the Philippines are in Portugal's demarcation.

Document 1565M

Legazpi—Letter from Captain Carrión to the King, undated (ca. September 1564)

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 3; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 23, pp. 205-210; summarized in B&R 2:101-102 as follows.

Summary by Robertson

New Spain, 1564.—The first-appointed admiral of the fleet, Juan Pablo de Carrión, writes to King Philip in regard to the proposed route. He gives a brief outline of Urdaneta's opinion that they should sail first to New Guinea. This island, he declares "is one that we discovered in the year 1544." He describes it as a desolate region, with but scant food, and declares that the voyage thither is dangerous and arduous. His own opinion is that the fleet should take the same course as did Saavedra and Villalobos, "and that the fleet should put in at the Philippines, which are friendly islands, with which we have had trade and friendship, and where even 8 Spaniards of the fleet in which I sailed remained. They are islands well supplied with all manner of food, and there is much trade there. They are wealthy and large, and have the best location of the entire archipelago. Their language is known, their ports, and even the names of their principal rulers, with whom we have contracted friendship.

... There are islands among them with a circuit of 300 leagues, and so down to 50. Those islands that have been seen are 8 large ones, without reckoning the small ones between them. They are within sight of one another, so that the most distant of them is not more than 10 leagues from another. To the north of them lies the mainland of China, a distance of about 200 leagues; at about the same distance to the south lie the Moluccas. And since the route from these lands thither is already known, and we have had experience of it and since it is a land most abundantly provisioned and has much trade, and is rich, I have been of the opinion that we should go thither, inasmuch as this navigation is understood and that we should not seek a new course attended with so great uncertainty and risk." He recounts that "these islands were discovered first by Magellan in the year 1521" and afterward by Villalobos, and their secret discovered.

“They are islands that the Portuguese have never seen, and they are quite out of the way of their navigation; neither have the latter had any further information of them beyond our drawing or chart. They have the best situation for the return voyage, because they are in northern latitudes.” He ascribes his not being permitted to accompany the expedition to the divergence of his opinion from that of Urdaneta. The latter has declared that he will not go on the expedition if it takes Carrión’s course; “and as he who goes as general [i.e. Legazpi]... is of his nationality and land¹, and his intimate friend, he wishes to please the Father in everything; and as the said general has no experience in these things, nor does he understand anything of navigation, through not having practiced it, he is unable to distinguish one thing from another, and embraces the Father’s opinion in everything.” Carrión, in a very brief résumé of Urdaneta’s life, declares that he is a man over 60 years of age.

1 Ed. note: That is, both Legazpi and Urdaneta were Basques from Guipúzcoa.

Document 1565N

Legazpi—Letter to the King, dated Navidad 18 November 1564

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 7; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 24, pp. 211-213; summarized in B&R 2:102-103 as follows.

Summary by Robertson

Port of Navidad, 1564.—In a letter to the King dated 18 November, Legazpi announces that he has taken over “two large ships and two pataches, and one small brig” in which are 150 men, 200 soldiers, and six religious of the order of St. Augustine, the leader of whom is Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta; in all, the number of souls, counting servants, amounts to 380. “I shall leave this port, please God, our Lord, tomorrow... and will display, on my part, all possible diligence and care, with the fidelity which I owe, and which I am under obligation to have.” He hopes for a successful voyage. He begs the King to keep them in mind, and send aid “to us who go before” and to commit to one who has care and diligence “as a matter that concerns greatly the service of God, our Lord, the increase of his Holy Catholic faith, and the service of Your Majesty, and the general good of your kingdoms and seignories.”

He asks the King to grant the requests he had made to the Viceroy, and which the latter had sent to Spain; for the preparation for the voyage has taken all his possessions.

Document 15650

**Legazpi—Letter from Fr. Urdaneta to
the King, dated Navidad
20 November 1564**

Sources: AGI 60-2-16; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 25, pp. 213-215; summarized in B&R 2:103-104 as follows.

Summary by Robertson

On 20 November, Urdaneta writes to the King somewhat to the same effect, enumerating the vessels, men, etc. Besides himself there are four other religious, “and the other... God has taken to himself in this port.”¹ They will set out the following day, all being well. He praises Legazpi, and requests the King to keep him in his remembrance. Urdaneta’s nephew, Andrés de Mirandaola, is the Royal Factor of the fleet, and the former begs favor for him. “Also since the religious of the order of our Father St. Augustine are the first to embark in this undertaking, and to undergo so many hardships for the service of God and Your Majesty, I beg Your Majesty to grant them favors.”

¹ Ed. note: He refers to a sixth Augustinian missionary, Fr. Lorenzo Jiménez de S. Estéban who had just died in October, according to Fr. Pérez’ Catálogo cited earlier.



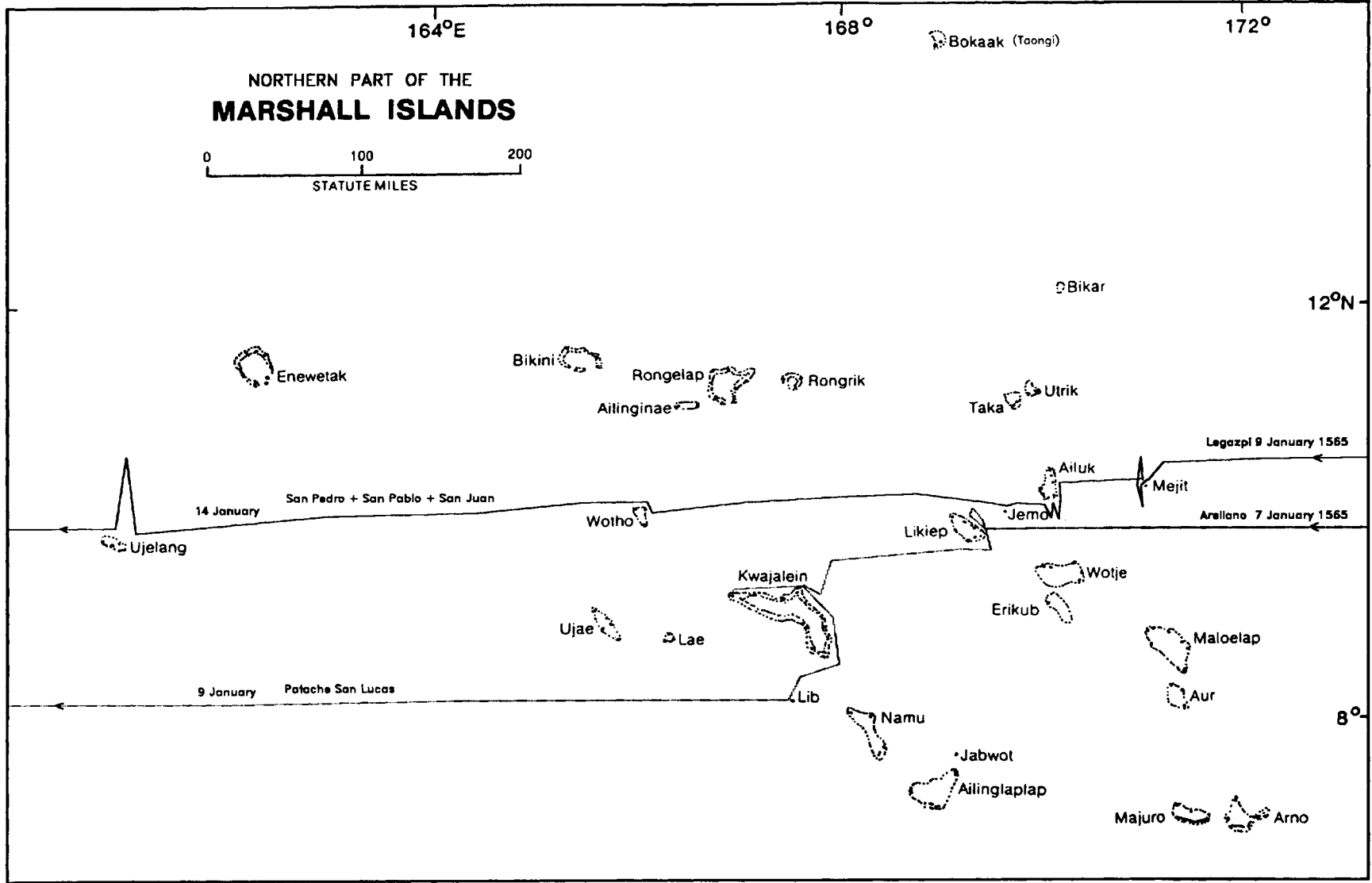
Legazpi on the deck of the flagship San Pedro. Lithograph by C. W. Andrews. (From *Ilustración Filipina*, Manila, vol. 2, n° 2, p. 134, 15 June 1860)

Document 1565P

Legazpi—Instructions given to the fleet, at sea, on 25 November 1564

Sources: Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 8; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 26, pp. 215-217; summarized in B&R 2:104 as follows.

November 25, 1564.—Legazpi gives instructions on this day to the captains and pilots as to the course to be pursued. Hitherto, since leaving port, a southwest course has been steered; but now, in accordance with the royal instructions, and in the opinion of the captains and pilots, it seems advisable to change the heading. They shall sail first west-southwest to a latitude of 9 degrees, and then take a due course for the Philippines, stopping at the island of **Los Reyes** [i.e. Wotje] on the way. If by any chance one of the vessels becomes separated from Legazpi's vessel, the pilots are to return to the above latitude, stopping at any port that they may find, for eight or ten days, in hopes of meeting the other vessels, whether they find the island or not, and do not find the other vessels, this ship shall continue on the course toward the Philippines. A token and letter must be left at any port they may reach. When the island of Los Reyes is reached, the ship will wait there 10 days, after which time they shall continue their course, stopping likewise at **Matalotes** and **Arrecifes**, leaving tokens at all places, and trying to explore them and discover their products.



Document 1565Q

Legazpi's voyage—Logbook of Pilot Major Estéban Rodríguez

Sources: AGI Papeles Maluco (1564-1620), legajo 29 (now Patronato 1-1-1/23); transcribed by Muñoz on 23 May 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 2, doc. 5 and t. 17, doc. 11; Col. Ultramar ii, doc. 33, pp. 353, 373-427¹; Col. de diarios 5:15-39; summarized in B&R 2:124-129; English translation² in FBG 8:41-73.

Text of the Rodríguez logbook

We set sail from the port of Navidad on Tuesday, 21 November 1564, four hours before daybreak, with two galleons, one brig and one patache. The flagship, the **San Pedro**, was a 500-ton vessel. Its chief pilot was Estéban Rodríguez³, a native of Huelva, accompanied by Pierre Plin, a Frenchman; master, Martín de Ibarra of Bilbao; boatswain, Fernando de Astigarribia; boatswain's mate, Lucas Aragozes; steward, Pedro de Oliva; and water steward, Santiago de Guarnica. These took with them sixty-five persons as seamen, ordinary sailors and cabin boys.

Next to the flagship was the galleon **San Pablo**. This vessel was about 400 tons in capacity. It was under the command of Master-of-Camp Mateo del Saz. The pilots were Jaime Fortún and Diego Martín, of Triana; the master, Juan María; boatswain, Pedro Juan; boatswain's mate, Jorge⁴; steward, Cristóbal Martín; and water steward, Andrea, a Venetian.

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- 1 Ed. note: In the Colección de Ultramar ii, page 426, it is mentioned that there exists another, incomplete, copy of this logbook with different values for distances. This may be the copy mentioned by Coello (in 1885) as his doc. 15 (different from his doc. 12 which Muñoz had transcribed from a ms. in the Navy Headquarters, on 8 February 1794, and which contains figures and island sketches within the text).
 - 2 Ed. note: This translation could not be used here, unfortunately, because several inaccuracies were found in important passages.
 - 3 Ed. note: Rodríguez was then 31 years old.
 - 4 A Greek who had been with the Villalobos expedition.

The brig was the **San Juan**, of 80-ton capacity. It was under the command of Captain Juan de la Isla and piloted by Rodrigo de la Isla [Espinosa], his brother. The master was Julian Felipe; boatswain, Nicolas Rodriguez, of Huelva; steward, Juan Martín, also of Huelva.

The patache was the **San Lucas**. It had a capacity of 40 tons, was captained by Don Alonso [Arellano] and piloted by Lope Martin. Its master was Nicolás, a Greek; and the boatswain, Moreto.

We also took with us a covered boat, in which were four men. In the entire fleet of two galleons, a brig, a patache and a boat, there were 150 seamen and 200 soldiers. General Miguel López de Legazpi had 16 gentlemen in his company. The Master-of-Camp brought along a company of 100 men. His Senior Lieutenant was Andrés de Ibarra; his Sergeant Major Luis de la Haya; the Lieutenant of the Company was Don Pedro de Herrera; Juan de Morones was sergeant. Captain Martín de Goiti had another company of 90 soldiers. His lieutenant was Francisco Ramirez; and his sergeant, Gutierrez. As officials of His Majesty were: Guido de Labezares, treasurer; Andrés de Cauchela, accountant; and Mirandaola, factor.

Sunday, 19 November.

The Flag and the Royal Standard were blessed and all those in the fleet swore to recognize Miguel López de Legazpi as their general and to do whatever he ordered.

20. On Monday following, we all boarded the two galleons; and the fleet was handed over to the General by Bachelor Martinez, who had it under his care and was its chief purveyor.

21. Tuesday, four hours before daybreak the flagship fired one gun, and raised the foresail at the same time, and the other ships set sail from the port of Melasa, which is within that of Navidad.¹ That day we headed SW. We made 7 leagues this day from morning till sunset. We took the WSW route because the currents along the coast were running westward. In this port the compass variation was half a point to the west, that is, the needles were away from the Fleur-de-Lys by that much, whereas a needle on top of the Fleur-de-Lys would indicate true North. This port of Navidad is at 19° and over 1/3 of a degree N.

22. Wednesday, 22nd of the said month. We sailed 30 leagues SW. I took the sun [s elevation] this day in 18°.

23. Thursday, 23rd of the said month. We sailed 38 leagues to SW.

24. Friday, 24th of the said month. We covered 22 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 15° and 1/2.

25. Saturday, 25th of the said month. We made a further 22 leagues, same heading.

26. Sunday, 26th of the said month. The heading was changed because the General of the Fleet opened the sealed instructions from the King, which was not to be opened until the fleet had sailed 100 leagues. In the instructions the General was ordered to go

1 Ed. note: See map in Volume 1, page 568. This would correspond to the "surgidero" or anchorage shown there within the port.

in search of the Philippines. He met with his pilots and masters in order to determine which was the right course to follow. We unanimously told him that it should be the W by S direction, until we reached the proper latitude and upon reaching 12° where the Philippines are located, we would sail westward, keeping ourselves always at 12°. On this day we made 25 leagues W by S. I took the sun in 14° and 1/3.

27. Monday, 27th of the said month. We covered 30 leagues on the same heading.

28. Tuesday, 28th of the said month. We sailed 35 leagues on the same heading.

29. Wednesday, 29th of the said month. We made 15 leagues to SW.

30. Thursday, 30th of the said month. We made 38 leagues W by S. I took the sun in 13 degrees.

December 1. Friday, 1st of December. We sailed 35 leagues on the same heading. In the evening the patache **San Lucas** was separated from the fleet. During the first night watch, we had a heavy downpour; we lowered the mainsail of the flagship and gave the usual signals. With only the foresail, we waited for the other ships to catch up. The patache **San Lucas** had been sailing fast and night overtook it two leagues ahead of the flagship. It could have failed to see our signals. It was not seen the next day. Knowing that it had sailed ahead, we set full sail to overtake it, but failed to see it again.

2. Saturday, 2nd of the said month. We made 35 leagues on the same heading.

3. Sunday, 3rd. Made 32 leagues, same heading.

4. Sunday, 4th. Made 30 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 11° and 1/4.

5. Tuesday, 5th of the said month. We made 36 leagues on the same heading.

6. Wednesday, 6th of the said month. We made 28 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 10° and 3/4.

7. Thursday, 7th. Made 25 leagues on the same heading.

8. Friday, 8th of the said month. We made 21 leagues on the same heading.

9. Saturday, 9th of the said month. We covered 20 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in just over 10 degrees.

10. Sunday, 10th of the month. We made 30 leagues to the W. I took the sun in just under 10 degrees.

11. Monday, 11th of the month. Made 35 leagues, same heading.

12. Tuesday, 12th of the month. We made 30 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 3/4.

13. Wednesday, 13th of the month. We made 18 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 3/4.

14. Thursday, 14th of the month. We made 15 leagues on the same heading. Here I corrected my needles, while the guide stars of the Big Dipper were in the NE sky, and they were showing me where [true] North was.

15. Friday, 15th of the month. We covered 8 leagues, heading W by S.

16. Saturday, 16th of the month. We covered 20 leagues on the above-said heading. I took the sun in 9° and 1/2.

17. Sunday, 17th of the month. We made 21 leagues, same heading.

18. Monday, 18th of the month. We made 25 leagues, same heading.

19. Tuesday, 19th of the said month. We covered 35 leagues to the west. I took the sun in 9 degrees; we had come down to that latitude to look for an island called **Isla Verde** [Green Island], which was painted on the sketch maps we had with us, but we could not sight it. Here I once again adjusted my needles in the NE, and discovered that they pulled to NE by half a point. When I set them, I also asked the other pilots to adjust theirs, and they agreed with mine as they also pulled NE the same way.

20. Wednesday, 20th of the month. We made 24 leagues on the same heading.

21. Thursday, 21st of the month. We made 37 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9 degrees.

22. Friday, 22nd of the month. We made 36 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

23. Saturday, 23rd of the month. We made 36 leagues to the W. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

24. Sunday, 24th of the month. We made 36 leagues to the W. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

25. Monday, 25th of the month. We made 30 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 1/3.

26. Tuesday, 26th of the said month. We made 35 leagues to W by S. I took the sun in 9°.

27. Wednesday, 27th of the month. We made 36 leagues to the W. I took the sun in 9°.

28. Thursday, 28th of the month. We made 32 leagues to W by N. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

29. Friday, 29th of the month. We made 25 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

30. Saturday, 30th of the month. We made 25 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 9° and 1/4.

31. Sunday 31st of the said month. We made 35 leagues to WNW. I took the sun in just over 10°.

January 1 [1565]. Monday, 1st of January. We made 30 leagues, W by S. I took the sun in 10° and 1/3.

2. Tuesday, 2nd of the month. We made 32 leagues with the same heading.

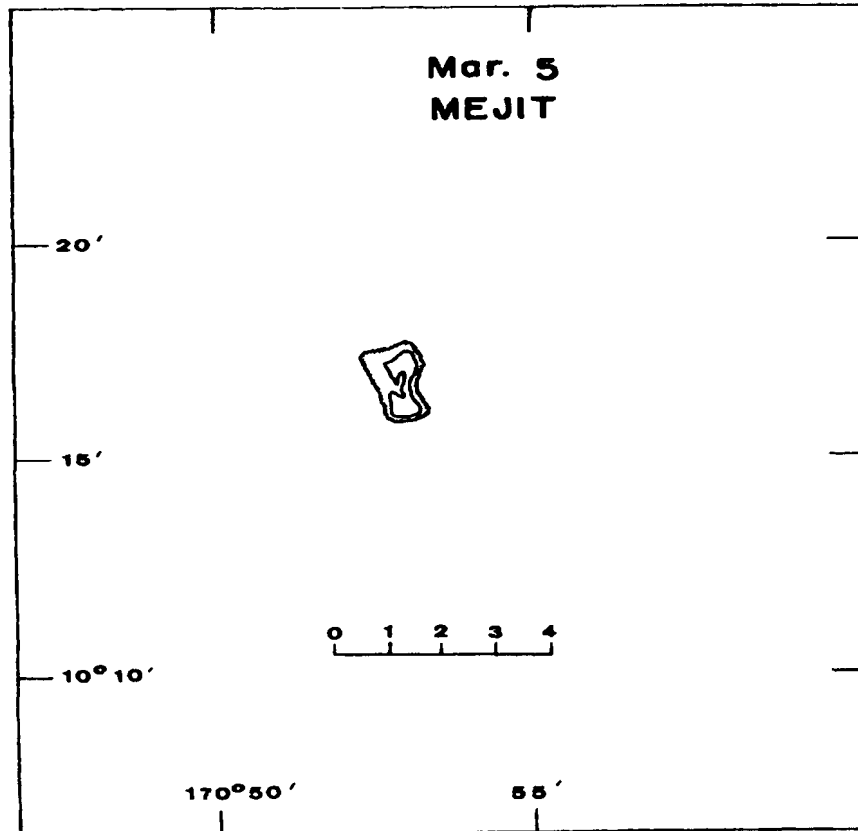
3. Wednesday, 3rd of the month. We made 36 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 10° and 3/4.

4. Thursday, 4th of the month. We made 30 leagues W by S. I took the sun in 10° and 1/2.

5. Friday, 5th of the month. We made 25 leagues on the same heading.

6. Saturday, 6th of the month. We made 15 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 10° and 1/3.

7. Sunday, 7th of the month. We made 20 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in 10° and 1/4.



Map of Mejit, discovered by Legazpi on 9 January 1565. Its latitude was measured exactly as $10^{\circ}15' N$ by Pilot Major Rodriguez. In 1565, the northern half was separated from the southern half at low tide. (From Bryan's Place Names)

8. Monday, 8th of the month. We covered 22 leagues to W by S until noon. At noon, the *almiranta* fired a gun. We lowered the topsails and waited for her. When she pulled up, she said that land had been seen to the southward. The whole sky was covered. The pilot Diego Martín said that he had seen it before it was covered by a cloud. We veered to larboard, and sailed southward until sunset, but we did not sight anything. We covered about 10 leagues, then, since we had not seen anything, we resumed our original course.

[Discovery of Mejit]

9. Tuesday, 9th of the said month. At noon, we arrived at an **island**, after having covered last night and this morning 20 leagues. We discovered this island on Tuesday, as I have just said, during the latter part of the morning from the topsail of the flagship, as there was always a lookout there day and night. We came up to it, as I have just said, at noon.

It was a small island. It was about 2-1/2 to 3 leagues in circumference and was split in the middle [by a space] where one could wade across; at high tide, it was cut in half, but at low tide the passage is dry. Both halves were full of trees, so that from afar it looked green and low-lying; from a distance, it looked completely covered with trees.

We followed its north shore—the island extends north-south—but could not find a place to anchor. We went to its western side up close but could not find bottom where to throw in the anchor. [In so doing], we came so close to the shore that a man could have jumped from the bowsprit of the flagship. As the wind blew toward the shore and the current was also pushing us, we came that close. We let go the anchor in 80 fathoms. The bottom was so steep that with two cable [lengths] out, when the anchor took hold we were pulled back out. The brig came up with its bow ashore, let go the anchor it had and let out half a cable; the poop of the ship was in 140 fathoms. Since neither the flagship nor the *almiranta* could moor, because it is not possible at this island, Captain Martín de Goiti and the Master-of-Camp with up to 30 soldiers went ashore where they saw a few houses and people walking on the beach. When those who went ashore landed, the people fled from the houses and went into the bush. They found an old Indian man, and an old Indian woman, and they told them by sign language not to be afraid, that they were friends, not to flee. Then, two or three Indian men and women approached them and they were with them for a while. They gave them some knives, beads, and some trade goods they had taken along. The people there appreciated them very much. They went to the houses which were of average size, made of wood, and covered with palm leaves; these houses were well made.

This island was full of coconut trees along the sea shore. On this western shore, there were many palm groves, and inside the houses there was a large quantity of grilled fish, tied in bundles, which made us believe that they traded this fish with other islands. There were about 100 Indians at this island, comely people with beards; for this reason, we named this island **Los Barbudos** [the Bearded Ones]. It is in 10° and 1/4.

These people went about dressed with palm [mats]; they weave them as finely as canvas, and they used them for garments. They covered their sex parts, nothing else; the rest was bare. The women covered themselves with cloaks made with such mats from below the breast downward. They had good faces. they are brown people, almost mulatto in appearance. The women had their little gardens, where they had a few root plants which they used to make some good bread, because I tried it. The men did not seem to do anything but go out in their canoes and fish with some lines so well made of palm that they looked like made with linen twine. Their hooks were made of fish bones and coconut [shell]. I myself saw some fish-hooks made in two parts tied one with the other, very delicate but good enough to catch much fish with. The fish we saw thereabout was mostly *albacore* and *dorado*.¹

1 Ed. note: Fish of the Scomridae or tuna family: "Thunnus albacares" or yellow-fin tuna, and perhaps the skipjack tuna respectively (See Amesbury & Myers, page 119).

We did not see these Indians with weapons of any kind, not even in their houses. Our men were on the island until late that day, while the galleons were tacking offshore, then the people came aboard, bringing many coconuts and a lot of fish on board the galleons. Then, as the boats came back, we set sail. That night we sailed with [only] the foresails, heading W.

[Discovery of Ailuk]

[10.] Wednesday, on the morning of the 10th, an **island** was seen from the topmast dead ahead. We came up to it at noon. There would be something like 15 leagues between it and the above-mentioned island. This island is laid out north-south, would have from 9 to 10 leagues in east-west [width].¹ We passed within half a league of its southern point. It is all very deep, and steep. It has many reefs, at the foot of which it is so deep that we could not cast anchor. Running east to west, there are two islets, one of which² is 2 leagues from the big one [i.e. Ailuk proper] and between them runs a reef. From it to the second islet³, something like 3 leagues, there is another reef, so that something like an enclosure runs between all three of them; inside it everything is *placer* [sand bank]. By following the reefs, one could walk from one islet to the other, and from it to yet another, etc.

These islets were uninhabited. We saw neither people nor villages in them. They lie low, close to sea level. From afar, only the trees can be seen. We did not find any bottom for anchoring. We named this island **Placeres** [sand banks] and the other **San Pablo**.⁴ Here I took the sun in 10 degrees.⁵

To be still around here at night, we would be in a fix, although we kept a good lookout, on account of their being so low-lying, with reefs at the foot of which the bottom is so deep.

[Discovery of Jemo]

From here we headed W by S and, after sunset, we came to another **island**, after having covered 8 leagues from the previous one. We got there after sunset and wished to anchor but could not find a way to do so, on account of it being so deep. The island was so small that we think it was uninhabited. It is an island that would be about 2

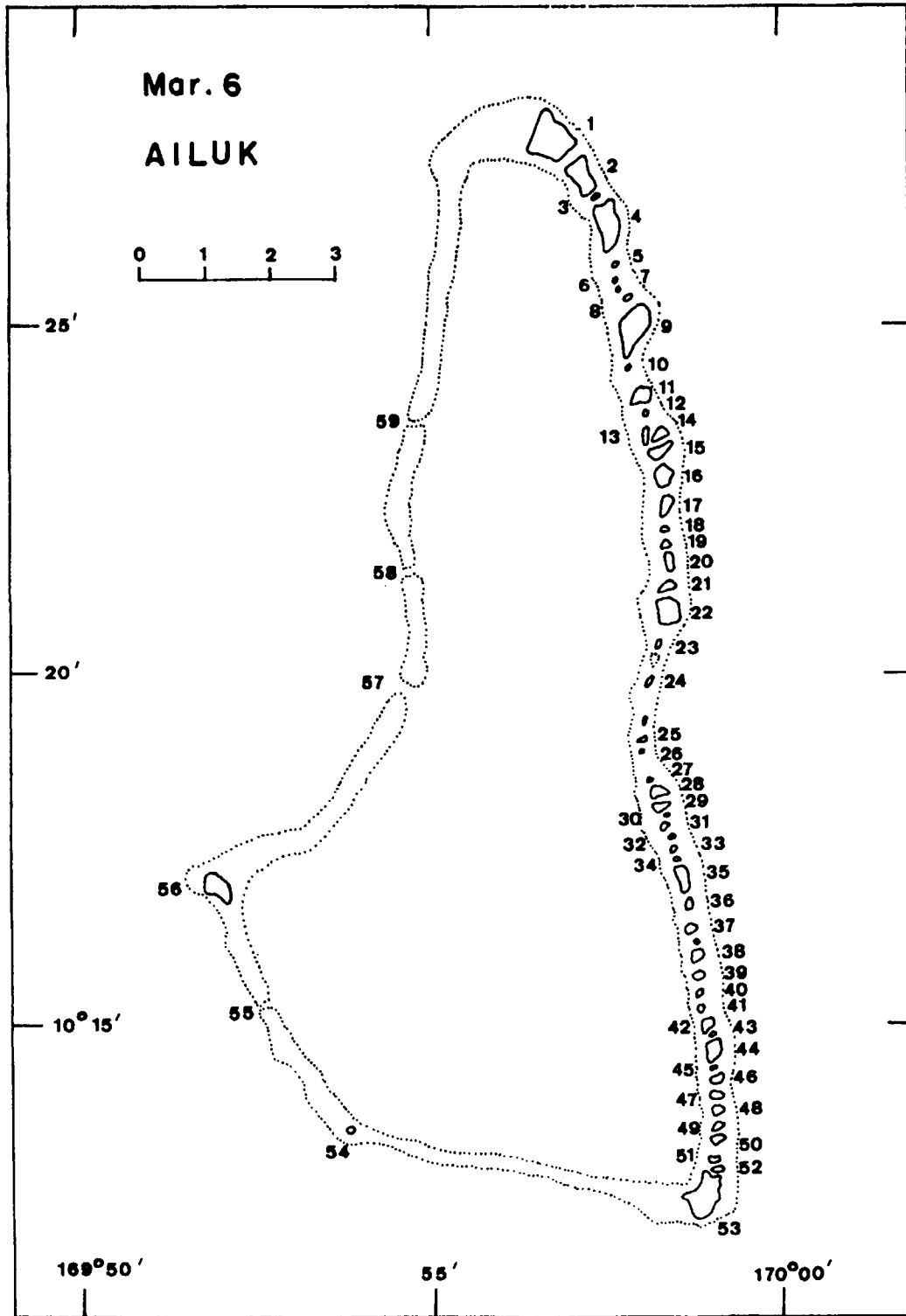
1 Ed. note: A remarkably-good estimate of distance from Mejit, as 50 minutes is about 15 leagues. The width of Ailuk, however, is only about 3 leagues.

2 Ed. note: Bryan's Mar. 6-54.

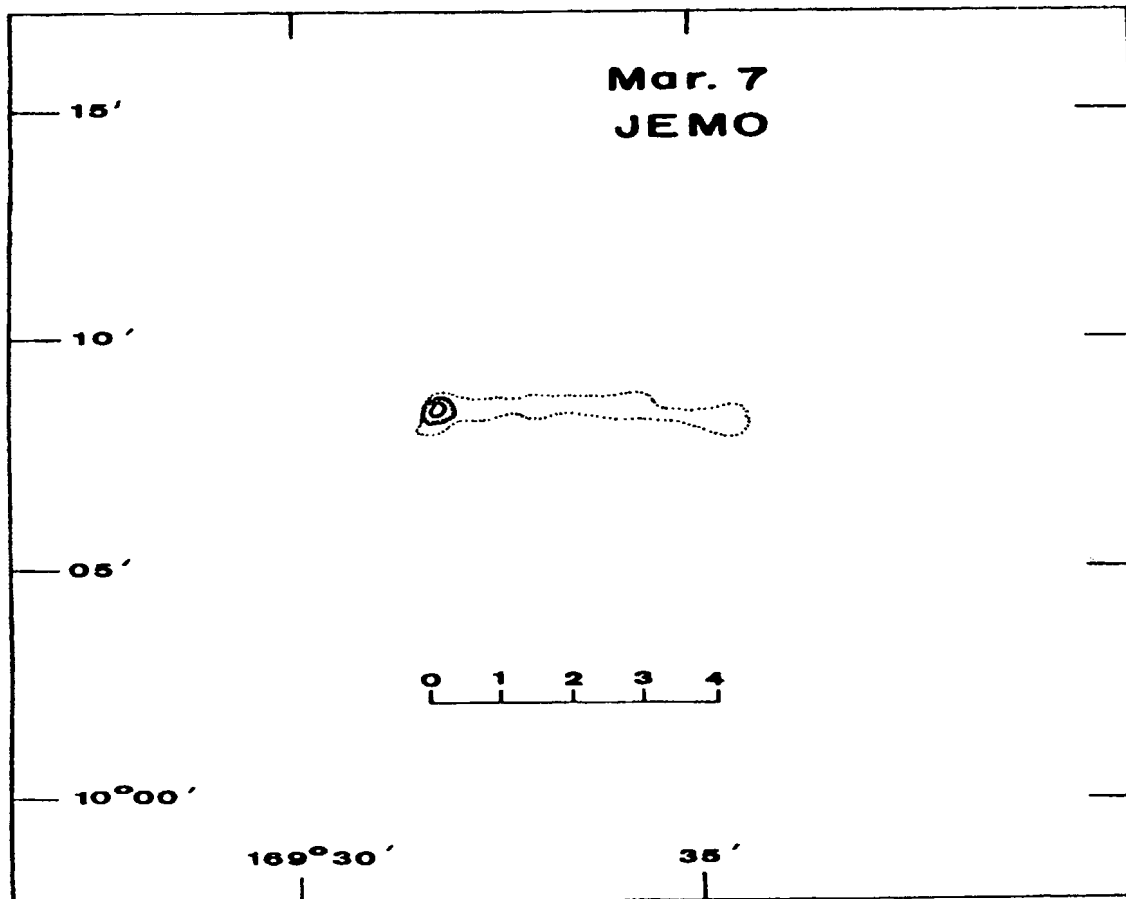
3 Ed. note: Bryan's Mar. 6-56.

4 Ed. note: Ailuk proper would correspond to Placeres, whereas Agulue, the westernmost islet, would be San Pablo. Pierre Plin, the French pilot working with Rodriguez, was to record the names of the islets as San Pedro and San Pablo respectively, from the names of the galleons.

5 Ed. note: Remarkably accurate; the ships were in fact at 10°10' off the south point of Ailuk.



Map of Ailuk, discovered by Legazpi on 10 January 1565. (From Bryan's Place Names)



Map of Jemo, discovered by Legazpi on 10 January 1565. The island was called Bird Island on account of the numerous birds returning there at sunset. (From Bryan's Place Names)

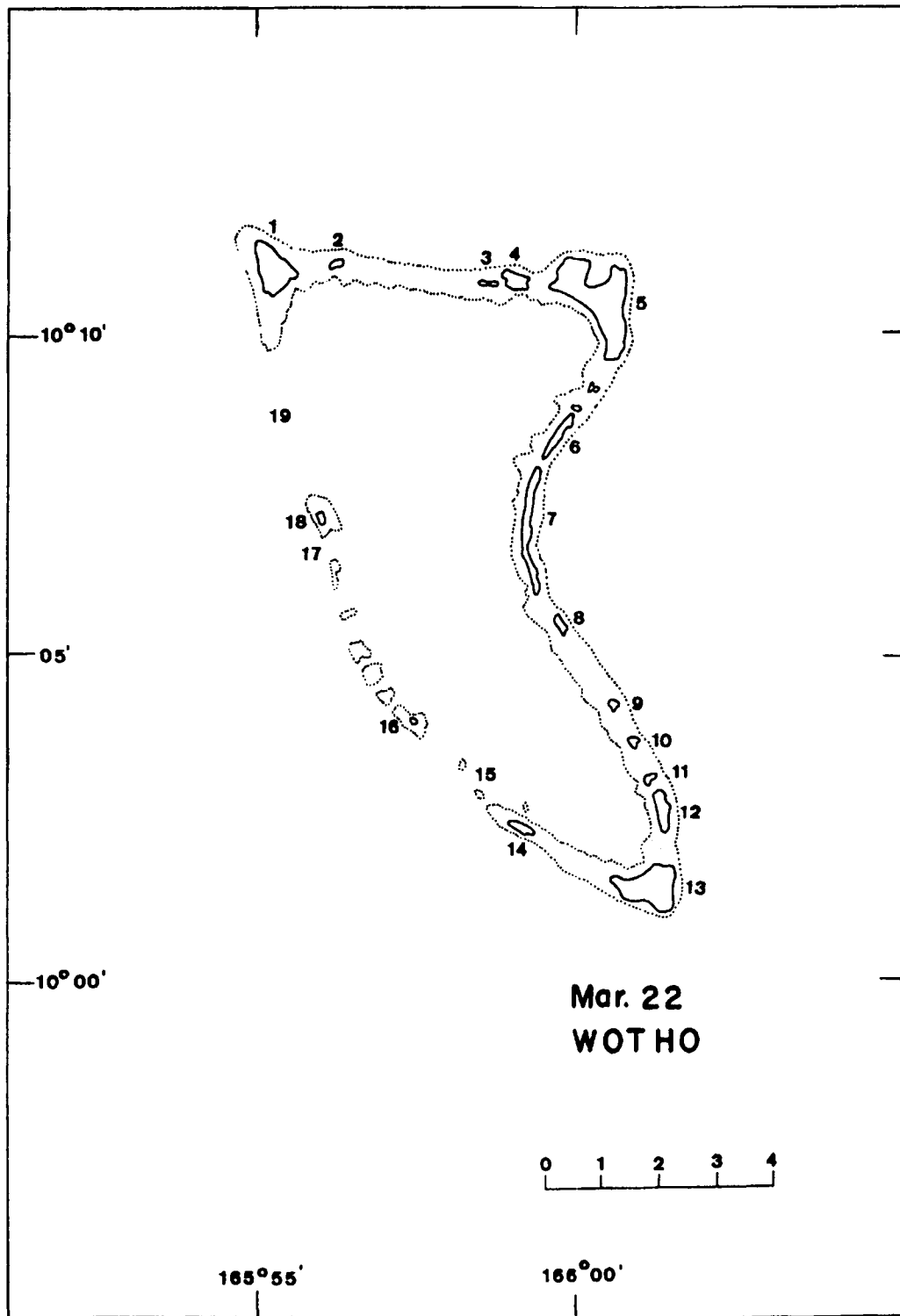
leagues in extent, is very low and apt to be covered with water. There was a reef coming out of it one league to the SW.¹ The whole island was full of birds and for this reason we named it **Isla de Pajaros** [Bird Island].

From here, after sunset, we proceeded on our course, heading W by S. Here I took the [North] Star in just under 10°.²

11. Thursday, 11th of the said month. We made 20 leagues on the same heading.

1 Ed. note: Transcription error, I think, for "to the eastward".

2 Ed. note: His true latitude must have been above 10° as he would have hit Likiep during the night. As it turned out, the ships passed north of it without sighting them in what was a clear night.



Map of Wotho, re-discovered and re-baptized by Legazpi.

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

12. Friday, 12th of the month. We made 30 leagues before noon, when we came upon a low **island**, all broken up into what appeared to be many islets from the high sea, but upon coming close to them, they are all linked as one land [i.e. atoll]. This island is 8 leagues [in extent]. Next to this one, there are 2 or 3 small islets that form something like a triangle with this bigger one, inside of which it is just one shoal or bank. From one to the other, and from the latter to yet the other, it is all reefs. They are all enclosed by reefs, and the bottom is so deep next to them that we could not anchor. They are likely to be flooded by the sea and not habitable. They are just under 10°. ¹ We named them **Los Corrales** [The Enclosures]. ² We took our departure from here today and by sunset had covered 4 leagues.

13. Saturday, 13th of the month, we made 25 leagues to the W. I took th sun in 10°.

[Discovery of Ujelang]

14. Sunday, 14th of the month, we made 40 leagues. At sunset, we saw an **island** ³ ahead. ⁴ We were about 6 leagues from it. We hove to during that night in order to go to it in the morning. The 40 leagues mentioned above were due west.

15. Monday, 15th of the month, we sailed toward the above-mentined island and went to anchor at it, but we could not find bottom to anchor upon. The island is very small and low. On the eastern part [of the atoll], there were next to it another 3 or 4 islets, all full of reefs on the northern part, which came out over 1 league. All of those islands would cover a span of 8 leagues. It is not possible to pass between the ones nor the others. They are rather low-lying and full of trees. They are lined up east-to-west. They are in almost in 10°. On this same day, we continued on our way for 8 leagues.

16. Tuesday, 16th of the month, we sailed due west for 35 leagues. I took the sun in 9° and 3/4.

17. Wednesday, 17th of the month, we made 26 leagues to W by S.

18. Thursday, 18th of the month, we made 25 leagues on the same heading. I took the sun in just over 10°.

19. Friday, 19th of the month, we made 25 leagues due W. Here the compass needle varied to NE by one point. I took the sun in 10° and 1/2.

20. Saturday, 20th of the month, we made 26 leagues on the same heading.

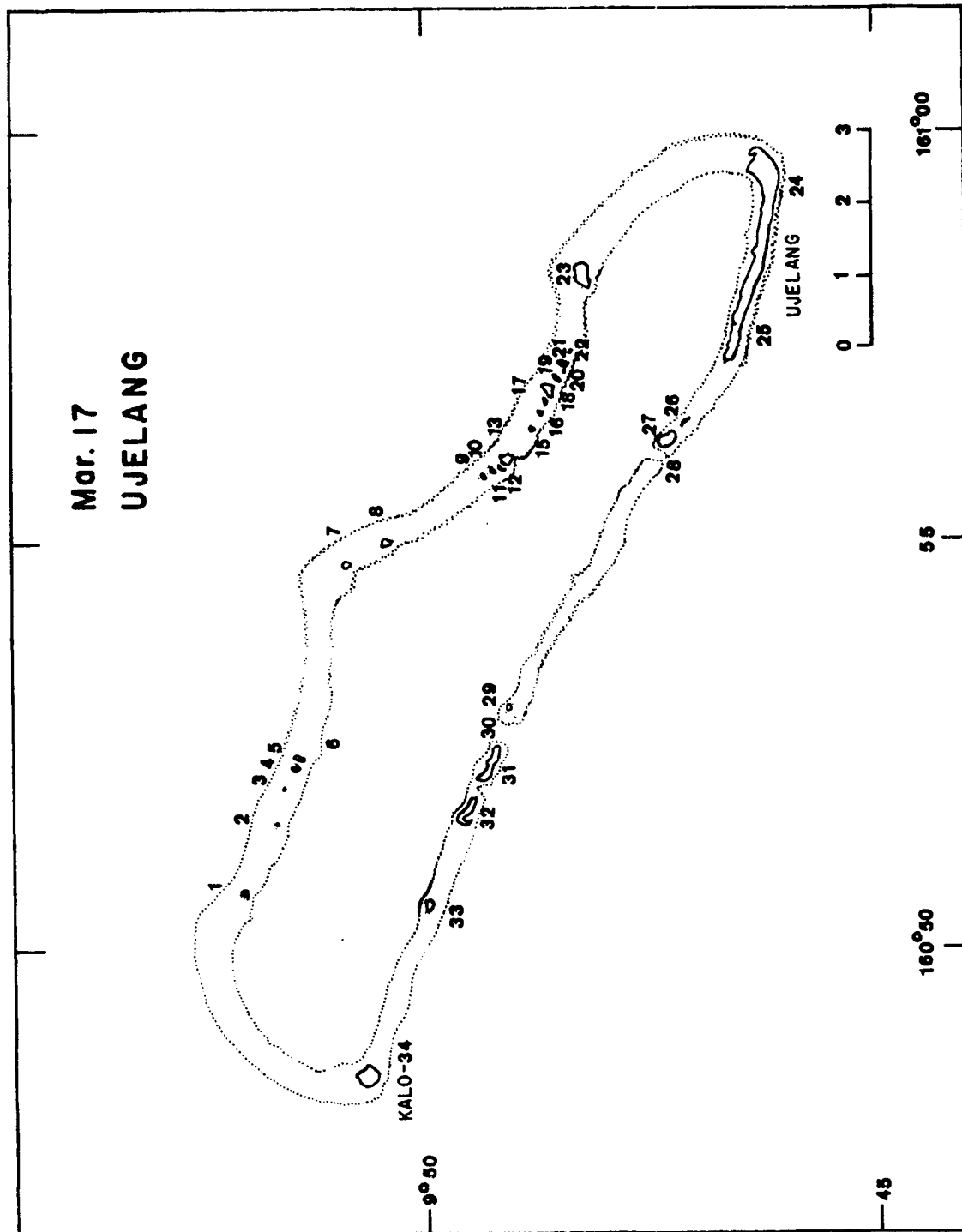
21. Sunday, 21st of the month, we made 20 leagues on the same heading.

1 Ed. note: Exactly so, off the south point.

2 Ed. note: Not to be confused with the atoll baptized with the same name by Villalobos, which is Likiep. Villalobos gave the name of Los Jardines [Garden I.] to Wotho. There is no explanation why Rodriguez' mate, Pierre Plin, and the anonymous account, recorded this group as "Las Hermanas" [Sister Is.].

3 Ed. note: Saavedra had probably sighted this island on his second return attempt in 1529.

4 Ed. note: Ujelang proper is at a latitude of 9°46'N.



Map of Ujelang, seen by Legazpi on 15 January 1565. They probably were seen in 1529 by Saavedra. Legazpi applied to it the name of Los Jardines [Garden Island] which Villalobos had applied to Wotho. (From Bryan's Place Names)

Stopover at Guam

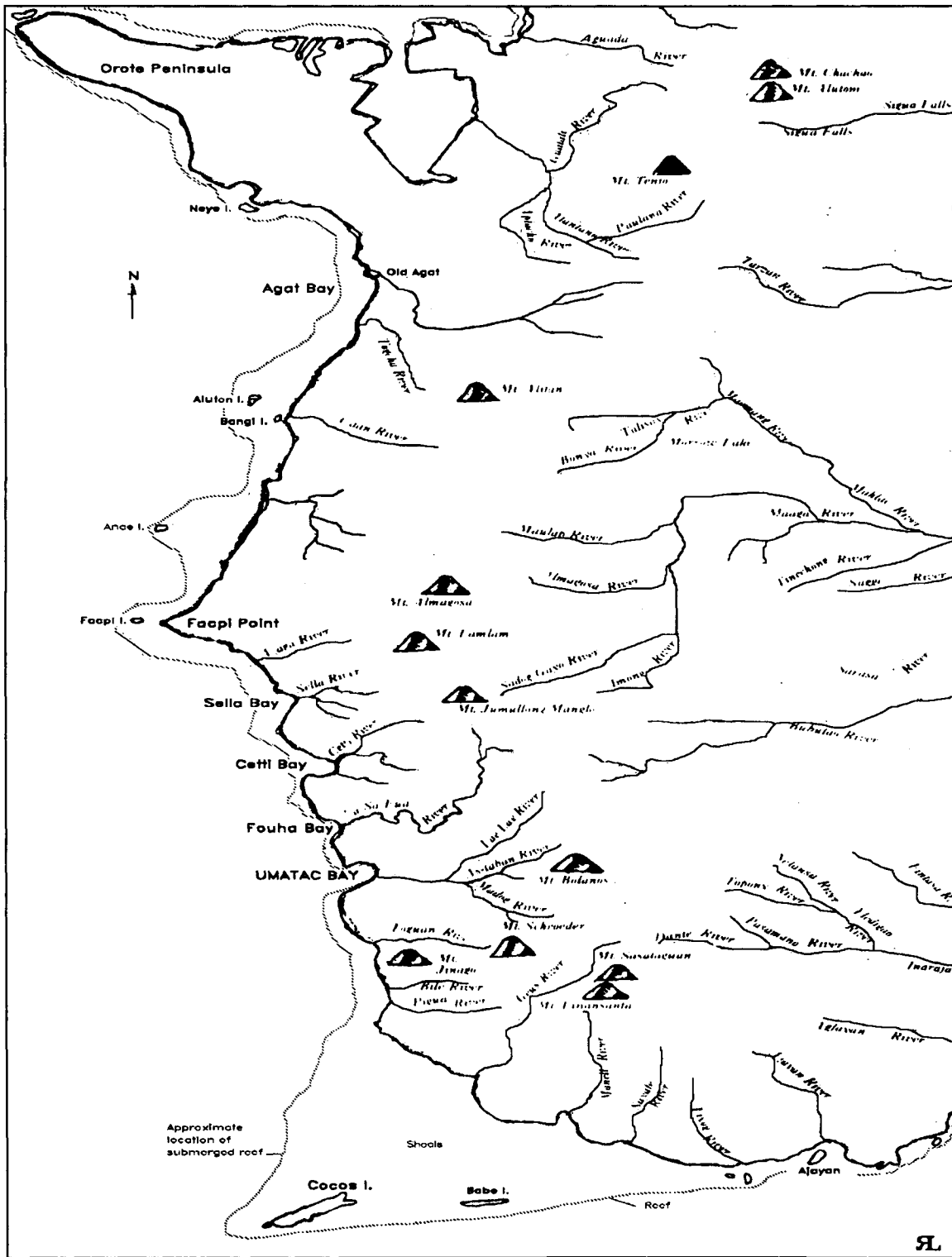
22. Monday. Up to noon, when I took the sun, we covered 20 leagues. I took the sun in 13°. These 20 leagues had been covered while we were on a W by S heading. After having taken the sun, we saw a high **island** with many mountain ranges in its southern part. There were some [bare] reddish spots on some mountains. When we saw it, it bore NW. We headed straight for it and, as we got to within 2 leagues of it, 61 proas came out to us. As they came alongside, they said: *chamurre, chamurre* which means: *friends, friends*. They passed their hand on their bellies as a sign of friendship. They were telling us by sign language that we should go from there with the ship toward their town. We could see two towns; those proas must have come from both of those towns, because others were telling us by signs to go to their own town. These Indians came all naked in the flesh, showing their sex parts, their hair as long as the waist.

[Description of the canoes of Guam]

The proas they brought along are the lightest sailboats in the world. Neither galley nor brig can be compared with them. They are very narrow and long. The prow and the poop are interchangeable. They have as a counterweight on one side, in order not to capsize, a thick but light pole, stuck out at the end of some [cross-]bars, that touches the water. This counterweight is kept to windward, and the side in question is always the windward side, with the other side to leeward. That is why they make one end the prow when they go one way and the other end when they tack back. The sails are lateen sails, cut in the shape of a triangle, on the side of the yardarm as well as on the side of the boom, which serves to trim the sail. [Hence,] they carry the sail on two yards, one above and the other below. With the lower yard, they make the sail bigger, or smaller; if there is much wind, they roll up the sail upon the lower yard as much as they want. The sails are made of finely woven palm and looked like coarse linen. Each proa carried 9 to 10 Indians. One of them was kept busy bailing out water, because such boats are not water-tight. They do not caulk them nor nail them together; [rather,] they have the boards fastened to the others with reed lashings. They then apply a pitch made of red earth [mixed] with lime and coconut oil. When new, they caulk them with this pitch, and they do not leak; the water that comes in is not much. These people are graceful and fast, expert with these boats.

As we wished to anchor between the above-mentioned towns, we came quite close to shore but could not find bottom to anchor. As there was a cross-wind on that side, we decided to pass to the western side of this island. So, we veered off and proceeded with short sail as it was already evening in order to wait it out until the next day.

23. Tuesday, 23rd of the said month. We anchored at this island called **Guan** [sic], which is one of the **Ladrones**, on its western side inside a good port. This side is well settled, with a large population. This side is about 10 leagues and runs NNW—SSE. It has a small islet [i.e. Cocos I.] half a league offshore, with a reef that comes out of it and runs to the big island. I sailed the length of this western side with a frigate and in



South-west coast of Guam explored by Legazpi's boat.

it we found good bays, 3 or 4 of them with good, clean bottom, and good rivers of fresh water that flow into the sea. The whole coast is populated and full of palm and coconut trees.

[Survey of the SW coast of Guam]

The weapons of these Indians are fire-hardened sticks that can go through a shield, and some slings with a palm basket full of stones that are hand-made [and look] like eggs. They carried this with their stones and sticks in their hands. When they came up to fight, they stuck the sticks into the ground and [fought] with the slings from afar; when near, they would take the sticks and fight with much spirit. They feared the arquebus; if it did not hit them [first], they attacked it as with a spear. In every town we came to with the frigate, they received us with slingshots and did not let us step ashore, pelting the frigate with stones. Nevertheless, we landed at a few towns and had a few skirmishes with them, but they always came out the worse. As we carried good shields and had good arquebus men, and the bodies well armored, 20 men in all, over 500 Indians would flee from them. At the beginning, they attacked with great spirit, but as soon as they had a taste of the arquebus, they retreated in disorder as fast as they could run. Still, they knocked down two of our companions, one of them they hit his helmet and knocked him down with a stone; the other, who was a gunner, while he was getting a small gun ready to fire at them, there came a stone that hit him in the mouth, broke his teeth and broke his lips. Another one had a stone go through his shield and injured him in the arm. However, they paid a lot for it, and a few lost their lives.

After this, we went back to the galleons and found out that they had mortally wounded one of the soldiers with a fire-hardened stick; he died from the wound. A lad in the service of Captain Martín Goiti was also killed by them; they broke his teeth with stones, cut his tongue off and cut him up into pieces. It was a pitiful sight. They carried him to the sea shore so that we would see him. When they killed him, he had been asleep. He had gone ashore with the boat to get water. The lad fell asleep and the boat returned alongside without him. That is how they killed him during the truce that the General had made with them. During this truce, they had come alongside to trade rice, fish, yams, bananas (a little better than those of Havana), coconuts, ginger, and other products from the land; they bartered it all for a nail.

When the General found out that they had thus broken the truce, he ordered them punished to the limit. The Master-of-Camp and Captain Martín de Goiti went down with 150 soldiers and they sacked two towns and burned them. They hanged many Indians from trees. They burned all the proas they could find and made 4 Indians prisoners. They killed many. Out of the four captives, one of them dove into the sea with his shackles; a proa that was alongside took him in and fled. Another captive hanged himself from the cat-harpings. We released another. We kept the other with us, as he looked to us as a [potential] interpreter, in order to learn the local language.

At this island we got rice, fish, water, wood and many coconuts. We remained anchored at this island for 11 days. We **took possession** of the island for King Philip.¹ Every day masses were said while we were at this island. During our stay here, all of us pilots took the sun's elevation ashore twice. While at sea, there were differences of 1/4 to 1/3 of a degree in measured latitudes between those of the flagship and those of the *almiranta*. Here we settled our differences; they had been using almanachs made in Spain but we in the flagship used almanachs made in Mexico which had been derived from those of Spain, adjusted for the time it takes the sun to arrive at Mexico. We took the sun here in 13° and 1/3.²

This island is a very good one, and well populated. It has good plains to make plantations, very good water courses, and the soil looks very good. The people are comely but naked in the flesh. The women cover their sex with a palm leaf but nothing else; the rest is naked. They have some good **houses** made of wood and roofed with palms. They are all [two-story] high; their living quarters are in the upper part. Their food consists of *tamales* made of rice, some toasted and others fresh; the toasted ones keep much longer. They also eat big yams and small potatoes, bananas, fish and coconuts. They make oil from the coconuts for lighting and cooking purposes. There is much ginger here, and other fruits whose names I do not know.

These islanders have many canoes, big and small. One day I saw more than 500 of them alongside the ships; they all came to barter, bringing food of the type mentioned above. They called for nothing else but nails in exchange.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1565Z2 for the document attesting to this act.

2 Ed. note: Not until over two centuries later was the latitude of the Bay of Umatac measured more accurately. They were perfectly correct, considering that their small astrolabes were accurate to within about 10 minutes; in fact, they were only 2 minutes out.

[First Chamorro vocabulary]

Some words in their language are as follows:

[Spanish]	[Chamorro]	[English translation]
Amigo	chamor	friend ¹
Bueno	mauri ²	good
Dáca	baqui-maqui ³	give here
Sabroso	mani ⁴	tasty, delicious
Toma	jo ⁵	take
Aceite	rana ⁶	oil
Arroz	juay ⁷	rice
Tierra	tana ⁸	land
Coco seco	micha ⁹	dry coconut
Señor	churu	Mister
Coco fresco	mana ¹⁰	fresh coconut
Hierro	yrizo ¹¹	iron
Botija	O ¹²	jar, jug
Calabaza	coca ¹³	calabash, gourd
Navio	botus ¹⁴	ship, boat
Clavo	ruro ¹⁵	nail
Sal	azibi ¹⁶	salt
Caña dulce	tupotipor ¹⁷	sugar-cane
Pescado	bian ¹⁸	fish

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- 1 Ed. note: Hence the name "chamorro" applied to the natives by the Spanish; there was a twist of irony here, because "chamorro" in Spanish means "bald", and the natives, as described, exhibited more than one bald spot.
 - 2 Ed. note: Now written "maolek". Ref. Topping, Ogo & Dungca's Chamorro-English Dictionary, PALI text, 1975.
 - 3 Ed. note: Now written "chulé magi".
 - 4 Ed. note: Now written "manngé".
 - 5 Ed. note: The word for "take" is now "ató"; "jo" must be a transcription error for "ato".
 - 6 Ed. note: Transcription error for "laña".
 - 7 Ed. note: Transcription error for "fái".
 - 8 Ed. note: Transcription error for "tanó".
 - 9 Ed. note: Perhaps this is a transcription error for "niyok".
 - 10 Ed. note: Now written "manha".
 - 11 Ed. note: The word for iron was reported elsewhere as "herrero" (which means blacksmith in Spanish); this is a possible transcription error for "ruro", same word as for nail below. It is now written "lulok".
 - 12 Ed. note: The modern words are "hara" or "taru", from the English jar and the Spanish tarro..
 - 13 Ed. note: There is no word resembling this in a modern dictionary; the modern word is "tagua".
 - 14 Ed. note: Transcription error for "boti".
 - 15 Ed. note: Now written "lulok"; this was the generic term for iron. Recorded as "lulu" in later accounts.
 - 16 Ed. note: Transcription error for "asig" or "asiga"..
 - 17 Ed. note: Repetition of the word "tupu".
 - 18 Ed. note: Modern word is "guihan"; however, it is "iban" in Filipino.

No	eri ¹	no
Pescado salado	azuiban ²	salted fish
Batata	nica ³	potato
Pequeño	segu ⁴	small, little
Madera	tagayaya ⁵	wood
Plátano verde	regue ⁶	green banana
Agua	ami ⁷	water
Tamal	enft	tamale ⁸
Plátano	jeta ⁹	banana
Bellota	puga	acorn [i.e. betel nut]
Red	ragua ¹⁰	[fishing] net
Papel pintado	triacabo-tali ¹¹	colored paper
Ojos	macha ¹²	eyes
Piedra	rapia ¹³	stone
Orejas	perucha ¹⁴	ears
Papel	afuipuri	paper
Dientes	nifi ¹⁵	teeth
Petate	guafal ¹⁶	mat
Cabellos	chuzo ¹⁷	hair
Gengibre	asinor ¹⁸	ginger
Manos	catecha ¹⁹	hands

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- 1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "ahé".
 - 2 Ed. note: If salt was "asig" and fish "iban", salted fish was probably "asiguiban", or "asiguihan".
 - 3 Ed. note: Now written "nika". It is a type of yam.
 - 4 Ed. note: Perhaps a transcription error for "ratu".
 - 5 Ed. note: Wood is "hayu" now, so that "tagayaya" was either a specific tree or a phrase including the word "ayu", or "kayo" which is the Malay root word.
 - 6 Ed. note: There is no word resembling this in a modern dictionary; it was possibly a descriptive word instead.
 - 7 Ed. note: Probable transcription error for "tasi", which means sea, or else "anom".
 - 8 Ed. note: Well-known Mexican pastry filled with meat. "Enft" looks to me an unlikely rendering and may be transcription error. The native word has been replaced by the Spanish word "empanada".
 - 9 Ed. note: Possible transcription error for "chotda".
 - 10 Ed. note: Now spelled "laguá".
 - 11 Ed. note: A real puzzle. "Tali" means rope. What object is meant here is not known. Could it have been the image of a saint?
 - 12 Ed. note: This could be "matcha", a word close to the modern "mata".
 - 13 Ed. note: Transcription error for "halian".
 - 14 Ed. note: A puzzle as the modern word is "talanga".
 - 15 Ed. note: Now written "nifen".
 - 16 Ed. note: Transcription error for "guafak".
 - 17 Ed. note: Transcription error for "puro", now written "pulu".
 - 18 Ed. note: Now written "hasngot".
 - 19 Ed. note: Probably misunderstood for "hatga", the word meaning to carry, to haul.

Ella	reben ¹	she
Pie	ngmicha	foot
Cesto de mimbre	pian ²	wicker basket
Barba	mimi ³	beard
Honda	atripe ⁴	sling
Pierna	achumpa	leg
Cangrejo	achulu ⁵	crab
Esto	achi	this
Petaca	agu	(leather) case/box/chest
Bocal	burgay ⁶	pitcher
Ven acá	hembean	come here
Estrella	vitan ⁷	star
Luna	Uran ⁸	Moon
Sol	Ataon ⁹	Sun
Comer	mana ¹⁰	to eat
Grande	riso	big

Their way of counting is as follows:

Uno	acha [i.e. hacha]	one
Dos	gua [hugua]	two
Tres	tero [tulo]	three
Cuatro	farfur [fatfat]	four
Cinco	nimi [lima]	five ¹¹
Seis	guanán [gunum]	six
Siete	frintin [fiti]	seven
Ocho	gua [gualu]	eight ¹²
Nueve	agua [sigua]	nine
Diez	manete [manot]	ten.

-
- 1 Ed. note: Probable misunderstanding for the name of a specific woman, as the modern pronouns are totally different.
 - 2 Ed. note: Possible misunderstanding for "píao", the word for bamboo. Just imagine the Spaniard pointing at a wicker basket on board.
 - 3 Ed. note: The native word "mimi" has been replaced by the Spanish word "barbas", written "batbas".
 - 4 Ed. note: Transcription error for "atupat".
 - 5 Ed. note: Transcription error for "ayuyu".
 - 6 Ed. note: This native word has been replaced by the modern "hara", for jar.
 - 7 Ed. note: Could just as easily been transcribed as "bitan", a word similar to the Filipino word "bituin". It is now written "pution".
 - 8 Ed. note: Transcription error for "puran", now written "pulan".
 - 9 Ed. note: Transcription error for "atdao".
 - 10 Ed. note: Transcription error for "manam", now written "ñamñam".
 - 11 Ed. note: "lim" is the root word for "five" in most Malay-type languages.
 - 12 Ed. note: Transcription error here. The same word could not have been used for 2 and for 8.

February. We stayed at this island 11 days, as I have said before. We departed on the evening of February 2nd.

3. Saturday, 3rd of February. Until noon, we covered 10 leagues, heading due west.

4. Sunday, 4th of the month. We made 25 leagues, on the same heading.

5. Monday, 5th of the month. We made 25 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 13° and $1/2$.

6. Tuesday, 6th of the month. We made 26 leagues, on the same heading.

7. Wednesday, 7th of the month. We made 25 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 13° and $1/2$.

8. Thursday, 8th of the month. We made 30 leagues, heading W by S. Here the compass needle pulled NE by half a point. I took the sun in 13° and $1/3$.

9. Friday, 9th of the month. We made 26 leagues W by S.

10. Saturday, 10th of the month. We made 35 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 13° .

11. Sunday, 11th of the month. We made 30 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 12 degrees and $3/4$.

12. Monday, 12th of the month. We made 15 leagues due west. I took the sun in 12° and $1/2$.

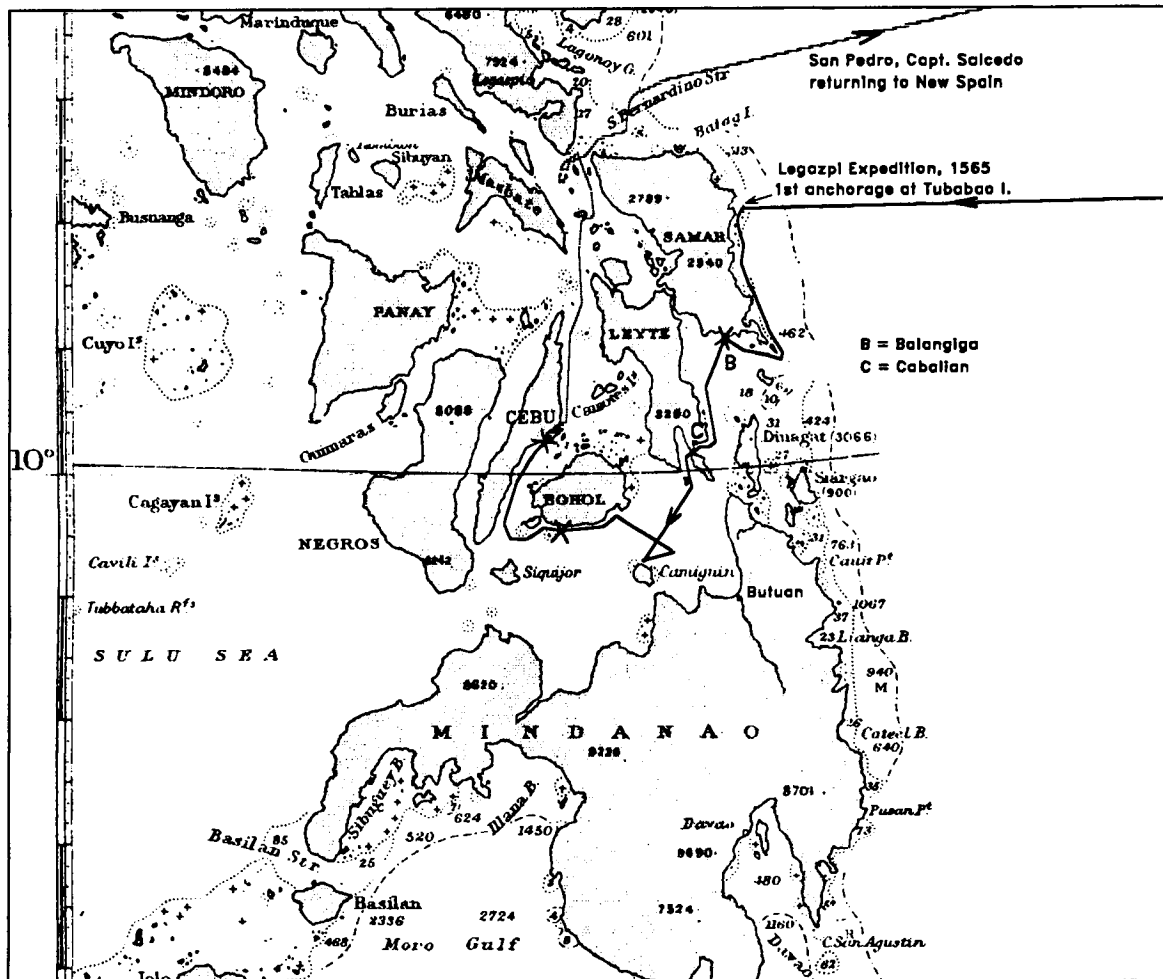
13. Tuesday, 13th of the month. We made 20 leagues, on the same heading. I took the sun in 12° and $1/2$.

14. Wednesday, 14th of the month. We made 15 leagues until noon, and at noon we saw **land** ahead. It was the Philippines. It was such a big island we could not see its capes from the topmast. It was a high island with many mountain ranges. Near the sea were plains. It has many islets in the sea one or two leagues from shore. From here we lowered the boat and got within 2 leagues of the islets. I myself went with 20 men to look for a port. The ships were to follow us. We went to the lee of a small island that had many palm and coconut trees and a good port, and from there signalled the ship to come and anchor, which it did at a quarter of a league from the land in 20 fathoms. We anchored here at this island on Wednesday afternoon of the 14th of February of the year 1565.

Summary of their arrival at the Philippines

[The next day, they made contact with the natives of Samar Island. The natives were tattooed all over. They had large boats decked from poop to prow that carried 30 sailors. They danced to the accompaniment of brass gongs. The natives told the Spanish that 8 leagues north of that place was the Bay of Cobos.¹ Legazpi sent Captain Juan de la Isla with the boat from the flagship to investigate and he did find a large bay suit-

1 Ed. note: Caobos in other reports.



Track of Legazpi's fleet from Samar Island to Cebu, 1565.

able to anchor the ships. While an unarmed soldier was taking part in a blood ceremony ashore, a treacherous Indian attacked and killed him with a lance.

Meanwhile, at the small island, Legazpi took possession of the islands for King Philip.¹ The latitude of the islet was measured ashore as 12° and $1/5$. Pilots Rodriguez and Fortún went with the frigate to see if a passage existed between the islets; it did. So, the next day, the ships moved SW along the coast, for about 30 leagues, until they came to the southernmost point of Samar Island, where there is a small round islet, very high, that runs north-south.² Here they went west into the channel that was 10-12 leagues in

-
- 1 Ed. note: The Spaniards were to record this spot as their "primer surgidero" or first anchorage on their future maps.
 - 2 Ed. note: That was the islet at the tip of Caliocan Island.

width at that point. They followed the southern coast of Samar until they reached a small bay at 11°15'N.

Pilot Rodriguez in the covered boat or frigate, with Captain Goiti and 50 soldiers, went further west to explore the coast for 4 leagues to a point, then another 4 leagues along the coast trending NW until they came to a river with a town that the natives said belonged to Tandaya.¹ They came to the narrow strait between Samar and Leyte Island and followed the coast of Leyte southward.² They eventually came abreast of the Cabuyan Islands, rounded the SE point and went west to Cabalian, which was already then a large town. They reconnoitered Cabalian Bay as far as Panaon Island and inspected the narrow strait between Panaon and Leyte. Seeing that the ships could pass through it, they returned to the ships after an absence of 10 days.

The next day, the ships were moved to Cabalian going straight, a distance of about 20 leagues from where they had been anchored on the southern coast of Samar. The fleet anchored off Cabalian on Shrove Tuesday 1565. The natives of the town did not wish to make a peace treaty with the Spanish. The latter landed and forcibly took live pigs and other food, seized 4 chiefs and took them to the ships, where they presented the chiefs with trade goods in exchange for the food. The chiefs were happy and informed the Spanish about the geography of the area, including Limasawa where Magellan had been.

One of the Cabalian chiefs guided the fleet to Limasawa Island but they found the place completely destroyed. Apparently 2 years before, 8 large proas from the Moluccas, with Portuguese aboard (who had told the natives that they were Spaniards) had come and destroyed the island. Legazpi decided not to land and he dismissed his guide there, but not before the latter had told him (wrongly as it turned out) that much cinnamon could be found at an island called Camiguin situated SW of Limasawa.

The Spanish fleet went to Camiguin, whose latitude they found to be 9°20'N.³ They anchored on the west side of the island and sent the frigate to make a complete circuit around the island but they found nothing of interest. Legazpi then decided to go to Butuan, located east of Camiguin, on the north coast of Mindanao, but the strong head wind forced them backward to Bohol Island. They anchored there and waited while Captain de la Isla in the frigate went to explore westward and Captain Goiti in the flagship's boat went eastward. The fleet was moved west to a bay near Panglao Island where Captain de la Isla had found a good anchorage.⁴

Pilot Rodriguez was sent with the frigate to explore the coast of Cebu and Negros Islands that could be seen further west. This turned out to be quite an odyssey on account of the winds and currents. The frigate was forced to go south around the south-

1 Ed. note: The name of Tandaya was soon applied to the whole western half of Samar Island by the Spanish.

2 Ed. note: The name of Abuyo was applied to the eastern coast of Leyte, from the name of an important town down this coast.

3 Ed. note: Its northern coast is indeed at 9°15'N.

4 Ed. note: Probably at a place called Loay today.

ern tip of Negros and up the whole of its western coast, in an effort to find an eastern route back to the ships. They estimated the size of Negros Island as being over 110 leagues in circumference.

They went through the Guimaras Strait and, when they reached the northern coast of Negros, went east to the northern tip of Cebu, before they coasted southward along its western coast. They returned to Bohol after an absence of 20 days.

Soon the fleet moved west to Cebu Island and followed the coast northward until they came to the town of Cebu. Legazpi decided to establish a settlement there, and from there despatch the flagship back to New Spain. This last episode is translated in full below.]

Settlement of Cebu and despatch of the flagship

...
As soon as those of us who had gone with the frigate had returned to the ships, the next day we went out with the ships for Cibuy [i.e. Cebu]. From here we headed WSW for 8 leagues and then we came to Cebu [Island]. We followed the coast that trended N—S for 8 leagues, then another 8 as the coast trended NE—SW. Here we found a large town which is called Cibuy [i.e. Cebu]. It was situated next to the sea and there is a good port here where the ships could be anchored in all kinds of weather either moored to the land or offshore in 8 fathoms. It is a very good channel with two exits, one in the SW¹ and the other in the WSW.

Upon our arrival, therefore, we moored our ships near the shore but parallel to it, because the current here is as swift as that of the river in Seville owing to the tides. These correspond to those of Spain, giving due allowance to the fact that the sun is late in arriving at this meridian. The tide goes up and down one fathom or more; and when it is spring tide, a fathom and a half. [Therefore,] small ships can be beached here.

As soon as we arrived at this town, the General ordered the senior notary and the royal officials to go and require the natives of this town to make peace with them on behalf of His Majesty, because we saw that they were getting ready for war. They went, but the natives told them not to land, as their king was absent, and that he would come the next day. We waited for one day, when again they asked the natives to make peace. This time they threatened the Master-of-Camp with their lances; already they were shooting stones at the boat. So, the boat returned to the flagship and reported to the General. Thus, it was decided to take the town, settle here ourselves, and from here send the flagship back to New Spain. Preparations were then made to put the decision into effect. All the guns aboard the ships on the land side were armed, and all the soldiers boarded the boats and row-boats on the seaward side, where we stood by until the guns had been fired before going ashore with the boats. Some of the boats were to sail off to take the many proas that were afloat and had come from another island to assist the local people. The flagship and the other ships began firing. They saw the

1 Ed. note: Error for NE.

houses crashing down and the Indians fleeing until not one Indian was left. They left the town deserted. Our men got ashore and pursued the Indians, but they were unable to catch any of them. We went to the town and found nothing in the houses, because, the previous day and night, they had taken out and hidden everything, women and children included. They had had a large house full of rice and supplies, but they set fire to it before fleeing. We were unable to save it, no matter how hard we tried. So it is that it burned down, as well as 15 other houses. If all [our] people had not come up to quench the fire, the whole town would have been burned.

The General ordered the soldiers to get their clothes and to occupy the houses, a gang of four soldiers to each house, and to demolish the rest, because the town was much destroyed. They were to remain in one area so as to facilitate a night watch. Later on, he ordered that all the houses outside the perimeter had their walls removed and some of them be taken down altogether in order to build a palisade of thick wooden trunks—of which there were quite a few available around the town—as a sort of strong fence, taking care to include within it a few existing fresh water wells from which they drank. This town site was established in the shape of a triangle, with two sides bordered by water and one by land. Facing the sea, we placed the good cannon that we had. On the land side, the above-mentioned palisade was good enough until a fort was built, whose erection was to be undertaken after the flagship had left for New Spain.

The Master-of-Camp and Captain Martín de Goiti went with 100 men in all the boats to a town that could be seen up the strait, and to another that was on the other shore.¹ They went there and the boats brought back many canoes loaded with white millet which is like rice, and also much rice. They went back once more to bring back what they had left behind and returned with another load. The General ordered to have all of this deposited in one house which he placed under the charge of the royal officials. In addition, they went on many raids and always brought back chickens, pigs, rice and other things, supplies and a few returned with good gold, porcelain, and other good things to be found ashore.

The Indians of this land came one day to make peace, about 100 of them, and the General received them well. They were saying that they wished peace, and that they would return to live next to us, that they would be good friends. The General told them that he was happy, that King Tupas—as the local king was called—should come forward, that he would made friends with him. They answered that he would come within three days, that he was away. After this, they left.

When we came into this town, we found in it a Child Jesus. It was found by a sailor named Mermeo. It was in a small and poor house. It was covered with white gauze in its small case, with its little cap on. The tip of its nose was already a little worn away and the face a little peeled off. The friars took it and carried it in procession during a holiday, from the house where it had been found to the church that had been built. While we were involved with the procession, the sentinels sent word that King Tupas

1 Ed. note: Mandaue on Cebu, and Opon on Mactan respectively. See map in Volume 1, page 302.

with up to 100 Indians were coming. They were told to let them in; they came in and were astonished to see us that way. Through the interpreter, they were told that we were celebrating the Child Jesus. After mass and the sermon were over, the General and the King went to make peace. He told them that we had come there on behalf of the King of Castile, that this land was his, that he had already sent other men here, and that they had killed them, including Magellan (and when they killed Magellan the King was much perturbed) but that everything would be forgiven on the condition that they became friends and that everyone of them would give some thing as best they could as a token of friendship. Once this was done, his orders to us was that we were to favor them in everything as best we could against their enemies, and for this reason, it was necessary for them to come and settle here below in this plain next to us, and that in the middle of both towns a square would be built, that every day there would be a trade fair to which they would bring in food supplies and other goods that they wished to bring, and that they would provide this Christian settlement with rice and pigs, for which they would be paid. If the king did so, he would be lord of the whole land, and all the Indians would obey him; if any did not wish to obey him, he was to tell us and we would punish them. If he had any enemies, we would assist them. When the General had finished his talk, he [i.e. King Tupas] answered that he wished to consult with his leading men, and that two days later he would come back with the answer. Six days passed but they did not return.

When a gentleman belonging to the General's staff went strolling outside the palisade with his arquebus and his sword, he was accosted by more than 20 Indians. They threw a lance at him and it transpierced him as he did not wear his armor; he fell down. They mauled him and cut his head off, which they took with them along with the arquebus and the sword. Because of this, the General decided to do them as much harm as possible and he ordered the Master-of-Camp to go with Captain Martín de Goiti and 100 men inland to see if they could find Tupas. They went off and at dawn came up to a town. They took over 20 Indians, men and women; among the women was a niece of Tupas, the daughter of his brother. Here the soldiers found gold and clothes.

The lady prisoner was brought to the General. He released her old maid servant who was raising her, so that she would tell Tupas how he held his niece captive, that he did not wish to harm her, that he could send for her anytime he wished, as well as for the other people he had taken. As the Indian woman got there, and repeated what she had been told, Tupas' brother then came for his daughter. He came into the fort with about 6 Indians, came toward the General and told him that, as his daughter was a captive, he too wished to be a captive of the King of Castile, that he should do with him what he wished, that he promised not go away, that he wished to become the General's friend. He told him that he appreciated very much his volunteering to become a friend, that he trusted his word that he would be a good friend, and that he could take his daughter back. She was brought out to him dressed in elegant clothes that the General had given to her. When her father saw that, he said that he did not wish to take her away; rather, he would go back to his brother to tell him to come and make friends, and that if he

did not come, he would himself kill him, that he had enough men to do it with, that he would always be a friend of the Christians, that they would see it through his deeds. He then left and left his daughter behind, not wanting to take her in spite of the offer.

[The return of the San Pedro]

At this time, the flagship was ready to leave, well supplied with bread and rice, millet, beans, chick-peas, oil, vinegar and wine for over 8 months, and 200 butts full of water. Aboard the galleon were 200 people with 10 soldiers and 2 Fathers, the Prior [Urdaneta] and Fr. Andrés de Aguirre, and the rest of the people. They left the port of Cebu on Friday, 1st of June. On this day, the General accompanied them, with the Master-of-Camp, up to one league from the fort where he anchored, on account of the low tide and the little wind. From here, the General went back, and the others who had come with him. The next day, the Master-of-Camp came aboard and said that they had remained behind to negotiate a peace treaty. So it was, because the king's brother was mediating well. As for us, we make our way to New Spain.

Document 1565R

Legazpi's voyage—Logbook of the French pilot Pierre Plin

Sources: AGI formerly 67-6-29 (from Papeles 1564-1608 brought from Simancas); transcribed by Muñoz on 7 February 1794; MN ms. 141, doc. 17, fol. 287-295; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 12; Col. de Ultramar ii, footnotes on pages 352 and 373; transcript made by Robertson is in Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer ms. 1391, Vol. 1, N° 1; cited in B&R Bibliography, p. 244.

Narrative of the voyage made from the port of Navidad to the Islands of the West [beginning] in the year 1564, on November 20th [by] General Miguel López de Legazpi.

On Monday, 20th of November 1564, I took the sun in the port of Navidad in 19° and 1/4. My meridian was just under 2 quarters [or] one half hour [of sun] one point to SW¹, I found myself 250 leagues from the diametral line passing through the Canary Islands 10 leagues west of the Island of Hierro.

Tuesday next, 21st of November. We departed from the port of Navidad to go to the Islands of the West. In accordance with the orders given to us by our Captain General, we headed SW. We were becalmed that day.

[Dates]	[Latitudes]
22 November	16° 3/4
25 November	14° 3/4
27 November	14° 1/4

¹ Ed. note: Sorry, I cannot unscramble this text in a more meaningful way. The original says: ".que davame el meridiano dos quartos y m^a de ora escasos [de sol?] a la quarta al [del?] sudeste..." This varies slightly in similar expressions below. "One point to SW" may mean "in the SW quadrant" (of his astrolabe) instead. As far as the next sentence is concerned, this was an effort to estimate his longitude. The island of Hierro is one of the Canary Islands.

28 November 13° 2/3

Tuesday, 28th of November, I took the sun in 13° and 2/3. In 24 hours, we covered 30 leagues W 1/4 SW [= W by S] and SSW. On this day we saw a great multitude of birds as if we were near land but we did not see anything. My meridian was one quarter of an hour of sun taking one point to SW.

[29 November 13° 1/3

30 November 13°]

...

Friday, 1st day of the month of December. I did not take the sun because there were many showers... This night we lost the patache **San Lucas** on account of the fault of the pilot, as the Governor had warned him [not] to separate from the flagship. The captain of the San [Lucas] was Don Alonso de Arellano.

Saturday, 2nd of December... On this day we saw a large quantity of birds...

[4 December 11° 1/3]

6 December 10° 3/4

8 December 10° 1/4

9 December 9° 2/3

11 December 9° 2/3

13 December 9° 3/4

14 December 9° 2/3

16 December 9° 3/4

18 December 9°7'

19 December 9°

20 December 9°

21 December 9°

23 December 9° 1/4

24 December 9°12'

25 December 9°8'

26 December 9°

27 December just under 9°

28 December 9° 2/3

Thursday, 28th of December. I took the sun [at noon] in 9° and 2/3. At 6 a.m., I passed the island of **Los Reyes**¹ without seeing it. I passed below it by one third of a degree because it is in 9 degrees. The night before, they [i.e. the other pilots] and the Pilot Major took star sightings in 9 degrees and 1/3. They had the heading changed to W by S in order to reduce the latitude by 1/3 degree and hit the island in 9 degrees. I told them at the proper time that they would not take the sun at noon in 9 degrees, but they did not agree...

[30 December 9°]

1 Ed. note: The Wotje of Villalobos.

31 December	9° 1/3
1 January 1565	10° 1/3
2 January	10° 1/3
3 January	10° 1/2
4 January	10° 2/3
6 January	10° 1/4
7 January	10° 1/4

Monday, 8th of January. In 18 hours, we [had] covered 26 leagues [when] at 6 a.m. the *almiranta* fired a shot as a signal that they had seen land to the SW. We ran all day to the SW, thinking we would find the land which they said they had seen at 6 a.m. We covered 4 leagues. At noon, I took the sun in 10°. Until 6 p.m., we covered 4 leagues due south, with the wind being ENE. After we had seen nothing, we changed the heading to W by N.

[Discovery of Mejit]

Tuesday, 9th of January. We saw land at 6 a.m. At noon, we were next to it. I took the sun at noon in 10°9' according to the almanach from Mexico, and according to that from Spain in 10°. During the other 18 hours we covered 23 leagues on a W by N heading. My meridian was 3 quarters of an hour of sun equivalent to one point SW.

The Governor ordered that the island be named the Island of **Los Barbudos** because the Indians are bearded. The island is about 4 leagues in circumference. We found the settlement on the western side. We tacked back and forth in order to come to an anchor. We let go the anchor with two lengths of cable but we were unable to hold because the bottom was very deep and the ground bad. The frigate went. Ashore they found Indians who had as food supplies chickens, fish, yams, coconuts, bread whose nature could not be determined.

We tacked back and forth until 10 p.m. We found the current running NW and SW. We were waiting for the frigate. Once it had come, we proceeded due west with only the foresail, the wind being NE.

[Discovery of Ailuk]

Wednesday, 10th of January. At 7 a.m., we saw an island made up of many islets. At noon, we were next to it. It is 10 leagues in length N—S, 4 leagues E—W, 3 leagues SE—NW, and 5 leagues NE—SW. The islands are made like enclosures. We did not see any population nor found a place where to drop the anchor, although we came with the bowsprit over the land.

The Governor ordered that it be named the Islands of **San Pedro** and **San Pablo**. I took the sun off the south part of the island in 10° and 1/4, according to the

almanach from Mexico, and according to that from Spain 17 minutes.¹ My meridian was 3/4 of an hour of sun which are equivalent to one point SW. In 24 hours, we covered 20 leagues due west. Having passed the island, we headed W by S.

[Discovery of Jemo]

At 6 p.m., we were next to a small island which the Governor ordered should be named the Island of **Los Pajaros** because they were many [birds]. It has a reef extending for 2 leagues to ENE. There are 9 leagues from the Island of San Pedro and San Pablo to the Island of Pajaros.² The wind was NE.

...
[11 January 10°
12 January just over 10°

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

Friday, 12th of January. I took the sun in just over 10°. At 4 p.m., we coasted from one end to another an **island** [Wotho] made up of islets. Its southern part looks like an enclosure. Its circumference is 12 leagues. In 28 hours, we covered 44 leagues due west. The Governor ordered the island to be called **Las Hermanas**. The wind was ENE.

...
13 January 10°13'
14 January 10°7'

[Discovery of Ujelang]

Sunday, 14th of January. I took the sun in 10°7'... At 6 p.m., we saw an **island** [Ujelang] which bore SSW. In 6 hours, we [had] covered 10 leagues. We lowered the topsails and the whole night we luffed with the lower sails in order to reconnoiter it in the morning. The wind was ENE.

Monday, 15th of January. We tacked back and forth on the north side of the island. We tried hard to let go the anchor but we could not do so, at the point of the island. It is a bank shaped like a box. On the same northern side [of] the point [island?], the point of the bank runs E—W for 6 leagues. It is very dangerous on top of the bank itself for the whole of these 6 leagues. There are 6 islets bearing NW—SE. This is uninhabited land. Within the hour, we steered due west.

I took the sun at noon in 9° and 2/3. I found that the northern point of the island [then] bore due east.³ In 6 hours, we had covered 7 leagues due west. The wind was E by N.

[16 January 9° 3/4]

1 Ed. note: Be that as it may, Monsieur Plin was not consistent, having been 1/3 degree too low at Mejit, and now 1/3 degree too high.

2 Ed. note: The actual distance is about 6 leagues, that is, 1/3 of a degree.

3 Ed. note: As the islet of Kalo is at 9°50', his estimate was only 10 minutes too high.

17 January	just under 10°. Heading changed to NW.
19 January	12° 1/4
20 January	just under 13°
21 January	13°

Guam stopover

Monday, 22nd of January. At 11 a.m., we saw land bearing NW 7 leagues away. In the last 23 hours, we had covered 16 leagues on a W by S heading. We steered to NW to make the island and at 6 p.m. we were near it. We then coasted it and ran all night tacking off the WSW part of the island.

Tuesday, 23rd of January. At 7 a.m., we dropped anchor in the SSW part, next to a point that runs southward. On the south side, there is also an islet [Cocos] one league offshore which has a reef that ends up at the big island; the canoes pass on top of it. The SE—NW coast has a small islet one stone's throw [from the shore]¹—nothing can pass through there—being separated by the sea, 3 leagues to the SW.² There are 4 islets inside a bay that is very good to anchor in.³ The NW—SE coast is 6 leagues in length.⁴ The other part of the island runs NE for 9 to 10 leagues, that is, the part that I was able to see.

We remained here for 11 days, occupied in exploring the land and taking on fresh supplies because it is good and populated. At this island, I took the sun's elevation ashore, by order of the Governor, in 13°2' according to the almanach from Spain, and according to the almanach from New Spain in 13°12'. At the southernmost point, I found the meridian one quarter of an hour of sun that I took in the SW quadrant. **This island is called Goan.**

Saturday, 3rd of February. At 6 a.m., we set sail to pursue our route. We covered 7 leagues due west in 12 hours. The southern part of the island bore due east. The wind was calm, NNE and NE.

Sunday, 4th of February. I took the sun in 13° and 1/3...

...
Tuesday, 13th of February. At 7 a.m., we saw the Philippines. At noon, I took the sun in 12° and 1/3, almost 1/4... At 7 p.m., we anchored in 35 fathoms among the islands in the Bay of Cibabao, sheltered from the westerly breezes. That same day marked the end of the voyage from the port of Navidad to the Island of Tandaya.

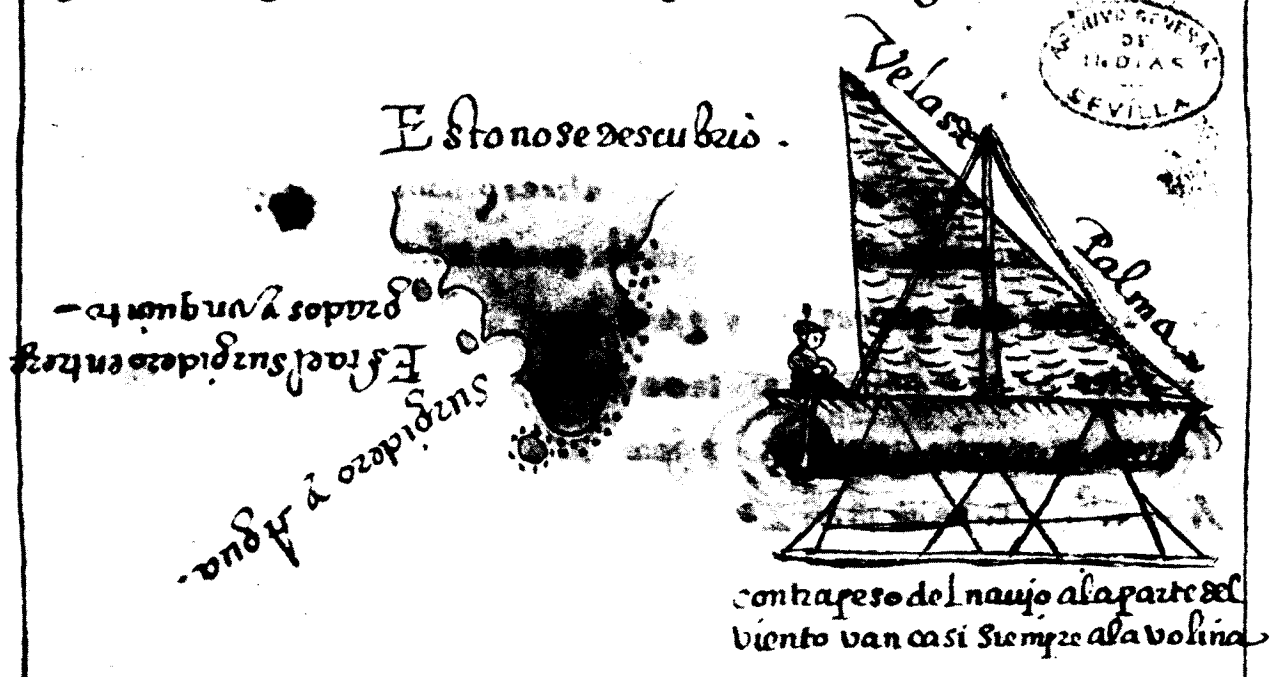
1 Ed. note: Possibly Agrigan Island in Ajayan Bay at the eastern end of Cocos Lagoon.

2 Ed. note: Probable error for SE, or NW, if linked with the words that follow. The lack of punctuation in the original text makes it difficult to properly link words to make meaningful sentences here.

3 Ed. note: A probable reference to Umatac Bay, and the rocks off Fort Santo Angel.

4 Ed. note: He means from Cocos to Facpi Point.

nor nordeste, Sur sudueste, conosaõ Se Ser esta tzia una delae
yslas quedizen de los ladrones La ysla es desta figura —



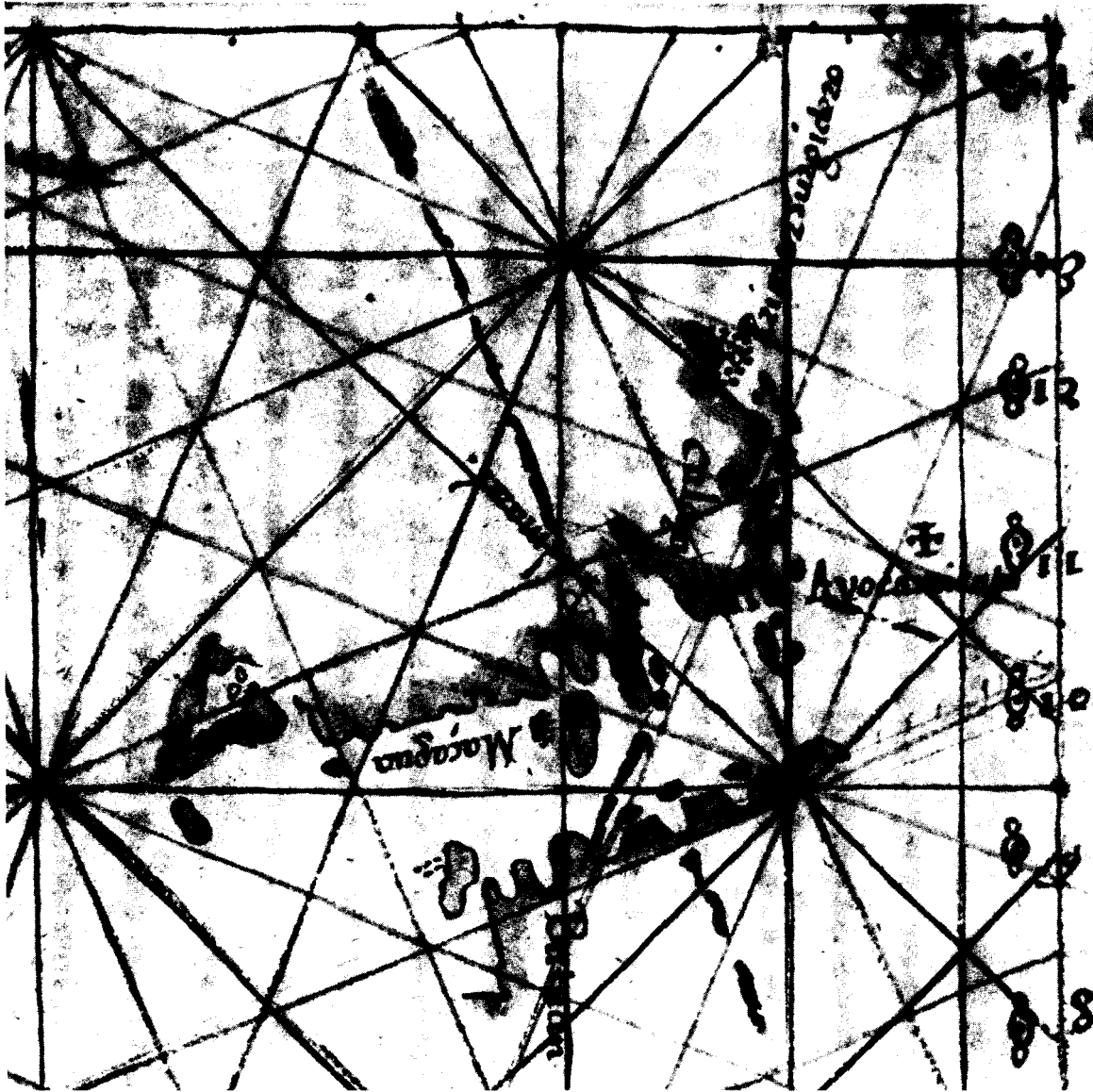
Sketch map of Guam and flying proa by pilots Martinez and Martín. *Sketches copied from the logbook of the pilots of the almiranta San Pablo. The captions are translated as follows. On top is part of a journal entry: "NNE-SSW. This island was recognized as one of those called the Ladrones. The island looks like this." Written upside down off Umatac are the following remarks: "Surgidero y agua = anchorage and water" and "This anchorage is in 13 degrees and 1/5." The flying proa bears the captions: "Sails of palm" and "Counterweight of the ship to windward, they almost always sail on the bowline ."* (From AGI, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, 2)

Document 1565S

**Legazpi's voyage—Logbook kept by
Pilots Jaime Martínez Fortún and
Diego Martín**

Sources: AGI with copy in the Navy HQ; transcribed by Muñoz on 7 February 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 13, folios 160+

[Not available at press time. Will be included in the supplementary volume]



First map of the Philippines by two of Legazpi's pilots. The pilots Jaime Martinez Fortún and Diego Martín made this sketch in their common logbook. "Primer surgidero" identifies the "first anchorage" on the east coast of Samar. "Avocamiento" refers to the "mouth" or entrance, south of Samar. "Calaya" is a mistake for Tandaya. "Palmares" is simply "palm groves". "Maçagua" is Limasawa Island. Butuan is marked on the north coast of Mindanao. On the extreme left is the east coast of Cebu Island, with Mactan and Bohol Islands off this coast. (From AGI, *Mapas y Planos, Filipinas*, 3)

Document 1565T

**Legazpi's voyage—Logbook of Rodrigo
de Espinosa**

Sources: AGI with copy in Navy HQ; transcribed by Muñoz on 8 or 9 February 1794; Col. de Navarra, t. 17, doc. 10, folios 128+

[Not available at press time. Will be included in the supplementary volume]

Documents 1565U

Legazpi—Documents regarding the provisioning of the fleet, dated May 1565

U1. Evidence gathered by the officials of the Royal Treasury of the Islands of the West (about the bad state of the supplies and equipment found in the fleet)

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1/27. Col. de Ultramar, iii, doc. 44, pp. 305-318.

At the island of Çubu [sic] in the western Philippines belonging to His Majesty on the 23rd day of the month of May of the year 1565, there appeared before the Most Illustrious Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General for His Majesty for the discovery of the Islands of the West, the officials of His Majesty and before me, Hernando de Riquel, government notary, they presented the following petition:

Most Illustrious Sir:

We, the officials of the Royal Treasury, declare that we must make an inquiry into the inadequate supply of sails, rigging, iron, pitch, tar and other very necessary things that this fleet carried, being so important for its proper provisioning and outfitting and in order to record this for His Majesty and for the gentlemen of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain.

We beg your Lordship to order this inquiry and witnesses to appear before us to be examined in line with the tenor of this petition and to this end we implore the justice of your Lordship.

(Signed) Guido de Lavezares. Andrés Cauchela. Andrés de Mirandaola.

Having been seen by his Lordship, he said that he ordered the petition be accepted and witnesses presented by the Royal officials be examined without any exception for seniority. This acceptance was remitted to me, the said notary, signed by his name, Miguel López.

Passed before me, Hernando Riquel, government notary.

And after the above-said, on this same 23rd day of May of the year 1565, the said officials of His Majesty presented as witnesses for the said inquiry Captain Juan de la Isla and Pilot Major Estéban Rodriguez and Jaime [Martinez] Fortún, pilot of the *almiranta* galleon, and Rodrigo Espinosa, who was pilot of the ship San Juan, and Martín de Ibarra, master of the flagship galleon, and Juan María, master of the *almiranta* galleon, and Francisco de Astigarribia, boatswain of the flagship galleon, and Master Pedro de Guevara, blacksmith. From them and from each one of them, I, the said notary, took and received an oath in legal form, and they did so to God and to the Holy Mary, using the sign of the Cross, after which each one of them physically raised their right hand, and under the said oath promised to tell the truth and at the end of same they made their declarations and depositions in the following form and manner, before me, Hernando Riquel, government notary.

U2. Deposition of Estéban Rodriguez

The said Estéban Rodriguez, Pilot Major, having been sworn in and asked what goes on and what he knows about the content of the above-mentioned petition, he said that what he knows is that the ships of the fleet of His Royal Majesty were despatched from the port of Navidad very much lacking necessities such as **seamen**, of which there were very few and they were inexperienced and, if it had not been for the soldiers who helped to manage the sails, this witness knows what problems they would have had with the voyage and even doubted that the ships would have reached this far. In addition, the said ships came with a lack of **pitch**, that they carried only a small amount that has already been spent on the sides of the flagship, that the other ships are without it. In addition, the ships came without any **tar**, something that is very necessary for the rigging and cables and other ship equipment, and that none of the ships remaining here at this island¹ have none of this necessary thing. This witness knows what little **iron** the said fleet carried, given that there came only about 40 quintals of it and this practically useless because much of it cannot be worked as it is so bad. In addition, the said ships came with a lack of **strapping iron** because the small amount they carried was thick and most of it for bolting. In addition, few [spare] **sails** were brought and those were useless because the supplementary [?] ones that were sent to the port of Navidad were few and were used up for sails, so that the spare sails carried were in very poor condition. The said ships came without any spare **rigging** and what they did carry was mostly untarred; most of it was used at the port of Navidad to launch the ships, so that none of it was useful as it was already broken and worn. That is why the ships are in great need of the said rigging. As for **cables**, few were brought along and some of them had been meant for caulking, for lack of tar in the port at the time the fleet was despatched. As

1 Ed. note: The flagship San Pedro was to leave to return to New Spain the following week, with this document being in the mail pouch.

for the **anchors** that the ships carried, some of them were in excess of what the ships needed and others were broken. In addition, this witness knows that there is a need in the ships for some **flags**, some chamber-type **falconets** and some heavy long-range pieces [of artillery].

In addition, they did not bring more than two **small boats**, one new and the other old, and the ships would need some. They also came with a lack of **twine** for the sails, and of **gunners** as few of those came and they were very badly experienced. For this reason, it is very necessary that some be sent. In addition, the said fleet brought too few tallow **candles** because aboard the flagship, one month after departure, there were no more tallow candles to use. In addition, the fleet lacked **food** supplies such as bacon, cheese, beans, chick-peas, and fish; there was too little of each and of not much use because it was too old, and so on with all the other food items brought by the ships of the fleet, except bread and water.

The above-said was declared to be the truth. The ships of the fleet came with all of those things missing, such things being so important and necessary to their good provisioning. This is what he knows and declares under oath, and he signed it with his name, and he said that he was 31 years old.

(Signed) Estéban Rodríguez.

Passed before me, Hernando Riquel, government notary.

1
...

U3. Letters from the Royal officials to the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, dated Cebu 28 May 1565 (enclosing a list of required supplies)

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23 & 1/24, n°24 (list to be found in 1-1-2/24); Col. Ultramar, ii, pp. 359-365 (without the list); B&R 2: 183-195, 333.

Most Powerful Sirs:

As your Highness² must have already learned through the despatch carried by Bachelor Martinez, we set sail for these Islands of the West on the 20th of November 1564. In compliance with your Highness' command, we shall relate what is happening in them with all faithfulness and diligence.

Since your Highness will find an account of the voyage made by us, in the relation given by the pilots who come with the fleet, we shall say no more about it, except by way of reference. We shall only relate the events which concern the service of God, our

1 Ed. note: There were similar, but not so encompassing, declarations made by the other witnesses, in the following order: Martín de Ibarra, Francisco de Astigarribia, Juan María, Pedro de Guevara, Jaime Martínez, Rodrigo de Espinosa, and Juan de la Isla.

2 Ed. note: Apparently addressing the President of the Audiencia in particular.

Lord, the service of His Majesty, and the increase which his royal treasury can derive from these parts.

We reached these Philippines on the 13th of February 1565. From the day of our arrival here until now we have found not one friend nor one people who submits to His Majesty. The reason for this was disclosed to us after we had sailed about in this archipelago for two months, namely, that the Portuguese who are in the Moluccas came to an island called Bohol, where we remained 37 days, and there committed the following mischief: after they had made peace with the natives and given them to understand that they came to trade with them, they called together one day as many natives as they could; and while the latter, thinking themselves safe, were trading with them, the Portuguese gave a war-signal and killed 500 people, capturing 600 more whom they took to the Moluccas as slaves. This has caused us great anxiety, because the natives, having received such cruel treatment, were so frightened that whenever they saw a sail they ran to the mountains; and, if any of them remained, it was to tell us that they desired none of our friendship. Thus from the day we arrived until now, we have suffered much hardship. We stopped at an island where Magellan's men were killed, and there the people received us somewhat peacefully; but the following day, after they had placed in safety their wives and children, they said that they did not wish to give us in exchange for our goods anything of what we had asked, namely, their provisions. As we have just said, they declared that not only they would not give us anything, but that they were willing to fight us. Thus we were forced to accept the challenge. We landed our men and disposed the artillery of the ships, which were close to the houses of the town, so that the firing of the artillery from the said ships and the arquebuses on land drove the enemy away; but we were unable to capture any of them, because they had their fleet ready for the sea.

They abandoned their houses, and we found in them nothing except an image of the child Jesus, and two culverins, one of iron and one of bronze, which can be of no service to us; it is believed that they were brought here at the time of Magellan. We rejoiced, as all Christians ought in like case; for we saw that the Lord had been pleased to place us under his protection and grant us prosperity and favor. We beseech him to guide us in his service and to preserve us in that of His Majesty.

As far as we have seen, in all the places to which we have thus far been, we think that His Majesty could turn them into great kingdoms and seigniories, if your Highness send us the supply of men, arms, ammunition, and artillery; for in our present condition we need everything, and find ourselves in the midst of many and warlike peoples who, on account of the Portuguese, have declared war against us throughout the whole of the archipelago.

The list of the things which this camp needs accompanies this letter. Your Highness will order that they be supplied with great speed and diligence, for without them we shall incur great peril, and the camp will have no means of support; but with them we shall attain what His Majesty desires.

As your Highness probably knows, we brought no stamps for the royal fifths of His Majesty, so that some articles of gold which were found in graves of these heathens have not been marked. In respect to this and all other articles which were found and delivered to us, we have done our duty. The General ordered that the persons who found anything should deposit all such articles until your Highness shall command otherwise. We beg your Highness to order that the right measures be taken in this case; also in regard to the fifths, and the procedure which must be adopted in these regions in all matters pertaining to the service of His Majesty and other duties. A general edict was published that any person obtaining gold, pearls, jewels, and precious stones, should lose all, unless they are registered in the register of His Majesty, for lack of the said stamps with which to mark the fifths. We notify the officials residing in that city [Mexico], so that in case anything should appear that is not noted in the register, they shall take the necessary steps in regard to it.

The samples of gold, cinnamon, and wax were found in a port called Butuan, where we, the treasurer, and the factor, went by order of the General to investigate a certain report which we had heard concerning things to be found in the island of Beguendanao [Mindanao]. We found the aforesaid port, and in it two Moro junks which were trading there. According to orders received, we made peace with the lord of the said port, and gave him the message and the present which the General sent him. We gave him to understand that with his pleasure we were going to trade in his land, and that we would favor and protect him in everything in the name of His Majesty. He answered us through the Moros, who acted as interpreters, that he was pleased with our offers. We learned that the Moros felt very uneasy about the embassy, and we think that they influenced the said ruler and the natives by their vile designs. We were obliged to trade with them because they gave no opportunity to the natives to trade with us. The said Moros demanded in exchange for their goods, nothing but *tostones*, and it was agreed that for each weight of gold six of silver should be given. At this rate we bartered for the samples of gold, wax, and cinnamon, which we send to His Majesty and to your Highness. The money belonged to some deceased persons, a memorandum of which we send to the officials of the royal treasury.

We beseech His Majesty, and your Highness in his royal name, that, inasmuch as the said Moros and others take all the gold, pearls, jewels, precious stones and other things of which we have no information, thus injuring the natives, both by giving us no opportunity to plant our holy faith among them, and by taking the said gold, they should, if they continue the said trade, lose their property and be made slaves, for they preach the doctrine of Mahomet. This matter, as well as the necessary supplies to be sent for our aid, your Highness will order to be looked after with great diligence; because all that we ask for in the [following] list is of great necessity in our present critical condition. May your Highness add and send whatever may seem best to you, so that we may be able to accomplish in these regions what His Majesty desires. There is great need of the Christian religion among these natives, as well as of the men and other things asked for in the list.

May our Lord keep the most powerful persons of your Highnesses, and cause you to prosper with larger kingdoms and seignories.

From Çubu 28 May 1565.

Most Powerful Sirs:

From the faithful servants of your Highnesses, who very humbly kiss your most powerful feet, with all humility.

Guido de Lavezares

Andrés Cauchela

Andrés de Mirandaola.

U4. List of the required supplies and munitions to be sent from New Spain to His Majesty's camp at the port of Çubu.

Memorandum of things—not just articles for barter, but arms and military supplies—which are necessary, to be provided immediately from New Spain in the first ships sailing from the said New Spain to these Philippine Islands; of which the following articles must be speedily furnished:

Articles

Firstly, for the fortress which is to be built:

12 pieces of heavy artillery, and among them culverins and reinforced cannon and swivel-guns.....	12
50 more bronze <i>versos</i> [small culverins], of the type brought from Spain with spare chambers.....	50
20 falconets with spare chambers.....	20
One dozen new scaling ladders.....	12
Balls for the artillery and the molds for making them.....	---
200 quintals of powder.....	200
50 quintals of fuses.....	50
200 quintals of lead.....	200
50 quintals of saltpetre.....	50
30 quintals of rock sulphur.....	30
300 arquebuses (not of the worthless supply there in Mexico); and with them some with flints, all with horn powder-flasks (large or small) together with their molds and gear, which are to be in good condition.....	300
100 corselets with their fittings.....	100
200 <i>morions</i> and helmets.....	200
50 coats-of-mail, of rather heavy mail.....	50
100 tapir hides.....	100
100 white blankets for light and serviceable body armor.....	100
300 pikes with their iron points.....	300

50 cavalry lances.....	50
50 good broadswords, of which there is a great need.....	50
12 foreign gunners, because those we brought with us are of little account.....	12
300 able-bodied soldiers who are to remain here (a third or half of them to be marines).....	300
On dozen carpenters to build the vessels which must be built here....	12
2 blacksmiths with their forges and tools.....	2
4 pairs of bellows with their tubes.....	4
12 negroes for these forges, and among them 4 sawyers.....	12
1 or 2 gunsmiths to make arquebuses and locks for them.....	2
2 other locksmiths.....	2
50 quintals of tow.....	50
1 surgeon and a physician, with their drugs; and 2 other barbers, because only 1 remains here.....	4
300 good shields.....	300
200 quintals of wrought iron plates, not as it comes from the mine....	200
30 quintals of the finest steel.....	30
100 tanned cow-hides.....	100
300 pick-axes.....	300
200 iron shovels.....	200
1 royal ropemaker, who is in Mexico.....	---
100 Venetian sail-cloths.....	100
10 quintals of sailmaker's twine.....	10
2 bales of paper.....	2
4 balances divided into three parts.....	4
6 weights for large balances.....	6
50 horn lanterns.....	50
200 fanegas ¹ of salt.....	200
200 casks of wine.....	200
100 casks of vinegar.....	100
200 casks of oil.....	200
500 arrobas ² of sugar.....	500
One dozen barrels of raisins and almonds, since by not having brought them the men have suffered great privations.....	12
10 large hogsheads of flour.....	10
Blankets for the men.....	...
Shirts in quantity.....	...
Doublets in quantity.....	...

1 Ed. note: Worth 1.5 U.S. bushel, or 55-56 litres.

2 Ed. note: One arroba is equal to 1/4 quintal, or to 12 litres or 25 pounds.

Breeches of woolen cloth and linen in quantity.....	---
Hempen sandals in quantity.....	---
Cowhide shoes in quantity.....	---
Hats.....	---
All in quantity for military supplies.	
For barter, the following:	
2 bolts of Valencian scarlet cloth, with odds and ends.....	2
Item, 7 bolts of Toledo scarlet cloth.....	7
6 cases of headdresses.....	6
A great quantity of beads, blue, green, and yellow; 10 strings of each color.....	30
2 pieces of crimson velvet.....	2
3 dozen colored hats.....	36
1 case of large gilded coins for [use on] the coast of China.....	1
2 bales and 2 boxes of linens.....	4
2 quintals of <i>Muzavetas</i> [muslins?].....	2
4 pounds of fine coral of all sorts.....	4
3 quintals of glass (1 blue).....	3
1 thousand bundles of glass beads, green and yellow.....	1,000
500 dozen hawks' bells.....	500
Coins and small bars of fine silver for trade with China.....	---
6 large caldrons for pitch.....	6
2 large caldrons, such as are used for bucking linen; but they must be large and very strong, because they are to be used in making saltpetre	2
1 thousand sail needles.....	1,000
200 hogsheads with hoops of iron.....	200
2 saddles with long stirrups, with colored velvet trimmings, and all rivets, bits, and stirrup-irons to be gilded.....	2
2 cavalry saddles with colored trimmings, all to be of good quality....	2
6 gilt swords with daggers of good quality which are for the lords of the coast of China and for those in the islands of Japan.....	6

All of the aforesaid goods should be sent as soon as possible, on the first ships that sail, for all these things are very necessary, that we may maintain ourselves in these parts.

List of articles needed by the said fleet for the galleys which are to be built here for His Majesty. The list is as follows:

Firstly, 4 hawsers of 120 fathoms each, [weighing] 5 quintals each	20 quintals
2 large cables of 80 fathoms each, each weighing 6 quintals.....	12 quintals
6 hawsers of 130 fathoms each, each weighing 3 quintals.....	18 quintals
2 more large cables, of 120 fathoms each, each weighing 10 q.	20 quintals
Item, common sails for rigging.....	30 quintals

We need 100 quintals of cordage of all sorts.....	100 quintals
2 grapnels, each weighing 4 quintals.....	8 quintals
4 anchors, each weighing 5 quintals.....	20 quintals
6 grapnels, each weighing 3 quintals; 5 or 6 more weighing 5 or 6 arrobas each.....	33 [sic] arrobas
4 grapnels of 3 arrobas each.....	12 arrobas
12 French saws.....	12
4 frame saws.....	4
6 hand-saws.....	6
2 grindstones.....	2
500 pieces of canvas from Tehuantepec for sails.....	500
100 quintals of tar.....	100
50 quintals of pitch.....	50
For <i>sallotes</i> ropes which are necessary, 4 pieces of 150 fathoms each, each weighing 3 quintals.....	12 quintals
4 hawsers of 100 fathoms each, each weighing 4 quintals.....	16 [quintals]
2 workmen, oar makers, to make oars from the local wood.....	2
200 pulleys; with both eyes and sheaves.....	200
100 quintals of grease.....	100 [quintals]
200 sheep-skins with the wool on ¹	200
All this cordage to be agave and hemp.....	---
Also 2 anvils of 2 arrobas each.....	2
Also 2 small ones from 6 to 7 pounds.....	2
1 anvil.....	1
2 screws for filing [boring?].....	2
A half-dozen boys for iron working.....	6
3 or 4 bellows-pipes for forges.....	4
100 heavy coats-of-mail.....	100
The powder and fuse which have been asked for.....	---
Likewise 3 or 4 pairs more of bellows are asked for.....	---
12 more negroes.....	12
200 more iron axes shod in Mexico.....	200
200 mattocks.....	200
100 more pieces of Tehuantepec and Venetian canvas.....	100
1 pair of large fishing-nets which may come in the hogsheads mentioned above.....	2
Ear-rings, glassware, and fine coral.....	---
The coins and bars of silver, just as they have been asked for.....	---
The pitch caldrons, because those that were made in Mexico were worthless	---
1 dozen caldrons with 3 compartments.....	12

¹ Ed. note: They were used at the end of sticks to spread the pitch and grease.

4 syringes, and the cupping glasses and the lancets which are likewise ordered.....	---
Sail-needles with large holes.....	---
Workmen who understand ship-building.....	---
6 cables for the flagship, or 14 or 16 quintals each.....	---
The steel that is asked for ¹	---

[Endorsement]: "List of articles which are required for His Majesty's camp situated in the port of Çubu of the West."

1 Certain shapes and sizes of steel spikes are specified, with drawings to illustrate in quantities of 5, 6, 40, and 50 thousands respectively.

Documents 1565V

Legazpi—First batch of letters sent from Cebu, in 1565

V1. Letter from Legazpi to King Philip II of Spain, dated Cebu 27 May 1565.

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23 (2 copies) with another copy in Navy HQ; transcribed by Muñoz on 10 April 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 14; Col. Ultramar, ii, doc. 30, pp. 357-359; has been translated in B&R 2:174-176, 332, and reproduced in FBG 8:76-77. My own translation follows.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

From the Port of Navidad, which is in New Spain, I gave an account to Y.M. of my departure with your Royal fleet for the discovery of the Islands of the West. Continuing my voyage until the 13th of February of this present year, I arrived at one of the Philippine Islands. Afterward, I cruised among other islands of this archipelago until I reached this island of Zubu, whence I despatched a galleon to New Spain to discover the return route and to give an account to Y.M. of the incidents of the voyage up to the departure of this galleon, the narrative of which is annexed to this letter¹, as well as certain other information regarding: the change of mood among the natives respecting the friendship and goodwill that they used to have toward the vassals of Y.M. and the cause thereof; the possessions that have been taken in the name of Y.M.; and the logbooks of the pilots of this fleet.

I beg Y.M. to have these examined and provide what is best for the service. I myself remain at the settlement made in this island of Zubu, until I see what Y.M. will send me as orders on what to do, albeit with few people. That is why I have requested assistance with more people and ammunition from the Royal Audiencia in order to be able to sustain myself until such time as Y.M. sees the reports and the testimony regarding the things that the officials of your Royal Treasury residing here have requested and the general and individual accounts of those who remain here, and until Y.M. has ordered what is most suitable for his royal service. Since this enterprise is so great and of

¹ Ed. note: See next chapter, Doc. 1565W.

such great importance in things spiritual and temporal, and has been carried out so well and in such a timely manner, I humbly beg Y.M. to order that it be especially taken into account by ordering that succor and the requested supplies be sent, that it be placed in charge of someone who will take every care and diligence in putting it into effect, for I trust in God, our Lord, that, from such a great beginning, many good things will occur in the service of God, our Lord, and that of Y.M., with an increase in the Royal income and the universal good of his kingdoms and dominions. I beg Y.M. that, yielding to the usual greatness with which he always uses toward his servants involved in businesses of great importance, will be pleased to order that the official letters that accompany this one be perused and that you will grant me the favor that seems most suitable to Y.M., whose Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty may our Lord save with an increase in his kingdoms and dominions for many more happy years.

From Zubu, 27 May 1565.

From Y.S.R.M.'s faithful servant, who kisses the royal feet of Y.M.,
Miguel López de Legazpi.

V2. Letter from Legazpi to the Duke of Alba, dated Cebu 27 May 1565.

Source: B&R 53:243; Archivo de la Casa de Alba. Begins: "Escellmo. S.: Por mandado de Su Magestad..." and ends with "esperamos recibir toda merced" with closing, date, and signature. Published in "Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la casa de Alba" (Madrid, 1891), pp. 75-77.

Robertson says that it contains a slight description of the newly-discovered islands and their inhabitants, and the settlement on Cebu.

V3. Letter from the Royal officials to the King, dated Cebu 29 May 1565.

Sources: Col. de Indias 13:527-528; B&R 2:176-178, 333 & FBG 8:78-79.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

Because General Miguel López de Legazpi is giving Y.M. a full account of events throughout these districts, therefore we shall say only that we remain in the royal service of Y.M. in these Philippines—in that part where the men of Magellan were killed, called the island of Çubu—under the protection of God, our Lord, and awaiting that of Y.M.; and we remain here with very great necessity.

We beg Y.M. to provide us aid with the despatch and diligence fitting, in order that Y.M.'s purpose to introduce the Christian religion into these districts, and to reduce these people, neglected for so many years, and who are in dire need of receiving the fruits of our holy Catholic faith, may be attained. We are of stout heart because of the many favors that our Lord has been pleased to bestow upon us so far; and for the future we trust that he will keep us in his holy service, and protect us in that of Y.M.

The ship acting as flagship on the voyage over from New Spain is about to return to discover the return route to Y.M.'s kingdoms. The Venerable Father Andrés de

Urdaneta is aboard. To him we refer in everything that has happened here, and we charge him with the responsibility of reporting on the events in these districts, as one who has so well understood everything that has happened hereabout. Father Fray Diego de Herrera, Fray Martín de Herrada [i.e. Rada] and Fray Pedro de Gamboa, religious from whom we receive every good instruction and advice, remain here.

We beg Y.M., with all humility, to exercise the accustomed favor to Y.M.'s faithful servants and vassals, in consideration of the faithfulness, fidelity, and alacrity with which we have ever served Y.M. What is offered for your consideration by us and by this entire camp, as your servants, we make known to Y.M., which things Y.M. will be pleased to provide.

On behalf of Y.M., we have had and still have, as protector and head of government, Miguel López de Legazpi, one for whom we give thanks to our Lord, who has been pleased to provide us such a major protector, and one who with such a great desire watches over the service of Y.M.—whose Sacred Catholic Royal person may our Lord keep, with an increase in great kingdoms and dominions; such is the wish of the servants of Y.M.

From the island of Çubu, 29 May 1565.

[To] Y.S.C.M.

From the faithful servants of Y.S.C.M. who kiss the royal feet of Y.M. with all humility,

(Signed)¹

Mateo del Saz, Fray Diego de Herrera, Fray Martín de Rada, Fray Pedro de Gamboa,

Martín de Goiti,

Guido de Lavezaris, Andrés Cauchela, Andrés de Mirandaola,

Andrés de Ibarra,

Juan Maldonado de Berrocal², Luis de la Haya,

Juan de la Isla,

Gabriel de Ribera.

V4. Second letter from the Royal officials to the King, dated Cebu 1 June 1565.

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-1-1/23 & 1/24 and also Doc. esc., 1-Nº 61; Col. Indias 13:529-531; B&R 2:178-182, 333 & FBG 8:80-81.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

By the previous letter we signify and tell Y.M., with all humility, that we will always feel the need for receiving succor which Y.M. will be pleased to send soon, given that

¹ Ed. note: See facsimile of their signatures reproduced herein.

² Ed. note: Not listed anywhere previously. He was an artillery captain.

y Para todo lo dho y con sueldo y Angaros dho. En Dama conde en la Comandante.
 De V. Mag. Sr. Fr. X. de los Rios. de nosla az ex lntdo. como Alotales ficles. viados y basfa
 llas. Acordumbia. V. Mag. guarde mo. cencia la. S. C. Real pex sonade V. mag.
 y Acordante en grandes Reynos y senorios como pex nos ficles viados y basfallos
 De V. Mag. Sr. Fr. X. de los Rios. de la ysla de Cuba. primero de Junio M. D. CC. V. Años.

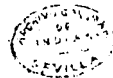
S . C . M.

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ficles viados. y Basfallos. y los Reales pex de V. Mag.

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Elaborado en 1955



M. J. de los Rios
 de los Rios

we are in such a need of it in order to proceed. We wish it to be so for the service of God, our Lord, and that of Y.M.

The great service which the Venerable Father Fray Andrés de **Urdaneta** has rendered to God, our Lord, and to Y.M. is worthy of great merit and increased favor, for having enlightened us in all things, spiritual as well as temporal, during this voyage, and no-one else was available aboard the fleet to give us advice except him.

For this reason, with all humility, we, the faithful servants of Y.M., as ministers at this camp, and generally all the other vassals of Y.M., beg and ask Y.M., given his great service and merit that, as soon as he will have given Y.M. an account of all the events that occurred up to now in these regions, he be ordered and compelled to return to proceed with this business which is so important for the service of God, our Lord, and that of Y.M.¹, inasmuch as it would be proper in the future to have someone like him who is so well versed in everything that is going on in these regions, and so that he may do the desired good for Y.M. in everything. This we hope to achieve with all confidence and alacrity, through divine favor and the protection of Y.M. so that we beg Y.M. to grant and assist us with his person, as he is very necessary to us and he would do much good in things spiritual and temporal.

For all the reasons given above and for our consolation and support, we remain convinced that Y.M. will be pleased to favor us as he is accustomed to do with his faithful servants and vassals. May our Lord save the S. C. Royal person of Y.M. with an increase in great kingdoms and dominions, as we wish.

From the island of Çubu, 1st of June 1565.

S.C.M.

From the faithful servants and vassals of your S.C.M. who kiss the royal feet of Y.M., with all humility,

Miguel López de Legazpi,

Mateo del Saz, Martín de Goiti, etc.

V5. Letter from Andrés de Mirandaola to the King, dated Cebu 28 May 1565.

Sources: AGI 67-6-34 (& maybe also in 67-6-29); Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 15; Col. Ultramar, ii, doc. 32, pp. 365-372; summarized in B&R 2:123-124; translated in B&R 34:200-206 and in FBG 8:85-89.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

... Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain—may he rest in peace—appointed me to the post of factor and inspector of your Royal Treasury, on behalf of Y.M., in consideration of the perpetual obligation that I have of serving Y.M. whose Sacred Catholic Royal person I beg our Lord to favor with an increase in kingdoms and dominions.

¹ Ed. note: Luckily for his advanced age, Urdaneta was not ordered back to the Philippines.

This fleet arrived at these Philippine islands on 13 February 1565. I will relate what has been seen in them so far, with the fidelity, faithfulness, and willingness which is always to be found in me, with all possible diligence.¹

... Inasmuch as the ship which is being despatched for the discovery of the return route is ready to sail, I cannot inform Y.M. of the conditions that are being resolved upon, for conclusions have not yet been reached. Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, my uncle, is going back, and he is to serve Y.M. in this discovery; he is accompanied by Fr. Andrés de Aguirre. Felipe de Salcedo is in command, and Juan de Aguirre—persons who we believe will serve Y.M. with complete loyalty, fidelity and happiness.

I beg Y.M. to have us provided with the religious and secular priests that are needed for the preaching of the holy Gospel to these natives, in consideration of its great service to God, our Lord, and to Y.M. ... I beg Y.M. with all humility to please confirm the appointment that was given me on behalf of Y.M. by Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy and Governor of New Spain—may he rest in peace—and to let me have it. Y.M. would do a great service to God, our Lord, and a blessing and a just favor to me by ordering that my salary be increased to 3,000 ducats in good money², given that the local cost of living is high with regard to everything that is needed for sustenance.

God, our Lord, save the S.C.R. person of Y.M. with an increase in great kingdoms and dominions, as I, the faithful servant of Y.M. so wish.

From the island of Zubu, [28 May] 1565.

From the faithful servant of your S.C.M. who kisses the Royal feet of Y.M. with all humility,

Andrés de Mirandaola.

V6. Letter from Guido de Lavezaris to the King, dated Cebu 30 May 1565.

Sources: AGI 67-6-34 (Simancas, Secular, Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes vistos en el Consejo, años de 1565 a 1594); translated in B&R 34: 195-199 & FBG 8:82-84.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

Inasmuch as when Don Antonio de Mendoza, your Viceroy of New Spain, went to Peru, he ordered me to go to these kingdoms of Spain, in order to inform Y.M. about the affairs touching this western region, I being one who understood them and had had experience in them, and had come to these districts as your accountant in the fleet under command of Ruy López de Villalobos, I went to those kingdoms in order to kiss the feet of Y.M., and gave the most detailed account and information possible concerning the islands and provinces of these districts, the character and number of the people, their trade, means of gain, and mode [of living]. Your Majesty ordered that the fleet for

1 Ed. note: He goes on to repeat what has been reported by the others about the events in the Philippines. He adds nothing new to our knowledge of the Pacific crossing.

2 Ed. note: Meaning in ducats worth 375 Maravedis each.

the expedition be equipped immediately; that ships be built and the necessary things prepared for it in the sea west of New Spain. I busied myself in that work and despatch from the time of my return; also as soon as I returned to New Spain, I went, by order of your Viceroy of that country, Don Luis de Velasco, to explore the coast and ports of Florida where I had to go afterward when the fleet sailed of which Don Tristan de Arellano was commander. After my return from that expedition, I continued in the despatch and equipment of this fleet, in which I occupied myself most steadily. When it was quite ready for the sea, I embarked in it as your treasurer.

When I was in Spain, Y.M. assigned me four hundred *pesos de minas* payable in acquittances in New Spain. But they have been poorly collected, and there are none from which I can be paid. I humbly beseech Y.M. to have me paid from the royal treasury for the support of my wife and family whom I left in Mexico. Besides this, as is well known to Y.M., when I left India, I brought pepper and carried away ginger from India at a very great risk, because of the ordinances and penalties passed and imposed by the most serene King of Portugal, which are executed without remission upon transgressors. The pepper was lost, but there is a great quantity of the ginger in your New Spain today, all of which has come from the roots which I took there with the purpose and design that your kingdoms might enjoy so many profits and a common usufruct. I communicated in regard to it with Don Francisco de Mendoza, asking him to treat with Y.M., so that some favor might be shown me from the profits that would result from the ginger. Don Francisco negotiated it for himself and not for me as he had agreed. Consequently, he obtained the reward for my services without having performed any work or labor on his own part, while order was given to give me three hundred pesos de minas of acquittances with the injunction that they be conferred. I wrote Y.M. in regard to the matter, and although I intended to go to ask for justice from Y.M., as from a most just prince, after the despatch of the fleet, in whose preparation I had been occupied, I did not go, because I thought that if I failed to sail in the fleet, I would not be performing my duty to your royal service; and that since I was one who knew the land and the season in which to return for the discovery of the return passage, and that success might be had now in that in which so many fleets have not been able to succeed, it was important for me to come. Therefore, on account of coming (as I did), I did not go to Spain, being confident in the liberality and grandeur of Y.M., and that if I petitioned you from here, you would show me justice and thorough favor. Also [I did this] because it is well for me to end my life in the service of Y.M., since most of my life has been spent in serving you. With that motive, I embarked, and we set sail from the port of Navidad.

After a 64-day voyage we made the Philippines. While some masts were being prepared in the island of Bohol for the fleet, your General sent me to the province behind the island [i.e. Mindanao] to attend to other things. There I traded for the samples of gold, wax, and cinnamon which are being sent to Y.M. with the greatest care possible. I returned to Bohol, where the fleet was stationed, and where, at the last resolution taken, it was determined that the fleet should come to this island of Cebu, because of

the information that we heard of it, and for other reasons. We arrived here on the 27th of April of this year '64 [error for '65]. We are located in the best center of the country although there is no other advantage in this island than that it is well settled, and consequently we can maintain ourselves until Y.M. have us informed of what is best for your royal service and that we should support ourselves. We are stationed here at the gateway of great kingdoms and the Moluccas are very near, where our holy faith will be exalted and your royal patrimony increased, as it is naturally proper. I am busying myself and shall continue to busy myself in your royal service, and there will be no lack of service. Will Y.M. aid us with the wherewithal, so that trade may be maintained and introduced among many of these nations. It is a fact that entrance must be made in your royal name, and by force of arms. We are not well equipped, and consequently, it is necessary that the aid that we are now sending to ask from New Spain be sent with promptness.

In the matter of the ginger it is already clear to Y.M. that I brought it and that Don Francisco did not deal in my favor as he ought to have done, and that I was notably injured in this, and that the three hundred pesos de minas in acquittances have not been collected because of the difficulty in doing so. I beg Y.M. that I be given warrants on the treasury reserving the right of the rest that makes for my justice in this matter, until it is pleaded in my name and until amends may be made to me; since before nor since no one else has done such a service in which there is an annual sum of more than fifty thousand ducats involved (or rather more than one hundred and fifty thousand). In that I will receive grace and justice.

May our Lord happily favor Y.S.C.M. with the increase of life and greater kingdoms that is desired by your servants.

Cebu, 30 May 1565.

Your Royal Catholic Majesty's faithful servant, who humbly kisses your royal feet and hands.

Guido de Lavezaris.

V7. Letter from Mateo del Sanz to the King, dated Cebu 31 May 1565.

Source: AGI 67-1-34; see note B&R 53:246: Begins with "S.C.R.M.—Despues de averse concludido..." and ends with "a mi costa y estoy adeudado" with closing, etc.

The writer states his services in various parts of the Indies, east and west, and recounts briefly the founding of the new Spanish settlement at Cebu, the treachery of the Portuguese, the hostility of the natives, and the needs for reinforcements.

Document 1565W

Legazpi's narrative of his voyage, dated 27 May 1565

Sources: Manuscript in MN Madrid, formerly MBU 170-20-3, caja n° 22; copy in Chicago, Ayer ms. 1391, Vol. XXII, doc. 6; translated in B&R 2:196-216, 333-334 & reproduced in FBG 8:90-103.*

Illustrious Sir:¹

I wrote to your Excellency from Puerto de la Navidad giving as full all account as possible up to that port. Now I shall do the same, for I consider it a debt justly due, and I shall always consider it so whenever the opportunity presents itself. I am enjoying good health, thanks be to our Lord; and the same can be said of the whole camp, a thing which ought not to be looked upon as of little importance. May our Lord grant to your Excellency the good health that I wish.

On Tuesday, November 21, three hours before dawn, I set sail with the fleet that was at the port of Navidad. For five days the fleet sailed south-west, but on the sixth we directed our course westward² until we reached 9 degrees. We sailed on in this latitude in search of the island of **Los Reyes** [of Villalobos], in order that we might go from that point to the Philippines. A week after we had taken this course, we awoke one morning and missed the patache **San Lucas**, with Captain Don Alonso de Arellano in command. There had been no stormy weather to make it lose sight of us; nor could it have been Don Alonso's fault, for he was a gallant man, as he showed. It is believed that it was due to the malice or intent of the pilot. And as he had already been informed about the expedition that we were making, and the course we were to sail, and as he was fully instructed what he must do in case he should lose sight of us (as actually happened), and whither he must proceed to await us, we expected all the time that we would find the vessel in some of these islands. But up to this time we have heard nothing of it, which gives me not a little uneasiness. After the fleet had sailed for fifty days in the same course

1 Ed. note: The addressee is not known but he was probably the President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, who had taken over from Viceroy Velasco, as Legazpi himself alludes in the closing paragraphs. He may have been the Visitor Valderrama.

2 Ed. note: It was W 1/4 SW, i.e. W by S, according to the pilots.

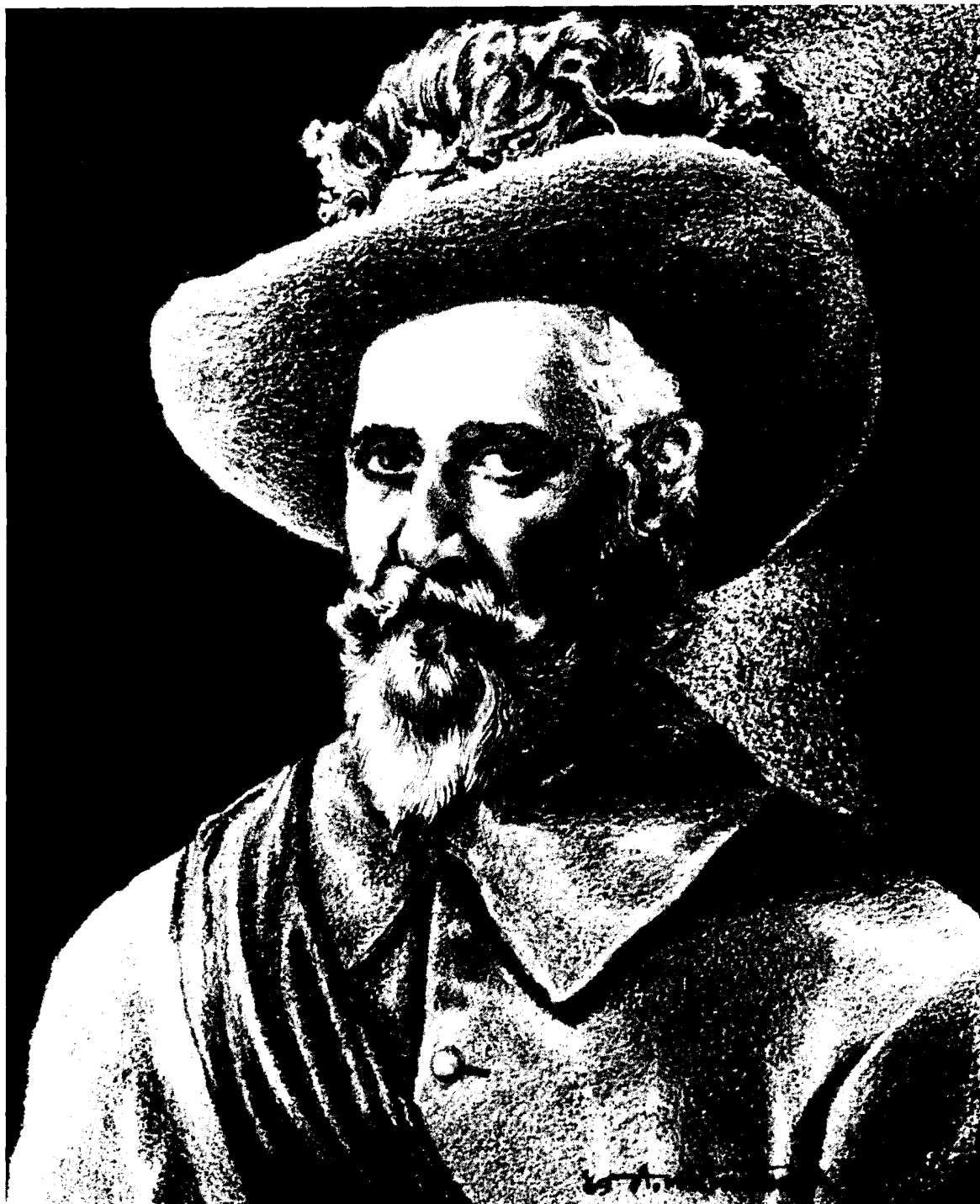
between 9 and 10 degrees, a degree more or less, we reached land which proved to be an **island** [Mejit] inhabited by poor naked fishermen. This island was about 4 leagues in circumference, and had a population of about 200 men. That same day we sailed between two other small **islands** [Ailuk and Jemo], which were uninhabited and surrounded by many reefs, which proved very troublesome to us for five or six days. At the end of that time we decided that the fleet should continue its course along the 13th degree of latitude, so that we might make a better landfall in the Philippines than the pilots had previously found, and should not strike Vindanao.

[Arrival at Guam]

We continued our course on this latitude, and on Monday, 21 January, we came in sight of **land**, which afterward proved to be one of the Ladrone Islands, called **Gua**. We steered for that island, but we were no more than two leagues from it when 50 or 60 proas under sail surrounded the fleet. These proas were rigged with lateen sails of palm mats and are as light as the wind; this is a kind of boat that sails with remarkable speed, either with the wind or at random. In each canoe were from 6 to 8 Indians, altogether naked, covering not even the privy parts, which men are wont to cover. They laughed aloud, and each of them made signs inviting us to his own town (for they were from different villages) and promising to give us food there. At nightfall we coasted the island and the next morning we cast anchor in a very good port [Umatac]. The day had scarcely begun when a great number of those proas appeared about us. There were so many of them, who came to trade with us, that some of our men who counted them affirm that there were more than four or five hundred of them around the ships. All that they had to sell us were articles of food, namely, potatoes, rice, yams, coconuts, sugarcane, excellent bananas, and several other kinds of fruit. They also brought ginger, which grows on this island in such a great quantity that it is a thing to wonder about; and they do not till nor cultivate it, but it comes up and grows of itself in the open fields, just as any other herb.¹

The natives shouted at us, each one inviting us to buy from him. The men of the fleet began to give them the face-cards from old playing cards, and to put bits of woollen cloth and other objects around their necks and on their heads. The Indians seeing this asked for these articles, and adorned themselves therewith as they had seen our men do. In these transactions many ridiculous things happened, and many jests were played. Afterward our men began to give them nails, which the Indians liked so much that they desired nothing else after that. They would smell them before taking them. For each

1 Ed. note: In October 1568, when Legazpi was negotiating with the captain of a Portuguese ship, he said the following about his stopover at Guam: "[In 1565] it was agreed by all that we should sail through there [the Ladrone], as was done; and the 600 craft which we said came alongside the ship[s] came to beg and not to give. For, in all the 10 days of our stay there, we could not buy 10 fanegas of rice; and if they brought anything it was coconuts, bananas, tamales, and other articles of the fruit kind, of very unsubstantial and ordinary quality. This will prove to be the truth, rather than what is said in opposition thereto." (B&R 2:279)



Pencil sketch of Legazpi by Amorsolo Tuason. *It is based on a painting that used to be in the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid.*

nail they gave measures of rice containing about half a fanega, more or less. After the rice was drawn up into the boat by means of a rope, because the Indians would not trade outside of their canoes, and the packages were opened, it was found that only the top layer was rice and the rest straw and stones. The Indian who had practiced this jest would clap his hand in glee, and laugh long and loud, and go from that vessel to another, to play the same trick. Then again they would take the nails, and take flight without giving anything in return. These and many other deceptions were practiced by them. They are such great thieves that they even tried to pull out the nails from our ships.

They are better proportioned than the Spaniards. Often they attain the great strength fitting to their statures. One of them went behind one of our soldiers and snatched away the arquebus from his shoulder. When good opportunity offered, they discharged their weapons on those who were taking on water. Notwithstanding that some of the natives ashore were shot down, the others did not discontinue trading with our ships; but rather those at the ships, after they had sold their goods went ashore in their canoes, and there with their hardened sticks, stones, and slings (which comprise their weapons, and which they manage very skilfully) they took the place of those who were fighting, and those who were fighting embarked in the canoes, and came also to the ships to trade. All this seems to be the proceeding of savages, as these people really are, for they have only the form of men. They have no laws nor chiefs whom they obey; and therefore every one goes wherever he wishes. They eat no meat. A soldier who went ashore received a wound in the hand. The wound was apparently small; and indeed it was through negligence on the part of the wounded man himself that he died within two weeks.

One day, after a slight engagement between my men and the natives, we got ready at sunset to leave the shore, without noticing the absence of a young deck hand who, either through carelessness, or because he had not heard the call to assemble, must have advanced too far into the bush. As our small boats reached the ships, the Indians, who had not lost sight of us during the hour while we remained there, came out on the shore. As the boy came down from the bush to the shore, the Indians, when they saw him, fell upon him and in a moment with great cruelty tore him to pieces, giving him at least thirty lance thrusts through the body. When the men of our ship saw the Indians discharging blows, and discovered that they did not have the boy with them, they returned to shore with great fury; but at their arrival the natives had already fled up a hill. They found the boy as I have said above; and I charged the Master-of-camp to punish the natives for this act. At midnight he went ashore, and marched inland, but meeting no Indians, he arranged his men for an ambush ashore, in which he killed a few of them and wounded many others. Our men burned many houses all along the coast. The town inland on this island is large and thickly populated, and abounds in all things which are raised on the island. There our men found about two pounds of very good sulphur, and

took one of the natives alive, who was brought to the ship, and whom I am sending to that New Spain.¹ This island is called **Ladrones** which according to the disposition of the inhabitants, is the most appropriate name that could have been given it. Eleven days after reaching this island, we set sail following our course in the aforesaid latitude.²

[Arrival at the Philippines]

After sailing eleven days more with good weather, we finally came in sight of the Philippines, where we finished our voyage. According to the experiments and opinions of the pilots, we covered more than 2,000 leagues from the Port of Navidad to this island, although I have heard that they were deceived as to the distance. On the afternoon of the same day in which we came to this land, we cast anchor in a beautiful bay, called **Cibabao**³, and there we remained 7 or 8 days. Meanwhile we sent two boats, one south and the other north (for this island is laid out north and south) to see whether they could find some good port or river. One of them returned minus a gentleman of my company, called Francisco Gomez, and with the report that for ten leagues north, they had found neither port nor river. The gentleman was killed by some Indians, after he disembarked to make blood-friendship with them, a ceremony that is considered inviolable. This is observed in this manner: one from each party must draw two or three drops of blood from his arm or breast and mix them in the same cup with water or wine. Then the mixture must be divided equally between two cups, and neither person may depart until both cups are alike drained. While this man was about to bleed himself, one of the natives pierced his breast from one side with a lance.

The weapons generally used throughout the Philippines are cutlasses and daggers; lances with iron points, one and one-half palms in length; *lenguados*⁴, enclosed in cloth sheaths, and a few bows and arrows. Whenever the natives leave their houses, even if it be only to go to the house of a neighbor, they carry these weapons; for they are always on the alert, and are mistrustful of one another.

While we were in this bay, Indians and chiefs came in several boats, displaying prominently a white flag at the bow of one of them. Another flag was raised on the stern of the flagship as a sign that they could approach. These people wear clothes, but they go barefoot. Their dress is made of cotton or of a kind of grass resembling raw silk.⁵ We spoke to them and asked them for food. They are a crafty and treacherous race, and understand everything. The best present which they gave me was a sucking pig, and a cheese of which, unless a miracle accompanied it, it was impossible for all in the fleet

1 Ed. note: This Chamorro became the first Guamanian to cross the Pacific. Father Urdaneta was to report later (See Doc. 1565AC1) that he unfortunately did not survive the crossing.

2 Ed. note: For the act of possession of the Ladrones, see Doc. 1565Z2 below.

3 Ed. note: According to the pilots, they hit Samar above 12°, anchored among the islands offshore, one of which is still called Tubabao, but this was misunderstood as Cibabao, name eventually applied to the whole eastern coast of Samar by the early colonists.

4 A short dagger with a broad blade.

5 Ed. note: Probably made of pineapple fiber or *husi*.

to partake. On the occasion of the death of the gentleman whom they killed, the natives scattered themselves through the island. They are naturally of a cowardly disposition, and distrustful, and if one has treated them ill, they will never come back. They possess, in common with all these islands, pigs, goats, hens of Castile, rice, millet, and in addition a great variety of excellent fruit. The people wear gold earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. Wherever we went we found a great display of these articles. Although people say that there are many mines and much pure gold, yet the natives do not extract it until the very day they need it; and, even then, they take only the amount necessary for their use, thus making the earth their purse.

Leaving this bay, we sailed south until we reached the end of the island, where the land turns west. Just south of this island are other islands between which and this island there is a straight channel running west. The fleet passed through this channel, and on the second day from our departure from Cibabao, after having sailed nearly 30 leagues, we reached a port of **Tandaya** [Samar] Island.

In this port a small river empties itself into the sea through an estuary. Some of our boats sailed up this river and anchored at the town of Cangiungo.¹ The natives received them neither with peace nor war; but they gave our men food and drink. When they were about to eat, an Indian came to them, who spoke a few words in the Castilian tongue, saying "Comamos" ["let us eat"], "bebamos" ["let us drink"], and answering "Sí" ["yes"], when questioned by Antón Bautista, "Billalobos [Villalobos]" and "Captain Calabaza." It seems as if he had traded with the people of the fleet of Villalobos, according to what we gathered from him. And because he said this, this native vexed the ruler of the village, and never came back. The next day I wished to go to the same village, and found the natives hostile. They made signs that we should not disembark, pulled grass, struck trees with their cutlasses, and threateningly mocked us. Seeing that in this case cajolery could not suffice, we withdrew in order not to disturb them; but as we departed, they began to shower sticks and stones after us and I was obliged to order the soldiers to fire their arquebuses at them; and they never appeared again. This town has a population of 20 or 30 Indians.

On arriving at that port, I despatched Captain de Goiti with a boat and a frigate, well supplied with men and provisions, to discover some port along the coast. On the way he was to examine thoroughly the town of Tandaya, which was not very far from where we were, and other towns of the island of **Abbuyo** [Leyte]. Deceived by the appearance of the coast, he sailed on past the coast for 15 leagues, without seeing anything. Finally he reached a large bay on which was situated a large town² containing many families; the people had many pigs and hens, with abundance of rice and potatoes. He returned to the fleet with this news, which gave us not a little content, for all were longing for land products. The fleet left this port, and in the afternoon of the next

1 Ed. note: Recognizable as Balangiga (then and now), from the name of its chief, given in the other, anonymous, account, Doc. 1565X.

2 Ed. note: This was Cabalian, in Cabalian Bay, in the SE corner of Leyte; see below.

day we reached the above-mentioned bay, where we anchored in front of the large town of Cavalian. One thing is specially worth noting—namely, that wherever we went, the people entertained us with fine words, and even promised to furnish us provisions; but afterward they would desert their houses. Up to the present, this fear has not been in any way lessened. When we asked the people of this village for friendship and food, they offered us all the friendship we desired, but no food whatever. Their attitude seemed to me to be quite the contrary of what had been told me by those who had gone there; for they had said that, in this village of Cavalian, which is located on the island of Buyo [Leyte], Spaniards were received and were well treated. Now they did not wish to see us, and on the night of our arrival, we were made thoroughly aware of this; for they embarked with their wives, children, and property, and went away. The next day, a chief called Canatuan¹, the son of Malate[c] who is the principal chief of the town, came to us; but I detained him in the ship, until provisions should be sent us from land (paying for them to their satisfaction), because of his not returning to the village and because his father was very old and blind. But this proved no remedy, to make them give us anything but words. It was determined that our men should go ashore. And so they went and we made a fine festival, killing for meat on that same day about 45 pigs, with which we enjoyed a merry carnival—as payment for which articles of barter were given to the chief whom I had with me. The latter sent us ashore with an Indian, to give these articles to the owners of the pigs.

This chief, Canatuan, by signs and as best he could, informed me of the names of the islands, of their rulers and people of importance, and their number. He also promised to take us to the island of Maçagua [Limasawa] which was 8 leagues from this island. We set sail with the Indian, and when we reached Maçagua I sent him and three others, who went with him to their village in a canoe, after giving them some clothes. He was quite well satisfied, according to his own words, and became our friend.

This Maçagua, although small, was once a thickly-populated island. The Spaniards who anchored there were wont to be kindly received. Now the island is greatly changed from former days, being quite depopulated—for it contains less than twenty Indians; and these few who are left are so hostile to Spaniards, that they did not even wish to see or hear us. From this island we went to another, called Canuguinen [Camiguin]. Here we met with the same treatment. As the natives saw our ships along the coast, they hastened to betake themselves to the bush. Their fear of the Spaniards was so great that they would not wait for us to give any explanation.

From this island the fleet directed its course towards Butuan, a province of the island of Vindanao, but the tides and contrary winds drove us upon the coast of an island called **Bohol**. Here we cast anchor, and within a small bay of this island we made some necessary repairs to the flagship. One morning the *almiranta* sighted a junk at some distance away. Thinking it to be one of the smaller proas, the Master-of-camp despatched against it a small boat with six soldiers, after which he came to the flagship

¹ Ed. note: Rather, Chief Camotuan in the anonymous narrative, Doc. 1565X.

to inform me of what he had done. Seeing that he had not sent men enough, I despatched another small boat with all the men it could hold; and the Master-of-camp himself with instructions how he was to proceed, reached the boat and junk, which were exchanging shots. The junk seeing that the boat contained so few men, defied them. When the second boat arrived it found some of the men wounded, and that the junk had many and well-made arrows and lances, with a culverin and some muskets. The junk defied the second boat also. Shouting out in Spanish "a bordo! a bordo!" ["board! board!"] they grappled it, and on boarding it, one of our soldiers was killed by a lance-thrust in the throat. Those aboard the junk numbered 45 soldiers. Fourteen or fifteen of them jumped into a canoe which they carried on their poop deck, and fled. Eight or ten of the others were captured alive, and the remainder were killed. I have been assured that they fought well and bravely in their defence, as was quite apparent; for besides the man they killed, they also wounded more than twenty others of our soldiers. In the junk were found many white and colored blankets, some damasks, *almazales* [gauze] of silk and cotton, and some decorated silk; also iron, tin, sulphur, porcelain, some gold, and many other things. The junk was taken to the flagship. Its crew were Burnei [Borneo] Moros. Their property was returned to them, and what appeared, in our reckoning, its equivalent in articles of barter was given to them, because their capture was not induced by greed. My chief intent is not to go privateering, but to make treaties and to procure friends, of which I am in great need. The Burneans were much pleased and satisfied with this liberality displayed toward them, thus showing how fickle they were.

On the same day that the boats went to the junk, I despatched the patache **San Juan** with orders to go to Butuan and sail along its coast, and to find out in what part of this island the cinnamon is gathered, for it grows there. They were also to look for a suitable port and place ashore where a settlement could be made.

While the patache went on this mission, I kept the boat of the Burneans and the pilot. This latter was a man of experience, and versed in different dialects; and he informed me of much regarding this region that I wished to know. Among other things, he told me that, if the Indians of this land avoided this fleet so much, I should not be surprised, because they had great fear of the name of "Castilla". He said that while we were among these islands no Indian would speak to us; and that the cause for this was that about two years ago, somewhat more or less, some Portuguese from the Moluccas visited these islands with 8 large proas and many natives of the Moluccas. Wherever they went they asked for peace and friendship, saying that they were from Castile, and vassals of the King of Castile; then when the natives felt quite secure in their friendship, they assaulted and robbed them, killing and capturing all that they could. For this reason, the island of Maçagua was depopulated, and scarcely any inhabitant remained there. And in this island of Bohol, among the killed and captured were more than 1,000 persons. Therefore, the natives refused to see us and hid themselves—as it was in fact the case. Although, on my part, I did my best to gain their confidence, giving them to understand that the Portuguese belong to a different nation and are subjects of a different king than

we, they did not trust me; nor was this sufficient for they say that we have the same appearance, that we wear the same kind of clothing, and carry the same weapons.

In this island of Bohol live two chiefs, one called Çicatuna, and the other Çigala¹, who through the Bornean's going inland to call them, came to the fleet. From these chiefs I heard the same thing that I had been told by the Brunei pilot and his companions, in regard to the great robberies that the Portuguese committed hereabout in order to set the natives against us—so that upon our coming, we should find no friends. This fell out as they wished, because, although Çicatuna and Çigala made friendship with me, we could put no confidence in them; nor would they sell us anything, but only made promises.

While in this island, I despatched a frigate to reconnoiter the coast of certain islands that could be seen from this island. The Pilot Major [Rodriguez] and Juan de Aguirre accompanied it, and it was supplied with sufficient food, men, and provisions. Coming to the entrance between two islands, they were caught by the tide and drifted to the other entrance of the channel; and, in order to return, they sailed around the island [of Negros]. On this island they saw a town where the Moro pilot declared that he was known, and that he was on friendly terms with its inhabitants; but under pretence of friendship, the natives treacherously killed him with a lance-thrust. The space of one week had been given to them, but it took much longer; for the return could be accomplished only by sailing around the island which was 150 leagues in circumference.

When the patache returned from Butuan, it reported that they had seen the king, and that two Moro junks of the large and rich island of Luzon were anchored in the river which flows near the town. The Moros sold our men a large quantity of wax. When the men of Luzon saw our patache they were very much pleased with them, and they gave nearly twenty marks of gold, which they had there in that island, giving for six *tos-tones* [testoons] of silver one of gold; and they said that they had more gold, if our men would give them more testoons, and that in exchange for the latter they would give them 10 or 12 quintals of gold which they had there in that island. The soldiers of the patache were so desirous to plunder the junks that they besought permission to do so from the captain; thus importuned, and because his own desire was not less keen, he was on the point of granting it. Fortunately the officials (the treasurer and factor) aboard the patache opposed this, saying that it was not fitting to His Majesty's service, and that it would stir up the land and set it against us. As the men of Luzon had put some earth within the cakes of wax that they had sold, in order to cheat us with it; and inasmuch as they, moreover, insisted that the natives should not give anything in exchange for any other kind of trade goods, but only for testoons, and had uttered many lies and slanders against us, the soldiers said that this was sufficient to justify war; and that the war would not be the cause of stirring up the natives, because the latter were not at all well-disposed toward the Moros. Finally they did not touch the Moros, being persuaded to this by the captain and the officials. By my instructions, in case they should

1 Ed. note: That is, Mr. Catuna and Mr. Gala.

meet any strange or piratical junk that proved hostile, they returned where the fleet was stationed, bringing a small quantity of gold, wax, cinnamon, and other things. Nevertheless the natives of the island would have sold them a quantity of gold had not the Moros prevented it.

While in the bay of the island of Bohol, I was very anxious about the frigate, since it was to be gone but one week; while 21 days had passed, and it was nowhere to be seen. Meanwhile a proa which I had despatched with two soldiers and the chiefs Çicatuna and Çigala to the island of Çubu to endeavor to ascertain some news concerning it, had returned, bringing no news whatever of its whereabouts. On Holy Saturday, three hours before daybreak [sunset?], while we were thus plunged in great anxiety and grief, fearing that our companions might have been lost, captured, or killed, the shout "the frigate! the frigate!" was heard in our fleet. Turning my glance, I beheld it entering the bay. Only the Burnei pilot was missing; the others looked well and strong, although they had suffered from hunger. On arriving, they informed us that the island which they had coasted had a circuit of 150 leagues, and that on their return they had passed between it and the opposite coast of Çubu.

[Arrival at Cebu]

They reported that this island of Çubu was densely populated, containing many large villages, and among them were many people inhabiting the coast, and inland many cultivated districts. The above-mentioned soldiers who went to Çibu [sic] in the proas with Çicatuna and Çigala said that the same thing was to be observed on the other [eastern] coast, and that the port of the town of Çibu admitted of anchorage, and was excellent. I decided to take the fleet to that island—a plan I carried out, with the intention of requesting peace and friendship from the natives, and of buying provisions from them at a reasonable cost. Should they refuse all this I decided to make war upon them—a step I considered justifiable in the case of these people; for it was in that same port and town that Magellan and his fleet were [at first] well received. King Sarriparra¹ and nearly all the natives were baptized, and admitted to our holy faith and evangelical teaching, voluntarily offering themselves as His Majesty's vassals. Magellan and more than thirty of his companions were afterward killed while fighting in behalf of this island against the people of Matan [Mactan], a thickly-populated island situated near this one. Afterward the two islands made peace privately between themselves, and the inhabitants of the town of Çibu killed many of the Spaniards of the same fleet, and drove the remaining few away from their land. Hence we see that all this is sufficient occasion for any course whatever.

In accordance with this last opinion, the fleet left the port of Bohol and we reached the port of Çibu on Friday, 27 April 1565. We had scarcely arrived when an Indian came to the flagship in a canoe, who said that Tupas, the ruler of the island, was in the town, and that he was going to come to the fleet to see me. A little later there came from

1 Ed. note: The name of this king was in fact Humabon.

the village an Indian, an interpreter of the Malay language, who said, on behalf of Tupas, that the latter was getting ready to come to see me, that he would come on that very day, and that he would bring ten of the principal chiefs of that island. I waited for them that whole day; but as I saw that the people were much occupied in removing their possessions from their houses and carrying them to the bush, and that during all this day and until noon of the next, Tupas, the son of Saripara, who killed the men of Magellan did not come, I sent a boat with Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and the Master-of-camp, in order that, in their presence, the government notary, with Hieronimo Pacheco, interpreter of the Malay tongue (which is spoken by many of the natives of this land), might request the natives, as vassals of the King of Castile, to receive us peacefully. They were to assure the people that I did not come to do them any harm, but on the contrary to show them every favor, and to cultivate their friendship. Three times this announcement was made to them, with all the signs and kind words possible to win their friendship. But at length—seeing that all our good intentions were of no avail, and that all the natives had put on their armor of quilted cotton and had armed themselves with their lances, shields, small cutlasses, and arrows; and that many plumes and multicolored headdresses were waving; and that re-inforcements of men had come in proas from the outside, so that their number must be almost 2,000 warriors; and considering that now was the time for us to make a settlement and effect a colony, and that the present port and location were exactly suited to our needs, and that it was useless for us to wait any longer; and seeing that there was no hope for peace, and that they did not wish it, although we had offered it—the Master-of-camp said to the natives through an interpreter: “Since you do not desire our friendship, and will not receive us peacefully, but are anxious for war, wait until we have landed; and make sure you act as men, and defend yourselves from us, and guard your houses.” The Indians answered boldly: “So be it! Come on! We await you here.” And thereupon they broke out into loud cries, covering themselves with their shields and brandishing their lances. Then they returned to the place whence they had set out, hurling their lances by divisions of threes at the boat, and returning again to their station, going and coming as in a spear-throwing game. Our men got ready and left the ships in boats; and as the boats left the ships for the shore, in accordance with the order given them, some shots were fired from the ships upon the multitude of proas anchored near a promontory, as well as at the landsmen upon shore, and upon the town. But, although they had shown such a great desire for war, when they heard the artillery and saw its effects, they abandoned their village without waiting for battle, and fled through the large, beautiful, and fertile open fields that are to be seen in this region. Accordingly we remained in the village, which had been left totally without provisions by the natives. We pursued the enemy, but they are the lightest and swiftest runners whom I have ever seen.

When we entered the village, all the food had already been taken away. However, I believe that there will be no lack of food. In exchange for our hardships this is a good prospect, although there is no hope of food except through our swords. The land is thickly populated, and so fertile that four days after we took the village the Castilian

seeds had already sprouted. We have seen some little gold here, on the garments worn by the natives. We are at the gate and in the vicinity of the most fortunate countries in the world, and the most remote; it is 300 leagues or thereabouts farther to great China, Burnei, Java, Luzon, Sumatra, the Moluccas, Malacca, Patani¹, Siam, Lequios², Japan, and other rich and large provinces. I hope that, through God's protection, there will be in these lands no slight result for his service and the increase of the royal crown, if this land is settled by Spaniards, as I believe it will be.

From this town of Çubu, I have despatched the ship with the Father Prior [Urdaneta] and my grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, with a long relation of the things³ which I boldly write here to your Excellency. They will inform His Majesty at length, as persons who have been eyewitnesses of it all, specially of what has taken place here, the state of the new settlement, and the arrangements made for everything. It remains to be said that, since the fleet was despatched by the most illustrious viceroy, my master, of blessed memory, and further, chiefly because of being an enterprise that every gentleman should all the more favor, inasmuch as it pertains naturally to your Excellency, as the heir of the glory resulting from this expedition—your Excellency should favor it in such a manner that we may feel here the touch of your most illustrious hand, and so that aid should be sent as promptly as the necessity of our condition demands. For we shall have war not only with the natives of this and other neighboring islands of the Philippines (which is of the lesser import), but—a thing of greater consequence—we shall have to wage war with many different nations and islands, who will aid these people, and will side against us. On seeing us settled in this island, the Portuguese will not be pleased, nor will the Moros and other powerful and well-armed people. It might happen that, if aid is delayed and is not sent by you to us with all promptitude, the delay will prove a sufficient obstacle, so that no result will follow from the work that we have accomplished.

I beg His Majesty to send us some aid with the promptness, which rightly should not be less than in that city of Spain, where His Majesty resides.

And, because it is worth knowing, and so that your Excellency may understand that God, our Lord, has waited in this same place, and that he will be served, and that pending the beginning of the extension of his holy faith and most glorious name, he has accomplished most miraculous things in this western region, your Excellency should know that on the day we entered this town one of the soldiers went into a large and well-built house of an Indian, where he found an image of the child Jesus (whose most holy name I pray may be universally worshipped).⁴ This was kept in its cradle, all gilded, just as it was brought from Spain; and only the little cross which is generally placed upon the

1 Ed. note: A town on the east side of the Malayan Peninsula.

2 Ed. note: Little Lequios was Formosa (Taiwan), whereas Lequios proper was the Riu-kiu or Okinawa Archipelago.

3 Ed. note: See previous document.

4 Ed. note: Recall that Pilot Major had told otherwise in Doc. 1565Q: "When we came into the town, we found in it a Child Jesus. It was found by a sailor named Mermeo. It was in a small and poor house."

globe in his hand was lacking. This image was well kept in that house, and many flowers were found before it, no-one knows for what object or purpose. The soldier bowed before it with all reverence and wonder, and brought the image to the place where the other soldiers were. I pray the holy name of this image which we have found here, to help us and to grant us victory, in order that these lost people who are ignorant of the precious and rich treasure which was in their possession, may come to a knowledge of Him.



Father Martín de Rada, O.S.A. *He is the author of the longest narrative of Legazpi's voyage. (From B&R 3:5, part of a painting in the Augustinian College at Valladolid)*

Document 1565X

Legazpi's voyage—Anonymous narrative attributed to Fr. Martin Rada, dated May 1565

Sources: AGI Papeles Maluco & Filipinas (1564-1608); transcribed by Muñoz on 26 April 1794; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 5; another transcript is in the Newberry Library in Chicago (Ayer Collection, ref. B&R 53:247); Col. de Ultramar ii, doc. 27, pp. 217-351; Col. diarios 5:52-61+; summarized in B&R 2:104-123.

Narrative of the voyage that the fleet of H.M. made to discover the Islands of the West, under the command of General Miguel López de Legazpi.¹

The said General took his departure from the port of Navidad which is in New Spain in the South Sea, and is at latitude 19° and 1/2 North. He took with him 4 ships: 2 large galleons and 2 small pataches. The flagship, named **San Pedro**, was the largest and the

¹ Ed. note: My opinion is that the author of this long narrative is none other than Fr. Rada, the famous China missionary and astronomer. This is the longest narrative of this voyage, written by someone who had a vast knowledge and enjoyed writing. The narrative contains a good mixture of religious and technical comments that only he (or Fr. Urdaneta) could have made. The disagreements between Fr. Urdaneta and the official pilots (who were proven wrong) are treated favorably at some length. At Mejit in the Marshalls, the author watched from the flagship as Fr. Urdaneta went ashore as an interpreter, etc. A more convincing argument is as follows: the author was aboard the flagship and, from the tone of the last paragraph of the narrative, he stayed behind in Cebu; therefore, since the friars aboard the flagship were Urdaneta, Rada and Aguirre, and since Urdaneta and Aguirre went right back to Mexico, that leaves only Fr. Rada as the probable author. Furthermore, a copy of this narrative must have remained in the Augustinian archives after Fr. Rada's death, because the text was followed very closely by Fr. San Augustin in his History published in 1698 (See Doc. 1565AE for the proof).

said General was aboard; her pilots were the Pilot Major Estéban Rodriguez, and Pierre Plin, a Frenchman. The *almiranta* galleon, named **San Pablo**, with Master-of-Camp Mateo del Saz aboard, had for pilot Jaime Martinez Fortún, and as his mate Diego Martín. Aboard the patache **San Juan** was Captain Juan de la Isla and pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa, his brother. The other, smaller, patache, named **San Lucas**, was captained by Don Alonso de Arellano and piloted by Lope Martín. There was another boat or small frigate which had been bought from Juan Pablo Carrión and was towed by the flagship.¹ With these 4 ships, having distributed the men among them, according to their capacity, the soldiers as well as the seamen whose names appear on the nominal roll that was made up at the said port of Navidad, in addition to all the guns, munitions and food supplies; and having given instructions and assignments to all the captains about their orders and how to carry them out, he embarked, commending himself to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, his favorite devotion.

The fleet set sail from the said port of Navidad on Monday, 20 November 1564, two hours after midnight, or rather, on Tuesday, 21 November, three hours before day-break. It headed SW in exact accordance with the instructions issued by the Illustrious Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco—may he rest in peace—and on that heading it ran until the following Saturday.

On Saturday, 25 November, which was the feast day of St. Catherine, the said General, before Hernando Riquel, Government Notary, exhibited sealed instructions received from the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, which he had been ordered not to open until he found himself 100 leagues from land. The said instructions ordered him, should the weather allow it, to make his way directly to the Philippines, and for the other neighboring islands that are located within His Majesty's demarcation, by way of the following islands: Nublada, Roca Partida, Los Reyes, Corales, Arrecifes, and Matalotes, which had been along the route followed by Ruy López de Villalobos. So, the General ordered that the religious, the Captains and the Royal officials, the Lieutenant, Sergeant, and Senior Constable, and all the pilots of the fleet be gathered for a council to be held aboard the flagship. After they had gathered, he told them what the said instructions contained and that, in accordance with them, the direct route had to be toward the Philippines and the other neighboring islands that are within the demarcation of H.M., that they should give him their opinion as to the best directions and courses to follow, in order to comply with the said instructions. The religious aboard were very sorry about this, giving out that they had been duped and that, had they

1 Ed. note: By the way, Robertson is wrong in saying that it was "carried on her poop deck", given that the Spanish expression "llevó por popa" here means "tied at the poop". This was a large skiff; in fact, it is described elsewhere as a fully-decked boat.

known or understood, while they were [still] ashore, that this was to be the route, they would not have accompanied the expedition, for the reasons that Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta had advanced in Mexico.¹ However, as the religious were zealous in the service of God, our Lord, in view of what the Royal Audiencia ordered and was repeated by the General, and seeing how much God, our Lord, would be served and His Holy Faith propagated, and the Royal Crown augmented, and also the general benefit of those with the fleet, they gave up and showed their concurrence with the will of the General. With regard to the most direct and best route to reach the Philippine Islands, as the General had asked, they all without exception said that they were of the opinion that they should steer W 1/4 SW [W by S] until reaching a latitude of 9 degrees, then run due west along the 9-degree line in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales which they say are located in 9 degrees, and from there go in search of Arrecifes and Matalotes that are in 10 degrees, and from there to the Philippines, and that was their opinion, because they no longer could go by La Nublada and Roca Partida without losing too much time, given that the pilots said that they had taken the sun in 15° that day.

In accordance with the above opinion, the General ordered a change in course, and that the fleet should steer W by S until 9 degrees were reached, and from there to run due west in search of Los Reyes and Corales, and from there to the Matalotes and Arrecifes, and from there to the Philippines at a latitude of 12 degrees 1/2 to 13 degrees, and according to this he gave new instructions to the Captains, Masters and Pilots regarding the order they had to follow, and if any ship was forced by weather to separate from the company they were to touch at the islands mentioned in these clauses, and the first to get there should wait for the others, and if they did not come within a certain time, proceed on their course, leaving some signs at each place; by following this order, they would reach the Philippines where they had to meet again. By giving these instructions, the course they had followed until then was changed, and put into effect in the afternoon of the said Saturday, 25 November.

So, the fleet steered W by S until the following Thursday, which was the 29th of November. Every night the patache **San Lucas** would, by order of the General, go ahead of the flagship, and on some days when dawn would come the said patache would be far ahead of the fleet by over 2 leagues, but at other times to windward. The said General ordered Lope Martín, the pilot of the patache **San Lucas** not to deviate from the fleet, to remain within half a league ahead of the flagship. So, on the said Thursday in the

1 Ed. note: Urdaneta had argued that they should go to New Guinea, whereas Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión (who was to have been in charge of the *almiranta* but declined at the last minute) had recommended the track of Villalobos. Fr. Urdaneta had had the ear of Viceroy Velasco, but the latter died before the fleet sailed, and Carrión was able to influence the Visitador Valderrama and the Audiencia, the body that held the vice-regal authority in the interim. New secret instructions were issued, to prevent Fr. Urdaneta from staying behind.

evening the said patache took position before the flagship, sailing on the same course described above, in accordance to what it had been ordered to do.

On Friday morning, it had vanished. The said patache did not appear, and although during the whole of that day and the next it was believed that it would certainly return to the fleet because it was a better sailer than the other ships, it did not show up. It has not been heard of since either.¹ This event caused much worry to the fleet, and to the General in particular, because it was suspected that the separation had been caused by the fault or carelessness of the said pilot Lope Martín, although it was thought that if the patache followed its voyage in accordance with the instructions it carried, it could not but make one of the Philippine Islands, because it was thought for certain that it had gone ahead of the fleet, and in the hope of catching up with it, the fleet proceeded on its course.

We ran on this course until we had reached the latitude of 9° on the 18th of December. In the interval, we had been becalmed for 2 or 3 days, and gotten some showers. Once on the latitude of 9°, the General ordered the fleet to steer west in accordance with the previous agreement in favor of a speedy voyage, and this was done. The fleet ran along this latitude of 9 degrees, 1/4 more or less, because the pilots could never agree when taking the sun's elevation; they always differed among themselves by 1/4 degree, and sometimes more, because if some estimated it at 9°, the others got 9° and 1/4, as it appears in their logbooks. They never agreed, neither in their latitudes nor in their daily runs. Some were ahead of the others by over 200 leagues in their estimate of distance covered from the port of Navidad, others less, but they were all mistaken and nonsensical about it, so that they estimated daily runs that resulted in a distance that was longer than what the ships had covered. I do not know if that was caused by the many currents and heavy seas that we had encountered along the way, or what was the actual reason for it; however, each pilot contended that his own reckonings were accurate and endeavored to prove that the other was mistaken, although, when the General would ask them each day about the distance covered that day, and the total distance from the port of Navidad, and in what latitude they had taken the sun, they would adjust their figures somewhat; those who were ahead of the others would reduce their figure, whereas those who were behind would increase their daily runs. Had it not been for the General's stratagem, the pilots would have kept on diverging even more between themselves, as they had done from the very beginning of the voyage. Nevertheless, they were all over-estimating the distances, and the one who moderated himself the most was Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, and he turned out to have been the most correct when land was first sighted. I do not know if he would have reduced his estimate even more, had it not been for the fact that all the [other] pilots were over-estimating and placed their positions on the chart ahead of his; this was sufficient to make him increase somewhat his own estimates of daily runs above those of the beginning, in order not to be so far off the estimates of all the pilots.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1565AA for the narrative of the voyage of the San Lucas.

Along that heading and latitude of 9° more or less, we ran directly in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Corales, until all the pilots believed by their dead reckonings that they had passed the two above-said islands—some even pretended that they were nearing the islands of Arrecifes and Matalotes which are much farther—so that the General, in view of the opinions of all the Captains and Pilots, ordered them to go up to 10° in order not to miss the Matalotes [Fais] which they were saying was on that latitude, which was done. The date was 28 December.

Once 10° had been reached, the order was given to steer due west; there was still this difference, as was said previously, between the pilots with regard to latitudes. While proceeding on this course, on Monday, 8 January [1565] in the morning, the *almiranta* ship which was sailing behind all the others fired a shot and tacked as a signal that land had been seen to the south. So, the others also tacked and ran south all day until vespers, but no land was seen. Seeing that the *almiranta* had been deceived, the flagship signaled a change in heading and a return to W by N, which was carried out.

[Discovery of Mejit]

On Tuesday, 9 January, in the morning land was seen from the flagship. It was a small, low island. Then a shot was fired so that the other ships would understand what it was, and they ran directly to the island that they had seen, and upon arriving there, it was a small island which could be 3 leagues in circumference, more or less. It had many green trees, many coconut palms. It was so well protected by a vertical reef that one could not anchor, not even find bottom. While tacking back and forth near it, looking for a place to anchor, a small village and some houses were spotted among the palm trees, with some Indians walking on the beach and others aboard some canoes. As they saw the ships, all the Indians made a run for it and disappeared inland; those in the canoes took refuge ashore.

The patache **San Juan** which preceded the others anchored in front of the houses and, with the bow over the reef, cast its anchor in more than 150 fathoms. The flagship came up next to the patache until her bowsprit was over the land, lowered her sails and let go the anchor, but [even] with two cables¹ bottom could not be reached, as it is so steep. The same happened to the *almiranta*.

The General having sent Captain Martín de Goiti forward with the boat. He stepped ashore, got near the settlement as he could not find an anchorage and to see if he could find the Indians. As the General could not find an anchorage for the galleons, he begged Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta to go ashore to see if he could communicate with the Indians. He went out in the boat, along with the General's grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, so that they would, in the name of His Majesty, take **possession** of the island. As the Master-of-Camp and Captain Juan de la Isla were coming from the other ship in their boats toward the flagship to find out what to do, and they saw that the flagship's

¹ Ed. note: We have seen in Doc. 1565U that the cables used then were at least 80 fathoms in length; the smaller ropes (such as those used for the sounding lead) could be 130 fathoms in length.

boat was going ashore, they intercepted it and, without coming to the flagship, went off with Father Fray Andrés.

The galleons got busy recovering the anchors they had cast. These having been recovered, seeing that the current was carrying them away from the island and off to sea, the General ordered to raise the sails and to tack offshore while waiting for the boats that were ashore, which was done. At sunset, the General ordered a gun to be fired to tell those ashore to return to the ships. They made haste, although it took time before they came back because the boat in which Captain Martín de Goiti had gone out had been left high and dry at low tide. They labored in dragging it into the water. After darkness fell, the General ordered that three lamps be lit aboard the flagship so that the boats would not lose sight of it and would make their way to it. The patache **San Juan** had already been towed out from where it had anchored and the boats from ashore went to it instead, so that the patache with the boats came back to the galleons at 10 p.m., at which time the fleet set sail and proceeded on its course.

Father Fray Andrés and those who had been ashore said that they had met with an old man who had waited for them, with an old Indian woman who seemed to be his wife, and with a young woman who seemed to be their daughter and who had a baby. They were unable to understand their language but communicated by signs and gave them some beads and trade goods they had taken along. The old man was thus reassured and displayed great happiness. He showed the Spanish the houses and the food products they had. He gave them a few of those, as well as fish which they had in abundance, tied up in bundles as well as [stored] in attics. By signs, he told them not to go back, that he would call the islanders and they would all come and be glad to meet with them. When he saw that they wished to return, he showed that he was saddened by their going away. The Indian was very well proportioned and the women good-looking. They were dressed with some palm mats which they they weave very delicately and finely. There were many hens [like those] of Castile and lots of fish and coconuts, potatoes, yams, and another cereal like millet, which they have in quantity.

In addition, their **canoes** were very well crafted, [and also] their fish-hooks made of bone, and their nets, the fish-hooks [rather, the fishing nets, or lines] having many very fine strings. Their hair is loose and long. This island was named the Island of **Los Barbudos**. It is in 9° of latitude. Not one kind of offensive nor defensive weapon was seen. No earthenware pot of any kind was seen either.

[Discovery of Ailuk and Jemo]

On Wednesday, 10 January, in the morning, we saw another island which looked big and, at almost noon we came near it. There were a few small islets lined up North—South, and from one islet to another there was a reef or shoal. Behind these, the islets made a circle so that the whole looked like a giant corral [i.e. enclosure], with some banks and shoals from one to the other; for this reason, they were named the Islands of **Los Placeres** [the Banks]. There did not seem to be any Indian or inhabitant. No

bottom was found on which to anchor either, although the ships passed very near the reef and shoal.

That same day, Wednesday, 16 [rather 10] January, in the afternoon we saw another small island, round and full of trees. The sun had set by the time we got to it. It was uninhabited and had in it a great quantity of birds, on account of which we named it the Island of **Los Pájaros** [Bird Island], on account of which...¹ This island has a reef barrier extending more than two leagues toward the NE. This island would be separated from the island of Banks by about 8, or 9, leagues. Without stopping here, we continued our voyage.

[Re-discovery of Wotho]

On Friday, 12 January. Other islets and reefs were seen, with the same form as the previous ones, with a corral and sand banks, so that we named them **Las Hermanas** [Sister Islands]. They are uninhabited, and the reefs went from one islet to another, and surrounded what looked like a corral, which might have over 10 leagues in circumference [as seen] from the part that we coasted it which was the southern coast. No bottom was found on which to anchor, so that we proceeded on our course. All of those islets are full of very dense bush that extends to the high-water mark, and access to them is blocked by steep rock and reefs.

[Discovery of Ujelang]

We continued our route until the following Sunday which was the 14th of January. In the afternoon of this day, we saw land bearing SW. As we approached it, as it was evening, we were unable to touch at it. We ran back and forth all night until the following Monday at daybreak. The land turned out to be a few islets with low and dangerous reefs, uninhabited and without anything good. We were unable to anchor either, although we tried to, by getting as close as possible to the land. Seeing that a landing could not be effected, the General ordered a resumption of our voyage due west.

The Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta said that perhaps these islands and reefs were the **Jardines** discovered by Villalobos [Wotho], although if they were the same, we found ourselves much more behind where he estimated our position to be and we would not have covered as much distance that he found we had by his reckoning, that he thought so because they were located at the same latitude as the others [Jardines] had been placed in the accounts of those who went with Villalobos, and for other reasons he was giving. The pilots were laughing at him, saying that it could not be, because they were much more ahead; some of them estimated they were near the Philippines, others near the Matalotes. And so, we pursued our voyage on the same heading until the following Wednesday which was the 17th of January.

On the following Wednesday, the General seeing that all the pilots then estimated that they were near the Philippines, and some of them had marked beyond them, but

¹ Ed. note: These last 4 words appear to be redundant, or else are a transcription error.

that they had all passed the islands of Matalotes and Arrecifes in search of which we were, and that we would no longer hit them, he ordered a meeting of the religious, Captains, Officials and Pilots. To all he exposed what the pilots said, and [said] if it were true that we were beyond the Matalotes, it would be convenient to go in search of the Philippines, and if possible he did not wish to touch at the island of Bindanao, at the same low altitude taken by Villalobos, in order to avoid what happened to him, given that he had been unable to go out and get past a point of that island to go to the Philippines [i.e. Leyte-Samar Group] and that was the reason he had suffered from hunger and fatigue; given that all [the pilots] were on top of the Philippines, and some beyond them, they should consider if it would be proper to go up in latitude from the 10° in which they were then. He requested them for their opinion so that, according to it, he could decide what was best for the service of God, our Lord, and that of His Majesty. To that request, they all said that we were of one mind that we should go up to 13°, and from there run west so as not to miss the Philippines, and also to avoid the repetition of what happened to Villalobos upon rounding the point that the General mentioned. Given that the opinion of all was the same, the General ordered the heading changed to NW until reaching a latitude of 12° and 1/2, or as far as 13°, and from there to run due west, which was carried out. This decision seemed a very good one to Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta; he said that, by going by that route, they could not miss the Philippines¹, that if the last islets and reefs were the Jardines discovered by Villalobos as he had said, by all means they would hit the Islands of the **Ladrones** which were in a latitude of 13°, and were many islands laid out North—South, so that they could not miss seeing some of them. If we should see them, the voyage was then assured; also, we would be sure that the distance covered was less than first thought.

So, we went on running until the fleet reached a latitude of 13°, and once there, the General ordered to steer to the west, yawing a bit to W by S in order to go down to 12° and 1/2, although in the matter of the latitudes, as I have said previously, the pilots always disagreed by 1/4 to 1/3 of a degree, more or less. Thus, we went on until Sunday, 21st of January, and on this day Father Fray Andrés told the General that if it were true what he had thought about the last islets and island that we had left behind being the same as the Jardines of Villalobos, then we were near the islands of the Ladrones, because he had figured it out, and reckoned our position to be near the Island of the Ladrones.

[Stopover at Guam]

On Monday, 22nd of January 1565, at about 10 in the morning we saw land which bore to NW and it appeared to be very high land. The ships then steered to NW to stop at them. The pilots would say that it was land belonging to the Philippines, and the nearer we got to them, the more certain they became of it. Only Father Fray Andrés

1 Ed. note: What he meant was Samar Island, as the name Philippines had not yet been extended beyond the Leyte-Samar Group.

Urdaneta was saying that they could be the Ladrones Islands. As we went along, from the topmast of the flagship they saw proas with sails leaving the coast, and they seemed headed for the fleet. Those in the topmast were saying that 6 of them together had left from one point ashore; that 6 others had left from another point, 5 from elsewhere, and then they said that from all points along the coast that could be seen there came a large number of them. Father Fray Andrés asked those in the topmasts what was the shape of the sails carried by these proas. They answered lateen sails. Upon hearing this, he said that he was sure that we were in the Ladrones Islands. Furthermore, when he saw later on such a large quantity of proas approaching the ships, he said that the natives of those islands have such a custom, whereas those of the Philippines have not. The pilots persisted in the opposite view, saying that it was nothing other than land belonging to the Philippines and they laughed at the idea that it could be the Ladrones. When the fleet was about two leagues from the land, there arrived at the ships all of those lateen sails that are made of very well woven palm mats; each canoe or proa carried 6 or 8, 10, even 12 or more Indians. Some arrived in groups of 6 or 4, the same as when they had left their village ashore. There were as many as 50 proas around the ships within a stone's throw of them. All of them were shouting very loudly at us so that we could not hear what they were saying except that each and every one of them was making signs to us pointing at their own town, that we should go there, and that they would give us a lot of food, exhibiting with their hands some product that they carried in the canoes, and rubbing their bellies with their hands. They extended their arms, shouted, and we interpreted those signs to mean that they would satiate us. They never wanted to come alongside, although we invited them. When the General saw that they did not want to come, he ordered that some knives, scissors, beads, a mirror and other things be placed on a board and lowered from the flagship; they were taken by the Indians aboard the nearest canoe.

And so we went along until we came within tacking distance of the land, the canoes keeping us in their middle and shouting, each one pointing to his town. When we arrived at the shore, the sun was setting and we could not find an anchorage on that side. The whole coast near the shore was full of coconut palms, and between the palms we could see houses. So, we sailed along the coast toward the south, and as the Indians saw that we did not anchor and that darkness was coming, they went off, each one to his town.

The ships kept on running along the coast until they rounded a low island [Cocos] full of palm trees that was at the point of the big island. From the small island to the big one, there was a big stone reef. Coming around this small islet at the SW corner of the high island, there opened up a bay where the General asked the patache **San Juan** to go ahead to see if there was an anchorage where the ships could stay. As it became dark, the Indians lit many bonfires along the coast and shortly before midnight the patache San Juan anchored.

The following Tuesday at dawn, the flagship anchored near the patache and later on the *almiranta* that came further behind did the same. The General issued a **proclama-**

tion to the effect that no-one from the fleet should dare go ashore without his permission, and that those who would go would not use force, do any wrong or harm to the natives, would not take anything from them, as well as their provisions or anything else, and that they were not to touch their plantations or fields, nor cut their palm or any other tree and that they were not to give nor engage in anything of any kind with the natives under severe penalties, except through the hands of the officials of His Majesty whose duty it was. He notified the captains that if they did not concur, they did so upon the penalty of losing their office. Afterward, at every place the fleet came to, the same proclamation was made, and this caused the soldiers to show not a little discontent.

On Tuesday [23 January] at dawn the natives started coming in their proas to where the fleet was anchored. From the whole coast there came so many that they had all the ships surrounded, more than 400 of them as far as could be counted. When the flagship arrived to anchor, it brought along over 100 of them. The Indians who came in them were bringing for barter dry and fresh coconuts, sugar-cane, green bananas, rice tamales and other little things to eat but so little of everything: 2 or 3 coconuts each, 1 or 2 pieces of sugar-cane, 2 or 3 potatoes or yams, 1 or 2 tamales. They did not bring anything in quantity, and they hurried us so much to barter for this, shouting loudly at every thing given to them in return. Not one of them would come aboard, or trust us, although the General was telling them many things, giving them beads and trade goods, showing them much love and goodwill and treated them like friends.¹ They did not trust us beyond exchanging, for whatever thing we gave them, a little of what they had brought along. Thus they would give for playing cards, for small pieces of selvedge of cloth, for jingle bells, what they brought, which was very little of anything. They were at it all day, until late afternoon.

The Father Prior spoke to them with a few words in their language that he remembered; specially when he counted up to 10 in their language, they showed that they were much pleased by it. One of them came to mention **Gonzalo** who, according to the Father Prior was the name of a Spaniard whom they had found at one of those islands² and they said that that island was called **Goam**. Everyone kept mentioning us to come to his town, and that we should go there to find much to eat. All canoes and people aboard them carried their **weapons**: shields, bundles of spears, slings and stones made into the shape of an egg. Such are the weapons that they use.

They walk around stark naked, not covering any part of their bodies. They are rather tall, strong-limbed, well-proportioned and they appear to be strong. The women are

1 Ed. note: Once bitten, twice shy, says the proverb. The Guamanians had not forgotten that 11 of their countrymen had been kidnapped by Captain Salazar in 1526.

2 Ed. note: See Urdaneta's account of the Loaysa expedition, Doc. 1526C (Vol. 1, p. 456). This Spaniard was the Galician deserter and beachcomber, Gonzalo de Vigo, the man who had taught those few Chamorro words to Urdaneta.

also very tall and they only wear a string around the thighs and [hanging] from this string a little grass or tree leaves with which they cover their shameful parts; some of them cover them with a mat made of palm leaves. The rest [of the body] is left completely bare. Both sexes wear their hair loose and long, and they gather it at the back of the neck; it is jaundice [sic] in color.¹

The following Wednesday, proas came in larger number than the day before, but they no longer wanted to give what they brought as before. Rather, they clamored for iron instead; they were given some in exchange for what they had brought. As [soon as] they were shown some nails, they no longer wanted iron nor wanted to give anything except for nails. They showed that they were fond of them, because for them they were giving as much as they had brought. They made us understand that they wanted them to build their **canoes**. Their canoes are so well finished and very well made, fastened with cords. On their surface, they applied a white or orange-colored pitch instead of tar. They are very light and they sail aboard them with their palm-mat lateen sails, cutting against the wind and tacking so swiftly that it is marvellous thing to watch. According to the sailors aboard the fleet, they have never seen any kind of *fustas*² so light as these. They have neither poop nor prow [as such] so that as they go sailing they just change the point of the lateen sail and, as fast as they went forward, they come back with the poop [acting now] as a prow. It certainly is something to see how fast they sail and how easily they change direction.

Every day that the fleet was anchored at this island there were native canoes alongside selling foodstuffs and to get a good revenge for the bargain sale they made on the first day. Since the men of the fleet made it known by signs that they should bring more rice, and all the rest they brought, they began to bring hand-made mats, bundles of rice that appeared to contain from 3 to 4 *almuds*³ more or less, which they gave for large nails, and since they did not come on board the ships but from the latter a cord was thrown to them with a nail tied to it, after approving of it they tied to the same cord the bundle of rice, and there were found many bundles full of sand and only a layer about two fingers thick of rice of top to cover the fraud, and other bundles had grasses and stones inside to add weight to them. They played many very funny tricks with these and also with some small barrels of coconut oil that were traded in order to light the binnacle lamp, of which many were bought. Most of them were found also to contain no more than one or two fingers of oil on top and the rest was all water. So they perpetrated many such deceptions and evil things such as when nails were lowered to them, some of them would take them and run away without any shame, go on to another ship to do the same. If anyone told them off, they became fierce and displayed their wea-

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- 1 Ed. note: The yellowish streaks in their black hair were probably due to their being bleached by the sun.
 - 2 Ed. note: A fusta was a small ship rigged with lateen sails; sometimes translated as foyst by early English narrators.
 - 3 Ed. note: An almud was an ancient measure for cereal grains, probably worth the 12th part of a fanega, the Spanish bushel.

pons, spears and slings, threatening to use them. Because the General has ordered that nobody was to do them any harm or even threaten them in words, they had their own way.

They are a people inclined to behave badly, and whenever they carry out some wicked thing they show great happiness at having done it. Truly, he who gave them the name of Island of Ladrones [Thieves] was more than correct, because they are so and proud of it. They are very much without shame and badly inclined; they do not take into account any one but their own person. Thus, it was seen a few times, when the General gave a few things to the Indians that looked like chiefs, things like jingle bells, mirrors, and trade goods, they fought with the one receiving them and they snatched them from one another's hands and took flight. They always went about looking for something to steal. They removed a piece of iron from the rudder of the patache **San Juan** and they tried to pull the nails from the sides of the ships. One day, an Indian dared to jump from his canoe into the skiff that was tied alongside to the rigging with a cable. He untied it and, returning to the canoe, was pulling the skiff by the cable in order to take it away. He was about to succeed when they shouted at him from the ship; the Indian burst out laughing. Another time, some Indians from a canoe told a sailor who was in the boat to come into their canoe and, so that they would not be able to say that he was afraid to do so, he went in and as soon as he was in they began to sail fast in order to take him away; so, he thought it better to throw himself overboard and thus he returned swimming to the boat.¹ The canoe then returned alongside without any shame and they cut and took away the buoys of all the ships. All this was put up with on account of the General having ordered not to do them any harm but only to be on our guard against giving any cause or opportunity for the Indians to do us harm.

On this Wednesday afternoon, the General ordered the Master-of-Camp and Captains Martín de Goiti and Juan de la Isla to go in the boats and see a cove of the same island and bay, and see if there was a river with fresh water in order to replenish the water that the fleet needed. They went off and returned; they said that in the cove in question there was a river very good for watering purposes, and that the ships could go up and anchor in that cove as there was a good, clean bottom. So, in order not to be so far away, the General ordered that the ships be brought into this cove while watering was going on.

The following day, Thursday, the ships were towed as far as the mouth of the cove. The patache **San Juan** that was in the lead wanted to go further in; when it got near the mouth of the cove, from nearby ashore the Indians began to shoot stones with slings and throw spears from both sides in large quantity, because both sides were so near the shore that the stones reached the ship, and thus they wounded some men and they injured the said Juan de la Isla with a stone; that was the reason why it became necessary for a few arquebus shots to be fired in order to make the Indians go away. There were

1 Ed. note: Lucky for him that he could swim, an unusual skill for Europeans, even sailors, in those days.

many Indians and some bravely waded in to shoot at the ship from a closer range. As soon as they felt the arquebus shots they retreated. Captain Juan de la Isla came to the flagship to give an account of that to the General, and on the way he passed alongside the *almiranta* which was quite close to it. The General ordered the Master-of-Camp to go ashore in a boat and ask the Indians why they were doing that, that if they were peaceful, the ships would not do them any harm, that our intention was simply to take on water and go away. The Master-of-Camp went ashore and calmed down the Indians who promised him that they would keep the peace and not do any bad thing. When the local Indians had been stoning the galleon [sic] **San Juan**, there were alongside the [other] ships over 100 proas trading, and by signs they were telling us that they were our friends, not those from that cove. [However,] we saw those who said that go to the cove as soon as they left the ships, and from the cove canoes returned to the ships; they are shameless when they do evil things. There in the mouth of the cove where they shot stones, the patache anchored. The galleons anchored a short distance further out.

The next day the Master-of-Camp went out with the boats and began to take water from the river. The Indians showed themselves to be quiet and peaceful and by themselves came to the watering place and began helping to fill the water barrels. While they were thus together mingled in complete friendship, an Indian grabbed from a soldier the arquebus that he held on his shoulder and fled with it. All the other Indians did the same and they began to shoot stones at those who were taking on water with much shouting. The soldiers with the arquebuses began to shoot back at them. The Indians then went up the river bank and from there shot stones with their slings. After a while, they came back to say that they wanted to be friends and be peaceful. The Master-of-Camp consented and received them in peace, telling them not to do bad things, that he would not do them any harm [either]. Once more they began taking on water, the Indians being together with the Spanish in complete friendship, [when] an Indian attacked a soldier who was next to him and suddenly gave him a thrust to the chest with a fire-hardened stick. As he wore a coat-of-mail he was not hurt in the chest but wounded in the hand; it was from this wound that he was to die 10 or 12 days later. Then all the Indians took flight, up the river bank where they made ready for war and [began] shooting stones [again]. The Master-of-Camp having seen their wickedness skirmished with them for a while and forced them to leave the bank and flee. He captured one of those Indians and brought him to the ships where they kept him in the flagship with shackles on, treating him well and making him understand that the Indians should return the arquebus that had been stolen from the soldier and that he would then be let go without doing him any harm. He thus remained captive for three or four days during which time the Indians again returned to make peace and the General received them.

[Taking possession of Guam]

The General landed to take possession of the island in the name of His Majesty.¹ The religious went out to say mass; the divine cult was celebrated and the land was taken possession of in the name of His Majesty with a solemn ceremony. There came over 80 Indians to where the General was. He gave beads to all of them and left them contented. In this manner, they were at times peaceful and at times on a war footing. Even during a truce, every time they saw an opportunity, they committed some wickedness; meanwhile, there were generally a quantity of canoes trading alongside the ships and, after leaving aboard their canoes would go ashore to fight with our men, to be replaced in the canoes by those who had been fighting who then came alongside to trade. At all times, they kept their weapons in their hands, something they did without any shame, because such a feeling they did not have.

One day the Indian who was captive with fetters aboard the flagship, seeing the canoes coming alongside and that the guard assigned to him was distracted, threw himself overboard, swimming with the fetters on until he reached one of the canoes that were there and, being alone in it set sail and fled. As those canoes are so light, although the boat had gone after him and followed him, it did not overtake it. A boat that was chasing this Indian captured a proa along the way. There were aboard it an Indian man and an Indian woman and a boy. They were taken prisoners aboard the flagship in the same canoe. The General ordered that the Indian woman be given a mirror, a comb and some beads and ordered her released later so that she could leave aboard the same canoe, making her understand by sign language that she should tell the Indians to bring back the arquebus, and the fetters that the Indians took, that those who were in the flagship would then be freed. Thus the Indian woman went away in her canoe but no response ever came.²

The next day, given that the Father Prior and the Pilot Major had to go with the Master-of-Camp to explore the western coast, the General ordered them to bring along these two Indians and release them where on the previous day they had seen the Indian woman released by the General disembark. As they wanted to be on their way that night at midnight, they went below deck to take out the Indians but the older Indian did not want to come out. Rather, he would throw himself upon the deck, hit his head against it and bite the soldiers who tried to take him out. That is why the Father Prior told them to leave him behind and so they did not take him along. The next morning they found that the Indian had hanged himself from a beam close to the [upper] deck, and thus only the boy was left. That same day many canoes came alongside, as usual. The General had the boy taken out to see if he could recognize any canoe. He began to shout to the Indians who were coming in one canoe, and he said that there came his father; as they could see him from the canoe, they came alongside and gave him a bundle of rice,

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1565Z2 for the act of possession.

2 Ed. note: I think that the Spaniards had made a mistake in thinking that the three individuals constituted one family. It was proved later that the older man was not the boy's father.

potatoes and coconuts so that the boy could eat. The General asked him by sign language if he wanted to go with his father, that he would let him go. The boy started to cry. The General told him not to cry and then ordered that he be given some linen breeches, a bonnet, a comb and some beads. As the boy understood that they wanted to release him, he kept on clinging to the General's feet and kissing them many times. The General tied a cord around his body and thus clothed had him lowered from the poop where the canoe of his parents or relatives was. They picked him up with great rejoicing and happiness; all those in the canoe embraced him, and carried him away, taking from him the beads, the mirror and the comb that he carried, and very contented they went off with him.

[Proposal to colonize Guam]

At this island, when the General held a meeting with the religious, the Captains and Officials of His Majesty, the Father Prior proposed that the settlement be made in that island, and that ship be despatched to New Spain from here, because by doing so, much time would be saved and the return voyage of the ship that was to discover the return route would be shortened, that relief would come sooner; meanwhile, the settlers could explore and discover what there was as far as the Philippines or in whatever direction they wished. The General said that to settle there would not accomplish what he was obligated to do and what he had been instructed to do by His Majesty; besides, this island was poor and did not have anything that could be taken advantage of besides food, that he would not deviate from going to the Philippines for any reason, and to the other neighboring islands, as he had been ordered to do. Although there were then some rejoinders, the subject was dropped. Thus, the General ordered to hurry up the departure from that port in order to pursue our voyage.¹

[A final insult]

In payment of the goodwill that the General showed to the islanders in deeds, being men who ignore any kind of virtue but are rather very skillful and quick at doing bad things, through the carelessness of a [ship's] boy, they saw an opportunity to commit a final vileness that was the worst one they did. It was one day that the boats were ashore taking on water, during a truce with the Indians. A little before sunset, the boats came alongside loaded with water [casks], and of all the people who had been ashore, it appeared that when they called out for the return, they were not heard by a ship's boy who had gone among the palm trees to sleep; this was another carelessness, as he had felt safe as the Indians were at peace. However, in the end he was left behind without the people missing him. Then, when the boats arrived alongside, the lad came out to the beach. When the Indians saw him, they tortured him piercing his body many times with lances with the greatest of cruelties in the world amid great shouts. Even though

¹ Ed. note: Legazpi himself was to comment on this proposal later on, in a letter to a Portuguese commander who wanted him to leave Cebu and go to Guam (See B&R 2:279).

the shouts were heard from the ships, they were not understood for what they were until the absence of the lad was noticed. When it was seen that he was missing, the people jumped into the boat and furiously went ashore but they arrived too late because they found the lad already torn to pieces. From the wounds he had, it appeared that they had tied him spread-eagled by the feet and hands, and holding him in this manner they had pierced him with those spears they had, because he had more than thirty wounds throughout his body. Then they skinned his face and drove a sharp stick into his mouth that came out at the nape and then, they stoned him. As the Indians saw the people in the boat, they left the lad on the sandy beach and climbed a hillock where they used to hide and from there they were shouting and taunting those in the boat, exhibiting the shirt, the breeches and the jacket they had stripped from the ill-fated lad whom they had so cruelly killed. By sign language, they were saying to come on over, that they would do likewise to them all. However, even while this was going on, there was always a large quantity of proas trading around the fleet. However, with the agreement of the Captains and Officials of the fleet, the General was of the opinion that such an evil was not something that could go without punishment and, with everyone's consensus, he turned the matter over to the Master-of-Camp. The latter made a landing that night with 100 soldiers and made his way at dawn to a nearby town, but as the Indians had their sentinels, he found the town deserted. In the morning, when returning to the port, he set up an ambush [party] in a palm grove, went to the beach where he gathered 3 or 4 canoes and set them on fire, then boarded the boats. As the Indians saw what happened, they came running to save the canoes, and shouting loudly. As they neared the canoes, they discovered [it was] an ambush so that it did not have the desired effect, although the arquebuses wounded and killed a few. They captured only four of them, three of them being mortally wounded, the other one unhurt. The Master-of-Camp ordered that they be hanged at the same place where they killed the poor lad, but the Indian who was unhurt, he ordered brought to the ship, at the request of the religious who said that it would be to the greater service of God, our Lord, and that of His Majesty, if he were taken to New Spain rather than hanged; so, he was taken to the flagship.

When the Master-of-Camp saw that he could not do any more physical harm to the Indians as much as they deserved, he ordered the houses of a cove to be burned, that is, the cove of the port [of Umatac], and those of that whole vicinity and a few proas that were found ashore. Thus, the men spread out, some going to the town where they had gone that night, some around one headland and some others around the other.¹ They burned a number of houses although it was but a small punishment for so many vicious and treacherous acts they committed against us who had over-tolerated them so many times, upon so many occasions given to us, the General having tried so many ways to make friends with them. They were punished so that, the next time Spanish vassals of His Majesty come here, they would receive them better, and keep their word

1 Ed. note: To the villages (or bays) adjacent to Umatac, north and south of it respectively.

when they had promised to be friends, but more importantly, so that [they realized that] they would have received no harm from us had it not been for this last occasion.

[Description of Guam]

This Goam Island is high and hilly. It is full of coconut palm groves and other trees all along the sea shore. It is thickly populated also, including in the valleys where there are rivers. There are many rice fields, and many yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, bananas and the latter are the best I have seen because in smell and in taste they have a great advantage over those of New Spain. There is also much ginger. A sample of sulphur rock was found. The highlands are completely bare of bush or trees, except in some ravines. No-one was found who ate or had any kind of meat, any wild or domestic cattle, any birds whatever except a few turtle doves that they kept in cages; as for the Indians we kept captive on board, they did not wish to eat any meat at all and at the beginning they did not want to eat any of our things. They have fish in quantity which they take with fish-hooks, and fish-nets, some of which are rather large implements. Some people noticed a few times, when the Indians were bartering at the ships, if some fish of any kind swam by the ship, they dove in after it and took it out with their [bare] hands, which is something wonderful to see.¹ They are excellent swimmers.

[Chamorro houses]

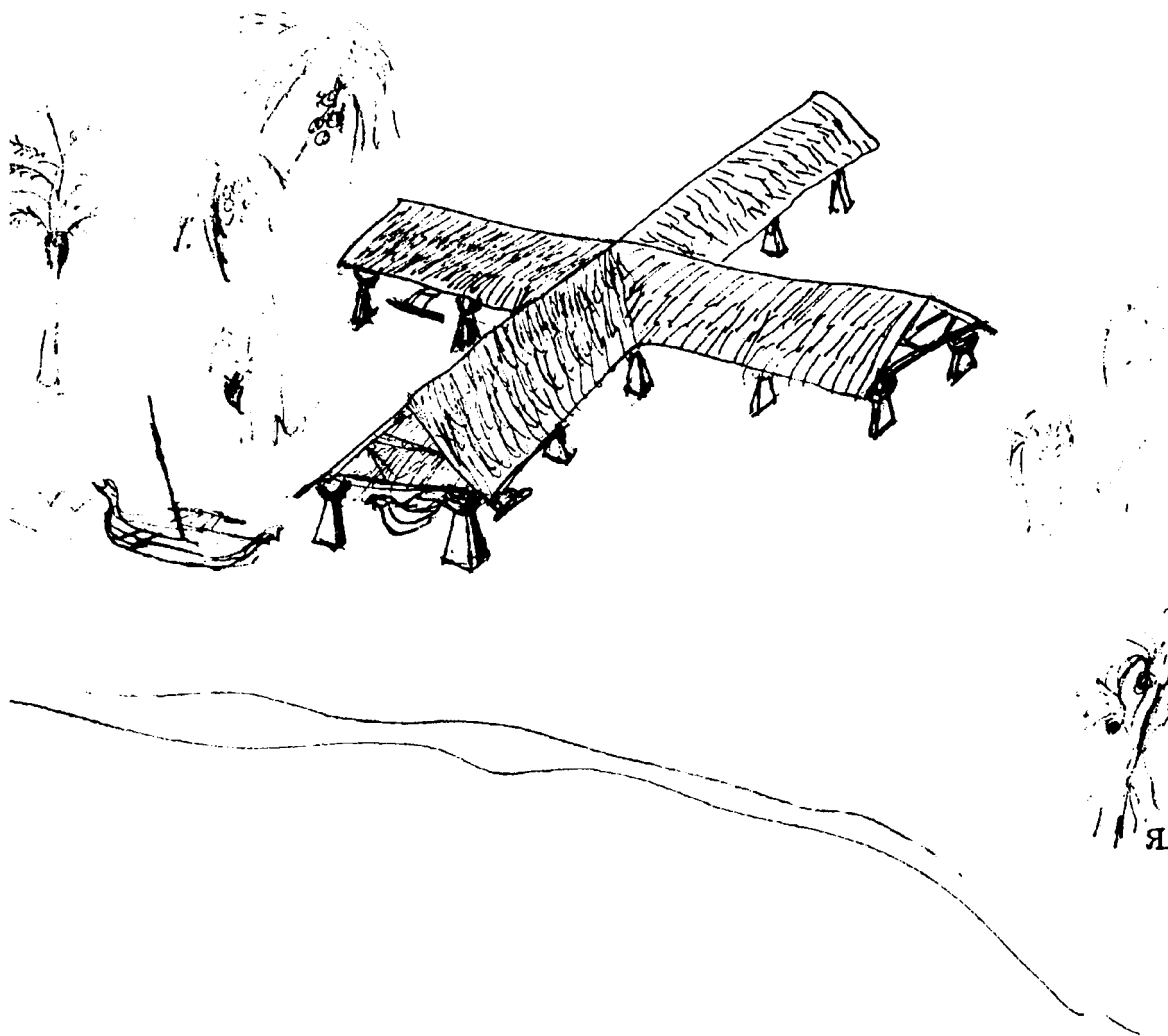
Their houses are tall, well built and finished, raised one level above the ground on top of some big stone pillars² and upon those they build the granary and have their living room, with rooms and divided areas on either side of the living room. Their sleeping areas are matted like [our] camp beds. As for their high attics where they store their household and personal effects, and the small windows in their rooms, everything is well crafted, something worth seeing because they are made without any tools. These are the houses in which they sleep.

They have other houses, low ones near the ground, where they cook their food, prepare and serve the meals, with their attics where the servants sleep. Both types of houses are covered with palm [shingles].

They have other large houses used as boat sheds, not to live in but used as community halls. They place their large proas and their canoes in the shade there. Each village has one of these sheds. There was one of them where we took our water, very nice with four naves, made in the shape of a cross, that could hold 200 men, 50 in each wing. They were very spacious, wide and high, and worth seeing. Inside the above, mass was said on the days we were there; there could be seen also some large proas, which they say are meant for crossing the high sea between the islands and which carry a heavy load. All of them come with a counterweight on the windward side, in proportion to the size of the proa, with which they sail safely because they cannot capsize.

1 Ed. note: It is possible that the fish had been hooked from a line they had overboard the canoe.

2 Ed. note: The famous pillars called *latte*.



Sketch of an unusual boat shed at Umatac, Guam, in 1565. This is my conception of the large boat-house and community hall described by Father Rada, which existed in 1565 near the stream (and the latter-day church ruins) in the cove at Umatac. It was unusual in that it had four wings in the shape of a cross. Each wing could hold 50 people. It probably had 20 latte stones, as shown. This is the building where mass was said by the Augustinian Fathers, probably in the central area. Some large sea-going canoes were also stored there. The Chamorros had two other types of houses as well, the large type being similarly raised on stone pillars. The half-spherical capitals of the pillars were designed to prevent rats from going up into the attics and granaries under the roof. The Spanish soldiers probably burned this particular boat shed on the night that preceded their departure.

It was not possible to find out if they have a king, but from what was observed it seemed not. Rather, they live in villages or family groups, and so it appeared in their settlements.

On Saturday, 3rd of February, we left this Island of **Goam** to pursue our voyage to the west. We ran thus until Tuesday, 13th of February in the morning, when we sighted land. We headed for it and at the hour of vespers we went close and anchored inside a large bay in the lee of some small islets and on the other side there was the big island; the islets are on the east side. We anchored in 40 fathoms, etc.

Summary of the rest of the narrative, by James A. Robertson

Peace was made with the natives of one of the islands [near Samar]. Inquiries were made for Bernardo de la Torre, one of the captains of the Villalobos expedition, and they were given to understand that he was north from there. The natives, while professing friendship, brought their visitors but little food. Legazpi, therefore, sent Juan de la Isla with a party to look for a good port. This party was gone six days, experiencing the usual treachery from the natives, who killed one of the men, who had disembarked without permission. Meanwhile another expedition was despatched toward the south, with the same object in view. Possession was taken of the island of Zibabao in the King's name.

On the 20th of February the fleet set sail passing southward between a large island and a number of small islets. Next day they cast anchor off the large island in a large bay to which they gave the name of San Pedro. Here they learned that Tandaya, where they hoped to find the Spaniards still remaining in these regions from the Villalobos expedition, was a day's journey farther on. In this bay a native came to Legazpi's ship who could speak a few words of Spanish. They wished to send word to Tandaya and to buy provisions, but the natives, though good promisers, were tardy doers. Goiti was sent in search of Tandaya, while the General took possession of the island near which the ships were anchored.¹ The latter, attempting to ascend to the native village, encountered the hostility of the people. Government here was in "in districts like communal towns, each district having a chief. We could not ascertain whether they had any great chief or lord."

Goiti returned in 10 days with news that he had found a large river which he was told was Tandaya. As they explored the coasts they were followed by the natives, who took every occasion of displaying their hostility. He had passed a large settlement called Cabalian. There was a good anchorage here, but no port; "and the Indians of Cabalian had golden jewels, and had many swine and Castilian hens which were near the shore and which could be seen from the boat."

1 Ed. note: So he took possession of Samar Island twice.

On the 5th of March the fleet sailed to this town, reaching it on the same day. Friendship was made with the natives in accordance with their special blood ceremonies in such cases. Some boats, sent out next day under command of the Master-of-camp, discovered the strait separating this island [Leyte] from Panaon. The usual trouble was experienced by Legazpi in securing provisions, and it was necessary to despatch Goiti to the shore to take what was needed, but with orders not to harm the natives. Next day Legazpi sent to the shore what was considered the equivalent of the food thus taken, in beads and other articles, by a native who was on his vessel. The General learned from hostages aboard his ship the names of many of the islands. On the 9th of March the fleet set sail for Mazagua [Limasawa], being guided by one of these hostages. Failing to meet here the hoped-for friendship, they determined to go to the island of Camiguin, first setting free all the hostages, giving them back their canoe, provisioning it for three days, and giving many presents of clothes to them, in order by this liberality to contract a lasting friendship. On the 11th of March the coast of this island was reached. This island "is very thickly wooded." The natives, as usual, fled. On the 14th the fleet set sail for Butuan in Mindanao, but owing to contrary winds, they were not able to [make it and had to fall back toward] Bohol. The patache San Juan was despatched to Butuan from this place, to try and make peace with its king and the people; and the captain of this vessel was ordered to treat well any junks he might meet from "China or Borneo, and other parts." The Malayan interpreter, Gerónimo Pacheco, was sent in this vessel, and they were ordered to obtain as much information as possible in regard to trade. The time given them for this expedition was 25 days.

News being received that a large sail had been seen, the Master-of-camp was sent in a small boat to investigate. Two days later he returned, reporting that the junk was from Borneo, and that he had fought with it "for it would not listen to peace." In the end the junk surrendered, and was brought in a prisoner; but the enemy "had killed a good soldier with a lance-thrust through the throat" and had wounded 20 more. The men of the junk were Moros, and they had fought most valiantly, and "were determined to die." Legazpi gave the Moros their liberty, whereat they expressed many thanks; he gathered as much information as possible from them in regard to the islands and peoples of these regions. "The Moros told him that they carried iron and tin from Borneo, and from China porcelain, bells made of copper according to their manner, benzoin, and painted tapestry; from India pans and tempered iron pots."

Among the captured Moros was the pilot, "a most experienced man who had much knowledge, not only of matters concerning these Philippine Islands, but of those of the Moluccas, Borneo, Malacca, Java, India, and China, where he had had much experience in navigation and trade." The Moros being shown the articles of trade brought by the fleet, advised them to go to Borneo, Siam, Patani, or Malacca, where they could easily trade them, but "although we wandered about these islands for 10 years, we could not dispose of so many silks, cloths, and linens." "This Moro told the General that two junks from Luzon were in Butuan, trading gold, wax, and slaves... He said that the island of Luzon is farther north than Borneo." The Castilians learn that the hostility and

fear of the natives of these islands is the result of a marauding expedition conducted by Portuguese, who had represented themselves to be Castilians. With the aid of the Moro pilot peace and friendship were made with one of the chief men of the island of Bohol; and now for the first time food was received in any quantity, many sardines especially being brought by the natives.

Legazpi despatched one of the small boats to Cebu in order to make friendship and peace with its inhabitants, and to gather all possible information for the relation he was to send back to New Spain. They were guided by the Moro, who acted in the capacity of interpreter, as he knew the language of the natives. A negro "who had been in India and Malacca, and knew the Malay tongue" acted as interpreter between the pilot and the Spaniards. "The Borneans said that the Indians had two Spaniards, and that some time ago they had given one of them to Bornean merchants; they did not know whether they had the other yet, or what had been done with him. The Portuguese had ransomed the one taken by the Borneans and had taken him to Malacca." As the men sent to Cebu did not return within the time appointed by Legazpi—they had been provisioned for but one week—a canoe of natives, who offered themselves, was sent to look for them.

Meanwhile the San Juan which had been despatched to Butuan, returned without having accomplished the full object of its mission, namely, to procure information regarding cinnamon. The captain reported having "found at the port of Botuan two Moro junks from Luzon" with which they traded for gold and wax. The soldiers, hearing that the Moros had much gold in their junks, were insistent that they should seize them, alleging as an excuse the deceit practiced by the Moros in their trading. The captain would not permit this, and in order to avoid a collision with the Moros returned to the fleet, leaving part of his duty unaccomplished, for which Legazpi reprimanded him severely.

The General, calling a council of his officers and others, consulted with them as to the advisability of colonizing one of the islands. All but the religious were unanimous that a settlement should be made on one of them, but the latter did not care "to deliberate upon this." Questioned as to what island they preferred, if Legazpi should order a settlement made, they signified as their choice the island of Cabalian [i.e. Leyte], where although there was no port, a settlement could be made in the interior, as food was abundant there, and the return vessel to [New] Spain could be easily provisioned. The unanimous opinion was that the **San Pedro** should return with news of the expedition to New Spain, as it was a lighter and better vessel than the **San Pablo**.

Nine days after their departure, the canoe returned without news of the Spaniards sent to Cebu, which caused Legazpi great anxiety. That same night, however, these men returned alive and well, but the Moro pilot had been treacherously killed by some natives, while bathing in a river of the island of Negros. They had not anchored at Cebu, because of the violence of the tides about it. They had coasted about Negros and Cebu, and reported a large population and a plentiful food supply on the latter island. A council having been called, it was determined that the fleet should go to Cebu, without delay, in order that they might make a settlement and despatch the **San Pedro** before the rainy

season set in. Therefore, on Easter Day the fleet set sail for this island, distant from Bohol 15 or 16 leagues. Being delayed by calms and contrary winds and the tides they did not reach their destination until the 27th and 30th of April.

In conformity with the opinion that it was allowable to fight with the inhabitants of this island if they refused food and would not make a true friendship and peace—inasmuch as their chiefs had been baptized, and had afterward apostatized, and had treated Magellan treacherously—Legazpi, after meeting with expressions of hostility and defiance, sent a party ashore to take the island. The natives immediately fled, and the soldiers were unable to find any of them on disembarking. “Their weapons are long sharp iron lances, throwing-sticks, shields, small daggers, wooden corselets, corded breastplates, a few bows and arrows, and culverins.” About 100 houses were burned, the fire having started from an accidental shot from one of the vessels, or having been lit purposely by the natives. The soldiers were quartered in the homes remaining after the fire.

“There was found a marvelous thing, namely, a child Jesus like those of Flanders, in its little pine cradle and its little loose shirt, such as come from those parts, and a little velvet hat, like those of Flanders—and all so well preserved that only the little cross, which is generally upon the globe that he holds in his hands, was missing.” Meanwhile, as was right, the General had this prize, and when he saw it, he fell on his knees, receiving it with great devotion. He took it in his hands and kissed its feet; and raising his eyes to Heaven, he said: “Lord, thou art powerful to punish offences, committed in this island against Thy Majesty, and to found herein thy house, and holy Church, where they most glorious name shall be praised and magnified. I supplicate thee that thou enlighten and guide me, so that all that we do here may be to thy glory and honor, and the exaltation of thy holy Catholic faith.” And he ordered that this sacred image be placed with all reverence in the first church that should be founded, and that the church be called *Nombre de Jesús* [Name of Jesus]. It gave great happiness and inspiration to all to see such an auspicious beginning, for indeed it seemed a work of God to have preserved so completely this image among infidels for such a long time; and an auspicious augury in the part where the settlement was to be made.”

On 8 May, the **fort** was commenced, Legazpi breaking the first ground, and “dedicating it to the most blessed name of Jesus.” The sites for the Spanish quarters and the church were chosen, and the town was called San Miguel, because founded on the day of this saint’s apparition. That night the natives returned, setting fire to the remaining houses, so that the whole town was in danger of being burned, with all the goods brought ashore from the ships. The site of the house wherein had been found the sacred image was selected “as the site of the Monastery of the Name of Jesus... and from the said house the child Jesus was brought to the... church in solemn procession, and with the great devotion, rejoicing, and gladness of all the men. Arriving at the church, they all adored it, and placed it on the principal altar, and all vowed to observe, sanctify, and celebrate solemnly as a feast day each year, the day on which it had been found, April 28. And in addition a brotherhood of the most blessed name of Jesus was established

in the same manner, under the conditions of that of San Agustin of Mexico, the majority of the people entering as members and brothers." In this procession took part a number of natives under two chiefs who professed friendship to the Spaniards. Finally peace and friendship was made between Legazpi and the greatest chief of the island, Tupas; and it was arranged that tributes should be paid in produce, since the people had no gold—not because of "any necessity the King of Castile had of it" but merely as a tribute and token that they recognized him as their lord. But, perhaps through the maliciousness of the Moro interpreters, this peace was not concluded or kept; and certain of the natives, finding one of the company, Pedro de Arana, alone, killed him and cut off his head. "In this manner do the Indians of these islands keep peace and friendship, who in our presence refuse or deny nothing; but twenty paces away they keep nothing that they have promised. They have no knowledge of truth, nor are they accustomed to it. Therefore it is understood, that it will be very difficult to trade with them in a friendly manner, unless they understand subjection or fear."

On the 27th of May, Legazpi ordered that the roll of those remaining be taken, in order that it might be sent to New Spain. Certain men of gentle birth, headed by one Pedro de Mena, objected to serving as Legazpi's body-guard, saying that such was the duty of servants. The Master-of-camp hearing this disrespect to the general, chided them, and sentenced them to serve in the companies. In revenge for this, someone set fire to the house in which Legazpi's personal effects had been stored. The fire was put out and the danger averted with difficulty, during which "some of the soldiers were burned and hurt." De Mena and Esteban Terra were arrested, and the latter was given a hearing and found guilty. He was executed next morning. "From this it will be seen that not only are there enemies outside, but even in the very camp itself... and it will be seen how necessary and suitable is the aid that must come from New Spain."

Document 1565Y

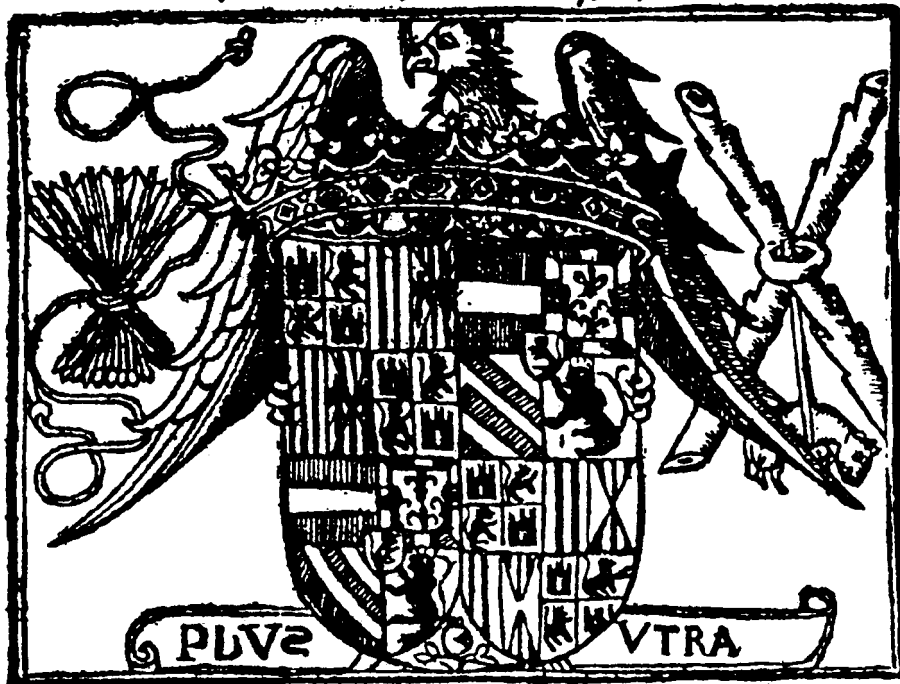
Legazpi—First printed account of the Legazpi expedition, Barcelona 1566

Sources: Pamphlet published at Barcelona in 1566, by Pau Cortey [Catalan for Paul Cortés] and entitled: "Copia de una carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia...". The one copy extant in the 19th century was the property of W. E. Retana, who sold it to the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, in Barcelona; a transcript in Spanish and its translation by Alfonso de Salvio was published in B&R 2:220-231. In 1905, a limited edition of 15 facsimile copies was produced in Madrid by Victoria-no Suárez. One of these was used as a master copy by Carlos Sanz in 1958.

Copy of a letter mailed from Seville to Miguel Salvador in Valencia, by an anonymous author¹

¹ Ed. note: This letter, says Robertson, was probably written by someone belonging to Arellano's patache San Lucas, or who obtained his information from that Captain's followers. I would think otherwise, on account of the learned comments made by the author, who had seen the correspondence sent by Legazpi. Hence, he may have been a member of the Audiencia writing from Mexico at the end of 1565, whose letter was aboard the first fleet that left Veracruz and arrived at Seville in May or June 1566.

Copia de vna carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia. La qual narra el venturoso descubrimiento que los Mexicanos han hecho, navegando con la armada que su Magestad mando hazer en Mexico. Con otras cosas marauillosas, y de gran prouecho para toda la Christiandad: son dignas de ser vistas y leydas
 ¶ En Barcelona, Per Pau Correy, 1566.



DEsto de la China ay dos relaciones, y es, que a los dezisiete de Nouiembre del año de mil y quinientos y sessenta y quatro, por mandado de su Magestad, se hizo vna armada en el puerto de la Natiuidad de la mar del Sur, cient leguas de Mexico, de dos naues, y dos patayfos, para descubrir las yslas de la espeeeria, que las llaman Philippinas, por nuestro Rey, costaron mas de seyscientos mil pesos de Atipusque hechas a la vela.

¶ Partieron el dicho dia del puerto, y nauegaron seys dias juntas: y a los siete les dio vna barrusca, que se aparto dellas el Patays, que era de cincuenta toneladas, y lleuaua venyete

Copy of a letter sent from Se-

ville to Miguel Salvador of Valencia, which narrates the fortunate discovery made by the Mexicans who sailed in the fleet which His Majesty ordered to be built in Mexico. With other wonderful things of great advantage for all Christendom: worthy of being seen and heard.

Printed in Barcelona, by Pau Cortey, 1566.

Of this discovery, two relations have come from China¹: namely, that on the 27th of November², in the year 1564, a fleet was made ready by order of His Majesty in the Port of Natividad (which is situated on the South Sea, 100 leagues from Mexico), consisting of two ships and two pataches, in order to discover the spice islands, which are named Philippines, after our King. This fleet, when ready for sailing, cost more than 600,000 pesos of Atipusque.³

These vessels set sail from port on the above-mentioned day, voyaging in company for six days. On the seventh a squall struck them, separating from the others the patache, a vessel of 50-ton burthen, and carrying a crew of twenty

1 Ed. note: Meaning the Western Islands

2 The actual date of departure was the 21st.

3 Ed. note: The actual cost was over 380,000 pesos of common gold, plus over 27,000 pesos of mined gold (See Doc. 1565A). Atipusque was probably a Mexican mint, or a mine; if we knew which, we could determine the ratio between unrefined and refined gold in Mexico at the time.

hombres: el qual nauego cinquenta dias, y al fin dellos, vio tierra, que eran muchas islas entre las quales vio vna mas grande, y alli surgio. ¶ Acudieron ala costa gente dela isla la qual es mas blanca que los Indios nuestros: y las mugeres muy mas blancas que los hombres. Venian vestidos, assi los hombres, como las mugeres de cofas de palma texidas, y labradas encima con sedas de colores. Por gala, trahe los dientes colorados, y horadados, y en los agujeros vnos clauicos de oro. Y los hombres con calças de liço de algodõ con senogiles de seda, con muchas pieças de oro. ¶ Entre ellos vino vno q̄ parecia de mas calidad, vestido todo de seda, con vn alfange, la empuñadura, y guarniciones de oro, y piedras. ¶ Los nuestros les pidieron mantenimientos, y dierõ se los a trueque de bugerias: pero ellos pidierõ hierro y dio seles: y quando vieron los clauos, no querian otro sino clauos, y estos pagauan con oro en polvo. Trayan algunos vnas dagas de azero muy galanas, y muestran ser gente polinica y de mucha razón. Vlan de peso y medida: dierõ a los nuestros gamos, puercos, gallinas, codornizes, arroz, mijo, y pan de palmas: de todo esto ay grande abúndancia. Estuuõ alli el Patays casi treynta dias, esperando las otras naues, y como no vinieron, determino de boluer a Mexico: y al tiempo que salio dela isla, encontro vn junco, que es nauio de casi cient toneladas, en la qual venian sessenta Indios, y como vieron el Patays, todos se echaron a nado, y se fueron a la tierra, que estaua cerca. Entraron dentro algunos soldados, por mandado del capitan, y hallaron que yua cargado de porcellanas, y mantas, y lienços pintados, y otras cosas dela tierra, y algunos cañutillos de oro molido, delos quales no tomarõ mas que vno, y algunas porcellanas, y algunas mantas: y delo demas, de todo poco, para traer lo por muestra. Estuuõ este Patays en yr y en boluer, dozientos, y treynta dias. Houveron de menester subir mas de quarenta grados haz la el norte. Huuo desde el puerto do partieron, hasta esta isla, mil y setecientas leguas. ¶ Las otras tres naues dentro de cinquenta dias hallaron muchas islas, y a-

men. This vessel sailed for 50 days, at the end of which time land was sighted. This proved to be a number of islands, among which they saw one larger than the others [i.e. Mindanao], where they cast anchor.

On the shore of the island were gathered the natives, who are lighter complexioned than our [Mexican] Indians, the women being of even lighter hue than the men. Men and women were clad alike in garments woven from the palm, and worked along the edges with different colored silks. By way of adornment, they color their teeth, and bore them through from side to side, placing pegs of gold in the holes. The men wear drawers of cotton cloth, silken garters, and many pieces of gold.

Among them was one man who seemed of higher rank than the others, clad wholly in silk, and wearing a cutlass, of which the hilt and sword guard were gold and precious stones.

Our men asked them for food, giving them various trinkets in exchange. But they asked for iron, which was given to them; and when they caught sight of the nails, they desired nothing else, and paid for them with gold-dust. Some of them wear very neatly-made steel daggers and they appear to be a polite and intelligent people. They use weights and measures. They gave our men deer, swine, poultry, quail, rice, millet, and bread made of dates—all in great abundance. The patache remained here for about 30 days, waiting for the other ships; but, as these did not come, they determined to return to Mexico. As they left the island, they met a junk, which is a vessel of about 100-ton burthen, in which were 60 Indians. When these caught sight of the patache, all threw themselves into the water, and swam to the shore, which was not far away. Some soldiers, by command of the captain, boarded the junk, and found it laden with porcelain, cloths, figured linens, and other products of their country, together with some beads of hammered gold. Of these latter they took but one, with some of the porcelain and cloth—a little of each thing—to carry as specimens. In going and returning this patache consumed 230 days. They were compelled to run to the north, beyond the 40th degree. From the port of departure to that island, they sailed 1,700 leagues.

Within 50 days, the other three vessels discovered many islands. They

portarō en algunas dellas, y passaron en cada vna dellas muchas cosas, que es tan grande la relacion, que ocupa veynte pliegos de papel. En un aportaron a vna isla grande que se llama lubu, y alli hizieron amistad con el rey della, que le hizo desta manera. Saco se el rey sangre del pecho, y el capitán assi mesmo, y echada la sangre de entrambos en vna copa de vino la partierō por medio, y el vno beuió la vna mitad, y el otro la otra mitad: y aquello dizen q̄ haze la amistad muy olable. Cō todo esto tuuierō ciertas pañiones, y robarō vn lugarejo: y en vna casa pobre hallaron vn niño Iesus, de los que traen de Flandes, con su velo, y pomo en la mano, tan fresco como si se acabara de hazer entonces. En aquella isla quisieron poblar, porq̄ es muy abundante de todos los mantenimientos, y començaron a hazer vn fuerte, y hizierō fuera del vna yglesia, do pusieron el niño Iesus, y la llamarō del nombre de Iesus: y la isla la llaman sant Miguel, porque se entro en ella el dia de su Aparicion. Y de alli a los Malucas dōde esta la especieria, ay cient y cinquēta leguas, y ala China dozientas, y a Malach quinientas leguas. Y hallaron alli canela finissima, que la hauian los dela isla trahydo de los Malucas y gengibre, y cosas de seda galanas. Y de alli embiaron deias tres naues la capitana de Mexico, do llego despues que hauia llegado el Parays, y estauan adereçando otras dos naues para socorro. Hay muchas otras islas por alli muy grandes, y son del mismo modo desta. Entre las otras hay vna tierra tan rica de oro, que no lo estiman en nada: y hay tanta cantidad de canela que la quemā en lugar de leña: es de tan luzida gente, q̄ la ygualan con España. Hay alli vn rey q̄ tiene ala continua mil hōbres de guarda: y estima se tanto que ninguno de sus vassallos le vee la cara sino vna vez en el año: y si le han de hablar para tratar con el algo, le hablā por vna zebatana: y quādo de año a año se dexa ver, le dā muy grandes riquezas. Son gente muy prima, hazen brocados, y sedas texidas de muchas maneras. Tienen en tan poco el oro, q̄ dio este rey por vn pretal de cascaveles, tres barchillas de oro en polvo: porq̄ alli todo quanto oro ay es en pol

anchored at some of these, and in each one they suffered many hardships. So long is the relation of this, that it fills twenty sheets of paper.¹ Finally they landed at a large island named **Iubu**² where they made friendship with its king. This was done in the following manner. The king drew some blood from his breast, and the captain did the same. The blood of both was placed in one cup of wine, which was then divided into two equal parts, whereupon each one drank one half; and this, they assert, constituted inviolable friendship. Notwithstanding this, they had certain conflicts, and sacked a small place. In a poorly-built house was found an image of the child Jesus, such as comes from Flanders, with his veil and the globe in his hand, and in as good condition as if just made. They wished to settle in that island, because of the abundance of all kinds of food. They began the construction of a fort, outside of which they erected a church, wherein the child Jesus was placed, and they called the church *Nombre de Jesús* [Name of Jesus]. They named the island San Miguel, because of landing there on the day of his apparition. From here to the Moluccas, where the spices are found, there is a distance of 120 leagues; to China, 200; and to Malacca, 500. They found in this island the finest cinnamon, which its people acquire through trade with the Moluccas; besides ginger and articles of fine silk. Of the three vessels, the flagship was despatched from that island to Mexico, where it arrived later than the patache, and where two other vessels were being prepared as a relief. There are many other very large islands in that region, in appearance quite like the above-named island. Among others is a region so rich in gold, that the amount is beyond estimation. And there is so great abundance of cinnamon that it is burned instead of wood by those people, who are as luxurious as those of Spain. They have a king there who has a constant bodyguard of 1,000 men, and who is esteemed so highly that none of his subjects see his face oftener than once a year. If they find it necessary to converse with him on any matter, they speak to him through a long wooden tube.³ And when he annually permits himself to be gazed upon, his subjects give him many valuable things. These people are quite advanced. They possess brocades and silken fabrics of many different kinds. They hold gold in so little estimation that this king gave three *barchillas*⁴ of gold dust (for there all their gold is in the form of dust) for one string of jingle bells.

1 Ed. note: A reference to the account by Legazpi, Doc. 1565W.

2 Ed. note: Misprint for Çubu.

3 Ed. note: This story is from Pigafetta and is about the customs of Borneo.

4 A measure for grain containing one-third of a fanega.

uo. Cargaron estas tres naues quando tornaron tanta cantidad de oro en aquella isla, que mōto el quinto q̄ dan al rey vn millon y dozientos mil ducados. ¶ Aadan por alla Moros contratando con naues, y trocādo cosas de su tierra por oro, y mantas, y especieria, y por clauos y otras cosas. Encontro la armada con vna naue dellos, y tomola, aunque se defendio de tal manera, q̄ mato vno dellos y hirieron mas de veynte. Y trahian muchas cosas de oro y mantas, y otras especierias que hauian rescutado. Hay tantas islas que dizē que son serēta cinco mil y ochocientas. En esta isla de lubudo hazen poblacion, es do mataron a Magallanes. Y dizen, que los Portugueses con ciertas Carauelas aportaron por alli, haura dos años, llamādose Españoles, y vassallos del rey de Castilla, y robaron muchas islas, y las saquearon, y lleuaron mucha gente captiua, porque como veyan q̄ nuestra armada se hazia en la nueua España, tomassen los nuestrōs cō los dela tierra mal credito: Y assi quando los nuestrōs llegaron, pensando que eran ellos, huyan a los mōtes con sus joyas, y haciendas. Y se ha visto el general en harto trabajo por apaziguarlos, y darles a entender que son ellos, y cierto deue ser hombre cuerdo, porque por la relaciō se vee ha uer tenido mucho sufrimiento, por no topar con ellos, y los ha lleuado con mucho amor, sin hazer agrauio a nadie. Ellos es cosa grāde, y de mucha importācia: y los de Mexico estā muy vfanos con su descubrimiento, q̄ tienen entēdido q̄ seran ellos el coraçon del mundo. Trahe en este nauio de auiso q̄ es venido agora aca, gēgibre, canela, oro en polvo, vna arroua de conchas riquissimas de oro, y blancas, joyas de oro, cera, y otras cosas para dar muestra de lo que en aquella tierra ay, y muchas bugerias, y otras cosas muy galanas. Y aunque no las traxeran, harto trahian en hauer descubierto y hallado la nauegacion por aquestas partes, que es cosa de mucha calidad. Con la flota sabremos mas, de lo que supiere auisare a. V. M. &c.

Those three vessels loaded so much gold in that island that the king's fifth amounted to one million two hundred thousand ducats.

Moros frequent that district in ships for purposes of trade, bartering the products of their country for gold, cloths, spices, cloves, and other articles. The fleet encountered one of their vessels and captured it, although its occupants defended themselves so valiantly that one of the Spaniards was killed, and more than twenty wounded. They had much gold, cloth, besides spices, which they had acquired in trade. So many are the islands that they are said to number 75,800.¹ That island of Iubu, where the colony was planted, is the place where Magellan was killed.² It is said that the Portuguese with some caravels landed there about two years ago, claiming to be Spaniards and subjects of the king of Castile, and plundered many islands, sacking them and seizing many of the natives. Consequently, when those people heard that our fleet had been made ready in New Spain, our men were held in bad repute among the natives of that region. Therefore, when our men arrived, the inhabitants, thinking them to be Portuguese, fled to the bush with their jewels and possessions. The General has experienced much trouble in appeasing them, and in making the natives understand who the Spaniards are. Surely he must be a discreet man, for the relation shows that he has exercised much forbearance in not coming to blows with them; and he has shown them much friendliness, without causing offense to anyone. This is a great and very important achievement; and the people of Mexico are very proud of their discovery, which they think will make them the center of the world. The vessel that has just come here with the news of this discovery has brought ginger, cinnamon, gold dust, an *arroba* of the richest gold *conchas* and *blancas*³, gold ornaments, wax, and other articles, in order to furnish proof of what this land contains, besides many trinkets and pretty articles. And even had they not brought these things, they bring enough in having discovered and found the [return] route for navigation to these districts, which is a most notable event. When the fleet comes, we shall know more—of which, when it is known, I shall advise your Grace, etc.

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- 1 Ed. note: I think this is a transcription error of 7,580 which would be a good estimate of the number of the Philippine and neighboring islands.
 - 2 Ed. note: A common error for Mactan.
 - 3 The *concha* and *blanca* were ancient copper coins of the value of 1/2 and 3 Maravedis, respectively. The coins above-mentioned evidently resembled these in size.

Documents 1565Z

Legazpi—Taking possession of Micronesia for the King of Spain in January 1565

Sources: AGI, formerly under "Escrituras y rrecaudos tocantes al descubrimiento de las Islas del poniente", now in Patronato 1-1-1/23, n° 17; Col. Ultramar iii, doc. 38, pp. 76-81, 89-90.

Z1. Taking possession of the Marshalls¹

[At the] Island of the Barbudos [Mejit], 9 January 1565.

Aboard the flagship, on the 9th day of the month of January of the year 1565, the most illustrious Sir Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General, for His Majesty, of the people and fleet going in his royal service to the discovery of the Islands of the West, while at the Island of the Barbudos, before me, Hernando Riquel, Senior Government Notary of the said islands and of the said fleet, his Lordship declared: that, on account of having seen this island today and in it houses, communal huts and Indians in canoes who fled from the beach, it is proper that possession of this island and of the others that are to be discovered be taken in the name of His Majesty; that his Lordship cannot take it personally at present because the fleet is at sea under sail and he has been unable to anchor; that consequently, in the name of His Majesty, as such is foreseen by law, he was giving and did give his full power to Felipe de Salcedo, his grandson, for him to take and seize the possession of the said island for His Royal Majesty King Philip, our Lord, and in his Royal name, the same as if his Lordship in person had taken and did take it, as fully and completely a power as required for the taking of the said possession which he did himself give and grant to the said Felipe de Salcedo with its incidences, dependencies, annexes and connections in legal form with all the

¹ Villalobos had already taken possession of the Marshall Islands on 1 January 1543 (See Vol. 1, p. 618), but the act of possession fell into the hands of the Portuguese in the Moluccas and was probably destroyed.

usual and customary clauses in similar cases that are deemed to have been stated although they are not specified herewith and, to confirm same he signed it with his name, being witnesses thereof Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, religious of the Order of St. Augustine, Captain Juan de la Isla, and Captain Juan Maldonado.

Miguel López passed before me,
Hernando Riquel, Senior Notary.

In the accomplishment of the above-said, his Lordship the General sent to the said island a boat and within it the said Felipe de Salcedo and me, the said notary, and Father Fray Andrés the Urdaneta with a bodyguard of soldiers to whom he ordered not to do any harm nor mistreat any of the Indians and natives of the said island nor take any food supplies nor any other things from their properties but rather he gave them beads and other trade goods to give to the said natives as a sign of peace and friendship and love, while the ships waited for the said boat tacking back and forth.

Hernando Riquel, Senior Notary.

Immediately afterward, on this same above-mentioned day, month and year, the said Felipe de Salcedo, by virtue of the power invested in him by the most illustrious Sir Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General, for the taking in the name of His Majesty possession of the said island of Barbudos which is in the latitude of ten degrees, being on foot ashore, before me, the said notary, **he took the said possession of the said island** really and actually in proper legal form, by cutting branches, pulling out grasses and doing other ceremonies of possession, and he went to the houses of the natives of the said island in order to attract them thus peacefully, in the name of His Majesty, and he did not find any person in them until an old Indian man was brought forward, with his wife and children to whom were given a very good treatment, and they were given beads, knives and other things as a sign of friendship and according to the local custom, and they received it with much happiness and contentment and they danced according to the local custom showing much pleasure, and the said possession was taken in peace without contradiction from any person. So that there be proof that the said possession had been taken in the name of His Majesty by the said Felipe de Salcedo, as a person who held the power of the said Governor, the said Felipe de Salcedo asked me for a notarized statement.

I, Hernando Riquel, Senior Government Notary for the Islands of the West for His Majesty, bear witness to the aforesaid for I was present, in company with a large number of soldiers who were also present as witnesses, and in witness whereof I signed it with my usual name and rubric to attest to its truthfulness.

Certified true copy.

Hernando Riquel, Government Notary.

Z2. Taking possession of the Ladrones

[At the] Island of the Ladrones, 26 January 1565.

On the 26th day of the month of January of the year 1565, being on an island of the Ladrones that the native islanders gave us to understand by sign language is called **Guan**, the most illustrious Sir Miguel López de Legazpi, for His Majesty Governor and Captain General of the people and the fleet going in his service to discover the Islands of the West, having disembarked in the cove where watering was done, before me, Hernando Riquel, Senior Notary for the said fleet and for the government of the said Islands of the West, declared: that in the name of His Royal Majesty King Philip, our Lord, and as his Governor and Captain General, was taking and did take possession, and was taking and did take the tenency and physical and actual possession of the said island and of the others dependent islands in the vicinity, and as a token of real possession he took out his sword and cut tree branches, pulled out grasses, threw stones and had crosses cut in the trees, specially in a few coconut palm trees that were near the beach, and he caused masses to be said and celebrated by the religious of the Order of our lord Saint Augustine who are with the said fleet, and he took a stroll from one place to another, and he formally and presently did other formal acts and ceremonies of physical possession as is required in such cases, is usually done and customary to do. The said possession took place quietly and peacefully in the presence of many persons without any contradiction from any person.

As a proof that all the above-said happened thus, he asked me, the said notary, to prepare a certificate and in fulfillment thereof, I, the said Hernando Riquel the above-mentioned notary, bear witness to the aforesaid for I was present, together with his Lordship the said Governor, being witnesses thereof the Most Reverend Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, Prior, the Master-of-Camp Mateo del Sanz, the accountant Andrés Cauchela, the factor Andrés de Mirandaola, Lieutenant General Andrés de Ibarra, Gerónimo de Monçón and many other persons. In witness whereof I affixed here my usual signature and rubric to attest to its truthfulness.

Hernando Riquel, Senior Notary.

Certified true copy.

Hernando Riquel, Government Notary.

Documents 1565AA

Legazpi—Captain Arellano's round-trip voyage in the patache San Lucas

AA1. Account of the voyage by Captain Don Alonso de Arellano

Sources: Original manuscript in the Biblioteca de San Isidro, Madrid; copy at AGI 1-1-1/23; transcribed by Muñoz on 25 October 1792; MN ms. 141, doc. 16, folios 263-285; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. 17; Col. Ultramar, iii, doc. 37, pp. 1-76; cited in B&R 2:105-106, note 44. A translation exists by Fr. Rafael Lopez, O.S.A., in "The Christianization of the Philippines", Manila, 1965, pp. 273-309; regretfully, it is not literal enough and may lead to confusion in some places.

In the name of God.—True account written by Don Alonso de Arellano, Captain of the patache San Lucas which sailed from the port of Navidad to the Islands of the West, his pilot being Lope Martín, a native of Ayamonte.¹

We sailed from the port of Navidad at midnight of Monday, 19 November 1564,² with a good wind and our orders were to steer southwest. We followed this heading until 25 November³ and were then told to steer W 1/4 SW [W by S]. On this day, the sun was taken in 14° and 1/2. We continued in that direction for four days, until we were given the Instruction regarding the route we were to follow, which was W 1/4 SW, and we sailed with the said fleet until 1 December [when] we were asked to take the lead always. From the time we were given this Instruction, it was then that a gale from the NE hit us and made the galleons lower their topsails. During the night of 1 December, the wind was so strong that it made us head SW, because we were taking too much water and we could not show her side to the waves, because our ship was so small, had low boards and high upper works, and the sea was running high. Since there was

- 1 Ed. note: There is no document to authenticate the fact that the Master may have been none other than Gonzalo de Vigo, the deserter from the Trinidad, picked up by the Loayza expedition.
- 2 Ed. note: Arellano's dates are, erroneously, 1 day ahead of (or behind) the true calendar date. The Monday in question was 20 November and they departed after midnight, i.e. before daybreak on Tuesday 21 November, according to all other accounts.
- 3 Ed. note: It was, in fact, on the 26th.

nothing we could do but run before the wind, we put up a lamp at the poop of the ship for the galleons to know our trouble and we kept it there the whole night, but they never responded to it. Then, on the following day, we did not see the fleet and we understood that the fleet had gone ahead of us. So, we raised the lower mainsail because the ship would handle better with it, and so we ran the whole day without seeing the fleet. Although we wished to see it, we could not on account of the thick fog and obscurity at the time; for 20 days we did not see the sun. So, we ran in search of the islands of **Los Reyes** as we had been instructed, and we went down to a latitude of 9 degrees on which it is located, but we did not see it at the latitude of 9 degrees on which it is located, and we did not see it, although there were signs of land in the presence of birds. The pilot decided that we had left the islands behind and ordered to change the heading to W 1/4 NW [W by N] to go in search of the **Matalotes** and **Arrecifes** as we had been ordered to do.

[Likiep revisited]

Then, when we were still far from the [assumed position of the] Matalotes, on the eve of the feast of the Three Kings, that is, on the 5th of January [1565] at midnight we discovered an **island**. When we saw it, we were almost on top of it and the breakers broke over us. The pilot shouted the order to tack, and thanks to Our Lady, the man at the helm threw the rudder to port, as a strong breeze was blowing from behind, and we ended up veering to starboard; had he done otherwise, we would have been lost then and there. So we tacked and pulled on the bowlines and came out with the side almost brushing against the rocks, everyone praying aloud to Our Lady of Consolation and Guadalupe. She did, indeed, save us, because to windward of the bow there were breakers that could not possibly be avoided. When the pilot realized that we could not escape them, he ordered to flat-in the foresail so as to run aground at a place where he thought the sea was not breaking as much. When he tried to make his way to the bow, a wave broke over the deck and threw him overboard where he saw some rocks so near that he thought that the ship was on the beam, but Our Lady of Guadalupe and Consolation delivered him from that danger and pulled out our ship from where she was. The land was so low that it could hardly be seen, even when close to it. So, that night we pulled back out to sea until the next day.

Then in the morning of the Three Kings, we approached it in order to anchor and stop at it for 10 days, as we had been ordered to do, and we saw that there were 36 islets laid out in the shape of a triangle, most of them lying NW—SE, with the other side lying NE—SW, the whole of it enclosed by a reef. Next to the reef, it is vertical and there is no bottom; we could not even find one [at any depth, although] we got so close to them that a man could almost have jumped to the top of the reef. We made a circuit around them and could not find a pass on the north side, the reason being that the same condition that has existed for 40 leagues before we got there prevailed, that is, the currents were running northward, because to the south there is the land of New Guinea

and, as can be seen on a map, these islets are located directly north of it, so that the currents are fast along them. As we had a fresh breeze, we could not break the current.¹

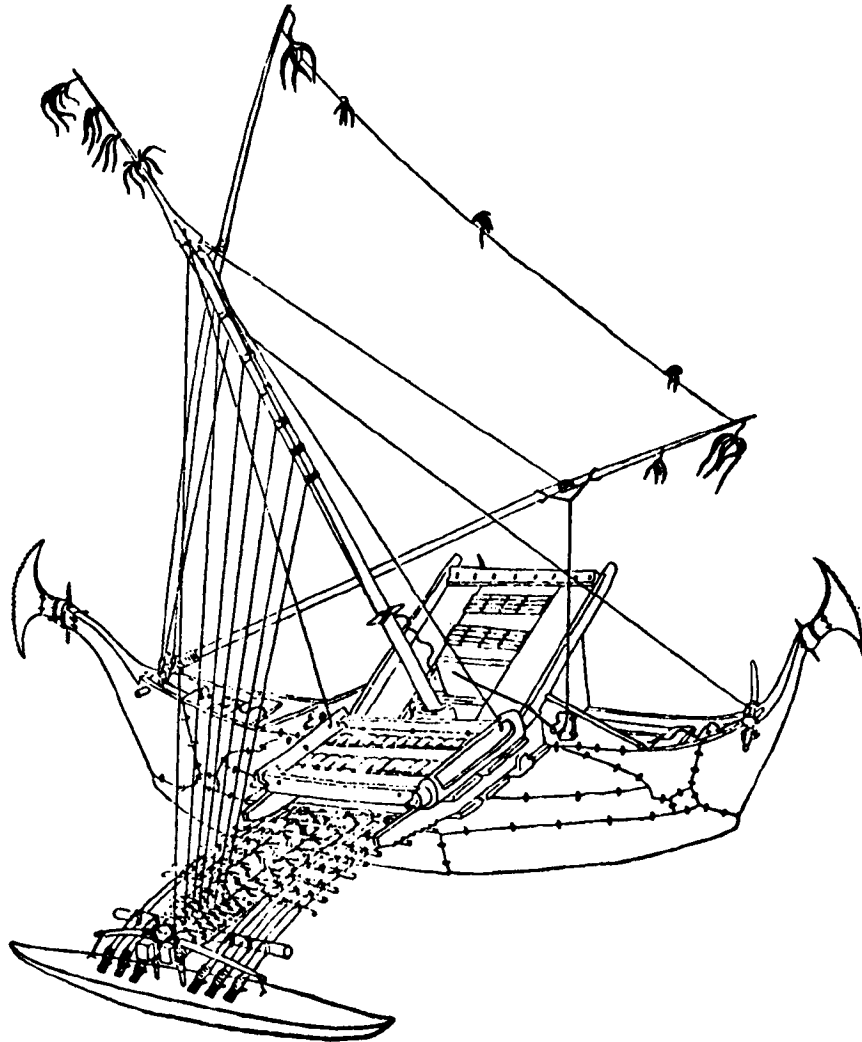
They are all at sea level and full of trees and palm trees, flush with the sea. The place is uninhabited. On this day the pilot took the sun in 10° and $1/4$, which is the latitude of the said islands.²

[Discovery of Kwajalein]

We continued and the next day, which was Sunday, 7th of the said month, we discovered other **islands**, with a reef like the others. We approached them and cast anchor at one of them upon the point of a reef that came out of the island in question. While we were anchored and were about to launch the boat, the grapnel fell off the reef so that we were unable to find bottom. While we were busy raising our cable and grapnel, we saw a sail that was crossing from another island to the one where we were. We set our sails to approach the land and see what ship it was. Once near it, we saw that it was a very small **canoe**. It carried a lateen sail and she ran steady with it; I doubt that there is a ship at sea that can overtake it. It passed us on the windward side and went inland [sic] over a reef. So, we came up ourselves to the reef and cast anchor on top of the reef in 2 fathoms.

We signalled to them to come alongside and they came. As they came close to the ship, we saw there were two men and a boy aboard it. So, we called them many times and they came alongside. They were making signs for us to throw a halberd which I carried aboard the ship overboard, that they would come aboard. So, I ordered that it be thrown overboard; they clung to a cable and arrived aboard. We gave them some of the things we carried which were jingle bells, beads, and a knife, and to the boy one shirt. They in turn gave us coconuts, fish and the water they had on board. We asked them from where they came, since the islands appeared to us to be uninhabited because they were so small. They answered that they came from the west and, by signs, said that they had their houses in that island.³ Later on, we ordered the boat over the side and the pilot and I, along with 8 men, all of them with their weapons. They led us with their canoe and one of our men was aboard their canoe. The island was so near the reef and the sea broke over it so much that we almost had our boat swamped. Finally, we arrived ashore after passing over the reef, by following the path taken by the canoe. Thus, we came to where they had their houses, which were on the seashore, where they had

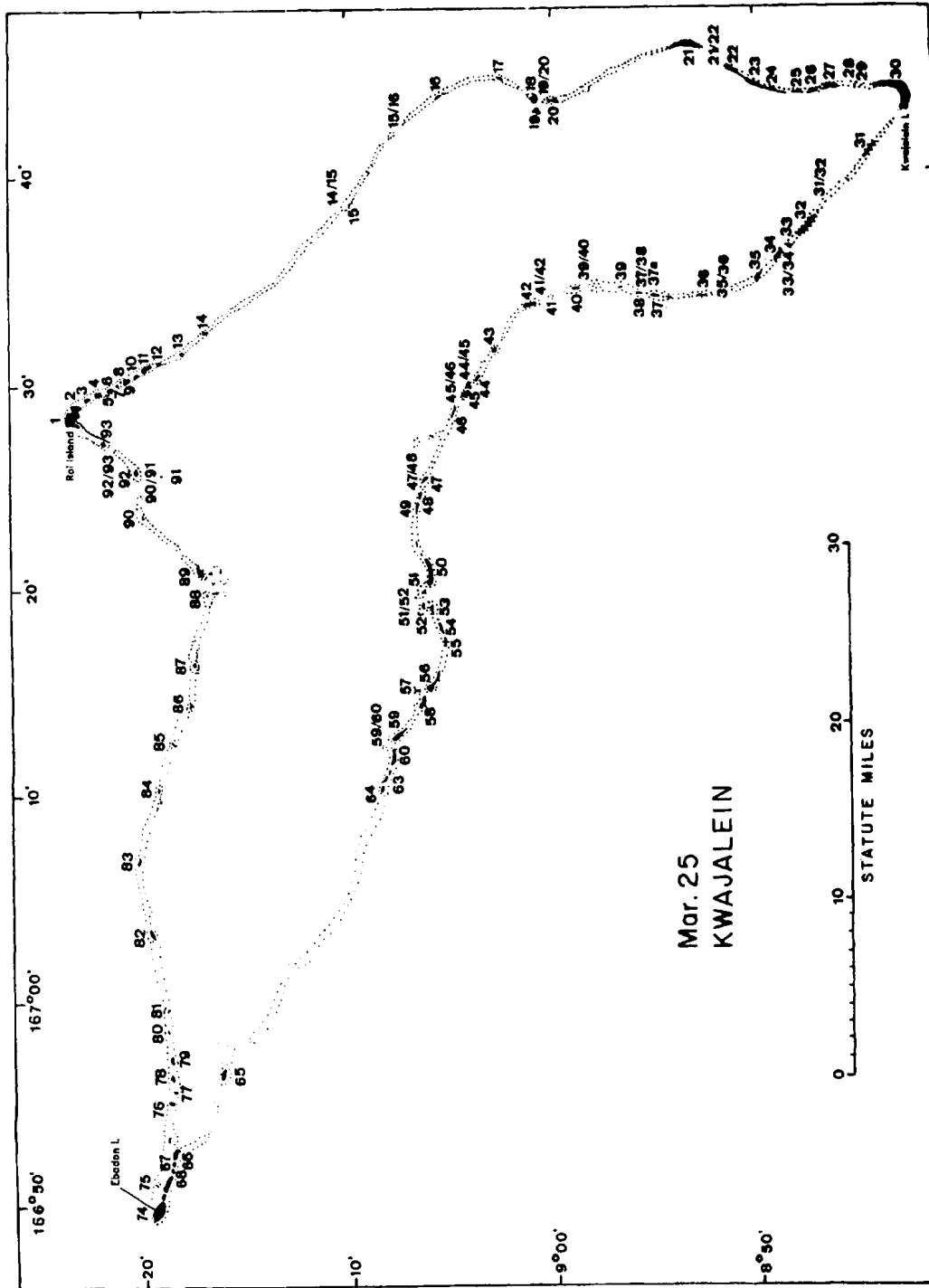
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- 1 Ed. note: A convoluted statement, if there is one. He probably never sailed around Likiep but just approached its north side. Then he assumed (probably correctly) that even if a pass existed on the south side, the current would make an exit difficult. So, he sailed on with an excuse for not having to obey the 10-day stopover rule.
 - 2 The latitude of the northernmost islet of Likiep is close to that. The atoll had been discovered in 1542 by Villalobos (See Vol. 1).
 - 3 Ed. note: My guess is that they had come from another atoll, not necessarily west of Kwajalein, and they were camped on Ebadon Island, in the western corner of Kwajalein.



A typical canoe of the Marshall Islands. (From James Hornell's *Canoes of Polynesia, Fiji, and Micronesia*, page 370)

their wives and two children. There were no other Indian [men] in these islands except there two who were fishermen who had come from outside to fish at those islands.

There were many coconut trees near the houses which were made of palm. They are a poor people with nothing to eat other than what they fish, and some coconuts. They go around naked in the flesh, and the women with a palm mat in front. They invited us to sit under some coconut trees. One of them took the Indian women and the boys away with him and went to hide them in the bush. They gave us some of the coconuts that were there.



Map of Kwajalein, discovered by Captain Arellano in 1565. The small patache San Lucas anchored on top of the reef SW of Roi Island. Upon departure, the patache probably coasted down the east side of the atoll because, upon turning westward, it soon came upon Lib Island. (From Bryan's Guide to Place Names)

Since it appeared to the pilot that the wind was rising too much, the ship not being anchored at a good place, we agreed to return aboard and so we did, given that there was no-one else there. We arrived after darkness, all wet as a result of our efforts on account of the strong [contrary] wind. We stayed anchored there that night with the intention of leaving the markers as ordered by the Instruction, taking on water and wood. However, when daylight came the wind was so strong that it blew with gale force and the sea was so [agitated] that we could not stay on top of our mooring, so we went out to inspect the cable and found it cut [i.e. nicked] in many places. Seeing that there was no other cable as good as this one, as it was new and it was the first time we had thrown it overboard, in view of this, it seemed to the pilot that it was not right to [risk] losing the mooring cable with the grapnel which was the salvation of the boat, and that we were in a place where we were running much risk, and we would be in danger when trying to place the required markers. So, we weighed our anchor in order to set sail and we found the grapnel with its flukes straightened out.

It seemed to the pilot that these islands had not been seen by any of the previous fleets. There is [a distance of] about 30 leagues from these islets to the ones behind.¹ They are at a latitude of 9 degrees. They were baptized the islands of **Dos Vecinos** [= Two Residents], because there were no other people [there].

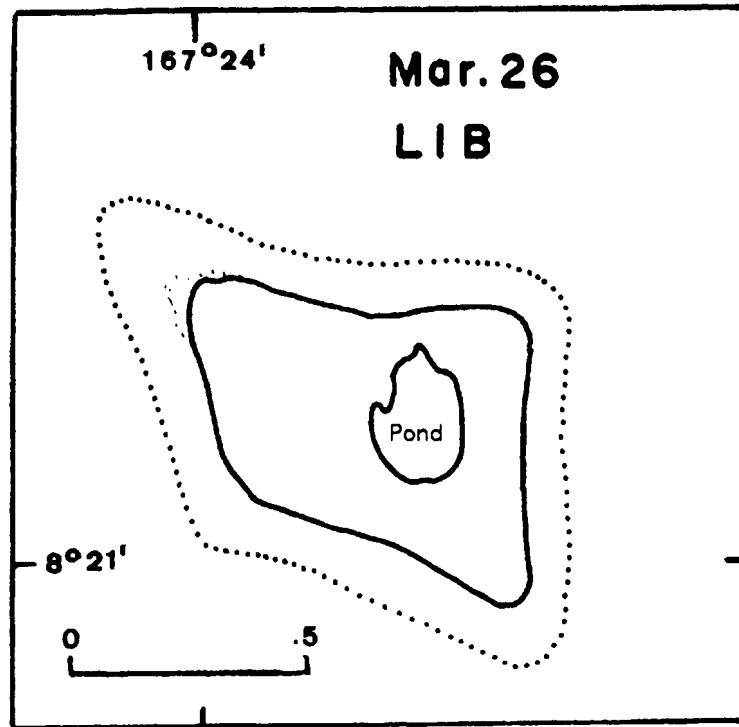
[Discovery of Lib]

From here we made our way on Monday which was calculated to be the 8th of January, and on the same day we saw a small island which was populated with Indians in quantity. As we came near to it, they all came to the beach, men and women, and we approached enough to anchor. We threw a cable overboard and they threw themselves into the water, swimming, and they seized it. As for us, we did not find bottom, because next to the island it was so vertical that there was no bottom. So, they hauled the cable to bring us ashore, as we were asking them to do so by sign language. They had second thoughts and let go the cable and so we were left with the sails down thinking they would [pull us in]. Meanwhile, many Indians came aboard after swimming over and they all climbed aboard. They brought along many coconuts in a canoe; we gave them a few things in return. They marvelled at our ship, at us, and at our weapons.

They are well-proportioned people, with tall bodies, bearded; their beard reaches their waist. They let their hair grow long like women, well combed and tied above with a knot. They are greedy people, great villains, and devilish people, because they cannot be otherwise, living as they are in an island separated from the continent by over a thousand leagues. The island in which they live is about two crossbow shots [in size], and at sea level.² There is no bottom at all. It is full of palm trees, coconut trees, and under their houses and at their doorsteps there are beached **canoes**. They appeared to be re-

1 Ed. note: There is 1°30' difference in longitude between Kwajalein and Likiep, i.e. about 26 leagues.

2 Ed. note: The land area of Lib is less than one square kilometer (0.36 square mile).



Map of Lib, discovered by Captain Arellano in 1565. *“There is no stronger fortress in the world than this islet”, said he, when he could not find bottom anywhere to anchor near it. (From Bryan’s Guide to Place Names)*

bellious people, as they showed by their manner, and they are people whom one could trust very little.

There is no stronger fortress in the world than this islet, because there is no place where one can anchor, and I doubt if even a galley could get in. To someone who sees it from outside, it looks as if it is something that floats on top of the water, because it is so small and so low that only the palm trees could be seen. I believe that if it were not as high as it is, the sea would wash right over it during a storm. They are savages and I understand that they eat human flesh.¹ They are warlike people, according to what we saw, because they were always on their guard; they must be at war with other islands. They all paint themselves with vermilion. Their weapons are sticks with tips made of fish bones and *macanas*.² They are good shots with their slings, with a very steady hand. They are great swimmers and sailors. The island was given the name of Islands of **Nadadores** [Swimmers I.], because they came aboard by swimming when we were over

1 Ed. note: A wild accusation, for which he cites no evidence. The word “Caribe” and “cannibal” were then synonymous (See footnote in Vol. 1, page 56).

2 Ed. note: A war club, such as an Indian tomahawk.

one league from the island. They are so greedy that we thought we would never be able to get rid of them, on account of the greed we excited in those who came aboard. They would make the best possible rowers for a galley, according to the tall and well-built bodies they had. This islet is located in 8° and 1/2.

We took our departure from here the next day, heading west in search of the Philippine Islands. As it appeared to the pilot that we had passed the islands which the Instruction tells us to watch for, and if they were the above islands it was not possible for us to stop there, on account of there being no anchorage and the men being rascals, always prepared to do bad things, so much so that I was not given one *escaupil* [armor of quilted cotton], not even a shield, not even the ammunition for the arquebuses of the soldiers (they kept everything) until we were at sea.¹ Besides that, we were few in number, only 20 persons counting the men and the boys; some of those were sick and the others, when they saw a small Indian they made him into a giant, a thicket became a forest, and one house became a thousand. I am not surprised because, for one thing, they were inexperienced in such things, and for their part, these Indians were a very determined lot; they had no fear nor shame.

[Discovery of Minto Reef]

We kept on running on this heading for 8 days, without seeing any island, until Monday evening of what was figured as the 15th of the said month. At about an hour and a half after nightfall, we saw breakers from a reef ahead, so close to us that if we had not responded so quickly we would have run aground. The men had all been awake and we had all sails out, but we did not see it until we were [almost] on top of it. Less than a half hour before, the pilot had climbed to the topmast [to look out], as he thought we were near some island on account of the many birds flying about. Whoever comes this way next, is better keep a sharp lookout. We veered to port, because we saw that the sea was breaking less on that side.

The pilot who was still in the topmast was giving orders on what to do, and the men here below with buckets [were] filling up the casks with salt water to add ballast to the ship, because we could not [manage] with [only] the sails. That night we saw ourselves [almost] capsized on account of avoiding the shoals, as we avoided them with full sails

1 Ed. note: Arellano refers to the flagship distributing the weapons only after they had left Navidad, supposedly because his men would have sold them ashore.

on and with a strong wind blowing. So, we were delivered by Our lady of Consolation and [Our Lady] of Guadalupe, whom we always considered our patron saint.

At daybreak, we tacked back to see if we could see the reef, or island, but we could not. This reef is laid out N—S, and by what we had seen it is over 3 leagues [in that direction]. It is in 8 degrees. The pilot baptized it **Mira como Vas** [Look out (where you are going)!], because that is what those passing here should do.¹ Before we arrived at this reef, we saw a **canoe** being paddled toward the west [sic]², and it appeared that it was going in search of the islands of Nadadores; at sunset, we could still see it behind us.³

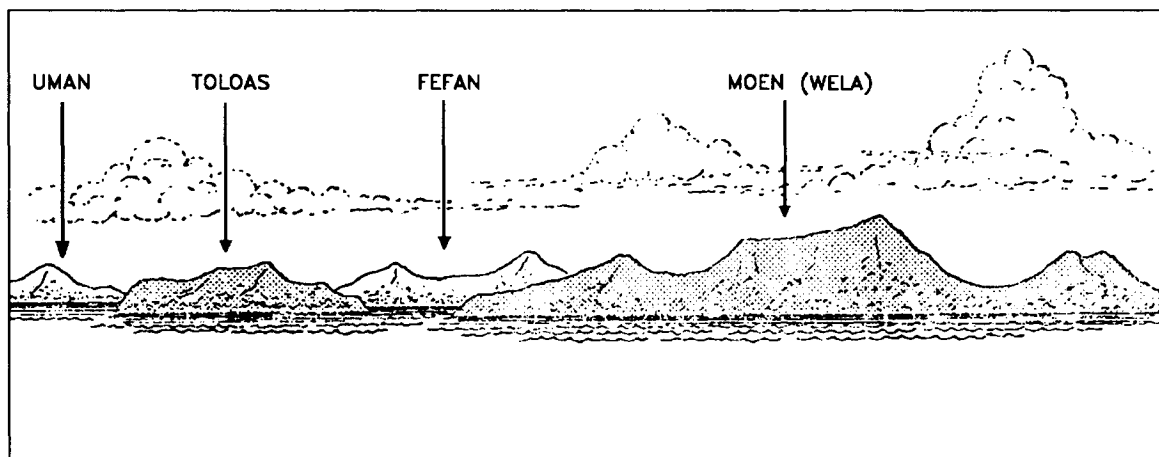
[Discovery of Truk or Chuuk]

Being rid of this reef, we ran on our heading [i.e. westward] and, on Wednesday morning [17 January] we discovered a high island, different from the ones we had seen so far⁴ because the others are at sea level. When we saw this island, it was to port and we veered to go in search of it, thinking it was Mindanao, because we were at its latitude and the pilot was hoping to make it there.

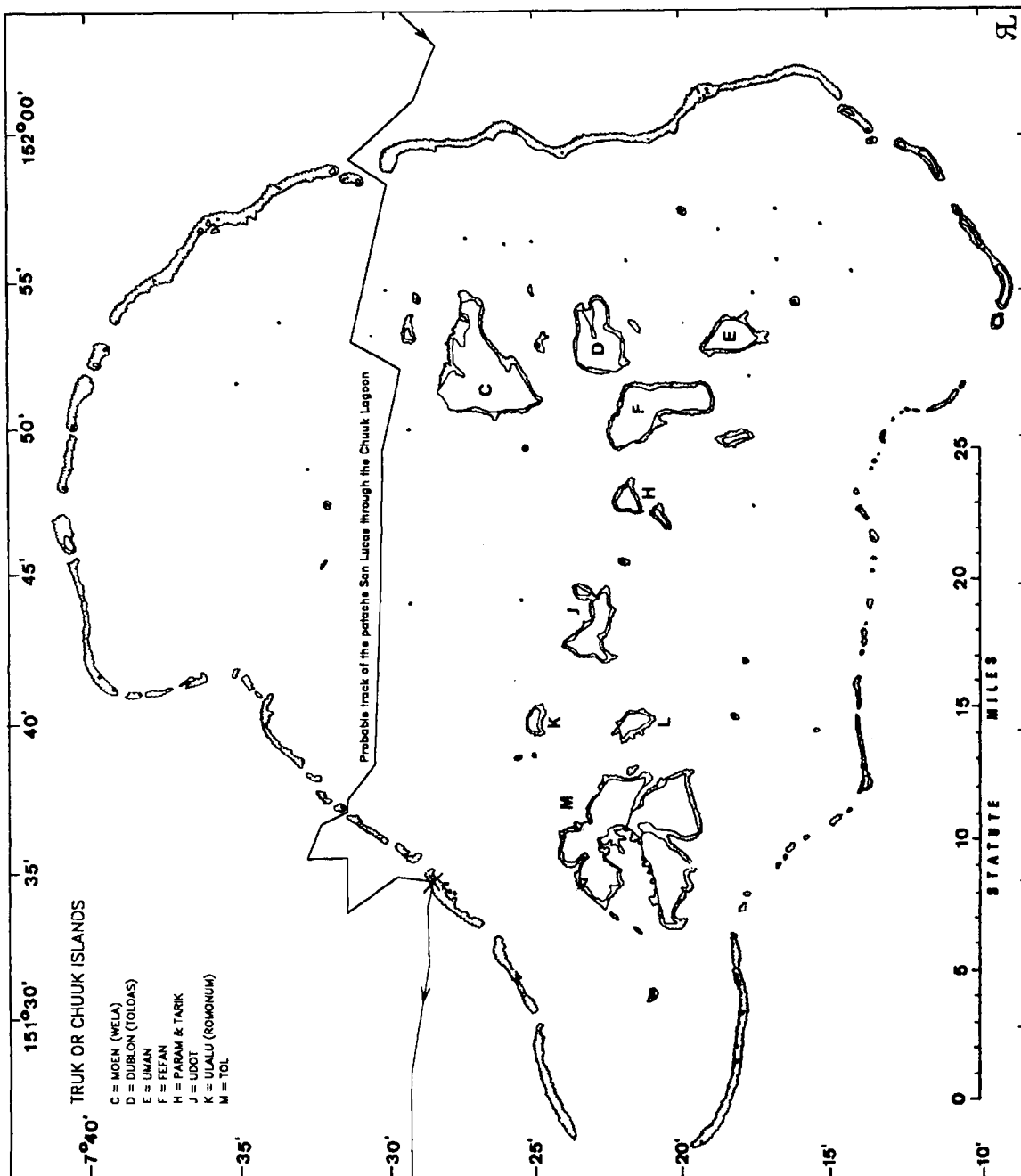
As we approached, we made out many islands, about 14 or 15 high islands, all surrounded by reefs, on top of which a boat cannot go. On top of the reef, there are low reef islets⁵ at sea level, in such a way that as the reef goes enclosing the high islands, so do the reef islets. The high islands are all 1 league within this reef and 2 leagues from one another. Each one of them would contain from 2 to 3 leagues of land [i.e. circumference], and very good ports and bays [to attract] whoever may wish to go in but never could get out of them for two reasons: on account of the reef, and on account of the great quantity of people who live there.

As we coasted the reef on the outside, that is, the one that encircles all these islands, we saw a pass through the reef, and we went in, tacking back and forth with many efforts on account of the current and the presence of many shoals. So, we went inside and

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- 1 Ed. note: The Minto Reef is located at 8°N and 154°E. Although it is possible that they saw Oroluk atoll instead, situated at approximately 7°30', they would have seen its western islets when they tacked back in the morning and, more importantly, they would not have reached Chuuk so soon.
 - 2 Ed. note: This is probably a transcription error for "east", in view of what follows.
 - 3 Ed. note: We can speculate that a paddling canoe was from a neighboring island, not Lib. It may have been from Pohnpei, or Chuuk, and was following the ship rather than going away from it. Had the San Lucas run aground, they would have had quite a booty.
 - 4 Ed. note: Indeed, Chuuk is not considered an atoll but a group of high islands surrounded by a fringing reef.
 - 5 Ed. note: The Spanish word for reef islet, "cayo", later on became known as "key" in English as in, for example, the Florida Keys. They are called "motu" in Polynesian. By the way, the origin of the word Truk, or Chuuk, is the local word for mountain or high island.



The view from the northeast pass into Truk Lagoon. *Going east across the lagoon meant for Arellano to go to the right-hand side of this figure, that is, to the north side of Moen or Wela Island. The ship was met by a canoe, probably from the nearest island, which was also Moen. The natives pointed at their own town of Iras, recorded as Huruasa by Arellano. (From Profile of an Island Series, N° 3, by PACNAVFACENGCOM, February 1970)*



Discovery of the Chuuk or Truk Islands on 17 January 1565.

found a flat sea. From this [pass through the] reef to the high islands, there are about 4 leagues. As we came from this reef, there came to us a large **canoe** with a lateen sail. Within half an hour of our having seen it, it reached us as we were under full sail. As they arrived, they took in their sail and we hove to with our ship. We gave them a cable and they seized it and four of them used it to climb aboard, while 7 or 8 others stayed aboard their canoe. They gave us some of the fish they had with them, and a food they carried, like a paste that stank very much¹ and so much that none of the men could get near it. They were telling us by signs that we should go to their island, which they called **Huruasa**.² So, we went on toward the island, while every one of them would tell us to hurry, as if they were taking us in as their property, and so that those of the other islands would not take the catch away from them. Hence they were telling us by signs not to go to the other islands, because they were useless people, [but] to go to their island where they resided. Then the pilot climbed to the topmast to see the port which they were pointing at, because we were getting close; he called to one of the Indians to show him where the port was and he climbed as fast as a sailor and showed him where the entrance to the bar was, the port, the village and the hamlets.

While they were examining the port to figure out the way to get in, there began to come toward us a large quantity of canoes. As it appeared to the pilot that it was not good to go into that port because it was closed in and the wind blowing transversely to it—that is the regular breeze—he ordered the ship to heave-to³, and put the boat over the side, then turn [back] the main-sail and raise it so that it would be ready. This way, we were sailing more slowly with the foresail and the mizzen-sail. As for the Indians who were aboard, as they were seeing the many canoes coming, they were shouting to us to hurry up, to go to their island, because those coming were coming to kill and eat them. The number of canoes that came alongside was so great—they came from all the islands—that it passed a thousand, judging from those that came close, and they were just those that came from the high islands, not those coming from the small islands; certainly, there was a large number of them. All the Indians aboard the canoes came painted with vermillion, the canoes overloaded with people and weapons. The weapons were sticks with fish bones at the tip, and others fire-hardened, *macanas* [war clubs]⁴, and slings with their stones. They came yelling and shouting so much that it seemed as if the earth was trembling, about which ones had arrived first, as it appeared to them that they had us in their hands already.

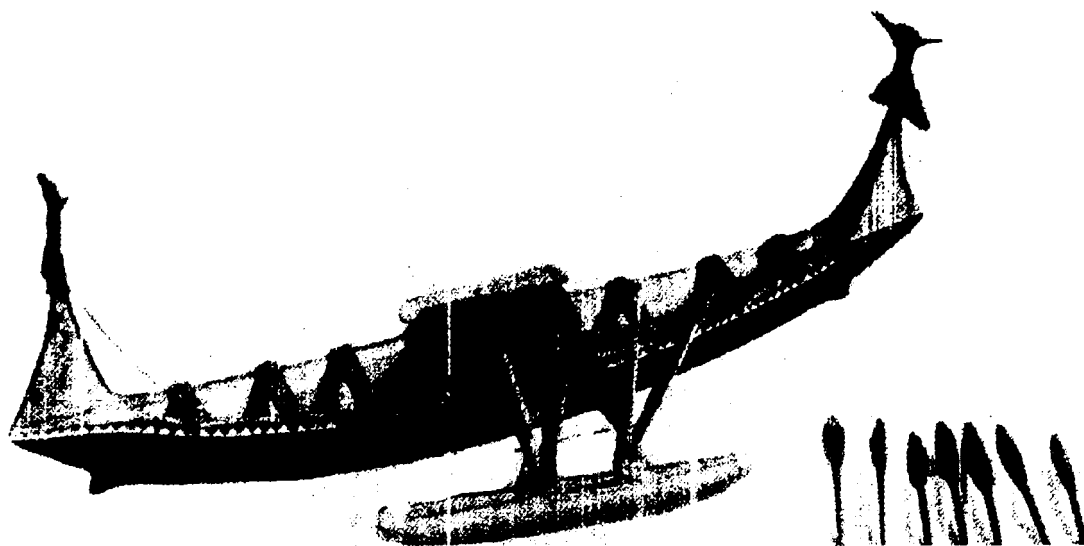
As it appeared to me that we were in a bind, that there was no pass by which to get out, we decided to try and get out over the reef, as we realized that the Indians had become possessed by the devil and ill-intentioned. We agreed to raise the main-sail and

1 Ed. note: This was probably some preserved breadfruit.

2 Ed. note: Recognizable as Iras, a district of Moen Island, in its NW corner near the modern airport.

3 Ed. note: A maneuver in which the main-sail is turned the other way to stall the ship.

4 Ed. note: A “macana” was a war club or bludgeon, either made of stone or wood (Ref. Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Lexico hispanoamericano del siglo XVI*, London, Tamesis Books, 1971).



Model of a Chuuk Island war canoe. *It carried no sail as it was a paddling canoe. It was a gondola-type design with figureheads at both ends that were removeable and indicated warlike intentions when in position. (From James Hornell's *Canoes*, p. 394)*

cut through them. The Indians who were aboard released many times the sheet of the foresail in order to stop the ship and they urged the canoes to come alongside quickly but as they had all come rowing and we were with full sail, they could not overtake us. One Indian got to the rudder in order to take it over, and the helm's-man wanted to give it to him but I did not consent to it in order not to arouse them [i.e. the others]. In the end, we were overtaken by two canoes that came near, drew alongside, got hold of the boat that we had alongside and that way two of them came aboard the ship. One of them had a *macana* and the other a stick, all of them painted with vermillion, shaking from hand to foot; with fierce eyes that leaped out of their faces they were looking at one another, whereas those who had come aboard first did not just look but looked for something to steal. So, they stole a few things made of iron and dove off with them.

When they saw that they could not overtake us with their canoes, because we had unfurled the main-sail and they did not then have any sail in their canoes, one of them stole an iron ladle and would have dove off but one [of us] took it from his hands and hit him on the head with it. Seeing this, he and the others dove off. If we had not been so near the reefs—we were already within their grab—we would not have let any of them get out alive, because by that time we had already lost our fear of them. So, we kept running among a great quantity of shoals and rocks which exist among these islands, being surrounded as we were by these and by the many canoes following us from all these islands, and from other islands that we had ahead of us. Thus, a great quantity of them were coming and some were placing themselves before the bow of the ship

with their weapons, determined to board us. Seeing that darkness was approaching, the pilot, being a diligent and careful man, went up to the topmast to see if there was a pass by which we could get out; otherwise, we were lost. So, it pleased Our Lady to let him see between two islets, linked by a reef, a very small pass that could hardly fit the ship, and inside it a rock that we would have hit if he had not climbed to the topmast a little before that; hence, we grazed it with the side of the ship. The reason why we had not seen it was because all the men, including myself, had gone to defend the ship when some canoes had boarded us and were trying to steal the boat from us. So, I ordered two men to get into the boat. They chased the Indians who had been in it back to their canoes. The man who was guarding and defending the poop of the boat was approached by an Indian who was trying to kill him with a *macana* from the prow of a canoe. Our man did as a man worthy of the name and he defended himself from them. That is why they began to throw their spears at those aboard the ship from both sides. The spears would stick to the deck as if they were javelins. Certainly, it was a wonder that no-one was killed, given that we had so few weapons to defend ourselves with. Seeing that they treated us badly, we shot at them with a small gun, more to frighten them than to do them any harm, because if the fleet were to pass by there, or any other ship that might follow our track, they would not find the country in a rebellious state. With this, we managed to get away from them, because the pilot ordered to unfurl the rest of the sails, but not on account of the fear they got from the gun; rather, they gave a shout as if it were a joke. They were angry at one another for having lost us. So, they went back to their islands and had some fires going all evening and all night.

After the sun had set, we were among so many reefs that the pilot became confused, so much so that he did not know what to do. On one side, there were rocks and he did not know where to anchor. On the other side, if we returned toward the islands, we would get lost. So, after sunset, the pilot saw a shoal with breakers in the middle of these reefs and he marked it with the needle of the compass, because it was nighttime, to see if there was bottom in order to carry on. We veered toward it and at about 2 hours after sunset we arrived at it and he ordered the sounding line overboard. We found 30 fathoms but the bottom was useless as it was all live rocks. So, we cast anchor with one cable in the name of Our Lady of Consolation, whom we always held as our patron saint and whom I will hold until I die, and so she delivered us that night of very great efforts such as I will not describe further, except to say that we were surrounded at one arquebus shot on all sides by a reef with breakers—it was a terrible to see that from the ship—and the night was dark and with a strong wind. On other sides, we could hear the wild Indians yelling on their islands, with big fires going by way of signals, because that is their custom among those islands. When the pilot thought that we were dragging [the anchor] or that we had lost our mooring, he ordered a sailor to throw the sounding line overboard because with it we would learn whether we were still moored or not. The sailor said that we were not dragging, that a gust of wind had been the cause of it. However, by the time he came to pull it out to recover it, it got caught upon some rocks and, being thus, the pilot and another sailor went over to help him pull to

try and retrieve it, but no matter what they did they could not. So, he left it, with much sadness as there was no other aboard the ship, not even lead to make another. While we were caught as I have just said, one of the men aboard the ship promised to Our Lady of Consolation as much wax [in candles] as there was [lead weight at the end of] the sounding line. Right after making this promise, he grabbed the line and it came up as if it had never been caught. Then, before daybreak, the pilot decided to raise the yards up the masts and make the ship ready; in case the savages returned, they would find us ready, the ship as well as the men.

At the break of dawn, the pilot climbed to the topmast to see if there was a way to get out through the reef and the islands there, although he was convinced that it was impossible to get out of it alive, and also to see if canoes were coming alongside to treat us the same as the previous day. It pleased Our Lady that they were not coming, because if they had been, they would have found us so tired from the efforts made that day and night, having carried an anchor to help the grapnel, and the watch kept during the evening and morning, the weighing of the anchors and the preparations to make the ship quick and ready so that if anything should happen we would be as ready as we could be, in spite of the fact that, as I believe, we were badly treated [by the fleet], not only for that, but also because we did not have anything to eat aboard. That is how we had been despatched from the port of Navidad, because what they gave us for food supplies was all rotten and damaged within one month, not for lack of profit¹ but that it must have been due to the climate ashore. On top of that, we were lacking so many necessary things, having to do with the rigging as well as with the other things pertaining to a ship, for example, food supplies and weapons, that at times we came close to dying. On top of that, when we had a need for a cable or a caulking iron or hobnails for the pump, or there was a need for needles and twine to repair the sails, we did not carry them, because we had trusted the fleet in which we served to give us whatever we would need. We were sailing so destitute, and God have pity on us! So, when we needed a nail, we had to pull one out elsewhere; we did not even have a drill bit. In effect, when we came out of the port the other ships looked upon us as forsaken on account of the ship being in such a bad way, but on account of the trust I had in Our Lady and to serve H.M., I proposed to get rid of all fears and I embarked as I had been ordered to do.

So, we unfurled our sails and went over a reef that had just a little more water on it than required by the draft of the ship. Now that we were sailing outside of these high islands, there came to us from 10 to 12 canoes, saying by sign language that we should go the island, that they would give us something to eat there. So, we hove to and waited for them. However, as they came closer, we could see that they were coming loaded with weapons and preparing themselves to fight. Seeing this, I ordered that a small gun that was loaded with stones be fired at them. The man who fired it had aimed it so well that the stones hit right in the middle of the large canoe that was closest, and carried many people. I believe that it did great damage to them, as it appeared, because they

1 Ed. note: Possible transcription error, “beneficio” instead of “cuidado”?

then threw themselves into the water and were shouting loudly to the other canoes. The latter were astonished to see the damage done to the first canoe. The man who had fired was a sailor who best understood guns. He wished to fire another shot but I did not allow it. Thus, they stayed behind and we came out from among the shoals and reefs that were at these islands. When we were clear of them all, we were happy with the favors received from Our Lady. The pilot took the sun in 7° and $1/2$.¹

[Discovery of Pulap]

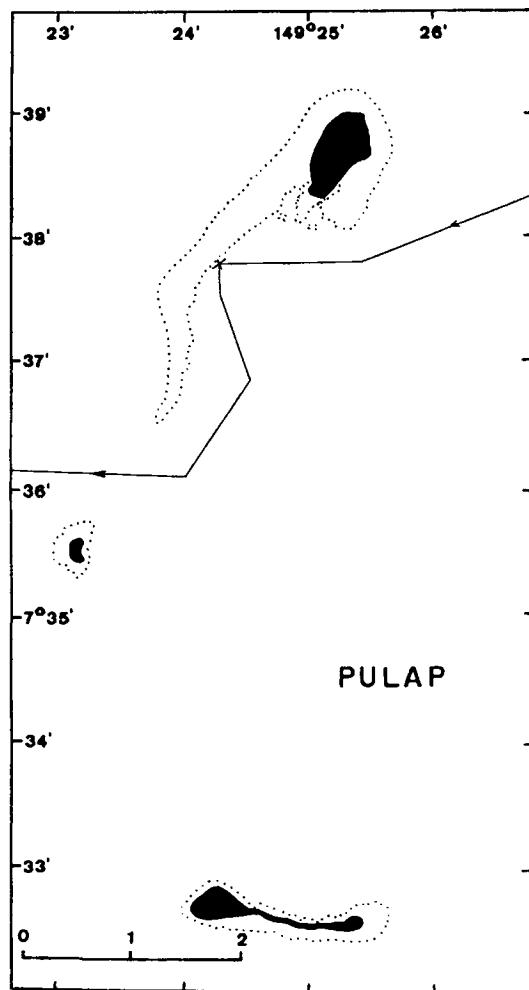
Afterwards, the pilot ordered to steer to W by N in order to get some distance between us and land lying at such a low latitude, and to reach 9 or 10 degrees in order to go [then] in search of the Philippines as we had been ordered to do.² So, we ran all day on that heading and, at night, the topsails were taken in for fear of [running into] some islands, or reefs.

At the beginning of the dawn watch, we saw **three small islands** laid out in the shape of a triangle. We arrived at one of them to take on water and wood, and to spend the ten days and leave the signals as required by the Instruction, but when we came close to them, we saw that they were populated. The beach was full of people walking about, loaded with bundles of spears, with slings and *macanas* like the earlier ones. We came in and cast anchor on top of a point of the island that was all reef, and there were no other place in all the island.

Certain **canoes** came alongside and we gave them some of the things we carried to make them happy and be at peace with them. Two leading men came aboard our ship. They said by signs that if we wanted water and wood to go ashore to get it. So, we signed to them that they should remain aboard the ship and that one of our men would go ashore with the other Indians. They were happy [with the idea], so, we gave three jars to three canoes, and one lad went in one of them; he had said that he wished to go, given that two of the leading men were staying in the ship [as hostages]. So, he went ashore and brought back a jar of water, a bunch of green bananas and a coconut [shell] full of palm wine. The said lad came back so enchanted with the island and the people that it cost him his life in the end. Thus, convinced by what he had said, we lowered the boat with the intention of taking on the water and wood that we needed so much and had needed for so long. So, the pilot and I boarded the boat with 8 men, both soldiers and sailors. The leading men were going ahead of us in their canoes to show us where we should pass with the boat. They themselves went over the reef and beached their canoes ashore; they told us to follow them but it seemed to us that it was not good to hit the rocks with the boat, because we would then surely be lost. Also, it looked bad what we saw the Indians do, which was to divide themselves and go in two or three directions,

1 Ed. note: They spent the night within the NW reef of Chuuk, and could have come out at a number of places over the reef in the morning. The pilot's latitude at sea was within $1/2$ degree, more or less.

2 Ed. note: They did not in fact gain latitude, probably because the pilot had not taken enough of the compass variation into account.



Map of Pulap, where two Spanish sailors were killed in 1565.

came close and we told them by signs to come alongside and come aboard. They were afraid of coming aboard, thinking that we had discovered the treachery that they had planned. What they told us was: Why did you return? I answered them by signs that it was on account of the [submerged] rocks, so as not to break the boat, and also to make them understand that we did not understand them. So they came alongside and asked us for the jars [saying] that they would bring us water, that some of us should go along with them. We answered by signs that we were pleased to do so if two or three of them remained in the ship. So, two of them came aboard and then we gave jars to three canoes, with one man in each, and they went ashore. Two of them arrived ashore before

go into the bush, then come back all loaded with spears. So I told myself, what is going on ashore is not good, because what the Indians were fomenting was a great treachery. Their response to that [i.e. the hesitation] was to urge us to go in over the reef. We told them by signs that we needed a stone to use as an anchor. So, that lad who had gone there before said that he would swim in to go and get the stone; so he did, and he with the help of an Indian was bringing one. I then asked him: What are the Indians doing? He answered that they were seated with their bundles of spears right next to them, and their slings, and all painted with vermillion. Upon hearing this, the pilot and I urged him to get back quickly, throw himself into the sea and let go the stone right there and then. He answered that there was nothing to fear, that the Indians were doing it out of fear, that he alone was enough for them. However, he threw himself into the water fast and swam back to the boat; we returned to our ship.

The pilot assured me that these were the islands where they had stolen Magellan's boats¹ because these natives were warlike and bold, and there was no other place where they could have taken the boats. When they saw this, they launched their canoes once more and came to our ship. They

¹ Ed. note: He was wrong, of course, as the Ladrões correspond to Guam.

the third one. The sailor who was in the last canoe [later] said that when his canoe was nearing [the shore], he saw someone ashore approach one of our lads from behind—the same one who had gone to see it first—and he saw him being hit with blows from a *macana*. The lad fled to the beach but they overtook him in the water and seized him, and also seized the one who had arrived with him. So, they grabbed them and were dragging them ashore. Upon seeing this, the one who had not yet arrived ashore with the other canoe told the Indians to return to the ship, but they insisted upon going ashore. He took a paddle from them in order to turn the canoe around. One of them raised a *macana* and hit him with it upon the head, and all of them grabbed their *macanas* in order to kill him. However, he carried a dagger in his waist. He grabbed it and attacked them with it in such a way that he made them dive off and he killed two of them. He was left alone in the canoe defending himself from the other canoes that were shooting stones at him with their slings.

When we saw from the ship what was happening, we flocked upon the two Indians who had been left aboard but they dove overboard. Then the men who were the most prepared jumped into the boat to go and help the one who was aboard the canoe, and, along the way, to take the Indians who were swimming away. However, no matter how fast we were, they were near the shore. One in the boat shot one of the [swimmers] with an arquebus because he saw that he could not be overtaken [in time]; the shot hit him in the head and killed him. Then, they managed to take the sailor who was then very wounded. He had been so badly stoned that we thought that he would never escape, but he did it like the good man that he was.

I agreed that we should all go ashore, to see if we could disembark and recover the two who had been taken from us, or to die in the attempt. We followed the reef all around but could not find where we could beach the boat. Not being able to find anything other than live rocks, since we would have to swim in, it seemed to me that it was not right to lose the boat and not to do anything. We returned to the ship with much pain and sorrow for having seen them take our companions and not having been able to take revenge. During the whole time we were sailing around [the island with the boat] they did not stop pelting us with stones from their slings; they are so good with these slings that I believe there are no other men in the world who shoot so well with them, because some stones reached as far as where the ship was anchored.

Later on, they made great smoke signals to the other islands, and then a large sailing canoe came up from one of the other islands, [the people in them] all painted up and possessed by the devil. Later, they went back to their own island to run an errand. According to what we saw, we understood that the canoe in question was carrying one of the dead men to eat. It did not seem advisable to wait there any longer; for one thing, on account of the harm they had done us, and for another, on account of the ship and ourselves being in a perilous situation. [Therefore,] I agreed that it was better to go on and not to stop there, before more people came from the other islands and so as not to see a repetition of the past incidents, because they are a people possessed by the devil, such great thieves that they walk around looking all the time for something

to steal; there is not one single thing that they see that they do not covet. They are well-proportioned people, bearded, with long hair tied in a knot on the head.

These three islands are in 7° and $3/4$, separated from one another by 2 leagues. Each one of these islands would be about $1/2$ league [around]. There is distance of 25 leagues from these islands to the previous ones.¹

[Discovery of Sorol]

We left these islands on Friday afternoon of what we made out to be the 18th of the said month. The Pilot ordered to steer west, yawing a point to northwest [i.e. W by N]² and we ran on this heading until the following Monday, that is the 22nd, and on this very day in the afternoon the one at the helm discovered an **island**. The pilot then went up to the topmast to have a look at it, and he saw that it was small and would have about $1/2$ league [across] and next to it 2 or 3 small keys, all of them full of coconut trees. We veered to go and anchor at it, thinking that it might be uninhabited as it was isolated.³

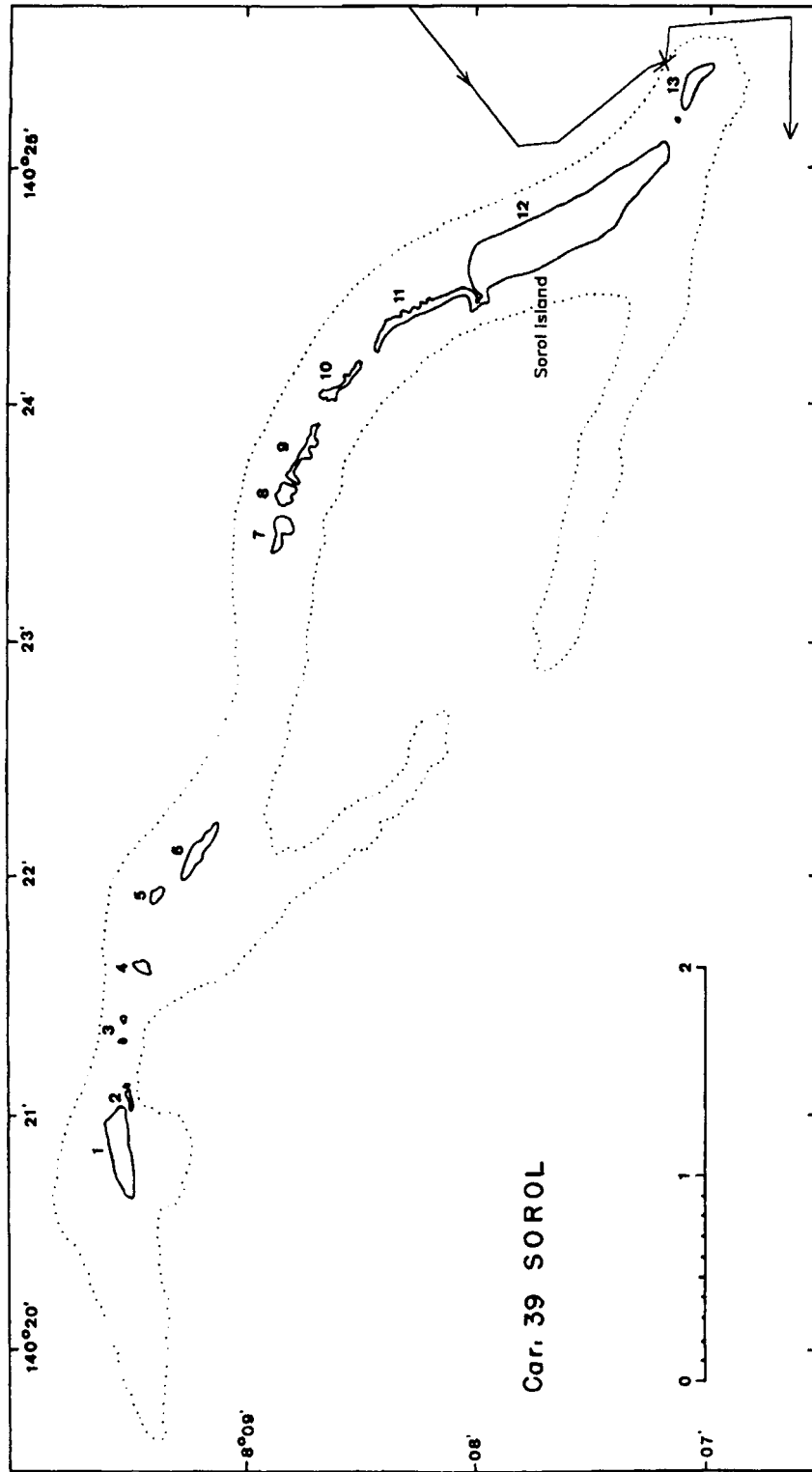
As we got closer, however, we saw a smoke signal from it and some Indians coming out to the beach. We passed by it and went to anchor at one of the keys, as they are separated from the island, in case the Indians wanted to do some wickedness, we would be at a place where they could not do so. Then we anchored upon [the edge of] a reef, but when the ship came to tighten the mooring cable the grapnel fell off the reef and we could not find bottom, even if the cable had been a thousand fathoms in length. So, we put back our cable and anchor inside. Two canoes came sailing toward us. They came close to the ship and began to sail nearby, with their spears and weapons they carried in plain sight. As for us, we calmed them down, telling them that we wanted to take water but they would have nothing of that; rather, they would get their weapons ready.

Finally, the pilot seeing this, took a colored sheepskin jacket and began to make signs to them to come and get it. Then, when they saw it, they “spurred” their canoes forward to become the first canoe to arrive and get it. Because we did not want them to go away laughing at us like the others, our men were ready with the arquebuses and one small gun full of stones to shoot at them. As they arrived, one of our men leaned over the side and grabbed a boy by the hair and pulled him inside, and then the gun and the arquebuses were fired. The gun made a hit upon a canoe and did great damage

1 Ed. note: There is a transcription error in the text as the phrase “á las de atrás” is given one time too many. Also, the distance from Chuuk is about 35 leagues. The group was recorded on their chart as “Los Martires”, i.e. the Martyrs, in honor of their fallen comrades.

2 Ed. note: They did gain some latitude this time, probably on account of the current, because they passed north of the Olimarao-Lamotrek-Elato Group without seeing it. They also passed north of Woleai.

3 Ed. note: They had been cruising at 8° more or less, and after 3 full days had covered over 100 leagues, i.e. at least 6 degrees of longitude, if we compared with their recent average speed. The island in question could be none other than Sorol. Sorol Island proper is indeed $1/2$ league in length.



Sorol Island, discovered on 22 January 1565 by Arellano. One Carolinian was kidnapped here. (Adapted from Bryan's Place Names)

to them, although not as much as they deserved, given the bad intention they came with. The arquebuses had fired at the other canoe and did sufficient damage. It was enough for the Indians to dive off, the wounded as well as those who were not, and they went ashore.

As for us, we grabbed the canoes and took the weapons that were in them; they were spears and *macanas*. We made firewood out of the said canoes, because we had a great need of some and for a few days now we had not been able to cook our food. We cut the hair off the boy, as he was wearing it as long as a woman, and we dressed him because he came bare naked. We baptized him Vicente, because it was the feast day of Saint Vincent.¹ This island is in 8 degrees. It is low, at sea level. It is laid out N—S. There are 100 leagues from this island to the others.

[Discovery of Ngulu]

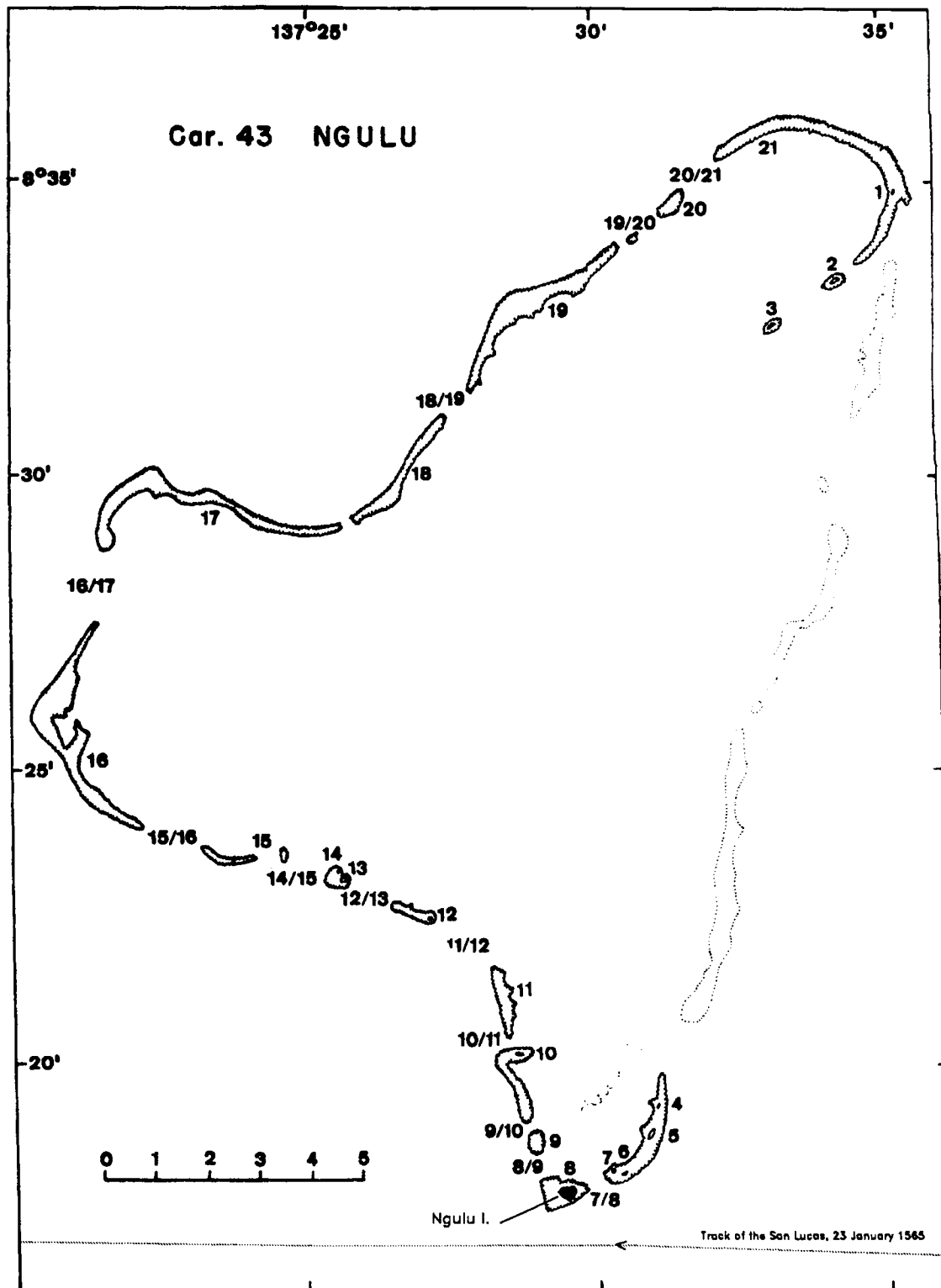
We left this island the same day. Then, the next day, which was Tuesday, figured as the 23rd of the said month, the pilot saw a low **island**. Since it was like the others and that it was already dark, we passed it by. It is at the latitude of the other.²

[The pilot] ordered to steer W by N until we reached 9°, and then we ran along 9° until the 29th of the said month, which was Monday, at noon.³ The pilot and I were seated at the poop, when he sighted **land** and pointed it out to me, saying that it was **Mindanao**, because he was at the right latitude for it, and it had to be it because it was different from all the others seen until then, and it was very high, being one of the main islands of the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: Sorol Island was likely given the name of San Vicente by Arellano as well.

2 Ed. note: Ngulu is indeed at the same latitude as Sorol, and 3 degrees of longitude from it, which was the ship's regular daily run.

3 Ed. note: If they had not succeeded in gaining some latitude, they would have come in sight of the Kayangle Islands (northern tip of Palau) one day after passing by Ngulu.



Ngulu, last of the Caroline islands discovered by Arellano. *The San Lucas* did not stop here as the island was seen just before sunset. (From Bryan's Guide to Place Names)

Summary of Arellano's voyage through the Philippine Archipelago.

They almost became shipwrecked upon Mindanao when the wind died down at sunset. They had reached the neighborhood of Lianga Bay, near 9° lat. N. After taking on plenty of water and food, they decided to wait for the rest of the fleet there. After about 3 weeks of waiting needlessly, the crew became mutinous and some wanted to go to the Moluccas.¹ The latter were almost caught as they left in the middle of the night with the newly-repaired boat. In the end, they were outsmarted by the officers after they tarried ashore near the ship for a few days, and the boat was given back. The next night, the mutinous sailors were captured ashore as they slept. The four conspirators, being expert sailors, were pardoned and behaved well from that time on. After another week had passed, they detected treachery on the part of the natives who tried to attack the ship at night. They left the area on 4 March 1565 and went southward to Sarangani Island, but could not anchor and turned back toward the coast of Mindanao. They proceeded to go clockwise around Mindanao.

When they came to a deep bay [Sarangani Bay?], they went hunting deer and they were successful, thanks to the dogs they had with them. They headed westward and one day met with a junk whose crew wanted to fight. A shot from the small gun was enough to make them swim off. The crew of the San Lucas got plenty of rice from this junk. Two days later, as they were sailing offshore during the night, the patache ran aground upon a reef. However, it broke loose by itself. They soon came to the SW corner of Mindanao where there are many islands offshore. In the Basilan Strait they met some fishing boats and bought some fish from them. By this time they had no idea where the rest of the fleet could be.

“We had coasted all along Mindanao and still had seen no sign of the fleet. There were many islands south of us, but we did not think it was adviseable to proceed that way. One reason was that we had only one anchor, and another that we might come across some Portuguese ships and this would not do us any good. As for the fleet, we had never had instructions specific enough and now we did not really know where it might be or where to wait for it. I asked the pilot if he had any personal directives himself, either from the General or from somebody else, about the location of the fleet; **he showed me the map of the Philippines that he had**, but this was not of any help because, as I explained to him, I had not been told definitely of any island, nor did we know where we were going when we left Navidad. We decided that the best thing to do under the circumstances was to continue coasting the island, and once we had traveled its entire perimeter, to head for the islands of Magellan, which are the first ones as one comes from New Spain. The fleet of the Emperor had been there and it was logical to assume that our fleet might also go there. This is what we did and kept coasting along until we came to a port where there was a big town.”

This town was at 7°1/2 and that is the location of Sibuko which even Pigafetta had recorded as being an important town in 1521. They proceeded northward and stopped somewhere to do their laundry, but the natives stole all of their clothes, except the ones they had on. They they the coast of Mindanao but their headings are not given. After a week of looking for a way out, they became hopelessly lost among a myriad of islets. Perhaps they were caught among the shoals between Mactan and Bohol. Since not even latitudes are given, we can only assume that they went northward from there and exited through the San Bernardino Strait. They kept going until they had islands only west of the ship. By the time they realized that they were in the open sea, they were probably east of Catanduanes Island.

1 Ed. note: Arellano says that the leader of the attempted mutiny was the Master, but he does not mention his name. However, he says that the cause was a fight between the Master and the mulatto pilot, Lope Martín, the future leader of another mutiny (the following year).

[Decision made to go back to New Spain]

After we left this island, we saw that there were no more islands. Not knowing which way to go, because going back among the islands was the same as to get lost, I talked to the pilot and told him to determine our position, that we were outside all the islands. He answered that it was up to me to decide as best I could for the service of H.M. and it would be done. I told him to study what we had to do navigation-wise and pick a route and course that would best serve God and H.M. and save us all. So, he began to think about what to do, picked up the chart, all the while thinking about the alternatives, then he told me that, in view of the disadvantages of this voyage [until then], the best thing to do was to return to New Spain; for one thing, the summer was coming and by placing ourselves toward the northern latitudes the weather would be favorable and we could make the voyage, that it would be better than to fall into the hands of the islanders, or of the Portuguese, as had happened to the other fleets that had come to these islands. When I heard him say that, I told him that my opinion was the same, that I preferred to die at sea in the service of H.M. than to perish among these people, that since it was the intention of H.M. that the return route be discovered, and that we could not encounter the fleet, that my determination was to finish this voyage or to die. Thus, I spoke with Pedro de Rivero¹ and told him to go below with the pilot and check our food supplies, specially the water and the bread that was available. They found 8 full water casks and 20 quintals of *mazamorra*² because the biscuits had turned into that, plus some beans and chick-peas. They returned to tell me what there was, and that the water casks were missing 4 to 5 arrobas of water. Later on, I detailed a man to keep watch on the water supply and every time ration was given one of us would go down to check, since it was a matter of life and death.

When my determination came to the knowledge of some of the men aboard the ship, they were going about half rebellious on account of our being near the Moluccas, that there were only 20 leagues away³, and they were saying that the Portuguese were there and that New Spain was 2,000 leagues away⁴, that it was impossible to discover it on account of the useless stock of food left, and all the other things they had heard say about the other fleets. They wanted to go toward the Moluccas instead rather than

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- 1 Ed. note: This man was the only other gentleman aboard, one who had been planted there by Legazpi himself. Apparently, he was not so haughty as Arellano, because he was instrumental in saving the mutineers from execution before and was more friendly with the crew.
 - 2 Ed. note: Bread crumbs, or rather, the powder left when the sea biscuits have completely crumbled due to the repeated friction from the ship's movements.
 - 3 Ed. note: They could not, of course, have been so near to them.
 - 4 Ed. note: This estimate was close to the truth.



coming here [i.e. New Spain]. However, they were not getting anywhere with me because my mind was made up to do what I said, and to leave it all to God and his Holy Mother, in whose name we took our departure from this island of Cabos [sic] to begin this new voyage.

The return voyage

The next day which was Easter Sunday which was figured out to be the 22nd of April of the present year of 1565, we set sail bound for New Spain. As soon as we left, we sailed to the north on account of the scarce breeze, and the next day NNE, and when we were getting further from the land the wind was increasing. After 4 days, we headed E and ENE in order to place ourselves at the latitude and go in search of **Pago Mayor** [Greater Pago]¹ which is a large island that is in 30°, and to the south of it there are 3 or 4 small islands, and north of it the land of China [rather Japan] is very near, as shown by the **chart** and, according to the signs that we saw, that is, tree trunks and land birds and currents that were very favorable to us.² When the pilot estimated that we were close to that island, we were hit by some rain storms with a strong wind from SSW with which we passed between this island of Pago Mayor and the others south of it, without seeing any of them. As it seemed to the pilot that we had passed them, he ordered the heading changed to NE, because until that time we had been coming east in order to hit these islands.

So, we kept running NNE until we reached 40°. When we reached 31°, we discovered a **rock island** the size of a small house but so high that I doubt if there is a tower so high in the world, yet not even a shoal nor a reef nor anything else right next to it, except sea water.³ The inhabitants of this rock island are some pelicans as large as ostriches.

Thus we kept on running NNE until we reached 40°. We were followed by some black linnets⁴ that were crying a lot day and night and brought tears to the eyes of who-

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- 1 Ed. note: The chart referred to here could only have been of Portuguese origin, and therefore the islands shown on it were some of those appearing in the early cartography of the Pacific, part 2, in Volume 1. It is well to remember that Luzon did not yet appear on any such maps. My conclusion is that Pago is a transcription error for **Lequios**, because that is the only island whose name is followed on contemporaneous charts by the word Mayor. Greater Lequios was, of course, the Nansei Shoto or Riu-kiu Archipelago, whereas Lequios Menor was Taiwan, then called Formosa.
 - 2 Ed. note: It is unlikely that they were being affected by the Kuro Shio, the famous Black Stream.
 - 3 Ed. note: This can only be Tori Shima located at 30°30'N and 140°20'E, almost directly south of Tokyo. The house shape probably belongs to the cap of this tower. Although there is no name given to this rock here, it is probably the same as the one labelled "Una Columna" [One Column] on maps of the latter part of the century.
 - 4 Ed. note: The Spanish word used is "pardelas".

ever would hear them, because they were birds which the sailors had never heard crying before.¹ As we made our way toward the 40° along that heading, we were hit by a strong breeze that gave us a cross-sea for 8 days. The current was running northward, because, having had a cross-sea in 40° so that we could not take the sun² for 8 days and then we found out, with a hard time, that we had reached 43°.

While we were there, we saw coming alongside a sea dog [**seal**] with its feet, hands, tails and ears naturally, [like] a male fox. Later, we saw others, and one of them began to bark at us—something all of us marvelled at, because I understand that nobody had seen them before. Also in that sea we saw pig fish [**dolphins**] the size of a cow. While we were at that latitude, the cold we went through was so much that I do not think it is as cold in winter anywhere, although we came there in the middle of the summer, which was in June and July. It seems to me that those who would sail this way in the winter time would have a hard time; however, if they come well-clothed, they would be alright. The weather was closed in, so much so that in 30 days we saw neither the sun nor a star, and the pilot was navigating by trial and error and by experience. This is also where I saw, on 11 June, St. Barnabas' Day and the longest day of the year at that latitude, that snow had covered the whole deck; the snow stayed until noon.³ Below deck, we had a butt with oil in it, and it froze so much that we had to expose it to the fire before it would flow out, and then it would come out in blobs like butter.

When the pilot found himself [i.e. our position] to be 500 leagues from Pago Mayor [= Okinawa], we saw much driftwood and many birds which, I believe, come from the mainland of China which ends up very close to New Spain, according to the signs that we saw during two-thirds of the voyage. And so it was, while we were in the forties, which we understood to be close to China, there were as many as 530 leagues from the coast of New Spain, more or less, according to the pilot's reckoning. One day he took the sun, because it was very clear [that day] and it was the first time we had seen it in one month, and we found ourselves to be in 43°. Although we wished to record it at 43° on the chart we had, it was off the chart. So, he ordered to steer to the east in order not to gain any more latitude and to record proper distances. So, the ship was then sailing at 43° but the points on the chart were at 40° on account of the missing space as I have said.

Thus we kept running and the going was rough, because we did not have a piece of sail [cloth] to repair the sails with. So, we cut the bonnets to repair the courses [lower sails], and then, when there were no more bonnets, we would cut the lower sails themselves to fix the other sails. The thread used for sewing was ordinary yarn, then we used the fishing lines and other fine *mecates*. On top of all these difficulties, rats multiplied themselves so much that we would chase them with sticks; as there was little drinking

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- 1 Ed. note: My guess is that they were some kind of black noddies (*Anous minutus*), known for the eery sound they make.
 - 2 Ed. note: The ship was constantly tilted and rolled too much to get a proper fix.
 - 3 Ed. note: Before 1582 and the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, the summer equinox would indeed occur on that date.

water, and they looked for some to drink also, they gnawed the water casks in such a way that in two hours we lost [the water from] two of them. They were causing us much trouble and the worse thing was that our estimated position was still 300 leagues from the coast of New Spain and had only 3 water casks left, and those were missing from 4 to 5 arrobas each. In addition, the wind blew as a steady breeze for 20 days straight, and during the whole of those 20 days we had only the lower sails and a rough sea.

We began to lose latitude, first down to 38°, then we were at 27°, as we were then following a SE heading because the wind was from the NE. Then, we began a special watch for rats day and night, with a light on below deck and four men to each watch; thus, they were killing from 20 to 30 rats every night. When the said breeze left us, the pilot found himself 100 leagues from New Spain. The wind was a northerly which he said [was explained as] gusts from the land, and so he ordered to steer to E by N, on account of a certain difference that he said existed in the needle.¹

[California sighted on 17 July]

On the day he estimated that we had hit the land, which was on Tuesday night, 16 July, he ordered that a good watch be held. Then, the next day, during the dawn watch, he got up and called me, saying: Come and see the land of New Spain. Upon seeing it, we gave thanks to Our Lord Jesus Christ for the favors he had given us. When noon arrived, we were close to the land and the pilot took the sun in 27° and 3/4; the said land was then a big bay, where the Island of Coronas falls [on the chart].² Then, the pilot ordered to “shoot the breeze”, with the NW wind pushing us and the heading SE, running in the same direction as this coast. As we were coasting it on this day, at midnight we were hit by a little headwind from the SE, and it was the cause of our not running upon a shoal that was dead ahead. By morning, we discovered that we were running very close to it. We gave thanks to Our Lady for the favors she had given us in sending that contrary wind. Thus, we veered off it and kept coasting with favorable winds, and winds from the SE which would make us anchor near the coast. After 3 or 4 days with SE winds, the westerlies came back and we ran along the coast until Saturday, figured out as the 28th of July, and we were then as far as the tip of California, and had passed it when, on this night, a gust from the NNW arose and left us with the two lower sails flapping. When the pilot saw that both the wind and the sea were getting rough, he ordered the main-sail lowered in order to run with only the topsail; as they were doing so, a strong gust of wind hit us along with spray from both sea and sky, so much so that we did not know if we were ashore or still at sea. On account of the great force of the wind, the sail was pulled out of the hands of those who had taken it and they were unable to control it no matter what they did; two or three of them were hit on the head and two thrown upon the deck. Finally, it became necessary to fasten them down [as]

1 Ed. note: To compensate for a compass variation of 1 point (11°), the pilot was steering E by N in order to make a course due East.

2 Ed. note: However, on the map shown above, the Island of Coronas (or Cazones) is shown at 31°.

the tips of the main yard were one end in the water and the other in the main stay. As they worked at doing this, the sea surged from the starboard side and came into the ship and hit the binnacle; it flung the compass and the rest, including the binnacle lamp, over the deck. It did the same thing to the helm's-man. So, we were left without a lamp and the ship put crosswise and half submerged under the sea. When the pilot saw this, he ordered to flat-in the foresail to make the ship turn about. He was shouting a lot and the men were confused; there was no-one who could find a rope, never mind the right one on account of the great darkness at the time, and also because all the men were sick, on account of the great hunger and thirst they were then suffering and had suffered from. Although there was something to eat, they all suffered from scurvy, with their teeth loose and the gums swollen so much that the upper ones touched the lower ones, so that when they bit on something, the teeth would fall out. It pleased Our Lady that the ship turned, but the main-sail was torn to shreds, as well as the sprit-sail and the bonnets that were inside were carried away by the sea.

We were thus left running with only the foresail, because we had no other sail left then and if the wind carried it away, we would be lost. We promised Our Lady to carry this lower sail to her shrine of Guadalupe in Mexico, because there was aboard the ship no other sail, and it had been made out of a bonnet from the lower main-sail which we had made while at sea, because the [original] lower fore-sail had been carried off by a wind that hit us while we [still] were in 40° bound for New Spain; that wind had come from the south, as are all such stiff winds in this ocean. That wind made us go north for one day and one night, on account of the strength of the wind and the sea, and finally it forced us to unrig and carried off the foresail. The jury-rigged sail we made to replace it was the one that brought us to New Spain. It was thanks to this foresail that we did not founder while we crossed from California, as I have already said. Thus, we prayed to Our Lady to preserve it for us, and she did so. We all promised to carry [this sail] upon our shoulders to her holy shrine of Guadalupe in Mexico.

Thus, during this crossing¹ we kept running with this weather until the morning that it left us, ship and us, in the state that we are about to see. So, we repaired the lower main-sail with a certain piece of cloth from Rouen² which my friend Pedro de Rivero had brought along; it was due to his intercession that this ship had taken part [in the voyage]. Then the repair having been completed as best we could, the wind jumped to the west with much fury and we used that wind to run until Tuesday, which was the last one of the said month, when we saw the land opposite that of California. The pilot took the sun in 25° and 1/2, and said that from there to the Port [of Navidad] there were 140 leagues.

The next day, which was the 1st of August [1565], the favorable westerlies began to blow; during the nights we had showers without any wind, and during the mornings the winds were weak from the SW. Since the ship did not have two [square] yards of

1 Ed. note: From the tip of the California peninsula, eastward to the coast of New Spain.

2 Ed. note: Rouen cloth was serge.

canvas, the pilot decided that the blankets in which we slept be made into bonnets in order to take advantage of the noon-time sea breezes.

With the help of Our Lord and some hard work, we made it into the Port of Navidad on 9 August 1565.

Don Alonso de Arellano.

Lope Martín, pilot.

Decree

In the city of Mexico on the 22nd day of the month of November 1565. The gentlemen President and Members of the Royal Audiencia of this New Spain, having seen this account of Don Alonso de Arellano, Captain of the patache named **San Lucas** which was with the fleet of General Miguel López de Legazpi sent to discover the Islands of the West, declare:

That they were ordering and did order that the said Don Alonso de Arellano, and Lope Martín, pilot of the said patache, and the other sailors and soldiers who understand navigation and things of the sea, declare under oath, in due form, that this account and everything contained in it is the truth and nothing but the truth, and to sign it with their names so that it can be sent to His Majesty. So declared and so ordered.

Passed before me, Bartolomé de Vilches.

Declaration

In the city of Mexico, on the 22nd of the month of November 1565, in compliance with what has been provided and ordered by the gentlemen President and Members of this Royal Audiencia, in accordance with the official transcript of same contained in the first part, being present Don Alonso de Arellano, Captain of the said patache **San Lucas**, and Lope Martín, pilot, and Juan Yáñez, boatswain, and Juan de Bayona, seaman, who went to and came back from the said Islands of the West, I, Alonso de Segura, notary of H.M. and of the said Royal Audiencia, have read word for word this account presented by the said Don Alonso de Arellano as appeared in the first part, and they having heard it and understood it, I took and received from them, and from each of them, an oath in due and legal form in the name of God and the Virgin Mary, and by a sign of the cross like this †.

Under the burden of the above oath, I asked them if the content of the said account of what happened during the said voyage is true, as it is contained and declared in it, and what they think of it, and they, having sworn the said oath, declared:

That the content of the said account, which had been read to them by me, the said notary, is what happened during the course of the voyage and navigation which they made in the said patache **San Lucas** from the day they set sail in the company of the said fleet whose General was Miguel López de Legazpi from the port of Navidad, until they returned to it, under the burden of the oath which they had taken.

The said pilot declared:

That, in addition to what is contained in the said account, he particularly declared that the routes and signs of land and latitudes are truly those declared in the said ac-

count, because he had so ordered and written down in this account in accordance with what he saw and understood in the said navigation as its pilot.

All said this to be the truth under the burden of the oath they had taken, and the said Captain Don Alonso de Arellano, and Lope Martín, pilot, signed it with their names, and the others declared that they did not know how.

Don Alonso de Arellano.

Lope Martín, pilot.

Passed before me, Alonso de Segura, Notary of H.M.

The above transcript was corrected and made to agree with the original account from which it had been copied for me by Bartolomé de Vilches, Government Secretary of this New Spain, in whose power it [i.e. the original copy] remains, as witnessed by the above-named, and, as requested by the said Don Alonso de Arellano, and ordered by the gentlemen President and Members of the Royal Audiencia who reside in this city, I gave him a certified copy thereof, signed and certified with my name and rubric, in this city of Mexico, on the 27th day of November of 1565, being present as witnesses Alonso de Segura and Juan Pérez de Echavarri, Notaries of H.M., and Bernardino Alvarez, permanent residents of this city.

In faith whereof,

Bartolomé de Vilches.

AA2. Declaration against Arellano, dated Bohol 13 April 1565

Source: Col. Ultramar, iii, pp. vii-viii, in summary, as follows.

Legazpi ordered an inquiry to be held into the disappearance of the San Lucas. Before the Government Notary Hernando Riquel, the declarations of the following witnesses were taken: Pierre Plin, pilot of the flagship; Martín de Ibarra, master of the same; Rodrigo de Espinosa, pilot of the patache San Juan; Captain Juan de la Isla; Jaime [Martinez] Fortún, pilot of the *almiranta*; Juan María, master of the same; and Francisco de Astigarribia, boatswain of the flagship. The declarations of all were in answer to the three main points:

1° That Arellano had instructions from the General, delivered by Juan de la Isla to the pilot Lope Martín, to the effect that the patache was to go ahead of the fleet in the discovery but conserving a distance of approximately half a league;

2° That on the afternoon of the disappearance, the flagship placing itself within hearing distance of Arellano, reprimanded the excessive headway it was taking at sunset, the pilot Lope Martín answering that he could not lower sails because the patache was rolling too much and the water was flooding over the sides and might convert it into a tub;

3° That at daybreak of the following day, it was foggy and that ship disappeared and separated from the fleet without any trace of its passage or stay at any of those islands

having been found, in spite of the many steps taken for it and of the precise instructions, to prevent such happenings, which the General had given them.¹

AA3. Charges by Legazpi against Arellano, presented to the Royal Audiencia by Gabriel Díaz, Mexico 7, 11, 13 and 16 November 1565

Source: Col. Ultramar, iii, pp. viii-xiv.

First petition.

Most powerful Sir:

I, Gabriel Díaz, treasurer of the Royal Mint in this city, on behalf of Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor of the islands and fleet of the West for your Highness by virtue of the power of attorney that I hold from him, declare:

That, while the said Miguel López was going to the said islands of the west as he had been ordered by your Highness in accordance with his Instructions, he appointed Don Alonso de Arellano as captain of the patache named San Lucas thereby to benefit and honor him as a gentleman, who was duty bound to correspond in kind, being obligated as a gentleman and loyal vassal to obey what in the name of His Majesty he had been ordered to do by the instructions given to him by the said General and in accordance with the oath that he had taken, like the other soldiers and captains who went in the said fleet; that the said Captain Don Alonso, having sailed for ten days in company and in convoy with the said fleet, without any cause, occasion, nor pretext, with the sea favorable and peaceful weather, one night, under cover of darkness, he substracted and absented himself from the said fleet, separating himself from it, taking a heading different from the one he had been ordered to take in accordance with his instructions, as it has been reported to your Highness by the inquiry which has been held about this by the said Governor, copy of which has been sent to your Highness, against the said Captain Don Alonso who has acted improperly for a gentleman and captain and loyal vassal of your Highness, because, in addition to the harm, which was very great and considerable, done to your Royal fleet by having taken away the most important ship and people aboard her meant for the very specific navigation and survey of those islands as she was the smallest, the handiest and the most convenient one for requiring the least amount of water to enter and discover rivers, creeks and shallows where the other bigger ships could not go and, as something very essential and necessary for the said purpose, the fault committed by the said patache San Lucas and people aboard it is very great, and continues to be so, with respect to the conservation and sustenance of the army which remains there as it would go and bring food supplies for their meals, ammunitions, wood, firewood, and all the other necessary supplies as well as to

¹ Ed. note: A copy of this document was no doubt delivered to Gabriel Díaz, Legazpi's agent in Mexico, by Captain Salcedo in person on about 1 November 1565.

dispense and trade the goods which His Majesty has there, the trading of which has been suspended for lack of the said patache. Consequently, in the name of your said Governor I request and beg your Highness to order that the said Captain Don Alonso, the pilot and soldiers of his company be held accountable to their General in accordance with the oath they have taken and to recover the official salary and wages that they have already received, given that they have served only the first ten days under the royal banner and under the said General Miguel López and about the rest of the time, until now, and the reason for their separation they are to give an account to you as well as to their General and I beg that justice be done and whatever is required, etc.

Gabriel Díaz.

This petition having been presented in the manner expressed and seen by the said gentlemen [of the Audiencia], they ordered the Secretary Bartolomé de Vilches to file the said petition.

Sancho López de Agurto.

Second petition.

Most powerful Sir:

I, Gabriel Díaz, treasurer of the Mint, on behalf of Miguel López de Legazpi, General and Governor for your Highness in the Islands of the West and by virtue of the power of attorney which I hold from the above-said, in the matter concerning this presentation declare:

That I requested last Monday your royal agreement in the name of your said Governor by way of a petition that Captain Don Alonso de Arellano, the pilot and other soldiers of the ship San Lucas be made to give an account to the said General as to the reason for their departure and flight from the fleet and, as arrangements were to have been made accordingly, until now the said petition has not been answered and no arrangement has been made, that news has come to me that the said Captain Don Alonso and some soldiers of his company are making ready to leave for the kingdoms of Castile in the next ship with a permit from your President and members as the said Don Alonso has said publicly, which with all due respect should not have been granted them but rather they should be compelled and urged to appear before their General to give an account of their voyage, route taken, and of the men and ship entrusted to them, given that such an account by captains and owners of ships is usual and customary in all your kingdoms, to wit, that the first thing done to them at their arrival in port is for the legal authorities to visit them and ask them for an account of the personnel they took aboard the said ship and about the treatment good or bad, and the damages done to them. If this had been requested of the said Don Alonso, pilot and officers of the said ship, there would be recorded for your President and members that the said Don Alonso, pilot and others, not only did not keep nor complied with the said instructions given to them, but rather they did the diametrically-opposite thing, doing their own thing, and the said Don Alonso having administered legal tasks without a commission for doing so nor the required skill, and having without any cause—at least without a

sufficient one—thrown a live man overboard, a Spaniard, and also one Indian¹, and having done many other very serious and atrocious excesses in company with the said pilot and others who would abet and advise him. Consequently, the said captain, pilot, and other accomplices in the said crimes, accused by their own conscience, refuse and fear to appear before the said General in order to avoid punishment not only for having fled with the salary and ship of His Majesty but also for the crimes committed during the said flight.

I stand ready to give [further] information about the above, and therefore request to be received and if necessary for the said inquiry, to have the said Don Alonso, pilot and the others to whom it may concern be present at same. I beg and beseech your Highness to order that it be held in the form and manner requested above and that the said Don Alonso, the pilot and soldiers of his company be made to go [to the Islands of the West] and serve for the salary and wages they have received from your Highness and to appear before their General and Governor to give an account as they are obligated to do, and to order that my deposition be taken and for which I beg that justice be done as required.

Also, I beg and beseech your Highness to order the secretary to give me an official transcript in public form of what I have requested in this case and of what has been provided, and I stand ready to pay him his fees.

Gabriel Díaz.

The said petition having been presented and seen by the gentlemen President and members, they said that they ordered that it be filed with the other one presented before.

Follow-up inactions, synopsised by the editor of the *Colección de Ultramar*.

In the third petition, presented on the 13th, he complains that there has not been any follow-up to the previous petitions and that they do not wish to answer them; consequently, he requests an official transcripts of them. Given that the Audiencia decided to request Gabriel Díaz to show proof for considering himself a party to the case, he presented a fourth petition in which he copied the contents of the previous ones, adding that until then they had not been settled, only that he had been requested to show cause, whereas he had already presented his power of attorney with the first petition which he once again presents in answer to the request.

Although the atrocity of the crime was sufficient for your Presidents and members to ask your attorney to assume the case and to follow it up without ordering me to show cause and without creating such a delay such as the one occasioned by all those letters. I beg and beseech your Highness to recognize all my petitions and declare that I am a party or not, and if I am, to order for what concerns the interest and the treasury of His Majesty your attorney to take up the case. I stand ready to give him all the information

¹ Ed. note: So, we learn here that the two men killed at Pulap (or perhaps sentenced to death by Arellano) were 1 Spaniard and 1 Mexican.

necessary and, should it be necessary I offer myself to do whatever is required by law, and I beg justice be done as required, etc.

Also, I beg and beseech your Highness to order that I should be given an official copy of all that I have asked in this case, because it is proper for the rights of the said General Miguel López and for the discharge of what your Highness had entrusted him with and ordered him to do. The petitions which I have presented and whose copy I request are: one that I brought to your royal attention on Monday 5th of the present month, which was brought to the attention of your member Villanueva who then sent it through the genteel doorman of this Royal Audiencia to Secretary Vilches; another one I presented with the power of attorney of the said General before Secretary Vilches on Friday 9th of the present month which was not resolved in any way; another which I presented on Tuesday 13rd of the present month and to which the said Audiencia answered me with "same as for the others"; and yesterday another petition to your royal attention the response to which was to ask me to show cause. Of all of the above and of the power of attorney, I beg your Highness to order that I be given the copy that I have already requested, with a certificate of the settlement [i.e. copy of the decision], one way or another, and I beg justice.

Gabriel Díaz.

The said petition having been presented and the said gentlemen having seen it, they ordered that it be taken away: Seen.

Once again, he approached the Audiencia with a request for official copies of everything he had presented on behalf of Legazpi, and finally he obtained an order that he be given a copy of the notarized statement of the inquiry that had come from the islands against Arellano, and one of the statement presented by Arellano himself, not separate from the other. Against this, Gabriel Díaz represented again on November 26th, with the following phrase:

Speaking with all due respect, it could not, nor should not, have been sent by your Highness because your Royal decree did not order that anything but a testimonial of what had been requested, with headers and footers, and that only that be given to the party requesting it, that the so-called proof and testimony of the said Don Alonso adds little to the right of your General. The said Don Alonso would do well to keep it and to present it wherever he wishes, specially since it is false, surreptitious and made with the same conspirators, accomplices and perpetrators with the said Don Alonso in the uprising and flight with the said ship and in the other crimes that they have committed, etc.

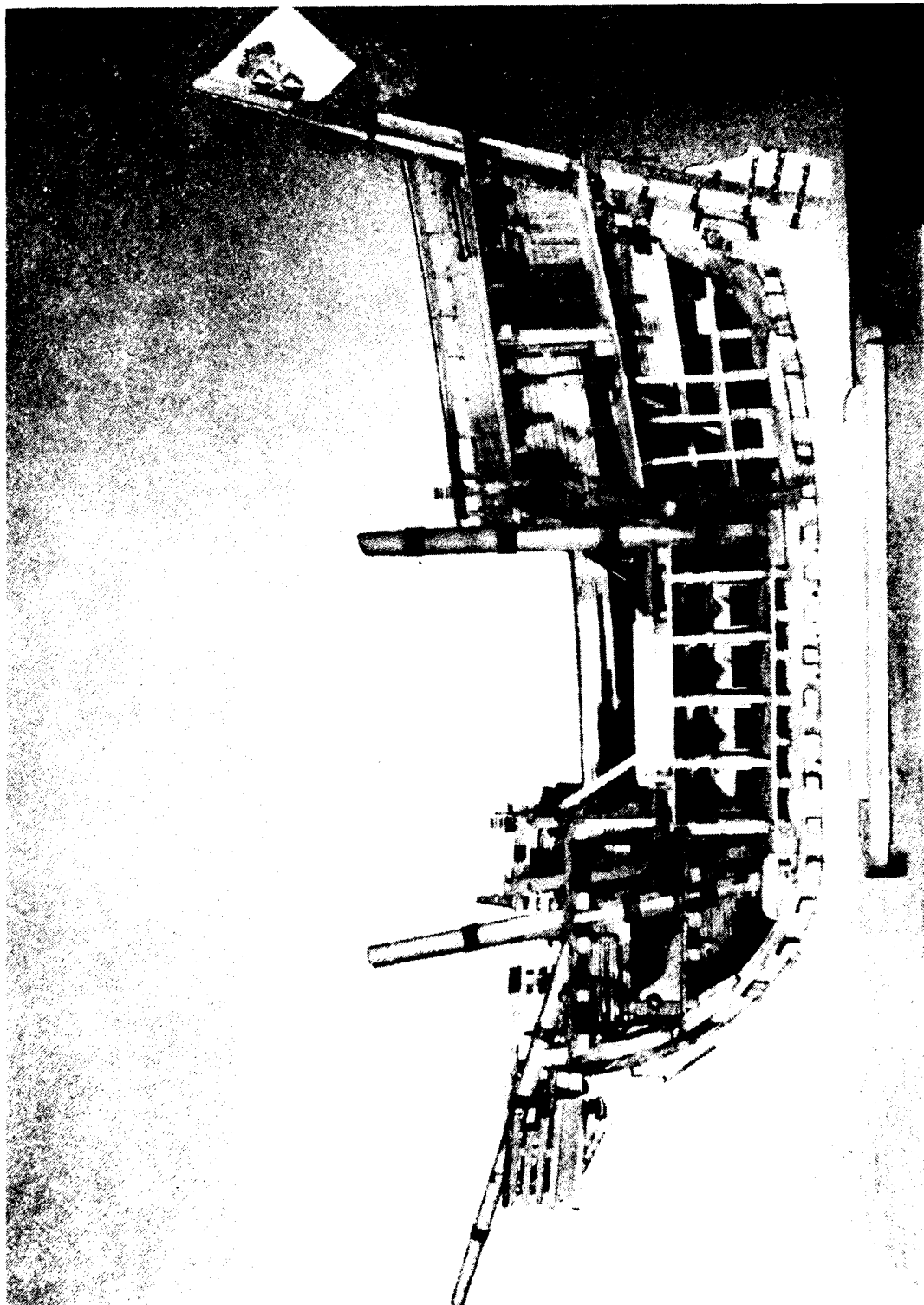
All of the above induces one to suspect the prestige that Don Alonso de Arellano enjoyed with that Audiencia, with the Council of the Indies and the esteem of the Court, or else the apathy of the attorney and members of the Audiencia, and it is the lesser suspicion that one can get out of these words used by Díaz in his last petition:

I have requested an inquiry about the matter from your Highness, but your President and Members have never consented in settling it nor in ordering that your attorney take up this case and follow it up, etc.

He goes on to complain about the same Audiencia having permitted Arellano and the other soldiers, his accomplices, to leave for Spain, acting contrary to the settlement as they were not asked for an

account of the exercise of their functions at the end of the voyage, thus justice was not done when they were not subjected to due process, given the grave accusation presented on behalf of the General.¹

1 Ed. note: In the end, it appears that Arellano may have gotten away with murder; however, what would constitute a crime nowadays (throwing men overboard) was not then an unusual punishment. Arellano went to Spain in the same fleet as Fr. Urdaneta and Legazpi's son; he brought along a letter of recommendation to the King from the Dominican Order in Mexico (dated 26 November 1565; in AGI 60-2-16). As for the pilot Lope Martín, he was imprisoned a short time (perhaps for another crime) but he somehow managed to join the crew of the 1566 voyage aboard the galleon San Jerónimo. He quickly showed what he was capable of by fomenting a bloody mutiny.



Cut-away view of the San Pedro, the first trading galleon. *First official crossing of the Pacific in an eastward direction. (From Artes de Mexico, n° 68/69,*



Close-up view of the deck and quarterdeck of the San Pedro. Legazpi's flagship was sent back with a small cargo of cinnamon from Mindanao in 1565. (From *Artes de Mexico*, n° 68/69, 1965, p. 78)

Documents 1565AB

Captain Salcedo and Fr. Urdaneta find the return route

AB1. Logbook kept by Estéban Rodríguez

Sources: AGI Papeles de Maluco (1564-1608), Legajo 2; transcribed by Muñoz in April 1794; reproduced in Col. de Nav., t. 17, doc. 18, fol. 210+; cited by Navarrete, Bibl. mar. esp., i, p. 405, also in Col. Ultramar, ii, p. 456, note 2, and in B&R 53:244. This may be the same document as MN ms. 141, doc. 18, folios 296-319. Also published in Col. de diarios, vol. 5, pp. 113-120.

Note: Covers the period 1 June to 14 September 1565 only, because the author became sick and died at sea off the coast of New Spain on 27 September 1565.

We left Zubu, as I have said, on Friday 1 June of this year of 1565 with the ship named **San Pedro** well supplied with food for 8 or 9 months to return to New Spain. Mister Felipe de Salcedo was aboard as Captain of the said ship. The Chief Pilot was Esteban Rodríguez, a resident and native of Huelva; his mate was Rodrigo de la Isla [Espinosa], the master was Martin de Ibarra, a resident of Bilbao, and the boatswain was Francisco de Aztibarribia. We took three days to come out of the Zubu Strait, which would be about 3 leagues in length in an ENE direction.

As soon as we were out of it, we steered to ENE for about 6 leagues and came upon the west coast of Abuyo [i.e. Leyte I.]; from there on we coasted it heading northward between the island of Abuyo and the island of Zubu. Beyond the island of Zubu there are many small islands that appear towards the N and ENE; then there appear, one after another, along the coast of Abuyo and Tandaya, some large bays full of small islands. Between these islets and the others which, as I have said, project northward, there is a good pass, 2-3 leagues, through which the ships can go out. They do not have to fear shoals, except those that were seen in the eye of the pass which were simply avoided.

[The Battle of Escarpada Island]

In this vicinity there are strong currents that run among these islands when the tide is receding; here we were carried by a strong current westward to the middle of three islets. We anchored by a small islet that would be about 3 leagues in circumference. We went ashore with 40 men to look for water. We found 2-3 houses on the beach and 4 proas pulled up; there were something like 50 Indians in the houses. As soon as they

saw us come, they came out to the water's edge with their spears, shields and daggers, warning us by signs not to land, and threatening us. We ran the boat aground and began to step ashore with our weapons. We had 20 soldiers with arquebuses and 20 with shields. As soon as the Indians saw this, they began to flee uphill. We followed them up and we saw some houses that they had on a high crag¹ and in order to climb there there was only one narrow road, very hard to climb. Here we were attacked by the Indians. If it had not been for the shields we carried, they would have mistreated us a lot more, because the stones really rained down upon us from above. Here they knocked down one soldier badly and many others came out badly bruised. However, in spite of all this, we made it on top after much effort and the Indians retreated to a fortified crag that was artificial, very high, next to the houses. Once they were on top of it, they dominated the whole village. They had stored some stones up there, and they would throw them down at the men. We were forced to retreat to the safety of the houses until the fury of the stones had passed, and from there we were shooting at them, whenever one of them was out of cover. After we had kept this up for a while, we decided to go up to the fort. So, some of us provided a cover for the climb from the houses and others attacked the fort. As soon as they saw us determined, they abandoned the fort and fled down a road that existed at the back of the fort. It was carved in such a way that I wondered how one could go down using hands; they were using it to go up and down. This fort had only one entrance and much useless; in fact, if the Indians had had courage and had not abandoned the fort, I understand that we would not have been able to climb to it, because to get to it we climbed almost as if we were climbing a ladder and they could have done us much harm.

Once on top and upon entering it, we found one dead Indian and the fort full of blood. They had collected up there all their small effects and a quantity of coconuts; we took some of them and some rice and fish, and a small deer, and then we left. We did not find water at this island. The islanders drank from wells dug by hand.

Soon after we got back to the ship, we got some easterly wind and we sailed from here at noon. We gave the name of *El Peñol* to this island. That afternoon we went to touch at another island; its circumference was about 4 leagues. Here we could see two small villages on the seashore. We anchored in 20 fathoms at 1/4 league from the shore. Five big proas came toward where we were with about 200 Indians aboard them, but they did not dare approach to where we were. So, 42 of us boarded the boat, with our weapons, in order to go to the village in search of water. As soon as we left the ship, all the five proas came together and they raised their war banners. We steered directly toward them, as we had to do so in order to get to the village. As soon as they saw us, they fled with a rowing start, in such a way that not even galleys could have caught them, and we went to the village. The proas were nearby, in sight, and thinking that if we stepped ashore, they would take away our boat. Twenty-two men stepped ashore

1 Ed. note: As will be mentioned below, this island was called "the Cliff" or "the Crag" by the Spanish.

and 20 of them remained in the boat. The Indians of the village abandoned it. We did not find water here, except a little, because the Indians were bringing it from afar. We found rice, many coconuts, pigs, chickens; we placed enough of this aboard our ship. The next day we sailed along the coast looking for water but did not find any. We gave the name of **Ascension** to this island.¹ There were about 3 to 4 leagues between here and Peñol Island, along a bearing of E 1/4 NE—W 1/4 SW [i.e. E by N or an angle of 78°45'].

From this Ascension Island, we weighed anchor at noon on Thursday with a breeze, and having gone out some distance we caught the currents and they took us to the island of the Volcanoes [i.e. Luzon] which is a very big island and has two volcanoes; we saw one of them emitting smoke. Once we had arrived at it, we were already just with the foresail intending to come to an anchor, so that the currents would not take us toward many other islets that were to leeward. After we had anchored in 40 fathoms, we were hit by a very big squall, much wind and a heavy sea. If the ship had not been good with the rudder, which was quickly turned full alee, we would have hit the coast here; another reason was the speed with which the sails were set to leave the coast because the wind was a cross-wind. God was served that we got out of this tight spot near the coast and a cross-wind. As soon as we had gone out, the wind shifted and came from the land, but we did not dare go and anchor, fearful of another squall; we coasted along until daybreak.

On this day, we went to anchor at another medium-sized island that is 3 leagues from the entrance of the strait. We remained anchored there all night. In the morning, we set sail to come out of the strait to leave all these islands. We came out of the strait on Saturday at noon. Inside the mouth there is a tiny islet 2 leagues from the big island; from the big island to that of the Volcanoes, there are 2 more leagues. We exited the mouth between this islet and the one which is to the NE. In the middle of it there was such a great boiling of water that we thought it was [caused by] a shoal; we sent the boat ahead to see if it was a shoal but they made signs to us that it was not and we passed on top of it. That water was running out; it usually runs in and out with the tides. Inside this mouth, I took the sun in a little over 13 degrees.

From here we steered to E, which was the general direction of the coast for about 10 leagues. At this point the coast was trending westward [sic] for 8 leagues and here the trend of the coast was NW—SE, so we did not coast along it but we took our departure from it on our course for New Spain, and we left the land of the Philippines behind and we steered to the E, the wind being southerly.

On Sunday we ran for 20 leagues along this course.

Monday, 11th of the said month, we ran for 30 leagues to the E by N. The wind was SSW.

Tuesday, 12th of the said month, we ran 27 leagues to ENE. The wind was SW. I took the sun in 14°.

1 Ed. note: It corresponds to Capul Island, as is made clear in Espinosa's account below.

Wednesday, 13rd of the said month, we made 13 leagues to ENE. The wind was SW with 1 point to S [i.e. SW by S].

Thursday, 14th of the said month and Friday 15th, we ran one tack to ESE and another to NE. We would have gained 15 leagues along a straight line.

Saturday 16th, we ran 30 leagues to NNE, with the wind E. I took the sun in 17°.

Sunday 17th, we made 27 leagues to NE. The wind was SE by E. I took the sun in 18°.

Monday 18th, we made 27 leagues to NE by E. The wind was SE. I took the sun in 19°.

Tuesday 19th, we made 20 leagues to ENE. The wind was SE. Here the needles were varying to NE by 1/2 point.

Wednesday 20th, we made 21 leagues toward the E. The wind was SSE. I took the sun in 19° and 1/2.

[Discovery of Parece Vela]

Thursday 21st, Corpus Christi Day, in the morning, at dawn, we came upon a shoal. We first sighted it from one league out. It appeared like a **rock island** on top of the water like a boat and we thought that it was a canoe [sail] because we did not see more of this rock. I climbed to the topmast and I saw the sea breaking over everywhere and in the direction where we were heading. Then we came up to the shoal and coasted it. It would be about 2 leagues, all covered by the sea, except for the above-mentioned rock. We took the sun here in 20°. We made 20 leagues on this day toward the NE by E. The wind was SE by E.¹

Friday 22nd, we made 25 leagues to ENE. The wind was SE. I took the sun in 21°.

Saturday 23rd, we made 25 leagues to E by N. The wind was SSE.

Sunday 24th, we made 30 leagues to E by N. The wind was SSE. I took the sun in 21° and 1/2.

Monday 25th, we made 15 leagues to E by N. The wind was SSE.

Tuesday 26th, we made 16 leagues to E. The wind was SSE. I took the sun in 21° and 3/4.

Wednesday 27th, we made 10 leagues to NE. The wind was ESE.

Thursday 28th, we made 31 leagues to ENE. The wind was SSE.

Friday 29th, we made 30 leagues. The wind was SSE. We ran to E. I took the sun in 23° and 1/3.

Saturday 30th, we made 23 leagues to ENE. The wind was SE.

Sunday, 1st of July, we made 30 leagues to ENE. The wind was SE. I took the sun in 24°.

Monday 2nd, we made 26 leagues to NE by N. The wind was E by S. I took the sun in 25° and 1/4.

1 Ed. note: A remarkable estimate given the circumstances. Parece Vela, nowadays labelled Okino-Tori Shima by the Japanese, lies at 20°25'N and 136°E. Parece Vela means "Looks Like a Sail, or Ship". The same resemblance was to be reported as accurate by so many later navigators.

Tuesday 3rd, we made 25 leagues to NE by N. The wind was E by S. I took the sun in 26° and $3/4$. Here the needle was varying NE by 1 point.

Wednesday 4th, we made 20 leagues to N by E. The wind was E by N. I took the sun in 28° plus.

Thursday 5th, we made 21 leagues to N. The wind was ENE. I took the sun in 29° and $1/4$.

Friday 6th, we made 15 leagues to NE by N. The wind was E. I took the sun in 30° .

Saturday 7th, we made 18 leagues to NE by N. The wind was E by S. I took the sun in 30° .

Sunday 8th, we made 15 leagues to ENE. The wind was SE [sic]. I took the sun in 30° and $3/4$.

Monday 9th, we made 15 leagues to E by N. The wind was SE by S.

Tuesday 10th, we made 30 leagues to E. The wind was S. I took the sun in 30° and $3/4$.

Wednesday 11th, we made 40 leagues to E. The wind was S.

Thursday 12th, we made 35 leagues. The wind was S.

Friday 13th, we made 30 leagues to E. The wind was S.

Saturday 14th, we made 35 leagues to E by N. The wind was SSE. I took the sun in 30° and $2/4$ [sic].

Sunday 15th, we made 20 leagues to NE. The wind was ESE. I took the sun in 31° and $2/3$.

Monday 16th, we made 15 leagues to NE. The wind was ESE. I took the sun in 32° and $1/2$. Here the needle was pulling NE by 1 point.

Tuesday 17th, we made 11 leagues to SE by S. The wind was ENE.

Wednesday 18th, we made 8 leagues to S by E until midnight, and then we tacked back until noon and made 8 leagues to NE. I took the sun in 31° and $3/4$.

Thursday 19th, we made 20 leagues to N by E. The wind was E by S. On this day I took the sun in 33° .

Friday 20th, we made 22 leagues to N by E. The wind was E by N. I took the sun in 34° .

Saturday 21st, we made 20 leagues to N by E. The wind was E by N. The above headings are given without correction for the variation of the needle. I took the sun in 35° .

Sunday 22nd, we made 20 leagues to NE by N. The wind was ESE. I took the sun in 36° .

Monday 23rd, we made 20 leagues to E. The wind was S. I took the sun in 36° .

Tuesday 24th, we made 35 leagues to E. The wind was S.

Wednesday 25th, we made 35 leagues to E. The wind was S.

Thursday 26th, we made 22 leagues to E. The wind was S. I took the sun in 36° .

Friday 27th, we made 25 leagues to E by N. The wind was S.

Saturday 28th, we headed ENE. The wind was SE. I took the sun in 36° and $3/4$.

Sunday 29th, we made 20 leagues to E. The wind was S. I took the sun in 36° and $3/4$.

Monday 30th, we made 15 leagues to E. The wind was SSW. I took the sun in 36° and $3/4$.

Tuesday, 31st and Wednesday 1st of August, we ran with a scant wind on one tack and another; we gained 12 leagues to E.

Thursday 2nd, we made 18 leagues along a N by E heading. I took the sun in 38° .

Friday 3rd, we made 17 leagues to N by E. I took the sun in 39° plus.

Saturday 4th, we made 12 leagues to SE by E. I took the sun in almost 39° .

Sunday 5th, we made 25 leagues to SE.

Monday 6th, we made 25 leagues to SSE.

Tuesday 7th, we made 25 leagues to SSE. I took the sun in 35° and $1/4$.

Wednesday 8th, we made 23 leagues to SSE. I took the sun in 33° and $2/3$.

Thursday 9th, we made 20 leagues to SSE. I took the sun in 32° .

Friday 10th, we made 18 leagues to SE by S. I took the sun in 31° and $1/2$.

Saturday 11th and Sunday 12th, we made one tack after another; we gained 20 leagues to SSE. I took the sun on Sunday in 30° and $1/2$.

Monday 13th and Tuesday 14th, we were becalmed; we would have gained 12 leagues to NE. I took the sun in 31° .

Wednesday 15th, we made 25 leagues to E. I took the sun in 31° plus.¹

Thursday 16th, we made 15 leagues to NE by N. I took the sun in 31° and $2/3$.

Friday 17th, we made 15 leagues to NE.

Saturday 18th, we made 27 leagues to NNE. I took the sun in 34° and $1/4$.

Sunday 19th, we tacked back and forth; we gained 10 leagues to NE. I took the sun in 34° and $2/3$.

Monday 20th, we made 17 leagues to SE by S.

Tuesday 21st, we ran for 12 hours to SE by S and the other 12 hours to NE by N; we gained 12 leagues to E. I took the sun 33° and $2/3$.

Wednesday 22nd, we made 20 leagues to NE. I took the sun in 34° and $1/2$.

Thursday 23rd, we made 16 leagues to NE. I took the sun in 35° and $1/4$.

Friday 24th and Saturday 25th, we made 12 leagues. We had some calm and westerly winds. We made 12 leagues due E.

Sunday 26th, we made 20 leagues to E. I took the sun in almost 35° .

Monday 27th, we made 12 leagues to ESE.

Tuesday 28th, we headed SE and then NE; I found that we had gained a headway of 12 leagues to E by N. I took the sun in 34° and $3/4$.

Wednesday 29th, we made 30 leagues to NE by E.

Thursday 30th, we made 24 leagues toward the NE.

Friday 31st, we made 22 leagues.²

Saturday 1st of September, we made 15 leagues to NE by N. I took the sun in 38° and $1/2$.

1 Ed. note: Espinosa estimated a distance of 16 leagues for that day.

2 Ed. note: No heading given by Rodriguez. Espinosa says to NE by N.

Sunday 2nd and Monday 3rd, we made one tack after another; we would have gained a headway of 22 leagues to the NE by E. I took the sun in 39° and 1/2.

Tuesday 4th of September, we made 20 leagues toward the ESE.

Wednesday 5th, we made 32 leagues toward the SE by E.

Thursday 6th, we made 20 leagues toward the SE. I took the sun in 37° and 1/4.

Friday 7th, we made 17 leagues to E. I took the sun in 37° and 1/4.

Saturday 8th, we made 25 leagues to E by N. I took the sun in 37° and 1/2.

Sunday 9th, we made 18 leagues toward the E.

Monday 10th, we made 6 leagues toward the E by S.

Tuesday 11th, we made 7 leagues toward the E by S.

Wednesday 12th, we made 18 leagues to E.

Thursday 13th, we made 28 leagues to ESE.

Friday 14th, we made 16 leagues to E.¹

AB2. Logbook kept by Rodrigo de Espinosa

Sources: AGI Papeles de Maluco (1564-1608), Legajo 2 (now in 1-1-1/23); transcribed by Muñoz on 26 April 1794; Col. de Nav., t. 17, doc. 19; Col. de Ultramar, ii, doc. 34, pp. 427-456; also in Col. diarios, vol. 5, pp. 121+; summarized in B&R 2:129-131. There is a facsimile reproduction of the AGI ms. in Wagner's Spanish Voyages, pp. 464-480.

In the name of Jesus and of his blessed Mother.

Narrative and logbook kept by Rodrigo de Espinosa, Pilot of the galleon [sic] named San Juan, whose captain had been Juan de la Isla, and later on by order of the Illustrious Miguel López de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General of the Islands of the West for His Majesty, I was ordered to come aboard the flagship named **San Pedro**, as a pilot in the company of Pilot Major Estévan Rodríguez. At present, we are at the port of Zubu [sic], about to try our luck in voyaging to New Spain. The captain is the Magnificent Felipe de Salcedo. The logbook is as follows:

Friday morning, 1 June. We set sail with the Galleon **San Pedro** from the port of Zubu to go on a venturesome voyage to New Spain. We went out [by the channel] between the island of Zubu and the island of Matan [Mactan]. This island of Matan is on the south [sic] side of Zubu and the channel between one island and the other has a length of 2-1/2 leagues. Although it is very narrow in spots, there would be something like an arquebus shot from one island to the other and 6 be advised that from Zubu it runs to the ENE. Within the channel, be advised that the closer you get to the island of Matan the deeper it becomes, and without any declivity, whereas if you get near the island of Zubu, there are a few banks, and close to the island of Matan there are [depths] next to it [of] 6, 7 and 8 fathoms.

1 Ed. note: End of Rodríguez' logbook. He died of sickness a few days later, before they reached Acapulco.

We came out from between these two islands on Sunday morning, and the said island of Zubu continues to the north for 7 to 8 leagues. You should take care, upon coming out from between these two afore-said islands, to steer ENE until reaching part of the west side of Abuyo [=Leyte], and from there run along the coast, which is oriented N by W, for about 12 leagues. All along this coast you have no declivity to guard against, except what you will see visually. Along this coast, there are two big bays¹ that open up to the east; as they are a little beyond the land [of Leyte] they will appear as passes. From this island to that of Zubu there would be between one island and the other about 8 leagues. Be advised that by steering north between these two islands, at the end of the islet of Zubu, 1 league north of its end, there is a low island 2 leagues in length. This island is low, full of trees.² Between this island and the other [island] of Abuyo which is east of it, you will find a round, small island full of trees.³ By steering between these two islands, you will see a high land⁴ which is where the above-said 12 leagues come to an end, which is on the coast of the above-said island of Abuyo. You will see a high land full of wood, and in the foothills that come down to the sea, you will see a big bay about which the Indians whom we carry aboard the said Galleon to New Spain⁵ say that there is a passage that goes to Tandaya⁶ and there ends the island of Abuyo.

At the mouth of this passage, there are two islets that will seem to you to be [part of] the mainland⁷ and it is all one, and at about 2 more leagues the coast of Filipina [i.e. Samar], which is the island where Tandaya is located toward the east, comes back. Here, where the coast turns eastward, I took the sun in 11° and 2/3. Here you will then see two [more] islets stuck to the coast oriented E—W, and further north, about 1-1/2 leagues, you will see a high and round island whose peak is divided into two tits, one of them bigger than the other.⁸ In the southern part of this island there is a savanna. This island is inhabited because houses were seen in it. Also, eastward of it there are many islands, some small and some big. Also, be advised that on the west side of this

1 Ed. note: On either side of the Camotes Islands.

2 Ed. note: Malapascua Island, and/or Carnasa Island. A line may be missing in the text.

3 Ed. note: Gigatangan Island.

4 Ed. note: Biliran Island whose highest peak is 4,396 feet.

5 Ed. note: Unfortunately, history has not recorded the names of these intrepid Filipinos who were the first confirmed Filipino sailors to cross the Pacific Ocean. The first Chamorro to cross the Pacific was also aboard; however, he, and three of the Filipinos, did not survive the crossing, according to Father Urdaneta (See Doc. 1565AC1).

6 Ed. note: Caribara Bay and, via the Banibatas Channel, into San Pedro Bay where Tandaya, i.e. the SW coast of Samar, can be reached.

7 Ed. note: Islets off the coast of Biliran Island, lat. 11°38'N.

8 Ed. note: Maripipi Island, whose higher peak reaches 3,032 feet.

island, there is rock islet showing three heads. This rock islet is next to the island itself and it appears that there is a passage between this islet and the rock islet. Also, west of the said island, at about 6 leagues, there is an island running N—S, and you will see in it many savannas and it appears very developed because I, the said pilot, could not see the cape at the north end of it.¹ From the said island to that of Zubu, which lies to the south, there are 4 or 5 other, small, islands. From the islet with the two tits [i.e. Maripipi] you will go steering N and yawing 1/4 NE [i.e. N by E] and, having passed the said island, then you will see another one north of the said island², about the same size as the one left behind. To the west, you will see another island, somewhat bigger.³ With the galleon heading N by E, we passed with this island bearing west and the other that is to the east. Between these two islands, there would be about 3 leagues.

Later on, we discovered land that is in the same direction as our heading, which is the island of Filipina [i.e. Samar]. When I was E—W with of the point [i.e. abreast of it], I took the sun in 12° and 3/4⁴ and from here I turned west, toward a large bay.

While at this point which is in 12° and 3/4, there is like a very small island that lies N—S off the coast at about 1/4 league.⁵ Between this islet and Filipina Island, we saw 7 or 8 **proas** [busy] fishing. Between this island and another which is west of it⁶ at about 3 leagues, is where the galleon San Pedro passed. From this island which is west of this islet, toward the NW, you will see at about 5 leagues a large island which has two tall **volcanoes**.⁷ When abreast E—W of the point of the island with the volcanoes, we were caught by a current that carried us SW for over 6 or 7 leagues, and we put in among three islets⁸ and there we anchored at one of them which is furthest from the island with the volcanoes. Here the boat went ashore to get water. When the men had stepped ashore, the Indians came out and knocked out one soldier. When they saw this, the men went after them but they fled and sought shelter inside a fort they had. That is where

1 Ed. note: This larger island is Masbate.

2 Ed. note: Almagro Island.

3 Ed. note: Tagapula Island.

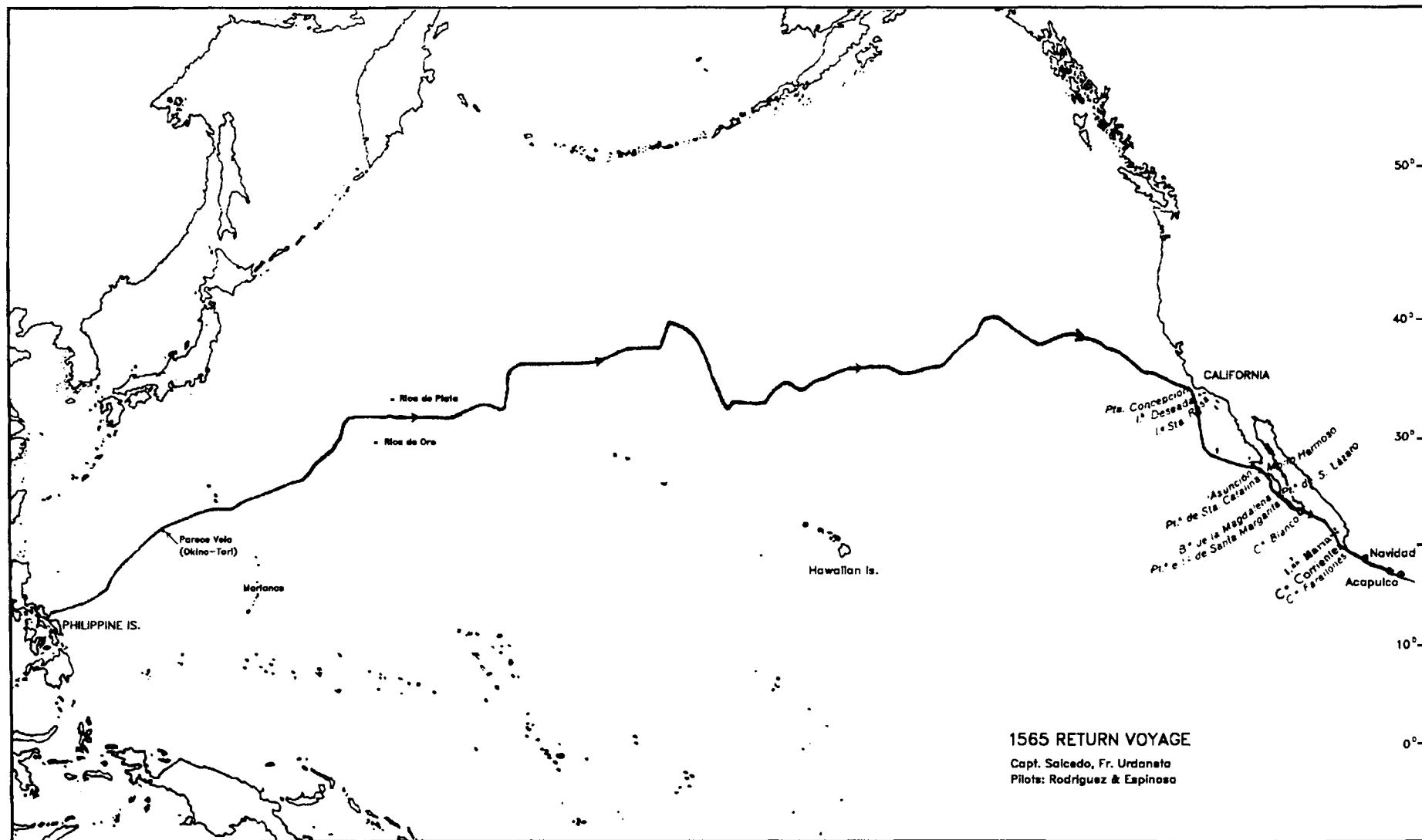
4 Ed. note: He had then reached the NW tip of Northern Samar and was within the San Bernardino Strait.

5 Ed. note: Dalupiti Island.

6 Ed. note: Capul Island.

7 Ed. note: Bulusan and Irosin Volcanoes in the Sorsogon Province at the southern tip of Luzon Island.

8 Ed. note: San Andrés, Escarpada and Naranjo Islands.



the men reported having killed 2 or 3 Indians when they abandoned the fort. We baptized this island the **Peñol**.¹

From here we set sail steering ENE because the wind was northerly and there the currents again carried us and we went to anchor at the [Capul] island which is on the west side of Felipina Island, that is the island that is E—W with the [Dalupiri] islet which is up close to Felipina [Samar] Island, which is where I took the sun in 12° and 3/4. At this islet where we now anchored, we placed the name of **Ascension**.² This island is well populated. Here we took a few pigs, coconuts and water although there was not much of it. This islet would be about 2-1/2 leagues from North to South.

From this island named Ascension, on Thursday 7th of the present month, we set sail bound for Felipina Island in order to exit from the strait and pursue our voyage. We headed NE and went toward Felipina Island.

On Saturday 9th of the said month, I took the sun in a little over 13° which is where Felipina Island comes to an end and then the coast turns eastward.³ Here, where the Felipina Island ends up, there are 2 or 3 small islets to the NE, about 6 or 7 leagues toward the island of the Volcanoes.⁴

Inbetween these, about 6 or 7 leagues, there is a very small islet.⁵ Between this islet and Felipina island, we came out on this present day, heading E by N. The coast of this Felipina Island runs east for about 10 leagues and the eastern coast of Felipina Island ends there.

Sunday next, at noon, Felipina Island was still in sight and I marked it; it bore W by S at about 12 leagues.

Monday 11th of the said month, I took the sun in 13° and 3/4.⁶ On this day, I estimated the daily run of the ship at 32 leagues to E by N; this daily run is understood from Sunday noon to Monday noon.

Tuesday, I took the sun in 14° and 1/6, and I estimated the daily run of the ship as 28 leagues to ENE.

Wednesday next, I reckoned 15 leagues to E by N.

Thursday next, I reckoned another 15 leagues on the same heading.

Friday next, the SW wind abated and turned to a southerly, and I reckoned a run of 12 leagues.

1 Ed. note: Which means the Rock, or Crag. Today it is called Escarpada, which means the Steep One, or the Cliff.

2 Ed. note: Name given to Capul Island. The date was Tuesday 5 June following Ascension Day, the 6th Sunday after Easter of that year.

3 Ed. note: He was off his usual good mark, because he had measured it earlier at 12°40'N which is closer to the exact latitude.

4 Ed. note: They are the islets north of the present towns of Lavezares and San Jose, i.e. Biri, Bini, etc.

5 NW of Biri and E of Bulusan, there is a rock island, used to place a navigational aid in modern times.

6 Ed. note: He was obviously reading high. From his given position with respect to the NE tip of Samar, his latitude was at most 13°.

Saturday next, I took the sun in 17° plus. I reckoned the run of the ship at 25 leagues to NE by E.

Sunday next, on the 17th, I took the sun in 18° plus, and estimated a daily run of 25 leagues.

Monday next, I took the sun in 19°, and reckoned 30 leagues to NE by E, because the wind was SW.

Tuesday next, I reckoned 22 leagues to E by N. Here the wind increased.

Wednesday next, I reckoned 16 leagues to E.

[Discovery of Parece Vela]

Thursday, on the day of Corpus Christi, which was the 21st of the month, when I, the said pilot, was next to the *gizola* [cockpit?] where the compass is, I saw a **rock island** to starboard that looked like a boat that was anchored. This rock, according to the point it occupies on my chart is at a latitude of 20°, because on this day, the sun could not be taken, the same as for the previous 2 or 3 days, on account of the rains. This shoal has an extension of about 2-1/2 leagues NE—SW, and be advised that the said shoal is a very small rock and the rest a reef over which the sea breaks. On this day, I reckoned the daily run of the ship as 25 leagues. The said shoal is 300 leagues from Zubu, and 240 leagues eastward from the point of the Philippines which we have labelled as **Cape Espiritu Santo** in the direction NE-SW 1/4 E-W [i.e. NE by E] with the said cape, according to the reckonings on my chart.¹

Friday next, I estimated a run of 20 leagues to ENE.

Saturday next, I estimated a run of 18 leagues to E by N. On this day the wind blew from SE.

Sunday next, I estimated the run of the ship as 18 leagues on the same heading.²

Monday next, I estimated a run of 14 leagues on the same heading.

Tuesday next, I estimated a run of 12 leagues to NE by E.

Wednesday next, I estimated the daily run of the ship as 12 leagues to NE by E.

Thursday next, I estimated the run as 20 leagues on the above-said heading.

Friday next, I estimated a run of 30 leagues to NE.

Saturday next, I estimated a run of 20 leagues on the above-said heading. Since we came out of the Philippine Islands until the present day, which was the last day of the present month, we have had winds continuously blowing from the starboard side.

On Sunday, 1st of July, I took the sun in 24° and 1/6. On this day, the wind blew from SE. I estimated the run as 15 leagues to NE.³

1 Ed. note: One can only marvel at how good these estimates really are. A modern navigator could hardly have done better.

2 Ed. note: This may be a transcription error for 28 leagues, as Rodriguez says 30.

3 Ed. note: This is the latitude of Marcus Island (Minami-Tori Shima). If they were near its proper longitude, which is 154°E, nothing is said about in this logbook. I think they were still west of it at this point, and later passed well to the north of it.

Monday next, I took the sun in 25° and $1/3$. I estimated the daily run to be 24 leagues to NE by N.

Tuesday, I took the sun in 27° plus. I estimated the daily run as 30 leagues on the same heading.

Wednesday, I estimated the run of the ship as 20 leagues to NNE. On this day, I took the North Star in 29° less $1/4$.

Thursday, I took the sun in 29° and $1/3$, and I estimated a run of 24 leagues to NNE. Today the wind turned to ENE and we veered to SE, and this day at 11, the wind turned to ESE, and we veered to NE.

Friday next, I took the sun in 30° . I estimated a run of 17 leagues to NE by N.

Saturday next, I took the sun in 30° and $2/3$. I estimated a run of 14 leagues to NE by N.

Sunday next, I estimated a run of 8 leagues. This day the wind was from the west and rotating to SW and finally SSW, and thus we steered due E.

Monday next, I took the sun in 31° less $1/5$, and this day I estimated a run of 18 leagues.

Tuesday, I estimated a run of 30 leagues to E.

Wednesday next, I took the sun in 30° and $2/3$. I estimated the run as 45 [sic] leagues to E.

Thursday next, I took the sun in 30° and $1/3$. This decrease in latitude while going eastward is due to the needles that varied to NE, and this day I estimated the run as 38 leagues.

Friday next, I estimated a run of 27 leagues to E.

Saturday next, I took the sun in 31° less $1/6$, and this day I estimated the run of the ship as [blank] to E by N. This day the wind died down, so that we steered to ENE until 2 or 3 at night, and then it abated so that I ran to NE until Sunday morning, and then it died down even more so that we steered N by NE.

On this particular day, Sunday, before daybreak, I took the North Star in 31° and $1/2$, and also [at noon] I took the sun in 31° and $2/3$. I estimated a run of 22 leagues, according to the headings given above.

Monday, with a scant wind we steered to N by E, and there the wind became NE, and then we steered to ESE.

Tuesday, I took the North Star in 32° and $1/6$, and we were steering ESE and heading to SE because the needle varied almost one point to NE and the ship fell to leeward. The result was that by heading ESE we made a run to SE.

Wednesday, at midday, I was tacking back and forth. The ship gained about 17 leagues to the E, according to the final point on my chart.

Thursday, before daybreak, I took the North Star in 32° and $1/3$ or more. This day I took the sun in 32° and $1/3$ plus. This day I estimated the run of the ship as 18 leagues to NE.

Friday, 20th of the month, I took the sun in 33° and $3/5$. I estimated a run of 20 leagues to N by E.

Saturday next, I estimated a run of 22 leagues to N by NE, and this day at night I took the North Star in 35° and $1/2$.

Sunday, the feast day of St. Mary Magdalena [22 July], I took the sun in 36° and $1/3$ plus, and I estimated a run of 22 leagues to the NNE. This day the wind came from the south and we headed E. This day I took the North Star in 36° and almost $1/2$.

Monday morning, I took the North Star in 36° and over $1/3$, and also this day I took the sun in 36° and $1/4$, and estimated a run of 14 leagues.

Tuesday, I estimated that the ship ran 22 leagues due E.

Wednesday, St. James' Day [25 July], I took the sun in 36° , and this decrease while heading E was due to the easterly variation of the needles. This day I estimated a run of 22 leagues to E.

Thursday, 26th of the month, which was St. Ann's Day, I estimated a run of 27 leagues.

Friday, I estimated the run of the ship as 30 leagues to E, and partly to E by N.

Saturday, I took the sun in 36° and $3/4$. I estimated the ship run as 35 leagues to ENE, on account of the wind which was SE by S.

Sunday, I estimated run of 17 leagues to E by N. This day the wind blew from SW.

Monday, I took the sun in 37° and $1/5$ and estimated a run of 10 leagues to E.

Tuesday, we were becalmed and this day in the afternoon we had a NNE wind.

Wednesday, 1st of August, we steered to E by S, and at other times to ESE, and at other times to SE until noon when the wind turned to E and we veered to NNE and, according to the point on my chart, I found that we had gained 8 leagues, with the above-said headings.

Thursday, I took the sun in almost 38° . I estimated a run of 17 leagues to N by E.¹

Friday, we ran to N by E, and this day I took the sun in 39° plus², and it turned out according to the sun [sic] that I had made 20 leagues.

Saturday, we made about 3 leagues to N by E, and sometimes to NNE, and then the wind blew from NE and we steered SE, so that we would have gained according to the point I had on my chart 5 leagues to E.

Sunday, I estimated that the ship ran 30 leagues on a SE heading, although many times we went ESE, and at other times SE by E. I estimated a resultant run to SE because of the easterly variation of the needle and drifting.

Monday, I estimated a run of 27 leagues to SE by S, with the same remark as given above.

Tuesday, 7th of the month, I took the sun in 35° and estimated a run of 22 leagues to S by E.

Wednesday, I estimated a run of 22 leagues to SE, and on this day I took the sun in 34° less $1/5$.

1 Ed. note: This heading is given as NNE $1/4$ N, whereas it is normally given as N $1/4$ NE, i.e. one point East of due North.

2 Ed. note: Here the heading is properly expressed. Note that this latitude was the maximum reached during the voyage.

Thursday, I estimated a run of 20 leagues to SE.

Friday, 10th of the month, I took the sun in 31° and $3/5$. I estimated the run as 24 leagues to SE.

Saturday, I took the sun in 30° and $2/3$. I estimated a run of 17 leagues to SE. On this day the wind came from SE one hour before [blank, daybreak?], and then it became favorable, and then we veered back.

Sunday, we steered SE for about 10 leagues, that is, from the previous Saturday until midnight and at that time we veered to NNE and made about 5 leagues. The daily run for Sunday is measured from Saturday noon to Sunday noon.

Monday, we were becalmed.

Tuesday, the wind was SW and we covered about 6 leagues to E.

Wednesday, I took the sun in just under 31° , and estimated the run as 16 leagues to E. This day the wind was SE.

Thursday, I took the sun in 31° and $1/2$. I estimated the run as 15 leagues to NE by N.

Friday, 17th of the month, I took the sun in 32° and almost $1/2$. I estimated the run as 17 leagues to NE.

Saturday, I estimated a run of 29 leagues to NNE, according to the latitude that I took aboard the ship which was 34° .

Sunday, we were tacking back and forth and gained according to the point placed on my chart 10 leagues to NE.

Monday, 20th of the month, I marked my needle when the pilot stars [of the Big Dipper] were in the SW and I found that it was fixed due North¹ and estimated the run as 20 leagues to SE.

Tuesday, I took the sun in 30° [error for 33°] and $2/3$. This day we made two tacks, 15 leagues to SSE and 6 leagues to NE by N.

Wednesday, I took the sun in 34° plus and this day to NNE but sometimes we steered to NE by E, and at other times more toward the E and sometimes less, as we could never steer a straight course on account of the variable winds that did not stay put. I would estimate a resultant run to NE of 30 leagues.

Thursday, I took the sun in 35° plus. I estimated the run as 15 leagues.²

Friday, I estimated a run of 5 leagues to NE and this day I took the sun in 35° and $1/4$.

Saturday, I estimated a run of 6 leagues to E, because the wind was favorable from the West.³

Sunday, 26th of the month, I took the sun in 35° less $1/6$ and estimated the run as 16 leagues, and that is a resultant to ESE, and I understood that the current had made us drift because we had steered to E and a few times E by S, and for this reason I under-

1 Ed. note: Which means that the compass variation at that spot was zero.

2 Ed. note: Heading not given.

3 Ed. note: Favorable but weak, if the run was only 6 leagues.

stood that the current had made us drift. The wind was from NNE, and sometimes more northerly.

Monday, we ran for about 15 hours to ESE, and the ship covered 16 leagues and the rest of the time we were becalmed in showers.

Tuesday, 28th of the month, I took the sun in 35° less 6 minutes, and this day we made about 3 leagues to S, and then the wind came from SE, and a few times it was ESE, so that we steered NE, and sometimes ENE.

Wednesday, we steered NE by E, and sometimes to ENE because the wind was SE, and sometimes beyond that and sometimes less. I estimated the run as 30 leagues.

Thursday, the wind blew so strong and with showers that it made us run without the topsails. This day I estimated a run of 24 leagues to NE.

Friday, I estimated a run of 18 leagues to NE by N, because this day the wind was SE.

Saturday, 1st of September, I took the sun in 38° and $1/2$ plus. This day I had my [estimated] point at a latitude of 37° and $2/3$, and what I mean to say is that I adjusted my point to show 38° and $1/2$ plus, by making a N—S correction, because on this day the wind was calm; because we had had rough seas in the last few days, I understand that we had gained latitude, and also it could be that the ship had covered more distance than I had estimated as daily runs over the last three days.

Sunday, I estimated a run of 3 leagues to ENE. This run is understood to be from Saturday noon to Sunday noon, at which time the wind became SE accompanied by a shower that made us take in the topsails, and when midnight came it became so stiff that we had to remove the bonnets.

Monday, I estimated a run of 24 leagues to NE, with a warning that there was much wind and a heavy sea. This day in the afternoon the wind blew so much that we had to stop, because there the weather was closed in and because some of those who were [also] charting found themselves ashore in New Spain.¹ At midnight the wind came from SSW and we set sail and steered to SE by E.

Tuesday, I took the sun in 39° and $1/3$, and this day we set sail, and I estimated a daily run of 12 leagues. This day orders were given to steer SE, while I was of the opinion that we should steer ESE because I found myself 118 leagues from the land of 41 degrees² according to the estimates on my chart, and according to another estimate given by a chart that I had seen in the possession of Father Prior Andrés de Urdaneta I was 210 leagues from the land of 41 degrees, as I have said above. This greater longitude that one chart had over another was the reason for the estimates on my chart; the land projected farther west on my chart when compared with the other [although] both were equal in longitude from the port of Navidad to that of Zubu.

1 Ed. note: His opinion was that Pilot Major Rodriguez and Fr. Urdaneta had been overestimating their distances.

2 Ed. note: The land or cape of California located at 41° on their charts was probably labelled Quivira.

Wednesday, 15th [error for 5th] of the month, I took the sun in 38° and $1/4$ plus. This day I estimated a run of 33 leagues to SE by E.

Thursday, I took the sun in 37° and $1/3$. This day the ship covered 25 leagues to SE. The wind was SW and at this hour [i.e. noon] we ordered to steer ESE.

Friday, I took the sun in 37° and $1/3$. This day I estimated 16 leagues to E because the wind was southerly and veering to SE.

Saturday, I took the sun in 37° and under $1/2$, and estimated the run as 25 leagues to E, and this increase in latitude was due to the wind that sometimes did not let us go E.

Sunday, I estimated the run as 20 leagues to the E.

Monday, 10th of the month, I took the sun in 37° and $1/2$. This day I estimated a run of 5 leagues to E by S.

Tuesday, I estimated a run of 6 leagues to ESE.

Wednesday, I estimated 23 leagues to E and the wind was SSE and more southerly. This day it veered to SW and we steered to ESE.

Thursday, I estimated a run of 27 leagues to ESE, in which we steered SE by E during the night because I found myself on my chart 23 leagues from the nearest land which bore NE and found myself on my chart 74 leagues to land in an ESE direction.

Friday, I estimated a run of 14 leagues to E by S, and this day we marked our needles and found that the one used to steer varied eastward, and we had been $2/3$ of a point off. This night, I also marked one of mine which I had adjusted at the port of Navidad, and it also had an easterly variation of almost $1/2$ point.¹

Saturday, 15th of the month, I estimated a run of 30 leagues, half of which had been to E by S, and the other half to ESE. This extra point that we steered by during the night was because we found ourselves with the land. **I, the said Rodrigo de Espinosa, pilot, today at night, I found myself with the land according to the reckonings on my chart.** Also, I say that from the port of Zubu as far as my estimated position, I found 1,545 leagues, and I am at a latitude of 36° plus, and at this time I found myself 8 leagues from the port of Galera which bore E, and according to the chart which I was using, from the port of Zubu to that of Navidad I estimated a longitude of 2,000 leagues.

Sunday, 16th of the said month, I took the sun in 35° and $3/5$ of a degree, and this day I estimated a run of 28 leagues, and this day we were of the opinion to steer E, and this day the wind was northerly.

Monday, I estimated that the ship had run 36 leagues to ESE, and this day the wind blew so much from the north that it made us take in the topsails.

Tuesday, 18th of the month of September at 7 in the morning, when I was sitting in the chair, I, the said pilot saw land, on the starboard side because we were then tacking to port. I then ordered to "shoot the breeze".² The signs to recognize this

1 Ed. note: This is the date of the last entry in Pilot Major Rodriguez' logbook, 14 September 1565.

2 Ed. note: Meaning that they veered southward to follow the coast and had a tailwind.

island by are as follows: it is an island that is NNE—SSW, it is high in the center and it has two fine points at both ends; at about 1-1/2 leagues NW of it, there is a rock that appears above the water.

I gave this island the name of **Deseada**.¹ It is in the latitude of 33° and $3/4$, and it was about 5 leagues away when I saw it. Thus, we steered S by E, and this day I took the sun in 33° and $1/4$, reason for which I say that the land I saw would be at 33° and $3/4$.

From Monday noon to Tuesday when I saw the land, I estimated a run of 30 leagues to ESE, and this day we did not dare go to discover the land because there was not much wind and the land was covered with fog. Thus we agreed to steer S by E to give sea room between us and the land, because, according to my estimated position, I, the said pilot, had a fix at one island shown at just under 34° , and the others who were marking charts were [alreaday] ashore. This day, I found myself from the port of Zubu to my estimated position on this day 1,650 leagues.

Wednesday, I took the sun in 31° less $1/6$. This day I estimated a run of 46 leagues to S by E.

Thursday, I estimated a run of 36 leagues, half to S and half to S by E, so that by taking an easterly variation of $1/2$ point of the needle into account this whole run turns out to be to S by E. This day we agreed to steer SE because we were abreast E—W with the island of Cedros.

Friday, I took the sun in just under 28° and estimated a run of 38 leagues on different headings, in which 8 leagues were to SE and 20 leagues to ESE and the others to E by S because we went in search of the land.

Saturday, 22nd of the month, I took the sun in 27° and $2/3$ and estimated a run of 20 leagues to E, and as we were steering to E, we had lost latitude, mostly on account of the variation of the needle, so that we had decreased in latitude. This day at 8 in the morning, a sailor named Andrea who was at the helm told me that he saw land, and I, the said pilot, went up to the topmast and saw that it was land, which appeared to be an **island**, and I marked it bearing ENE and then the clouds moved in, so that I came to doubt that it was land.

At 3 in the afternoon, while I, the said pilot, was in the cockpit, I saw land, and then I took the compass and marked it bearing N by E and a little to ENE. It is high land, and it would be at a latitude of 28° plus, and there were 12 leagues from me to the land. From noon to the time I saw it the ship would have made 4 leagues, so that at noon it would have been 16 leagues away, and to the NE of it could be seen a high land somewhat hilly.

Sunday, at daybreak, we saw the **coast** which is high land with some ravines, and also we saw the land that we had seen the previous day which I marked as bearing to N by W. This land is higher than any seen along this coast. I took the sun in 27° and

1 Ed. note: According to Wagner (and the editors of the Col. de diarios), this corresponds to San Miguel Island today, at latitude $34^{\circ}10'$, with Richardson Rock NW of San Miguel.

1/3, and from here where I took the sun to where there was a point SE by E. This point is called **Santa Catalina**. At this time, it was at 4 leagues from me, and I say it would be at a latitude of 27° and 1/5, because from where I took the sun to the point the bearing was SE by E.¹ From this point to the land that we had seen the day before the coast runs NW—SE. The land is entirely bare from this point at 27° and 1/5; it is all sand dunes. Above it there are shrubs that look like woolen stubs², and when doubling this point, it makes a bay, and then you will see 3 rocks and the one in the middle is bigger and has a tit in the center with another tit on one side, whereas the southernmost one is more average and the northern one is the smallest of them all, although the land above sea level is high. From these rocks to the above-said point the land is all low-lying and a sandy place. From this Santa Catalina Point the coast runs about 13 leagues toward ESE, and there it makes a headland once the rocks above sea level have been passed.

Monday I took the sun in 25° and 3/5. From where I took the sun [before] until this hour, the ship made 51 leagues, with a heading to SE by E. I was about 2 leagues from the coast when I took the sun.

From here the coast runs about 15 leagues and at the end of those 15 leagues you will see a high land, like an island, which I could not determine for sure that it was an island, because it was nighttime when we got there. In order to avoid this low land you should steer to SSW from where I took the sun today until doubling the land that I marked as a possible island.³ Along these 15 leagues, after [the first] 2 leagues you will find bottom in 15 and in 20 fathoms and completely sandy, with reefs along the coast, and do not go close to the shore when you will pass by this land that looks like [it might be] an island. I took the [North] star, when the pilot stars [of the Big Dipper] were in the SW, in 24° and 3/4, and at about 2 leagues bearing ENE there is another high land 7 leagues in length which defines a bay⁴, then the high land continues for about 8 leagues, and there a point with some hillocks come out to the sea.

Tuesday, I took the sun in 24°. From where I took the sun on this day, I marked this point and it bore ENE, and there is about 8 leagues to where I indicated the hillocks at sea. It runs SE from the above-mentioned land to this point; beyond the said point, they say there is a port, and then the land is low-lying.

Wednesday, I took the sun in 23° and 1/4. I was about 3 leagues from the land, and there was a high land to the E. In the SE there was a low point coming out, and it would have been 8 leagues from me, that is, over 1/3 of a degree from where I was which was to the SE, so that, if I subtract it from the latitude that I took, the point would be in 23° less 1/8 of a degree.

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- 1 Ed. note: Wagner says that Santa Catalina was a name applied by Cabrillos to another cape. The one seen was actually Point San Pablo today, in latitude 27°10'N.
 - 2 Ed. note: Or "wooly stumps". Meaning unknown, although Wagner says that the plants in question were cactus-like plants.
 - 3 Ed. note: Cape San Lazaro in Baja California is indeed located on a long island skirting the coast.
 - 4 Ed. note: Magdalena Bay.

This day the ship covered 15 leagues to E by S, and from where I pinpointed the 15 leagues, I had been running SE by E until placing myself at the latitude of 23° and $1/4$ which is the latitude I took. [Therefore] this day I found that the ship covered 36 leagues. This coast runs NW—SE, and the above-mentioned point is the end of the land of California. It is at a latitude of 23° less $1/8$. The signs that this coast has are as follows: from the high land, there is a point of low land about 2 leagues in length bearing SE, which is where the said land ends, and above the point there is like a round loaf that looks like an island but it is all part of the mainland, and inland there is another hillock in the shape of a sugar loaf, and the loaf which is above the sea makes a white spot covering half of the loaf, and then further out to sea it is marked with a black stripe. To this point I gave the name of **Cabo Blanco**, on account of the above-said white spot.¹ This night died the Maese² and we threw him overboard above this cape. Tonight I marked the needle and found that it was due North.

Thursday, 27th of the month, I took the sun in 22° and $1/3$. This day the ship covered 28 leagues during which I was running SE until placing me NE—SW with the above-mentioned cape, and from there I ran ESE until I reached a latitude of 22° and $1/3$ which is the latitude I took today, and the resultant was the 28 leagues that I have already mentioned. **Today the Pilot Major Estéban Rodriguez died between 9 and 10 in the morning.**

Friday, 28th of the month, I took the sun in 21° and $1/2$ less 2 minutes. At the time I took the latitude, I found that the ship had covered 28 leagues to ESE. This day between 2 and 3 in the afternoon, we discovered two islands, and I marked them; the one in the NW bore E and somewhat to E by S, and the other bore E by S. The island in the NW was about 11 leagues from me when I saw it, according to my estimation, so that when I took the sun today at noon, the said closer island was about 15 leagues from me, given that it is a high land, and, according to my estimated position which I carried forward, the NW part of this island is in 21° and $1/3$. When we discovered it, we steered to E in order to see what islands they were. Before getting there, when we were still 5 or 6 leagues from them, night fell. So, it seemed to the Father Prior and to me that we should steer SE, because, according to a chart that he was carrying, these islands were near the mainland; on my chart they were about 36 leagues NNW—SSE with Cabo Corrientes, and on that of the Father Prior the cape was to SE.³

Saturday, at daybreak, we saw the above-mentioned islands and one more that had appeared to the SE [of them], and at this time I marked them. The NW one of the three bore N; this island is high and has fine points to NW and to SE. I also marked the one in the middle. It bore N by E; it is also a high land and projects two points like the above-mentioned island. On the SE side of this middle island, there is a point of land that appears to me to be an islet, although I am not sure because I was far. The two

1 Ed. note: It is now called Cape San Lucas, at latitude $22^{\circ}52'N$; Espinosa's latitude was perfect..

2 Ed. note: This was the Master of the ship, the master seaman whose position was then inferior to captain and pilot..

3 Ed. note: They were indeed part of the Three Marias Islands, located NW of Cape Corrientes.

above-mentioned islands are both about 3 leagues in length. The one in the SE of them all is a small island but high and round, and it projects to the SE a very low land which looked like an islet. These 3 islands are oriented NW—SE. There is about 8 to 9 leagues from the NW one to the SE one. The NW one of the said 3 islands is located with respect to the point of California, otherwise called Cabo Blanco, along a bearing from this island to Cabo Blanco ESE—WNW, and there is from the said island to Cabo Blanco 68 leagues, according to the estimated position which I carried forward on my chart.

At this time, we saw land to the SE by E. This day which was Saturday, I took the sun in 20° and $1/2$. I estimated the run as 4 leagues to ESE and 5 to E. From there I went steering to SE until I reached the latitude of 20° and $1/2$, and thus it turned out that the ship had covered 27 leagues to SE, and taking a bit to SE by E. The above-mentioned land which bore E by S, we recognized it between 4 and 5 in the afternoon as being the coast of Cape Corrientes which leads to the port of Navidad. At this time, I marked one of the three islands that are toward the SE, and also I marked the mainland, and so checked against the headings that I marked, both island and mainland, I figured out on my chart that the island was located at 18 leagues from the land I saw, and that the land is at a latitude of about 20° plus.

Sunday, 30th of the month, at daybreak, we saw the above-mentioned coast but I did not recognize the land because I was never here, but according to the tracing on my chart, I found that it was between the port of Navidad and Cape Corrientes. Here we were becalmed, and I realized that the current was moving NW. This day I took the sun in 20° less $1/6$, and from this I knew that the port of Navidad was 12 leagues away to the SE, according to the latitude which I took at that port and which was 19° and $1/3$; consequently, that is why I say that the port was 12 leagues away. When I took the sun today the land was about 2- $1/2$ leagues away.

The signs which I noted here are as follows: to the NE, you will see a high, hilly land, and to the SE of it, it makes two tall tits, and each one of those tits is split in half, and there[fore] it looks like riding saddles. In the middle of these four tits, there is a ravine which leaves two tits together on either side. This is the sign seen in the high land. At about 2- $1/2$ leagues to the E, you will see a very small rock island. On the coast near and behind this rock, they say that there are two rivers where they come to fish from [the town of] Chamela which would be about 4 leagues from the said rock.

The whole of this coast is all while sand on the seashore, and above Chamela there are 2 or 3 rock islands near the coast, and that is where they say the fishing ground is located. From her to the port of Navidad, they estimate 10 leagues.

Monday, the 1st day of October in the year of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ 1565, at daybreak, we were above the port of Navidad and at this time I looked at my chart and saw that I had covered 1,892 leagues from the port of Zubu to the port of Navidad, and at this time I went up to the captain and asked him where he wanted me to take the ship, because we were above the port of Navidad, and he ordered me to take it to the port of Acapulco, and I obeyed his order, although aboard the ship at present

there were at most 10 to 18 men able to work, because the rest were sick. We had had another 16 who died on us.¹

We made it into this port of Acapulco on Monday, 8th of the present month of October, with hard work on the part of all the men.

Rodrigo de Espinosa, Pilot.²

AB3. Two declarations by the pilots, dated at sea 9 July and 18 September 1565

Sources: AGI Papeles Maluco (1564-1620), Legajo 2; Col. de Nav., t. 17, doc. 20; Col. de Ultramar, ii, doc. 35, pp. 457-460; cited in B&R 2:131.

On Monday, 9 July 1565, the most Magnificent Felipe de Salcedo, Captain of this galleon **San Pedro** returning to New Spain, asked the Pilot Major and Pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa, also pilot of the said galleon, and Francisco de Astigarribia, boatswain of the said galleon, who was also marking a chart, for an estimate of the distances from the port of Navidad to the islands [sic] of Zubu, according to the nautical charts they carried, and also for a declaration of the opinion of each one regarding the distance, according to the opinion of each of them, from the said port of Navidad to the said island of Zubu, in order that, given that they were now sailing from the said island of Zubu to the port of Navidad, they might put themselves in agreement more securely, so that a better account could be given to His Majesty.

Felipe Salcedo.

Then the said Pilot Major checked it out and measured on his nautical chart the leagues given by the tracings on the said chart, and he found that there were 1,850 but he said that, according to what he had measured from the estimated positions that he had carried forward from the said port of Navidad to the island of Zubu which is in 10° and 1/2 of N latitude, he thought that there were 2,000 leagues, more or less, and he signed it with his name.

Estéban Rodriguez.

Similarly, the said Rodrigo de la Isla³, pilot of the said galleon, said that, according to an old chart that he carried, there is from the said port of Navidad to the island of

1 Ed. note: Urdaneta was to specify later (See Doc. 1565AC1) that 4 more Spaniards died after arriving at Acapulco, plus the one Guamanian aboard and 3 of the Filipinos; that makes a total of 24 dead.

2 Ed. note: Captain Salcedo and Fathers Urdaneta and Aguirre reached Mexico City on about 1 November 1565, and arrived at Madrid in April 1566.

3 Ed. note: Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa was normally called Espinosa only, to differentiate him from his brother Juan de la Isla, captain of the San Juan.

Zubu over 1,370 leagues; however, according to his experience during the navigation, there are about 2,030 leagues, and he signed it with his name.

Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa.

Similarly, the said Francisco de Astigarribia, boatswain of the said galleon, said that, according to the nautical chart that he carried, he finds that there is from the said port of Navidad to the said island of Zubu 1,850 leagues, but, according to his estimates of distances, he found 2,010 leagues, and he signed it with his name.

Francisco de Astigarribia.

In faith and testimony of the truth of all that is said and is contained above, I, Asensio de Aguirre, appointed notary of the said galleon named **San Pedro**, attest that it passed before me, and in witness whereof I signed it with my name.

Passed before me.

Asensio de Aguirre, appointed notary.

On Tuesday, 18 September 1565, the most Magnificent Felipe de Salcedo, Captain of this galleon **San Pedro** returning to New Spain, asked the Pilot Major, and Rodrigo de la Isla, also pilot of the said galleon, and Francisco de Astigarribia who was boatswain of the said galleon and who was also marking a chart, to figure out the distance that they had covered from the port of Zubu to the land that they saw on the said date where they took the sun in 33° and $1/4$, and also to figure out the maximum latitude they had reached, and to sign it with their names.

Felipe de Salcedo.

Then the said Pilot Major figured it out and measured¹ his nautical chart, and found out that, according to his point estimates, he had covered from the said port and island of Zubu until the said Tuesday when they first saw land 1,740 leagues in straight line as far as an island which is near the mainland of the western coast of New Spain, and is at a latitude of 33° and $3/4$, because on the said day they had run from 8 in the morning when they saw the said land to the SSE until noon when they took the sun in 33° and $1/4$; he added that the maximum latitude reached had been 39° and $1/2$ N, more or less, and he signed it with his name.

Estéban Rodriguez.

Similarly, the said pilot Rodrigo de la Isla figured it out and measured² his nautical chart for what he had covered from the said port and island of Zubu as far as the said point given above, he found a straight-line distance of 1,650 leagues, and said that the maximum latitude reached had been 39° and $1/2$ N, and he signed it with his name.

Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa.

1 Ed. note: There is an error in the transcript: "miró" instead of "medió".

2 Ed. note: Same as above.

Similarly, the said Francisco de Astigarribia, boatswain who had always taken latitudes and estimated positions, figured it out and measured his nautical chart what he had covered from the said port and island of Zubu as far as the above-mentioned point, and found a straight-line distance of 1,650 leagues, and said that the maximum latitude reached had been 39° and 1/2 N, and he signed it with his name.

Francisco de Astigarribia.

In faith and testimony of the truth of everything that is said and contained above, I, Asensio de Aguirre, appointed notary of the said galleon named **San Pedro**, attest that it passed before me; in witness whereof, I signed it with my name.

Passed before me.

Asensio de Aguirre, appointed notary.

Documents 1565AC

Legazpi—Father Urdaneta's reports

AC1. Fr. Urdaneta's summary of the return voyage

Sources: Uncilla's Urdaneta (See Bibliography), note I, page 261; translated in Wagner's Spanish Voyages, p. 113, as follows.

About the return from Zubu to New Spain, what there is to say is that we left the place where our friends remained, June 1, 1565, and September 18 saw the first land and the coast of New Spain, an island named **San Salvador**¹ in 33° 50'. October 1 we arrived off the Port of Navidad and, not wishing to enter, passed on to the Port of Acapulco, as that is a better port and is nearer Mexico by more than 45 leagues.

On the return, what with contrary winds and sickness, we passed through great hardships. Sixteen died before anchoring in the port, and 4 others afterwards, besides an **Indian of the Ladrones** whom the General sent, and 3 Indians from Zubu. Felipe de Salcedo, the grandson of the General, came as captain of the ship and carried himself very well in the discharge of his duty.²

AC2. Urdaneta's opinion given to the Council of the Indies about the ownership of the Philippines

Sources: AGI Patronato 1-2-2-2/6, n° 12; the draft copy in BN Paris, ms. #ESP.325; published in Revista Agustiniana, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4 (March & April 1881); translated in Lopez & Felix' Christianization of the Philippines, pp. 309-318.

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- 1 Ed. note: Baptized Deseada by Pilot Espinosa, it is the island of San Miguel today. Fr. Urdaneta thought it corresponded to the San Salvador on his chart. Wagner says that the island that Cabrillo had called San Salvador is now known as Santa Catalina.
 - 2 Ed. note: It seems so difficult for me to believe that Urdaneta did not leave a fuller account of this very important voyage. Perhaps one day, authentic copies will surface in the religious archives of Mexico, where he died in 1568. Since there was about 200 persons aboard the San Pedro (See B&R 2:279) and 24 died, the attrition rate was about 12%. As for Fr. Aguirre, much later, in 1584, he wrote a letter referring to the possible existence of rich islands in the North Pacific (See Doc. 1584B).



*Juan Andres de
Coraneta*

Preliminary note.

The true original copy of this paper by Urdaneta is his own draft copy which he took back to Mexico during Lent in 1567. After his death, which occurred on 3 June 1568, his private papers seem to have passed into the possession of his colleague and perhaps his confessor, Fr. Alonso de Vera Cruz. In turn, the papers of this friar ended up in Paris, where they are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in a collection of Spanish and Portuguese manuscripts, under #325, a volume of 260 folios entitled "Relation des Philippines". Urdaneta's "Opinion" is in folios 1-7; it is entitled "Relation du voyage [sic] de Fr. Andres de Urdaneta de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin, aux Philippines. 1566." This document is practically unreadable because it is full of holes; ink has spread over and through the porous paper. The assigned title in French is misleading, because it is not a narrative of the voyage, but an expert opinion on a geographic matter. One important paragraph, which I thought worth deciphering at the time¹ is as follows:

"En cuanto al segundo punto digo que la isla de Çubu y las islas filipinas q. estan dentro del empeño q. se ha echo al serenissimo señor rrey de portugal por rrazon de q. es contrato..." That was enough to indicate that he thought that the islands were within the territory pawned to Portugal in the Treaty of 1529.

When Fr. Urdaneta, Fr. Aguirre and Melchor de Legazpi arrived at Madrid in April 1566, the old controversy about the possession and ownership of the Moluccas and Philippines was revived. The Council of the Indies decided to put **two questions** to Fr. Urdaneta and to the following Royal Cosmographers: Alonso de Santa Cruz, Pedro de Medina, Francisco Faleiro, Gerónimo de Chaves and Sancho de Gutierrez. One question was whether the Moluccas and the Philippines belonged to Spain or to Portugal by the terms of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas. The other whether they were included in the pawn which the Emperor Charles V had made with the King of Portugal in the 1529 Treaty of Zaragoza. The cosmographers issued a joint statement that the islands in question were within the partition of the King of Spain, but were included within the territory pawned to Portugal. The cosmographers also made individual reports. That of Fr. Urdaneta is translated below.

Opinion of Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta about the demarcation of the Moluccas and Philippine Islands, dated 8 October 1566

Most powerful Sir:

I, Father Andrés de Urdaneta, Augustinian, have been directed by you to present my views on two points relative to the Philippines and in particular to Cebu where at present is settled the Governor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. The first point is whether Cebu, and the Philippines in general, is included in the contract made in 1529 by the Emperor and the King of Portugal; the second point is whether the Moluccas and the Philippines lie within the jurisdiction of the King of Spain.

¹ I did not yet know then that it had been published in the Augustinian Review.



Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, O.S.A. *He is credited with the discovery of the return route from the Philippines to New Spain. (From a painting in the Monastery of El Escorial)*

My answer to the **first point** is in the affirmative; the reason is that, according to the specific terms of the contract entered into in 1529 by the Emperor and the King of Portugal, all the lands lying 17-1/2 degrees, or a distance of 297-1/2 leagues, east of the Moluccas would belong to the King of Portugal until the Emperor paid the 350,000 ducats he received as payment of the yielding of his rights; this meant, of course, that no ship or man of His Majesty would be allowed to cross the line for any reason whatsoever. I am sure, further, that the Philippines are included in the contract because I went to the Moluccas in 1529 and was stationed there for 8 years in the service of the Emperor, and again returned to the Philippines in 1565 to find the route back to New Spain. My position, then, is that Cebu and the Philippines in general fall within the terms of the contract.

As to the **second point**, my answer is again in the affirmative and that not only Cebu, the Philippines and the Moluccas, but also many other islands west of them, fall within the jurisdiction of His Majesty; and I base my position on the terms of the agreement signed in 1494 between the Kings of Spain and of Portugal.

That agreement stipulated that a demarcation line should be drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and that every land discovered or to be discovered east of that line would belong to the King of Portugal and that every land discovered or to be discovered west of the line would belong to the King of Spain.

I base my position as to the second point on calculation. The line of demarcation, of course, applies equally to the other side of the earth. Now, the island of San Antonio, one of the Cape Verde Islands, is exactly 17-1/2 degrees north of the Equator; at this latitude, 370 leagues are equivalent to a longitude of 22°10'. In other terms, the island of San Antonio is about 21° West of Toledo, which means that the demarcation line is about 43°8' west of this city.

To continue with my argument. One of the Augustinian priests whom I brought with me in the Legazpi expedition is Father Martin de Rada, an eminent astronomer, cosmographer and mathematician born in Pamplona. When we were about to leave New Spain for the Philippines, I persuaded Father Rada to bring along a certain instrument which would allow him to estimate our position wherever we went in relation to the meridian of Toledo. We landed in Cebu, where for a whole month before my return to New Spain Father Rada had full opportunity to make his calculations. What he found was this: taking into account the latitude of Toledo and that of Cebu, which happens to be 10° north of the Equator, Cebu lies 216°15' West of Toledo, according to the tables of Alphonso, or 215°15' according to the tables of Copernicus, whom I will follow in these calculations because of his modernity.¹ If we subtract now from these 215°15' the 43°8' from San Antonio to Toledo, we are left with 172°7' and since the jurisdiction of His Majesty extends to 180° we have that all the lands lying 7°53' west of Cebu belong to the King.

On the other hand and bearing in mind that according to the demarcation line agreement positions may be estimated in distances or in degrees, we find that as we descend towards the Equator distances are longer, and since some of the Moluccas are along the Equator, we get here an additional distance which is equivalent to about 4°20' which, in turn, added to the 7°53' we had before, add to a total of 12° and almost 15 minutes. Since this longitude is estimated at the Equator, we get a total of almost 214 leagues.

To summarize, we find that not only the Philippines and the Moluccas, but also most of Borneo and part of Java, with the islands in between, fall within the jurisdiction of His Majesty. Needless to say, not only the entire New Guinea, but also the best part of

1 Ed. note: His error is about 15° in longitude, something which led Fr. Urdaneta into error. The Philippines were in fact within the limits of Portugal. The exact position of Cebu City is 10°20'N and 123°50'E of Greenwich, which corresponds to 236°50' West of Greenwich.

China and the adjacent islands, with Loncor [Luzon?], Lequios and Japan, lie also within His Majesty's jurisdiction.

I have based my position on my own experience and on the calculations made by Father Rada, whom I consider an expert in these matters and a man of absolute integrity.

Father Andrés de Urdaneta

I arrived at the same conclusion that the demarcation line passes West of the Moluccas and of many other islands from the study of two Portuguese charts which I have had in my possession for over 28 years, ever since I got them in Lisbon from a man who used to travel the India run. One of them is a master chart which shows the coastline from Europe to the Malabar Coast and ends in Cape Comorin at the Southern tip of India; the other, which is a smaller one, shows the coast from the Red Sea to Cape Chincheco in China, 25° latitude North, as well as the Moluccas and many other islands all the way to the **Ladrones**. I will add, incidentally, that the master chart was already quite worn, doubtless because it had long been used in the navigation to India.

Now, from those charts I can prove in two ways that the Moluccas really lie within the jurisdiction of the King, and I do this, first by measuring the 180 degrees which belong to the King of Portugal going East along the Equator from the point 370 leagues West of the island of San Antonio. On the basis of the master chart, my findings are that there are 140 degrees along the Equator from that point West of San Antonio to Cape Comorin, and then I find on the basis of the smaller chart that there are 45 additional degrees from Cape Comorin to the Moluccas. This means that from the demarcation line west of San Antonio to the Moluccas there are 185° or 5° in excess of the 180 which belong to the King of Portugal; in other words, the Moluccas and all other islands as well as the sea 5 degrees west of the Moluccas belong to the King.

My second proof to justify my contention, and I consider this better because it is more objective, is based on the calculation in terms of arcs and chords of the longitude East from the demarcation line. From mathematical calculation of the sines according to the usual tables as one follows the coast, I arrive at the conclusion that the Moluccas are 194 and 1/4 degrees East of the demarcation line, which would give 14 and 1/4 degrees West of the Moluccas for the King. To be precise, the jurisdiction of the King of Portugal includes just a small portion of the island of Borneo. This means that everything East of the meridian passing through that point belongs to the King of Spain. The following are my specific calculations:

22°10'—By common agreement, the demarcation line passes 370 leagues West of San Antonio, one of the Cape Verde Islands. At 16° and 1/2 latitude North, this distance is equivalent to 22°10' longitude West of the island; however, the length of one degree of longitude at this latitude is equivalent to the length of only 57'13" and 1/4 second along the Equator; this in turn is equivalent to a reduction in the total distance of 16 leagues and a little more than 2 miles, on the basis of 3 miles to the league.

8°48'—From San Antonio at 17° and 1/2 latitude North and going ESE down to 14° latitude North, we advance 8°48' East, leaving the point 10 leagues from Cape Verde on the mainland.

7°7'—From (this point) at 14° latitude North and going SE to 7° latitude North, we advance 7°7' East, leaving the point by a small island at the mouth of the Santa Ana river on the mainland.

7°17'—From this point at 7° latitude North and going ESE to 4° latitude North, we advance 7°17' East, leaving the point 11 leagues from and at the same longitude as the San Andres River.

16°44'—From this point at 4° latitude North and going 292 leagues East, we advance 16°44', leaving the point 9 leagues from and at the same longitude as the San Bartholome River.

3°20'—From this point at 4° latitude North and SE to 1 degree latitude South, we advance 3°20', leaving the point 3 leagues from Cape Gonzalez.

3°14'—From this point 1° latitude South and going S by E to 17° latitude South, we advance 3°14' East, leaving the point 11 leagues from Cape Negro and at the same latitude with it.

4°—From this point 17° latitude South and going SE to 26° latitude South, we advance 4° East, leaving the point near Little Cove.

0°26'—From this point 26° latitude South and going S by E to 28° latitude South, we advance 26 minutes East, leaving the point 8 leagues from a port which has no name.

3°25'—From this point 28° latitude South and going SSE to 35° latitude South, we advance 3°25' East, leaving the point 9 leagues from **Cape of Good Hope** and almost at the same longitude.¹

And as it appears from the sum up to here, there is from the said demarcation line to the Cape of Good Hope 76°31' of longitude.

1°57'—From this point 35° latitude South and going East for 28 leagues, we advance 1°57', leaving the point by Cape Agulhas.

6°6'—From this point 35° latitude South and going E by N to 34° latitude South, we advance 6°6', leaving the point 12 leagues from the mainland.

2°54'—From this point 34° latitude South and going NE by E[?] to 33° latitude South, we advance 2°54' East.²

9°10'—From this point 33° latitude South and going NE to 25° latitude South, we advance 9°10', leaving the point 10 leagues from the mainland.

2°39'—From this point 25° latitude South and going ENE to 24° latitude South, we advance 2°39', leaving the point 10 leagues East of Cape Corriente.

1 Ed. note: The position of the cape itself is 34°22'S and 18°25'E of Greenwich.

2 Ed. note: Although this paragraph is mutilated in the original, it can be reconstructed, given the pattern used in the other paragraphs.

3°6'—From this point 24° latitude South and going NNE to 17° latitude South, we advance 3°6' East, leaving the point by a small island 10 leagues from the Angoxar River (Zambezi?) on the mainland.

2°46'—From this point 17° latitude South and going NE by N to 13° latitude South, we advance 2°46', leaving the point 15 leagues from the mainland at the same latitude of the San Miguel River.

2°24'—From this point 13° latitude South and going N by E to 1° latitude South, we advance 2°24' East, leaving the point 10 leagues from the mainland.

6°—From this point 1° latitude South and going NE by E to 3° latitude North, we advance 6 degrees East, leaving the point at the mouth of the Madaguaxo Cove.

4°50'—From this point 3° latitude North and going ENE to 5° latitude North, we advance 4°50' East, leaving the point 16 leagues East of the Point of Shoals.

3°22'—From this point 5° latitude North and going NE by N to 10° latitude North, we advance 3°22' East, leaving the point 4 leagues from the mainland.

3°59'—From this point 10° latitude North and going NNE to 17° latitude North, we advance 3°59' East, leaving the point 5 leagues from Darfir.

7°38'—From this point 17° latitude North and going ENE to 20° latitude North, we advance 7°38' East, leaving the point 5 leagues from the island of Mecira (Al Masirah?).

2°31'—From this point 20° latitude North and going NE by N to the Tropic of Cancer in 23°30' latitude North, we advance 2°31', leaving the point 6 leagues from the mainland.

6°14'—From this point on the Tropic of Cancer and going 100 leagues East, we advance 6°14', leaving the point on the Diu River.

6°42'—From this point, still on the Tropic of Cancer on the Diu River, and going SSE to 8° latitude North, leaving the point right at Cape Comorin. Here ends the master chart.

At this point we find that from the Cape of Good Hope to Comorin we have progressed East 71°18', which added to the 76°31' we found from the demarcation line to the Cape of Good Hope give a total of 147°49'.

3°48'—Following now the second master chart and starting from Cape Comorin, which on this chart is in 7° and 1/2 latitude North, we go NE [by E] to 10° latitude North and advance 3°48', leaving the point 10 leagues from the mainland.

4°17'—From this point 10° latitude North and going NNE to 20° latitude North, we advance 4°17' East, leaving the point near the mainland.

1°35'—From this point 20° latitude North and going NE by E to 21° latitude North, we advance 1°35' East, leaving the point again near the mainland.

6°14'—From this point 21° latitude North and going due E for 102 leagues, we advance 6°14', leaving the point 12 leagues further West than Bacala (Akyab?).

0°53'—From this point 20° latitude North and going SSE from the Cape of Bacala down to 19° latitude North, we advance 53' East, leaving the point near Cape Abrollo.

2°6'—From this point 19° latitude North and going SE by S to 16° latitude North, we advance 2°6' East, leaving the point 5 leagues from Cape de la Serra.

2°37'—From this point 16° latitude North and going S by E to 3 degrees latitude North, we advance 2°37' East, leaving the point by the island of Çamatra (Sumatra), near a river.

2°25'—From this point 3 degrees latitude North and going ESE to 2° latitude North, we advance 2°25', leaving the point at the entrance of the port of **Malacca**.

We find at this point that Malacca is 23°5' East of Cape Comorin and 171°44' East of the demarcation line, with only 8°16' left to complete 180°.

1°20'—From our point 2° latitude North and going SE by S to the Equator, we advance 1°20', leaving the point on the Equator 22 leagues East of Sumatra.

6°56'—From this point on the Equator and going due East for 2¹ leagues and 1 mile, we advance 6°56' to complete 180 degrees that belong to the Most Serene King of Portugal. This point is 37 leagues within Borneo, at a distance of over 143 leagues from Sumatra.

The totals from our first set of points add up to 62°6'; the totals from the second add up to 58°15'. In all, we have 180 degrees.

1 Ed. note: A transcription error for 121 leagues, because 143 leagues from Sumatra minus the 22 leagues E of Sumatra (the previous point) gives 121. Also 6°56' correspond to 121 leagues as well.



We find, then, that the 180 degrees are completed on the island of Borneo along the Equator, and this is proven on the basis of the Portuguese charts in my possession, the first of which shows that Cape Comorin is 147°49' East of the demarcation line, while the second shows that the point we found on Borneo is 32°11' East of Cape Comorin, with both sections adding up to 180 degrees. Now, following from that point to the Moluccas along the Equator we have a distance of 250 leagues, which are equivalent to 14°17', clearly belonging to His Majesty. This means that all the islands and land East of the meridian which passes through that point 14°17' West of the Moluccas belong to His Majesty, including a small part of Sava [Java], most of Borneo, most and the best part of China, and islands and lands that I have said are within the limits of His Majesty, sailing eastward as I did.

Fray Andrés de Urdaneta.

(Facing page) **The Legazpi-Urdaneta Monument erected at Manila in 1901.**

At the end of the Spanish regime in the Philippines, a Manila resident, Señor Gutierrez de la Vega, initiated a public subscription to pay for the erection of a statue to Legazpi, founder of the city. Later on, the plan was changed to include Fr. Urdaneta as well. A Spanish architect, Luis María Cabello, designed the monument and Agustín Querol, a Spanish sculptor, executed the statue. It was cast in bronze and shipped to Manila. When the Americans invaded Manila, the crates containing various pieces of the monument were found in the customs warehouse. The military government of Manila under General Dwight F. Davis decided that it would be a graceful act on their part to erect the monument. The monument now stands in Luneta Park adjacent to the old walled city of Manila.

Father Urdaneta symbolically holds forth a cross in front of the royal standard of Spain. He lived through the Golden Age of Spanish Discovery and he made an outstanding contribution to it. His discovery of the correct route for the crossing of the Pacific from west to east brought security to an empire that was to last one-third of a millenium. (From the 1903 Census of the Philippine Islands, vol. 1, p. 31. Photo provided by the Ayala Museum—Library and Iconographic Archives)

Document 1565AD

Legazpi—Secondary account of the voyage by Fr. Medina

Sources: Fr. Juan de Medina, O.S.A. Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas, Manila, 1893; translated in B&R 23:121-142, 175-179.

History of the Augustinian Order in the Philippine Islands, by Fray Juan de Medina, O.S.A.

History of the events of the order of our great father St. Augustine in these Philippine Islands, from the time of their discovery and colonization by the Spaniards, with information regarding memorable occurrences. Composed by the venerable Father, Fray Juan de Medina¹, a native of Sevilla, formerly minister to the villages of Ibahay, Aclán, Dumangas, Passi, and Panay, vicar-provincial of that island, and prior of the convent of Santo Niño de Cebú. Written by his own hand in the year 1630. The annals of the religious of the order of our father St. Augustine in the Philippine Islands from the time of their discovery and colonization by the Spaniards by order and command of Don Felipe II, King and sovereign of the Spains.

Summary of Chapter 3.

[For the voyage the Augustinian provincial, with the concurrence of the other religious, selected the missionaries who were to be “the foundation stones upon which that church was to be established”: the prior, Andrés de Urdaneta; Martín Rada, “the most eminent man in the astrology of that time”, who proved of great aid to Urdaneta in scientific lines; Diego Herrera, who was to spend “all his life in the Philippines, with great temporal and spiritual gain, until at last, he lost his life in the year of 1576, when he was drowned”; Andrés de Aguirre who was also to spend all the rest of his life in the islands, making two voyages to Spain in their interest; Lorenzo Jiménez, “who died

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Medina was a missionary in the Visayas Region of the Philippines from 1610 to 1635 when he obtained permission to go back to Spain, but he died at sea.

while waiting at the port of Navidad to embark"; and Pedro de Gamboa. When all was about in readiness to sail, the viceroy Luis de Velasco died. In eulogizing him, Esteban de Salazar says: "Of his virtue and valor, and his Christian spirit, we cannot speak in sufficiently fitting terms, for he was the light and model of all goodness and for all Christian princes. Although he lived amid the treasures of the Indians, so many years, he kept his soul so noble and so uncorrupted, and his hands so continent, that he died poor." Notwithstanding the death of the viceroy, preparations went on. Legazpi, on arriving at port, took inventory of his men, and found that, counting soldiers, sailors, and servants, they amounted to more than 400.¹ There were two pataches and two galleons. The flagship was the **San Pedro**, of about 400 tons' burthen; the *almiranta* was called **San Pablo** and was under the command of Mateo del Saz. In this vessel embarked Fathers Diego Herrera and Pedro de Gamboa; the others sailed in the flagship. "A grandson of the general, named Felipe de Salcedo, a lad of 16, also embarked. He afterward attained great prominence in the islands, and is therefore given special mention here." A native, Pedro Pacheco, brought from the islands on the return of the survivors of the Villalobos expedition, was also taken as interpreter.² The two pataches were under the command of Alonso de Arellano and Juan de la Isla. After Legazpi had given his instructions to the officers, the fleet set sail on 21 November 1564, the men all having invoked the blessing of God upon their voyage.]

Chapter 4—Of the voyage made by our religious to the Western Islands.

Great undertakings are wont never to lack their obstacles, which although they do not fail to unnerve those of feeble intellect, yet seem to serve only as spurs to the lofty-minded, to make them not abandon what is undertaken; and these latter show greater courage, when Fortune shows herself most contrary. And the devil, when he divines that any work is on foot that may be for the service of the Lord unless he can hinder it, at the very least manages to impede it, and does his utmost to render it of none effect. Thus in this departure, they did not fail to have their misfortunes, but having conquered these by their courageous souls, they continued their voyage. For four days they had ploughed the waters of the sea, when the general thought it best to open His Majesty's despatch and read the instructions given him, and find the route that he was ordered to take. The instructions were given him under lock and seal, and he was ordered not to open them, until he had sailed at least 100 leagues. For the opening of the instructions, he had all the men of account in the fleet assembled; they found that, in accordance with His Majesty's decree, they were ordered to go straight to the islands, now called Philippines. When they were reached, a portion of the army and the religious were to remain there, while Father Urdaneta, with the other portion of the fleet, was to return in order to establish the route, until then unknown, as this was the object and

1 Ed. note: The official count was 380.

2 Ed. note: This interpreter was Moluccan, possibly a half-breed.

chief purpose of His Majesty Father Urdaneta was extremely sorry at this, for he had always been given to understand that his opinion would be followed on this voyage. But it was certainly considered best by the Audiencia; for, besides their fulfilling in it His Majesty's will, they observed that the voyage to New Guinea embraced many things, and Father Urdaneta could not discover so quickly the return voyage from the Philippines to New Spain—and this was the chief aim of that expedition, and the object of greatest importance that was sought.

After they had understood, then, His Majesty's will, by the instructions that were read in their presence, all obeyed them as loyal vassals, and in pursuance thereof, began to lay their course, which with so certain a beginning as that of obedience and the sacrifice of their own wills, already promised a prosperous end. They changed their course, descending to the nineteenth [rather 9th] degree, in which lie the islands of Los Reyes and Corales.¹ From this point they began to take a direct course to the Philippines. In order to do this, an order was issued to steer west by south, and all the fleet was ordered to do the same, and, as far as possible, not to separate from the flagship. But should the vessels be separated by any storm, they were given to understand that they were to follow the said route, until they made some of the islands of the Philippines, where they would all meet. Upon this they again invoked the most sweet name of Jesus, and sailed with favorable breezes until they reached the 9th degree; and then the commander again called an assembly to discuss the voyage. There they took the latitude [sic], and all the pilots disagreed by as much as a point of the compass, some of them making it 200 leagues more than the others; and they could agree on neither the latitude nor the daily runs.

Father Urdaneta asserted that the Corales Islands had already been passed, and that they were farther on their journey. Accordingly he gave orders to make the 10th degree and sail toward the Arrecifes and Matalotes Islands² which are very much farther. They sailed along this course until January 9, when they discovered **land**. They went closer to it and saw a small island [Mejit], which was seemingly about 3 leagues in circumference. It was covered with trees and coconut palms, but as it was surrounded by reefs, they could not anchor at it. They sailed about the island, and spied a settlement situated among some palms, and some Indians on the shore. But they were likewise unable to anchor there, for, on casting their anchor, they found more than 15 [rather 150] fathoms of water.

Finally a small boat was lowered, which contained Father Urdaneta, together with the Master-of-camp, Captain Juan de la Isla, and Felipe Salcedo. They reported on their return that those people were friendly, well disposed, and gentle; that they had no manner of weapon, either defensive or offensive; that they were clad in reed mats, very fine and well finished; and that the island contained many excellent fruits, fish, Castilian fowl, and millet. They reported also that the Indians were fully bearded. On this ac-

1 Ed. note: The Wotje and Likiep of Villalobos.

2 Ed. note: The Ulithi and Fais of Villalobos.

count those islands were called **Barbudos**. They did not stop at these islands, or at any of the others that they sighted afterward, where, certainly, our religious would leave portions of their hearts, melted with fire and love for their fellow creatures, to all of whom they would desire to give a portion of the light that they carried, so that those peoples might be withdrawn from their dense darkness. But since now they could do no more, they would commend them to God, so that by His goodness He might open the door for them which He was now about to open to the other islands, for those people had been redeemed no less than the others. In short they continued to pass those islands, obedient to the orders that they must not stop until they should reach the Philippines. At those islands it was better ordained that the seminary should be established, so that from that point the light and instruction might spread to the shores of other islands. Without any doubt the Philippines are the best suited for this purpose, as they are near great China, and not far from Japan, Siam, and Cambodia, while even the land of India is said to be within sight; and the islands are surrounded by an infinite number of other islands, inhabited by immense multitudes of people.

The fleet set sail and left those islands of the Barbudos and now [i.e. in 1630] the route to the Philippines passes very far from them. Next day they sighted another **island**, which seemed of vast extent. But when they had arrived nearer, they found some small barren islands, stretching north and south, to which they gave the name **Placeres** [Ailuk].

In the afternoon another **island** [Jemo], upon which lived many birds, was sighted, and they named it after the birds. From this point they continued to discover islands and barren islets, all of them in the latitude of 10° [Wotho and Ujelang] and they gave various names to them.

Here Fr. Urdaneta ordered the vessels to ascend to the 13th degree, so that by running westward and turning their course to the southwest, until they reached 12-1/2 degrees, they might reach the Philippines.

On Saturday, January 22, the **Ladrones Islands** were discovered, so called because their inhabitants are robbers, to as great an extent as possible. They are very different from the natives of the other islands, whose goodness is such, that they do not know what it is to steal. And if I admit that there are many robbers [in the Philippines] they have become so since the Spaniards have governed them; for the natives learn our bad habits better than our good ones. Hence they are quite expert in all the vices of the Spaniards, but dull and ignorant in their virtues. In this is seen the bias of their disposition, and that they are much more inclined to evil than to good.

Father Urdaneta said mass in these Ladrones Islands, and gave their inhabitants to understand, as well as he could, the purpose of his coming, making use likewise of the interpreter Pacheco. Possession was taken of those islands for the King, our sovereign, with all the solemnities of law. The natives expressed great satisfaction with everything; for, as they are by nature robbers, they assured the Spaniards, in order to commit their depredations better. And not few were the jests that our Spaniards endured from that people, all out of respect for the General, who with his goodness, bore

it all, claiming in this wise to win the hearts of those islanders better than with arms. For if the natives were exasperated they would receive tardily the blessings that were intended for them.

This island of the Ladrones [i.e. Guam] where the Spaniards anchored is a lofty, mountainous land, with its coasts fringed with thick coconut groves, and other cool and shady trees. The natives of the islands eat **rice**, which is the chief food of all the islands. At times, when I consider how many people use rice as bread, I think that three-fourths of the world are sustained on this kind of food. These Ladrones Islands number thirteen, and extend north and south. As they were the first islands of which the General took possession,¹ His Majesty granted them to Melchor López de Legazpi, only son of the General, giving him the title of *Adelantado* [Lieutenant Governor]. These Indians go naked. Both men and women are fine sailors and swimmers, for they are accustomed to jump from their little boats after fish, and to catch and eat them raw.² Their boats are very narrow, and have only a counterweight at the opposite end, where they carry their sail. The sail is lateen, and woven from palms. In these craft do they venture forth intrepidly through those seas, from island to island, so that one would think that they had a treaty with wind and water. The ships en route to the Philippines pass through these islands, at different latitudes at various times. So many boats go out to meet them, that they quite surround the ships. The natives try to trade water and the products of their islands for iron, the substance that they esteem most; but, if they are able to steal the iron, without giving anything for it, they do so. It is necessary to aim an arquebus (which they fear greatly) at them in order to get the article returned. And to induce them to leave the ships free, there is no better method than to fire the arquebus in the air, the reverberations of which cause them to hide, fear, and vanish.³

...

Chapter 5—Of the discovery of these islands.

They continued their voyage toward the west, until the 13th of the above month, on which day land was sighted at eight o'clock in the morning. That point marks the beginning of the Philippine Islands, which name was given to all these islands, in the year 1542, by Ruy López de Villalobos.

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- 1 Ed. note: He had taken possession of the Marshalls before this. Here is an example of the manner in which some historical facts become distorted, slightly at first.
 - 2 Ed. note: The natives were probably just biting their fish to kill them, not to eat them on the spot.
 - 3 Ed. note: Fr. Medina was himself an eyewitness to similar events in 1610 when he passed by the Ladrones (See Doc. 1610A).

Chapter 10—How Father Urdaneta discovered the return route to New Spain.

Now were preparations for the sailing well advanced, and the season was already well forward, and the Governor had all that was yet lacking concluded without any delay. He assigned the men for the voyage, and as commander of the ship **San Pedro**, chose his grandson Felipe de Salcedo, a youth of tender years, but possessed of great courage and valor. He subordinated him in all things to the advice of Father Urdaneta; the latter was the one who had been expressly ordered by His Majesty, to discover the [return] route, hitherto unknown to everybody. For company and counsel, Father Urdaneta took Father Fray Andrés Aguirre with him. They set sail June 1, 1565. The voyage was prosperous and better than those made now, which are so full of hardships and dangers, as will be seen in the proper place. Father Urdaneta took charge of the ship, for as soon as they had left Sugbú Cebu], the pilot and master of the ship died.¹ Even to this circumstance can one ascribe its good fortune, as a ship governed by so great a religious. Setting sail, then, with the *vendaval*² within a short time they reached the outside of the *embocadero* [entrance/exit, or San Bernardino Strait].

The ships sailing from Manila [ca. 1630] do not do this, and are much delayed, because they must run a greater distance within the channel and among more islands. This is not the least danger of the vessels in sailing from the bay of Manila. They need the *brisa* or east wind; but when the shoals of Silay are reached, they need the *vendaval*. But, when they sail, they usually go at the height of the *vendaval*, and many times the ships encounter great danger, and lose their anchors and are even wrecked. This does not happen in Sugbú. But they leave port with the *vendaval*, and get clear of the islands, and in less than 20 hours reach the Spanish Sea. They pursue their course with the same *vendaval*, which brings them to the Ladrones Islands. At this point navigation is difficult, for east winds prevail here, which take vessels going to New Spain by the bow. Hence, it is necessary to present the side of the vessel to their fury, and to look for north winds. Thus they go forging their way until they reach 30, 36, or 40 degrees, and one has gone as high as 50 degrees. There northwest and north winds are generally blowing, and with these they descend to the coast of New Spain. In those latitudes great cold is suffered. By the above account the difficulty of this voyage will be realized, for in sailing from Sugbú, which lies in 12 degrees, or from Manila, in 13 degrees, to Acapulco, in 17 degrees, a deviation so disproportional as ascending to 34 or 40 degrees is made. On account of this difference in temperatures, very many of the crew fall sick, die, and endure very great hardship, since the voyages are necessarily long; hence we can say that they make the voyage twice over.

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- 1 Ed. note: This is incorrect as Pilot Major Rodriguez and the master died after the ship had passed California. Also, Pilot's Mate Espinosa did a good job of navigating.
 - 2 Ed. note: The *vendavales* were tradewinds; with reference to Spain, they were winter winds from the south and southwest quarter.

In passing, will be declared how deserving of thanks from their state were our religious, and what great service they performed for their two Majesties—the divine and the human—in discovering, with so much toil, this course, which had been impossible hitherto. In addition, not less were their exploits in the islands, in planting the faith therein. Many religious, moved by their zeal, have made these journeys two or three times. Many men died on this voyage, chiefly for lack of proper nourishment.¹ And reason shows how little they must have taken, since no land would give it to them; for, at the best, they could then only get fowls, swine, and rice (which was their chief food) from the Indians. Thus the entire weight of the voyage was loaded upon the shoulders of our Argonaut, who made it; and he so carried himself that he shirked no toil, although of an advanced age. Every day he cast the lead, took observations, and did everything that seemed adviseable for that course. Hence it was God's will that he reached the Port of Navidad on October 3, after a voyage of four months and three days.² On arriving at port, he made the chart, showing all their routes, winds, points, and capes—so completely, that even today [ca. 1630] his chart is followed without any additions. For I believe that that chart included everything to be comprehended in that very wide gulf, which is, without doubt, the greatest known.

From there he went to Mexico. His return caused not a little wonder in that kingdom, and he was considered as an extraordinary man; for he, invested with the habit, had discovered what so many and so notable men had failed in, and could not accomplish. It was an undertaking that God had reserved for our holy order. Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta remained but a short time in Mexico, for he found a vessel about to sail to Spain, and he took passage thereon, together with his companion, Father Fray Andrés de Aguirre. He arrived in Spain safely, where he informed His Majesty fully of all that he had done in his service, in obedience to his order; and also of the state of affairs in Philippines, and the necessity for their succor, if the undertaking was to be continued. His Majesty granted him audience with great kindness, and considered himself well served in all that had been accomplished. He gave orders that Father Fray Andrés and his companion should be supplied with all necessities while they remained at court.

Father Urdaneta settled all matters pertaining to these islands very carefully and satisfactorily. When everything was concluded, he requested leave of the members of the Council to return to New Spain, where he desired to finish his days in peace. The Council asked him to wait a while, so that after His Majesty had concluded affairs in Flanders, with which he was very busy, he could hear him at leisure and remunerate his great labors. Father Urdaneta replied that his object in coming to court was only to inform His Majesty of what had been ordered him, and he was sure that in the services that he had performed after he became a religious (reward for which he wished from God alone) he had no other aim than to obey his superiors, and at the same time to serve His

1 Ed. note: The author of these lines may have had a premonition that he himself would leave his bones somewhere in that sea five years later.

2 Ed. note: In fact, they went further to Acapulco and arrived there on the 8th.

Majesty for the alms and favors that he had granted to the Augustinian order in the Indies. Finally, they had to grant him this permission, although first His Majesty granted him audience very willingly, and showed himself as capable in those matters as in all others of his kingdom and seigniory. Thereupon, the two fathers, Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and Fray Andrés de Aguirre, took passage for New Spain, where they arrived in good health, after much wandering and shipwreck. Father Urdaneta lived after this, until June 23, 1568, when our Lord was pleased to take him, to reward him, as is believed, with His eternal rest. At his death he was 70 years old, less a few months. He wore the habit for 15 years, which we believe were a great merit; for he was ever an austere religious, very poor, very humble, and beyond belief obedient things which in Heaven he will have found well gained.

Father Fray Andrés de Aguirre, Father Urdaneta's companion in his wanderings and labors, remained in the province of Mexico until the year 1580, when he returned to the Philippines, moved by great and powerful reasons, namely, sentiments of holiness and the increase of those provinces. He was made provincial, and as we shall see later, he went again to Spain, where after negotiating all that he wished with His Majesty, he returned to Mexico. Here he despatched all the affairs with which he was charged, and settled down to a life of rest. But in the year 1593, he thought he was not employing well in a life of rest the health that God had given him, and therefore returned to Philippines, where he served our Lord for the rest of his days, until he died, to enter upon the joy of eternity.

CONQUISTAS

DE LAS ISLAS

PHILIPPINAS

LA TEMPORAL.

POR LAS ARMAS DEL SEÑOR DON PHELIPPE

SEGUNDO EL PRUDENTE

Y LA ESPIRITUAL

POR LOS RELIGIOSOS DEL

DE NUESTRO PADRE

FUNDACION

DE

DEL SANTISSIMO

PARTE PRIMERA

DEDICADA

A LA EXC.^{MA} SENORA DOÑA MARÍA

DE GUADALUPE

Duquesa de Arcos, Arcos, y Maracaibo

ESCRIVIALA

EL PADRE FRAY GASPAR DE SAN AGUSTIN,

natural de Madrid, Procurador General de dicha Provincia

del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus, Secretario, y Definidor

della, y Comissario del Santo Oficio.

CON PRIVILEGIO:

EN MADRID En la Imprenta de MANUEL RIVERA DE MURGA,

Año de 1698.

Document 1565AE

Legazpi—Secondary account by Fr. San Augustin

Sources: Father Fray Gaspar de San Augustin, O.S.A. Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas..., Madrid, 1698 and 2nd edition, Madrid, 1975. The original manuscript was transcribed long-hand and annotated by an unknown friar after 1750; this is Ayer ms. 1359 Phil. in the Newberry Library in Chicago. The original source for both of these documents is Doc. 1565X.

Chapter 15—Death of Viceroy Luis de Velasco and despatch of the fleet by the Licentiate Valderrama; and how they set sail from the port of Navidad on 21 November 1564.

...

When Miguel López de Legazpi saw that everything was ready, he held a muster of the people he had, and found out that the fleet contained 200 good soldiers, not counting the gentlemen of his company who numbered over 100, and the servant lads, plus 150 sailors, for a total of over 400 persons with the right age and proper appearance. Once the visual inspection was carried out and the people provided with the required weapons, clothing for the sea, and other ammunitions, very important in such cases, the time for sailing had arrived. The General hurried the departure not only to save time but to reduce the desertion of the sailors to whom it appeared that the voyage would not be profitable, because that is the main purpose why they offer themselves to the ordinary dangers of the sea. The voyage [i.e. the departure] having been announced, there embarked aboard the flagship galleon, named **San Pedro**, of a 500-ton capacity, the illustrious Captain General Miguel López de Legazpi, with Fathers Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, Fray Martín de Rada and Fray Andrés de Aguirre; Pilot Major Esteban Rodriguez, a native of Huelva in the county of Niebla; his Mate Pierre Plin, a Frenchman; the Master Martín de Ibarra, a native of Bilbao, along with the more famous soldiers and the most expert sailors. Also aboard her were the Factor Andrés de Mirandaola; the Senior Constable Gabriel de Ribera; the Chief Notary of the fleet Hernando Riquel, a native of Seville; Artillery Captain Juan Maldonado del Berrocal, a native of Burgos; the Lieutenant General of the fleet Andrés de Ibarra, a native of Mexico; Sergeant Major Luis de la Haya, a native of Valladolid; Infantry Captain Martín

de Goyti, a native of Bilbao, with his whole company and that of the General, in which was Felipe de Salcedo, his grandson, the older son of Pedro de Salcedo, his son-in-law, and of his daughter, Doña Teresa de Legazpi; by the way, he was 16 years old.

Aboard the *almiranta*, named **San Pablo**, of a 400-ton capacity, there embarked with the title of Admiral the Master-of-Camp Don Mateo del Saz, with Fathers Fray Diego de Herrera and Fray Pedro Gamboa; the senior pilot was Juan Martínez Fortín [sic]; his mate Diego Martín of Triana; the master Juan María, a native of the province of Genoa, and the soldiers of the company of the Master-of-Camp and the necessary sailors. Also aboard the *almiranta* were the Treasurer Guido de Lavazares and the Accountant Andrés de Cauchela.

In the small galleon named **San Juan**, of a 100-ton capacity, there was Captain Juan de la Isla; his brother Rodrigo de Espinosa, as pilot; and Julián Felipe, a native of Triana, as master. Aboard the other, which was a patache of 40 tons, named **San Lucas**, were the Captain, Don Alonso de Arellano; a mulatto from Ayamonte, named Lope Martín, as pilot; and as master a good sailor, of Greek origin, named Nicolao.

The names of the other soldiers and important people of the fleet are not mentioned here, in order not to lengthen this narrative, and I will limit myself to naming them when necessary in the course of this History. Suffice to mention that the interpreter with the fleet was an Indian, a native of these islands who knew very well the Malay language which is sufficiently understood by all the natives of these islands and even by a few of those living in the neighboring kingdoms; this man was very useful to make contacts at the beginning, until the Spanish began to learn the languages of these islands. This Indian was named Jorge¹ and he had been converted by our religious at Tidore when they were in the Moluccas with the unfortunate fleet of General Ruy López de Villalobos, and from then on he had been a very good Christian and had come to New Spain (after having gone around the world) in the company of a soldier named Pedro Pacheco, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, who was in the said fleet.

After everything was completely ready, the General gave the instructions that everyone had to obey, and he made a very prudent speech in which he represented the greatness of the enterprise, the immortal fame that was awaiting them, and the reward they would receive from our Catholic Kings in this world and from God in the other; this way, he fired them up so much that the delay appeared to them as unacceptable, although it was very little because there was nothing more to wait for. The appointed time to embark, which was Monday 20 November 1564 in the morning, finally arrived and everyone boarded amid great festivity and signs of happiness. The next day, Tuesday, the 21st of the said month, they set sail 3 hours before daybreak, in order to take advantage of the morning breeze blowing from the land, invoking the Holy Name of Jesus, toward which Miguel López de Legazpi had been very devout.

For four days our fleet sailed with lucky weather, following a SW course in accordance with the instructions given at the port, until Saturday 25 November, the feast day

1 Ed. note: Legazpi (See Doc. 1565X) says that his name was Gerónimo Pacheco.

of the glorious Saint Catherine, when the General thought that it was already time to open a sealed Instruction that the Royal Audiencia of Mexico had delivered to him, and that he was not to open until he found himself 100 leagues from the land. He held a meeting with all the religious and military officers and, the order having been opened by Hernando Riquel, notary of the fleet, he read aloud what it said about him being ordered to follow the route to the Philippines, or to other islands in the vicinity that fall within the demarcation of Spain; along this route, he was to discover La Nublada and Roca Partida Islands, Los Reyes, Los Corales, Los Matalotes and Arrecifes, according to the route followed by Ruy López de Villalobos in 1542. Once the Instruction had been read, the General said that his intention was to follow it and to obey it without any interpretation, but he required the opinion of the pilots regarding the safest courses for the route to the Philippines. Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta was much saddened upon hearing the Instruction and the determination of the General, because he had until then understood that the fleet had been prepared to go to the discovery of New Guinea, which had been what he had proposed to the Viceroy as the most appropriate; however, seeing that it was mandatory to obey the Instruction, rationalizing it as being a divine disposition, he agreed to it, and the same attitude was followed by the rest of his companions, and he began discussing the headings that had to be followed along the route, all the others engaging themselves to follow the opinion of Father Urdaneta, considering his expertise in the subject matter. This opinion was that the best route to the Philippines was: to steer W by S as far as the latitude of 9 degrees; then from there run due W in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales, which were between 9 and 10 degrees; then from there go directly in search of the Philippines, forgetting about La Nublada and Roca Partida, because too much time would be lost as they were in 15 degrees of latitude, the sun's elevation taken that day.

With everyone being in agreement with the opinion of Fr. Urdaneta, it was given as an instruction to all the vessels, along with the rest consisting of having to wait at one of the islands mentioned, if some vessel were to become separated from the fleet; then, after a given period, they were to pursue their route, should the fleet not be found. In the said manner they steered W by S until Thursday 30 November. That night the General ordered the patache (on account of its being of lesser draft and being a better sailer) to always take the lead in front of the flagship, in case some shoal might be discovered. It did so that day, but the following Friday in the morning the patache disappeared completely. After a few days had passed, and seeing that it did not return to the fleet, everyone became worried, the more so because of the little trust they had in the mulatto Lope Martín who acted as pilot aboard it. So, given a few reasons they had heard him give, they began to suspect what did in fact happen, which was as follows.

[The treachery of Arellano, according to a future friar]

Captain Don Alonso de Arellano and the mulatto pilot had planned together to deviate from the fleet and the General's flag, and to pursue their route directly to the Philippines, in order to gain for themselves the honor of having discovered them. They did

so with much luck because the patache was a very good sailer, strong and in very good condition. Thus, without stopping anywhere, it arrived at the island of Mindanao where they remained for a time trading for gold and other products of the said island. Although it received news of the arrival of the fleet and had seen their sails from the topmasts, they refused to go and rejoin it. Rather, they threatened the soldiers and sailors who were of that opinion, even wishing to hang Nicolao the Greek who was the one who insisted the most about this. They returned to New Spain without giving any news whatever about the fleet nor the discovery made, but rather, giving to understand that it might have become lost. This way they gave the whole of New Spain some worry that lasted until the flagship returned with the account of everything that had occurred. That is [the result of] the little faithfulness and lack of obedience brought upon by the mulatto Lope Martín and Captain Don Diego [sic] de Arellano, whom we will leave aside until the occasion offers itself to speak further about them, in the return made to New Spain by Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta. **The good Greek Nicolao died a religious of our Order.**¹

...

Chapter 16—What happened to the fleet until they arrived at the islands of the Ladrones.

When the General saw that the patache did not appear and that there was no hope of its returning to the fleet, because the treachery of Captain Arellano and Lope Martín had become known, he pursued his voyage by the same route and heading that he had followed up to that time. Having arrived at the latitude of 9 degrees and ordered to steer to the west as had been determined, on 18 December he was running along that parallel, give and take one point, on account of the difference among pilots in taking the sun and the lack of conformity among them about this and also about the daily runs, on account of the many currents within the gulf that caused the pilots to diverge in their calculations. However, Fr. Urdaneta always came up with the most accurate position. The fleet had been running for a few days at the latitude of 9 degrees in search of the islands of Los Reyes and Los Corales when the pilots said that they found themselves much farther than the said islands and very near Los Arrecifes and Matalotes. The General ordered them to go up to 10 degrees exactly and from there to pursue the route to the west. At that latitude they ran until 9 January 1565, when the flagship discovered a small **island** [Mejit], which appeared to have 3 leagues in circumference, very green with coconut and other trees, but so steep with reefs that it was impossible to anchor at any part of it. While they were going around it, they discovered a small village

1 Ed. note: His informant was an eyewitness and a co-religionist. Since he had been the Master of the San Lucas, he probably had participated actively in the mutiny after the arrival at Mindanao and been pardoned on account of his skills. We have no reason, however, to doubt the premeditation of Captain Arellano in avoiding the fleet when its sails were sighted, probably near Bohol in the Philippines. The fleet stayed there from mid-March to about 25 April, and the San Lucas passed in the vicinity about mid-April.

among some palm trees and a few Indians who were walking on the beach and at sea aboard canoes. As soon as the Indians discovered the fleet, they fled inland. The patache **San Juan**, which was leading, anchored in front of the houses and with the bowsprit near the reef cast anchor in over 150 fathoms, but the flagship and *almiranta* could not do likewise with two cables.

The General sent Captain Martín de Goyti in the boat to look for an anchorage but he returned without having found any. The General then determined to send Fr. Urdaneta aboard the launch to try and make contact with the Indians ashore. He sent his grandson Felipe de Salcedo with him to take possession of the island in the name of His Majesty. By order of the General, they were joined in the other boat by the Master-of-Camp and Captain Juan de la Isla, and they went ashore together while the flagship and *almiranta* were recovering the anchors they had cast overboard. As they knew about the many currents, they made sail and tacked back and forth while waiting for the boats that were ashore. When they saw that the sun was setting and they were overdue, he ordered a shot to be fired as a signal. So, those who were ashore tried to return to the fleet but they were delayed until complete darkness because the boat of Juan de la Isla had been left high and dry, and as they had been dragging it, the boats were unable to catch the flagship. They caught the patache San Juan which was nearer, already under sail, and with it they approached the flagship where they arrived at 10 at night. Then they set sail and pursued their route.

Fr. Urdaneta and his companions reported to the General what had happened to them ashore, and that is as follows. They did not find in the village more people than one old Indian man, with one Indian woman, also old and who looked as if she could be his wife, and another young Indian woman with good looks who appeared to be their daughter, and who held a baby in her arms. All of them were dressed with a very elegant palm fabric and they received them with much affection and, although they could not be understood, they were given some glass beads and trade goods by which they were pleased. By sign language, they invited them to the village, that they would make the people sit down and they would be given fish and fruits, which they had in abundance. However, when they saw that but little profit could be got, on account of not being able to understand their language, they said goodbye to them and they in turn showed some sorrow at their leaving and they helped them pull the boats out. Fr. Urdaneta also said that they had very expressive faces. Also the old man as well as the other men he saw from afar wore very long beards. They did not have any weapons whatever, neither offensive nor defensive; rather, they appear to be very peaceful people. There were in the island many chickens like those of Spain, many coconuts, potatoes and much millet. They used well-crafted canoes and fish-hooks but he did not observe anything made of metal or iron. They called these islands **Los Barbudos**, on account of their keeping their beard and hair long.

The fleet pursued its route until the 10th of January, Wednesday morning, when what appeared to be a big island [Ailuk] was discovered. However, when they got close, at noon time, they saw that it was made up of many small islets lined up from north to

south. From one islet to another there was a reef or shoal. All the said islets would form a ring, like a very big enclosure, and from one to another there were some low sand banks, reason for which they called them the islands of **Los Placeres**. There did not appear to be a sign of any people in any of the islets nor could they find a place to anchor.

That afternoon, they discovered another island [Jemo] which they called Island of **Los Pájaros** for the many birds they found there, although it was also uninhabited and there was a range of shoals extending 8 or 9 leagues from it.¹

So, getting away from these, they pursued their voyage until Friday when they discovered other islets [Wotho] arranged like an enclosure, with other sand banks similar to the previous ones, so much so that they give them the name of **Las Hermanas**.

They went ahead until the Sunday, 14 January, when they discovered in late afternoon an island [Ujelang] which bore SE [error for SW] and, turning to it, it being night-time, they could not get to it until the next day in the morning when they made out a few islets and very low reefs, dangerous and uninhabited, without any anchorage. The General ordered the voyage pursued to the west, and Fr. Urdaneta said that the islets in question seem to be those Villalobos called Los Jardines, on account of their being at the same latitude that he had marked them in and, if so, they found themselves much farther back than they thought they were, according to the positions they had estimated. The other pilots would laugh at this, although they were so in disagreement among themselves that some were saying that they found themselves in the Matalotes and others very near the Philippines. In view of this situation, the General held a meeting of all the pilots and officers of the fleet and the religious on Wednesday aboard the flagship. Once gathered, he proposed to them that it would be convenient to go in search of the Philippines, and that he did not want to touch at the island of Mindanao in as low a latitude as Ruy López de Villalobos had done it, so that the same thing would not happen to him, as Villalobos had been unable to round the point of the island. So, they were to see if it would be proper to go up to a latitude greater than the 10 degrees in which they were, that they should all give their opinion so that he could make a proper decision. They were all in favor of that opinion, and Fr. Urdaneta confirmed it. It was ordered that they go up to a latitude of 13 degrees and from there run to the west in search of the Philippines; to this effect, the order was given to steer NW.

Fr. Urdaneta was saying that at this latitude they could not fail and, if the last islets and reefs they had discovered were those called Los Jardines by Ruy López de Villalobos, as he believed they were, of necessity they had to bump into the islands of the Ladrones, which were in a latitude of 13 degrees and, given that they are numerous and aligned from north to south, they could not but discover some and it would be seen clearly how they had not sailed as much until then as the pilots imagined it to be.

1 Ed. note: The author seems to be following the narrative I attribute to Fr. Rada (Doc. 1565X) quite closely, except that here, he introduces a misinterpretation. The reef was only about 2 leagues in extension, but the distance separating it from the islands of banks [Ailuk] was 8 to 9 leagues.

The fleet kept running toward the NW until reaching the latitude of 13 degrees, and then the General ordered to steer to the west and yawing a little a point to SW so as to go down from 13 degrees to 12 and 1/2. They sailed on this heading until Sunday, 21 January, when, Fr. Urdaneta having estimated his position, he told the General that the last islets and reefs were certainly the Jardines and that, according to his reckoning, they were nearing the island of the Ladrones. The pilots would laugh at the assertion of Father Urdaneta as they found themselves in other parts, but the General trusted more the position given by Father Urdaneta than those of the pilots. And with good reason, because the next day, Monday, 22 January, at 10 in the morning, **land** was discovered northwest of the fleet. The pilots were saying that it was the Philippines; only Father Urdaneta was asserting that they were the islands of the **Ladrones**. As the fleet was getting near, and the lookouts had discovered some sails belonging to small craft, Father Urdaneta asked what type of sails they were, and from the topmast they answered that they were lateen sails. That was soon confirmed, because many proas (which is the name given by the natives of those islands to their canoes)¹ soon arrived at the ships and the pilots were undeceived. The ships approached within 2 leagues of the land and they were immediately surrounded by numberless proas with very neat lateen sails made of palm *petates* (which is the name they call their mats).² Aboard each proa there were 6 to 8 naked people, with a few weapons with bone tips, and they were all fat and big Indians. Shouting loudly words that could not be understood, they were pointing their towns with their hands, as if to say that they should go there, that they would be given many things to eat; and for this purpose they were showing them a few fruits that they carried aboard, and they were passing their hands upon their belly, as if to mean that they would fill up theirs very nicely if they went ashore. However, there was no way to make them approach the ships within a stone throw, although our people called them in and showed them toys and other things that they themselves asked for by signs. When the General saw that they did not wish to come alongside, he ordered that a few knives, mirrors, scissors and other things be placed on top of a plank [and lowered over the side]; they came swimming to collect these and, in doing so, they seemed more fish than men.

Coming close to the shore at sunset, the ships were near enough to distinguish the houses and the trees. However, because there was no port in which to anchor, they coasted the land toward the south, discovering along the whole coast many coconut palm groves and among them many hamlets. Night fell and the Indians returned ashore while the fleet ran along the coast until it rounded a low islet, full of palm trees, between which and the big island there was a reef with big rocks. After rounding it, in the southeast there was a bay. The General ordered the patache San Juan to go there to see if there was a port. The patache found out that the area was somewhat sheltered and so, at midnight, anchored in the bay.

1 Ed. note: Error, proa was a Malay word.

2 Ed. note: Here again, *petate* was not a Chamorro word, but a Spanish word of American origin.

The next day, Tuesday, at dawn, the flagship and *almiranta* anchored. At the same time, the General proclaimed an order to the effect that no-one should go ashore without his permission, and that those who would get it, should not do any harm to the natives, nor touch their gardens, trees nor plantations, nor should they give or receive anything at all from them without an order from the royal officials. He ordered the captains and officers, under penalty of suspension from their posts, not to tolerate that anyone of their companies did anything contrary to what he had ordered; this was promulgated throughout all the ships and did not please the soldiers.

The flagship had no sooner anchored on Monday [sic] at dawn that the proas began again to come full of people. Their number increased so fast that in a short time it passed 400, and then it became impossible to count them. They were all loaded with dry and fresh coconuts, sugarcanes, bananas, rice tamales and other things of little account, but very little of anything, perhaps to try first how they made out with such merchandise. They showed that they were very astute and deceitful people, as they haggled with signs at the great admiration and entertainment of our people. Father Urdaneta was also communicating with them, repeating to them a few words from their language that he had learned when he was here with the fleet of Loaysa. They were astonished to see him count up to 10 in their language. One of the Indians shouted many times: "Gonzalo, Gonzalo", who was, according to Father Urdaneta, the name of a soldier who was found at one of the islands by Loaysa's fleet. They all carried aboard their proas offensive weapons, mainly of the throwing type, and lances with bone tips and others of very hardened canes, slings and stones, and some balls made of baked mud to use for throwing. They all go about naked, and only the women cover their shameful parts with some small leaves hanging from a cord. The males are very burly and with great strength, and the women are tall and well-proportioned.¹

On the following Wednesday, the proas came in larger number than on the previous days, but they no longer wanted to trade for anything but iron, mainly for nails, indicating that they wanted them to fasten their proas, which they fasten with cane [strips]

1 Ed. note: One sentence added here in the Ayer manuscript is as follows: "When I was at those islands they caused no little wonder in me, but afterwards in Manila, among others I met with one [Chamorro] named Cabalo who seemed like a giant among all the other [Filipino] Indians from overhere."

and then they work them over with a colored pitch that serves them as a very strong careening stuff.¹ With these proas and their palm lateen sails, they sail with any wind, no matter how contrary or strong, and they always skim the surface of the water. In order not to turn over, they place a light piece of wood (which they call *cate* here)² which serves as a wing and counterweight to prevent turning over in a storm. They have no poop nor prow as such; rather, when they sail, in order to turn around under sail, they continue without turning the proa where they want to go. Every day that the fleet was anchored there, there were proas alongside to sell, but with such an art that each day they were selling dearer, doubling the prices, and on top of that, they were playing very pretty and even sad jokes with what they were selling; for instance, in the baskets of rice which they traded, there used to be mostly sand with a thickness of two fingers of rice on top, and the oil jars had no more than two fingers on top as well and the rest was water. Not only did they use such ruinous methods, but also they used rapine, by receiving the iron or nail, then fleeing with it without paying anything, and going to other ships with gentle concealment. If they were told anything [in reproach], they made a show of fierceness, grabbing their lances and making as if to throw them. All of this was tolerated on account of the necessity that the fleet had of all the things they brought and on account of the order the General had issued not to vex them in any way. In conclusion, these people are insolent, inclined to rob in any way they can, and with so little shame that, although they are caught red-handed, they do not show embarrassment; rather, they laugh it off and make a joke of everything. So it is that those in the fleet of Jofre de Loaysa³ gave them the name of Ladrones [i.e. Thieves] on account of many such tricks played on them, mainly the theft of a boat which, having been tied at the poop of the ship, they untied it with such subtlety that it was not noticed until they saw it being taken away as they fled. Thus, because they always use these tricks, they have been left with this name of Ladrones, which will stay with them forever, no matter how

1 Ed. note: Another addition, dating from the 1750s, in the Ayer manuscript is: "They sew the boards [of their canoes] with some very strong cordlets, made from coir [i.e. coconut husk fiber] which are fibers durable in water, specially salt water. They caulk the craft with the same coir in place of oakum which we lack overhere. The cords are also used as punk by the soldiers, because when they burn, the fire keeps burning without going out, until there is nothing left [to burn]. The craft were worked in the old days with sea shells, sharpened with stones, as it is done now by the Palaos and the peoples who inhabit the multitude of islands that are spread over all these seas, because all of them lack tools made of iron or of another metal. Nevertheless, they are neat and well crafted, like those that drifted this past year of 1750 to this point of Guigan [in Samar]. The usual size of the said proas is 2 or 3 palms in width, because they do not have big logs, and even if they had, they have nothing to cut them with."

2 Ed. note: Here means in the Philippines, where the word for outrigger is in fact *katig*.

3 Ed. note: Correction, it was the fleet of Magellan.

one tries to change the name, by calling them the Mariana Islands.¹ This [new] name will be as difficult to inculcate into the memory of men as it is to erase from it the name Ladrones, because it is so appropriate to their gracious tricks, in accordance with the rule given by the [Roman] poet Horatio:

*Licuit semperque licebit,
Signatum presente nota
Producere nomen.*²

Moreover, this passion is so natural that they do it not only with foreigners but also with one another, the sons with the parents, brothers with brothers, without any regard for friendship and in disregard of any law. What they did to the fleet during those days was enough to accredit them in their tricky exercise, robbing one another of what they had traded and continually scrambling. From the patache San Juan they removed the nails from a piece of iron on the rudder; another was taking away the boat of a ship with great serenity until a warning was shouted from aboard; however, even when being caught in the act did not cause them any embarrassment. All of this was tolerated as it was the will of the General that not the slightest threat was to be done them; they, however, took courage and responded with more waywardness.

That same day, Wednesday in the afternoon, the General sent the Master-of-Camp and the two captains, Martín de Goyti and Juan de la Isla, in a boat to see a cove inside the bay to check for the presence of some river or source for watering, as the fleet had a great need of water. They went off and discovered a river where they said they could do the watering and even anchor the fleet inside the cove. During its execution, as ordered by the General, as the patache San Juan was entering the mouth of the cove, the Indians began from their proas to shoot many stones at the patache, and many cane fire-hardened spears that did not fail to wound some men, and Captain Juan de la Isla himself was hit by a well-aimed stone. At this, seeing that the islanders' jokes had been pushed too far, he ordered that a few arquebuses be fired which caused them to have fear and calm down. Captain Juan de la Isla went to the flagship to give a report of the incident to the General; the latter sent the Master-of-Camp to calm them down as best he could with sign language, and after the fleet had anchored in the cove, they were unable to do the watering because it was then too late.

1 Ed. note: This was written in 1698, after the christianization of the islands. The name Ladrones was in fact maintained by non-Spanish navigators until the American occupation.

2 Ed. note: A Latin phrase meaning: It is allowed and always has been to take note of a present sign to produce a name. The Ayer manuscript has another quote, also said to be from Horatio: "In que semel imbuta recens servabit adorem, testadior."

Chapter 17—About what happened to the fleet while it was at the Ladrones until the day it departed from the island of Guahan to pursue its voyage.

The next day, which was Thursday, the Master-of-Camp went ashore for the watering. Many Indians flocked there to the river and showed themselves to be very peaceful and helpful filling the jars with water without having been asked to do so. In this way, the Spanish being very relaxed in their good company, one Indian went to a soldier who was more relaxed and grabbed the arquebus off his shoulder and began to run away with it. When the other Indians saw this, they all went off and began to stone those who were collecting water. The Spanish began to defend themselves with the arquebuses, but the Indians, retreating to a rather high embankment where they felt safe, and threw stones and other arms from there until they got tired of it and went back to ask for a truce, which was always fake and only in hope that our men would relax enough so that they could break it. Although the General realized their intention, they got away with it because he did not wish to give up the objective that he had stated which was not to make war on them, but only to act in self-defence. So, once again, they went back to ordinary contact, helping them to fill the barrels with water. However, they very soon got tired of such a clean game, because, when they were more relaxed, an Indian approached a Spaniard and with both hands threw a fire-hardened spear at his chest and, if it had not been for the coat-of-mail that he wore, would have gone through his chest. However, when the Indian realized that he had not wounded him, he tried again with another stick, with which they play at lance throwing, and giving him another blow it went through one hand; out of this wound, because the stick was poisoned, the soldier died within 10 days. When the Indians saw this, they began to flee until they were on the river bank as before, from where they began to throw many stones and sharp sticks. When the Master-of-Camp saw this, it seemed to him that there was sufficient reason not to suffer such mistreatments and he took up arms and joined the skirmish until he forced them off the bank, and they had turned their backs and run. However, he did not wish to pursue them but only contented himself with capturing one Indian whom they took aboard the *almiranta*; although they placed him in irons, he was treated very well otherwise during the three days that he was captive, until he himself found out how to recover his freedom. Well then, he waited for a sentinel to become distracted and for the proas to arrive for trading and bartering, and he then threw himself overboard with the fetters on and, swimming, without being inconvenienced by that impediment, he got to one of the nearest proas and putting up the sails, he nonchalantly went ashore. Those who went after him in a boat were unable to catch up with him.

Meanwhile, the Indians had already returned to ask for a truce and the General had conceded it to them. However, the men were more on their guard and vigilant with them. Those who had gone after the Indian, as they could not catch him, they took along the way another proa aboard which were an Indian man and an Indian woman. They seized the Indian man but released the Indian woman after they had given her a

few small things and told her by sign language that the man who had stolen the arquebus should return it, and the fetters from the other one as well, and then they would release her companion. However, the Indian woman, as soon as she saw herself free, cared for nothing except to put away in a safe place what she had been given, because among them, they were not used to do good to another person, to help one another, but instead everyone took care of his own interest and forgot about any other business.

That same day General Miguel López de Legazpi stepped ashore to **take possession** of that island, which is called Guahan, and of all the others in the name of His Majesty, and our religious celebrated the Holy Office of the Mass with much solemnity, and afterwards there was as much rejoicing and happiness to the possession as possible. The General distributed to the Indians a large quantity of trade goods, beads, baubles, mirrors and hawk bells and he apparently made them very happy, although they, badly-intentioned as they were, under this truce they committed all the evil things that they could. Thus, it was necessary to keep a good eye on them so that they would not get out of control.

The next day, as the Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta had to go with the Pilot Major to survey the coast of the island on the west side, the General ordered them to take along the Indian man and the boy, and to release them on the beach in the neighborhood of the place where they had captured them on the previous day. As they wanted to go and carry out this task at midnight, in order to be able to go and come back in one day, they sent for the Indian man who was below deck and there was no recourse to make him come out, as he defended himself and bit the soldiers sent to take him out. In the morning, they found him dead, hanging from a pole near the [upper] deck; so, the boy remained alone. When many proas came to the flagship that day, the General ordered that the boy be taken out, to see if he recognized some of the proas. He began to shout to those aboard one of them, giving to understand that his father was aboard it. Then, after he was given a few trinkets and dressed with red clothes, they tied him to a rope and lowered him from the poop, where about was the proa in which was his father or relatives, who received him with much love, but that did not prevent them from taking from him what the General had given him, leaving him naked as before.

At about this time, when the General was meeting with the religious, the captains and the royal officials, Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta proposed to them that it would be appropriate to colonize that island [i.e. Guam], given that there was a sufficient quantity of food to feed the fleet and to despatch a ship from there to return to New Spain. In this way, he said, much time would be saved for the navigation of the ship that had to discover the return route to New Spain, and also the relief would come faster from this, besides giving time to find out and discover the rest of the islands which were numerous and aligned from north to south, as far as the continent [sic] of New Guinea and the austral land. The General responded to this, saying that a settlement there would be opposite to the orders he had from His Majesty to pursue as far as the Islands of the West, called Philippines, and to see and discover all the islands in their vicinity, and he had been sent for that purpose. Furthermore, although it would be convenient,

he was determined not to disobey the instructions and orders given by His Majesty. So, he ordered to make everything ready for sailing in order to pursue the voyage.

Before the departure, the islanders did not wish to pay back the advantages they had received from the fleet, strangers as they were to any virtue and gratitude. It happened this way. A few sailors and ship's boys having gone to get water from the above-mentioned river, a ship's boy fell asleep under some palm trees and this was not noticed by his companions when they returned to the ships; so, they left him not suspecting that he had been left ashore. Some time after the boat had left, the unfortunate boy woke up and went to the beach. However, when the Indians saw that he was alone, they encircled him and with a great battle cry killed him, giving him an infinity of wounds, transpiercing him with those fire-hardened cane lances, with other inhumanities to satisfy their cruelty and savagery. Although the shouts were heard aboard the ships, they could not figure out what it was all about until they found the boy missing and sent the boat ashore to retrieve him. However, they arrived too late, because he had already been torn to pieces with over 30 penetrating wounds through his chest. They had also flayed his whole face and driven a sharp stick through his mouth that came out at the nape. Not content with this, they had stoned him, according to the bruises all over his body. The Indians, as they saw the boat people, leaving the body of that poor unfortunate behind, fled up the river bank and shouted ridicule at those in the boat, exhibiting the clothes that they had taken from the dead one and inviting them by signs to go up, and they would do the same thing to them. Those with the boat returned alongside the ships with the body of the ship's boy, at the time there were other proas trading alongside as if nothing had happened and they had not seen the spectacle. The General and those aboard the fleet were much moved by it all and the General was of the opinion that such an evil deed could not but be forgotten. He (with the agreement of the military officers) charged the Master-of-Camp with the retribution. The latter, that same night, stepped ashore with 100 soldiers and arrived at dawn at a town that was one league inland, but, not finding any Indian there at all, because they had fled into the bush, as they had positioned some spies. Thus, he returned to the beach, leaving along the way an ambush party in some palm groves, and having 4 or 5 proas put together on the beach, he ordered them to be set on fire and he embarked, feigning a retreat to the ships. As the Indians saw them embarked, they flocked in to save their proas. As they were coming and shouting loudly, they discovered the ambush and they fled back. That is why not as much satisfaction was gotten as planned, although the arquebuses killed many and they captured four of them, three of those being mortally wounded. The Master-of-Camp had these three hanged at the same place where they had killed the ship's boy.

Having hanged the threesome, as they were about to hang the fourth one, who was unhurt, two religious approached the Master-of-Camp and begged him not to hang him, that a greater service would be done to God if he were spared and brought to New

Spain where he could be baptized and save himself. So, they did not hang him but brought him to the flagship.¹ When the Master-of-Camp saw that it was no longer possible to pursue the punishment, as they had all fled to the mountain and the fleet was about to leave, he contented himself with ordering that all the hamlets near the coast be burned, as well as a few proas that were on the beach. To this effect, he distributed the people into two squads; he sent some to burn the town where they had gone the previous night, and others went along the coast to do the same to the houses that they found, although they were not punished sufficiently for the evil things they had committed with such a deceitful treatment and simulated truce that had been granted to them so many times. Thus, this punishment was carried out in order to serve as a lesson for the future and so that they would learn how to behave with more faithfulness.

After this, the General gave the order for the fleet to set sail, as it had been well provided with water and firewood. The island where the fleet stopped is called Guahan, and now [1690s] it is called San Juan. The land is generally high and hilly, and all of it is full of coconut palm groves along the coast with very pleasant and very good water courses. It has many rice plantations and plots with sweet potatoes, sugarcane, bananas, yams and ginger. There were signs of being ores of sulphur and of some metals. The peaks of the mountains are all bare of vegetation, with very few trees and bushes. Not one sign of any cattle, wild or tame, was found in the whole island. If at present [1690s] they have pigs and cows, they have been acquired from the ships passing by there and coming from New Spain. They do not have any birds either, except some ring-necked turtle doves and a few small seasonal song birds that were seen on the beaches. The natives are not used to eating meat; they were unable to have those held captive aboard the ships eat meat either, except fish. They caught fish with hooks made of bone or, something that produced the most admiration, by diving underwater to get it, as they are such awesome swimmers that only those who have seen them can believe it. Most of them are ordinarily trained as swimmers. Among quadruped animals there are some that are amphibious; these Indians would be the same among men, because most of their life is spent in the water swimming and diving.

Their houses are well made, raised one story from the ground and resting upon some strong stone pillars. They cover them with awnings and adorn them with very fine mats which they use to sleep on, and all the houses are covered with palm. In addition to their individual houses, they have some that are communal and very spacious in the form of boat sheds in which they store their proas, each village having one of those, some larger than the others. Next to the cove where watering was carried out, there was a very large one with four wings and big stone pillars, built like a cross, very high and spacious. In this one, mass was said all the time the fleet was stopped there, which was for 11 days. In it, there were many proas of greater capacity than the ordinary ones, and probably used to go from one island to another which, as they said, were 13 in number, although afterwards many more were discovered.

1 Ed. note: This Chamorro did not survive the voyage to New Spain.

...

Chapter 18—How the fleet arrived at the island of Tandaya and what else transpired in San Pedro Bay.

The fleet left the island of Guahan on Saturday 3 February 1565 and always sailing westward without seeing any land on any side, on the 13th of the said month, a Tuesday, at 8 in the morning, they discovered it dead ahead. Pursuing in search of it, at the hour of vespers, they found themselves inside a large bay, where the ships anchored in the lee of some high rock islands that were within it. On the other side, toward the east [rather west], there was a big island which is where the Philippine Islands begin. In this bay, the fleet anchored in 40 fathoms, etc...

Tertiary account by Captain Burney

This is as good a place as any to mention this account of the Legazpi expedition, because he based his summary entirely on two sources: this one by Fr. Gaspar San Augustin, and another by another Augustinian, Fr. Juan de Grijalva. What Burney said about Guam is as follows:¹

Before the ships were within two leagues of the land, the natives of the Ladrones flocked off in canoes; but they would not venture closer than within the distance of a stone's throw of the ships. The General ordered knives, scissors, glasses, and other things, to be put on a plank, to which the Indians swam. They made signs for the Spaniards to go on shore, and, by showing fruits which they had brought, and patting their bellies, signified that there they would be plentifully supplied.

At sunset, the ships were near the island Guahan; but seeing no place to anchor, they stood towards the South part of the island. The fleet ran along the coast, till they passed round by a small low island, from whence, to the great island, there ran a reef or chain of rocks, forming a bay, in which the ships anchored. A creek was found, where there was fresh water, near to which was good anchorage.

The reserve of the natives soon wore off, and they became familiar. They had preserved the remembrance of the name of Gonzalo (a Spaniard of Magellan's fleet, who was found here by the ships of Loaysa) and frequently repeated it. They brought provisions, in exchange for which they preferred iron to every other commodity. They are accused of having been at this time very unfair traders, and as much in the habit of pilfering as at any former period. To prevent quarrels with the natives, the General issued an order, that no person belonging to the ships should land without his licence; that their trees and plantations should not be touched; and that no one should be allowed to traffic with them, without having first obtained permission. This order was published in all the ships, with other regulations, to prevent offence being given to the natives; at which, says Fray Gaspar, the soldiers did not rejoice.

In a full council of all the religious, and of the principal officers which the General summoned, the Padre Urdaneta advised that they should settle at this island, which appeared capable of furnishing them with sufficient subsistence. He observed that at the Ladrones they could much more conveniently send to New Spain, and receive succors from thence, than at the Philippines; and that there were many more islands to the North, of which they might take possession. Legazpi disapproved this advice, as being contrary to the orders of the king, which were to seek the Philippines.

All the Captain General's care and good intention did not prevent disagreements and mischief from frequently occurring between the people and the islanders. Fray Gaspar gives all the blame to the Indians. When the ships were preparing to sail, a boat was sent on shore to get water. One of the seamen

1 Ed. note: Captain James Burney, R.N., *A Chronological history of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803-17.

who went, fell asleep among the trees; and the boat returned to the ships without his being missed. Either from hatred to the Spaniards, or from some circumstance of provocation, the Indians killed him, and his body was found by the Spaniards who were sent on shore in search of him. When it was carried on board, the General ordered the Maestre de Campo, Don Matheo del Sauz [sic], to land with 100 soldiers, to revenge the outrage. They marched to a village a league within the shore; but the houses were deserted. Returning to the water side, they set fire to some canoes; and then leaving a party of soldiers concealed among the trees, the rest of the Spaniards embarked, and put off from the shore, as if with the intention to return to the ship. The Indians believing that the whole had embarked, descended from the hills to save their canoes from the flames; but when they came near, and saw the Spaniards, they fled again; so that, says Gaspar, all the satisfaction that was desired could not be obtained, although the arquebuses killed and wounded many, and some were taken prisoners, three of whom, being mortally wounded, the Maestre de Campo ordered to be immediately hung on the spot where the body of the seaman had been found; a fourth prisoner was saved from sharing a similar fate by the intercession of two friars. The M. de Campo, seeing it was not possible to bestow more correction on the persons of the Indians, contented himself with burning all the houses and canoes near the landing place, which having done, he returned to the ships, taking with him his prisoners.

Though the island Guahan abounded in rice and fruits, there was not seen in it at this time any animal, either tame or wild. The natives were not accustomed to eat flesh, nor would the prisoners, who were carried away in the ships¹, eat any animal food, except fish.

“That which most caused admiration was, that they would drink salt water, and were such expert swimmers, and passed so much of their time in the water, that, as among other animals, some are amphibious, in like manner it seemed as if these people were in their nature amphibious.”²

Gaspar and Grijalva, both describe the houses of these people, that they are lofty, neatly built, and well divided into apartments; the whole raised a story from the earth, and supported upon strong pillars of stone: “*Fundadas sobre fuertes pilares de piedra.*” Besides these dwelling houses, they had others for their canoes, built likewise with great stone pillars; one of which, near the watering place, contained four of their largest canoes.

The tops of the hills were bare of trees. Sulphur was found in the island, and signs of metal. Grijalva says, the islands composing the group, called the Ladrones, are 13 in number.

They left Guahan, February 3d, and steered to the West, without seeing any land, till the 13th, at 8 in the morning, when they made the island Tandaya. In the evening, they anchored near the East part of the island, in a great bay in 45 fathoms, badly sheltered by some high rocks.

1 Ed. note: Only one such prisoner was taken away.

2 Ed. note: A mis-translation, about this drinking of salt water, as can readily be seen from the original text above.

Document 1566A

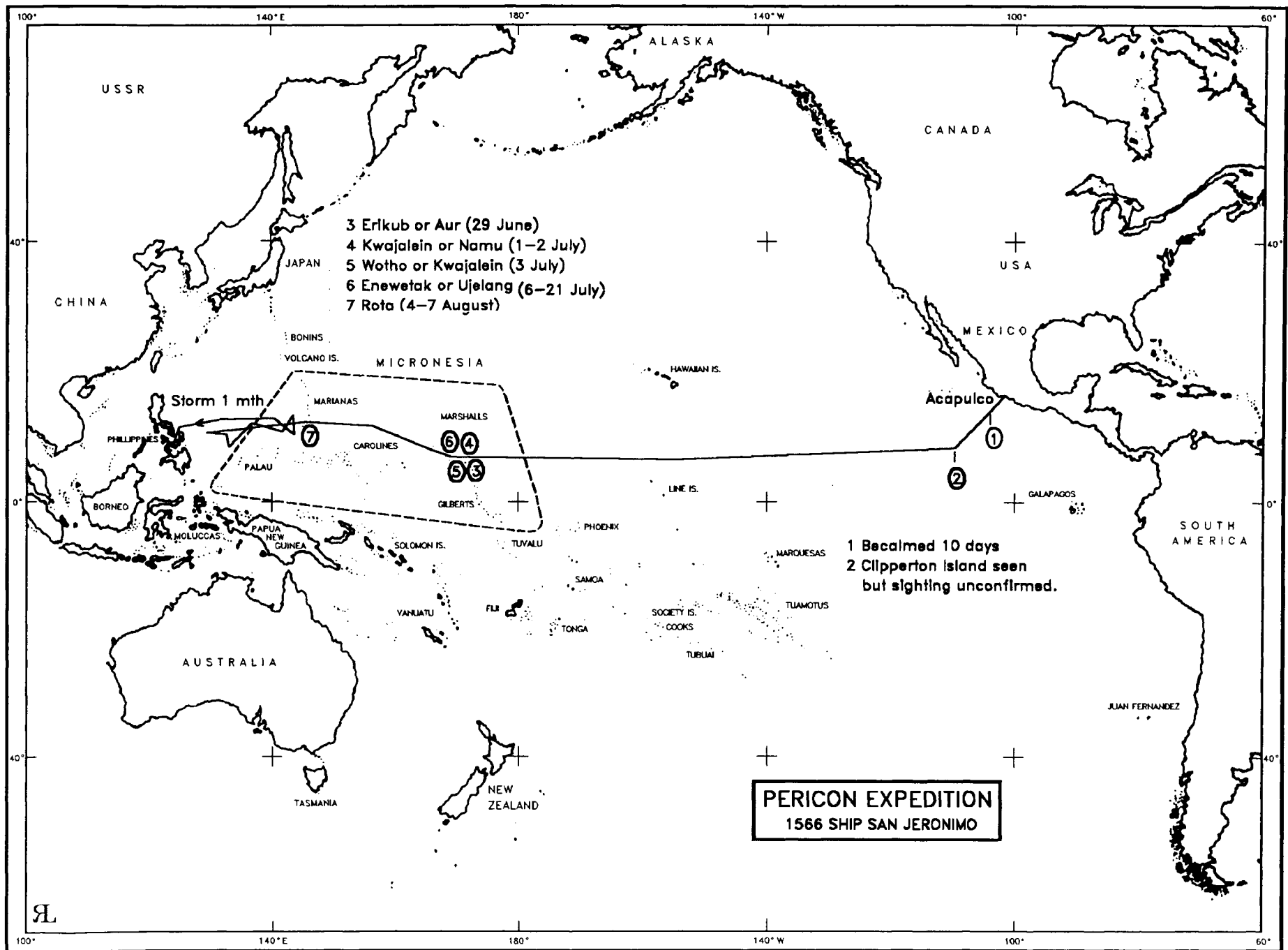
Pericón relief expedition—Summary of the bloody mutiny aboard the San Jerónimo

Sources: Fr. Juan de la Concepción's Historia General de Philipinas in 14 volumes, as condensed by Fr. Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, O.S.A. in Historia de las Islas Philipinas, Manila, 1803; translated by John Maver as "An Historical View of the Philippine Islands", London, 1814; reprinted as FBG 10, Manila, 1966.

Chapter 5—The complete conquest of the island of Zebu and some towns in other islands

...

The Royal Audiencia of Mexico had despatched the ship **San Jerónimo** from Acapulco to relieve those at Zebu, and to advertise them of the arrival of the Capitana [i.e. flagship San Pedro] at that port. They sent as captain of the ship Pedro Sánchez Pericón; as second in command, Juan Ortiz de Mosquera; and as pilot the mulatto Lópe Martín, who was sent for the express purpose of being punished by Legazpi for having separated intentionally from the squadron in the patache **San Lucas**. Pericón and Mosquera had been, before the commencement of the voyage, inimical to each other and in its progress their mutual antipathy was augmented. The pilot, Martín, dreading the idea of being confronted with Legazpi, entered into a plot with Mosquera, and they gained over to their party most of the crew, among whom was Philip de Ocampo [sic], a brave man, but of the worst character. Thinking their strength sufficient, they commenced their operations by being insolent to the commander, and one night they killed a **horse** which he had brought in the galleon. The friends of Pericón conjured him to be on his guard, as they concluded that those who had begun by killing the horse would end in murdering him if he was not sufficiently vigilant. But Pericón's confidence was too great, and he slighted the advice of his friends. The conspirators by this forbearance increasing every day in boldness at last resolved to put in practice their diabolical design of murdering the commander and getting possession of the vessel; accordingly,



one night, after having placed guards on those of the crew whom they could not confide in, Mosquera entered the captain's bedroom accompanied by two seamen, one of the name of Bartolomé de Lara and the other [Hernando de] Morales, and ordered them to stab Captain Pericón and his son, a young man about 25 years of age, who had a sub-command in the ship. They effected their purpose and threw the bodies overboard; and placing some chests on the deck for the accommodation of the people, Mosquera thus harangued them: "Gentlemen, let us recommend to Heaven the souls of Captain Pericón and his son; they came to their death for reasons which, when we arrive at Zebu, shall be given to General Legazpi; everything shall remain unaltered, and I, as a good subject of His Majesty, will conduct the ship to that island."

Many days had not elapsed before Mosquera and the pilot quarreled; it was a difficult task for the latter to reconcile himself to his situation and put on the mask of friendship to the former. He whispered to Mosquera in confidence that the people were very much irritated at the murders which had been committed, and among other things he proposed to tranquilize them by putting in irons some person who had been concerned in the affair, and afterwards to discharge him, under the authority of a notarial process drawn up for that purpose declaring his innocence. This appearing a plausible measure enough, Mosquera, with this view, foolishly convened the ship's company, and the pilot seized upon him and put him in confinement. The day following he ordered breakfast, of which Mosquera partook in his irons, and when finished, he requested the pilot would set him at liberty, as there had been time sufficient allowed for the ceremony. The views of the mulatto, however, were very different; he ordered him to be hung at the yard-arm, without giving him time to confess, observing that Divine Providence had ordered he should die without partaking the sacrament, as had been the case with the two whom he had murdered. The mulatto now remaining captain of the ship, Philip de Ocampo, who was his favorite, made a speech to his companions, telling them "that Captain Lópe Martín did not intend going to Zebu; that those who were of a different opinion should be set on shore on an island in the immediate neighborhood of Zebu, from whence they might easily reach Legazpi." All were silent, and nothing was done until they arrived at the islands of **Barbudos** [i.e. the Marshalls in this case]; when Lópe Martín landing on one which was desolate gave out that it was necessary to careen the ship there, but his real intention was to leave most of his companions on this island exposed to famine.

He was not, however, able sufficiently to conceal his intentions. The Friar Capellan, a venerable priest, suspected him, and consulted with Juan de Vivero on some means of averting this blow.¹ Rodrigo del Angle², the mate of the ship, a man of approved courage, determined to appeal to His Majesty, if it cost him his life, broke the matter to others, and eventually drew to his party Bartolomé de Lara by promising to make him captain of the ship, although he had no such intentions. Rodrigo finding he had

1 Ed. note: The chaplain was not a friar. He was the same man whose name was Juan de Vivero.

2 Ed. note: This man's original family name may have been French, Delangle.

gained most of the crew on board to his side, weighed anchor and halloed to those on shore that all the true and faithful vassals of His Majesty might embark immediately, and that the ship belonged to the King. By this means all were received on board but Lópe Martín and Philip de Ocampo, and about 25 others, among whom were some loyalists, who were unable to reach the ship in time.

Bartolomé de Lara, disappointed in his expectations of being made captain of the ship, began to form a party and was joined more from necessity than otherwise by Hernando de Morales, his accomplice in the murder of Pericón and his son; but the new captain [i.e. Langle] contrived means to try and hang them, after which the crew remained free from further molestation, and they arrived at Zebu.

The General Legazpi, to deter others, hanged the notary Juan de Zaldivar for being accessory to the aforesaid murder. He rewarded Rodrigo del Angle, Garnica, and Juan Enriquez with all the loyalists and granted a pardon in the name of the King to all those who had acted any subordinate part in this transaction.

Document 1566B

Pericón expedition—Narrative of the voyage and mutiny, by Juan Martínez

Sources: AGI, formerly Papeles de Maluco (1564-1608), now Patronato 1-1-1/24; transcribed by Muñoz on 30 April 1794; MN ms. 141, folios 1-72v; Col. de Navarrete, t. 17, doc. ...; Col. de Ultramar, iii, doc. 47, pp. 371-475.

Note: I am not surprised that this document has never been translated before, because the original is specially difficult to decipher and unravel. I have nevertheless resisted the urge to paraphrase it.

Report made to Legazpi by a private soldier, Juan Martínez, and dated Cebu 25 July 1567

Detailed narrative of the events that occurred during the voyage of the ship San Jerónimo which left Acapulco under the command of Pedro Sánchez Pericón, with Lope Martín as pilot, for the purpose of bringing relief to Legazpi and the news of the arrival of the ship San Pedro at New Spain. This narrative was completed at Cebu on 25 July 1567 by Juan Martínez, who had been a soldier aboard the said ship. He also narrated what happened at that camp from their arrival there until the date of the narrative.

Most Magnificent Sir:¹

As the obligation in which I find myself toward your Grace is so great and my desire to serve him incomparable, I agreed to make this small [report] to inform about the voyage in which I came as well as the state in which we found this land to be and its present condition, more to make up for the many and various times that your Grace has asked me and ordered me [to write one] than to show off my ability to serve, which is so small, specially in such exercices, the more so for someone who is devoid of all knowledge and types of science, because it is certain that, even though Homer and Virgil were so endowed, they had to take pains and employ their ability and pen to properly extol the hungers, destructions, deaths, tears, sighs, imprisonments, labors, delays and afflictions, and finally the calamities and intolerable shipwrecks that went on.

¹ Ed. note: Although the addressee is not stated clearly, on pages 399 & 406 of the Col. Ultramar copy, references are made to Legazpi having visited Guam with his fleet and having Pedro de Salcedo as a son-in-law.

Rather, I sincerely wish that your Grace will receive it as from a servant and not look at the mistakes but at the perfect willingness of the one who sends it, as it is enough for someone to give what he has, as long as he complies with it as best he can, since it will serve only to annoy, it [might fill] a few idle hours.

Your Grace knows full well how from that city of Mexico we left on Thursday 21 February this past year of 1566, with our captain Pedro Sánchez Pericón, whom they say was a native and resident of Málaga, with his son¹ Pericón Mesa as Lieutenant, Pedro Núñez de Solorzano as sergeant of the company. There came as well a certain Ortiz de Mosquera as provisional Sergeant Major, so that if the one who was [sergeant major] at this camp before wished to return to New Spain, as he had written, on account of indisposition, in this case he would replace him; otherwise, he would not, but here he would be evaluated and given a post in accordance with his ability, which was great, if only he had not been caught in the traps of the devil.² Even though he was an old and experienced soldier, he was very much a man and with great valor; however, as I have said, he got himself involved with bad elements and, as I will describe to you below, after his death another fault, worse than the worst of them, was discovered, as will be seen, and to know of it is to become wiser.

Your Grace would also be aware that the Royal Audiencia overthere supplied as few as 50 soldiers, that they were to carry the advice that, because the return route had been found, to whomever thought that they [had] intended to give them the same as to those of the previous voyage—at the 175-peso scale for a Lieutenant—but they say that the captain objected to it, saying that he would have all the men receive at least 100 pesos, as was finally done, and even more than that, so that many would come who wished to come on account of the big salary but they could not, because those who did come, at 100 pesos which each took, they realized that they had found them in the street, because the rest of us came as a result of a favor from some of our senior officers and others, over 7 of them, came as a favor from the captain only—in which case, it cost them half the pay they were given, that is, 50 pesos [each] because they found out that was the condition.³

The many times that your Grace has persuaded me to write force me to give all the details and circumstances that I can give, although some may be judged to be impertinent, although I judge them to be merely satirical, but to comply with what I must and not to offend the truth, which I take as my witness, I will also make a mention of the quality and condition of our captain—may he rest in peace—as well as those of the others. He was wretched, melancholic, an enemy of friendliness and a friend of solitude, greedy, although he had the reputation of being a very good Christian as he was devout

1 Ed. note: His first name was Diego.

2 Ed. note: His first name was Juan and he came from Salamanca. The rank of Sergeant Major then corresponded to the modern rank of Major. The one he was scheduled to replace, at the discretion of Legazpi, was Major Luis de la Haya (See, for instance, Colin's *Labor evangélico*, Chapter 20, and Gaspar de San Augustin's *Historia*, Chapter 38).

3 Ed. note: It is difficult to guess the exact meaning of all these bribery/kickback schemes.

with his prayers; he was a friend of his own opinion and position, and not as prudent as the post required him to be.

As for his son, he was a young man of 25 years of age and much more like a lad in discretion than his age [called for] because it is clear that he always behaved like one, as he was much a party and a cause of the series of bad deeds that happened to us as well as to him and to his father, as the latter had foretold, telling him many times: You will end up being the cause of my death; this he told him at the many times that he made and committed minor faults.

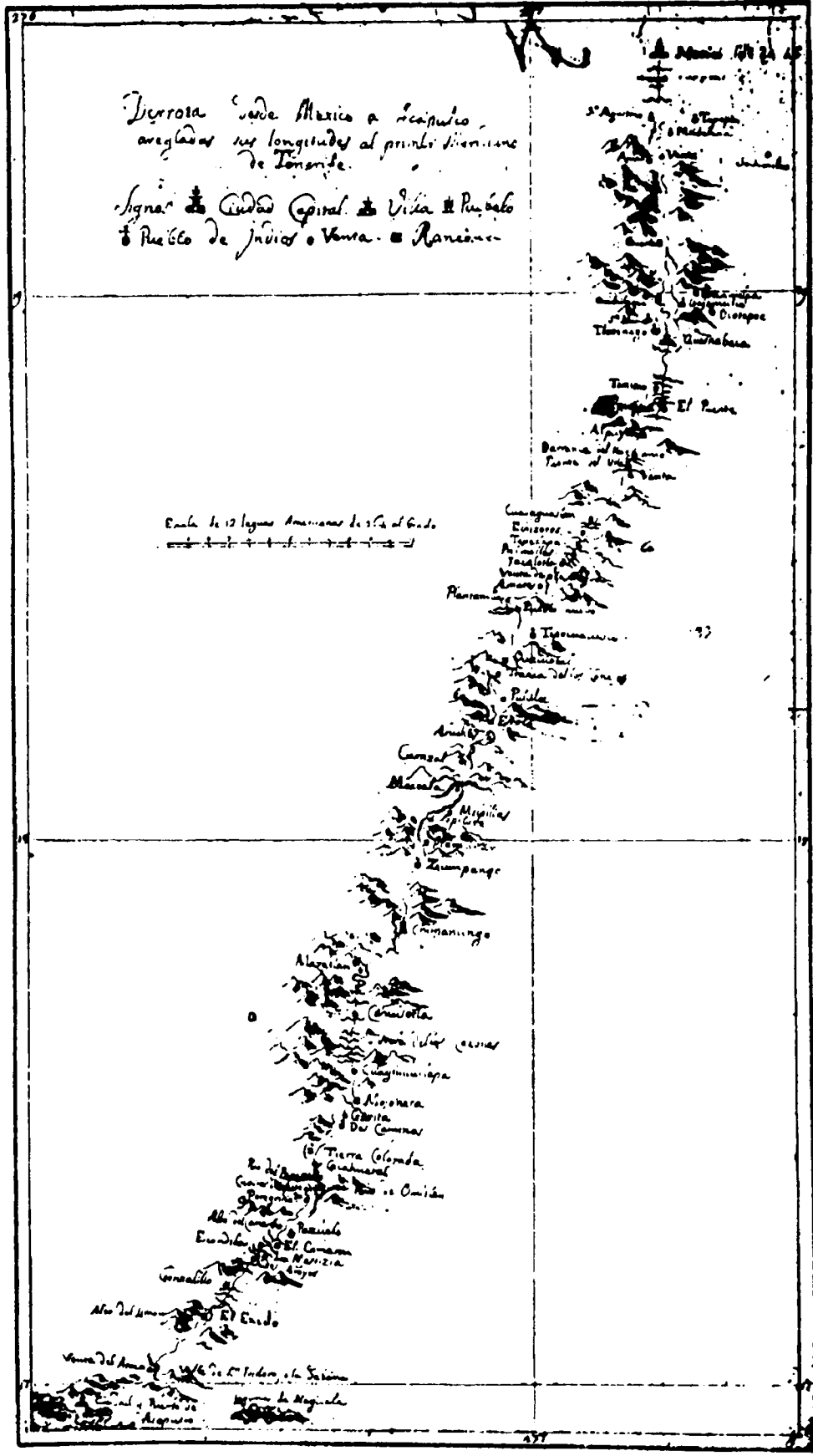
Now then, having begun our intended voyage, we began to march towards the port [of Acapulco], all of us in the company, by way of Suchimilco, Cuelnahuas [i.e. Cuernavaca¹], Iguala, and Chilapa² where we camped for 40 days. Here, as he did along the whole way, the captain ordered that we acted as his bodyguards and later on, we thought, for show purposes; we considered that to be a portent of things to come in the voyage, in which we incurred a few times the fifth grade of the 7 mortal sins. I do not allow myself to narrate the rest of these episodes because of the nature of the subject matter.

When we got to Chilapa, where we spent so much time against our will, the cause of this was that the ship had not gone from the port of Guatulco, where they had gone to buy it, to the port of Acapulco, where we had to embark; the same with the food supplies and the ammunition and other things that we had to bring along, all of which were being gathered very badly and with difficulty. This was the cause why our stay in this town was so long without the others, a total of 67, as we were held up on the road to the port and holding court at Chilapa. Later on, a sumptuous gallows was erected in order to terrorize the men and mainly to mistreat a soldier who had fought with another and wounded him soundly enough. Most of the time we were there it was Lent, although we ate meat and with everything it would be easier to send it forward to the port of Santa María for safekeeping rather than breaking it open here. Although a good man who was there as prior reprehended him in one of his sermons not for the meat we were eating but for the rigid rules we had, by saying how deep was the purse of the King our Lord, that he should open it wider. He got very little out of it and he had every reason to say "*Natura revertura y el pato a la asadura.*"³ Finally, he treated the men not as befitted men of the Indies nor as he should have. I end up here with what has been said and pass under silence many things relating to that and will only give a summary of the loss he occasioned to the royal treasury, as there were soldiers who brought along

1 Ed. note: I can guess this word because I did cover the same route myself in 1970.

2 Ed. note: A town east of Chilpancingo, through which the modern road now passes.

3 Ed. note: A proverb of obscure meaning, not just because Navarrete has transcribed "gato" [cat] instead of "pato" [duck]. Possible translations are as follows: A boiling nature makes the duck hit the roasting oven; when nature turns upside down, the duck shows its entrails; nature inside out, duck ready for the spit...



(Facing page) **The road from Mexico to Acapulco.** (*From an 18th-century manuscript map in LC, as reproduced by Schurz' The Manila Galleon*)

a lad or lads with a horse or horses so that the soldier who brought the least was one with himself and a horse; from day to day we all spent 23 maravedis, I repeat twenty three maravedis, in expenses each, from the superior to the inferior.

While we were at the town of Acapulco, which is 5 leagues from the port where we stayed with the Lieutenant, because the Captain had by now gone to the port¹, there happened a whirlwind with heavy rains, to such an extent that where we were it brought down some houses and in the port it grabbed the galleon **San Jerónimo** in which we had to come and its poop even ran aground, out of which she was in much danger, the rains being a continuation of those we had had along the way that were so bothersome. Finally, with much diligent work, she was taken out of danger.

Meanwhile, as the Captain had a capital hate of the factor Ortuño de Ibarra, he began to spill the venom from his chest, unjustly saying impetuous and unnecessary words against him and the other officials, which I will not, nor would I dare, repeat, which are rumored to have been said to the factor, about the contradiction presented by his coming as well as that of Lope Martín the pilot who had been treacherous toward his King, the Captain General, the gentlemen President and members [of the Audiencia] jointly with Valderrama, who was Visitor at that time. Nor would this vexed company have found itself in such dire straits as it was, nor the so important mail it carried put at such a risk, but above all the offences made against Our Lord nor the treasons that have been committed against His Majesty in harm and to the detriment of his subjects and treasury. God forgive them! If only better judgment had been used. I do not blame them as much as accuse them, because in the ancient Roman Senate, and also in the present Venetian one, such a thing would not be allowed as entrusting him again with the pilotage of such a ship, after having committed what he committed against the Captain General [Legazpi] when coming to these [Philippine] islands, by separating from his fleet and flagship maliciously to come and return only without a superior, after having arrived at these islands, to that New Spain as he did, wishing to usurp the glory due to others, by taking the patache [San Lucas] which was under the command of a gentleman of your Lordship named Don Alonso de Arellano. As a creature of their Majesties, to be as ungrateful as he was, this will not be cleansed with all the water, because he went about with many excuses for what Lope Martín himself published.² It is notorious that, while he was a seaman and pilot in the ocean sea [i.e. the

1 Ed. note: It appears from this remark that the original port of the town of Acapulco was situated at some distance from the port now bearing the name, unless the captain had gone to the port of Santa María which he mentioned earlier.

2 Ed. note: A reference, I think, to the rumors he spread and were picked up by Gabriel Diaz to the effect that the men killed at Pulap had been ordered killed by Arellano instead (See Doc. 1565AA3).

Atlantic], he committed two or three other similar wickednesses, although the said persons [i.e. Audiencia] were not sure about the events and thus excused themselves for not having applied the remedy. They, however, did not lack suspicions about him because they, or the Secretary under their orders, wrote a letter to the Captain while in port, to advise him to take notice of him and watch out against him, telling him the heading that he had to run, without deviating one way or another.

In spite of the many persecutions and labors that all the soldiers of the company were being put through, they held firm against desertion or other undue things, except that one soldier deserted in the early morning of the day we embarked; it is not known if he did it because he was motivated by lack of money or on account of the rumors circulating in the port. As it is, among the many ugly things being said about what would happen during the voyage, as divulged by the pilot and the other minor participants in the business, according to what was later learned here [in Cebu]—as one discovers everything in the course of time—this was confirmed by three soldiers who came as supernumeraries when they returned from the port. Apparently, having overheard the same rumor, Rodrigo de Ataguren, who is the official supplier for His Majesty in the port, it is believed gave notice to the Audiencia and the royal officials. Thus communicating and delaying, we did not make sail for that reason, although there were enquiries and retorts, there was no effect on account of the great heat that Lope Martín gave in due form against it. Rather, we came, even without the Master, Pedro de Oliden, a Basque, provided for that post, and to whom God showed much mercy, because it is believed certain that he would have been killed if he had come. The vacancy was filled by Rodrigo de Ataguren who gave it to Ortiz de Mosquera.

I should also record what the pilot Lope Martín told the Captain: “Sir, if you think you are taking me to Cebu, you are deceiving yourself, because as soon as the Governor sees me there, he will hang me. So, do not think that. If you wish, I’ll take you where, with what you will get out, you will become one of the most fortunate men in Spain. That will be done in Japan, where you could get more than 200,000 ducats, so that you could give luster to your lineage, because overthere to do this, I will take you to Mindanao, to Cinnamon Point where you could leave your son, fortified with the infantry, and from there I will take you to Spain through the Strait of Magellan or will take you back to New Spain, because in the meantime Governor Miguel López de Legazpi will be overthrown and you will be able to take over the same post.” They say that he took it seriously but my opinion is that he did not pay attention to it, as he evaluated the pilot as a lowly and fickle man who spoke too freely. About his person, as for me, I don’t know if it is enough for me today to say just one more thing with truth, or without it, to give rise to the fleeting fame that he abused his office, even though it is hard to believe, as he was such a good Christian.

During the time that the Captain was in port, the pilot was always urging him to hurry up with the requisitions and to do it as fast as possible, alleging that if he delayed he would receive notorious harm on account of the contrary winds that would be found here; about this, he did not lack an argument, if only he had said it sincerely, but he

was saying it with a harmful and diabolical intention, fearing that some impediment could come from Mexico [City]. In addition, he picked out over 100 sailors who were in the port and who could well serve his purpose, specially from the county where they say he was married in and a few Portuguese from whom they say he is a descendent.¹ I do not believe they received their whole pay in *reales* because the pay did not come from Mexico but in clothes and other trade goods that were in the port at the time; Ataguren was to pay them later but as the pilot told them that he would fill their hands, they did not make a fuss because greed and a quick deal are agreeable. Although among these sailors there were many Basques, not only he did not procure more of them but he found ways to get rid of a few of those who were [already] aboard the ship because people of that nationality were not suitable to him for similar deeds. A certain Santiago Garnica, the water steward, perhaps came because he was one of those to whom he did not pay attention, although it cost him dearly [later].

Well, we sailed on the feast day of St. Philip and St. James, Wednesday the 1st day of May [1566], at 10 in the morning from the port of Acapulco which is in 17 degrees and 1/3.² From there we pointed our bow toward the most ample south or, better said, toward the true ocean that Pliny mentions by saying that all the seas are rivers and puddles in comparison with the true ocean, and this one is it, no doubt about it. We came out with a favorable tradewind, although it was contrary but thinking in terms of the high seas there would be favorable winds. We let ourselves fall towards the equinoctial line to less than 9° where we met with great calms, excessive temperatures which detained us and even made us tired. Besides having no wind, the sea swells were horrific and even altered bodies unused to sailing and caused sickness. We were in that shape for a good 10 days with calm, in such a manner that it caused disconsolateness, added on by the knowledge that about 2 or 3 ships from those ports had, on the way to Peru, hit the high seas rather than coasted the land, thinking that they could go straight to Peru and not one hair, not one bone, was ever seen from them; it is believed that they had perished in this manner for lack of winds. So, a promise was made to our Lady of Consolation with as much devotion as we could, for a gift or alms, begging her to help us as we needed to be, and the record of names to pay her here was begun, from the soldiers to the captain; the latter began by promising 25 reales and the soldiers, some 10 pesos, some 20, some more, some less; there were even one of them who promised a gold mark.

Anyway, they were already missing that New Spain and its crystalline waters on account of the lack of water we had [aboard] as well as the fact that many people found themselves tired and suffering at this time, either from boils that started at the port or from diarrhea of which died a certain Lázaro de Madrid, a native of Toledo, and a Don Juan de Pineda from Seville, more under the weather than well treated and delicate in

1 Ed. note: The mulatto pilot, Lope Martín, was from Ayamonte, near the southern border with Portugal.

2 Ed. note: The latitude of Acapulco is closer to 16°30'N.

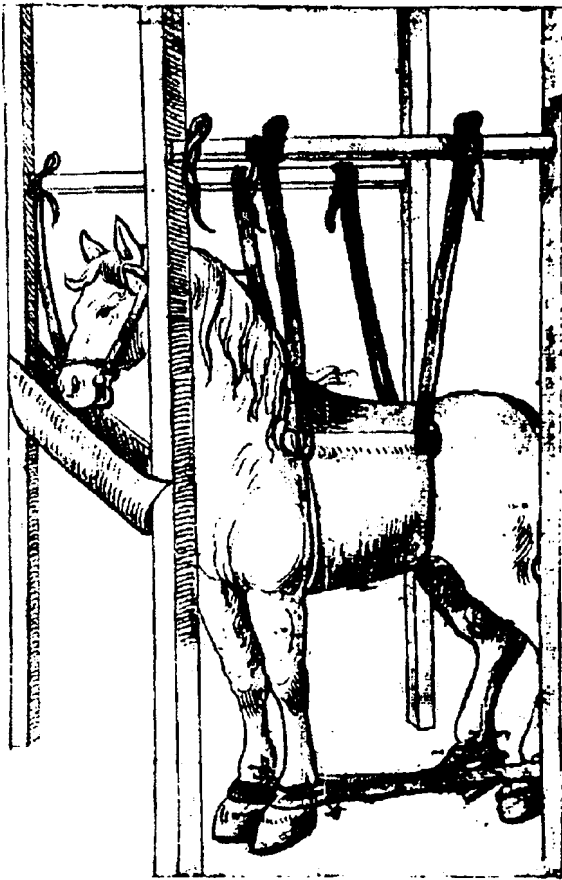
their bodies because, although at the time there were chickens, wine and other delicacies, they were given so little of them that they did not do them any good. Because they were simply weakened and short of vigor, they died. They were talking when they died but, I don't know if it were to keep a custom at sea, they were thrown out so quickly that even though they might have just fainted they could not have had time to regain consciousness. Finally, when the Captain saw that the dying began so soon, he was ready to sacrifice as many as 20 of us, as he said, and with the rest he would deliver the mail. Thus he pursued his opinion about saving everything that came from His Majesty for the soldiers and then with not so much moderation it was consumed by the sailors.

At this time, that is at about the 10th of May at night we saw a misshapen **comet** of various colors that ran to the NE from the SW where its tail came up from and it seemed to me to be somewhere in the kingdoms of Peru. It must have been a portent of the hardships and planned wickednesses that were in stock for us.

The next day, Divine Mercy sent us some wind, not to pursue our voyage but to turn back to shore, something that was indeed desired by all in general in order to resupply with water and for many to stay ashore, because certainly if we did divert to the port of Navidad as it was thought, many would have stayed behind. The Captain had conjectured as much, and so he refused to consider any of it, hoping that he be given a wind for his voyage. If everybody wished it so, it was not because of the evil thing they had planned as they say but that the pilot had intended to do in port what was needed to leave behind the Captain and the other persons and continue his voyage with the rest, the same way he had done during the previous voyage. Few knew about this plot and among them the main one was a certain Felipe de Campo, the principal way and means of all the evil things, who stirred up and was the cause and effect of all of them. He was a comrade of the pilot and he roused the others to execute them all, as he had indeed more ability to do such deeds and tricks, not the pilot whom I doubt would have had the prudence to come out with them nor would have dared to try them. Even though they say he had let much of it be known in Mexico while they kept him in prison, so openly that the superiors must have heard about it but they overlooked it all because they must have given it little credence as he was a talker. Finally, this turning back did not take place because at about the 20th of the said month a favorable wind arose with abundant rains so that we were on our way.

At this time, as the pilot was at odds with the captain, he hated the things belonging to him and, as was his custom, he began to blab and say that it would be better if the water that was being drunk by a **horse** that he was bringing would be drunk by the men who were dying of thirst and for this reason it should be killed and they even say that he said that he would show the yard-arms to father and son who would object to it.

That same night, the Captain knowing about it, he ordered the soldiers to mount a guard by squads, each night one of them, and the main body of the guard where the horse was; the soldiers were resentful because it seemed to them that they were being asked to do the work of stable boys and not that of soldiers. They did not lack a reason; in fact, the horse was kept at the bow and he [i.e. the captain] was at the poop in



Captain Pericon's horse was kept aboard in this fashion.

his cabin, whereas the suspects were also at the poop at the highest point where there was a hatch that led down right next to the Captain's door. So, if a bodyguard were to be placed at his disposal it would not be placed at the bow next to the horse but next to him at the poop, given that it was clear that he would have benefitted little if [the guard] had been so far away.

On the 25th of the said month of May, they killed the horse. At that time it was not known who had done it. At midnight, they put a dagger right through its heart and the blood began to flow as from a spout. The neighing and tramlings of the horse awakened us. It was done so subtly as it was dark and I doubt that even a guard would have seen it, being so suspect as it was.

The next day, Santiago Garnica revealed to the Captain what he had overheard, that is, that it was better for the Captain to know about it and to prevent it, even if it cost him his life many times over, saying that he knew for sure that the pilot with Felipe de Campo and the Sergeant Major and the regular Sergeant with many other persons, specially sailors, had planned to abandon him upon arrival at the Philippines at the very same island of Cebu at some distance from the settlement or at another island in the vicinity, the same way [as] I said about the port of Navidad and for the same purpose. He immediately had some notarial papers drawn up and had it declared by order whose

contents said that it had come to his knowledge that some persons were planning things in disservice to His Majesty and prejudicial to his person, that whoever knew or came to know anything of it would be given 1,000 pesos of gold, and he gave his word as a gentleman; further, that he would become a preferred member of his company and respected as a servant of His Majesty, in whose name he would also be given sufficient guarantees of future rewards and favors, and above all that everything would be kept secret; finally, he would give 400 ducats to whomever he heard say who had killed the horse.

[The near-discovery of Clipperton Island]

On this same day, we saw a large quantity of birds, as many sea birds as I had ever seen in any land, sea or lake, and from there within a short time we saw a few cloud effects that persuaded many that there was a very big land, although others contradicted them saying that it was a cloud and thereabout there were a few low-lying islands that were the cause of the birds. However, the pilot was of the opinion that it was land. So, as we were abreast of it north—south, and as it was the direction of the wind that day we would get to it with a tail wind. While running toward it, as if he had half understood it to be land, the inconstant Lieutenant [i.e. the young Pericón] then began to go about saying that ashore they would find out who had killed the horse and he would be hanged. All of this he directed at the pilot, as he understood that it was he who had killed it. The pilot become annoyed and he changed the heading once more and pointed the bow to continue our voyage; he was not contradicted nor spoken to by the Captain about this.

Afterwards, the pilot was discussing with his friends, some of them not very discreet ones, and he let them know that it was one of the islands of Solomon, that he had not wished to go there in order not to be the cause of so much good luck to the Captain; however, for another occasion, he had marked it on the chart. **It was 180 leagues from the port of Navidad in a latitude of 10°.** They still affirm that it was land because the fleet saw it according to us.¹

On Friday, the last day of May, a sailor named Bartolomé de Lara complained about the bad food and drink to the Lieutenant, saying that this should not be permitted when they were working day and night through rain showers. The Lieutenant answered him that he was treating him better than he deserved. As the Lieutenant was repeating this, he grabbed a fox² with which to hit him or threatened to hit him; at this, Lara grabbed a knife that he carried in his waist. The Lieutenant made a big commotion about this, went down to his cabin for a broadsword and soldiers who here are given the qualifying

1 Ed. note: This was indeed Clipperton Island, which is located at 10°17'N and 109°13'W. Although the logbook is missing, time-wise they were half-way between Acapulco and the Marshalls, but they had been becalmed for at least 10 days. Besides, there are no other suitable candidate island for miles around. Also, the latitude as estimated by Martín is as good as his estimates of the previous year.

2 Ed. note: A short length of rope that can be used as a whip.

name of “royal”. When he came up, Lara was already up in the topmast and not a little scandal ensued nor a small risk either because the wind we had was brisk and the ship behaved like a calabash for lack of ballast; this problem, not a small one, lasted the whole voyage and caused many risks because the sides were very low and one yaw of the tiller was enough to make 20 soldiers fall overboard and remain there. They say it that had been the intention of the pilot to do just that but that the helm’s man did not understand him. When the thing was a bit placated, Lara was told to come right down under penalty of being shot at with the arquebuses, and so he did and he was imprisoned below deck. Although the Captain had asked that he’d be brought to the cabin where he was, but the Sergeant never complied, because he had been spoiled for a few days already.

Immediately, the noble mob of sailors began to carry arms from prow to poop, about which I myself advised the Captain, telling him to put a stop to it. Many others advised him as well, specially Juan de Vivero, the chaplain whom we had aboard, beyond other things that we advised him of, but he never wished to find a remedy; rather, he would make light of it, smiling with a serenity of which he prided himself and telling us that we should not give importance to such people, that they would not dare to hustle because if one would hustle he would hang him immediately.

During the course of these days, we received much rain which we hated although afterwards came a weather which we took as the best gift in the world. Such rains would come with calms and would take the wind from us on the spot, even though we had been enjoying it very happily, so much so that it grated on our nerves. This lasted sometimes half a day sometimes longer than the wind would turn, even though this kind of thing continued for so long that it was a horrible thing. In this manner Pentecost¹ arrived, the eve of which we did not spend very happily on account of not having any improvement in deed or words, nor any difference from the other days. It was true that he showed then as always little willingness toward the soldiers, I don’t know if it was because most of them were Spaniards, whereas they say that he was a Sardinian, but he treated them ordinarily when he spoke to them worse than servants. In this matter, I was to say that some allowance was made out of respect for his old age but as for the other things he did also and he seldom praised either in words or in deeds. He gave few of the pep talks that are expected in the military; in fact, we had not yet heard the first one. If we began the holiday with lukewarm feelings, we ended it with sadness because that is the way it was. Afterwards he failed us greatly specially in the extreme situations

1 Ed. note: The text says “pascua” which cannot be translated by the word Easter, because Easter could not have occurred on June 2nd that year or any year for that matter, even in the old calendar. However, this word was then applied to a major holiday. The date would best correspond to Pentecost or Whitsunday; if so, Lent that year would have run from 27 February to Easter Sunday which was 14 April. Martínez was at Chilapa eating beef during Lent, in February. Easter took place while they were still at Acapulco.

in which we found ourselves and which we finally brought before reason and justice, and “evil came to whomever did him some good”.

[The bloody mutiny of 3 June 1566]

As it was, on the 3rd of June, at midnight of the second day after the holiday of the Holy Ghost¹ the watch fell on a squad which we called the Captain’s watch, a quarter of whom had managed to become confederates in the wickedness beforehand. While the others were sleeping in their sad and narrow lodgings, there came down the pilot Lope Martín and others, his consorts, armed with swords and shields, leaving above a good guard made up of the above-mentioned soldiers and sailors for the most part. As some of the sleepers sensed something and tried to get up and move, then they imparted them with one slap on the back to each one, saying and answering back:

- “Quiet everybody!”
- “Mobsters!”
- “Quiet!”
- “Long live the King!”
- “It is nothing.”²

In the end they were able to come out as they did [i.e. with the upper hand] because those who were outside [the conspiracy] were left without weapons and those who were on the quarter-deck where they [i.e. the weapons] were [stored] were already under a well-constituted guard, so that as they had the thing well organized already from then on as they say they had “one out and one to go”.³

As for Lara, he together with the Sergeant Major and Vaca, plus one Alonso Çarfate behind them had gone to the cabin of the father and son who from then on began this commotion. Lara and the Sergeant Major, and maybe another one of the others who could have been guarding the door so that they would not come out, gave them a cruel and harsh death by stabbing. What was in truth said is that Çarfate, after the Captain was dead and sure of his attack, in order not to remain without laurel or a trophy, planted the whole of his dagger which he kept with the blood on it inside a woolen stocking, and a shirt cuff so that by virtue of it he would be given the reward—which he was given in accordance with what he deserved with the others who took part in it—and it is rumored they became relics which still exist.

After they had perpetrated the abominable treason, the Sergeant Major went up and began to say: “Traitor! Bad man! Dog, who wanted to kill me and my brothers the sailors” and varieties thereof. [Meanwhile] the ordinary Sergeant had taken away the weapons, rather the few that were kept in the [individual] chests. As for the main weapons, they were turned over; from his hand came a sudden and pressing order that was drawn

1 Ed. note: A confirmation that June 2nd that year was Pentecost Sunday, the second day of what was then a 3-day festival. June 3 was the last day, a Monday.

2 Ed. note: Punctuation mine. A melee during which the authorship of the repartees can only be guessed at.

3 Ed. note: This is my interpretation of an ancient colloquial expression.

up to the effect that the weapons were to be surrendered then under penalty of death. And he said: "They are in the other world. You should pray for them, now that the bad year and hunger are gone."

We spent the rest of the night in this fashion, with greater amazement than sleep. Then at daybreak, a Corporal began to invoke the idea that Mosquera should be elected Captain. While he was doing so, he [i.e. Mosquera] answered cautiously and wisely that he was much indebted to them but that among us there were men of greater valor than he, that we should elect him and have him as superior and obey him. As they responded two or three times, he answered that he accepted the favor on the condition that they did not call him Captain but as before and that he would act according to their opinion. He concluded thus with many suave words which he told us at the great satisfaction of all. Then all of a sudden, he ordered the weapons returned [i.e. distributed] and he promised to bring us to Cebu under the authority of those to whom we belonged.

As envy is such a perverse lady, Felipe de Campo took this election badly as it was later learned because he had wished to be elected himself and not someone else. Consequently, the pilot, because he was more friendly with Campo than with Mosquera, even though he hid it as much as possible, thus had this perversity taking roots in them in order for the wickednesses not to stop there. Well then, as I wished to distinctly and clearly state for what reason they killed mainly the captain and his son, I will not determine to say more than what it seems to me they say and it is more likely the truth because only God knows the truth of it all. They say that there was bad blood between father and son with Mosquera, on top of one between the Lieutenant and Mosquera, reason being that Mosquera was a solicitous man, well versed in the military art, whereas the Lieutenant was just a beginner as in everything else. Above the passion that resulted from this, hate was born in the Lieutenant toward the other because as they say: "He is your enemy who is of the same profession." There are some who are so lackadaisical that they do not want to learn nor want to see one who does know. As the devil was so firmly rooted aboard this ship on account of our sins, he went about sowing trouble. It all began with the perverse Lope Martín with the assistance of the very bad Felipe de Campo, his protector and advocate, as he was more knowledgeable and was instructing him. What he had heard in jest, he made it come out as the truth. Whenever they saw the opportunity they would incite Mosquera against the father and son, not more nor less with the company Sergeant in whom he had also a good bond because for one thing he was a creature of Mosquera by whom he had been given the office of sergeant, and for another thing the Captain was not the sort of man who obliged the men but rather made them wish not to see nor hear him. Well, with Lara it had been negotiated and with Vaca and the others half a word would suffice to make them ready and obedient, specially with Vaca who owed to the Sergeant Major everything humanly possible for favors received, although his pay was not one of them. The thing came to such a conclusion that he made Mosquera and his men understand that the Lieutenant was saying that he would kill them. That was the reason why they always went about with their coat-of-mail hidden and other measures invented by the devil so much so

that he was told that at night the Lieutenant would send some boys down to spy on them to see where they laid their heads, and so much so that they persisted in doing so until they gave an end to their desire. All of this originated with Lope Martín as the one who committed treason in order not to come here [i.e. Cebu]. The boasts he would profer were tall tales for greedy men who would believe regardless. For instance, after the Captain died, it was said that the ship was to be loaded with gold in such a way that they would bring to the King 3 or 4 million ducats, just as his fifth part, via the Strait of Magellan, although via the other cape [of Good Hope] they understood not less how to come here, and to whomever would say otherwise they would punish him. Later on, they were to make an inventory of the property aboard and even distribute what they liked; only Felipe de Campo was experienced in this.

Within 10 days a certain Pablo Griego, caulker and carpenter, died. He had been the one who enjoyed the most the birds that I have talked about before and all the rest to be had, the reason being that the ship and all the rest was for the sailors more than for the soldiers because everything operated backwards for the poor soldiers who, no matter how good they were, the unworthy sailors were always preferred.

Even though he had ability and discretion, it seems as if God had wanted that Mosquera became blind and began to act with less caution and discretion than was required because he published what he intended to do, knowing that it was against the will of the consorts instead of concealing it. This way it was done indiscreetly so that it is truly believed, and I do believe, that his intention was none other than to come here [i.e. to Cebu], according to what he reported to me in secret at great length and truthfully. I answered to him that he should take proper safety precautions for himself and [this advice] pleased him. So, he began to hold some vain and unnecessary inquiries about the death of father and son, trying to throw the blame to the companions and place himself out of it. At this time, they were double dealing the ones against the others, which made the rest of us soldiers miserable.

Finally, on Friday 21 June, at midnight, when all were sleeping, the Sergeant of the company came down with other unsaintly persons, specially sailors, and as we believed we had nothing to hide, they jumped us to take our weapons away and he who resisted or said anything would have paid with his life. In this, they held the Sergeant Major in his lodging which was in the fore-castle above, the perverse Vaca and Çarfate and others not letting him leave and, as they were watching themselves mutually and had brought the devil with them, they suspected something bad out of everything. Thus, it appears that at that hour, Mosquera wanted to remedy the situation [but was] too late because they had been suggesting to him many times to take the weapons away from us, as it was learned later, alleging sophisticated reasons for it, the better to get hold of his person which they then did more safely. As for him, beyond this, he must have felt sorry because it appears that he tried to come down where we soldiers were in order to perceive better what Vaca with Lara and another sailor called Morales were doing behind his back. They made him return to his cabin where, as I have said, they surrounded him and all this not with words nor acts of force externally, although it must have hurt him

inside his secret self, not thinking that it would come to the bad merits that it did. In the end they kept him surrounded in conversation until daybreak, then they had breakfast in which he partook of much bacon and wine, sharing one plate together with his allies, and with much conversation. For this [breakfast], there was not one knife in the hands of the soldiers except those that had been counted. Soon enough they placed him in irons while conversing and laughing; he himself was laughing and did not think much of it because he did not think that the business would go much beyond the inquiry and that the charge that he accused the others of, the others wanted in turn to accuse him of, and that all of this would end with his being made a prisoner until the process and, as these two men were such obligated friends, albeit disloyal ones, he thought that everything would turn out well and that everything was in his favor. In that he was sadly mistaken, and very much so, because all of a sudden they took him with his shackles and his hands tied and they seated him on a chest that was near some tackle. During all this the caged nightingale would say: "What childishness is this?" to which Lope Martín answered: "Confess yourself because you will die" to which he answered, still laughing: "Why?" He was answered with: "Because you killed the Captain and later wanted to kill Lope Martín." As he was negating the latter with satisfactions, the vicar arrived and was scandalized by such a sudden act and he was suggesting to the pilot with serious words to the effect that he should watch out but, thinking that he would have time to pursue his pleas later on, he and the pilot turned their back on each other.

In the meantime, as some signals were given to the cruel sailors, they hoisted him without giving him time to confess, not even time to say Jesus, although they say that he had little time in which to do it so that he died disastrously and without any remedy. They even threw him overboard half alive with his shackles on. That happened on Saturday, 22 June.

At this time they kept as prisoners Rodrigo de Langle, boatswain, Alberto de Orozco, the nephew of Judge Orozco, Marcos de Cubillas, Antonio de Cucarella, and Miguel de Loarca, because they had been informed that the night before they were armed by order of Mosquera. As for the boatswain, he was accused of having plotted with him regarding the navigation, in case he dared to bring the ship here so that the pilot and the others would be killed; they came close to hang him. The business did not end there, because as I have said before, at the time they give him [i.e. Mosquera] a sepulture in the deep sea, it was said and they published that he was a sodomite, that he had practiced this abominable sin in parts of Italy where he had lived and even in New Spain where he had tried it.

Then the next Sunday [23 June], as the pilot found himself near land, it was agreed to put the boat overboard so that it would go ahead at night and discover land where days before, when Mosquera was still alive, he had thought that it was necessary at the time to place Lara in the boat, as he held him to be bellicous and suspicious; his plan had been, while Lara was in the boat, to seize the pilot and the others whom he fancied to do with them what he pleased. One reason had been that Mosquera and the Captain had thought it difficult to come as far as the first land, and that later on the voyage

seemed easy to them. Although Rodrigo de Langle told them that he would bring the ship wherever they wanted, they were not convinced and were certainly fooling themselves because, although what he knows is little, he would have brought it, given that it is an easy thing to do as the sea is so beautiful as it is and as the whole navigation is to the west; one has nothing to do except placing oneself at the latitude of the Barbudos which are in 9 and 10 degrees and run.

[Marshall Islands sighted]

So, on Saturday, 29 June, the feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul, at nightfall we saw the so desired mother earth, although we could more properly call her stepmother, on account of the little refreshment that it gave us. It was a useless land and for that reason we did not step ashore, given that it was inappropriate and also because we understood that more islands lay ahead and we still had 8 or 10 butts filled with the prettiest water from Acapulco that were left. This low land consisted of up to 17 small islets, the biggest of them had hardly half a league in circumference and some of them did not have a crossbow shot in width. They were laid out one after the other in the manner of an extended rosary because from one islet to another islet there were reefs which were uncovered at low tide, and one could have walked from one to the other. Even to step ashore there was no place; there could not have been water either, given that they were uninhabited, although they were fertile with trees.

Then, the following Monday [1 July], we saw another range of over 20 islands, bigger and better¹, which were seen to be inhabited because very near us we saw one **proa** with over 8 Indians. So, we made for it thinking to anchor where it was but as the wind was contrary, we passed on and, as it was late and we were among islands, we lowered the sails in the lee of it without anchoring. While we were that way, from the other side of the island came Indians with their proa to within our sight, where they remained looking at us for a while, and as night had already fallen they went back.

The next Tuesday [2 July], some of the soldiers who were allowed to have weapons stepped ashore at the last islet, thinking they could bring back water but they never found any, except a quantity of flies with which they filled the ship. They found only the footprints of those who go there to fish.

On Wednesday next [3 July], we arrived at another range of similar islands and we arrived at the last one of them where we anchored at about 10 in the morning. On the beach we saw up to 10 Indians who lived there with their families, well-proportioned, bearded, nude except for their members [covered] by some pieces of mats which they make very fine in that land in such a manner that they can be used to replace linen. Their wear their hair long, have their bodies covered with fine tattooed figures. Their

1 Ed. note: Although the transcript says "mejores", which means "better", the word is generally taken to be "menores", which means "smaller".

houses look like those of New Spain and are good. They do not have any weapons nor any tool whatever except made of bones and shells. They are very tame people and they would submit easily to anything. At once, a small canoe with two Indians came alongside. One of them was their chief, according to what was later learned from himself because we took his along with us, and his companion was a subject.¹ They arrived somewhat bewildered because of the fear they had but, with the efforts made to persuade them by giving them a few things of little value, they arrived and returned ashore with the presents. Many were permitted to step ashore with the boat and, going to their houses, they saw the women who therefore had their natures covered. They are well turned out although brown, gracious, and they did not show any fear. By all of them they were well received with dances and drum music. In the meantime, while they were there, up to five butts of water were taken with the help of the natives; they could not do more because of the distance. They also brought back some coconuts, bananas, yams that are their food because they do not have any plantations. As for the chief, the pilot took him along, saying that he had to bring him to His Majesty, as he intended to do in all parts. And, in order to have something useful at the same time, they brought fish-hooks made with transparent shells like pearls², very pretty, and others made of different shapes, [but] without other unclean things whose nature and purpose we did not know.

After having taken in the boat very quickly as it was not a safe port, at nightfall we set sail to continue our voyage and to go up to 13° of latitude in which the island of the Ladrões called **Guan** where your Lordship was with his fleet.³ We steered NW but, as our Lord saw the wickedness of some and also heard the prayers of the others, the latter's prayers must have met with his divine esteem, specially those of your Lordship who is so Christian and devout. Therefore, by giving strength to the currents he let us gain over 40 minutes⁴ because, after we had run well near 100 leagues, he placed us inside a bay within an archipelago. This, I will say, caused much confusion to the blind

1 Ed. note: There is a 50-50 chance that this island was Kwajalein. The islet and the two men may even have been the same two of the year before with Captain Arellano. However, nothing is said about the pilot recognizing them.

2 Ed. note: Called mother-of-pearl in English.

3 Ed. note: This sentence reveals that the whole report was being written at the request of Legazpi himself. Now, it seemed to the Pilot that they were leaving the Marshalls, three groups having been encountered already as in 1565 with Arellano, or, most probably, because he had recognized Kwajalein.

4 Ed. note: From the latitude of 9° more or less, which had been their previous average latitude, to 9°40' as is indicated below.

malevolent ones who thought they could persevere in their evil deeds. To the contrary, it caused much clarity and remedy to those who were outside of their attempts and a consolation for this camp.

It happened on Saturday, 6 July, in early evening, when sleep had convinced us already, running carefree. All of a sudden a sailor shouted: "Land! Land!" Looking at it, one had to fear the risk because at that point and instant and such a short leeway we saw ourselves surrounded by islands on all sides and so close that they caused a great disturbance among the sailors, and even more so among the soldiers. Things were not very clear, so much so that the helm's man asked if he was to run the ship aground but the pilot objected to it, and above all Lara who was brave and assailed the helm's man with rude words and took the tiller away from him. With all this very serious tribulation, God was served to place us through a pass that would not have more than a stone's throw [in width] between one island and another inside and we anchored in a very pretty bay, big and clean, surrounded by many small islands and reefs of the above type which is in ten degrees less $1/3$.¹

By this time, we were all quiet and had calmed down from the great shock we had received. There was not one man, however barbarian, who did not consider this to have been a noteworthy miracle that God had given to us because it was certainly believable that [given] the composition and make-up of that land the pass through which we came in was not something natural but rather by divine Providence that he provided that night. Certainly, there was no lack of men to take notice of it and even talked about it, not just that night but later as well when it was seen better. I even told a soldier that without question this was a warning from God so that we would amend ourselves and better than having saved us from such a peril he had put us in such a place which did not lack mystery, and that I trusted that God would remedy it as he remedied it in this form.

We slept that night while awaiting the dawn because the joy of having defeated death that had come so near caused a desire to see the bright rays [of the sun].

Thus, the nearest islet of all was one that we had very close at hand. When we approached it later, [we noticed that] it was almost half a league in circumference. It was flat, fertile and very pretty, There were four houses but there were no people there because the Indians lived on other islands and they kept this place for a garden and for recreation where they come at times on account of the palm trees that were there and the fisheries. As soon as the daylight came, we stepped ashore on it and we satisfied our

1 Ed. note: This is 9°40'N. However, I would like to go back and check the original manuscript, because it is possible that the word transcribed as "diez" [10] is in fact "doze" [12] which would make the latitude 2 degrees higher, at 11°40'N. In other words, this atoll would not be Ujelang but Enewetak, reason being that it is hard to believe that a galleon of that size would have made it over the reef, and we are told there was a small pass which Enewetak has on its east side, but not Ujelang. Hence, I have developed possible tracks for the San Jerónimo through the Marshall Islands. See Doc. 1566C for further discussion.

thirst without a cup from a well that was there and from coconuts and palmettos out of which, although there were at least 150 palm trees there, we left none during the time we were there¹ because, beyond the fact that we paid little attention to the utility of the republic, it appeased somewhat the hunger. The food they gave us was short ration to preserve it for their voyage, except for the indignant sailors to whom it was given in abundance, and good food at that, contrary to us; so, they gave us what the sailors had rejected, the moldy, the innards and the bitter because, as the leadership and all were sailors, they would enjoy it all but the soldiers generally lacked everything that was any good. Such an evil did not stop because it remained rooted in them and worsened during the whole voyage so that it seemed that the custom had become law.

We remained here for 10 days, not just tame for being disarmed men but also grieved because they had taken our chests and bundles out of the ship and taken them ashore, not for our good nor to make us happy but to accomplish their object, saying that the ship needed some repair and that it was necessary to clear it.

During all this time, many deep secrets passed between the evil-doing men, to which we were not a party, and the things that they said in public about the others was that one said that the pilot was thinking about spending the winter on that island, the reason being that the tradewinds of these islands did not dare come. Although he was saying it as a pretence, he did not lack a reason, and he was always more committed and persevering in his intention every day.

He held very haughty thoughts that surely did not fit with his station in life; he even thought of himself as another Marquis del Valle [i.e. Cortés]. One night, I saw him put him [Cortés] forward [as] an authority, not just a malicious but a cautious one. He said that when he disembarked in Veracruz, he made an oration or speech to the men assembled whose contents was that his intention was to go inland in search of adventures with men who were in favor of it and that those opposed to it, before they pretended to return to the island of Cuba, he would tell them that he would outfit them, giving them some of the guards he had; that they should divide themselves up, the ones to one point and the others to the other point so that a list could be made and that when it had been carried out, to those who had gone over to his side he had made many favors professing to give them rewards and to the others outrage, insult and affront, telling them very seriously that, although they regretted it they had to go with him and that he would punish them and treat them according to what they were, that he did just that and put the ships on fire.

He [i.e. Martín] said this [story] so that the men chosen by him to take along with him would not dare refuse nor contradict him. So, to that effect, he also had diabolical collusions because on purpose he set up bewitched men one against another. To provoke us, they would say how so-and-so and so-and-so and everyone, excepting no-one, were trying and intending to go on the voyage. In order to add credence to it, they were saying that they did not lack men ready to kiss their feet and hands and that a few were

1 Ed. note: They cut them all down over a 10-day period.

offering bribes for this through go-betweens and that they did not lack a reason because the least they could take to Spain was 200,000 ducats, besides what the King would give them as very great favors for the discovery of the strait.¹

In addition, while at this island there was very great confusions and blindnesses among them, permitted by God, because the opinions of the 4 [ringleaders] without the privates and advisers were many and various. [For instance] according to what some said, the pilot was saying that the selection of the people could not be held before the Ladrones and the rest would be thrown out because they would no longer bring the remaining ones to these [Philippine] islands but leave them behind, and he was saying that if that land were populated and where they could feed us that it was well to leave us in it, but otherwise that it would not be allowed. Against this idea was the Nero, Felipe de Campo, whose opinion it seems would have taken effect had God not intervened.

At this time, we saw coming directly at us three **proas** with their sails and, although they knew we were there because they saw the ship nearby. In spite of that they kept coming straight toward us because their intention was none other, unless we prevented them from doing so, because as I have said they are tame people. Furthermore, they had seen us, according to our Indian who told us then that they came to get him and that they came from his island. One of the three [proas] came forward leaving the two others behind, aboard which it appeared were women and children, and the former came forward to anchor at one point of the island where the Sergeant was lying in ambush in a small bush, waiting for them with a few soldiers and when he was about to disembark the pilot, moved by pure keenness began to go toward them with the boat from the ship. They set sail as soon as they saw this and went out to sea. Although we ashore went after them along the shoal, no more luck was had than with those in the boat because, although they followed them it was futile because they go fast and against the wind. They carry square mat sails, not lateen ones² on the mast on the inside of the poop, not like ours. As well they carry on the body of the proa a cube similar to a big chicken coop placed crosswise that must serve them as a sort of cart to carry their food and clothes which is light. They come with a counterweight as in the Ladrones and in these [Philippine] islands; I will elaborate later.

About what happened, the pilot was much perturbed and swearing and using profane words about his having to seize them and bring them where we were, that they had to serve to fish for us while we were there, that he was going to jab them with his horns.

1 Ed. note: The pilot intended an eastward passage through the Strait of Magellan.

2 Ed. note: Such is the opinion of a soldier. However, I feel that the subject may have been discussed with the sailors, because he is so categorical about the sails not being lateen. We may therefore consider the possibility that Marshallese canoes in the 16th century used a square sail, or more likely an Oceanic spritsail; if so, this would have been the first time one was ever recorded by a European. There may be some words missing here, possibly about an oar being used as a rudder.

So, the next day he carried it out, guiding the boat toward the place where they had gone, about 5 leagues away¹ but he did not get much out of it because they fled from him. They found their hamlet in one of the islets where they had a proa almost finished, one that could have carried 30 men, upon which they first looked with evil design but later out of extreme necessity.

Since I have simply forgotten earlier, although it is now out of sequence and place, I will say one thing that happened among the other wickednesses. It is that Pedro de Salcedo, the son-in-law of your Lordship, had written to you care of Mosquera a longer letter than any other on account of the trust he had in the messenger in which he was telling you about the evil deeds of the pilot. This letter was opened near where it said wonderful things as a person of rank and that he could express himself freely. The same thing was done to the despatches from the Audiencia and all the others that he got his hands on.

As every day they kept organizing their wickednesses and schemes, so they came up with one in which they said that those who were to go with them had to swear before a consecrated host and in the hands of the priest who would say mass for that purpose, that they would die if necessary without retreating one step, one for all and all for one, against everyone else of whatever nationality, even Spanish, thus rejecting their country and their natural king. The execution of this [ceremony], although we knew it to be getting near, we were generally unaware of it, except for the privates. It, or part of it, was learned by some [privates] that same morning that God put a remedy [to the situation] that, as I say, although it was known by almost everyone by conjectures in general we never thought that it would take effect before the Ladrones. However, that same morning in question, they agreed to bring the above-mentioned proa to leave to us the poor ones who were to remain and it happened this way.

The pilot, as I have said before, had to repeat that in these [Philippine] islands, very stiff tradewinds blew during all those three months and to come to them was to get lost; therefore, he wished to spend the winter in that port, because it was a good one, that it was better than to perish at sea, that as for us with regard to the food that was decreasing, it was necessary for us to ration it, that with the neighboring islands, as they were so near, we ought to split into squads [and go there] where with some relief in the form of biscuits they would give us, plus the coconuts, fish, shell-fish and other things to be found there we would not eat the food [meant] for the voyage. Having done this, he thought of going suddenly and leaving us outwitted. It could very well have happened that way, since it would be felt as we had no weapons but our Lord remedied it by sending them the law of retaliation.

At this time, as in the past, there were three types of people. The first type was formed of people who were free of passion and zeal because they were free of the wickednesses and they did not pay attention to the rebels, nor to their things, and had nothing to do

1 Ed. note: If this distance is anywhere near the truth, it would fit Enewetak much better than Ujelang; in fact, there are just over 5 leagues (20 miles) between Eniwetok and Engebi islets.

with them; so, given that it was always being said that they would come here [i.e. Cebu], they trusted it to be so and came without regret except for the delay, and that nobody paid attention to them.

There were also others who, beyond what is already said, wished¹ for only the risk in which they saw themselves in the hands of their enemies, specially Rodrigo de Langle, boatswain, who detested them so much, not only for the presumption which they presumed that while the Captain was alive—and also in Mosquera's time—it was proffered that the ship could be brought by him, and in this they had dealt with him for the purpose of hanging the pilot, and he was at such a great risk and truly was predestined to be hanged by them before long. So, he kept dragging the rope which he did not lack of, and for this reason through divine inspiration he found the remedy for himself from which followed ours. He could well have been forgiven if he had sought safety and been favored by Lope Martín as other persons had done as he demonstrated it at length later on when with his own voice he publicly confessed between the Barbudos [Marshalls] and the Ladrones [Marianas] when dealing with a certain Molina, steward of the ship, and an intimate friend of Lope Martín, that is, if Lope Martín had taken into account what Molina was doing to his person, he would have succeeded in his plan; it is so, and there is no doubt about it as it is public and manifest that not so much because he would have favored him more but rather because he would not have disfavored him, he should [therefore] be excused for the bad he did to him, because this is true of the most feared man in the world. So, what was done was done out of pure temerity rather than out of great bravery, because he had figured out that he had to die and with some help and above all from God he did this deed.

The same thing applies to Santiago de Garnica, in spite of his desire to come here as someone who loved the General, on account of his being of the same nationality² and obliged to his king and natural lord, he was at great risk the reason being that what he had revealed to the Captain, as I have said earlier, they suspected him of having said it and only for some suspicion they had mortal hate for him, and if they had known it for sure there had been many days in which they would have killed him one way or another. So, with or without this, every day he ran the risk, if God had not saved him.

There were also other individuals with whom the rebels were not very well as they were considered suspects, for instance, Marcos de Cubillas, steward, who many times was on the point of dying. He felt this and even admitted it, because the whole time he went about very terrorized when they so much as noticed him. So, consequently, he strongly wished for a remedy as he showed later on because during the whole voyage he was certainly a servant of His Majesty.

1 Ed. note: Possible transcription error in 1-3 words. Perhaps "deseaban" should have been read as "andaban", or else some words are missing after "deseaban". Therefore, two possible improvements are: "he went about with his life at great risk..." or "he wished [to come here] but for the risk..."

2 Ed. note: Both were from the Biscay region.

As for myself, your Grace already knows that I kept my eyes on the Governor, for being as he is my superior. For this reason, God is a witness to the great sorrow my spirit felt, not only for my own risk but also for the risk in which was the mail destined for your Lordship. If it had not come, I considered that the glory you had gained could be erased and, as the vulgar mob is accustomed to speaking on both sides of their mouths, it was being said that, as the mail was not coming fast, the [settlement] would be abandoned and the tyrants were even saying that it would no longer be here. Although I wished to find a proper remedy, there was little chance of it because in the whole company there was no-one I knew or could trust with any secret. Although I was pursued in that New Spain for my sins¹ and if I tried anything, it would have been enough to lose my life and wake up those who were asleep. A certain San Juan de Goyri [Goyti?], a native of Bilbao, seemed to me to be someone in which I could confide any secret; it is certain that I was not fooling myself because it is true that his constancy and virtue are very great. So, during the whole voyage he showed himself to be so, in the service of his King, as we all must, and being of the same country as the General, he wished intimately to come to this camp. So, the two of us exchanged very deep secrets and talked about finding a remedy without a remedy [sic], although there would be only six of us from our nation² we thought we could come up with something to harm the rebels, and as there were [six of us], although we did not know them we would treat them out of faithfulness that we have toward one another, the same way I had with this one, although I had not met him before the voyage.

While at this islet, Rodrigo de Langle talked to me, telling me about his great desire to abscond with the ship and that he would have carried it out if he would have been favored by the sailors but they were all against him except Santiago [de Garnica]. I answered that God knew how sorry I was about it and that I was praying to Him to let me see a means of remedying the situation. Having said this to me, we went toward the well to talk [some more]. I told him what I felt, as it was true, that those who talked two by two ran a risk and that it was not allowed except from above, that we should not do it but that he knew that it had been my intention for days, but that I could only say that my person was ready for whatever was necessary but he countermanded me enough with the prudence that your Grace knows about and for which he is famous.

A soldier named Juan de Requena, a native of Ciudad Real, was a friend of Molina the steward, so favored that they entrusted him with the weapons. Seeing that there was no other remedy, I opened up to him and tried at length to persuade him to communicate with him and make him give us our weapons in order to abscond with the ship.

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- 1 Ed. note: This is an admission on his part that he probably was a convict soldier, one who had been pardoned provided he enrolled as a private. That would also explain why he could write, when most soldiers in his day were illiterate.
 - 2 Ed. note: Even Legazpi showed that he trusted another Basque implicitly, even a former convict. So, it was natural for a clique composed of Basque soldiers and sailors to appear. They no doubt spoke in their own language to ensure secrecy. By the way, this would be another explanation for the difficulty of translation of the "Spanish" original of the present text.

The result was that he agreed to do so and he would have done it except that the quick remedy prevented him. In any case, he acted as a servant of His Majesty and a good soldier because if he had not been, in order to gain the good graces of the perverse ones [by divulging] the secret, it would have cost me my life.

As the hour of our deliverance was near, some of us who were in the conspiracy agreed to confess and take communion. The others discovered the proposal during confession, so that the Father priest with a great vehemence encouraged them and inflamed their hearts, telling them how just it was and how great a service to God, and that by doing it God would help them to come out with it; in short, he stirred them up a lot and he closed the case.

Also at this time, I do not know what annoyances were allowed by God to happen between Lara and the others, specially the pilot; the result was that Lara almost never left the ship nor would he show pleasure. Rather he was always sulking and even sobbing many times, in the same manner as a child who is a favorite of his mother but when she punishes him in actions or in words, the more was the favor and reward, the bigger are the despair and sobs he goes through. Then it was that Rodrigo del Angle and Santiago talked to him about absconding with the ship. They found him ready and that made a total of 8, including Miguel de Loarca who was already in. They talked with Juan Enrique, a Flemish gunner who was free of passion. Rather, as he was a competent person and sufficient for any task that would be assigned to him, the party of Lope Martín held him in great love and goodwill, and had earmarked him for bringing along with them. However, notwithstanding the fact that he had not been approached, he offered himself to serve the King as the loyal subject that he was and has been throughout the voyage.

At this stage, it had been 10 days since the bad plans were being executed. They determined to send the boat to get the proa in order to put what I said above into effect. Meanwhile, the three aboard the ship were saying inconsiderately that the business should be put into effect but the Flemish contradicted it saying with reason that nothing could be done without the boat. Such persuasions made the plan succeed as well as it did because without the boat twelve soldiers would not have been able to come in¹ nor would it have been possible to take in the topsail and major bonnet that were ashore. They were next to all the compasses and sea charts that the pilot maliciously kept ashore, not just his own but also the instruments belonging to Rodrigo de Langle so that on this day at daybreak the pilot boarded the ship where, while we were hearing mass and very close to the ship which could also be seen, after he had taken the altitude many times, I do not know what tales or annoyances passed between him and his sailors that could have made his head become all steamed up but they were making him shout a lot, swear and blaspheme, even heresies, because among many other things that he said, without any respect for his creator whom he had in sight, instead of commending himself to Him, he said: "Even if you had God tied by his feet, he won't be able to help

¹ Ed. note: They were ashore and, like most Europeans then, they could not swim.

you". Besides the many shouts he was uttering, at the time they were removing the shackles from one prisoner whom they were releasing at that point and the blows they were doing upon iron things were causing apprehension in those ashore who feared that the conspiracy had been discovered. This was so possible that, according to one of ours, he came very close to reveal the plot to the opponents and thus save his life, and considering the risk we ran, in such a possibility, we others had no hesitation to recommend him to God as we had to do. God allowed that it did not happen that way; rather, the boat suddenly came carrying the pilot and the boatswain. The latter came right away to my hut, because I was by chance alone and he told me that the night before they had wanted to abscond with the ship but at the latest this coming night it would be carried out, if it did not take place right then because the boat was about to go away. I thought that would be difficult because the soldiers in the conspiracy could not go to the ship, because we were suspected. I told him that for the night I would have half a dozen soldiers assembled with whom to go to the ship, that I doubted being able to do so in the daytime, given what I have said, that instead he should prevent the going of the boat so that in any event it could take place that night. To this he angrily answered me with a thousand nonsensical things, impertinent reasons, saying that he knew that he would surely die by hanging on account of me and the other friends, and other similar things. So, I told him that I would speak to San Juan to whom I [had] informed about what had happened to me. He, a little upset, answered me that at that point he and Santiago had agreed upon that very night and, while saying this and without waiting for an answer, the boatswain boarded the boat with Santiago who was ashore [to carry out] the new plan with a few sailors.

On this day, Wednesday [rather Tuesday] 16 July, the following armed themselves: Santiago [de Garnica], Rodrigo de Langle, Bartolomé de Lara and Juan Enrique, without giving any part to the others, and at once they came out with the shining weapons, shooting sparks, striking down and up like Mars. A mulatto who was boatswain's mate aboard the ship and a close friend of the pilot was hit with a knife and immediately threw himself overboard and brought the bitter news to his friends. At this point, they did not know what to think. Thus, I even think that they half understood but were saying, in order not to show weakness: "They are probably drunk." However, when the news had come, as Lara called to Felipe del Campo, out of the friendship that existed between them, to go over to the ship, he answered: "Very well. I'll go and punish you, and those scoundrels too."

In addition, there were a few sailors aboard the ship. As they were seeing the things take the turn they did with such a determination, they became worse than a rat when he cannot hide from the cat. So, they were fleeing from the impetuous accident, apologizing and getting out of the way. They had hate for Juan de Çaldivar, the clerk of the ship, as the old confederate that he was, although at the time he was like Lara, in disgrace. It was to him that they had removed the shackles that I have mentioned a little earlier. He had not gone ashore yet. So, he too was hit with a knife and he threw himself overboard. From there, he was shouting, asking to be taken in, that he was a

servant of the King. He was taken in. A boy from Galicia had the keys to the hatch to go down to where the weapons were stored. As he was slow in handing over the key to Rodrigo de Langle, the latter gave him another bad blow with the knife on the head—from which he recovered well, no thanks to that cruelty—and all the weapons were instantly taken out and up to the poop. They disarmed the rest who were held in suspicion.

The rebels saw such a confusion not only to their business but also to their persons that they were all afflicted, although they would have been more so had they known the final event [being planned] but they still trusted then that they would recover the loss and punish the aggressors. So, they let [go] the soldiers and sailors whom they blindly trusted, thinking that they would restore their brothers for the love of God. Those aboard the ship and the others in the boat in which was the Flemish [gunner] with a broadsword were waiting ferociously for anyone thought to be suspect. While this blindness and revolt, without any distinction but with the hope of some gain, Cucarella and Cubillas threw themselves in and, once at the ship, they armed themselves. There were also a few sailors whom the pilot implicitly trusted, thinking that they would restore him or restitute the ship but he was fooling himself because, not only were they not allowed any weapons but were placed below deck in spite of the oaths that Cucarella made them swear upon [holy] images. From then on, this Cucarella not only behaved very solicitously and he served well but, according to everybody's opinion, he would sue for virtue. In addition, at this time, two soldiers went over by swimming: one so-and-so Jimenez Zambrano and the other Martín López to whom they also gave weapons. There was then a reasonable number of them and at once, on account of the inconsiderate sailors, as barbarians as they were, lacking good heads and much less good brains, moved by an unnecessary fear, they decided to let go the two cables with their anchors upon which the ship was anchored and then they set sail. Under a light breeze, they pointed the bow toward the pass through which we had entered intending to go out through it, cruelly and miserably leaving behind enemies and friends alike, the guilty ones as well as the not guilty, if God had not intervened with his wonders.

As it is, before they got to the pass which was at such a short distance, the little wind they enjoyed calmed down and the current being contrary, they veered and turned back. For the fear that they had, they did not dare anchor as near as before but a little over four [cables?] because they anchored a good way inside the bay; at the time, it was not known that there was another pass to get out than the above-mentioned.

Since the ship was anchored where it was, they then decided to send the boat where we were but before it was carried out, the [rebels] sent on behalf of the Neros three soldiers, [among them] one named Pedro Martinez de Estadela, a native of Barcelona, as ambassadors to negotiate [about] leaving them food supplies and other things in exchange for the sea charts, the compasses, the sails and the rest that was ashore, on top of a raft made of barrels and masts. Now then, the current was taking away the raft, and although the boat was coming directly [ashore], as soon as they saw the raft, they headed for it. As soon as they recognized Estadela, with whom Lara was at odds because he had had some unpleasantness with him, he [Lara] told Martín López and

Zambrano to shoot him [Estadela]; they did so, although it is not sure if they did with a slug rather than with pellets. As soon as the boat got close to them, Lara gave him a cruel blow with a broadsword that he carried, out of which he died struggling in the water of an unfortunate death. The others abandoned their raft and arrived at an islet that was close by and from there to the encampment. Judgments of God those are, inasmuch as it is asserted by some that Estadela had been with the killers and accomplices in the death of the Captain because he had been in their squad and part of the plot.

This done, they made their way with the boat to where we were but, when the rebels saw it, they made us leave the beach and put us about a crossbow shot inland where not only were they keeping us surrounded but they did not permit us to be standing, only seated. They had their way with everything because among them there were 8 arquebuses and 3 crossbows without any other weapons, offensive or defensive; the rest of the men were, as I have said, unarmed.

The boat having arrived ashore, they then divulged the death of Estadela, blaming those in the boat [for it] and in order to provoke the men they even made it appear that it was the two [with the arquebuses], not the 3 of them together who had done the killing, giving it to understand that they would do the same thing to them if they went. Although there were indeed a few who secretly disapproved not only of these two but of the three of them but who did not say so in order not to excite them and thus procure their departure which was so difficult. I do not know but was told that there were men who unwittingly believed that a blanket hanging from the poop of the ship was a hanged man, as they were led to understand. With all of this, there were men who by all means tried to go with the boat, misbehaving in the pretext to prove themselves to be like foxes surrounding the hens, even though it did them little good. The Vicar was trying to do the same but Felipe del Campo told him that if he got near the beach he would shoot him with an arquebus.

So, no more than one soldier from our group went that day, after he had asked me for my advice. The boat returned to the ship whose sails were at once raised again and the bow aimed toward the west where they suspected, albeit doubtfully, the presence of a pass in order to get out. At one islet which was on the left, they decided to leave one jar of wine to say mass and a few beans and corn in order that we may sow them and reform the agriculture. So, they placed it all in the boat aboard which was Lara with 3 or 4 soldiers, without any sailors, and it was going to the islet while the ship was on its way. Inasmuch as the boat was next to the shore, it happened that in the bay where the ship was going there were some submerged rocks. They were at a very great risk of running on top of one of them, because they say that they missed it by very little. Thus, seeing the risk, they say that Santiago and the new pilot began to call him back but he did not want to go back, only to continue to go ashore. When he had considered the matter, they say that he said: "If you run aground, all you have to do is go ashore and get 50 men." The meaning of this is obscure. So, among the companions it caused a great confusion and with reasons because it was not known how they could do that,

unless it be by turning over the boat to their old friends or new enemies to satisfy themselves from which there would follow great evil and many deaths. However, it pleased God that it was not necessary nor that it happened earlier; inasmuch as it was getting close to nightfall, they turned back and anchored at about one league from the encampment on account of the darkness and their not daring to sail; otherwise, they would have gone ahead.

Well then, as I have said, they [had] left the wine and the rest as a farewell gift and they themselves said as much, but as I said, they calmed down although they were not very safe during the whole night, not less those ashore than those aboard the ship. Some out of spite and the others out of rejoicing, in order not to lose the gains already made as well as their lives, no-one slept a wink that night.

The morning having come, it pleased God to inspire those aboard the ship to return ashore with the boat, which we doubted they would do, and the one who was most of the opinion that they should return was Lara, although only God knows with what intention, because Felipe del Campo was his close friend and he was suffering, as a grateful man, because beyond the friendship, there had been the time when his life had been saved during the incident with the Lieutenant. As for the pilot, although there was disagreement at the time, as I said, they were friends before; people who become quickly inconsiderate quickly repent themselves. Barbarian and rustic man that he was, he could not dissimulate the sorrow about the adversity of his friends, specially Del Campo's for whom, said Santiago, the boat would not go back, even if they cut his head off, no matter how long he went on. In all of this, he showed some signs that he was sorry about what had happened because they held him and suspected him.

Well then, there were among us some whose condition was so perverse and bestial that, I do not know if moved by love for the pilot or by fear and lack of courage, this morning, when the sun made the broadswords and other swords shine which they carried bare aboard the ship, they told him that for whatever reasons the ship was undergoing a rebellion: "There is something in our favor that with the help of God, Mr. Pilot, the ship will be yours and you will take revenge of the traitors and we will serve you in everything. Have no fear, you will get it yet." Although each time he was touched less by those flatteries, they lasted for the whole of those two days until the third day when they cooled down. There were such varied opinions and awful sayings during the whole voyage—so many that I cannot put all of them on paper—because there were few men with a good nature and even they were of different minds; in short, they were divided. One should not wonder what caused all of this without saying, with reason, that we were not worth much, because only God the Redeemer sufficed to remedy it, no-one else, as he did in fact do.

Let your Grace judge for yourself. For instance, at the time the ship was taken over, when the rebels and us were together, one whose name I will not give said: "Traitors! If anybody among those on this island were hanged, it would not be because they had not known about this." Such words appeared to me to be directed at me and as I felt myself to be a participant I took them as such. However, they were not taken as such

by my adversaries, thank God for that. Matters did not stop there; another soldier (who will not be recognized here by the way I say it) told San Juan: "Is it possible that you did not know about this?" He was saved by what I have said. These and many other things took place before, during, and afterwards; nobody dared trust anyone as they were all divided.

Then, after daybreak ashore, the triumvirate ordered that many palm tree trunks that had been cut be gathered in order to build a small fort with them, along with the chests, mattresses and the rest that could be used to defend themselves in case the boat would use small guns to batter the fort. A few of us who objected were not placed inside this building, although they did admit me later on, but they placed me in the front ranks with my arquebus. My arquebus had been brought to me from the ship four days earlier by Rodrigo de la Cervilla who was my comrade. Your Grace will remember him well because he was one of those from the same land as Felipe del Campo. He was much in favor with them, with whom he said he would go, although he had not taken part in the past evil doings nor in many of the present ones, because he was a skilled person and a good Christian. However, he was slippery, credulous, and too much susceptible to change. As they were thinking of going to another island for coconuts and for rest, he was selected for the outing. When he told me about it, I begged him to act as my go-between and, trusting in his favorable status, to get hold of my arquebus at the same time as he took his own out of the ship. However, I did not get much advantage out of it because, although he went, the pilot never allowed me to go, because he was badly disposed as I have said, specially toward me whom he understood to be a servant of your Lordship; so, he judged me as a suspect because he resented me a lot and thus I ran a risk but my comrade, as he was familiar with them, would back me up, as he had promised and indeed complied with his promise; he was always my friend and I was his, even more so than a brother in giving him advice although it made little impression upon him. Felipe del Campo would say that one of those whom they would bring along, according to what my comrade said, was me, justifying it I do not know how as the pilot used to say "aboard the ship and in the forecabin, no-one from Biscay" so that he was doing me little honor.

Later on, the boat came within sight to a place where it could not be in danger from ashore. It began to invite and call the people, all those who wished to embark as they were about to sail, and they requested compasses and the rest, saying that they would leave food. About this matter and other things they sent a letter. They [ashore] were about to go off to the side to read it in secret but the Vicar and two or three soldiers objected that it should be read openly. As these chats were going on, I got a chance to say that the messengers and intercessors whom they had sent up to that time had not been such, and they should send again such a person. I was saying that so that they would send an old soldier, a friend of mine called Zorita, because there was no doubt that he would go with the ship and if this man went, he as a friend had an obligation not to go without me. I added, as if I were a bored man who did not fear death in any way, many foolish things with anger, saying to everyone openly: "You have been had, all of you.

You are wrong in trusting Lope Martín here present. So, to any of you not going with the ship I promise misfortune and the trust that you have in him is too much, because he can die like this subject and we would remain here lost and we would die a bad death." I said many other things which scandalized them.

They asked me whom I wanted should go and as I did not dare say "myself", I said Zorita instead. So, they went off for a sudden consultation among themselves. Some of them were repentent and they said that if I were not sent it would be the cause of a mutiny. Immediately they came to ask me if I wished to go to the ship, to which without me putting myself forward I answered that I would be very pleased to do so. Thus, they decided to send me and Zorita. Immediately the pilot took me apart; at that moment I found out later that the soldiers thought my life was in danger, thinking that they wanted to strangle me with the *garrote*, and indeed I ran a big risk for having spoken so foolishly but it was not so; instead they were cajoling me as if I were a child, saying many things and as they say "piling it on top of me".

In the meantime, they decided that Zorita would no longer go but I alone. I was being asked to consider and do so many requests and favors now that they saw me free of them. Finally they took away my arquebus; although I hesitated I did give it up thinking I could recover it later. In addition, they wanted me to take off my protective leather-plate jacket but I objected strenuously and finally they let me have it on the grounds that it would make me a better messenger. After saying good-bye to many, some with many tears, I soon got to the beach which was nearby, where I found a stick at the right spot at the right time, with which in proper form I went in with all my clothes on and threw myself into the water making straight for the boat that was waiting for me, as it did not dare come nearer to the shore. That way, even though I did not know much how to swim and the current was contrary, a while later they sent a ship's boy to rescue me and thus I arrived at the boat where I was well received by the new Captain, as they called Lara, and by Santiago and Enrique who told me: "Well then, it seems as if God had done you many favors. Let's go. The ship is almost ready to sail. It won't take long but as soon as we get there, because the new pilot is getting desperate on account of the delay."

I was very sorry to hear that and moved by compassion for those ashore I told them as endearingly as I could that they should not do that, that it would be very inhumane and that at the cost of some lapse of time and some work a great service would be done to God and to His Majesty by picking them up and taking them in. To that almost all of them, as they did not know what was happening ashore, answered angrily: "Many times we have requested and called them. Why don't they come? Too bad, let them stay. All we want to do is to take the mail over." Against this I said to persuade them declaring and pointing the manner and condition in which they were surrounded, that they wished to come to the ship and to Cebu. However, they were still reluctant although they gave me some credence and calmed themselves down somewhat, enough that I was able to have them do three tacks [with the boat] from one end of the islet to the other, saying that this would be the proper way to pick up people. So it was that

besides sick boys who were not much use, we picked up another dozen persons who fled from them and they sent others who brought a compass that was asked of them saying that food would be given in exchange. With all of this, we did not get to the ship until noon. There we were therefore received by the new pilot and the others and I repeated what I had said to those in the boat. To this they answered that they feared them because they were many on the opposite side. There the matter stood.

Later on, after eating, Santiago and other persons went out to look for a pass to get out to a place where they suspected and understood that there was one; they found a very wide and very good one through which we later went out. So, it was already late when they returned with the good news that caused great rejoicing. Meanwhile, in their absence, two soldiers came over by swimming. One of them was Miguel de Loarca and the other Melchor de Villanueva. They must have swam one good league although they stopped in the middle at an islet where the corn and the wine jar had been left. They were well received after this feat, and not any less by them. They had been lucky as the current had been favorable to them. Otherwise, the boat being away, they would have been lost without any remedy. The pleasure they give us was great. They brought us the news that the mutineers left behind were building rafts, to go with them only as far as the island where the proa was, as I have said, and that they were to go early the next morning. We were glad to hear this, thinking that we could pick them up without resistance, and we would do so if they did, and afterwards we would punish them well, without leaving anyone nor anything behind. However, this decision which was about to be carried out was revoked and they no longer wished to go. Instead they were building a fort ashore, big enough to fit everyone so that the guns of the ship, even if it got close in, would not do them any harm.

When morning came, as we had agreed to send the boat ashore once more to do what remained to be done, I wrote them a letter, directed at them all, whose contents were that we did not intend to leave them anything, not even their own persons; rather, we were going to seize them all. Given that the first night I had arranged with the Father priest and with over four persons, as we had no way to escape other than suddenly grabbing the weapons off a dozen soldiers when they were off their guard, by hitting them on the head with our bare hands in order to do what we wanted with them, then raising the flag in the royal name, although this did not take place on account of my departure, those involved already knew the plan and I made use of secret passwords and other formalities in my letter which the participants understood. However, it was never taken ashore because the chaplain and other soldiers were spotted from the ship aboard a raft and they were picked up. They were saved from a certain death because, if they had not been seen, the current was carrying them relentlessly off and they would have been lost.¹

1 Ed. note: This statement can be understood easily if the setting is Enewetak, rather than Ujelang, because they were being swept toward the wide open southern pass and out to sea.

In addition, they also picked up others from the beach, up to a total of one dozen who came over freely. The cause of this freedom was that, as I had come that morning and from the boat had told them nothing, they said, as they [still] thought they could recover the ship: "Now you are kicking us, Juan Martinez. Well then, let him be. He'll pay for this." Therefore, Loarca with his comrade fled from them. Later on, they lost hope saying: "There is no-one left whom we can trust. They are all our enemies. Let them go if they want to go." So, they gave freedom to all.

Well then, after we had eaten, once more the boat returned ashore to give as good a safe place aboard the ship to the rest. Because the boat was no longer being received when it came from outside but with a warlike display, it went to the right and to the left as it had been ordered to do, besides the secret signal that I was making from afar as agreed with some individual, I was beating with the boat during this run and they gave me a secret signal which I then used because a treachery was feared, with reason. So, we went ashore and brought back a boatload of soldiers. For more safety, their hands were tied behind their backs but once at the ship they were untied. Then, as if they had just escaped from the Moors and Turks they were embracing themselves very tight and they were crying warmly and abundantly, and not just this boatful but the same with all the others.

By this time they saw that my suggestions were right and brought results. Therefore, that Saturday [20 July] we went ashore with the boat to bring not only all the soldiers but as many clothes as we could. As the breeze became stiffer that day, the current became very much against us too and little property was recovered because, once ashore, the chests themselves not being allowed on account of the delay, it was too bad but many of them were broken into; they took the most important clothes from them and put them aboard the boat without any order or discipline because there simply was no room for more than five men at the time, whom we took over to the islet which was half-way, where they were going back to the encampment. They picked up as many of the rest of the clothes as possible in such a way that it was a pity to see the destruction done to the chests and clothing, pearls and other things that here would be worth over 6,000 pesos.

During all this time, those of us who went armed with the boat were taking very good care that they would not steal it from us through some impetuous act; for this reason, most of the rebels had followed orders from us and were gathered at one end of the island in full view.

The first boatload of this day brought a certain Juan Yáñez, a Portuguese sailor who had been persuaded by Lara, and other sailors who were intimate friends of Lope Martín from whom he had obtained a revocable permit. Since he was already aboard the boat he was charged with a certain embassy and returned ashore where, on account of the tears of the pilot, he did not gain much of anything as he failed to make use of the permit which was taken away from him. He committed a thing in great damage to his conscience by telling my comrade [i.e. Rodrigo de la Cervilla] that I had not sent for him, that instead if he came he would surely be hanged as he deserved to be. This was

a falsehood to make him stay behind, because it was not true nor did he deserve it either, because he had always been a loyal friend to me and I not less so to him. So, the first thing I did when I got to the ship was to talk about him to have him come and so he was ready to come. With the previous boatload he had sent me part of my pack and of his, and I told him that we would leave it at the islet and return for him, because he stayed behind on account of what the bad Christian had wrongly reported to him. He refused to come; rather, he went out of sight from me so that I could not call him and, according to some people, he was left very sad, crying and lamenting complaints about me, that I was a man who was half tame and even less wise. That hurt me very much, the more so because he was understandably over-reacting, without a remedy because for one thing my stepping ashore was not right and on the other hand the boat was held up for me more than it should have. So, we came with this last boatload straight to the ship from where some people went back with the boat to the islet to get what was left there. Then night fell and, as the decision was to sail the next day, they tried to put the boat inside but I objected as strenuously as I could, insisting that we should not go without first stepping ashore the next day for the rest, that if we removed as few as 8, then the rest would follow, that the others, as they were too few, would give themselves up or we would force them to, as we intended to do. However, they did not consent nor dare to, and in private they, very scandalized, were telling me not to put all that had been gained in jeopardy, giving me certain reasons for it; in the end, I told them to do as they pleased.

This report makes no excuse for giving one more tedious detail which is that Lázaro de Morales, as was stated before, was an intimate friend of Lara. Lara had tried to get him to come by all means until he managed to make him come by the first boat load that day. When Juan Yáñez with many tears and guarantees that he gave him but even with the news, he was distrustful. Finally, having come, according to what Lara told me, and finally he published that the pilot had sent him [i.e. Morales] to say that he should go back to absconding with the ship for him, that he had promised to make him Captain and that they would go on with the voyage as they had up to now; however, that Morales had advised him that he had regained his honor that he had before [but] God knows the truth.

[27 men marooned]

On Sunday, 21st of July, just before dawn, the new pilot and Santiago then undertook to take in the boat in order to set sail later. Although Lara was not part of it, the majority of the votes were for it. So, we sailed and went out through the pass leaving quite a few islets on both sides, miserably abandoning behind us **27 men**, among them soldiers, ship's boys and sailors as follows:

- Pedro Núñez de Solorzano, Sergeant,
- Felipe del Campo [= de Ocampo],
- Diego de Amaya,
- A certain Jiménez, armorer,

- Alonso Vaca,
- Critóbal de Inestrosa [= Hinestrosa],
- Alonso Çarfate,
- García (de) Solís,
- Nicolás Rico,
- Bartolomé Hernández,
- Rodrigo de la Cervilla,
- Alonso Hernández, drummer,
- Pedro García, fifer, with whom ends the list of soldiers and begins the list of sailors:

- **Lope Martín**, pilot,
- Alonso Alvarez, boatswain's mate,
- Gonzalo de Molina, steward,
- Juan Yáñez, seaman,
- Domingo Veneciano [or Valenciano],
- Bartolomé de Muros,
- Bartolomé the caulker,
- Antonio de Triaes [or Criaes],
- Francisco Hermoso, ship's boy,
- Francisco, the Sergeant's servant,
- Alonso, the Captain's cabin boy,
- Francisco Montero, ship's boy,
- Francisco, half-breed servant of Felipe del Campo,
- Juanico, cabin boy of the ship.

All in all they are 27, among whom were many ship's boys and seamen who were forced to stay behind because they had been tied up and we left with a serious doubt as to their peace and safety because during the last boatload that went to the islet for the clothes, they said that they had seen them all on the beach dressed in white clothes and with a flag raised, the meaning of which was not clear except that some interpreted it to mean that they might have killed the pilot, thinking that the boat would return and the rest of the culprits might get clemency. However, because we left, we will never know until God decides.¹

On the second day after we set sail, the weapons were restituted to all the soldiers and at this time, they gave charge of the stores to Morales out of respect for Lara. It was observed that many deep secrets passed between them, as it appeared that he had obviously some job to do. They noted their footsteps and leisure activities and they were dealing so privately that they were sleeping face to face, the better to be able to speak as misfits who caused suspicion, specially in Rodrigo de Langle and Santiago who had

1 Ed. note: Nothing was ever heard from these marooned men. They may have moved to the Carolines as there are some legendary white men said to have arrived at some of the islands before they were officially discovered and settled. However, the two lost ships of Saavedra may have had something to do with these legends as well.

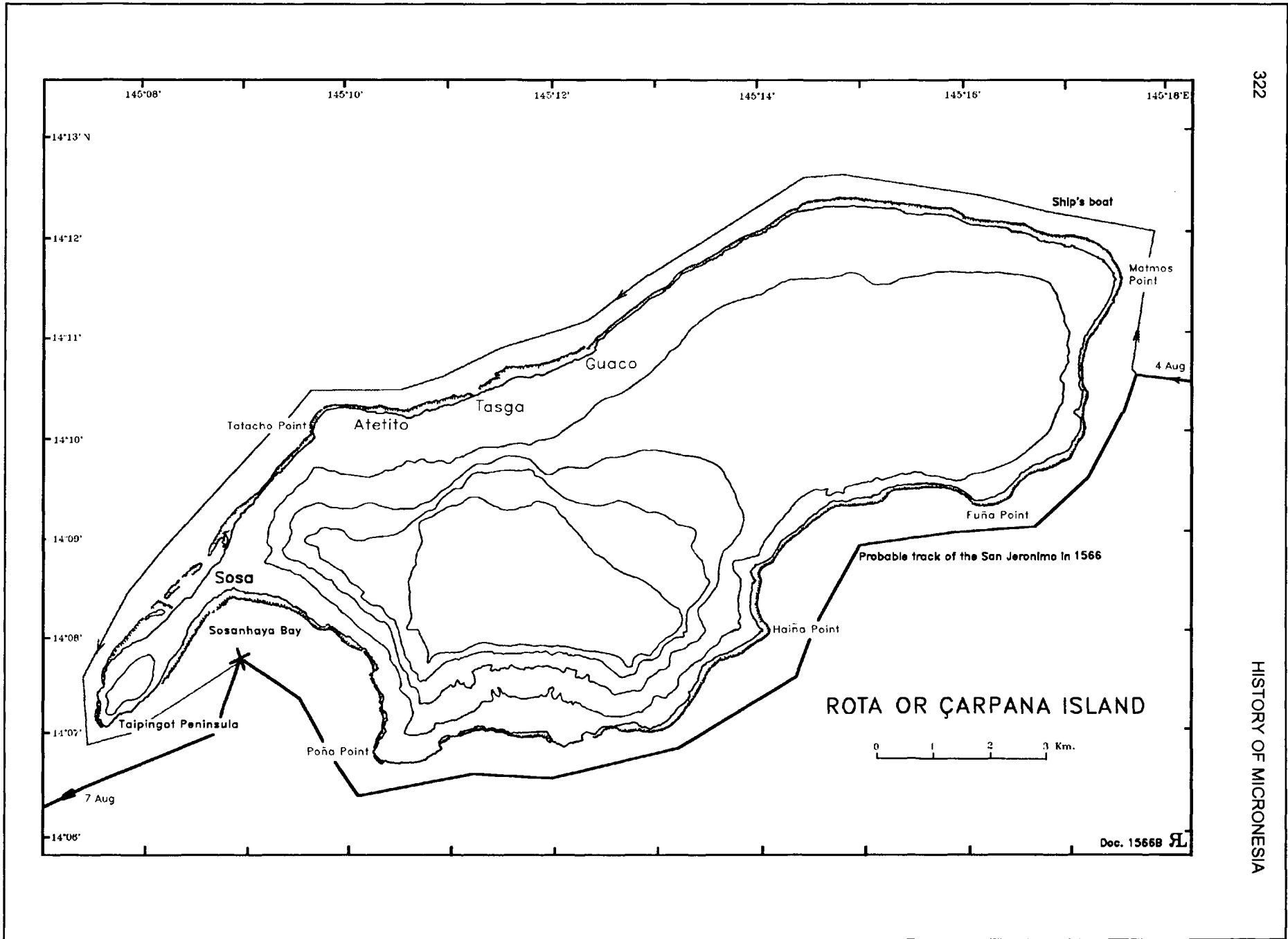
a deep-rooted hate for Lara for a misunderstanding they had while the Captain was alive. Santiago, beyond what a Corporal reported to him, to the effect that Lara with Morales and other sailors had dealt [together] saying that the voyage that Lope Martín had intended doing was for the greater service of God and of the King, not the present one. For this reason, the following were made prisoners: Lara, Morales, Gorjon and Juan Rodriguez, sailors, and after they had confessed, Lara was hanged; they despatched him with his shackles, as had been done to Mosquera, and they released the others. Morales was deprived of his post.

As they held a few persons as suspects, specially Morales, they were advised that Morales had said certain odious words, together they seized one soldier and Juan de Çaldivar, the clerk, and at the end of 4 days as prisoners, that is on the 1st of August, after they confessed, they hanged Morales and they were about to do the same to Juan de Çaldivar but I intervened and asked them to spare his life, and they took him back to jail with his companion. I did so, not out of love nor friendship because I did not have any, not because I thought him free of blame in the past either; rather, it was on account of the little authority that the incompetent judges had and because we were upon the stormy sea and God might get angry at us for so many unnecessary cruelties. If I got involved to prevent it, it was so that someone else with the proper title and with more jurisprudence would do them justice here [i.e. in Cebu], as it was in fact done later on to Çaldivar. Nevertheless, I was unable to take all the responsibilities away from those who had become cruel, I did take away this one, although as the barbarians that they were, they did not recognize it as such.

[Stay at Rota]

On Sunday, 4th of August, we raised an island which is in 14° and about 8 leagues from that of Goan which is the one raised by your Lordship when he passed overthere on the way here. This island is high and having come close to it and not finding an anchorage, the boat went to one side of it and we with the ship went the other until we came to meet where we anchored, each of us having covered 6 leagues so that the whole island has a circumference of 12 leagues.¹ As we went coasting close to shore and looking for a port, on account of some squalls there was some risk involved, although not as much as the impatient pilot indicated as follows. As over 200 **proas** came out for water, coconuts, fish and fruits and came close so that we could give them in exchange some iron which they esteem so much among them for the necessity they have of it because they do not have any, therefore, the soldiers being anxious to see what they had brought not only on account of the strangeness and novelty of it, would all come up, and as the ship lacked ballast, the general outcome was that they made it list a little.

¹ Ed. note: It appears likely that their tracks were as shown on the accompanying figure. Rota is indeed at 14° in latitude and 8 leagues (30 miles) from Guam, although he over-estimates the size of Rota by about 1/3.



So, the pilot said a thousand unnecessary things to his own detriment as well as that of everyone else, for instance, that they [i.e. the natives] should be shooed away like flies with arquebus shots, meaning that they should be killed. As he was not the only inconsiderate man aboard, they would surely have done so except that someone intervened in time and thus nobody died.¹ However, when the poor ones saw the smoke and heard the noise they threw themselves overboard and returned to their proas. With some baskets which they carry they were protecting themselves as if they were shields. If they shoot at them with slugs, they rub themselves very quickly and they also rub their belly as a sign of friendship repeating many times the word “chamurri” which means “friends”. They employed many other endearments and contortions of the body to convince us to give them iron. However, that did not do them any good because they thrived little and we likewise.

They are well-formed and robust people [but] many of them are sick with the St. Lazarus disease [i.e. leprosy] which is probably caused by their not eating meat ever because they do not have any, except fish. They speak softly and femininely but the speech is very clear.

To speak now about the **proas**, one cannot stop talking about their great velocity, craftsmanship and lightness because in the whole universe I do not believe that there is a thing to equal them in nimbleness and swiftness. As your Lordship has characterized them, they look like “shuttle boats” and there is no horse more docile than they nor swifter; for instance, while we moved by one arquebus shot they would circle us six times so gracefully that it is not possible to do better. They have a counterweight on the windward side which is a pole outside the body of the proa, about 3 fathoms in length, which is fastened with lighter poles. They are very narrow underneath and wide above, [made] without any nail but stitched with cords and a few pegs, covered with red ochre instead of [caulked with] tar. There are some proas that are as big as a large frigate, pointed at both poop and prow between which there is no difference, because both parts are used for the same thing, because they make a prow out of the poop with the greatest ease in the world, because to turn about they simply exchange the sail. The sails are lateen ones made of very delicate matting. The masts are so slim and the riggings so fragile and as few as two Indians [are enough to] steer one whole frigate and they sail against the wind itself.²

Unlike many we have seen, they are a very barbarous people with little shame, as they go naked all over and the women do not cover anything other than their nature with the leaf from a tree³ [although] they have and possess what to dress themselves with, because beyond the fine mats they have what they need to make very good cords;

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- 1 Ed. note: That person must have ordered the arquebuses to be shot in the air rather than at the natives climbing over the sides of the ship.
 - 2 Ed. note: A sailor would simply have said that they sail close to the wind, not dead against it.
 - 3 Ed. note: I imagine that tree to be a breadfruit tree.

all of these they have in abundance. They are a selfish people who give nothing freely, only out of self-interest.

Well then, the boat that went the other way around did not fail to suffer from the same "fruit" that affected the ship because they also killed more than 5 Indians who came out to them as they did to us. So, they came to where we were anchored at a flat point¹ which is very populated and located in the southwest side. This island is very populated because while we coasted it we saw the whole of it very occupied with houses along the beach and all of them full of people; the same thing was reported by the boat. Its main product and tree type is the [coconut] palm tree which abounds in such a quantity that they are like olive groves in the Algarve and apple orchards in Biscay.

As the fear of some treachery might happen was deep-rooted aboard the ship, we always went about on our guard and on the lookout. Thus, at daybreak, some of us remained on board with the pilot and the others stepped ashore. Although the Indians came out unarmed with a few things such as fruits, coconuts, and fish, as a recreation our men, because they lacked a good head [on their shoulders] abused them unduly because they killed over five of them and hanged one. They lodged themselves in a large house similar to a boat shed that could hold more than 300 men. They have a large number of these in which they keep their proas. They are very good and very well made. Certainly we should attribute to them a great vigor, given that they build so many without any iron tool except tools made of shells, stones and human rib bones.

As for the houses in which they dwell they are very neat and tidy inside and out, and even all around them. They live about one floor off the ground and moreover they build on top of stone columns. While we were here they had over 200 of their houses burned by our men, which was a pity.

They have rice, potatoes, bananas and ginger and many things to eat and fruits but not one kind of meat or birds. As they saw our cruelty, they then tried to do us harm with their weapons which are pointed sticks and slings. One of their customs consists in blowing in a sea shell like a horn and they carry a mat like a small flag.

We stayed here for 2-1/2 days. Then, the Wednesday following [7 August] at 2 [p.m.] we set sail whereupon the Indians of Goan, having heard about us, came with over 4 proas to trade but as they were informed by the natives [of Rota] they then went back to their island. We saw it as we passed by, according to the pilot.

At about this time, as in the past, there was some discontent on the part of Cucarella on account of the little attention paid to him by the owners of what was aboard the ship, specially by Rodrigo de Langle who applied to himself all the ownership and the command, thus unjustly usurping the rights of Santiago and Enrique which so rightly belonged to them. He paid little attention to them as well as to those toward whom he had an obligation, specially regarding the food, although there was no lack of people to advise him to do otherwise and disapproved of the present [situation] by saying that such a time called for action, not words, he took little advantage [of the advice] because

1 Ed. note: Taipingot Peninsula.

his barbarous and perverted nature did not admit advice. Rather, those who gave him advice were considered his enemies. Although I was one of those admitted in his company and circle of friends from the time the ship was taken over, I would do serious injury to the truth, now that I have the opportunity, to refuse to say something that is public and notorious. Many times he gave me an opportunity to renunciate the comradeship but by intercession of Santiago and because it seemed to me that I could prevent some unjust things by persevering and suffering many bestial things and preventing a few cruelties and unjust punishments. So, because I told him to control himself and to take time to look at things and think them out first, he detested me and held me in capital and mortal hate and emnity. For this reason, I much feared that he might kill me off guard and I was not fooled because one day, because Santiago had spoken to me, he took from each of us the armed arquebuses in order to kill us [because] he had told him not to speak to me. So, although we ate together we paid little attention to each other and with the great fear that, according to the rumors and appearances, we did not have a safe period as for a part of the whole voyage our adversary reigned as General and yours truly ran a great risk of dying from a death common aboard this ship and because they were saying that he communicated with some suspected persons, presumably he plotted to abscond, with the death of those whom he knows it is so.¹

On Wednesday, 14 August, they took away the weapons from all the soldiers who were below the poop deck. He felt sorry for this and gave satisfaction of his person but by marks that were later found it must have been true because he did not stop there as will be seen later. Surely such acts did not belong to his profession nor was he able to do it but as the devil is so subtle he usually has disciples in many professions.

[The storm that lasted one month]

As during these 7 days we were pushed by a reasonable breeze, we made a good headway of 200 leagues so that we had little more than 50 leagues to the first land of these Philippines. It pleased God, on account of our sins, to give us tradewinds although at first moderate, later with such fury, vigor and force that not only it made us soldiers, little used to the sea, so fearful but also the very sailors who are brought up on the sea and to such a degree that they were saying that they had never seen a storm so well established. Surely they were not wrong in saying so and for us to fear it, since they removed the topsails, topmasts and one of the two mizzen [sails]. As I am saying, the wind was so horrible and the sea so frightening that it grated on our nerves. However, nature was simply following its course because winter was at its peak in this land, according to what we know from experience.

Thus, it appeared that the land did not want to receive us denying us the sight of its presence and this not only to us but to its very own natives which were many varieties of birds, specially swallows that abound in this land. They pitted themselves against the

1 Ed. note: Jumbled sentence in the original as well.



A galleon like the San Jerónimo being buffeted by a storm.

great force of the wind and in sight of us they perished and drowned miserably; some even surrendered themselves to us.

Well, this wind storm persisted for a good 30 days. For the first 20 days, we resisted well, against a cross-sea, refusing to turn and go back, as those people [i.e. the sailors] who had an urge to go forward rather than turn back, believing that the storm would calm down and they were fooling us. Before it began at this time we made another promise to our Lady of Consolation similar to the previous one, promising to make a sailor-type pilgrimage with as much devotion as we could and, a few days later, they alone collected alms again, this time for St. Lawrence with the shoes; they had enough to pay later on for a ceremony with the exposed host. However, God permitted that on account of our sins nature did not wish to give us a hand. Rather, it sped up so much that at the end of this period we were forced to turn back.

We did turn back but hesitantly and for a short time, as a dog that unwillingly goes back to hunt a second time on the same day. By now, the foresail was in tatters, looking more like a banner and of little use. We came into sight of the Ladrones but our luck was such that to bother us some more it gave us a contrary wind, i.e., a breeze favor-

able to continue our voyage [to the Philippines instead]. A little before we saw land, as we thought we could make it, they gave back the weapons to their owners.

Thus we turned back to continue our voyage but later on that same day after a short distance we met with a tradewind to make us go back to the Ladrones in such a way that as many as five times we travelled part of the route backward, at times forward. One fourth of the time, however, starting on the 13th of September which was the [autumnal] equinox¹ coinciding with the conjunction of the moon and for which reason we considered that the coming weather would be stable and steady, but a great change came on and the wind died down, firstly as we had sighted the land for the second time. By the way, the pilot said that the land was Goan because we were at the same latitude that his Lordship was when he came and noticed the great fertility, abundance of people and provisions, although they say that it is not as big nor half of what it looked to us and the trick may be this: they had been [only] on its south side and we on the northern side, and also it may be an island that lies between Goan and these [Philippine] islands and not be Goan at all. Having come within 4 leagues of it and seen it very well, they concluded that it is 70 leagues or more in circumference. It is a very pretty land in appearance with plains, mountains and a layout as high as the coast of New Spain from where we departed [i.e. near Acapulco]. Whatever it be [Goan or another], it is good and important and necessary that it be settled for a port-of-call and rest, not only for those coming from New Spain but also for those who will go from here to there; by taking advantage of the weather, it could be useful.² Finally, we sailed near it for more than two days without being able to reach it on account of the contrary winds and at the end, afterwards, we were given a very fresh breeze. This was the cause of so many sorrows and anxieties for the exhausted, dry and weakened bodies, in such a great need of water and some refreshments. Surely the sight of such a pretty island which could not be taken advantage of caused us much sorrow, specially since we had already tasted its products and above all its water which is so necessary to [sustain] human life. During the whole voyage, we came lacking and suffering from so many necessities, yet so many hardships were not enough because, even when the ration was set at 2 quarts [per day] with the sophisticated measure, for a long time the ration was cut to half a quart or less and the rest of the time to 1 quart and one day to 1/2 quart. Hence many people would resort to placing their legs inside buckets of salt water, something they did for a long time. Water was so precious that if one had had 500 ducats he would have

1 Ed. note: They were still using the Julian calendar which by this time had slipped about 9 days behind universal time. This situation was corrected when the Gregorian calendar was adopted in October 1582.

2 Ed. note: Needless to say, they did see Guam a second time as there are no islands between Guam and Samar, although they grossly over-estimated its size. However, their report may have been responsible for the appearance of an imaginary island west of Guam on some charts, which persisted for a very long time. Also, the suggestion that the return route should go via Guam was quickly adopted but just as quickly abandoned after it led to the shipwreck of the *San Pablo* in 1568.

given them up to satisfy himself just once. In times of lesser need, it happened that one shirt was given for just one quart of water.

As discord, or to say it properly, as our adversary [i.e. the devil] who came with such a grab over this ship, always used its effects to put some [distorted] ideas into the heads of the men as well as some rebellious, ambitious, impertinent and unjust ones, even giving an urge to foretell the future. For instance, there were found some vain prophets to place a doubt whether we would find the Governor and the camp here. There were even some persons who wished otherwise, the better to pretend to become leaders, posts very contrary to their profession, as they were incapable of such posts. Consequently, the heads that we had at the time were somewhat vainglorious, specially that of Rodrigo de Langle, who remotely and unduly usurped the two comrades who had some rights and due ownership of it given that they deserved it more, but he wanted the command for himself and no other. For instance, about the circumstances surrounding the absconding with the ship, I always heard him say "I did" and never "we did", because in such matters he is very fond of using the first person singular, never the plural, as he does not even realize what he could gain from that.

Finally, his vain mind could no longer suffer that the comrades would intervene in anything except himself. For this reason, inasmuch as the last time, while going with full sail, without any reason at all, he had all the sails lowered and came to find out why they had elected him, and even they should swear him in as leader until Cebu, that otherwise he did not want to sail but to sit down and, as he said it, die there. The whole company was forced to dissuade him and they freely did it, in view of the fact that it was convenient, if only because there was no-one else to bring us. That was also the real reason why nothing that he asked could possibly be denied him. Thus, we suffered him, for this as well as for many other [acts] he did and said about the soldiers. However, for the reason given, we all gave him the ears of a merchant¹, as he had reduced us to [the level of] a negro or one of those Indians that we brought along.

Finally, we turned back for the last time to pursue our voyage on Sunday, 15 September, leaving behind the said island [of Guam] after first having realized that the breezes had finally come into their own and that to keep sailing in that direction [i.e. eastward] would simply result in the decrease of our supply of food and water, that it was better to resume our voyage. In order to convince him of this, they said that there were about 4 more [butts] of water than there were, because as it appeared later on, there were not more than 4 butts and if there had been they must have spilled and were not drunk. Luckily, the water that was falling from the sky was sufficient and always sufficed to that missing [in the butts], otherwise we would have perished without a remedy. The diligence applied to collect this rain water could not have been greater, as our life depended upon it. The people armed themselves with blankets as best as one could, so much so that it looked like the market of San Hipolito. As for the water that would

1 Ed. note: They had to show complacence.

slip through here and fall upon the deck, it was not lost either. It so happened that they did not give any ration for more than 3 days to those who collected it.

As for the food ration, it was very little what they gave because it was not more than 6 ounces of biscuit and a handful of beans and some days not more than 4 ounces of biscuit and 4 of flour from the meager stock that came and not one other thing except fish and jerked beef, hard to swallow without water. Bacon and cheese had run out, they said, but it appears that the opposite was true and that he carried enough to gain the goodwill of many, and the same with the biscuit. God forgive him, since he took it away from those whom, despite so many miseries, Jesus Christ was sustaining them all in reasonable disposition.

That was the way we were when, on the third day, we were becalmed. This calm lasted for another three days, without rain, with a very great heat and thirst. It was such a pity to see ourselves upon such an expanse of clear water without being able to take advantage of it. Some very great complaints were heard against nature for having created such useless, salted water that made the mouth water.

On the third day [i.e. 21 September] the breeze returned but it was weak and varying from one direction to another mixed with showers which finally lasted for another three days at the end of which it jumped to the south, brisk, very furious and stiff, causing very terrible and anxious swells and seas which beat upon the ancient little ship that came in such a sorry state¹ that we feared she might open up because she leaked very much. The excessive seas shook her ribs so much so that the cutwater got loose; that is why it came later tied with a cable. On the other hand, we had the usual serious sickness of coming without ballast and full of people above, so they came very dangerously always, [the ship] not being able to suffer sails and, as the wind made it necessary to tack, she listed as a result, so much so that we could not stand up nor even find a place to sleep in except tied up with pieces of rope. With all of this there was no-one to be found to lower any of the sails because we were worn out and with reason because the day that land was sighted, there was no more than one butt of water for the 136 persons aboard.

At this time, three days before we sighted land, as they could not conceal their intentions, specially as they were old ones, the same ones that I have mentioned before, it came out of the very person who was feared, they say that he proposed to kill Santiago and Enrique with others according to their will, and to tie up the pilot in order to go God knows where. This came to the ears of Loarca who, because he revealed it became the aggressor in a very high risk of dying from a violent death while he was being held prisoner with three others who, however, being not guilty, were released two days later, leaving the above-mentioned ringleader to remain a prisoner until Cebu was almost reached. He was assisted by some go-betweens who were beneficial to him, as they had been to Çaldivar.

1 Ed. note: The San Jerónimo was 18 years old and was condemned after reaching Cebu.

[Arrival at the Philippines]

This wind lasted for 5 natural days at the end of which we saw the extremely-desired land of these Philippines which was the island of Caobos or Tandaya [Samar] on the 1st of October in late afternoon. A short time later, in the lee of the land, the wind died down.¹ Consequently, although we kept on sailing for more than one day to touch at it, we were unable to do so. Finally, the currents that are very strong pushed us into a channel at a latitude of 13° where there are 4 volcanoes [in sight]. Although we do not know if they are sulphurous², they are very big. It was nice just to look at them with their foothills that reveal such a great fertility, with the many other islands that are in the vicinity. They are big, very high, mountainous lands with large forests, rivers and streams as many as you want.

Finally we anchored after we had passed the channel, under 20 leagues this way, at an islet 4 leagues in circumference, on St. Francis Day [4 October] in the evening. It is 45 leagues from this camp.³ The next morning, as we were coasting, the boat was lowered in order to go and get some water. Although they found some, having fattened themselves while rampaging the land and pillaging it, the boat did not return until the night. By this time we were anchored and, as there were then no more water aboard the ship, on this day we suffered terribly from thirst, because there was no more than 1/4 of a quart of mud from the bottoms of the barrels and the heat was very great. In addition we anchored various times and in weighing the anchor and other exercises that came up caused double thirst and fatigue. So it was that some men, no longer able to suffer, drank some sea water and others came close to expire. One more day and without a doubt some would have died.

At this island we remained 7 days [4-11 October]. Here we took in much water and ballast, rice, pigs, goats, chickens, beyond other products. There were two forts on two points. Our men attacked one of them. During the attack, although they defended themselves with valor, they killed with arquebuses without resistance over 15 of them; this was as unnecessary as at the Ladrones, and even more so. After these deaths, the rest with the women fled with whatever they could carry, specially the gold. What was left over, they ransacked, although they got little out of it because they were not practical and did not know the value of things. If they had known it they would have gotten more but they did not pay attention except to what is notorious to us, such as some gold, clothes, porcelain and choice pieces.

While at this island, Santiago being with the majority of the men ashore, a sailor with few scruples, in order to falsely ingratiate himself, told him that certain soldiers were planning to kill him. As he believed it easily, without any restraint, he came to the ship and repeated this to the pilot who was not pleased at all and he said that he had to hang at least 7 or 8 and to remove the weapons from the rest. If he could have he would

1 Ed. note: The wind was southerly and they were north of the northern tip of Samar.

2 Ed. note: That is, active or dormant.

3 Ed. note: Probably Capul Island.

have, because he was so blood-thirsty but he did not dare begin it because he realized full well that the past was no more, when it had been necessary to agree with him in everything to remain in his good graces; on this occasion, he made enemies out of some of his friends.

At the end of the 7 days that we were at this island, we decided not to delay our arrival any more and, intending to sail in the early morning, we set sail [instead] that night. After the boat was loaded up with 18 persons, soldiers and sailors, it went ahead to look for something to steal with the intention to return later but, they took liberties ashore. Although we were awaiting them, thinking that they would come back later, they were left behind and went about foolishly and lost until they reached a few villages at peace where they had letters of friendship and safe-conduct¹ which the natives took with them when they came out, albeit armed. As soon as the signature of your Lordship was seen by our men, it was welcomed with infinite contentment and placed on top of the head² as if to show that they would obey it. This was understood by the natives who received them very happily and immediately. They threw away their weapons to the ground and gave them a lot to eat and drink. The natives themselves brought them to this island over 17 days after we made it.

As for us, since we were less than 4 leagues from this island, albeit over 27 from the camp, on the NW side of it, we saw close to the coast of an island a sail about which there was no lack of opinions whether it was our boat or some [native] junk or something else. So, we hove to and within one [hour] would have been upon it and it upon us. As we saw it coming, we understood to have ascertained it to be our boat and resumed our course with short sails. However, as the boat, although not ours, had seen us and noticed the ship, it considered that we might be Portuguese. So, it began approaching us from behind the poop to avoid being injured [by our guns]. This went on that way on both parts until it came within a cross-bow shot and we still thought it was our boat but it was not so because it was the boat of the patache **San Juan** aboard which was Captain Juan de la Isla with certain people coming from some towns. Then we recognized him but he, always from behind the poop, asking where the galleon came from, who was the captain, and who was the pilot. As he saw such an unusual spectacle he was distrustful but finally he came up.

With this coming and the knowledge that the Governor and all were well, we received incomparable contentment. He was begged by the Captain to take us and not to leave the ship. Thus, he did so and sent his boat [ahead] to the camp with the mail.

This chance meeting had mysteriously been arranged by God, as so many other events during this voyage. Otherwise, we would surely have suffered many more hardships because the pilot had not recognized the island and as we were to understand later it would have been easy to have a repeat of the past evil deeds and cruelties or simply to get lost—which would have been a minor evil—and sail around for more than a

1 Ed. note: This was probably at Masbate Island visited some time earlier by some of Legazpi's men.

2 Ed. note: As a mark of respect.

month. However, as the boat with the mail arrived at the camp ahead of us, it is not possible to describe the contentment and joy felt by his Lordship on down to the smallest person. It was so great that some cried while others laughed out of pleasure. Some, for lack of horses, ran on foot and, forgetting old hatreds, flocked together, ran the church bells and the other musical instruments. As for the religious, they gave thanks to the Lord in the church where his Lordship went as usual but with no less devotion and more joy, whose good intention was to preach the holy gospel in this land and prayers so devout it is hard to believe and worthy of imitation. Through hardships, controversies as well as through times in which human failings such as we have seen, he has been a go-between for us before Almighty God. Well, He has brought us over, as I believe and understand, divinely and mysteriously and in accordance with His mercy. It did not happen naturally because nature was against us and through Him we have yielded to it against His will, having come miraculously in the air in 68 days from the Ladrões and in 5 months and a half from Acapulco.

With Master-of-Camp Mateo del Sanz whom your Lordship sent to us then, with 2 dozen soldiers, whom we met 2 leagues from the port, so that the ship would come in more safely, finally we came into this camp and settlement of Cebu on Tuesday, the 15th of October, at 10 in the morning where we were welcomed with a salvo of guns and arquebuses that were fired on one side and the other. We all jumped ashore and one by one came to kiss the hands of your Lordship who received us well and benignly but not as happy as he would have been upon learning that we came without our Captain whose death caused much sorrow, also the other bad deaths and hardships which we had gone through. In the end, all went to take up their indicated lodging.

At the end of a few days, the Governor ordered the Master-of-Camp to hold an inquiry about the events surrounding the San Jerónimo affair and, as a result of the information given, Juan de Çaldivar, the ship's clerk, was garroted. This done, the General ordered an assembly to be held in which he gave a very good speech, giving to understand our lack of discipline and bad works and above all the death of the Captain and his son, blaming a lot their cruel killers, that he thought they must have suffered much on the way here, that they had shown very well their good zeal in the service of their King who would give them great favors. He, in the royal name, would do likewise in time as the land was apt for this although at present, being a new and strange land, we could not but suffer some hardships, as we were not yet familiar with its many things, etc. I omit the other things so as to avoid stretching this report. He said it better than I can relate here. With this speech, he consoled the people a lot and in conclusion he pardoned all those who might be guilty, in the name of His Majesty. Immediately afterwards we swore an oath to once again submit ourselves to his dominion. Given that both captaincies here were somewhat reduced in number and because we were too few to form another captaincy, he ordered the men distributed, as I have said, between

the two captaincies except for 4 or 5 who received the favor of being admitted as his gentlemen.¹

That was the end of this galleon affair. As for her, she was ran aground because she was no longer part of this life but a mass of mud, so rotten that it horrified those who were here and they saw clearly that God had brought us miraculously aboard her.

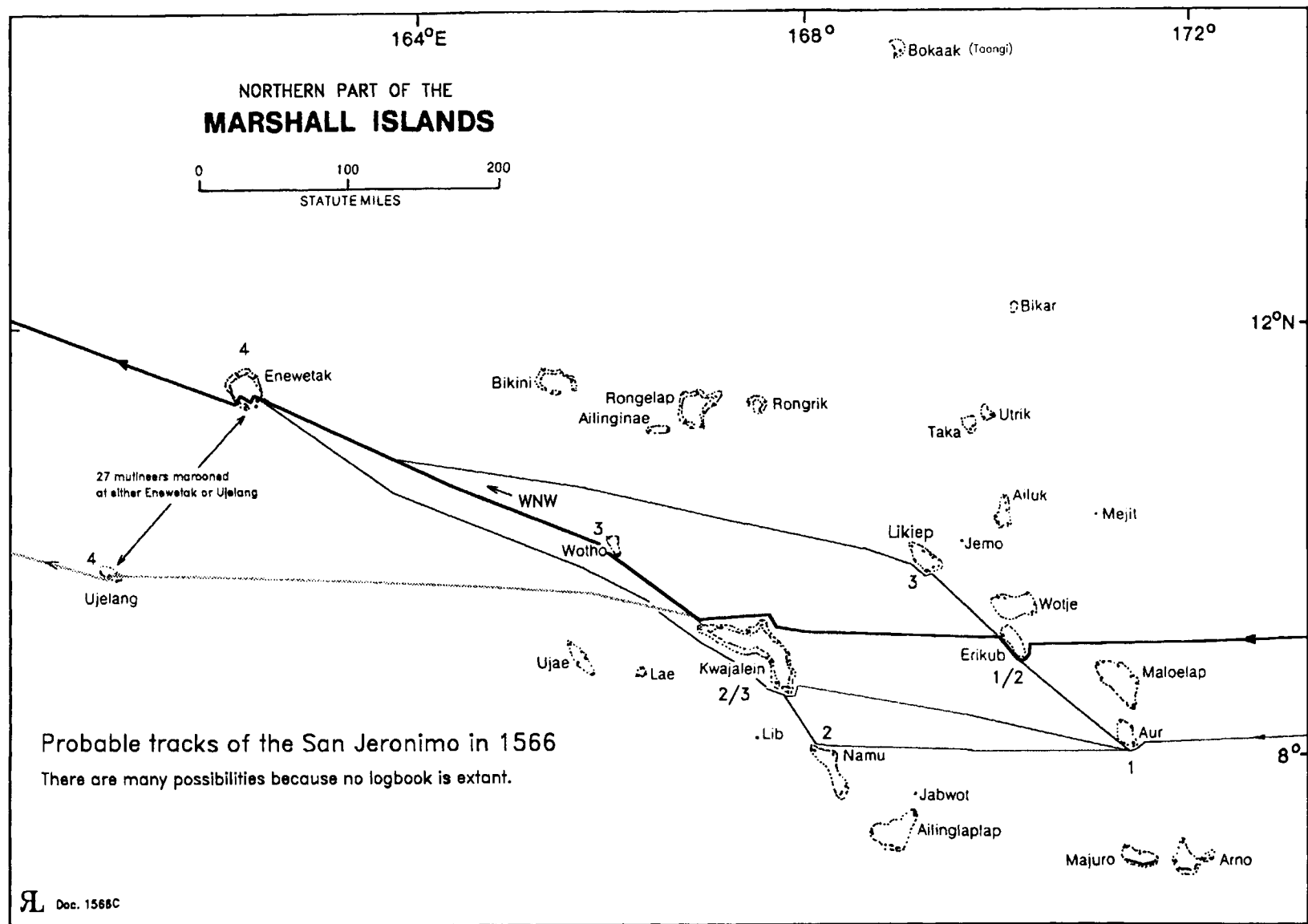
...²
Glory be to God for everything and may His holy Catholic faith be propagated in these parts. Amen.

Made at Cebu on the 25th of July of 1567.

Your servant who kisses the hands of your Grace,
Juan Martinez.

1 Ed. note: Someone like this writer who was after all a common soldier could only have become part of a bodyguard, unless he was a disgraced gentleman in the first place.

2 Ed. note: There follows a diary of the major events that occurred in the Philippines from October 1566 to July 1567. One item is of special interest because it refers to the possible determination of the longitude of the settlement of Cebu. On the night of the 27th of October 1566, the pilot Jaime [Martinez] Fortún observed an eclipse of the sun which began at exactly 10:45 p.m. but unfortunately the end could not be determined because the clouds moved in. I wonder if the astronomers in Spain ever drew any conclusion from this information.



Document 1566C

Which Marshall Islands were visited by the Pericón expedition?

Identification according to Coello

Source: Francisco Coello, "Conflicto Hispano-Alemán", Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid, vol. 19, numbers 5 & 6, Nov-Dec 1885, pp. 291-293.

Islands discovered by the ship San Gerónimo in 1566.

[1.] On the 23th of June, while sailing between 9° and 10° N, when they thought they were nearing the Barbudos, they believed they saw land but they only sighted them on the 29th. They were 17 low islets, the biggest one hardly having half a league in circumference, and a few not one crossbow shot across; they were united one to another, like a rosary, by reefs that appeared at low tide, and one could walk over them. They seemed to be uninhabited and, although fertile and with trees, they had to lack water. They did not land on any of them. **They may be those of the Kaven or Maloelap Group, or else those of the Eregup or Erikub Group**, probably those of the second group that is found in 9° to 10°. Perhaps those they had seen before had been from the first group, although they had passed them six days before already and the distance is short.

[2.] On the 1st of July, they arrived at another range of islands with over 20 islands, bigger and smaller, which were populated. They went to anchor at them. On the 2nd, they stepped ashore at the last island but did not find water. **It seems probable that these belong to the Namu and Lileb Group, and the island mentioned is probably that of the northwest part of Kuayalein.**

[3.] On the 3rd, they met with another chain of islands, similar to those behind, and they went to the last one, where they anchored. They saw 10 Indians with their body tattooed and their hair long. The women were brown, well shaped and lovely. They were peaceful people, and they staged some dances at the beat of a drum. They had good houses, tools of bone and shell, and their food was coconuts, bananas and yams.

They must be the islands named Arrecifes on the old maps¹, and Ujilong by the natives, in accordance with the course they were following, as they say that although they wished to go up to 13° they could not go up by more than 40'.

[4.] On the night of the 6th they saw themselves surrounded on all sides by islands and they were overwhelmed by their proximity, so they entered, by a channel between two islands less than a stone throw from each other, into a big and clean bay, enclosed by many small islands and reefs. They say that they were in 9° and 2/3, and that the nearest islet was about half a league in circumference; it was flat and fertile, with palm trees. They found there four houses and fishing grounds, but no people, although there were some in the other islands. The natives had ships with round sails. They visited some of the other islands of the group, and on the 21st of July they departed by a channel on the western² side, leaving many other islets on either side [of the pass]. Here were marooned the pilot Lope Martín with 13 soldiers and as many sailors.

The narrative mentions that they arrived at this group after having covered a good 100 leagues from the previous one, and according to the description and the latitude, **the group that appears to correspond the best is that of Namonuito**, although its greatest latitude is only 9° and it is about 200 leagues from that of Ujilong. It could also be that of the Dunkin Reef, which is nearer and in a greater latitude, because many believe it is a group of islands named Orolong and little known.³ The Mercator atlases (numbers 44 and 46) place south of the Marianas an island named Martin Island, and I do not know if it was to record that event; others, such as Samson's (n° 55), the *Nep-tune François* (n° 60), and that of Ablancourt (n° 66), call them the island of San Martin. They all locate it next to another [group] called *Aves* or *des Oiseaux* [Bird Is.] and close to the equator, with the peculiar fact that the last three show at one place the islands of San Martin and *des Oiseaux*, and at another nearby place, those of the Martyrs and *des Oiseaux* or *Aves*, an obvious duplication.⁴

[5.] On the 13th of September, and after touching at Guan [sic] in the Marianas, and having suffered from strong storms, they found themselves before an island that the pilot thought to be the same as the previous one [i.e. Guam], but it seemed to have twice its size, something like at least 70 leagues in circumference, with plains and mountains; they remained near it for two days without being able to touch at it on account of the winds. **It must be the islands of the Peliu Group** that has in fact such a circumference, if one includes the reefs and shoals that encircle them and which, at a certain distance, could appear like a single island.

1 Ed. note: I have sufficiently established in Vol. 1 that Arrecifes was Ulithi, and no other group.

2 Ed. note: He assumed that they exited by a western pass, but the direction of that pass is not so specified in the text.

3 Ed. note: It is amazing the confusion that still existed in the cartography of the Pacific as late as 1885. By the way, Orolong is an islet of the Palau Group near which Captain Wilson was shipwrecked in 1783.

4 Ed. note: My opinion is that cartographers wrote Martin, and San Martin, instead of Martyr Is. [the Pulap of Capt. Arellano], and Bird Is., the Jemo of Legazpi.

Identification according to Sharp

Source: Andrew Sharp, The Discovery of the Pacific Islands, Oxford, 1969, pp. 40-42.

[4.] The only feasible identification of the atoll at which Lope Martin and his companions were left is **Ujelang**, the detached westernmost atoll of the Marshalls. Its latitude is 9-2/3 degrees, there is a narrow and a wide passage in its south side, and it is the only island in such a position that a sailing time of 14 days to Guam and Rota and 4 days from a number of islands to the east in the neighbourhood of 9 degrees is of any significance. Legaspi's expedition had thought that Ujelang was deserted when they visited it in 1565, but only a few islanders were found by the San Jeronimo. Saavedra discovered Ujelang.

[3.] The previous island at which the landing was made and water and supplies procured in exchange for gifts, thought to be some 40 minutes to the south of Ujelang and 100 leagues distant, and described as a large atoll, must have been **in the Ujae-Kwajalein-Namu sector** of the Marshalls. When, 2 years later, Mendaña in 1568 came to an atoll which was undoubtedly **Namu**, a landing party found a chisel made from a nail and some rope. Much the most feasible explanation of these is that they were some of the gifts made by the people of the San Jeronimo at the island at which the landing was made, but this cannot be assumed as certain, since Villalobos' expedition had possibly stayed at the nearby Kwajalein in 1542.¹ The Pacific Islands Pilot says that a good landing can be made on the west side of Namu islet, the north-westernmost islet of Namu Atoll.

[2.] If Namu was the islet in question, then the islands seen on 1 July, the last of which was landed upon on 2 July by the soldiers who searched for water, must have been those of **Jabwot and Ailinglapalap**, two closely contiguous atolls some 20 to 25 miles east and south-east of Namu, which do in fact comprise a number of larger and smaller islands.

[1.] The islands seen on 29 June, described as a chain of twenty islands² in 9 and 10 degrees, and uninviting, **probably fit Erikub best, but could fit Maloelap to the south of it, or Wotje or Likiep to the north**. It would not be an obstacle to these tentative identifications that Jabwot and Ailinglapalap are south of 9 to 10 degrees, because Lope Martin himself, when with Arellano in the San Lucas the previous year, had struck to the south-west from Likiep to Kwajalein and Lib, and therefore knew there were fertile islands in those latitudes. It is not, however, possible to identify precisely the islands in the Marshalls which were encountered by the San Jeronimo, apart from Ujelang. Since all the Marshalls atolls from 8 to 11 degrees had been already discovered with the possible exception of Maloelap, Erikub, Wotje, Lae, Ujae, Jabwot, Ailingla-

1 Ed. note: In Vol. 1, Documents 1542 sub-series, I have demonstrated that Villalobos visited Wotje, Likiep and Wotho, and not Kwajalein.

2 Ed. note: This may be a small point, but the first group was described as composed of 17 islets; it was the second group that had 20.

palap, and Namu, the possibilities in reference to the San Jeronimo can be summed up by saying that any of these may have been discovered on this voyage...

From Rota the San Jeronimo set out for Legaspi's camp in the Philippines. The ship struck very bad weather, being driven back several times. On one of these enforced retreats it came in sight of an island with high peaks which the pilot considered to be Guam, because it was in the right latitude. Some of the ship's company, says Martinez, thought it was too big for Guam and that it might be some island between Guam and the Philippines. Since no such island exists, and since the description and the latitude agree with Guam, the pilot's identification was no doubt correct.

Discussion about the probable tracks of the San Jerónimo

First of all, Martinez gives few latitudes and they may not always be reliable. For instance, when he says soon after leaving Acapulco that "we let ourselves fall towards the equinoctial line to less than 9° where we met great calms" he is obviously wrong, because they had not yet reached the position of Clipperton Island, at 10°. We may, however, interpret his comment to mean that they intended, and did, go down to less than 9°. Another reason for thinking this possible is that the pilot had the previous year crossed Micronesia at relatively low latitudes. In 1566, his pricking route chart indicated his own and other discoveries made by Legazpi and Villalobos. There is a very good chance also that Lope Martín steered the ship to go through Kwajalein once again. When the ship landed at the last island of a group, it may have been the same islet visited by the pilot the year before, although Martinez does not mention it. Another point to be made about the possible crossing of the Marshalls at latitudes of "9 to 10 degrees" is that Martinez did not say they did, but only that the would-be pilot Delangle said that the navigation to the west would be easy, if one would place the ship at such latitudes and run.

Secondly, working backward from the fourth "known" island, as Sharp has done, is the right approach in this case. By the way, the approach taken by Coello is mere speculation and his bad maps led him to make false conclusions about the identification of the islands visited in 1566. I am not at all sure, however, that the "known" island ought to be Ujelang. I was first led to doubt this possible identification when I looked at a map of Ujelang and saw the impossibility today of a large ship (300-400 tons) crossing over the reef safely, even at high tide. There just isn't any narrow pass on the eastern side of Ujelang, and no inner islet at the exit of this small pass. **But when one looks at a map of Enewetak while re-reading the text, every physical description throughout the narrative fits this atoll better than Ujelang**, except for one point having to do with the given latitude. Here too, Martinez may have been in error, but I think the error may have been made by copyists. I have pointed out in a footnote of the previous document that "doze" may have been erroneously transcribed

“diez”, resulting in a latitude of 10° less $1/3$, rather than 12° less $1/3$ which is the latitude of Enewetak.

While retaining the possibility of Ujelang as a candidate for atoll n° 4, I have sketched some possible tracks, two of which are studied in more details in the accompanying diagrams: (1) if Enewetak was atoll n°4, then the most likely route was via Erikub, Kwajalein, and Wotho; (2) if Ujelang was n°4, unlike Sharp, I would opt for a track via Aur, Namu, and Kwajalein. In any case, the group most likely visited by pilot Martín in 1566 is Kwajalein, the largest in the group and one known to him; in other words, it was one atoll he could not possibly have missed had he wanted to visit it once more.

Let us review the given features of atoll n° 4 and see if they apply better to Ujelang or to Enewetak. Unfortunately, the number of islets and the circumference of the atoll are not given; so, these are neutral points of comparison for now.

Point 1.—The likely heading that night was WNW. When they perceived themselves to be “surrounded by islands on all sides”, this fits Enewetak better; they would have met a line of islands at right angle to their track, whereas at Ujelang, the atoll is narrow and would have been parallel to their line of travel.

Point 2.—Lara grabbed the tiller and pointed the ship to a narrow pass between two islets. As Sharp has pointed out, Ujelang has only two passes, on the south side, and it would be awkward to think that they coasted the island for a while before entering the first pass, and there is no islet on the left side of this pass, only a bare reef. Unless the reef structure has changed considerably in the last 4 centuries, to the extent that a pass that might have existed on the east side has since disappeared; that seems too farfetched to consider. On the other hand, there is no such problem with Enewetak; the pass is now about a mile in width, although the narrator may have exaggerated the truth a little, making his story more dramatic by saying that the pass was much narrower.

Point 3.—The pass through which the ship entered the lagoon was “between one island and another **inside**”. I could not understand this very well until I looked at the map of Enewetak; islet #33 indeed lies inside the line of the reef and is out of alignment with it. Now the distance of a stone’s throw between this islet and another may refer to the much narrower distance between #33 and #32 on the map. As for Ujelang, one cannot easily see an inside islet anywhere, unless a narrow pass existed in the past among the islets on the NE side, an unlikely situation.

Point 4.—When morning came, they saw that the nearest islet was “almost half a league in circumference” and had 4 houses, etc. and had “at least 150 palm trees there”. An elongated islet measuring 2 miles in circumference would be about 1 mile in length. That would fit islet #34 of Enewetak to a tee, whereas two likely candidates at Ujelang, islets #27 and #23, are both half that size, and would pose other difficulties (south side entry or over the reef entry, no islet on the left-hand side of the pass).

Point 5.—The day after some native proas came and went, the boat was taken to a distant islet of the atoll “about 5 leagues away”, that is 18.5 statute miles, where the natives had been building a large canoe; therefore, this islet must have been big enough to have had some large trees, whether or not it was inhabited full time.

TWO SETS OF ATOLLS FROM AMONG THE MANY POSSIBLE ATOLLS VISITED

Fourth atoll
6-21 July 1566

- ? islets
- small pass on East side
- wide pass to get out.



3-1/2 days
100 leagues
6° plus

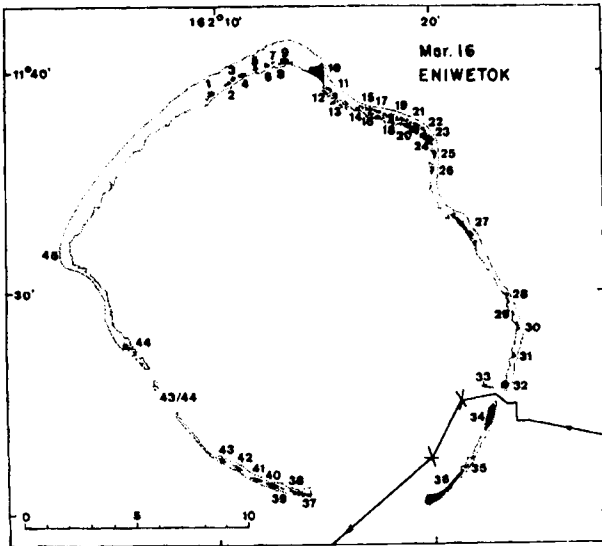
Third atoll
3 July (10 a.m.-5 p.m.)

- ? islets
- populated
- water available
- no fear in natives.

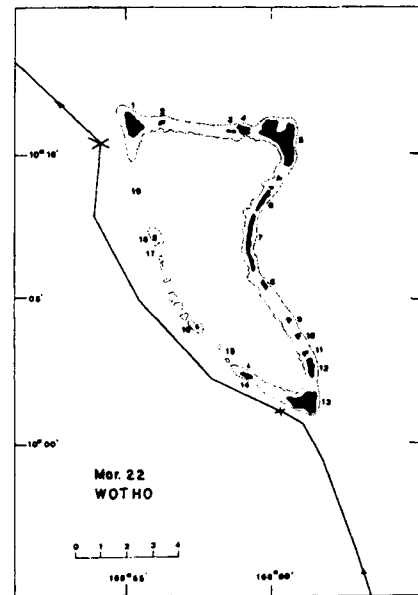


1 day
or less
2° or less

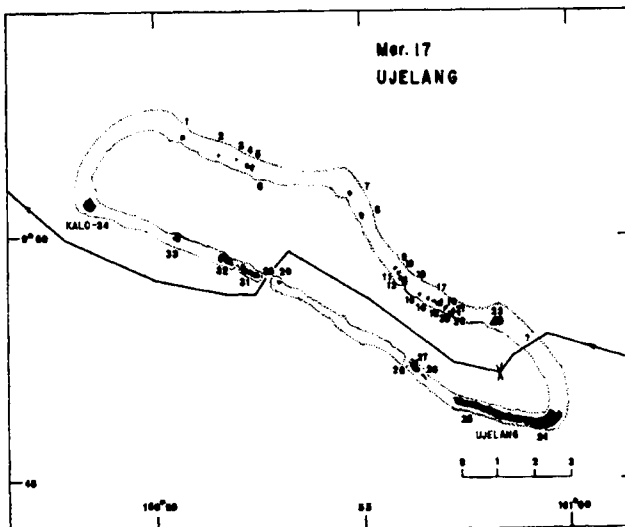
1) If 11°40'N, then ENEWETAK,



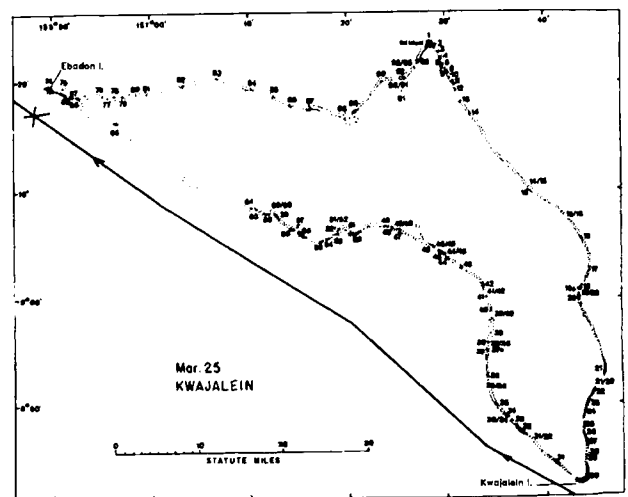
coming from WOTHO,



2) If 9°40'N, then UJELANG,



coming from KWAJALEIN,



BY THE MUTINEERS OF THE SAN JERONIMO IN 1566.



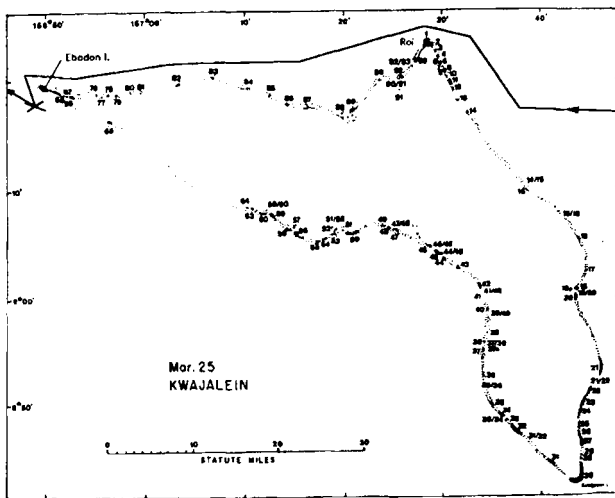
Second atoll
1-2 July
— over 20 islets
— populated, little water
— stopped at last islet
— many flies.



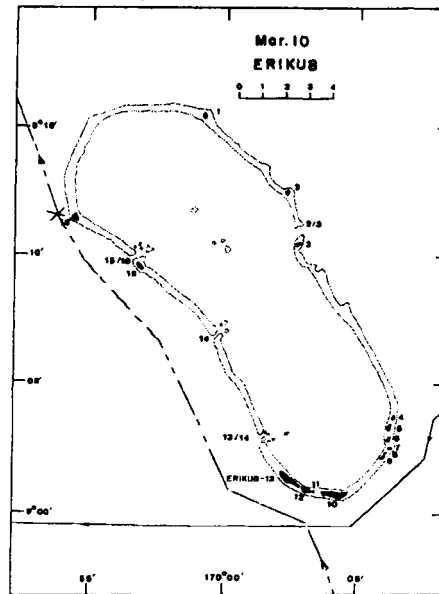
2 days
or less
4° or less

First atoll
29 June 1566
— up to 17 islets
— uninhabited
— hove to overnight?

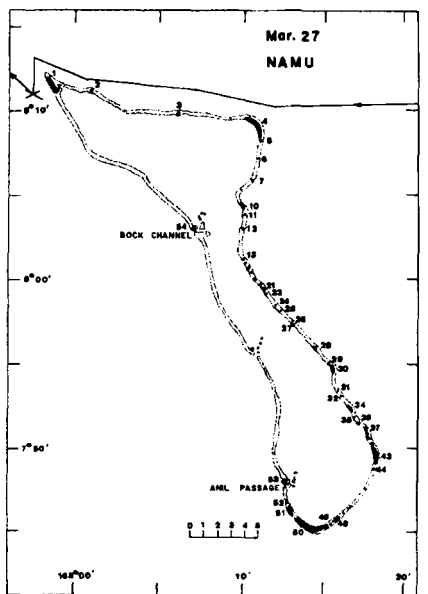
coming from KWAJALEIN,



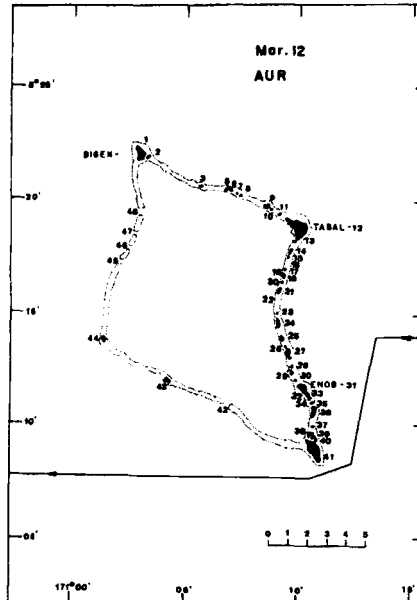
coming from ERIKUB.

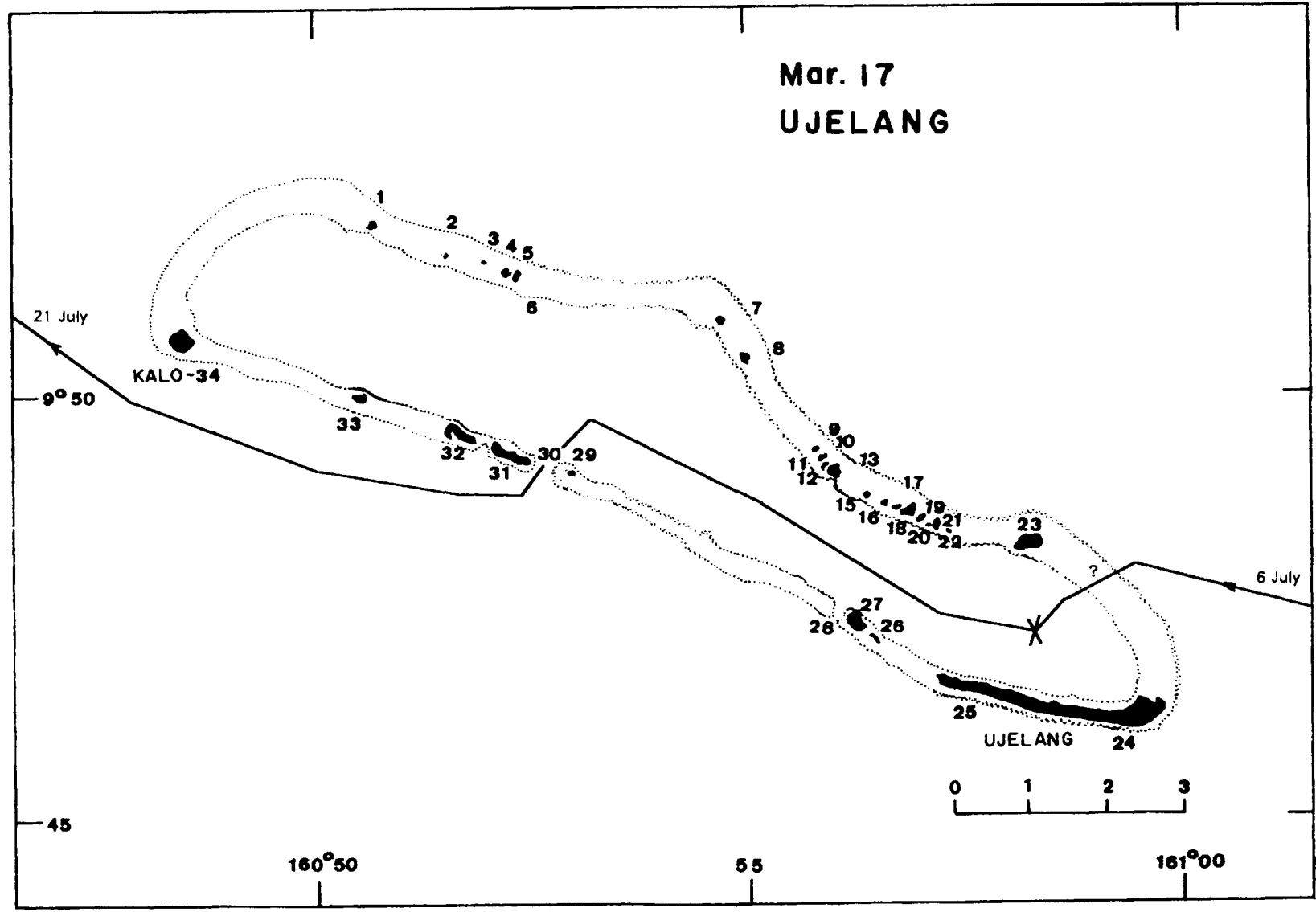


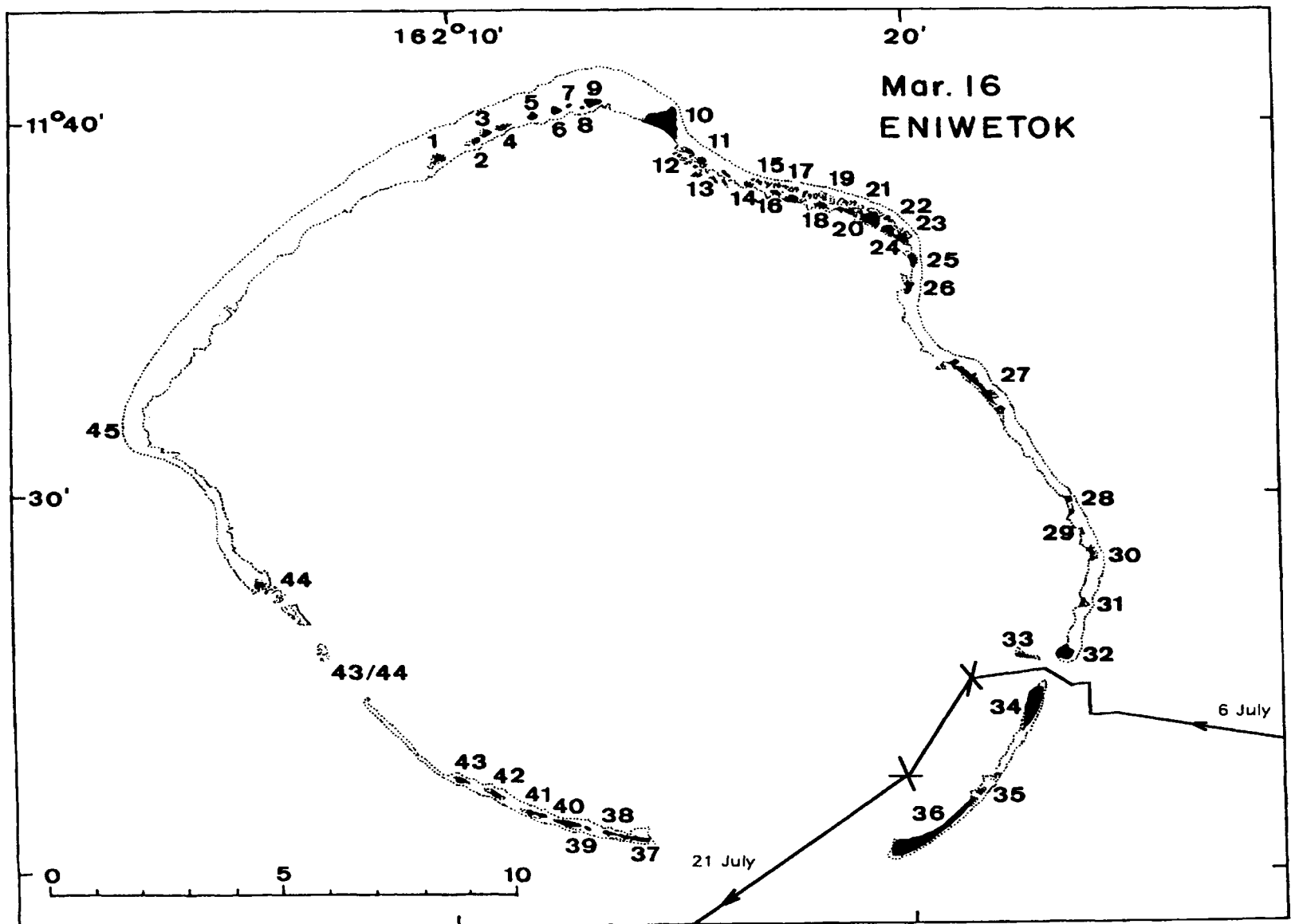
coming from NAMU,



coming from AUR.







On Ujelang, the distance between Ujelang proper and Kalo is only 12 miles, whereas on Enewetak, the distance between islet #34 and Engebi (#10) is about 16 miles, a closer approximation. Also, Engebi is much bigger than Kalo; it has an area of 0.343 square mile as compared to only 0.026 sq. mile, according to Bryan's Guide to Place Names.

Point 6.—What is said about the existing winds and currents cannot be used to differentiate between the two atolls, even if we knew the prevailing conditions. Another item which must also remain neutral is the intervening islet that was between the first and last place of anchorage of the ship; it can apply equally well to both atolls.

Point 7.—As for the pass through which they left the atoll, we are not told where it was located, only that it was "a very wide and very good one". There is no such thing at Ujelang, whereas it is one of the remarkable features of Enewetak.

Document 1566D

**Pericón expedition—Letter from
Legazpi to the King, dated Cebu
23 July 1567**

Sources: AGI 67-6-6 (Simancas—Secular, Audiencia de Filipinas; Cartas, etc. (1567-1599); translated in B&R 2:234-239, 334; copied in FBG 8:122-125.

Letter from Miguel López de Legazpi to Philip II

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty:

On the vessel which I sent to New Spain to discover the return route, I gave your Majesty a relation of the events of the voyage, and of our arrival and settlement at these islands, up to the time of the ship's departure. The succeeding events in this camp may be seen by the relation which I send with this letter.¹

Last year a vessel² was sent from New Spain to this island with news of the arrival of the flagship [San Pedro] which went from here. It arrived here on the 15th of October of last year, in great extremity and trouble, for on the way they killed the captain and a son of his, and some others, and raised mutinies, rebellions, and other troubles, as may be seen from the evidence thereof which I send.³ As it brought no other assistance, nor any of the articles which we sent for from here, nor any command or order from your Majesty (nor have these things been sent here since then); and since after so long a time the flagship has not returned, nor have we received the assistance that was hoped for with it, the men of this camp are in extremities and distressed. Because it has not been permitted them to rob, or make war upon, or in any way harm the natives, and as they see such a great delay in the sending of aid, some have not been lacking in treacherous and damnable purposes and desires, from which God, our Lord, has been pleased up to now to deliver your Majesty's loyal and faithful servants—who with all

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1566E.

2 Ed. note: The San Jerónimo.

3 Ed. note: The relation by Martinez (See Doc. 1566B).

loyalty and zeal have served you and are now serving you in these regions—and I hope therefore that in his divine goodness he will continue to do so.

There have been some islands discovered in this neighborhood, and more are being continually found of which we knew nothing, and which are inhabited by many people. There is disclosed a very great foundation and opening for both the spiritual and temporal, from which God our Lord and your Majesty may derive much profit, and our holy Catholic faith be much increased, if your Majesty will give the necessary orders, and provide the suitable religious and laborers who may work diligently in this great vineyard of the Lord. And from what has been hitherto seen much fruit may be had in their conversions, without much difficulty, because there are not known among them either the temples or the rites and ceremonies of other peoples—although they are a people extremely vicious, fickle, untruthful, and full of other superstitions.

They all have many specimens of gold, and this they trade and wear as jewelry; but there is only a small quantity of it, by reason of there being no headmen or great lords among them. In some islands we have been informed of and have seen mines of gold, which, if the islands were peopled with Spaniards, would, it is believed, be rich and profitable. In other islands there is an abundance of cinnamon, of which they make little use. They make no exportation of it, and therefore it is of little worth to them. Seventy quintals of it, more or less, have been carried upon this ship¹ for your Majesty; and there may be carried every year as much as your Majesty wishes—enough indeed to supply all Christendom.

I have resided continuously on this island of Çubu, awaiting the orders which your Majesty may be pleased to have sent. I have barely succeeded in maintaining the forces with the least possible harm to the natives, and I shall try to do the same until I see your Majesty's command, and know your royal will; because if we should make war upon these people, I think that great harm would ensue, but little advantage would be gained, and we should suffer hardships greater than those which have been suffered, although they have been bad enough. By the blessing of peace, we have succeeded in attracting into the obedience of your Majesty many towns. As they have come from all this neighborhood of which possession has been taken in your royal name, the list of the towns accompanies this letter. And as these people are fickle and treacherous, and know not how to obey or serve, we ought to have here a fort and a number of Spaniards, who by good treatment might restrain them and make them understand what justice is; and who may settle in other places most convenient for the security of all those of this region. For this purpose married men should be sent and those who would have to remain permanently in this land. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to have provided with all despatch what is most in accord with your royal pleasure, and give the commission to someone in New Spain, who with all care and special diligence, will provide all that is necessary, without there being so much delay as in the past.

1 Ed. note: The patache San Juan which made an eastward passage in 1567.

For the security of these parts, and in order to get this needed security, it would be fitting and necessary to have built half a dozen **galleys**. For this, and even to provide them with crews there is reasonable provision here, provided you send artisans and workmen to build the vessels, as has been written to the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. With these vessels all these islands may be protected, as well as many others that are farther away from them; and it might even be possible to coast along the shores of China and to trade on the mainland. They would be very profitable and effective. Your Majesty will cause to be provided in this regard what is most pleasing to you.

In November of last year arrived, very near where we are, a large fleet of Portuguese who were going from India to the Moluccas, where they must have thought that we were. Having arrived near our settlement, they stopped a few days, giving out that they were coming in search of us. They sent two small boats to reconnoiter our colony and station, afterward resolving to continue their voyage without stopping here. It may well be imagined that they were not pleased to see Spaniards in these parts.

Farther north than our settlement, or almost to the northwest not far from here, are some large islands, called Luzon and Vindoro [Mindoro], where the Chinese and Japanese come every year to trade. They bring silks, woolens, bells, porcelains, perfumes, iron, tin, colored cotton cloths, and other small wares, and in return they take away gold and wax. The people of these two islands are Moros, and having bought what the Chinese and Japanese bring, they trade the same goods throughout this archipelago of islands. Some of them have come here, although we have not been able to go there, by reason of having too small a force to divide among so many districts.

The people who remain here are very needy and poor, on account of having had, up to now, no advantages or profits in the islands; and they have endured many miseries and troubles, with very great zeal and desire to serve your Majesty, and are worthy of receiving remuneration. I humbly beg your Majesty to be pleased to be mindful of their services, to grant them all favor (since these regions and districts contain sufficient for it), because a hundred merit it, and have served well and will serve much more in the future. Therefore, I beg your Majesty, in addition, that your Majesty approve the duties and offices given and assigned for these districts, and that your Majesty confirm them to the persons who hold them, together with the greater favors that you may confer on them; for in these men are found the necessary qualifications, and they fulfil their duties with all fidelity.

As this ship was about to sail, there arrived at this port two small galleys from the Moluccas, carrying certain Portuguese with letters from the captains of the fleet that came to these regions last year for the assistance and fortification of the Moluccas. In these letters they ask us to go out to their fleet, as your Majesty will see by the very letters which accompany this present letter, together with the copy of the one I sent back to them. Some of those who came with the letters gave us to understand that, if we would not go willingly, they would take us by force; and that very shortly they would attack us with such a great force that we could not resist them. I do not consider that they have any right to attack us or make war on us, since we, on our part, are causing

them no trouble or harm; and although they come, we cannot do anything else than wait for them, notwithstanding that we are few and short of ammunition and other war materiel, since help has not come from New Spain as we expected; and we have neither vessels nor equipment in order to escape.

May God provide in this what he sees necessary, and as is your Majesty's pleasure, whose sacred royal Catholic person may our Lord watch over for many and prosperous years with increase of many kingdoms.

From this island of Çubu, 23 July 1567.

Your sacred royal Majesty's very humble and faithful servant who kisses your hands and feet.

Miguel López de Legazpi.

Document 1566E

Legazpi's official report for 1565-1567 regarding the events in the Philippines

Sources: AGI 1-1-1/23; Col. de Ultramar iii, doc. 39, pp. 91-225; summarized in B&R 2:131-154.¹

Report for June 1565 to July 1567: Relation of the events in the Philippines after the departure of the San Pedro for New Spain (Extracts)

[The building of the fort and settlement of Cebu]²

The Governor then told them [i.e. the native leading men of Cebu] that H.M. needed to have a fort in which they keep and store the trade goods and merchandise that had been brought to this land, and the artillery and the munitions, as well as a site where a town to lodge the people of this camp, which would be next to H.M.'s fort, that they should see themselves where it seemed to them to be the most comfortable and convenient for the said site, and that they should point out the one they liked best because he wished it to be done with the consent and will of all of them, that, although he had traced the fort of H.M. on this point where the camp is located at present because it is near the ships, he wished that it be done with the will of all of them.

The leading men said that they were very happy that the house and fort of H.M. be built at that point where the people are at present, or where the Governor wished it to be and to take for the Spanish a convenient site, indicating its limits, and that the rest concerned only them, that it was not up to them to indicate it as they are only vassals of H.M., that the Governor in his royal name should divide and indicate the land that

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- 1 Ed. note: This report can be considered a continuation of Legazpi's first report of 1565, reproduced as Document 1565W. It was written for Legazpi by the Accountant Juan de Bustamante, according to an anonymous manuscript in the Newberry Library in Chicago (Ayer ms. 1359 Phil v. 1).
 - 2 Ed. note: The procedure used by the Spanish colonists at Cebu is interesting because it may have a bearing on similar events that were to take place over 100 years later at Agaña.



Miguel López de Legazpi

Governor Legazpi and his specimen signature. (From Juan Caro y Mora's *Ataque de Limahong a Manila en 1574. Manila, 1898*)

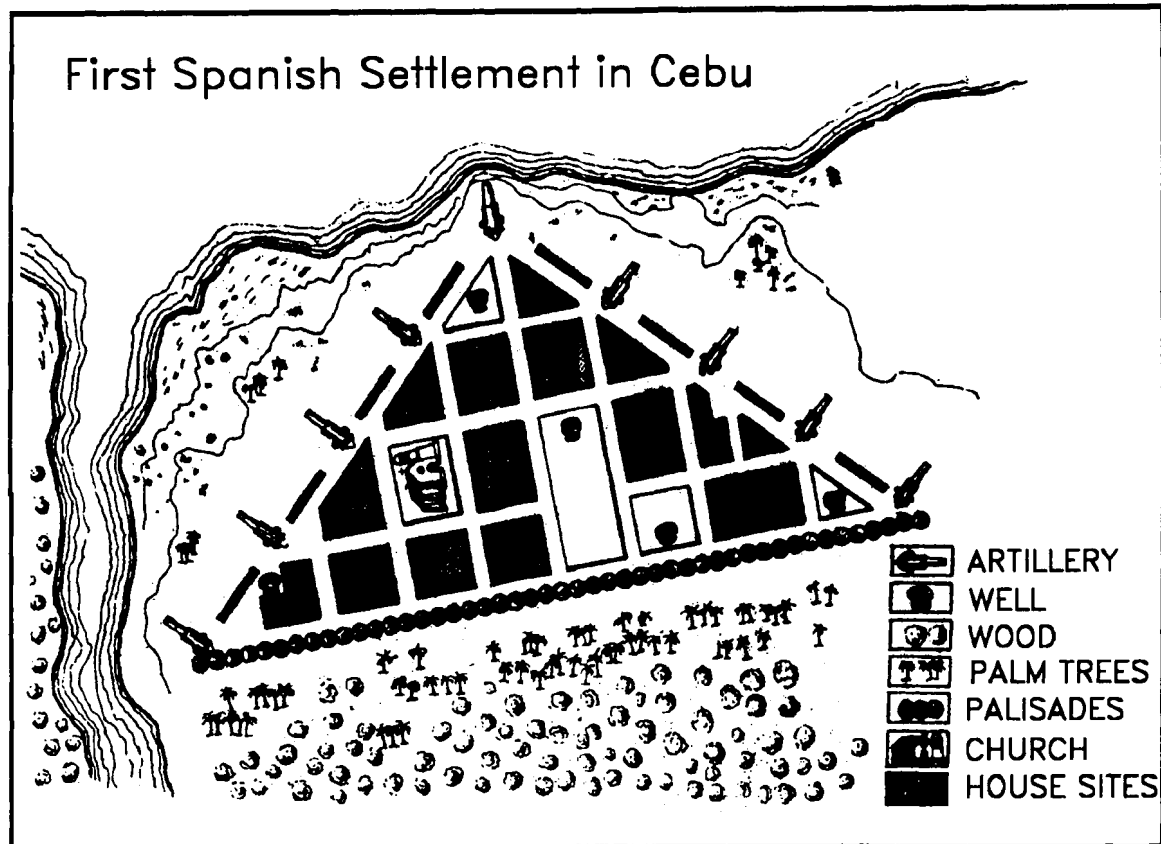
they were to have for them to place their houses, and to take for H.M. and the Spanish what is necessary and they would consider it fine, would safeguard it, and that is what they said.

Then the said Governor went in person with the leading men themselves and the natives ahead to the beach, toward the west about one arquebus shot away from the said point and there, he indicated to them a palm tree [saying] that the Spanish site was up to there, and that from the said palm tree he indicated how far to another tree inland, and he had a cross marked on it, and from there to

another tree toward the land in which he placed another cross, and from there in straight line as far as the edge of a salt water creek that comes in from the sea; from there back to the point where they had started from, he was indicating and indicated as the site of the house and fort of H.M. and the town site for the Spanish, and that everything else was for the Indians so that they could build their houses and work areas; they could start building their town and houses. The said leading men and natives said that it was alright and they were happy with it, and that the matter was settled.

The Governor indicated the trees in which the crosses were put as the boundary and signs of the said site and he gave to understand to the leading men, that such a line was the boundary with the Spanish. They said that they wanted it to be so. The Governor ordered them, all the leading men and Indians to get outside of the said line to the part that was meant for them, and he ordered the Spanish to move inside the line. This having been done, while the Indians were on the outside and the Spanish on the inside, the Governor walked here and there and cut a few branches and said that in the name of H.M. he was taking and took possession of that site which had been designated as such above, that he was doing the said acts as a sign of true ownership, and that he wanted it to be recorded as such. At all of this were present [King] Tupas and the other leading men and many natives and without contradiction and with the consent of all of them it was done, being present the Master-of-Camp, the Captains and soldiers of the camp.

During the ceremony of possession of the site, the Governor told them that in the name of H.M. he ordered them that from now on no Indian could enter at night the site reserved for the Spanish, except if he had a specific permit, and that the natives who



The first Spanish settlement in the Philippines. (From H.O. Beyer & J.C. de Veyra, *Philippine Saga*, Manila, 1952)

had to go into the Spanish site had to go in without any kind of weapons and, if they were to go in with them any Spaniard could take them away from them. The Indians said that they they were content with that and that they would comply. In addition the Governor let them know that if they received any harm or any force was done them by any person he himself, as their own father and defender would defend them and he would protect them from anyone who would bother them, in accordance with the reason and justice as per the laws of Castile; if a person were to do them an injustice, they were to indicate it to him so that they be compensated for it until they were left free and safe in accordance with the law. They in turn said that the offences and harms done to them would be brought to the attention of his Lordship.

This concluded, they went back to the point and there some snack food and drinks were given to the leading men. The latter saw no excuse or inconvenient to partaking of same willingly and showing no disgust. [After] showing much reverence and respect to the Governor, they begged leave and went back to their site, once more kissing his hands with much rejoicing and happiness.

When Tupas was about to leave, he asked the Governor to let him borrow a proa with which to bring his wife and children who were far from there; the Governor did him the favor, and another seven for his nephew. All of this was negotiated and communicated through Jerónimo Pacheco, the interpreter of the Malay language, and Sidamit the Moor, who speaks the said language and that of this land.

...
After the Governor had arrived at this island, he proposed and tried to make a fort and so the work began. All the people each day, morning and afternoon, were involved with it, without excepting any person, not even the Governor himself, the Captains and officers working as they could. The said fort was made of a palm palisade which was later filled with faggots¹ and a rampart in-between, and for lack of stone or earth, except sand at the point where it was being built.

In addition, he ordered that three frigates be built on top of three proas that were gotten from the Indians; the carpenters were busy at this, and all the people divided among these works. With these works, they suffered enough hardships, not only because the land is hot and the food was bad but also because all the materials had to be brought from afar and on shoulders, and without any help from the natives, because it was too much to ask of them, even if they could be paid. The result was that many sicknesses happened generally throughout the camp; they were coughs and catarrhs, then diarrheas and finally worms and fevers which were general in most of the camp. In spite of all these sicknesses, our Lord was served that no-one was in danger [of dying] from them. Although there was a lack of food, the men worked at the said works and faced the labors and fatigues with good cheer, suffering it all for God and H.M.

[A mutiny led by some Italians failed]

There was discovered and it came to be hatched during this predicament a **mutiny** and wickedness, and a devilish affair. It had been brewing for many days among a few of them and they now wished to put it into effect. If God in his infinite mercy had not revealed it, it could have caused damages and inconveniences. So it was that a squad corporal named Pablo Hernandez, a native of Venice, and Juan María, chief carpenter of the works and Master of the *almiranta* [San Pablo], who were from the same country and treated themselves almost as relatives, with other foreigners, and a few soldiers, and other persons, friends and servants of the above, had arranged and concerted to seize the patache **San Juan** and to go to Butuan and to other islands of this archipelago, and also to seize junks from Borneo, Luzon and Mindoro which trade through these islands, to rob everything they could find and to go through the Strait of Magellan, or they could have gone to the coast of New Spain, then to Guatemala and Peru, and then go from there to Spain, where they would pass unnoticed, and from there to France, then to their countries if they wished. If they did not wish to do that, or did not find the

1 Ed. note: The faggots refer to the gabions shown on the inland side of the fort. They were cylinders of wicker or like material filled with stones or sand.

weather favorable for such a route, they would go to Malacca where the Portuguese would receive them and with open arms thank them for having fled from this camp and settlement, and would give them passage to Portugal where they could achieve their purpose.

They thought they could do it and easily achieve it because Juan María, as he was the Master of the *almiranta*, had under his charge aboard his galleon all the artillery, powder and ammunition that were aboard the *almiranta*; in addition, he had in his hands the sailors, specially the foreign ones. Pablo Hernandez had many friends and soldiers [with him]. So, they organized it among many, and found the necessary rigging. Pablo Hernandez was to be the Captain and leader of the affair; he was to be in charge of everything. Juan María was to be the General. After them, the most important figures were the French pilot [Pierre Plin] and other foreigners of superior worth. There were also a few Spaniards who had a hand in the affair, and they in turn persuaded others to be part of it.

When it appeared to them that nothing was missing and that the time was ripe, they proposed to put it into effect and they agreed that on Tuesday, which was the 27th of November 1565, they would leave this camp. In order that those left behind would not be able to go after them nor hinder them, they had arranged that, before leaving, they would drill holes in the *almiranta* and the frigates, and that they would go safe and sound without anyone being able to hinder them.

On the night in question, a little before midnight, having loaded aboard the boat certain balls, sails and other things from the *almiranta* to bring over to the patache San Juan for the purpose, God wished that they gave it up and postponed it until the next night. The cause or reason for this is not known, only that Juan María told them to leave it for now, and he ordered them to put back on the ship everything they had aboard the boat; so, it appears that God had so decided.

That night, a few sailors who were aboard the galleon, not knowing about the affair enquired and asked why they were loading that aboard the boat, given that the frigates were beached and there was no place to go. The Pilot Fortún Jimenez¹ who was like the fingernail and flesh of Juan María and his best friend told them that the Master-of-Camp had ordered him and that they should mind their own and just do as they were told, and so they shut them up. Later on, the said pilot was suspected of being one of those in the league.

The next day, Wednesday 28th of the said month in the morning, God inspired—and only He knows why—Juan María to go to the Master-of-Camp and to give a report about the affair, without declaring the persons involved nor anything else, except that he said that Squad Corporal Pablo Hernandez, who was from his country and was his friend, was pressuring him to go with him and not to get lost here, that the said Pablo Hernandez with other friends of his wanted to go, that he, to serve his Majesty, was telling and advising about it so that the most fitting remedy be applied.

1 Ed. note: His correct name was Jaime Martinez Fortún.

The Master-of-Camp thanked him and promised to do him the favor of forgiving him whatever would be found against him in this case, for having divulged it. Then he went to give a report to the Governor, who then ordered him to seize Pablo Hernandez and make him tell, one way or another, about the others who had been in the affair with him, and to punish without any delay those found guilty as such a great crime and evil deserved to be, and that the first thing he should do was place some guards in the camp to prevent anyone from leaving it or from fleeing. The Master-of-Camp said that he would do so because he wanted to dissimulate until later and do it at night in order to do it with less of a scandal. The Governor pointed out to him the importance of the thing.

Then, some trustworthy persons were placed around the settlement, without telling them more than they should not let anybody out and at nightfall the Master-of-Camp sent for Pablo Hernandez and he himself went behind the messenger to the lodge of Pablo Hernandez and he was not at home, but they were told that he had gone over there on guard duty. He went to look for him in the camp as inconspicuously as possible but before he was able to run into him some soldier from those sent to look for him told him that the Master-of-Camp was looking for him and that he should go there. However, as an evil-doer who knew what he carried in his heart he did not dare go before him. Rather, as he was on guard duty with his sword hanging from his belt, without going to his lodge nor anywhere else, he went into some tall grasses that were in the camp and laid low and hid there that night. The Master-of-Camp walked all over the camp and the sentinels searched for him and did not find him. Then he gave a report about it to Captain Martin de Goiti and then both of them walked around searching the whole night. As the sentinels declared that no-one had gone out and that he did not appear anywhere in the camp, the deep bush is close by and the thickness of the grass great, they thought that he had fled. Having done enough, he came to report about it to the Governor and they were much put aback by it.

The Governor ordered the Master-of-Camp to interrogate Juan María about those who could be in the deal or were the most friendly and familiar with Pablo Hernandez, and ask him again who else would know, so as to uncover and clear up the business, and that they should hurry up and do it. The Master-of-Camp went about searching until he encountered some clues and arrested the French pilot, with Jorge Griego, Master Andrea, Guillermo [=William], Juan Griego from Florence, Gerónimo [i.e. Jérôme] Delafosse, a Frenchman, Estefan and other foreigners. As he was taking their confessions, Gerónimo Delafosse, the Frenchman, after they had arrested him begged the Master-of-Camp not to hurt him, that he would tell the truth about all he knew. So, he let it be known and confessed that Pierre Plin, the French pilot, had reported to him and told that he had agreed to go with him in the patache San Juan, that the captain would be Pablo Hernandez. He [i.e. Plin] indicated others who knew of the affair, that they were many; he begged him and persuaded him to go along with them and he had agreed to go and the agreement was to go on the previous night but as the Master-of-Camp was looking for Pablo Hernandez to arrest him, the party had been routed.

Some other prisoners, although at first they denied in their confessions, they came later to confess it and the mutiny was uncovered and everything they had planned, although they did not know all the persons involved and were to have gone, but that Pablo Hernandez and Juan María were the heads and leaders of the affair. That same night, the French pilot Plin and Jorge Griego were hanged at daybreak.

Being already confessed and awaiting the same fate was Master Andrea the caulker¹ when the Father Prior [Diego de Herrera] and the religious flocked to the Governor with other main persons of the camp clamoring for clemency and beseeching that the punishment be stopped, giving many reasons for this, that God our Lord and H.M. would be better served by using clemency rather than rigor, giving the necessity for men in the camp and that there was no place from where to replenish them, that the punishment already done would be enough of a lesson for the others. They were unable to get anything from him [i.e. the Governor] because he was very angry about such a great wickedness without any provocation. They were only able to get out of him that the execution of justice be postponed that day.

When Pablo Hernandez saw that his consorts were prisoners, he ran to the monastery to beg to be given the habit so that he would escape with his life, because there was no remedy otherwise. The Father Prior, considering the ugliness of the crime and how indignant the Governor was, told him that he could not save his life that way, because, even if they would give him the habit, he understood that the Governor would take him out and bring him to justice, and they would not be able to defend him, that he should look for another way out. Hence he decided to go and hide inside the deep bush, thinking he would take refuge among the Indians.

The Governor had already warned the Indians to look for him and bring him to him, and had promised a reward for his capture. He issued a declaration in the camp to the effect that whoever knew about him was to come out and say so under penalty of death, and that no-one was to give him anything to eat, nor weapons nor anything else, under the said penalty, in addition to having some secret spies for [following] those who went out and came into the settlement.

The following night, Pablo Hernandez being harassed by hunger revealed himself to an Indian of Zebu and asked him for something to eat. The latter took him to his house and, the better to entrap him asked him to give up the sword and dagger that he carried and he put him inside a cell and gave him something to eat. He left him to eat and went to call other Indians to capture him and other Indians gathered. When Pablo Hernandez felt the presence of the people, guessing what it could be, jumped out of the cell where he was and began to flee into the deep bush and the Indians pursued him for a while, but as the Governor had ordered them not to hurt him, only to capture him, they did not dare wound or fight him. So, he escaped from them and they lost sight of him in the darkness of the night.

1 Ed. note: It was he who had been the first European to marry a Filipina in a religious ceremony.

On the morning of the following day the Indians came to the fort to report it and they brought the dagger and sword that they had taken from him. The Governor ordered that the next time they were to see him they were to capture him, and if they could not capture him they were to bring him dead or alive. When Pablo Hernandez saw that he could not find favor among the Indians and that they would capture or kill him if he returned to them, he decided to return to the religious and begged them to plead for his life by whatever means possible and they should obtain it from the Governor. They agreed to do so and they pleaded and importuned the Governor about it, and other persons as well but they did not obtain it. When they saw that there was no remedy they advised him and he decided to die like a Christian in order not to lose his soul. He revealed himself to his Captain¹ begging him not to follow suit until the next day at noon in order to [give him time to] recommend his soul to God. He agreed and, after arrested him, imprisoned him inside his lodge with a guard in place. That night he confessed and the Master-of-Camp took down his confession; he too was begged to plead for his life if at all possible. He confessed that the planned affair had been as described above, and that he had been the head or leader of it.

The next day at noon, they took him out with public announcement and they hanged him. Afterwards, they cut off his head and nailed it to a post of the gallows, as a reminder and lesson to the others. This execution having been done, the religious and other main persons of the camp requested the Governor to cease and desist from more rigor. To concede their request and for other reasons that moved him, he granted a general pardon in the name of H.M. and forgave them the past provided they served H.M. faithfully in the future. In the church he had all the prisoners brought before him and, in front of many people who were present, addressed them, reprehending them for such a great evil and fault, not just the prisoners but all those who had participated in the crime, and reminding them of the penalties for it and the punishment that he thought of doing (such as they had seen it done nearby). However, in order for them to see and know the greatness, goodness and clemency of H.M., he in his royal name forgave them this time, and that he held the same goodwill and love that he had held for them before they committed this crime, that the pardon was general and applied to those present or absent, that those who had not been made prisoners were to come to him to tell him in secret the part that they had held in, participated in, known of, or understood in the past business and crime, that he would not hold it against them at any time and would not any less deserve what H.M. held in store for them in the future.

This pardon and speech gave such a great contentment in the camp that everyone were satisfied by it and they gave many thanks to the Governor. Afterwards many flocked in to tell and confess their own guilt, soldiers as well as sailors, promising to be changed men from now on, and to serve H.M. with all faithfulness all the days of their life. This way the great evil they wished to do and had planned was calmed down and overcome. It appears that as many as 40 persons had joined in the conspiracy. The Gov-

1 Ed. note: Either Goiti or Maldonado.

ernor asked only one thing out of the foreigners: that none of them was to speak any language other than Spanish, as all of them knew it, under certain penalties.

[Connection with the San Lucas affair]

It was learned that some of those who had joined in this conspiracy also had, while at the port of Navidad, joined in a conspiracy to abscond with the patache **San Lucas**.¹ Later on, when they were coming in the gulf [i.e. Pacific] they had wanted to deviate and separate from the flagship and, one very dark night, they lowered the sails aboard the *almiranta* for that purpose, giving to understand that it appeared that the flagship had done the same, as there was a cross-sea and it was a precautionary measure. However, the Master-of-Camp became very angry at this and ordered them to raise the sails and he threatened and swore at the pilots, saying that if they lost sight of the flagship and its lamp, he would hang them from the yard-arm for the same case. So, for this reason and fear of the Master-of-Camp they did not dare carry out what they wanted, also because the Master-of-Camp was always on his guard with them and he took great care in following the flagship and not lose sight of it, day and night. Although the pilots of the *almiranta* would tell him that the flagship did not steer well and did not follow the right course, he would tell and order them that it did not matter, they had to follow it and nothing else mattered, they were not to lose sight of it; otherwise, he said that he would hang them for sure. What they were unable to do overthere, they wanted to do overhere.

...

[Discovery of some remnants of the Villalobos expedition]

The Governor then sent a despatch to Captain Martín de Goiti, letting him know about the return of the Master-of-Camp, telling him that, if he had to go overthere, he could take his time but he would be glad if he saw the Strait [between Leyte and Samar] and made a survey of it, that he was sending him 30 soldiers and, if he wished to coast forward, he was to do it as far as Tandaya, and from there return to this camp.

When he received this despatch, Captain Martín de Goiti went to the mouth of the Strait, saw and surveyed it, and while going about overthere received notice that in one town nearby there was a Christian whose name was Juanes, that he had been living among the Indians for over 20 years, that he was married to the daughter of a chief, and that he was tattooed like the other natives from the waist down. The Captain went in search of him to see and rescue him, and went to the town where they had told him that he lived, and did not find anyone because they had all fled into the bush. He dealt with other Indians in their neighborhood, that they should go and make him come, that his only wish was to see him and pay for his ransom as he wished. Although they told him that they would do it, and promised him to do it, they never brought him nor could

1 Ed. note: Although they were assigned to the almiranta San Pablo.

he have him; they detained him with words for a few days. Having done all the diligences he could, and seen that they were getting deeper in their lies, he tried to seize some Indians and did seize three of them who belonged to the town of Basay¹ which was near where the Christian used to live, and in exchange for them he also tried to get the Christian after which he would release them. He was not successful; rather, he fell ill with certain fevers and could not detain more. He came back to the fort very lean and sick, bringing as prisoners the three Indians from Basay whom the Governor treated very well, and he ordered them to be cured because two of them who were chiefs came wounded; he ordered them to be given clothes.

They gave notice about Juanes. He was there, and a chief named Subuco who liked him very much had him and treated him as a son, that he had been there for many years already, from a frigate that ran aground along that coast, that he had the legs tattooed like the Indians, and that they thought that he did not want to come over to the Christians for fear. The Governor begged them to be good go-betweens so that his master would give him up, that he wished to pay for everything he had spent on him, or that he would pay for his ransom to his satisfaction as was the custom among them; in addition, he would hold him up as his friend and would favor him, the same as he would do to them, and they would be freed without having to pay any ransom. They then offered to do so, that they should be taken back home, then one of them released to go and negotiate with Juanes' master, and they would advance him the money, or would offer to stay as slaves until he was paid off.

Thus, the Governor decided to send there the Master-of-Camp with the frigates, and with him the Treasurer of H.M. with gold, bells, jars and other trade goods, enough for the ransom in accordance with their orders. So, he left this fort to go there on 18 September 1566 with 60 men, being soldiers and sailors.

...

On 28 September, eve of St. Michael's, there arrived at the fort Pedro de Herrera who brought back a canoe loaded with resin, about 12 or 13 quintals, which is used instead of pitch, if there was enough to be mixed with wax...

Pedro de Herrera brought back the news that at the island of Tandaya on the north side² there were three Christians held prisoners at the hands of the natives who had captured them from a ship that had passed there some 14 or 15 months [sic] ago. This news had been given to him by an Indian of the Lutao tribe, which is the name given to some fisherfolk who live and move about continuously with their wives and children, and have no settlements.³ One of them gave him this news saying that he had seen them and they wore shoes and hats, they had beards, and they were like us, and that two of them

1 Ed. note: Written Basey and Basel on two modern maps.

2 Ed. note: In fact, he refers to the SW coast of Samar, or the east side of San Pedro Bay, north of the so-called Tandaya River.

3 Ed. note: The so-called sea gypsies who can still be found in the southern Philippines.

were at the port of Uruna in the hands of a chief named Sidumaguinda¹, and the third was at the port of Çibabao, one league from there in the hands of another chief named Malabazo. From this it was inferred that they could have come from the flagship, given the time frame they had mentioned. When he was asked if he had advised the Master-of-Camp about this, Pedro de Herrera said no, because he had learned of it after he had separated from him.

So, the Governor then despatched Captain Juan de la Isla with the boat and 12 Spaniards to the Master-of-Camp at the Strait of Tandaya where he had gone to ransom Juanes. He wrote him a letter by which he ordered him, after the Juanes affair, to go to the above-mentioned towns, which are located on the same island on the coast opposite where Juanes was, and try to ransom the three Spaniards there; in that, he was to follow the same procedure followed in the case of Juanes. To Captain de la Isla he ordered that along the way he was to seek the Lutao who had given this news and, if he found him, he was to pay him and take him along as a guide to the Master-of-Camp. To be more effective, he took along the same sailors and soldiers who had accompanied Pedro de Herrera as they knew the Lutao. With this despatch, Juan de la Isla departed on the 1st of October of the said year.

The Master-of-Camp returned to the fort on the 3rd of October, the eve of St. Francis, without having met with Captain de la Isla sent to find him. He brought Juanes whom he had ransomed. **Juanes was not a Spaniard but a Mexican Indian** born in Santiago de Flatrelesco. He had come with the Villalobos expedition and had remained here lost with a few Spaniards from a frigate that had run aground on the coast. Although he was not a Spaniard, because he was a baptized Christian, the whole camp rejoiced at his freedom and coming. He sure did give signs of being a good Christian, God having kept him safe for so long a period. When he saw the Spaniards, he was coming aboard a canoe manned by other Indians. The first word he said was: "I believe in God", and jumping ashore where the Master-of-Camp was, he fell on his knees and with his hands and eyes toward heaven, said: "Bless you Almighty God!" then he embraced the Spaniards. He speaks little Spanish and even less his Mexican tongue which he has forgotten. However, he knows and speaks the language of these islands well, except that he cannot explain to us what the Indians say because he does not know his [own] language nor Spanish; therefore, at present he cannot be of much use, almost nothing, as an interpreter. He remembers many things from Mexico. He can say his prayers, having forgotten his own and native language. He says that he was a boy when he came to this land, that he came with a soldier named Juan Crespo. He says that he was married to a daughter of a chief in Tandaya and has two young daughters, one of them is named Catalinita, and the other Juanita, that although they are not Christian he gave them Christian names and the natives call them by those names also. The Master-of-Camp tried to ransom them but they did not want to give them up. We must try

1 Ed. note: Only to remind the reader that Filipino names were, and still are, preceded by the prefix "Si" which means "It is, He is, or I am" and corresponds to "His name is, or My name is".

to have them in order to baptize them. As for him, he was very happy in the company of the Spanish, although he had been and remain sick, as he came with swollen legs because he said that his master had put him in a pillory to prevent him from coming over to the Christians. He is tattooed like the natives in the legs, and he says that his master had him tattooed against his will.

He related that he and 15 Spaniards were left aboard the frigate that was shipwrecked there, and most of them he knew by names, that all of them are now dead, some from illnesses, and others in wars among the Indians. The last one to die, he says, was a certain Juan Flores, about 5 years ago, when he had gone on a raid with 30 Indians and they were all killed in an ambush. By this narrative of Juanes, it was understood that the three Spaniards whom Pedro de Herrera had said were in Çibabao were part of those, because he says that it was true that three of his company were there and died there, but that Pedro de Herrera was fooled, time-wise, because the Indians were saying 14 or 15 years, and he understood months instead. It is no wonder that this [kind of] error occurs, and many others, when there is no interpreter, only sign language to speak with, and understand.

...

[Report of the Pericón expedition and mutiny]

Captain Juan de la Isla who had gone in search of the Master-of-Camp met with the galleon **San Gerónimo** that was coming with the mail from New Spain, badly supplied and worse treated, among some islands with some currents and not knowing where they were¹ nor where to sail. As the people aboard the galleon saw him, they asked him to come aboard and take them where the Governor was, and he did so. With the boat that he had he sent an advice to the Governor that he was staying aboard the ship, advising him about the mutinies and bad discipline that it had undergone during the voyage. It appears certain that if Juan de la Isla had not met with them, they doubted that their arrival at this port would have happened so quickly, and if they had rounded the point of an island where he met with them, they ran the risk and enough hardships before they could have returned to the fort.

After the Governor had learned about the coming of the ship, he despatched the Master-of-Camp with a skiff-type frigate so that if the wind failed he would be able to tow the ship in. He met with them as they were already near, and so it came in and they arrived at this port on Tuesday, 15 October 1566.

Their arrival was a cause of great rejoicing. It was a pity to hear about the bad discipline, the mutinies, disagreements and deaths, hardships and miseries that they had and suffered from during the voyage. As the galleon came without her Captain nor with any despatch from the Royal Audiencia, the General ordered an inquiry regarding all of the above, through which will be gained a greater understanding of the event of the voyage and the useless discipline it came with.

1 Ed. note: He probably met the galleon near the Camotes Islands in the Camotes Sea.

In summary, what can be inferred is that Captain Pericón began his voyage and departed the port of Acapulco with greater speed and less wisdom than he should have and thus it ended quickly and disastrously. What happened before they left the port there is understood to be as follows. When they set sail, they say that he did not pay enough attention to the freight he carried, and that he forgot to make provision and remedy some things that happened and was going on aboard the ship, above all a few disputes and some words that the Sergeant Major had with his son the Lieutenant. As the Sergeant Major came as Master of the galleon, he was partial to the sailors and that he, with Lope Martín, the pilot, and a certain Felipe del Campo and some other comrades of his, and a few sailors who were members of the pilot's gang joined in a conspiracy, and with them the lesser Sergeant who was called Pedro Núñez, and they conspired against the Captain. They treated him with disrespect and unashamedly in words and deeds, showing very little respect. They killed a horse he had brought, and it was not known who had done it. Even though some of his friends, judging that what was happening was bad, told him and advised him what they thought of the business, and begged him to watch out for his person, telling him that whoever killed the horse would not fret from doing something worse but he laughed at it and did not give it any importance.

So, they decided to kill him, because he had not remedied it as he should have. One night, while he was sleeping in his cabin, they went in and killed him and his son with blows from daggers. Those involved in the deaths, although the Sergeant Major was behind it all, saying that he himself had killed them, they say that two other sailors went in with him: Lara and Morales. Those who were in favor but had their backs turned and were armed to prevent any soldier from stirring or moving from where they were, were: the pilot Lope Martín, Felipe del Campo, Sergeant Pedro Núñez, Sanfate [Çarfate], Molina, Juan de Zaldivar, the ship clerk, Alonso Boza [Vaca], and others in the league, and many sailors who, not having weapons of their own put on the coats-of-mail of the soldiers and took other arms and as such were masters of it all.

The Sergeant Major became the leader as he had arranged it with the mutineers. He then calmed the men down by saying that he would exonerate them for having killed the Captain, not to worry, and that he would take them to their General; they would be taken in under his protection and he would clear himself from the death of the Captain and his son. So, he began to hold some inquiries.

A little afterwards, there were little things and differences between him and the pilot Lope Martín which led the Sergeant Major to plan the arrest of the pilot but when he tried to put it into effect, those in his league whom he had told about it hindered him, saying that the time was not ripe, to wait for a better opportunity. To acquiesce with them, he postponed it. The pilot was advised of this by some of those who had hindered the Sergeant Major. That night the pilot arrested the Sergeant Major with the help of the sailors and told him that he should let himself be put in irons, that it would thus placate the men and then the lesser Sergeant with a few sailors seized and took the weapons from most of the soldiers and put them below deck.

The next day in the morning, they all had breakfast together, the pilot, the Sergeant Major, the lesser Sergeant and the others in their league and after having drunk well, the pilot Lope Martín ordered to hang the Sergeant Major. The latter thought that they were joking, and he was saying: "What childishnesses are those? Let me go." Thus they strung him up without confession and threw him into the sea half alive. The pilot Lope Martín remained alone as leader, with Felipe del Campo as his adviser who was saying and publishing that to this island [of Cebu] the pilot would not come but that he would throw the people in one island of this neighborhood, then he would go with those who wished to follow him. He promised those that he would make them rich and fortunate men very quickly, that he would return to Spain by the Strait of Magellan.

Upon arriving at **Barbudos** [Marshall] Island, he anchored at a small island in the vicinity, [and said] that if he wished to follow the instruction of the Royal Audiencia he did not have to arrive there nor come down to such a low latitude. While they were anchored at that islet, he plotted to leave there all the people who disagreed with him. He communicated as much to those in his league and, in order to carry it out more easily, he ordered that all the chests and clothes of the soldiers be removed. He himself disembarked and ordered all the people to disembark, saying that they were to winter there, that he wanted to repair the ship. So, the majority of the people went ashore, at least most of the soldiers, and the abandonment of the people was not so secret as some people came to believe. A priest who came in the galleon, named Juan de Vivero, said that he understood the business and the cruelty that they wanted to do. As a priest, he dared to have a talk with Felipe del Campo, as he was the person who governed the pilot, begging him to look well at this affair and not to allow him to leave the people there, that it was inhumane, that they should be brought to the Philippines and be left where there were supplies and food, where they could find a remedy; that if this were not considered a remedy at least they should be given their weapons, and not be left marooned that way. He was told that it could not be done in any way, and that he should not bother to speak about it anymore.

So, he [i.e. the priest] did not dare to speak anymore about the affair, because they were all hoping every hour for the death of the mutineers. So, they all went about ag-hast and troubled, not daring to trust one another, even their friends. While they were amid those hardships and miseries, it appears that by God's permission Rodrigo del Angle who came as boatswain, and Santiago de Garnica, the water steward, and Juan Enrique, the Flemish gunner, tried to abscond with the ship in the name of H.M. and to leave the pilot and his partisans ashore on the island, and to come to this fort with the others. In order to do it better they informed Lara, a sailor who had been in on the death of the Captain and belonged to the pilot's party, when both he and Morales, who was in the same league, were aboard the ship. Plotting the affair with Lara, they promised to make him Captain and he would be in charge of everything. For this reason and also because he was not in the good graces of the pilot as he used to, he agreed with them and said that he would favor them in everything he could. With his connivance they arose in the name of H.M. and shouted to those ashore to embark.

So, 4 or 5 soldiers swam in and boarded the ship. Lara shouted to Felipe del Campo who was his close friend to come to the ship, but he answered from the beach that he would go there and punish them with the other scoundrels who were aboard the ship. Therefore, the boatswain Rodrigo del Angle and his companions, chopped the cables of the anchors holding them anchored and made sail in order to leave the port.

At about one quarter of a league from shore they came back to anchor and they sent the boat ashore to summon the people, those who wish to come to Zebu. It appears that they could not that day, nor anyone dared to embark because the mutineers detained them, surrounded and unarmed.

The next day in two trips made by the boat ashore, summoning them to embark, some people did so. It did the same thing the next day and others risked going to the ship by swimming. Lope Martín remained with 26 persons. They remained with a large part of the clothes and all the soldiers' chests. The pilot always trusted, and so he was saying and publishing it, that he was going to take back control of the ship as he had a few sailor friends aboard the ship. Rodrigo del Angle made sail and said that he would bring them to Zebú, and so they came. Rodrigo del Angle ordered the arrest of Lara and Morales, because he feared them and, saying that they had been guilty of the Captain's death, hanged them.

Between the Ladrones and these Philippines they met with contrary tradewinds and so they turned back two or three times. When they sighted the first land of the Philippines they carried no more water and they came with little food. In one island they got water and food, albeit with some harm and the death of a few natives. They did the same thing at the island of the Ladrones.

While they were cruising among these islands two days before they encountered Captain Juan de la Isla, Santiago de Garnica and Juan Enrique aboard the boat with 16 persons separated to search for food and so they did not come with the ship. The Governor later despatched a frigate to look for them and at the end of 15 days they arrived at this fort.

As a result of the inquiry that was held, guilt was decided against Juan de Zaldivar, the ship clerk, for having been part of the conspiracy in the death of the Captain. Furthermore, some persons gave notice to the Governor about some gossips about his dealings with the Pilot, the Captain and the Sergeant Major, divulging his own secret dealings with the Captain in his capacity as Clerk. So, a summary investigation was opened against him, he was imprisoned and he confessed that he had known about the death of the Captain many days before they killed him and he distributed weapons to the conspirators and those in favor of the mutiny. So, justice was ordered done and he was executed.

The Governor assembled all the others who had come with the ship and gave them a speech, telling them about the bad discipline that they had participated in and had been apparent in everything they had touched, did not stop until they had committed treason and the death of the Captain and his son, that it was worthy of a serious punishment and penalty and that had been the reason why justice had been done to Juan

de Zaldivar, as they had seen, and that he understood that all the others who had come with the galleon were not guilty of it but rather that they wished to serve H.M. and had come here with this intention in mind, that all the guilty ones and participants in that crime, so enormous and ugly, remained with the pilot and others would get their pay, that they were dead ones already. However, so that no unpleasant aftertaste or scruple be left from this affair, he, in the name of H.M. was pardoning all those who had come to this island of Zebú and had placed themselves under the royal banner, so that no-one would ever ask them to account for it ever, or institute proceedings against them, by doing in the future what they were obligated to do in the service of H.M., toward which he persuaded and animated them as much as he could, by representing to them the greatness and great christianity of H.M. and how good he was at giving favors and rewarding those who serve him, and the qualities and resources of the land, and the magnitude of what they could merit, hold and reach by following him well and with fidelity, not only for God but for H.M. and in order to increase their fames and honors.

By this justification he gave great contentment to all and they showed that they were very happy. Because the captaincies here were lacking soldiers on account of the casualties, he distributed the soldiers among their squads, except for 4 or 5 gentlemen soldiers whom he took for his own company. So he did and either ones showed themselves to be very happy [about it] and they again rendered homage and swore to obey H.M. and the Governor in his royal name. The pilot Rodrigo del Angle delivered to the Governor a flag that he said he had raised in the name of H.M. in order to come with the people and the ship to this island as mentioned above...

The ship **San Gerónimo** that came from New Spain was leaking so much that it could not be stopped, although they routinely operated the pump. It was tried to remedy this and take the water out but there was no way to stop it, either from the inside or from the outside, although they tried to on many occasions, involving the carpenters and divers to be found in the camp, and other seamen. They all agreed that there was no remedy, because they were saying that it was all full of worm holes and that the water could not be taken out, that in addition the whole keel, stern and stern-post were rotten and were useless. So, the few times that the divers had gone below the waterline they came up with pieces of worm-eaten wood which they say had come from the keel. Therefore, they declared that there was no remedy and that they were of the opinion that it should be condemned and taken apart to recover some of the wood and iron works that could be removed, because it could not be salvaged.

The Governor ordered a meeting of the Captains and officers of Royal Treasury and a few sailors and seamen and, having discussed this, they all agreed that the said ship could be taken apart so as not to lose everything, by cutting it down to the first deck, removing all of the ballast and then beaching it so that a true visual inspection could reveal better if there was some remedy and [if so] to make a patache or a galley that would be of some use, that it was in the best interest of H.M. and so they signed this opinion with their names.

Accordingly, it was ordered taken apart and raised down to the first deck and afterward they beached it ashore and then it was ordered that the official carpenters and other seamen who knew about ships have another look. They in turn looked inside and out and swore a declaration that the said ship could not be repaired nor salvaged, not even to make a patache or other type of galley, because everything was too far gone, worm-eaten and rotten, not only the outer planks but the interior wood, even the iron parts were wasted and rusted, that it was useless for anything except that it could be dismantled and some boards could be used for something else.¹

¹ Ed. note: The patache San Juan departed Cebu with this report at the end of July 1567.

Document 1566F

Letter from Guido de Lavezaris to the King, dated Cebu 25 July 1567

Sources: AGI 67-6-34; B&R 34: 207-213.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

I informed your Majesty by the flagship which was despatched from this island, in the month of June of the year 1565 to discover the return route to New Spain, as your faithful vassal and servant, of events that had happened up to that time; and I petitioned you to reward me in consideration of the 27 years that I have served your Majesty in the discovery of these districts. [I told you] that I had come here before as your Majesty's accountant in company with Ruy Lopez de Villalobos; and further that I had taken the ginger plant (which is now [grown] in New Spain) at the great risk of my person. I have done other services for your Majesty of which I gave information.

The present information that I have to relate to your Majesty is that the **San Gerónimo**, despatched from New Spain in the month of May in the past year 1566, by the President and Members of your Royal Audiencia [of Mexico], and officials of the royal treasury resident therein, arrived at this island in the month of October of the said year. It made its voyage so inadequately prepared with necessities and with the articles that we asked from here, that we were placed in greater need than before its arrival. The ship had no captain because he had been killed during the voyage. There were also other mutinies and rebellions [on the ship] as appears from the investigations made here about it, which your Majesty may see if so minded and determine its fortune. At its arrival this whole camp received great happiness at learning that the [return] route, which had been so greatly desired by the Emperor our sovereign (may he rest in peace), by your Majesty, and by all your vassals and subjects, had been discovered and so easily and desired so very rightly, since besides the fruit that will be attained in the preaching of the holy gospel (the chief design of your Majesty and of your Catholic ancestors) your Majesty will be greatly benefitted in the temporal, your royal Crown greatly increased, your subjects and vassals advantaged, and finally there will be a gateway opened for the Spanish nation to have a place where it may employ its strength.



Guido de Lavezaris

Guido de Lavezaris, Royal Treasurer of the first Spanish colony in the Philippines. (*From Juan Caro y Mora's Ataque de Limahong a Manila en 1574. Manila, 1898*)

I rejoice more than I can tell, and rightly, since I gave advice to your Majesty and to your royal Council of the Indies, of the products of these districts in the year 1554 at Valladolid, and of the suitability and fitness of these Philippines for supporting the people in them both in the interim until the route should be discovered, and until your Majesty's commands should be sent, all of which availed for the work and affair. It has been very important for your royal service, and on that account there is legitimate reason why your Majesty should reward me. For, besides

the above-mentioned services, I came to serve you in this present expedition as Treasurer of your royal treasury. No other person than myself of all those who took part in the expedition of Villalobos came on this expedition, and I, by reason of my experience in the past expedition, have given advice on what has been necessary; for I came to these islands for this purpose and until the discovery of this route should be made, and left my wife and family in New Spain. I put away everything else for what touches your Majesty's service, and I hope from your clemency to be rewarded for my services.

I shall not give a full report of the occurrences of this expedition from the time of the despatch of the flagship [i.e. 1565] until the present, because the Governor and we, your Majesty's officials, give a report of them in the relations and letters which are being sent. I shall only mention that a huge quantity of cinnamon has been discovered on the point of Quavit¹ on the island of Mindanao. It is so abundant there that it is heard that the mountains are full of it. Inasmuch as there is no market for it in these islands we can easily procure at little expense as much as your Majesty would like brought to Spain. It will be necessary to have some settlement in the vicinity where the cinnamon is gathered, both in order to gather the cinnamon and because the Portuguese fleets en route from Malacca to the Moluccas pass by that place, which is also in the district of Borneo, the Moluccas, and other important places.

Since your Majesty has not yet sent orders declaring your royal will, we are only striving to maintain our men until the arrival of the reinforcements of which we are in great need. It is advisable that that aid be sent quickly, and that more zeal be displayed

1 Ed. note: Cavit Point at 7°30'N.

in the despatch from New Spain than hitherto; for although it is about three years since we left there, only one ship has been sent, and it arrived (I mean came) in a condition more in need of aid than to aid. Therefore, this ship [i.e. the patache San Juan, Captain Juan de la Isla] is being despatched now. We send in it the cinnamon that the little time at our disposal gives us opportunity to gather.

I entreat your Majesty, since it is a matter that is so important to your royal service, to please send your orders promptly as to what you wish most to be done. For after the arrival of the reinforcements, I intend (the Divine Will concurring), to go and kiss your Majesty's feet, and to report in detail concerning these districts, as I am unable to give any adequate idea in a letter without great prolixity.

Two Portuguese ships such as the natives of the Moluccas use¹ came to this port on the the 10th of the present month of July. They were sent by Captain Major Gonçalo Pereira Mamarraque, who went from India to the Moluccas by commission of the Viceroy, Don António de Noronha. They bore letters from the Captain Major for the Governor which informed him and declared that we were in their demarcation, and tried to get us to go to the Moluccas and thence to India. I endeavored to gain some information from those ships regarding the affairs in the Moluccas, and some of the men told me that your Majesty's old-time vassals, the kings of Tidore and of Gilolo, have been killed and persecuted by the Portuguese and by their friend and confederate, the king of Ternate. They killed the king of Tidore and destroyed a fort which the king of Gilolo possessed, who died while being pursued. The king of Ternate had the latter's son who succeeded him in his kingdom killed; while the son of the king of Tidore who is yet living, pays a yearly and very excessive tribute of 100 bahars or more than 500 quintals of cloves to the Portuguese. In addition, the vassals of those kings are greatly harassed and troubled by the Portuguese and by their friend, the king of Ternate. I believe, most invincible prince, that such trouble and harassing proceeds from the fact that those kings and their subjects are so affectioned to the Castilian name; for I, as an eyewitness, assure your sacred Majesty that the Castilians who sailed in the fleet of Villalobos were as well received and as kindly treated by the kings of Tidore and Gilolo and by their vassals, and that they always showed us as much love and goodwill, and offered their persons and property, to relieve our necessities, as if they had really been your Majesty's natural vassals for many years. And they assure me that they still live in great constancy, and are in hopes that your Majesty will have them delivered from the cruel bondage in which they live because they have ever shown themselves so favorable to the Castilians. For that reason their misery and trouble move me to deep compassion when I remember the kindness which I received from them when I was in the Moluccas, and the love and affection that they bestowed upon us. Besides this the Ternatans and the Portuguese in their company have made and are daily making raids and captives among these [Philippine] islands, so that the natives are in great fear when they see the harm that they receive from them.

1 Ed. note: That is, two caracoras.

Those Portuguese remained in this port of Çubu for 13 days where they were caressed and feasted by all generally. The Governor offered his services to them in whatever they needed, according to the orders of your Majesty's instructions. When the Portuguese left, they said that the Captain Major had received a resolution and express mandate from India to rout, destroy, and drive us out of this place by whatever means he could, and that he had left India with nine ships and eight hundred soldiers for that sole purpose. That news threw us into great consternation, as we are short of men, ships, ammunition, and artillery, and because the masters of the sea hostile to us [i.e. the Portuguese] can easily deprive us of provisions as they have many large ships and oared boats and many friendly Indians from Ternate who are well equipped with weapons and food, while we are in need of all things generally. However, although we are so needy at present, we have firmly resolved to die in the service of your Majesty like true Spaniards, and we shall not move from this place until your Majesty so orders. Consequently, we shall endeavor to defend ourselves as far as possible, with our few forces.

In the belief that I was doing your Majesty a service, I endeavored to get the loan of a **map** and navigation chart from the Portuguese, and quickly had a portion that falls within the Castilian demarcation copied from it as well as certain remarks made by one of our pilots. I enclose it herewith¹, and if your Majesty be so pleased the cosmographers may see by it the position of the lands and islands now newly discovered.

May your Majesty receive my willingness to see you. May our Lord prosper and preserve your Royal Catholic person with increase of greater kingdoms and seignories, as is the desire of your Majesty's vassals.

From this island of Çubu, 25 July 1567.

Your Sacred Catholic Majesty's faithful vassal and most humble servant who kisses your royal feet.

[Endorsed: "Examined. File it with the other papers treating of this matter."]

1 The map does not accompany this letter [anymore].

Document 1566G

Letter from the Royal Officials to the King, dated Cebu 26 July 1567

Sources: AGI 67-6-29; B&R 34: 214-222.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

We reported to your Majesty all of the events up to the day of the departure of the **San Pedro** which came to these districts as flagship and which left this port on the first day of June 1565, under favorable auspices for the discovery of this expedition and voyage.¹ We shall now relate to your Majesty as your Majesty's faithful servants what new things have happened here since then.

A ship with news of the arrival at New Spain reached this port where we are settled in your Majesty's service, and of the flagship which went to discover the route which our Lord was pleased to have accomplished in the most invincible days of your Majesty. Not little should all Christians entreat His Divine Majesty to grant many years of life to your Majesty, so that the holy Catholic faith might be increased and exalted by your Majesty's influence in the very great kingdoms and seigniories that are located in these districts.

After the departure of the **San Pedro**, the natives of this port, both the chiefs and the other people, came to render obedience to the Governor in your Majesty's name, and to place themselves under the protection and dominion of your Majesty. They offered to recognize and to hold your Majesty as their natural lord, and said that they would give you the products of their land, namely rice, millet, and *boroña*.² The Governor received them as such vassals and told them what they were to observe to keep our friendship. They are so vicious a race and have such evil morals that they keep no faith nor perform anything although they have promised it. Accordingly we have temporized with the natives of this port and with the other natives who have as yet offered to accept our friendship. Inasmuch as no further force is shown them than that willed

1 Ed. note: For this previous report, see Documents 1565V3 & V4.

2 Ed. note: In Spain this was a dish made with apples, pumpkins, etc. In Cebu, it may have been a dish made with sticky rice and coconut.

by you, we have as yet not been able to do less; and inasmuch as (as we have remarked above) they are a vicious race and possessed of bad morals, and recognize no ruler, therefore if their chiefs try to force them, they will do nothing else than go to another island. They find enough desert lands if one tries to force them in their own. Until having your Majesty's order and instructions, the Governor has not cared or consented to have war made on them and we consider it as certain that if that had been done, we would have suffered, and have all met our death most wretchedly, for the first thing that those natives do is to take away all the food, and the misery in which they hold the land in which they live is such that war cannot be made there under any circumstance. Had it not been for the good government that has been exercised in all things in not making war upon those natives, and treating them well, we would doubtless all have died. Our Lord has been pleased to direct this entire affair as His own and to show us miraculous rewards. May it please His Divine Majesty to continue such actions and to preserve us in His holy service and in that of your Majesty.

In view of the great delay in sending us aid from New Spain, and news of what your Majesty has ordered provided, it was determined to despatch the patache **San Juan**. It carries 70 quintals of cinnamon which was bartered for in the island of Bindanao, namely, at the point called Cavite. We have heard that it is abundant in that part and that it can be easily gathered. Bindanao is a well settled island both in the north and in the south. We have heard that there is much gold in all parts of it, and that if we settle it and cultivate the land we shall learn many secrets of it. The inhabitants there are warlike and full of malice. We have taken possession of it in your Majesty's name.

Moros have come to this port where we are at present from certain islands called Luzon and Bindoro. They have brought rice and gold to sell in exchange for silver and pearls. These men have told us that the Chinese go to their land to trade and carry away all the products of this archipelago, namely, gold, wax, and slaves. From the information given us it is a rich land and has [plenty] of trade.

A **mutiny** happened on November 28th of the year 1565 but our Lord was pleased that those who took part in it should not succeed in their vile purpose. That mutiny was of such a nature that had He permitted it [to succeed] because of our sins, we would have all miserably perished. But He was graciously [inclined] to show us mercy, and did not allow them to succeed in the deceptions with which the devil had imbued them. Consequently, the ring-leaders were punished, and the matter smoothed over and settled. Justice is rightly done in what arises. There was another **mutiny** afterward which was engaged in by the same ones, although there were not so many in it and it was not a matter in which they could succeed. All punishment was inflicted in accordance with law.¹

1 Ed. note: In April 1567, the Master-of-Camp had gone to Mindanao to buy some cinnamon. A mutiny arose and they killed him because he had forbidden the men from private trading. The ring leader was Martín Hernandez, a Portuguese, who was hanged.

The said aid and advice that was despatched from New Spain reached this port in such a desperate and in such an unfortunate condition that, according to our understanding, no Christians have ever heard of so many things left to chance. Our Lord was pleased to bring the ship miraculously and those whom it carried, as your Majesty will see by the report that the Governor is sending about what happened.

The crew killed the Captain and his Lieutenant, and afterward hanged the Sergeant Major who was coming with an appointment in case of the absence of the one [Sergant Major already] here in this camp. He, in company with other tyrants killed the said Captain and Lieutenant, and his companions afterward hanged him. After that event they reached certain islets, located about 700 leagues from this port. They tried to abandon a great portion of the men there, while they intended to go to the district where the Chinese and Japanese trade, and to pursue their career of piracy if they were able. Our Lord was pleased at that juncture to give courage to the men who wished to serve your Majesty, some of whom were naked while others were clad only in their shirts. They determined to go to the ship and raise a shout in favor of your Majesty. It succeeded as we have written. Our Lord was pleased to give them strength and to direct them so that all the tyrants were left ashore on one of the said islands where the ship was anchored.

The ship arrived here without any kind of aid either of arms or of ammunition, for all of which we had sent to ask. The men were quite worn out and in a deplorable condition, and all their clothing had been left ashore. As soon as they arrived, the Governor ordered an investigation of everything that had occurred in the whole affair, and he is sending the report to your Majesty, by which everything will be more explicit and detailed.

By order and command of the Governor, the Master-of-Camp, Mateo del Saz (may he rest in peace) left this port to go to the place where we had heard that cinnamon was to be found, and to run along the coast in order to visit our friends there, and to go on to where the said cinnamon was to be found. He, going upon that expedition, met with a Portuguese galley during very furious weather. The Master-of-Camp, desiring to know what ship it was, tried to go to them, upon which the Portuguese retired. Thereupon the Master-of-Camp waited to see whether there was any fear on the part of the Portuguese. Then the captain of the galley sent him a letter, whose copy and reply is enclosed herewith.¹ When the said Master-of-Camp perceived what that meant, and when he saw two other sails, he tried to come to this port with all haste as he had a favorable wind. He met a large fleet of the Portuguese, who, as was believed, did not see him or else thought that his ship was one of their own which had become separated by a storm which they had suffered. When the Master-of-Camp had reached this port he immediately put us on the watch and lookout for whatever might happen. In this way did we wait to see what the Portuguese were going to do. After three days had passed we saw two galliots. When the General saw them he waited to see what they wanted,

1 Ed. note: Not reproduced here.

ready for them with his men. But as they did not wish to come or to wait, the Governor determined to send Martin de Goiti, who is the present Master-of-Camp because of the death of Mateo del Saz (may he rest in peace) to ascertain their design. When he had reached them, he spoke to them and told them if they were under any necessity, to let him know, for he was ordered by his Governor to aid and protect them if there was any opportunity. If they would come to where the Governor was stationed they would be helped and protected with right goodwill, in accordance with his Majesty's order. They answered all with great politeness and said that they had no need. On the contrary they would aid and protect us if we needed anything. When this Governor heard their reply, he again despatched his own captain, and sent the Portuguese some refreshment, and wrote them that he would be very glad to see and speak to them, as your Majesty will see by the copy of the letter which the Governor is sending.

All the men of this camp are in general very necessitous and have no present resource, because as we have said above, the General did not allow them to make war on the natives, awaiting to see what orders and instructions your Majesty would be pleased to send, and what reward it has pleased your Majesty to grant to all the men who have suffered the imminent risk of their lives, and hardship and misery in the service of your Majesty—which surely have been great, and for which we have been given courage and strength, by the pleasure of our Lord, to suffer them.

We humbly beg your Majesty to grant us the salary and increase which we ask your Majesty to make us to the sum of 3,000 ducats per year, in consideration of the fact that we are in parts so remote where the things which we need are so dear, as we have pledged and been cheated out of our patrimonies in order to come to serve your Majesty, on this expedition in which we have endured many hardships and necessities. We hope to be remunerated for it all by a sovereign and prince so Christian and one who has such a munificent and liberal hand as your Majesty, by your showing us the favor to concede and grant us the *repartimientos* [i.e. land grants] which might be in this land.

At present there is nothing in this land from which our salaries can be paid, unless in cinnamon which has no market in these districts. We humbly beg your Majesty to grant us and concede us the power of being paid in New Spain from the proceeds of the cinnamon and other drugs in these districts, and that they be paid to the person who shall have and has had our power of attorney therefor. We beg and entreat [this] of your Majesty with all humility.

Some of the natives have been converted to the true knowledge and have received the waters of holy baptism. The chiefs and all the natives say that since we have no wives we do not intend to remain in the country. It is advisable for your Majesty to have some married people sent here who are of good morals, and may they come quickly.

We have great need of artillery, ammunition, and arms for the men who are here. Will your Majesty please have us provided with the best men and men of the best morals who can be found, for this is necessary for the service of your Majesty whose royal Catholic person we pray our Lord to preserve with greater kingdoms and increasing seignories, as is desired by us, your Majesty's faithful servants.

Two *coracoras* of the Moluccan Indians arrived at this port on the 10th of this month. They carried 12 Portuguese, whom a certain Gonçalo Pereira, Captain Major of a large fleet which the Viceroy of India despatched to the Moluccas because he thought that we must have stopped there, and Alvaro de Mendocça, Captain of the fort of the said Moluccas, had sent. They wrote to the Governor that they had sure evidence that we had settled in this port, and they thought that it must have been by accident, as all the district hereabout was (as was a fact [they said]) within their demarcation. Therefore if it were so, and we were here because of any need, we should endeavor to go to the fort of the Moluccas where we would be given the best of welcomes. The Governor answered this putting them off as much as possible, as your Majesty will see by the letters and their reply to which we refer (as well as to Captain Juan de la Isla, who has a good understanding of this in detail and of all other things that have happened in these districts, and from whom your Majesty will receive as we have said, a true and extensive relation).¹

There has been a singular carelessness in providing us from New Spain with reinforcements; and if it should happen (which may God our Lord avert) that we should suffer some loss, it would be because of that. At present we have neither arms, ammunition, nor artillery with which to defend ourselves if the Portuguese should try to harm us. May His Divine Goodness remedy and direct everything as He deems best. Surely His divine hand has protected us, and so we are ready to die in His most holy service and that of your Majesty with great steadfastness if occasion offers.

May our Lord preserve your Sacred Catholic Majesty and give you greater kingdoms and increasing seigniories.

From this port [i.e. Cebu], 27 July 1567.

Sacred Catholic Majesty, your Sacred Catholic Majesty's faithful servants, who most humbly kiss your Majesty's royal feet.

Guido de Lavezaris,
Andrés Cauchela,
Andrés de Mirandaola.

1 Ed. note: Captain de la Isla returned to the Philippines from Spain 3 years later (1570).

Document 1567A

Relation of the Islands of the West by Captain Diego de Artieda to the King, undated [ca. 1570]

Sources: 1) Original copy, bearing Artieda's signature, in MN Ms. 19697/1 (formerly MBU 711-20-3/22); 2) copy in AGI Patronato 1-1-1/23, filed out of sequence with Filipinas (1537-1565 period) which is unsigned, has more text than the original copy, and is the version published in Col. Ultramar, iii, doc. 40, pp. 226-243 where it is wrongly attributed to Captain de la Isla; 3) another copy, with 2 pages missing, is in BN Paris, ms. esp. 325, n° 3, fol. 10-13. Coello mentions a transcript (See p. 283, Boletín Soc. Geo. Madrid, 1885), then in the Navy HQ, of a copy that had previously been filed, correctly, at AGI under "Papeles de las Islas del Poniente de 1570 á 1588. A composite version of this document, translated by Alfonso de Salvio, is in B&R 3: 190-208.

Note: Diego Artieda Cherrino was an Army Captain who accompanied Salcedo when he returned to the Philippines in 1567 (See B&R 3:130). He left the Philippines with Fr. Diego de Herrera in 1569 (See B&R 3:51-52). Artieda himself tells us at the end of this relation that he began to write it after he left with Fr. Diego, who was on his first absence from the Philippines. Artieda must have put the finishing touches, or made a clean copy of it for presentation to the King, when he reached Spain, circa 1570.

Preliminary note.

Extract from the Relation of Discoveries, 1569-1576 (B&R 3:130):

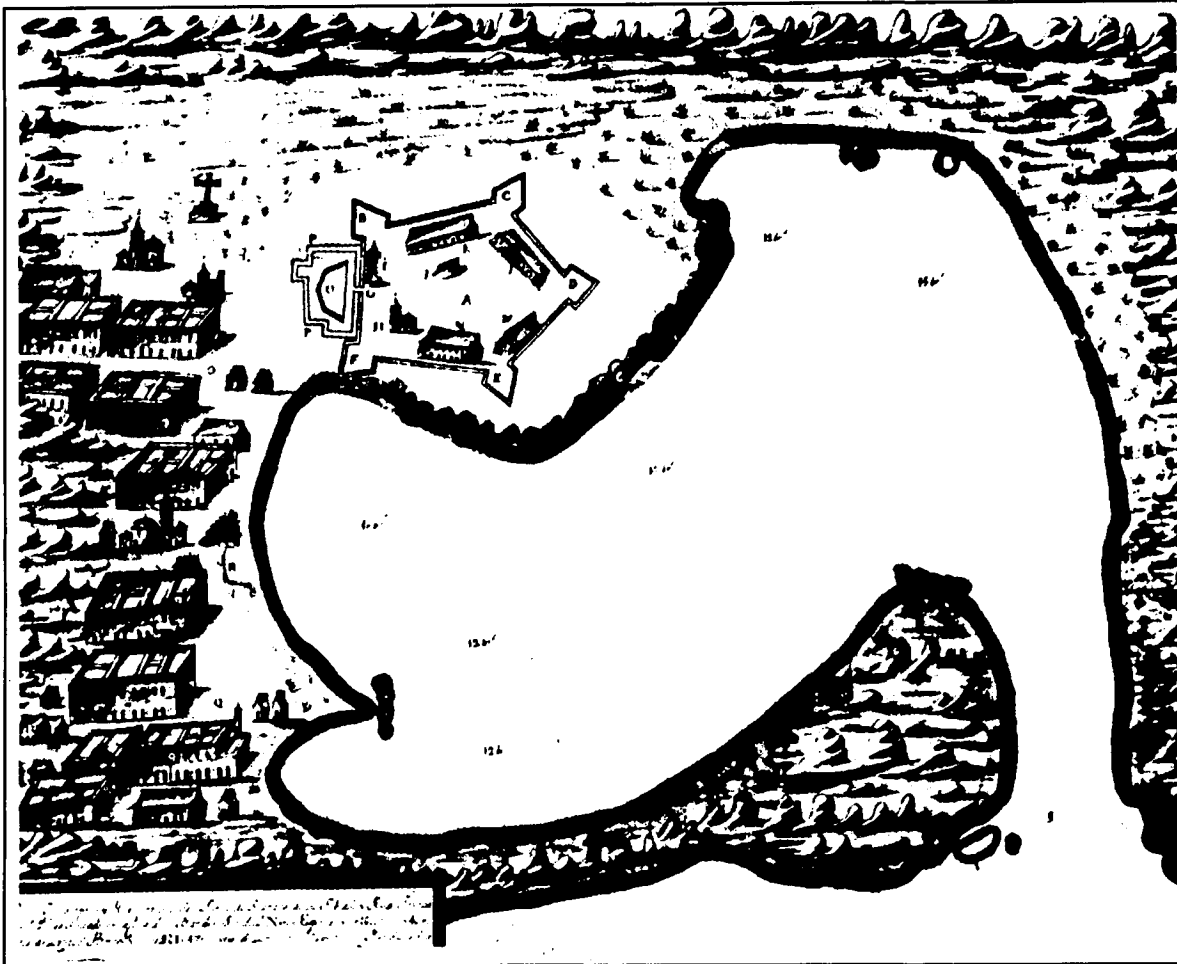
“Felipe de Salcedo as General, **Captain Artieda with a company**, and another company of Juan [López] de Aguirre for Captain [sic] Andrés de Ibarra, set sail in April 1567 with two ships¹ and 300 men, both sailors and soldiers. They reached Çubu on 20 August 1567.

The General Miguel López despatched a ship [i.e. the patache San Juan] commanded by Juan de la Isla. It reached New Spain on 16 November 1567...”²

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- 1 Ed. note: The galleon San Pedro and the patache San Lucas. Captain Artieda had been commissioned in Spain to buy weapons and other supplies and to take them to Legazpi (ref. AGI Patronato 24-18).
 - 2 Ed. note: Captain de la Isla arrived in Spain in June 1568 and the Council authorized an expedition for him, which left Spain in August 1569 and arrived at Veracruz in October 1569; we will see how he crossed the Pacific in 1570.



Juan de Salcedo was only 18 years old in 1567. *He was aboard the flagship San Pedro when it passed by Guam under the command of his brother Felipe. This other grandson of Legazpi later saved Manila from the Chinese pirate Limahong and conquered many parts of Luzon for the Spanish Crown. He has been called the Cortés of the Philippines. His qualities brought him quick military promotions, but his career was brief, for he died at the age of 27, on 11 March 1576, after drinking too much water while overheated by a long march. He died a poor man, but passed on his landed estate to Filipino natives on his property.*



The port of Acapulco soon became the best port on its coast. *It was to replace the port of Navidad as the port closest to Mexico and the best place from which to despatch the galleons to the Philippines.* (From AGI)

Visit to Guam in 1567, by Army Captain Artieda, with the ship San Pedro and the patache San Lucas

Captain Artieda, who went to those islands for the King, wrote this relation.¹

New Spain has two ports in the South Sea. That which is called Acapulco is very good and can give shelter to many ships, no matter how large they may be; it is in 17 and 1/2 degrees of north latitude. The other is called the Port of Navidad; its entrance is shallow, and it can therefore give shelter to small ships only; it is in 19 and 1/3 degrees of north latitude. From whichever of these ports one goes to any of the Isles of the West, the best route is to sail strickly in the latitude in which lies the island that one

¹ Ed. note: This sentence appears only on the Sevilla copy.

wishes to reach, because in the season of the breezes, which is the right time to make the voyage, favorable tail winds are never wanting. The season for the breezes lasts from the end of October to the end of April. From the end of April to the end of October the tradewinds blow, which will be of help on the way back; but let it be remembered that he who wishes to return ought to take a higher degree of latitude, because the winds will not fail him.¹

In view of your Majesty's command and orders from Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain, the expedition commanded by Miguel López de Legazpi has discovered since 24 November 1564 the following islands to the west, in the South Sea:

Barbudos.—NE--SW of the Port of Navidad, in about 10° of north latitude, and at a distance of 1,120 leagues, were found some islands lying E—W. The inhabitants were dressed in a sort of cloth made of thin palm-bark. The men wore long beards, and for that reason the islands received the name of Barbudos.² No weapons were found among them, from which we can infer that they are a peaceful people, and that they had never come into conflict with other men. They live on coconuts, roots, and fish. It was learned that they kept some Castilian fowls. These islands may be about 175 leagues from New Guinea.

Ladrones.—Further west by a distance of 400 leagues lie the islands called Chamurros or Ladrones, which, according to report, number 13 islands. The largest of all is not 40 leagues in circumference. They are all alike in appearance, trade, and food products. **I have seen but the island of Guahan.** Their weapons consist of slings and fire-hardened sticks which they use like lances. They hurl stones to such a great distance with their slings that they are beyond range of the arquebuses. They live on rice, bananas, coconuts, roots, and fish. They have great quantities of ginger.³

...
Zubu.—There is another island, called Zubu, where the camp was established, and remained until broken up by the Portuguese⁴, on account of the excellent harbor formed by it with another island called Mattan which is almost uninhabited, unwholesome and a large part of it covered by swamps; it is here that Magellan was killed. The port has two entrances, opening NE and SW. Through my influence and with⁵ the consent of most of the men, the camp was removed to the island of Panae [i.e. Panay]. I went there by order of the Governor, and drew the plan of a fort, which now⁶ is being built. It has the same people, and trade, and customs as the [Philippines] named above. The center of it is in 10° and almost 2/3 degrees of latitude.

1 Ed. note: In the Pacific, the *brisas* or breezes were winds from the N, NE, or E, whereas the *vendavals* or tradewinds were from the S or SW.

2 Now called the Marshall Islands.

3 Ed. note: The above paragraph on the Ladrones appears in the Sevilla copy. The rest of the relation deals mostly with the Philippines.

4 Ed. note: This probably refers to the lengthy negotiations between Legazpi and Pereira in 1568.

5 Ed. note: The word "with" has been replaced by the word "against" in the Sevilla copy.

6 Ed. note: He refers to the 1569-1570 period.

...

Panae.—North of Buglas [i.e. Negros] is Panae, an island abounding in rice and all kinds of provisions. The camp was moved thither, and, as abovesaid, I drew the plan of the said fort between two arms of a river, because it is impossible to effect an entrance by one arm. In the other and below the fort, 14 gabions were made and 12 large pieces of artillery mounted for the defence of the entrance and passage. The fort is situated 2-1/2 leagues inland, and the ground all the way to the fort is a swamp, covered with deep bush, so that enemies can approach the said fort only through the river, where are planted the above-mentioned gabions and artillery. The position is excellent, and such that it needs only a few men to defend it against many. The bar of the river is not more than one fathom deep; and its coast thereabout, for more than 20 leagues, is very forbidding. Its center lies in 11° and almost 1/3 degrees of latitude.¹

...

Xipon.—Farther north of the aforesaid islands are others, the nearest to Luzon being called Xipon.² We have not seen this island, and what I shall say about it has been related to us by the Moros who carry on trade with that land. It is said that the island possesses silver mines, and that silks and other necessary articles from China are purchased with the silver; for all the people, both men and women, wear clothes and shoes. And because of being so near China, they have acquired the civilization of that country. These people manufacture very good cutlasses, which they call *leques*.³ These are single or double hilts, are very sharp, and are curved like Turkish cutlasses. On the side without any edge, they are about as thick as the finger, but the edge is very sharp. It is said that Theatin religious have gone thither from Portugal; but I do not know the result of their mission. The Portuguese tell me that the natives of that land are considered very warlike. The women are virtuous, modest, and very jealous of the men [a very rare thing for these regions].⁴ The men shave or pluck out the hair from their heads.

Lequios—A little to the east between these islands and China are the islands of Lequios.⁵ They are said to be rich; but we have been unable to learn much about them, for I have not seen any one who has been there. For this reason, I conclude that they must be small, and that the people are not much given to commerce.

...

All these islands with more than 250 leagues hereabout, are included in the compact which the sacred Majesty—may he rest in peace—made with the most serene King John of Portugal. Even if they were outside of the compact, if your Majesty does not wish to

1 Ed. note: Near this site evolved the modern towns of Panay and Roxas City.

2 Ed. note: Japan, in the Sevilla version.

3 Ed. note: Since Japanese swords are called "katan", the word "leques" [kris?] may have been the word given to them by his Filipino informants.

4 Ed. note: Additional comment in brackets comes from the Sevilla copy.

5 Ed. note: Riu-kiu or the Okinawa chain of islands, then still independent and about to be conquered by the Daimyo of Satsuma.

continue the spice trade, on account of the great expense and the little profit that it now yields, or will yield in the future, I think that it would be advisable to withdraw the people from the islands, as your Majesty can hope to draw no other profit from this land. I say this as a loyal subject of your Majesty, for it grieves me to see so much money wasted on a land which can be of no profit whatever.

If your Majesty prefers the spices, I think that it would be better to break the agreement, since it is for such a small amount that 350,000 ducats¹ would be gained in two ships going from New Spain to those regions. When this is done, your Majesty's domains will extend as far as the Moluccas, according to what was told me by the Augustinian friar, by name Fray Martín de Rada, a native of Navarra, who was prior at the time when I left the Islands of the West. He is a great arithmetician, geometrician, and astrologer [they say he is one the greatest in the world]. He has measured this, and told me so. He has also written a book on navigation and the measurement of the earth and the sea, east and west. I believe that he will send the book by Fray Diego de Herrera, prior of the aforesaid islands of your Majesty.² Then we shall be able to trade in spices with the whole world; for as I have said before, cloves cannot be found save in the five islands of the Moluccas.

I have written all that can be said on this subject; and I say this because I have seen other accounts both in print and in manuscript, which depart very much from the truth. In order for your Majesty may not be deceived, I sign this account with my name. If your Majesty should desire to know especial details about that land, I will, at your command, give oral information.

1 The amount stipulated in the Treaty of Zaragoza.

2 Ed. note: Father Herrera departed the Philippines a second time in 1572, according to Fr. Pérez' Catálogo, or in 1573, according to the Viceroy of New Spain (See B&R 3:209).

Document 1567B

Salcedo's voyage—Spanish soldier almost kidnapped at Guam

Sources: Manuscript copies of Figueroa's History, based on a narrative by Quirós (see Bibliography). The manuscript containing the following editorial matter is Ms. 10.267 (folios 43 et seq.) in BNM.

Secondary account by Figueroa

In the year of '68 [rather 1567] when two companies passed to the Philippines, that of Juan López de Aguirre and that of Lorenzo Chacón [rather Artieda]¹, a few men stepped ashore at this island of Guan [sic] to take on water, and to get some refreshments.

It happened that a Spaniard of almost 20 years of age, wishing to look for some fruits, went off not far from the beach. Upon entering some grove, there appeared before him a certain young savage, about 14 years old. When the foreigner saw such a young naked boy, unarmed, he did not fear him, although he himself was unarmed as it was understood that he was not to leave the spot where the others were. The islander approached the soldier, embraced him and showed blandishments and signs of friendship as if the sight of him was giving him special contentment. He [i.e. the islander] went behind him, showing him where there were bananas and walked with him for a while, apparently safe; however, when they had gone off a good distance from the bodyguards, the savage again embraced the soldier and was carrying him under his arm toward the bush inland. The soldier was not strong enough to get free of him, and he did not dare shout to his companions either because the thief, noticing his fear, did not hurry up his

¹ Ed. note: The exact year must be 1567, as Aguirre and Chacón were together in Guam only in 1572. Aguirre was there 4 or 5 times (1567, 69, perhaps 71, 72 and 74). Since there was a 5-year gap between the two incidents related in this document, they took place either in 1567 and 1572, or in 1569 and 1574. My educated guess is that they took place in 1567 and 1572. However, the two infantry companies that passed by Guam in 1567 were led by Captain Artieda and Captain Aguirre; Captain Chacón was there later, in 1572., it seems.

gait, and also because he acted as if it were a crude joke, laughing as if to make fun [of him], he was taking him where he wanted.

As they were continuing along the trail through the thicket, it happened that four Spaniards were coming along it, and had set up an ambush for the purpose of hunting game. They all stopped. Upon hearing the noise made by the barbarian from among the branches, they pointed their arquebuses in the direction from where it came, thinking it might be some roe deer, or buffalo.¹ Finally, they were not a little put aback when they saw the two, and that their fellow countryman was struggling to free himself. When the savage saw them, he let go of him and fled to hide among the underbrush, leaving the prisoner among his own kind. From them, and afterwards from his captain, he received many reprimands for having separated, alone and unarmed, from his own troop.

[The kidnapper kidnapped, ca. 1572]

Five years after the above event, the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Martín Enriquez, ordered Juan López de Aguirre to capture one or more savage boys when passing by those islands so that, once they had been instructed into the faith and learned the Spanish language, they would (after having learned it and returned to their land) serve as interpreters, and [also] teach both [religion and language] to its natives. The said Captain endeavored to capture some, and he was only able to get his hands on a savage lad whom he took along to Manila, where he was baptized.

By a stroke of his good luck, he turned out to be the same one mentioned above and, one day when he was speaking with the same soldier they came to know each other and became good friends. He confessed (when the matter came up) that his intention had been, once he had him in his hut, to suck up his brains, to drink his flesh once it had been turned to ashes, and to make tapestries out of his bones.²

1 Ed. note: There were no such animals in Guam at that time, but these soldiers did not know that.

2 Ed. note: There is no indication whether or not this Guamanian ever returned home. He probably died in the crossing of the North Pacific, as had happened before to another of his countrymen.

Documents 1568A

The galleon San Pablo, Captain Salcedo, shipwrecked at Guam in 1568 when on the way to New Spain

A1. Letter from Legazpi to the King, dated Cebu 26 June 1568

*Note: This letter was aboard the doomed ship and was sent again in 1569 along with Letter A2 below.
Sources: AGI 67-6-6; B&R 2:239-243; copied in FBG 8:126-128.*

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty:

When I arrived at these Philippine islands in the year 1565, I despatched a ship to discover the return route to New Spain. I also sent to your Majesty a relation of the events of the voyage, and of my colonization in this island of Cebu, where I should await the reply that your Majesty should be pleased to have sent me; and stated that I was writing to New Spain that they should provide me with all the most necessary things; and those we lacked most. Seeing so much delay on all sides, last year [1567] I sent another ship with the relation of all that had occurred here, begging your Majesty to be pleased to order that we should be helped and provided, with all possible expedition, with the things that we have asked for, and which were extremely necessary and important; and that the matter be committed to someone in New Spain, who should provide and have charge of it, because although they sent us reinforcements of men, they sent us nothing else that we had asked for. They said that they had not your Majesty's commission for it, and that they were expecting every day the warrant that your Majesty will be pleased to give in this case, so that by virtue of it they could supply us with what was needed. This great delay has subjected us to hardship and distress, and to great danger and risk—especially through our lack of powder and ammunition, and rigging and sails for the vessels, of which we are quite destitute, and of which there are not, and cannot be any here. I beg your Majesty to have the goodness to have these things seen to, as is most in accordance with your royal pleasure, with the expedition required in a matter of such a great importance; and that henceforth this matter be

entrusted to someone in New Spain, at your Majesty's pleasure, who shall administer it as is most fitting to your royal service and the good of those here.

By the vessel that left last year [1567], I sent your Majesty 70 quintals of cinnamon which we got in trade with the natives; and this vessel [i.e. San Pablo] about to sail carries 150 quintals more. There is abundance of it, and we could send more, were it not for the lack of articles to barter; for those we bring are valueless, and these natives do not desire them. There are also other drugs, aromatics, and perfumes which our people do not know; nor do the natives know them, for they have but little curiosity, and care nothing for these things. In some places there are oysters, and indications of pearls; but the Indians neither know of them nor fish for them. There are gold mines; pepper might be had also if it were cultivated and cared for, because pepper trees have been seen, which some chiefs keep in their houses as curiosities, although they value the pepper at little or nothing. The country is healthful and has a fair climate, although it is very rough and mountainous. All trade therefore is by sea, and almost all the natives live on the seacoast and along the rivers and creeks that empty into the sea. In the interior there are few settlements, although in some islands there are blacks living in the mountains, who neither share nor enjoy the sea, but are most of the time at war with the Indians who live down on the seacoast. Captives are made on both sides, and so there are some black slaves among the Indians.

If this land is to be settled, to pacify and place it under your royal dominion, in order to civilize its inhabitants and bring them to the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, for it cannot be sustained by way of trade, both because our articles of barter have no value among them, and because it would be more expense than profit—in order to possess it for pacification, it is most necessary and important that your Majesty maintain here a half-dozen galleys, with which to explore all this archipelago, and make further discoveries. Likewise they could coast along China and the mainland, and find out what there is there, and achieve other things of great importance. The galleys could be built here at very slight cost, because there is plenty of wood and timber. Your Majesty would have only to provide tackle, sails, anchors, and the heavy bolts and nails for these vessels. You would also have to send from New Spain two skilled ship-builders, two forges, and two dozen negroes from those that your Majesty maintains at the harbor at Vera Cruz who might be taken without causing any shortage. Pitch, oakum, and grease, which are not to be had here, could be made without any further cost. The ships could be manned by slaves bought from these natives, or taken from those places which do not consent to obey your Majesty.

Likewise if the land is to be settled, the mines here ought to be worked and equipped. Since at first it will be difficult and costly and very laborious, for many causes and reasons, your Majesty ought to do us the favor of giving up your royal rights and fifths, or a part of them, and for a time suitable, to those working the mines, so that they might reconcile themselves to undertaking it and expending their possessions therein; your Majesty ought likewise to give them permission to buy the slaves, whom these natives barter and sell among themselves, and whom they can use on their estates and for their

advantage, without taking them from their land and native home. In everything your Majesty will examine and provide according to your pleasure.

May our Lord keep your Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty, and increase your kingdoms and seigniories for many and prosperous years, as your Royal heart desires.

From this island of Çubu, 26 June 1568.

Your sacred royal Catholic Majesty's faithful and humble servant who kisses your royal feet.

Miguel López de Legazpi.

A2. Letter from Legazpi to the Viceroy, dated Cebu 7 July 1569

Sources: AGI 67-6-6; B&R 3:44-53; copied in FBG 8:138-143.¹

On the 1st of July of last year [1568], I despatched from this port Captain Felipe de Salcedo in the flagship [sic]² to that New Spain, to give your Excellency an account and relation of what had occurred until then, and to carry specimens of articles produced in this land. It pleased God that the ship should be **wrecked while at anchor** at one of the Ladrones Islands; for it was driven on the coast and **all that was on board was lost, except the crew**. They returned to these islands with much difficulty, in the boat, which they repaired for that purpose, as well as they could. Felipe de Salcedo saved the packet of letters for your Excellency, which accompanies this letter.

A few days after the departure of the flagship from here, I heard that a Portuguese fleet was coming toward us. In fact, it came in sight of this port, seven vessels in all, sailing in a line, four galleons and three *fustas*. The Captain Major of the fleet was a gentleman named Gonçalo Pereira. At first, he declared that he came here only to see us and to inquire whether we needed anything that he could supply us; but after he had entered the port with fine words, offers, and promises both general and specific, he tried to persuade us to go with him to India, saying that he was surprised at our remaining so long in this land, when we knew that it belonged to the King of Portugal. I answered him that I had believed myself to be on land of his Majesty, but that, not being a cosmographer, and not possessing a commission from his Majesty in regard to it, I did not wish to contradict him or quarrel with him on that subject. I assured him that, on arriving at this land, I was obliged to go into winter quarters here; and that I had despatched a ship to his Majesty with a relation of what had occurred on the voyage. I added that I had been expecting and still expected an answer to that report; and that for lack of ships I had postponed my departure from the country until they should be sent from New Spain. To this he answered that, on the contrary, it seemed to him that

1 Ed. note: On 16 October 1566, a third viceroy had arrived at Mexico, Gaston de Peralta, Marquis de Falces. Legazpi was unaware that he had already returned to Spain in March 1569.

2 Ed. note: Not the old flagship San Pedro, but the old almiranta San Pablo.

we wished to take possession of the land of his king, with the intention of passing over into China and other regions which were likewise his, thus breaking the compact made between the kings of Castile and Portugal. That was satisfactorily answered by me, in the above manner, and I assured him that my intention was not to injure his king in anything whatever, or to seize anything belonging to him, because such was the injunction imposed upon me by his Majesty. All this did not prove sufficient, and he said that he could not go away from here unless either he took us away, or we left the country immediately. He began to issue some written injunctions, which, together with our answer to them, accompany the present letter, so that your Excellency may know what occurred.

My intention was always to avoid giving him occasion for commencing hostilities; but it availed little, for without any cause whatever he started the war, and began to demolish with his artillery some gabions we had built on the coast for our defense. He blockaded both entrances to this port with his ships, to prevent us from bringing in provisions or anything else, as will be confirmed by the testimony accompanying this letter; and declared that, if they could not capture us by any other means, they would do so by hunger. Thus he besieged us for nearly three months, and the harm which he could not inflict upon the Spaniards he inflicted upon the natives of the neighborhood who were our friends. He burned and destroyed seven or eight towns, and gave the natives to understand that this land belonged to the king of Portugal. He said that we were thieves on a plundering expedition, and that the Portuguese would destroy and kill those who befriended us. From this we clearly saw and understood the goodwill with which they had come. Many towns which had been won to us have withdrawn from our friendship, especially those lying along the coast of Mindanao, where cinnamon is bartered. These towns the Portuguese injured, and captured and took away some of the people. On New Year's Day just passed, they raised the blockade and departed; for God, our Lord, in His infinite goodness and mercy was pleased, through the very means by which they thought to defeat us, to force them to depart—namely, because of lack of provisions; although at their departure they threatened to return soon and take us away by force.¹

After the blockade had been raised, and we saw the great need and distress into which they had brought us, the captains and leaders of the camp discussed the course which was to be taken for our defence in case the Portuguese should return hither, as they are likely to do. All agreed that we should change our location and settlement, because it would be impossible to defend ourselves here where they could, simply by closing the entrances to the port, as they did at first, starve us, on account of the lack of food on this island. In view of other causes and arguments set forth for this change, we thought that the Panae River, situated forty leagues from this place, would be a more suitable site, for it abounds in rice, and no one from the sea could prevent us from going up the

1 Ed. note: The details of this confrontation and the record of the 1568 negotiations between Legazpi and Pereira are contained in B&R 2:244-329.

river to the mountains. Accordingly, we have removed thither the artillery, although the quantity of powder and ammunition now remaining is so small that the artillery can be of little help in any place. We have decided to send the companies around the river into other towns, where they can sustain themselves until we hear from the enemy.

The flagship having been lost, I tried to repair this patache San Lucas, in order to send word to Your Excellency that I have no other ship left, nor can I send further information until its return.¹ Thus we are left surrounded on all sides by water and enemies, awaiting the mercy of God, and the help and remedy which your Excellency will be pleased to send us, for we cannot expect it from any other source.

During the blockade by the Portuguese, we did not lack infamous men who, persuaded by words and promises, turned traitor and passed from this camp to their fleet. These men, whose names accompany this letter, did us no little harm. If the enemy return, may it please God that there be no more thus inclined; for, as we are poor and needy, and have not seen for many years any letter or order from his Majesty, or from any other person in his royal name, concerning what we ought to do, some of our men are much disheartened. On the other hand, they are strongly solicited by the Portuguese with many offers and promises—a thing which I most regret, and which gives me more grief than the harm which the enemy can do us. May it please God to remedy this, for he knows what we need.

Before now I have written that if his Majesty has an eye only on the Philippine Islands, they ought to be considered of little importance, because at present the only article of profit which we can get from this land is cinnamon; and unless order is established and a settlement is made, his Majesty will continue to waste money—although since then I well understand that this land possesses regions which would more than pay for the money spent on them. If his Majesty desires more important things hereafter, he needs to have a settlement here with a sure harbor and port. In order that a better explanation may be given concerning what I am saying, I send to your Excellency a summary relation on the nature of this country and of the natives,² so that your Excellency may examine it and provide what is most necessary for the service of God and his Majesty and for the welfare of this land. **I also send with this letter the register of the flagship, so that it may be learned what it was carrying, and what of the cargo was lost** [at Guam in 1568].

What we most need and lack at present is powder, ammunition, arquebuses, and pikes. We are so short of them that a third of our men possess no weapons with which to fight. I humbly beseech your Excellency kindly to favor me by sending us what I have asked for, by this same patache, or by any other which might speedily be sent. This aid, even if no men or other supplies be brought over, will, with the news of favors to be received hereafter, give courage to the men; and will make them stand their ground and

1 Ed. note: The patache San Lucas was in charge of Captain Juan de la Isla. It left Cebu in June 1569.

2 Ed. note: This relation, dealing exclusively on Philippine affairs, is contained in B&R 3:54-61.

defend themselves until the other supplies arrive. Otherwise, I think it will be exceedingly difficult for them to do so. If your Excellency holds a warrant from his Majesty to provide what we need here, may your Excellency be pleased to see that it be fulfilled with the haste which the matter demands, and for which we beg and implore; otherwise, may your Excellency favor us by sending vessels by which we might leave this land, and not perish here without any profit. And I am sure that his Majesty will be pleased with that, for he would not wish us to perish here for lack of ships, as long as he expects nothing else from this land.

I am sending in this patache five pieces of artillery as ballast. They are medium-sized cannon, in very good condition; and, with their ammunition cases and fittings may be utilized by the ships which your Excellency may be pleased to despatch. They will not be missed here, for we lack powder and ammunition even for the cannon which are left.

I notified your Excellency, through the flagship, that I detained Captain Diego de Artieda against his will, for he desired to depart with the ship. He has now [1569] insisted and claimed that he should return; and I, in order not to oppose and detain him longer against his will, have permitted him to depart on the patache. On the same vessel departs Father Fray Diego de Herrera who has been our prior here, and whom we shall greatly miss. Only one religious is left us, Father Fray Martín de Rada, and it is fortunate that he is with us. If this work is to go on, it will be necessary to send him companions and religious suited for such a great and holy work, and who might help him to sustain the charge and labors of this land, where they cannot be rewarded at present as much as in that New Spain. The people who come here, whether they be religious or laymen, should be such as are willing to settle in this land as permanent residents, and not return in the same ship on which they came.

Your Excellency will provide for this and in all other necessary matters. I humbly beg your Excellency to have much compassion on me, and kindly give me permission to go into retirement, entrusting the affairs of this land to the hands of one who might take them up with more energy. This will be a very great favor to me.

Before now I have written that it is best not to allow any Portuguese to come over with the other people. This matter ought to have careful attention, for the Portuguese are not to be trusted, and will profit us little. Many of them, both soldiers and sailors, came on the flagship, and I would be glad to see them far from here. I beseech your Excellency to be pleased to take the necessary measures in this respect; for it is certainly an important matter, upon which much depends. Felipe de Salcedo is going in this patache and will give a more complete relation of everything; I refer you to him.

May our Lord keep, etc.

From this island of Çubu, 7 July 1569.

A3. Letter from Lavezaris to the King, dated Cebu 5 June 1569

Sources: AGI 67-6-6; B&R 3:29-32; copied in FBG 8:129-131.

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty:

This letter will serve to advise your Majesty that by the flagship **San Pablo** which left this port on the 1st of July in the past year 1568, I wrote at length to your Majesty regarding events which had happened up to that time; and I refer you to the letters which will go on this advice-boat in the general budget, which is thus incidentally increased. Now I shall relate the history of this ship, and what happened to us after it left, with as much brevity as possible, both to avoid prolixity and because the Governor Miguel López will give your Majesty a longer and fuller relation. This ship was despatched with more than 400 quintals of cinnamon for your Majesty, besides small wares and other articles as specimens, which would give no little satisfaction in that land.

There arrived at this port of Çubu on the 18th of September of that year [1568] a small vessel of Portuguese whose Captain was António Rombo da Costa, a person who had already come, the year before, to this port with letters from the Captain Major Gonzalo Pereira. He said that the Captain Major was coming with all his fleet to see the Governor and provide him with necessaries, and that having been separated from his fleet, he [Costa] came to seek shelter at this port, as he had knowledge of it, whence he would return immediately to seek the fleet. He did so, having first been well received by the Governor and this whole colony. On the 28th of that same month, he came back to this port with letters from the Captain Major to the Governor, saying that the former was very near the port. The Governor answered his letters, and despatched them; and on the 30th of the same month, the Captain Major entered the port with a heavy fleet of Portuguese. They came with nine sail—four ships of deep draught and five galleys and *fustas* without counting other small vessels which the natives of the Moluccas use for the service of the larger boats. They remained in this port certain days, peacefully, during which the Captain Major and the Governor saw each other twice, once ashore and the other time at sea. At the last visit, the Portuguese stated that he would serve summons upon us, which he at once proceeded to do. On the 14th of October he sent the first summons, which the Governor answered. The Portuguese made answer to this reply and after that made his third demand; and on the same day when he did this, he came to blows with us, in which nothing was gained. He surrounded us at the entrances of this port (of which there are two, one to the east and the other to the west). He always endeavored to make war on us from the outside, in order to guarantee his own safety as much as possible. Many people were seen from this camp, and he captured many more, without it happening that they could take or kill any of us. He granted life to a few soldiers and boys that fled from this camp and went to his fleet.

During the time of this blockade, the flagship [i.e. the **San Pedro**] was burned because it was of no use, and so that the nails it contained might serve for a ship that was

being made. At this time came the news that the flagship [sic] **San Pablo** had been lost at the Ladrões during a storm, and while the ship was moored [at Guam]. All the people had escaped and came to these Philippine Islands in a bark which they made from a small boat. It was a marvelous thing that 132 people should come in it as they did. May God pardon whomever did us such harm in losing this ship in this manner.

The Portuguese had notice of this loss, and, having kept us surrounded all the rest of the year, went away from this port on the 1st of January of this year 1569 with different ideas from those which they brought hither—because they had maintained that we must go with them to India; and the Captain Major demanded in his papers or summons that we should leave these islands, since they were within the demarcation of the king of Portugal.

Now because, as I said, the Governor will give your Majesty at greater length the news of all this, and is sending a relation and the copy of the demands, I shall say nothing further of it. I finish by saying that the advice-boat **San Lucas** is being sent away today, in order to request that your Majesty may send us sufficient help, suitable to our need, which is very great, as they who are going to you in this ship will bear witness¹; and by referring you to all that I have before explained to your Majesty. In the ship **San Juan** which left this port on the 26th of July of the year 1567, I sent certain tamarind trees and ginger roots to be planted in the more fertile districts of that New Spain. Now I am sending your Majesty by Rodrigo de Espinosa, chief pilot who came in the flagship, some roots of pepper already sprouted, for the same purpose. I, as a zealous servant of your Majesty, am always, so far as my little strength permits, watchful of everything that concerns the royal service. And because I personally desire to inform your Majesty of these things, and in order that I may do it as fully as I have heard it, I beg your Majesty to do me the favor to send me your favorable permission, in order that I may do so in the first ship that may leave these parts for that New Spain; and because in all things I hope to receive favor from your Majesty, in regard to all the rest referring to the aforesaid letters that I wrote your Majesty which are likewise going on this vessel. I close begging our Lord to keep your Majesty's sacred royal Catholic person, and prosper you with increase of greater kingdoms and seigniories, as we, your Majesty's servants and vassals, desire.

From Cebu, 5 June 1569.

Your Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty's faithful vassal and humble servant, who kisses your royal feet.

Guido de Lavezaris.

1 Ed. note: Captain Artieda carried this and other letters to Spain and/or the pilot Rodrigo de Espinosa who is mentioned below.

A4. Letter from Mirandaola to the King, dated Cebu 8 June 1569

Sources: AGI 1-1-2/24; B&R 3:33-43; copied in FBG 8:132-137.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

With the flagship [San Pablo] which left this port on the 1st of July 1568, I sent your Majesty a relation of what had happened up to that day in this place, with the fidelity and loyalty which I owe as your Majesty's servant; and so will I do in this. It pleased God that the flagship, making the return trip to new Spain for the second time¹ should lose the way, and be driven upon the island of Guan, which is one of those called the Ladrones, where they were lost on account of the storm that struck them there. Assuredly this caused great sadness and anxiety in this camp, besides the great loss that it occasioned us, both because that ship was very convenient and important for the expedition, and because of its large cargo of cinnamon and other goods which would have given great satisfaction in your Majesty's kingdoms and seigniories. It carried, registered for your Majesty, 150 quintals of cinnamon; and for private individuals more than 250, which consignments we allowed to be carried on the register, mindful of the misery and necessity which the people were suffering, and considering that they had nothing else with which to help themselves. On this account, permission was given to take these goods, and with the idea that if it should seem best in New Spain to take them at a moderate [price]² in your Majesty's name, they would be thus taken; and advices to that effect were sent.

There were also specimens of pieces of [gold], porcelain, and other things, as I have said, which would give great happiness to your Majesty's vassals and make them desirous to come to these parts to serve God and your Majesty. As I have said, it pleased God that everything should be lost, and that the men should be saved, although with considerable risk of life. Moreover, after both privations and shipwreck had happened to them in a land where they had neither refuge nor refreshment, they had to deal with the most brutish and least civilized tribe of people ever seen hitherto. Our men experienced great difficulty with those people, because of their utter barbarism and their savage manner of fighting. God, who brought them to this port, protected them, showing them his divine clemency and pity. May He give us grace to serve Him, and may He keep us in your Majesty's service.

There arrived at this island, where we had settled in your Majesty's name, Gonzalo Pereira with the fleet (of which we sent your Majesty news by the patache San Juan). He arrived on the 2nd of October of the year 1568...

...

1 Ed. note: This was the second return voyage of a large ship but the first return of the San Pablo.
2 The words in brackets are conjectural readings, the ms. being illegible in these places.

I humbly beg and beseech your Majesty that you will grant me the favor of increasing my salary to 3,000 ducats, in consideration of the poverty of the country and the fact that we have to be supplied from Spain and your Majesty's realms with what we need to maintain ourselves. Consider also the position that was granted me in your Majesty's name by Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of New Spain (may he rest in peace); I have served until now in these districts as your Majesty's faithful servant, enduring great hardships and misery; and that, in order to join this expedition, I spent my patrimony and ran into debt besides, to the extent of many gold pesos.

It was agreed to despatch this patache on account of the delay there has been in sending your Majesty's despatches from New Spain, and also to let your Majesty know our negotiations with the Portuguese and our great necessity; for there does not remain to us a larger boat in which we can give notice of what happens, nor supplies enough to be able to make one. In consideration of this, your Majesty will be pleased to have provided, with diligence, sufficient assistance, so that we may find out what there is in these regions; and, that God and your Majesty may be served therein, we are sure that your Majesty will have this provided for.

May our Lord guard your sacred royal Catholic person and increase your kingdoms and seigniories.

From Çubu, 8 June 1569.

Your sacred Catholic Majesty's faithful servant who humbly kisses your Majesty's royal feet.

Andrés de Mirandaola.

A5. Anonymous story of the shipwreck

Source: Anonymous manuscript in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Ayer ms. #1359, folio 333-334. Robertson (B&R 53:381) says that the title (Historia general sacro-profana) is strikingly like that of Delgado's, but it is not the same manuscript. I have found close similarities with Fr. Gaspar de San Augustin's Historia also.

In the meantime, the flagship galleon was prepared to go out to [New] Spain. It departed Cebu under the command of Felipe de Salcedo on the 1st of June [1568] with good weather, carrying a crew of 130 persons and a great quantity of cinnamon, for the King as well as for individuals, amounting (what was on the register) to 400 quintals. However, God in His highest judgment did not wish the success of this voyage, because after many hardships which they suffered they had to turn back to Cebu.

Leaving behind many people who had become sick, and having departed a second time to pursue their voyage, they arrived at the Islands of the Ladrones where Captain Salcedo was under orders from his grandfather, the Governor, to make a stopover, and to find out if in some island of the Ladrones could be found clove or pepper.

Upon arriving at the island of **Guam**, and entering the port which is not very sheltered, and Felipe de Salcedo having stepped ashore with a few people, on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, 15th of August, they were hit by such a stiff storm that the

ship was carried away and pushed against the coast where it was broken into pieces without their being able to save anything which was carried aboard. Only the people left aboard were rescued through the diligence of those [already] ashore who flocked to rescue them with a few proas.

They were detained for 3 months there, while they were building a big bark on top of the boat with the boards and woodwork that they could pick up from the lost galleon. They had big clashes with the natives of that island, as they are very treacherous and were attacking them all the time, although Felipe de Salcedo with his prudence calmed them down until the building of the bark was complete, aboard which they all returned to Cebu, arriving at the islands at the same time as the Portuguese fleet was in and trying to throw the Spanish out, as we shall see.

Document 1568B

Legazpi—His son Melchor's petitions to the King, dated Madrid November 1568 and later

Sources: Col. de Ultramar, iii, doc. 46, pp. 330-370; summarized in B&R 2:157-160.

Summary of the five petitions of Melchor de Legazpi

Legazpi's son, Melchor, presented five petitions to the King, all growing out of the agreements made with the former by Viceroy Luis de Velasco, and his subsequent services in the islands.

The **first petition** on behalf of Legazpi is:

1. That two of the **Ladrones** with title of *adelantado* [Lieutenant-Governor], and a salary of 2,000 ducats be granted him and his heirs, this concession to bear civil and criminal powers of jurisdiction, and the title of Governor and Captain General of the Ladrones.

2. Some assistance with the expenses already incurred.

3 and 4. Exclusive right to choose men for the conquest both in New Spain and the Philippines, or any other place, and the appointment of duties and officials; also the right to fit out ships in any port of the Indies, and authorization of agents.

5. That he be permitted to assign land to the colonists.

6 and 7. That he and his heirs be high constables of all these islands and that they hold all forts built therein.

8 and 9. To him, his sons, heirs, and successors forever, one-twelfth of all incomes from mines, gold and silver, precious stones, and fruits, in the Ladrones and two fisheries, one of pearls and the other of fish, in the same islands.

10. That for ten years after any colony has been formed no import tax be paid on goods.

11. That only one-tenth of all gold, silver, gems, and pearls discovered for ten years after the first settlement be paid the King.

12. That Legazpi may appoint in his absence from the Philippines or Ladrones a Lieutenant, who shall act in his name.

13. That for six years he may commission two vessels for navigation of the Indies, and that he may despatch them together or separately.

14. That fines be granted for the founding of churches and monasteries throughout the islands.

15. That the petition in regard to Felipe de Salcedo be granted.

16. That a dozen religious from each order go to the islands, and that their superior do not object to their going.

17. That no foreigners, especially Portuguese, be allowed in the islands, "because therefrom might follow great losses and troubles, as happened when Lope Martín was sent as pilot with Captain Pericón."

18. That no vessels be permitted to go to these islands from the Indies, or from any other land, "without the express consent and commission of the Royal Audiencia or the Viceroy" of the district from which the ship sails, and the King must be fully informed thereof. The cause of this clause was that ships were fitting out in Peru and other places for these islands.

19. That Moros be prohibited from trading in the islands.

20. "Because the conquest of the Ladrones is of slight moment, by reason of their inhabitants being poor and naked", and their best use is as a way-station from New Spain; and New Guinea on the other hand offers much profit in both temporal and religious matters, that their conquest be permitted to Legazpi.

21. That, in case of Legazpi's death before the conquest is effected, the petitioner, or Legazpi's heir and successor, or the person appointed by him, may complete it.

This petition was heard in Madrid, on 2 March 1569, although it had been presented a considerable time before that date. After waiting for two years in vain for an answer to this petition Melchor de Legazpi presented **another petition** asking: that efficient aid be sent his father; that he be confirmed in his title of Governor and Captain General "with the salary that your Highness is pleased to assign him, and with the other rewards contained in his [Legazpi's] petition, ... and that he be not abandoned to die in despair at seeing himself forsaken and forgotten by his King"; that he be granted the 4,000 ducats promised him by Velasco "in order that we might better prepare for the marriage of ... my sister who is of marriageable age." The petition states that even had Legazpi's expedition proved a failure, the King should not permit want to come upon his children, since his substance had been expended in the royal service.

In the **third petition**, Melchor de Legazpi requests that the office of accountant of the City of Mexico rendered vacant by the death of its incumbent be bestowed upon him in remembrance of his father's services. He says that the family is "poverty-stricken and in debt" because of his father having spent all his possessions in the King's service.

The **fourth petition** presents information concerning Legazpi's services.

The **fifth petition** requests that certain persons be received by the court as witnesses, and give information regarding Legazpi. From the testimony of these persons it was

shown that Legazpi was one of the oldest and most honored citizens of the City of Mexico; that he was a wealthy landholder of that city; and had lost his wealth through devotion to the King's service, without receiving any reward therefor.

Some relevant items from the first petition

Almighty Sir:

I, Melchor de Legazpi, son of Miguel López de Legazpi, your Governor and Captain General of the Islands of the West, say that the conquest of the Ladrões with which your Majesty has entrusted my said father is something that very manifestly and evidently has to be done with much labor and cost to which my said father has contributed in the service of His Highness until now in the said islands, for which reason I beg your Highness...

1. Firstly, that your Highness be pleased to favor my said father with two islands in the Ladrões, that you should deign to appoint him with the title of *adelantado* [military governor] and with a salary of 2,000 ducats according to the favor that your Highness is granting him, his heirs and successors forever with the understanding that this applies to civil and criminal jurisdiction, and as well that you should give him the title of Governor and Captain General of the said islands according to the said favor.¹

...

20. Item: whereas the conquest of the said Ladrone Islands is of little import on account of the people who are beastly, poor and naked; and that they can be most useful for the shelter of the ships that would sail from New Spain to the Philippine Islands, and because great hopes can be held about New Guinea and its conquest, your Highness would be most pleased about it as it is something of some import, also that our Lord would receive pleasure in the conversion of those souls, I beg your Highness to please entrust my said father with their conquest in order that in both cases your Majesty can be served starting with the one already undertaken by the person who has the business at hand, given that your Highness would be better served because the distance from here to there does not allow a delay nor a lateness because while the account of one thing is coming another one could already be completed; whatever pleases your Highness.

21. Lastly, in case our Lord would take my said father from this present life before he can carry out the said conquest, may it please your Highness to let the heir and suc-

1 Ed. note: Legazpi himself has submitted a petition for favors in 1565 but the document was forgotten after it was sent to Madrid in September 1567. The original paragraph by Legazpi himself reads as follows: "Item: I beg your Majesty to be pleased to favor me with two islands of the Ladrões to conquer and colonize at my expense, given that they are poor and without any advantage, and that the settlement of any of them would be of very much use to your Majesty as a way-station and shelter for the ships that will ply those western seas, in addition to the good and great benefit that would accrue from the conversion of their natives of which God would be served; may this favor be with the title of *adelantado*."

cessor of his house and estate, or the person so named by him, carry it out, or complete it if it has already begun, or begin it anew; he should be protected in the same manner and be granted the same favors mentioned above.

I beg your Highness to be pleased to consent all this to my said father taking into consideration his good service in the past and his willingness to serve your Highness and the high cost already spent by him and the present cost of the said journey about which your Highness is now again reminded and if you want to employ him in this other conquest, it is unavoidable that it be done at great expense and hardship; for this reason, etc.

Melchor de Legazpi.— A rubric follows.

[Decision:] That Melchor de Legazpi present the power of attorney from his father Miguel López de Legazpi for the contract negotiations at Madrid on the 28th of May 1569.

The Licentiate Vaños.— A rubric follows.

[Endorsements:]

“To everybody: please bring the petitions that are in and the draft decisions.

To Reporter Santander.—A rubric follows.

To Reporter the Licentiate Vaños.— A rubric follows.

Heard at Madrid on the 2nd of March 1569.”

Documents 1568C

Royal communications to Legazpi regarding the Ladrones, dated 1568 and 1569

Sources: For documents 1-5 below, AGI Audiencia de Filipinas (1568-1605):105-2-11 (and other places in some cases, if indicated below); translated in B&R 34:235-255.

C1. Reply to Miguel López de Legazpi

[From] The King,

[To] Miguel López de Legazpi, my Governor and Captain General of the Islands of the West:

I have received your two letters dated 15 and 23 June [i.e. July] of the past year 1567 and I have taken note of the detailed account which you gave of the events of your expedition, and of what you have done in it; and it is what has been expected from your loyalty and goodness. In regard to what you say of the islands that have been discovered, and which are being discovered daily, and your sensible policy in not waging war, you have done very well, and we charge and order you to continue the same, striving by all good means to attract the natives to the service of God our Lord and mine, and to the love and friendship which they ought to have with you and with the Spaniards who reside with you. You shall so carry yourself that you may not come to blows with them nor with any other persons unless you should be provoked, and in your own defence.

In regard to your statement that some galleys are needed for the trade and commerce of those islands, we have ordered the matter to be discussed, but as yet no resolution has been taken by which we can advise you concerning our will.

Your son, Melchor de Legazpi, and Juan de la Isla have asked for certain things necessary for the solid colonization of that land and for your defence and safety. You will see what we have provided in the warrant taken by Juan de la Isla, and by what our officials in New Spain will send you. The balance of what is yet to be furnished will be sent in the first fleet that leaves for New Spain. You will watch over everything in your charge as we expect from your person; and you shall have special care in furthering the



Philip II of Spain had blond hair and blue eyes. His armies were victorious against the Dutch, the French, the Italians, the Moors, the Turks, and (without bloodshed) the Portuguese. (From a painting by Sanchez Coello)

conversion of the Indian natives of that country to our holy Catholic faith, and their good treatment; for that is most important to the service of God our Lord and mine. Since it is so important you shall obtain it by all possible good means.

You shall assign and allot the villages of those islands which may be reduced to our service as you think best, according to the law of the succession of the Indians; provided that you do not assign or allot the capitals, seaports, or places settled by Spaniards, for these must be left for our royal crown, and we order that they be so left.

We have also been petitioned in your name that, in consideration of the fact that there are islands inhabited by Moros in

that land, and that they come to trade and traffic, thus hindering the preaching of the holy gospel, and disturbing you, we grant you permission to enslave such Moros, and to seize their possessions. You must take note that if such Moros are Moros by birth and nation and come for the purpose of spreading their cursed Mahometan worship, or to make war on you or on the Indians subject to us and to our royal service, then you can enslave them. But you shall under no consideration whatever enslave those who were Indians who may have adopted the worship of Mahomet; but you shall endeavor to convert them and to persuade them to accept our holy Catholic faith by good and legitimate means.

Report has been made me on behalf of the conquerors of that country that many slaves have been made there by the natives of those islands. I have been entreated to grant permission to those conquerors to purchase them and hold them as slaves in the same manner as the said natives hold them. Inasmuch as I desire to be informed of the custom in this matter and of what it is advisable to do, I order you to submit a report of the causes why slaves are made in that country—whether slaves are made mutually among the natives themselves; whether the Moros who wage war upon the said natives are made slaves; or whether these are various sects among them, so that they wage and



The palace and monastery of El Escorial northwest of Madrid. It symbolizes Spain's golden century. Its construction began at the time Legazpi sailed for the Islands of the West and was completed in 1584.

maintain mutual warfare among themselves and make slaves mutually of one another. You shall report on the other characteristics of that race in so far as they touch this matter; and where the said report is ready you shall send it to our Council of the Indies, so that, after they have examined it, the most advisable measures may be taken in accordance with justice.

If there are any Portuguese or foreigners of these kingdoms who have gone with you or who shall have gone afterward, or who should be in the ships sailing from New Spain to those islands, you shall order them to return to these kingdoms, even if such Portuguese or foreigners be those who are allowed to be in those districts in accordance with my laws, ordinances, and decrees. You must attend to this matter with the greatest possible haste, for you know how dangerous it will be to the welfare, peace, and quiet of the land and to the service of our Lord and mine.

The Escorial, 16 November 1568.

I, the King.

Countersigned by Eraso, and signed by Luis Quejada, Vasquez, Don Gomez Zapata, Muñoz, Molina, Salas, Aguilera, Villafañe, and Votello.

C2. Title of Governor of the Ladrone Islands

Sources: AGI Fil. 339-28 (ref. Col. Ultramar, v. 17, p. 147); B&R 34:241-246.

Don Felipe, etc.

Inasmuch as report has been made me on behalf of you, Miguel López de Legazpi, our Governor of the Islands of the West, that a certain fleet having been prepared at our order in the Port of Navidad in New Spain for the purpose of the discovery of the said islands, our former Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, appointed and named you by our commission through the satisfaction which he had in your person, to be the Captain General of it and our Governor of the said islands. We have heard that you, having gone in search of them, in order to attain the end desired, and having spent a considerable sum of gold pesos from your own property, discovered the said islands and took possession of them in our royal name with the ceremonies requisite in such cases; and made a settlement in the island of Çubu where you are at present with the men whom you took. In that place you have heard of other islands in that vicinity called the Ladrone Islands and of their fertility and wealth. You have desired to explore and colonize them at your own cost and expense, and petition has been made us to have permission given you therefor, as well as the title of Governor and Captain General of the said islands, in consideration of the many expenses that you have incurred in their discovery, and the hardships that you have endured. We, respecting the said your services because of the wide knowledge of them, and because of those which we expect that you shall perform from this time on, and having discussed it with our royal person, have considered it fitting. Therefore by the present we grant licence and permission to you, the said Miguel López de Legazpi, so that you are empowered to make for us in our name and at your own cost—and you shall make—the exploration and colonization of the said Ladrone Islands. You shall take and seize possession of them in the said name with the ceremony that is requisite in such cases; provided that you observe and cause to be observed *in toto* the instructions and provisions which have been issued by us in regard to the course to be followed in the said colonizations and explorations. It is our wish and intention to make you our Governor and Captain General of the said Ladrone Islands and of all the villages that you shall settle therein for the rest of your life. You shall hold and exercise our civil and criminal justice with the offices of justice which shall be in the said Islands of the West. By this our letter, we order councils, justices, regidors, knights, squires, officials, and good men of all the cities, towns, and villages that shall exist in the said islands, land, and colony, and those that shall be colonized, and our officials and other persons who shall reside therein—and each one of them—that, as soon as they shall be summoned by this order, they shall take and receive from you, the said Miguel López de Legazpi, the oath and ceremony



Legazpi, Governor and Captain General of the Ladrones. (From *La Ilustración Filipina*, Manila, 14 September 1892)

that is requisite in such cases, and that you ought to give, without any further delay or procrastination, and without informing us any farther, or consulting, awaiting, or expecting another order or command from me, or a second or third decree.¹

After you have thus given the oath, you shall be considered and received as our Governor and Captain General of the said islands, and their coast, land, and settlements all the days of your life. They shall allow and permit you freely to exercise and enjoy the said offices and to perform and execute our justice therein through yourself or through your subordinates whom you have power to appoint and may appoint to the said offices of Governor and Captain General, constables, and other offices annexed to or pertaining to the said government. You may remove and set aside any of such officials when it is for our service and the execution of our justice. You may appoint and substitute others in their place; and you may try, despatch, and sentence all the suits and causes, both civil and criminal, which shall arise and occur in the said islands, coast, land, and village that you shall settle, and that you shall have settled, both among the men who went to colonize, and among the other natives of it. You and the said your mayors and subordinates shall receive the fees annexed to and pertaining to the said offices. You may make any examinations in the cases of justice, premises, and all the other things pertaining to and annexed to the said offices. You and your subordinates shall attend to that which is advisable for our service, the execution of our justice, and the colonization and government of the said islands, coast, land, and towns that shall be established. In order that you may exercise and enjoy the said offices, and perform and execute our justice, all men shall be in harmony with you as to their persons and property, and shall give and cause to be given to you all the protection and aid that you may ask from them and that shall be necessary to you. They shall respect you in all things, and shall obey and perform your orders or those of your subordinates. They shall place no obstacle or opposition to your orders or any part of them, nor allow any to be placed.

Therefore by this present, we do receive you and consider you received in the said offices and in the exercise and enjoyment of them. We grant you full power to enjoy and exercise, and to perform and execute, the said our justice in the said islands, coasts, land, and villages that you shall colonize and in the cities, towns and villages of the said islands and their limits, either through yourself or through your subordinates as above-said. In case that you are not received by them or by any of them into the said offices, we do, by this our letter, order any person or persons who shall exercise the authority of our justice in the villages of the said islands, coast, and land, to deliver and surrender, and use such offices no longer without our licence and express mandate whenever they shall be summoned by you, the said Miguel López de Legazpi, under the penalties incurred and suffered by those private persons who exercise public and royal offices for

1 Ed. note: Procrastination there was, as it took the Spanish in the Philippines 100 years to obey this order to colonize the Ladrones. The excuse was that this decree applied first to the main Islands of the West, not just the Ladrones.

which they have no authority or licence. Such persons we do by the present suspend and consider as suspended.

Furthermore, the fines pertaining to our exchequer and treasury to which you and your mayors and subordinates shall condemn any persons, shall be executed by you, and you shall cause them to be executed, and shall have the fines given and delivered to our treasurer of the said islands. Furthermore, we order that if you, the said Miguel López de Legazpi, consider it fitting for our service and the execution of our justice, that any persons now in, or who may in the future be in, the said islands, coast, and land, be banished and enter them no more or live in them, and that they come to present themselves before us, you may order it in our name and cause them to leave in accordance with the ordinance regarding that matter. You shall give to the person thus exiled the reason for his exile; but if you deem it advisable that the matter be kept secret, you shall give the reason under lock and seal, and you shall on your part send us another person, so that we may be informed of it. But you are to take notice that when you have to exile anyone, it must be only for a very urgent cause.

For the abovesaid, and so that you may exercise the said offices as our Governor and Captain General of the said islands, coast, land, and villages that you shall colonize, so that you may perform and exercise our justice therein, we delegate you full authority by this our letter, with all their incidences, dependencies, emergencies, annexes, and rights; and it is our will and we order that you receive and be paid the annual salary, together with the said offices, of 2,000 ducats (a sum equivalent to 750,000 maravedis).¹ You shall enjoy them from the day on which you shall set sail to pursue your voyage, and thenceforth for the time that you shall maintain the said government. If that sum is not had during the said time, we shall not be obliged to pay you any part of it. A receipt shall be taken from you, with which any with the copy of this our provision signed by the notary-public, we order that the said 2,000 ducats be received by you and placed on your account. Neither you nor any one else shall act contrary to this under any consideration, under penalty of losing our favor and 1,000 castellanos in gold to be paid to our exchequer and treasury.

Given in Madrid, 14 August 1569.

I, the King.

Countersigned by Eraso, and signed by Luis Quejada, Doctor Vazquez, Licentiate Don Gomez Zapata, Doctor Luis de Molina, Doctor Aguilera, and Doctor Francisco de Villafañe.

1 Ed. note: In the days of Magellan, this salary would have been worth about 750,000 US dollars in modern terms, but inflation had probably reduced its value to 150,000 dollars.

C3. Title of Adelantado [Military Governor] of the Ladrone Islands

Sources: *AGI Fil. 339-30* (ref. *Col. Ultramar, v. 17, p. 147*); *B&R 34:246-248*.

Don Felipe, etc.

Inasmuch as we have granted licence and authority to you, Miguel López de Legazpi, our Governor of the Islands of the West, so that you may explore and colonize the said islands of the West for us and in our name, and at your own expense; and because of the expenses which you have incurred in it, and those which you shall incur in the exploration and colonization of the said islands of the Ladrone; and because we have you and your said services in mind constantly, and in order that you and your descendants may be more honored: therefore, having reflected upon the matter in our royal person, I have considered it fitting to bestow upon you the title of *adelantado* of the said Ladrone Islands for yourself and for your heirs and successors forever. Therefore, it is our intention and will by this present that you be now and henceforth forever, our *adelantado* of the said Ladrone Islands, as well shall inherit your house. As such our *adelantado*, you may exercise—and you shall exercise—the said office in all cases and matters annexed to and concerning it, in the same manner in which they are enjoyed by our *adelantados* of our kingdoms of Castile and of the said Indies.

In regard to the enjoyment and exercise of the said office and in the payment of the fees pertaining to it, you shall observe and your heirs shall be obliged to observe the laws and ordinances of these our kingdoms imposed in regard to it. All the honors, favors, and rewards, licences, liberties, exemptions, preeminences, prerogatives, immunities, and everything else—and each one of them singly—which because of being our *adelantado*, you ought to have and enjoy, and which ought to be kept for you, shall be kept for you. You shall have and receive the fees, salaries, and other matters belonging and pertaining to the said office of *adelantado*. We do, by this our letter, order councils, justices, regidors, knights, squires, officials, and good men of all the cities, towns, and villages of the said islands of the Ladrone to hold, receive, and consider you and your heirs as our *adelantado* and to extend to you and to them the said office and all causes and things annexed to and concerning it. They shall keep for you and cause to be kept for you, all the honors, favors, rewards, licences, liberties, preeminences, prerogatives, immunities, and all the other things—and each one of them singly—that you ought to have and enjoy by reason of the said office, and which must be kept for you. They shall pay, and cause to be paid, to you, all the fees and salaries owing and belonging to the said office of *adelantado* up to their complete value, so that you may suffer no lack in anything, according to and in the manner in which it has been enjoyed and paid, and as it must be enjoyed, paid, and kept for the other *adelantados* who have been and are in these our kingdoms of Castile and in the said Indies. They shall place no obstacle or opposition to you in this matter or in any part of it or allow such to be placed. Therefore, we do, by this present, receive and hold you as received into the said

office, and to its enjoyment and exercise. We grant you authority and licence to enjoy and exercise it; and in case that you are not received in that office by them or any of them, we order you to give this our letter signed by our hand and countersigned by our secretary mentioned below.

Given at Madrid, 14 August 1569.

I, the King.

I, Francisco de Eraso, Secretary of his Majesty, had this written by his command.

Countersigned by Luis Quejada, Doctor Vazquez, Licentiate Don Gomez Zapata, Doctor Luis de Molina, Licentiate Salas, Doctor Aguilera, and Doctor Francisco de Villafañe.

C4. Instructions given to Legazpi regarding the Ladrone

Sources: Besides AGI 105-2-11, there is a copy of the original ms. in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Ayer ms. #1391, folios 36-45.

The King.

That which you, Miguel López de Legazpi, our Governor and Captain General in the Islands of the West, are to do and observe in the government, exploration, and colonization of the Ladrone Islands which we charge to you, is as follows:

1. First, after the said islands are explored, you shall select sites and locations for colonization, taking care that the land be healthful and fertile, and abounding in wood, water and good pasturage for cattle. You shall see that the land be apportioned to the colonists, but you shall not occupy or take possession of any private property of the Indians. In order that this may be better performed, you shall for the present, make the said settlement somewhat distant from the districts and locations where the Indians may have their settlements, pastures, and fields so that all the abovesaid may be done without harming them at all. On the contrary, thorough good treatment must be shown them.

2. The site of the place where the settlement is to be made having been chosen, you shall order the colonists to build their houses, making in them a sort of stronghold, where they may defend themselves and their flocks if necessary, in case that the Indians try to attack them.

3. You shall see that the colonists who settle in this way, endeavor to obtain peace and friendship with the Indians who dwell in that land. They shall treat the latter well, and shall endeavor (for such is my will) to have the Indians live near them in villages, and shall defend them and help them to defend themselves against those who try to harm them. They shall reduce the Indians to a civilized life, and shall endeavor to separate them from their vices, sins, and evil customs. They shall endeavor to reduce them

and convert them willingly to our holy Catholic faith and the Christian religion by means of religious and other good men.

4. If there shall be any persons among the said Indians who oppose and refuse to listen to our instruction, and convert or mistreat those who do listen to it, you shall endeavor by all good means possible to you to prevent it, so that the preaching of the gospel may not cease for that reason. You shall proceed in this with all manner of discretion, kindness, and moderation.

5. Further, you shall endeavor to have the Indians persuaded to adopt our holy Catholic faith willingly, and to render submission to us. If they do so you shall order that they be exempt from tribute for ten years.

6. Item: You shall order that the Spaniards, who shall settle later in the villages thus established, rule and govern in peace and quiet, and that they shall not molest or injure anyone. They shall appoint their ministers of justice, regidors, and necessary officials, for the meanwhile and until we provide otherwise.

7. Some *repartimientos* [grants] of Indians shall be made to those persons who shall go to make the said settlement, in accordance with their services and the quality of the persons to whom they are made. The chief capitals and the seaports shall be assigned to us, although first and foremost the appraisal of the said tributes of such *repartimientos* shall have been made. This is understood to be allowed after the expiration of the ten years in which they are to be exempt and free from tribute as abovesaid.

8. You shall also assign salaries to regidors and ministers of justice, and to the seculars and religious. You shall instruct each one in his privileges and duties so that he may know what he has to do, and that those who have charge of the offices shall be obliged to give account for the disorders and excesses that our men commit both against the Indians and the latter among themselves.

9. You shall order that after the abovesaid has been done, the people endeavor to open trade in their districts. You shall provide the Indians with the articles that they need, and shall endeavor also to get from the Indians the things that are needed from them.

10. You shall send religious and other good persons to instruct and persuade the Indians to receive our faith. You shall see to it that if they be sufficient, they endeavor to collect the Indians in villages so that they may be instructed better.

11. You shall always instruct those persons whom you send to survey the land always to consider where they might find fitting and commodious sites for the new settlements, without any resulting harm to the Indians in accordance with the provision of Article 1.

12. You shall provide that after the houses have been built and the fields sown, the people try to discover minerals and other things in which they will be benefitted. They shall cultivate the land and enrich it with new plants of vines and fruit trees for its support and gain.

13. Item: If the natives endeavor to prevent the said settlement, they must be told that the men are not trying to settle there in order to do them any harm or wrong, or

to seize their possessions, but only to have friendship with them and teach them to live in a civilized manner and recognize God, and to expound to them the law of Jesus Christ by which they will be saved. After that message and warning has been given (which must be made three times as shall seem best to the person appointed by you after consulting with the religious who shall go to such settlement and by the tongue of the religious who shall tell and declare it), then if notwithstanding the abovesaid, the natives refuse to consent to the colony, the colonists shall endeavor to settle and shall defend themselves from the said natives without doing them other injury than that necessary for their defence and for making the said settlement. All the mildness and moderation possible shall be observed in the said defence.

14. Further, after having made such village and settlement you shall see to it that the citizens and religious who shall be there, try to trade and communicate with the natives and to make friends with them, and to make them understand the abovesaid.

15. If the said natives and inhabitants located near the said colony should become friends because of such good efforts and persuasions, so that they give the religious permission to enter to teach them and to preach to them the law of Christ, you shall see that they do it. The religious shall endeavor to convert them and allure them to the faith, and to have them recognize us as sovereign king and lord.

16. Further, if the said natives and the rulers of the Indians refuse to admit the religious preachers, after the announcement of their purpose as above said, and after the natives shall have been petitioned many times to allow the religious to enter to preach and to expound the word of God, you shall make a report of it and send it to our Council with the most justifiable testimony that you have of what has been done, in order that we may have you ordered as to what course you are to pursue. Meanwhile you shall endeavor to retain their friendship and trade, and shall treat them well. You shall endeavor by all possible means to bring them to a knowledge of our Lord.

17. If any of the officials appointed by us die, you shall appoint in each island those who may be lacking, so that in accordance with the instruction and order given them, they may administer our finances and attend to the other things that are entrusted to the other officials of the other provinces of the Indies. You shall make such appointments until we provide for it, and you shall immediately advise us of it so that we may have the proper measures taken.

18. The persons and our officials who shall be entrusted with duties, shall be paid their salaries from the fruits of the land by our treasurer, in accordance with a list made out and signed by the said officials and signed by the Governor of the province.

19. Item: You shall endeavor to take the most virtuous and Christian people possible, and those who shall be best fitted for the said colonization.

20. Item: You shall take four of the religious at present in the said islands, and if you do not have them, you shall take two seculars who must be persons of good life and morals, fit to give the instruction, and to administer the holy sacraments.

21. Item: You shall endeavor with great care to see that the Spaniards do no harm and show no force to the Indians, and that they do not wound them or do them any

other evil or harm, or deprive them of their possessions, but they shall show them the utmost good treatment. In any of the men offend the Indians, then you and your captains shall punish him rigorously and shall warn him not to continue such actions. If he be careless and negligent in this, then you shall have him punished with great rigor; for this is a matter whose fulfilment we desire greatly, and if this be not obeyed we shall consider ourselves greatly disserved.

22. Item: Upon your arrival at the land you shall report to us the events of your expedition and the manner in which you shall be received, also what you ascertain and discover of the said land, and everything else of which you think we should be advised. You shall accompany it with your opinion of what you think ought to be done, so that we may better order what is necessary for the service of God and our own service; and you shall do the same whenever you deem it necessary.

We charge and order you to observe and perform the above without fail, for if the contrary be done we shall consider ourselves disserved.

Given in Madrid, 28 August 1569.

C5. Concession of 2,000 ducats to Legazpi

Sources: AGI Fil. 339-35 (Ref. Col. Ultramar, v. 17); B&R 34:255.

[From] the King.

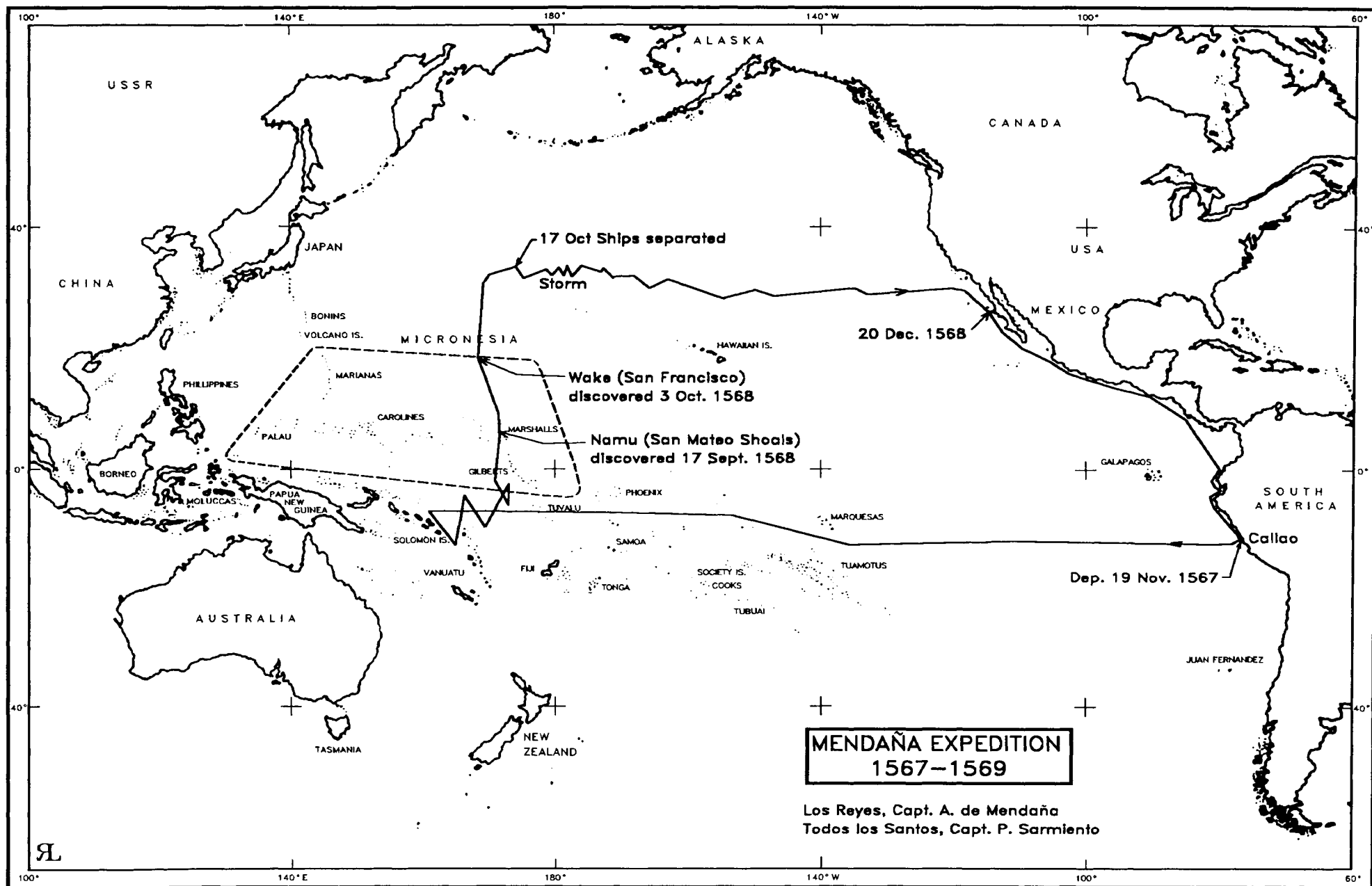
[To] our officials in the Islands of the West whose colonization we have entrusted to General Miguel López de Legazpi:

Know that in consideration of the services of the said Miguel López, past and present, in his expedition, and the loss that he has received to his property in a ship which sunk, I have after consultation with the members of my Council of the Indies, considered it fitting to concede to him, for one time, as I do by this present, a gift of 2,000 ducats (a sum equivalent to 750,000 maravedis). I therefore order you that from whatever gold or silver or any other kind of property you may have in your possession and which may be in charge of you our treasurer, you give and pay to the said Miguel López de Legazpi, or to whomever shall have his powers of attorney, the said 2,000 ducats of which we thus make him a concession for this one time for the abovesaid reason. Deliver and pay them to him, and make his receipt, with which and with this my decree, I order that the said 2,000 ducats be received from you and placed on your accounts.

Given at Madrid, 29 August 1570.¹

I, the King.

1 Ed. note: The correct year may very well be 1569.



Document 1568D

Mendaña expedition—Background to the expedition and report by Mendaña himself

Sources: 1) Anonymous account of the voyage in *Col. de Indias*, Vol. 5, pp. 210-212; 2) BN Madrid Ms. 10.645, folios 159-166v; published by Justo Zaragoza in *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernández de Quirós*, Vol. 1, Madrid, 1876, pp. 18-19; 3) RAH, tomo 36 of the Velázquez Collection; published by Zaragoza in *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, 1882, pp. 15, 40-43; already translated by Lord Amherst of Hackney and Basil Thomson in *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568* (Vol. 1, London, Hakluyt, 1901, pages 158, 184-186).

Background to Mendaña's first voyage.

Captain General Alvaro de Mendaña set out from Callao, the port of Lima, Peru, on 19 November 1567 with two ships, the flagship **Los Reyes**, whose tonnage was 7,000 arrobas, and the *almiranta* **Todos los Santos**, whose tonnage was over 3,000 arrobas. The cost of the fleet amounted to 10,000 pesos in gold ingots; this included not only the price of the ships, but also food for one month, the munitions, soldiers' pay, [religious] ornaments, medicine and spares, but excluded the seamen's wages.

The anonymous account further says: "Over 70 soldiers were rounded up for this voyage. When the sailors and servants are added, the number of men came up to over 150. Castro appointed Alvaro de Mendaña, his nephew, as General of this fleet, Pedro Sarmiento as Captain of the flagship¹, Don Fernando Enriquez as Lieutenant General, Pedro Juarez Coronel as Captain of the Artillery, Hernán Gallego as Chief Pilot, with 3 other pilots² and 4 religious of the Order of St. Francis."

The purpose of the expedition was the discovery of the Austral continent reputed to exist SE of New Guinea. The expedition discovered at least 16 islands during the voyage, mostly in the Solomon Islands. On the return leg of the voyage, the ships discovered the island of Namu in the Marshalls and Wake Island.

1 Ed. note: He was later moved to the *almiranta*.

2 Ed. note: The other pilots were: Juan Enriquez, Pedro Rodriguez and Gregorio Gonzalez.

Summary of the return voyage.

There exist primary accounts by Mendaña himself, one (or two done anonymously) by Captain Sarmiento, by Chief Pilot Hernán Gallego, by the steward, Gómez [Hernández] Catoira, and by an anonymous Franciscan friar. Amherst and Thomson have summarized these accounts as follows:

“On September 17th, they sighted the Musquillo Atolls¹ of the Ralick Chain (Marshall Group), and called them **San Mateo Shoals**, though Gallego seems to have identified them with the island of San Bartolomé which Toribio Alonso de Salazar professed to have discovered in 1535, in lat. 14° N. Gallego gives the correct latitude of these islets, and his accurate description of them leaves no doubt as to their identity. Ortega and Henriquez landed in the boat and explored a village from which the people had fled, apparently to sea, for a canoe was sighted making off under sail. They found food “of bad taste and smell” (fermented pandanus² fruit), a fermented drink “like *chicha*”³, brewing in a hole in the ground (coconut toddy), and a cock, but they found no water. They noticed, however, that the people obtained their water from holes scooped out of the stems of the palms, exactly as they do at the present day. But their strangest discovery was a chisel, made of an iron nail, from which they concluded that a ship from the Philippines had either visited the island or been wrecked there...”

“Finding no bottom even close inshore, the ships resumed their northerly course, and on October 2nd [rather 3rd], in 19° 20' N. lat., they discovered the loneliest of all the atolls of the Pacific, **Wake Island**, which they named **San Francisco**. Ships in need of water could have lighted on no more unpropitious spot. Not a coconut nor a pandanus has found a footing there: the only vegetation is a stunted shrub; the only living things are sea-birds. Bitterly disappointed, the Spaniards bore away, and cut down the daily ration to one pint of water, and 12 oz. of bread, though there were still more than 4,000 miles of ocean to cross.”

1 So named by Captain Bond who visited them in 1792.

2 Ed. note: More probably breadfruit.

3 Ed. note: I have lived in Peru, so I know what *chicha* is; it is a lemonade-like drink made from the juice of purple corn, with some water and sugar added.

“The pilots of the two ships compared notes every two days, laying their course, as they believed, for the Cabo de Fortunas [in California], though differing in their estimate of its bearing, owing no doubt to the inaccuracies of their charts of the Californian coast, and their uncertainty regarding their longitude. All went well until October 16th [rather 17th], when the *almiranta*, which had been continually dropping astern, owing to her bad sailing qualities, parted company altogether.¹ The *capitana* [flagship Los Reyes] lay to for many hours to wait for her, and, as she did not appear, Mendaña concluded that Pedro Sarmiento, whose conduct more than once had verged upon mutiny, had deliberately had the course altered. When we remember that the two ships, unequal in size and speed as they were, had contrived to keep together by day and night in all winds and weathers for so many months, we may allow that his suspicions were not without reason.”²

“That afternoon, as they lay in the trough of the sea, a hurricane from the north-east struck them, and laid them on their beam ends. If the hatches had not been closed and caulked, the ship must have gone to the bottom, for her port deck was under water to the combings of the hatches. Seeing that she would not right herself, Mendaña ordered the main-mast to be cut down, and it went over the side with all its yards and sails. The boat followed it, and the ship, relieved of their weight, began to right herself little by little. The people below, up to their necks in water, had abandoned hope, and were listening to one of the friars, who, though himself face to face with death, was calmly exhorting them to die like Christians, repenting of their sins. The foresail was now shaken out to steady the ship, but the wind tore it to ribbons, and the sea carried away the stern-cabin. Setting a blanket and a bonnet as storm sails, they rode out the storm for three days. “The wind came on us with such fury,” wrote old Gallego, “as I had never before seen, although I have been 45 years at sea, and 30 of them a pilot. Never have I seen such heavy weather, although I have seen storms enough.” Under nothing but the fore-courses, the ship gave convincing evidence of her bad sailing qualities...”

“Two whole months elapsed before they reached the shores of California...”

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- 1 Ed. note: The ship *Todos los Santos*, Captain Sarmiento de Gamboa, reached the port of Navidad independently. Sarmiento was a good pilot who invented in the 1570s a rudimentary method of measuring longitude. In 1580, he sailed from Peru to Spain by the Strait of Magellan and corrected the longitude of Ascension Island in the South Atlantic. For details, see Navarrete's *Historia de la Náutica*, Vol. 77 of the Ribadaneira Collection (Biblioteca de autores españoles, Madrid, 1964), pp. 369-371.
 - 2 Ed. note: According to Navarrete (op. cit., p.369), Pedro Sarmiento was a native of Pontevedra and had begun serving in the Spanish Navy in 1550. He went to the South Sea in 1557 and it was he who, ten years later, proposed the voyage to Licentiate Castro, then interim Governor of Peru. The latter offered the leadership of the expedition to Sarmiento who declined in favor of Mendaña, the nephew of the Governor, in order to get better supplies and ensure the success of the venture. Castro was no fool as he instructed Mendaña to follow the advice of Sarmiento very closely. Hence the hostility between the two men.

Letter from Mendaña to King Philip II, dated Lima 11 September 1569

Catholic Royal Majesty:¹

If I may be allowed enough discretion to do so, it would certainly give me much pleasure to report to Y.M., in this brief narrative, about the discovery that, in my capacity as General, I made in the South Sea by order of the Licentiate Castro, Governor of Peru, as I had faith and goodwill to offer my person to confront the hardships and dangers of this voyage, in order to serve Y.M. Given that the goodwill of those who are not called upon to serve as they wish should be considered, I beg Y.M. to consider my goodwill in place of my labors, paying attention to the faith with which I served Y.M.

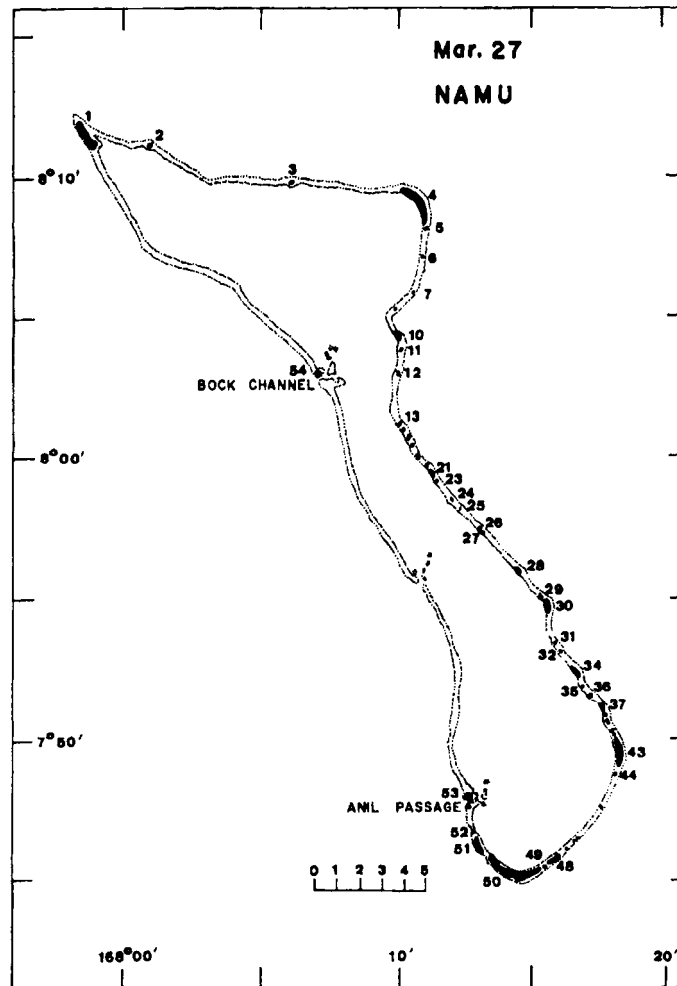
We embarked in Callao, the port of the City of the Kings, on Wednesday reckoned as the 19th of November, and although we set sail we did not get out of the port, as it was late, until the next day at dawn, reckoned as the 20th of the said month and year of 1567, and we took the WSW heading...

...

We left the Port of La Visitación [Solomon Is.] on Wednesday, 11 August, of the year 1568; we were seven days in doubling the island of San Cristobal, and those of Santa Ana and Santa Catalina, for the wind was SE and contrary. After doubling them we steered NE until we were 35 or 40 leagues east of the island named Jesus, and there the wind changed to NE so that we were able to steer SE by E, and then I gave orders to turn. This wind lasted but a short time, and, as it was already near the Equinox², and the wind in these regions changes with it, as we had found in the month of March, it was now unsettled preparatory to settling in one quarter. Consequently, every time that the wind served for steering SE and ESE, I ordered the ships to be put about in order that we might sail according to the wind. We had already met with rough weather, and, during a storm the main yard of the ship broke and the sail was torn to pieces. Seeing that I persisted in following a SE course, and in sailing by the southern route and not the northern one, they decided among themselves to make a representation to me, which they did. Seeing that I would not follow the advice of the pilots, the soldiers came to me, and begged me for the love of God not to order the navigation in a direction in which we must all perish and be drowned, for the pilots said that it was impossible to sail by the southern route and come out alive, and that I was repaying them badly for working with me in the service of Y.M., if I would reward them by taking them to their death. The sailors clamored also, and they were so weak that they could hardly manage the sails. Seeing that they all thought it an error on my part not to follow the opinion of the pilots, I replied that my sole intention was to pursue a prudent course of navigation; and since they all thought that the pilots were right, they might proceed in

1 Ed. note: I follow the translation by Amherst and Thomson, except for editorial changes.

2 Ed. note: Before 1582 and the change in the calendar, the autumn equinox actually occurred on or about 11 September.



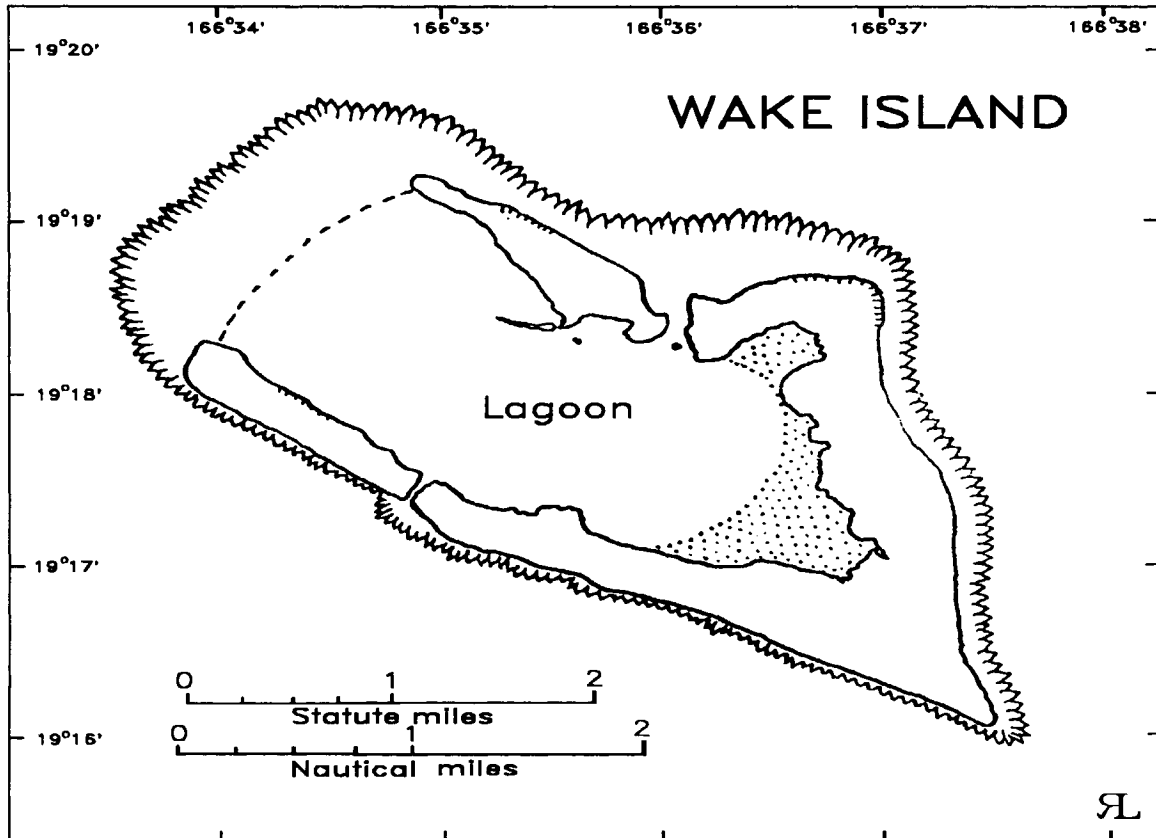
Namu, discovered by Mendaña on 17 September 1568.

peace; but I bade them remember that time would bear me witness in the hardships which we should have to endure. The joy of all was so great at seeing that I had resolved to steer for New Spain, that it seemed to restore life to all.

[Discovery of Namu]

After we had crossed the equinoctial line, and, upon reaching 8-1/2 degrees of north latitude, we discovered some shoals and small islands, which numbered more than 15 or 16. All these islets, some of which are a little more than a league in circumference, are surrounded by a reef. Pedro de Ortega and Don Hernando Enriquez landed upon them.¹ Some of these islands are inhabited and, though there were houses and fire in

¹ Ed. note: Namu Island, at the NW corner of Namu Atoll, lies at 8°12'N.



Wake Island, discovered by Mendaña on 3 October 1568.

the place where they landed, they saw no inhabitants for they had fled. Among the reefs and islands we saw three sails, like those of a raft, and I suspected that the Indians of that island had put out to sea. Leaving these islands, which to our knowledge had not been seen by any of the fleets which had been to the Philippines, we gave them the name of **San Mateo Shoals**.¹

[Discovery of Wake]

We reached the latitude of 19-1/2 degrees, where we discovered another island, which I judged to be 8 leagues in circumference; it is very low land. We approached it with the ships to see whether we could find an anchorage, and to take in water if there was any

¹ Ed. note: As we saw in Doc. 1566C, they may have been visited by the mutineers of the Pericón expedition, witness the chisel and pieces of rope other narrators say were found there. As for Gallego, he thought they had reached the island of San Bartolomé, the Taongi of the Loaysa expedition, but he does not mention the name of San Mateo. There is no explanation for this name, as the feast day of St. Matthew is not the 17th of September but the 24th of February.

there, for we were in great want of it, having found none at the former reefs. We made the circuit of the island, and saw that the sea entered it in some parts, and that it was completely deserted, containing but sea birds; bramble bush was the only vegetation. Finding that it was useless, and that there was no water, we passed it by and cut down the rations, giving to each a pint of water and 12 ounces of bread [per day]. We gave it the name of **San Francisco**, because it was discovered on the eve of his feast day.¹

On leaving this island we steered NNE and N, and sometimes NNW because the *al-miranta*, which could not keep her luff as we did, so that we were driven upon her; and upon these courses, we reached 32-1/2 degrees of north latitude, where I asked the pilots at what point we were. The pilots of the flagship found that we were 70 degrees from the coast of New Spain, and those of the *almiranta* found that we were nearer.

We continued in this latitude all night, and in the morning we could not see the *al-miranta*, and so we furled our large sails to wait for her. We continued thus until noon, but, as she did not appear, I ordered all the sails to be furled, and so they remained until sunset, when we saw her to windward, but she was hardly visible because of a mist which had fallen. As it was night, in order not to lose way, we set our foresail and mizzen, and so continued until the morning of the next day, which was the eve of St. Luke's day, the 17th of October, when a violent hurricane arose...²

1 Ed. note: St. Francis Day is celebrated on 4 October.

2 Ed. note: The separation occurred on 17 October, the eve of St. Luke's Day which is 18 October.

Document 1568E

Mendaña expedition—Narrative of Captain Pedro Sarmiento

Sources: AGI Patronato 18-1-1 (N° 10, R° 4); RAH Colección Muñoz, tome 10, fol. 199-212; Col. de Indias, Vol. 5, pp. 221 et seq.; translated in Amsherst & Thomson, Vol. 1, pp. 81-94.

Note: What is reproduced below is an extract from a longer narrative by Sarmiento to be found in AGI 18-1-1/10 R° 8 and in RAH Col. Muñoz, t. 37, fol. 266-283. In this short version¹, the islands of Micronesia are unfortunately not mentioned.

A short account collected from the Papers which they found in the City of La Plata concerning the voyage and discovery of the Western Islands, in the Southern Ocean, commonly called the Isles of Solomon

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

The Licentiate Castro having heard his account, ordered two ships of war to be equipped for this discovery.

...

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

Pedro Sarmiento and the pilots then gave their opinion regarding the course which they should take, and Pedro Sarmiento gave the course of the ships, with all the bear-

1 Ed. note: According to Jack-Hinton, op. cit., p. 349, this was an anonymous account of the expedition, which Amherst attributed to Sarmiento, and which Forsyth identified as the concluding part of the Barros report, would appear in fact to be the work of Sarmiento.

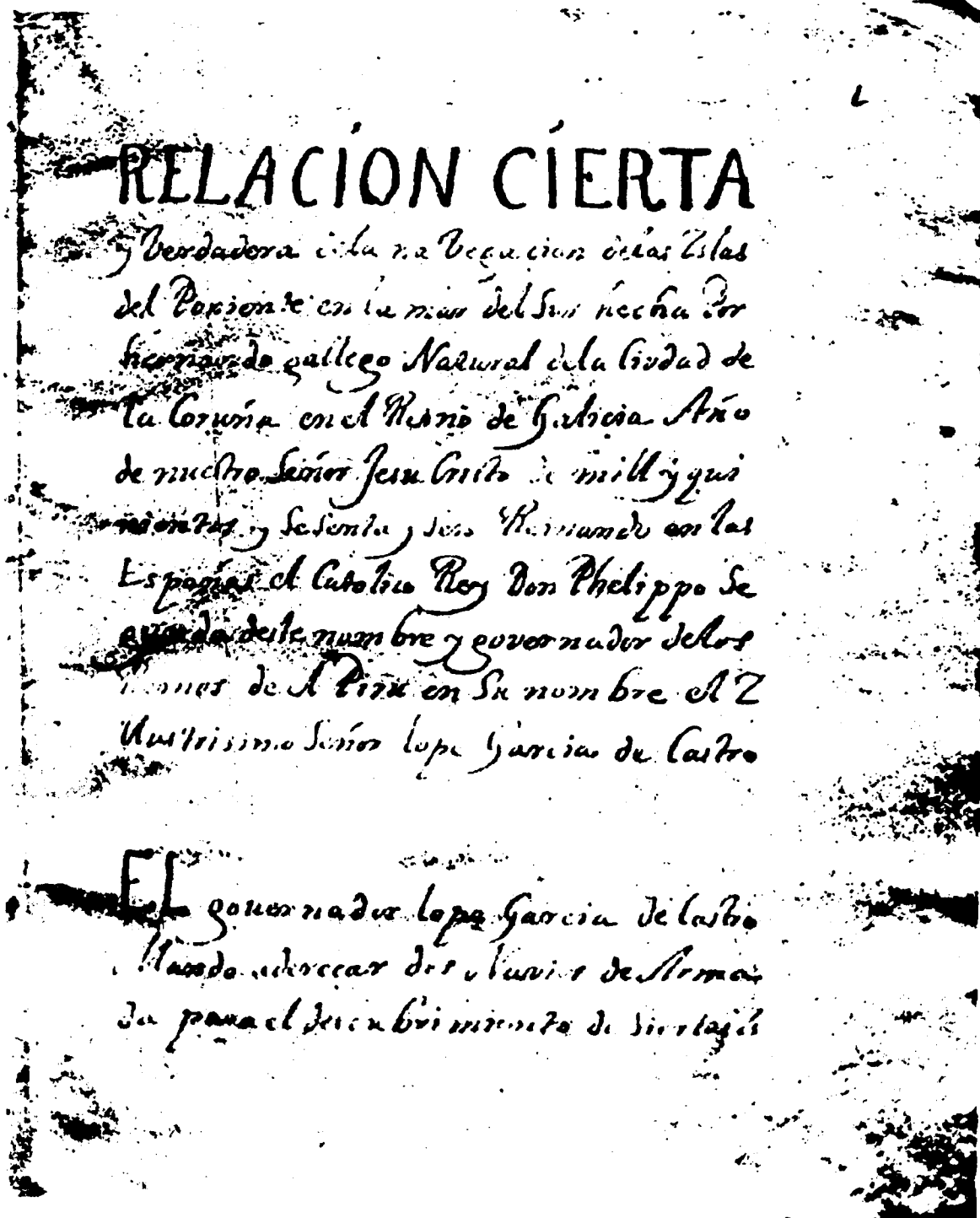
ings, and stated his opinion that they should follow a south-west [-east?] course in search of the other land which he wished to discover at the beginning, lying opposite Chile. The three pilots were of his opinion. Gallego, although he also said that he should do so, did not perform what he had promised, but steered instead for New Spain, in defiance of the resolution, and it was a miracle that they escaped, for they suffered from hunger, thirst and soreness in the gums, and some of them died.¹

In 33 degrees [N] the General left the *almiranta*, in which went Captain Sarmiento, who followed his proper course; and if it had not been for him, under God's providence, they would have been lost.

They reached the city of Colima in New Spain with the flagship, where, because Pedro Sarmiento had evidence to lay before His Majesty, they seized and harassed him; and from thence they came to Realejo, where the General left Pedro Sarmiento, and went [back] to Peru.

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

1 Between 30 and 40, according to the ms. in BNP.



First page of Hernán Gallego's manuscript. (From Lord Amherst of Hackney & Thomson's *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, London, 1901)

Document 1568F

Mendaña expedition—Narrative of Chief Pilot Gallego

Sources: Four mss. extant: 1) MNM ms. 921; 2) AGI Patronato 18-1-1 (N° 10, R° 4); 3) BM Add. ms. 17.623; 4) Ms. which was in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney in 1901 (it is now in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, N.Z.); translated by Amherst & Thomson, Vol. 1, pp. 1-3, 66-69.

True and correct account of the Voyage to the Isles of the West in the South Sea, made by Hernando Gallego, a native of the city of La Coruña in the Kingdom of Galicia

In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1566 [rather 1567], during the reign over the Spanish kingdoms of the Catholic King Philip II and the Governorship in his name over the kingdom of Peru of the Illustrious Sir Lope García de Castro.

Governor Lope García de Castro ordered the outfitting of two navy ships for the discovery of certain islands...

...

On the morning of Saturday, which was the 4th of September [1568], I told Juan Henriquez, the pilot, that we ought to petition the General to go one way or the other, because we were tacking about, using up the provisions and water; and that we should put ourselves towards one pole or the other to go on our voyage, since he had not wished to take my opinion, but to follow his own. And so I requested him, and all this took place before Antonio de Cieza, the clerk, all of which will appear more at length, as that petition is in the possession of the said clerk.

From Saturday to Sunday evening we went NW 25 leagues, and we must have been in about the latitude of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a degree [N].

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

And on the 8th of the said month we went NE by E, and found ourselves in the latitude of 4°; and that day I told those in the *almiranta* to keep a good lookout from 6° to 11°, because there was land ahead; and so they did, although we went forward. In 11 days¹ we went 25 leagues NE by E and we found ourselves in the latitude of 5° and 5 leagues [rather minutes] NE [rather N].

And on the 12th of the said month of September, at 5 o'clock in the morning [afternoon?], we had the sails furled, with squalls; we hoisted in the middle of the night, when the wind chopped into the east, and we put her head NNW, being reefed, because of the necessity for catching some water from the showers to drink. Presently the wind chopped to the NE, and we went NNW, although we made no [hardly any?] headway to the N by W to reach the latitude of 6°, because the needle inclined to the NE.

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

[Discovery of Namu]

On the 17th of the said month, with the wind NE, we went to the N, till we were in 8° N of the equinoctial; and, being in this latitude of 8°, we came upon the shoals and islands of **San Bartolomé**² the E and SE point of which is in 8° and the other extremity at the NW in 8-2/3°.³ We came upon these islands two hours before dawn. They run NW—SE, in length about 15 leagues; and they have two lines of reefs, which appear like channels on either hand. There would be about half a league between one and the other. At the end of one or the other on the NW are two little islands.⁴ They lie with the other, ESE, a league apart. There is a great depth of water; on the west side we could not find any bottom to anchor at this island. We launched the boat to go for water. In this island there are many houses and people. Between the islands, of which there were more than twenty, [we saw] a boat or canoe under sail.

When they landed they found nothing but one Castile cock, which they brought. The people left their houses and fled. We found a **chisel** made of a nail, by which it appeared that ships had passed that way. They did not find any water, but they found some coconut palms bored through, which showed how they got their water, and some pieces of *cayro*.⁵

1 Ed. note: That is, on the 11th day of September.

2 Ed. note: Wrong assumption, based on his inaccurate chart no doubt.

3 Ed. note: Namu's latitude ranges from 7°45' to 8°12'N. What follows is a very good description of the atoll.

4 Ed. note: Their present names are Namu proper (upon which they effected a landing) and Mattamett.

5 Ed. note: Meaning coir, rope made from coconut husk fiber. The etymology of this word is from the Tamil language of India, imported into the Iberian peninsula by the Portuguese.

We beat to windward for three hours¹ and I could not find a bottom to anchor, there being about 1,000 fathoms.² These Indians drink *chicha* from a kind of pine-apple [pandanus], and for this reason there are swarms of flies. The boat having returned with the people, we resumed our voyage.

We ran to the north till we were in the latitude of 9-1/2 degrees; this was on the 21st of the said month. On that day the wind changed to the north, and we put her head E by N to get nearer to the land, and beat to windward, because water failed us, and the people were sick and were dying rapidly. We went on this course for 20 leagues, and found ourselves in the latitude of 12-1/6 degrees.

On the 22nd of the said month, the wind was light in the NE, and we put her head to the north till we found ourselves in 11-1/2 degrees; this was on the 28th of September. Between those dates we made 5-1/2 degrees N—S, 94-1/2 leagues. On the 29th and 30th of the said month we headed NNW to 12°.

[Discovery of Wake]

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

On the 5th and 6th of October we went towards the north. I took the latitude in 22°...

-
- 1 Ed. note: That is, on the north side of the atoll.
 - 2 Ed. note: The Spanish unit of measure mentioned here is "estado", which was the average height of a man, and therefore close to a fathom.
 - 3 Ed. note: I do not have the original to refer to, but this word was probably "red" which also means "fishing-net".

Document 1568G

Mendaña expedition—Narrative by Catoria the steward

Sources: BM London Add. ms. 9944, folios 197 (or 225) et seq.; translated in Amherst & Thomson's Discovery of the Solomon Islands, vol. 1, pp. 215-217, 434-442.

Account of the Voyage and Discovery which was made in the South Sea

In pursuance of an order made by the Most Illustrious Sir Lope García de Castro, a member of His Majesty's Council, Governor of Peru, and President of the Chancery of Los Reyes, under the command of Alvaro de Mendaña as General, drawn up by Gomez Hernández Catoira, Chief Purser of the said fleet, supercargo and accountant for H.M., addressed to the said Lord, the Licentiate Lope García de Castro.

...

In the flagship of this fleet, called **Los Reyes**, navigating in 4-1/2 degrees south of the equinoctial line, on Friday, the 27th of the month of August 1568, the ship named **Todos Santos**, *almiranta* of this fleet, navigating in the same position at a little distance from her, Hernando Gallego, the Chief Pilot, in the presence of the Illustrious Sir Alvaro de Mendaña, of myself, the Purser, and of many other persons, gentlemen and soldiers of both ships, said, consulting aloud with Pedro Rodriguez and Gregorio Gonzalez, pilots of the said *almiranta*, that they well knew and saw that, with the winds which prevailed and had prevailed since we left the [Solomon] Islands, we could not navigate and follow the course which the General had commanded us to follow, which was from E to SE and SSE, because the wind was very variable and was not fixed in any quarter which enabled us to navigate, except in the direction of NE and NNE...

[Discovery of Namu]

After reaching this region where these requests were made, we sailed to the NE till we reached 5° N latitude, and to the NW, as far as 6-1/2 degrees. And afterwards we sailed N and N by W and NE and NNW, for the winds shifted to the NE, and ENE. With these winds we reached 8-1/2 degrees N latitude, and at daybreak, before sunrise,

the Chief Pilot sighted land, and when it grew light we saw that it was some shoals, which surrounded some very small islands.

The Chief Pilot said that these were the shoals of San Bartolomé for which they had been on the lookout for some days; and he had told them the latitude in which they were. But before reaching these, being near the Line, we had seen signs of inhabited land, such as palm mats, leaves and burnt sticks. We inferred that there is much land below the Line.¹ We also met with heavy showers before reaching the said shoals. And the General ordered the pilot to approach them, to see whether we could anchor in the lee side of the island, and whether there was any water, and, if so, to provide ourselves with it; and he took it badly, saying that it was an uninhabited land, and that we should pass on. In the midst of these discussions we discovered two other islands to leeward of the reef. We kept at a distance from them, and from reefs which run parallel, almost [touching] each other.

We approached them and saw some huts from the ships. We launched the boat, and Don Hernando [Henriquez], with some soldiers and sailors, got in and went ashore, and the Master-of-Camp [Pedro de Ortega] went in the boat of the *almiranta*.

On reaching the land they all saw that there was no water, which was what we wanted most. They found no man nor woman, for they had all fled.² They found some of the natives' food, which was very different from that of the [Solomon] islands, and of a bad taste and smell. And they found fermenting under the ground, a kind of beverage like *chicha*, and the people also had coconuts and made oil of them. And, seeing that there was no water, nor anything which was of use to us, they returned to the ships, and brought a piece of iron lashed to a stick, the size of a small nail, which was a sign that Spaniards had been there. They also found a large shed, old and not well roofed. It was suspected that some ship of the Philippines had visited or been lost there.

We endeavored to anchor near the islands, but, when very near land, we found 20 fathoms and let go the anchor, and immediately it dragged and dropped in more than 100 fathoms. And such was the fury of the current that in a short space it carried us out of the lee of the islands and shoals, and it had such a force that, although there was no wind or sea, but only the current, the hook of the anchor was twisted, though it was a large one.

[Discovery of Wake]

Then, seeing that for lack of a harbor we could not stop, we put out to sea, and took in the boats, and sailed with the prow to the N and NNE and NNW, according as the winds served us; and so we went up to the latitude of 20° where we found a low and uninhabited island. We came near it on the eve of San Francisco, and so we gave it that name.

1 They had passed a few leagues west of the Giulbert Islands.

2 Ed. note: Probably to Majkin I. in canoes whose sails had been sighted by the Spaniards.

And when we came close we saw that it had a large lagoon within it which is filled by the tide; and we approached it against the will of the pilots, all judging that we were near the coast [of California]. The General told them that it would cause little inconvenience to lose a day and take water for our use; and we sailed all round it, but there appeared to be none. It lies from north to south¹, and with the shoals it may be about 7 leagues in circumference. Having sailed round this island we steered N, and NNW, one point more or less, as the wind served us; and although it was possible to sail to the SE the pilots would not do so, saying that the northerly course was better than a southeasterly one.²

And thus we went up to 32°, always declining at other times to the NW, because the *almiranta* could not lie closer to the wind, or rather, as it seemed to us all, because it was through negligence that she fell thus to leeward, though the pilots said they could do no more. And, as we sometimes saw her sailing to windward as we did, it was supposed that they made her fall to leeward on purpose, so much so that sometimes we bore down astern upon her. And the General asked them where they were steering to and whether they wished us to be lost, for the land was not so near as they thought. They always said that they were doing their best and could do no more. All that day she remained with us, although we kept ahead and nearer the wind; and the next day it was the same until 9 or 10 o'clock at night, when we saw her pass and fall to leeward astern of us, at which we were much astonished.

On Saturday, the 17th of October, she could not be seen...

1 Ed. note: As they sailed around it, the steward who was not a seaman lost his bearings; the island lies NW—SE.

2 Ed. note: If they had sailed SE now and then, they might have discovered the Hawaiian Islands.

Document 1568H

Mendaña expedition—Narrative of a Franciscan friar

Sources: BN Paris Ms. #ESP325, folios 174-183; translated in Amherst & Thomson, vol. 2, pp. 1, 208-209, and edited by me.

Note: There were 4 Franciscans aboard the two ships. Fr. Kelly thinks that this narrative was written by one of them who was aboard the flagship. Amherst & Thomson are wrong in assuming that it may have been written by one of the soldiers.

Original text found in Paris

Relación breve de lo sucedido en el viage que hizo Alvaro de Mendaña en la demanda de la Nueva Guinea la qual ya estava descubierta por Iñigo Ortiz de Retes que fue con Villalobos, de la tierra de la Nueva España, el año de 1544.—

El año de 1567 por mandado del licenciado Lopez García de Castro del concejo de su Magestad y governador de los reinos del piru [sic] y presidente del audiencia de los reies se armaron dos navios de mediano porte en los quales nos embarcamos ciento y veinte hombres, la mitad marineros y gente de la mar y la otra soldados sin [contar] la gente de servicio y los demas (?) con quatro pilotos y el mas principal dellos era (?) herman Gallego y por general desta armada Alvaro de Mendaña sobrino del presidente un mancebo de veinte y cinco años y por maese de campo y almirante Pedro de Ortega, valencino, alguacil mayor de Panama, natural de Guadalcanal. Fuemos con (?) nosotros quatro frailes de la orden del Señor San francisc[o].

Salimos del puerto del Callao de Lima y de la ciudad de los Reyes miercoles diez (del mez) y ocho a desinueue de noviembre mill y qui[n]jien[ta] y sesenta y siete años y anduvimos barloventando...

...
 [Folio 180] *El piloto Hernan Gallego es un hombre muy esperto en este oficio y que le respondió que el lo travajaría todo lo posible mas que no se escusava meterse al norte porque no se podian hallar temporales sino en passando el equinoccial y metiendose al norte y siendo mas de fuerza avia de dar en costa de nueva españa y ansi fuemos navegando por el nordeste al norte y siempre a barlovento y los [diez y] siete de setiembre*

por la mañana vimos tierra por barlovento y nos hallamos dos leguas deles y dixo el piloto que som los baxos de San [Barto]Lome y no los pudimos tomar y ansi vimos otros bajos los quales estaban a sotavento.

Avia muchos corrientes y saltando el maese de campo y algunos soldados en una ysleta vieron homios(?)¹ en un montezillo apartados unos de otros y hallaron algunos huevos (?) y gallinas y entre ellas algunas alhajas no se hallaron [;] se hallo un escoplo que primero avia sido lima por donde se sospecha que en esta ysla [h]an estado españoles y avien[do] da(n)do a la vela y navegado dos leguas vimos una vela aunque no vimos el caxa y deseosos de saber della nos tuvimos a la bolin(g)a y ansi lo perdimos de vista y venimos nuestro viaje hasta ponernos en altura de veinte y un grados y vimos una ysla despoblada la qual nombramos la ysla de San Francisco.

Tiene alrededor muchos arrecifes. Esto fue vispera días de San Francisco por el mes de octubre y asi navegamos hasta treinta grados y ...

Translation of the above text

Brief account of what occurred during the voyage made by Alvaro de Mendaña in quest of New Guinea which had already been discovered by Iñigo Ortiz de Retes who sailed with Villalobos from the land of New Spain in the year of 1544.—

In the year of 1567, by order of the Licentiate Lope García de Castro, of the Council of His Majesty and Governor of the Kingdoms of Peru and President of the Audiencia of Los Reyes [i.e. Lima], two ships of average tonnage were outfitted and we embarked aboard them, 120 men, half seamen and sailors and half soldiers, not counting the servants and the others, with 4 pilots, the most senior of them being Hernán Gallego, and as General of this fleet Alvaro de Mendaña, nephew of the President, a young man of 25 years of age, and as Master-of-Camp and Admiral Pedro de Ortega², from Valencia, chief constable of Panama, born in Guadalcanal. There came with us 4 friars of the Order of St. Francis.

We departed from the port of Callao of Lima and from the City of the Kings on Wednesday [night] 18th to 19th of November 1567 and sailed to windward...

[Folio 180] The pilot, Hernán Gallego, a man who is very expert in his field, replied to him [i.e. Mendaña] that he would try to do the best he could [to go east] but that he made no excuse for steering north because there could not be any storms except in crossing the equinoctial line and, by going the northern route he had necessarily to come upon the coast of New Spain. Thus we steered anywhere from NE to N, always to windward.

1 Ed. note: Word written over. Amherst & Thomson think it might be "uraios"; it is possibly "chozas" which means huts.

2 Ed. note: The real "admiral" in charge of the *almiranta* Todos los Santos was soon to become Pedro Sarmiento.

[Discovery of Namu]

On the morning of the 7th [rather 17th] of September in the morning, we saw land to windward and we found ourselves 2 leagues from them. The pilot said that they are the shoals of San Bartolomé. We could not touch at them and thus we saw other shoals which were to leeward. There were many currents. The Master-of-Camp and a few soldiers landed on an islet and saw huts (?) in a small wooded area separated from one another and they found some eggs¹ and hens. Among them no jewels were found.² A chisel was found which had previously been a file³, from which it was suspected that Spaniards had been at this island.

Having set sail and sailed 2 leagues, we saw a sail, although we did not see the hull. Desirous of knowing about it, we tacked and thus we lost sight of it.

[Discovery of Wake]

We pursued our voyage until we reached the latitude of 21° and we saw an uninhabited island which we named the Island of San Francisco. There are many reefs around it. This was on the eve of St. Francis Day in the month of October, and so we sailed as far as 30°...⁴

-
- 1 Ed. note: Amherst & Thomson have translated this as "fresh food" instead; the manuscript is hard to decipher. That may be read as "fresh eggs".
 - 2 Ed. note: The word "no" is evident in the manuscript. The word "alhajas" could also be translated as "(pricey) furniture".
 - 3 Ed. note: And not a nail, as Amherst & Thomson have translated.
 - 4 Ed. note: At the end of the manuscript, it is said that about 40 men had died by the time they reached the port of Navidad. The *almiranta*, minus her pilots, crawled into port on 25 February 1569.

Document 1570A

Letter from Legazpi to the King, dated Panay 25 July 1570

Sources: AGI 67-6-6; B&R 3:108-112; copied in FBG 8:183-186.

Letter from Legazpi to Philip II

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty:

With Captain Juan de la Isla, who arrived at this river on the eve of St. John's Day last [1570], I received a letter from your Majesty from the Escorial dated 16 November 1568, with the despatches and the favors that your Majesty was pleased to grant this camp.¹ For these and for other things that we expect from your Majesty, all these faithful vassals of your Majesty, and in their name for all, kiss your Majesty's royal feet and hands. We pray God, our Lord, to give us time and opportunity, as loyal vassals employed in your royal service, to merit being the instruments of the augmentation of your royal crown, with increase of new realms and dominions; and that in the fortunate days of your Majesty the Christian faith may be planted, grow, and increase in these lands, where the infidelity and rule of the devil, our adversary, so long prevailed.

With the ships that left here last year (1569), under Captain Felipe de Salcedo, I sent your Majesty a report of everything that happened until then and the affair with the Captain Major of the Portuguese fleet. They write me that this same Felipe de Salcedo took this despatch to your Majesty on an advice boat that was sent from Mexico, for this purpose, whereby your Majesty will have seen, learned, and understood what occurred here. We have had no word here, since then, of Portuguese; nor do I believe that they will return, because they were much harassed, and also I am certain that none of those who went from here will have any desire to return. That, however, is no reason why I should neglect what concerns your Majesty's royal service. I await them within three months in this archipelago, which is the time in which they can come; and so I live with as much foreboding as if I had them before me.

1 Ed. note: See Documents 1568C.

By other letters I have entreated your Majesty, informing you of the necessity in this archipelago for boats with oars; and how important they will be for further discovery of other things of greater importance, which until now has been neglected, through not having these boats. Twice I have sent men in Indian proas for explorations to the north and northwest of us. Once they discovered certain islands, small but well peopled with Moros; and the other time they discovered on the coast of Luçon, which is a large island, several settlements of Moros. The latter have cannon, which they themselves cast and finish, and likewise powder and other ammunition. Some of the towns received them in peace, but others would not. The possessions taken in your Majesty's name accompany the present letter.

These Moros have much more trade, because they make voyages for that purpose, going among the people on the Chinese mainland, and to the Japanese, I again repeat how advantageous it would be to your Majesty's service to have some oared vessels here, because the Spanish are not accustomed to navigate with skill in those of the Indians, and run great risks by going in them. And in order that this may not occur, will your Majesty please command that what seems best to you in that case be ascertained and provided.

The Portuguese left us so badly accredited with these natives that some of them withdrew from our friendship; and it has been necessary to turn to pacifying them again, and at somewhat greater cost than the first time. In the future we shall have the greatest care in their conversion and good treatment, as your Majesty commands. We will gladly strive to bring them to the subjection and dominion of your royal Majesty, and with those who refuse and do not wish it, we shall adopt more convenient means to preach and teach to them all the evangelical law, wherein God, our Lord, and your Majesty will be well served.

In fulfillment of your Majesty's orders, on these two ships which are going to New Spain, I send 10 or 12 Portuguese from this camp. Some still remain but it seemed to me that to avoid trouble, it was well not to send many together. I am certain that some of them are good soldiers, and have served your Majesty very well. There has not been heard or imagined of them anything that they ought not to have done, but your Majesty's order was very well considered and noted, and therefore will be executed. On the first ships that leave here will go those who remain. The foreigners of other nationalities cannot be banished at present, without considerable inconvenience, because all the workmen, carpenters, gunners, and half of the sailors are foreigners. Some of the soldiers are Flemings, and others Italian, Venetian, Greek, French, and so on. Therefore, no new action has been taken in this at present until your Majesty is pleased to have the matter looked into, and shall command what you think best to be done about it.

[News received about Mendaña expedition]

We have had news here from Mexico that a certain fleet that sailed from Peru in your Majesty's name, to discover New Guinea, and other lands in these western regions, was instructed to settle all the lands extending westward between 10° north latitude and 60°



Philippine-made bronze gun called lantaka.

south latitude. This was incredible, because, as your Majesty knows, the fleets that have left New Spain in your Majesty's name have discovered many islands and lands as far as the equator, and in south latitude. What I have settled, subdued, and discovered in your Majesty's name commences at 6° latitude north of the equator, and extends from there farther north. If it were conceded to those from Peru up to 10°, it would be equivalent to giving them the greater part of all this Philippine archipelago, and more. I thought that I ought to inform you of it, so that your Majesty could make the provisions seemed best to you.

Melchor de Legazpi, my son, who for a long time has resided at that court, has charge of my affairs; and last year, Captain Felipe de Salcedo, my grandson, went to give your Majesty a report of affairs here. I humbly pray your Majesty to have them sent back, granting them favor so that they may come to serve your Majesty in these regions.

Captain Juan de la Isla goes to that court [a second time], and will return on the same ship on which he went. He has served and labored much; I pray your Majesty to reward him as he merits. With him I send your Majesty two bronze *versos* [small guns] made by the Moros of this land, so that your Majesty may see what dexterity they possess in working and casting guns.

Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty, may our Lord guard and increase the life and person of your Royal Majesty with more kingdoms and seigniories for many happy years, with victories over your enemies, as your royal heart desires.

From this island of Panae, on St. James' Day, 25 July 1570.

Your Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty's most humble and faithful servant who kisses your royal feet and hands.

Miguel López de Legazpi.



Fr. Herrera and Captain de la Isla arrive at Panay in 1570. They brought the royal communications confirming Legazpi as Governor and Captain General of the Islands of the West, including the Ladrones. (From Beyer & De Veyra's *Philippine Saga*, Manila, 1952)

Document 1570B

Letter from Fr. Herrera to the Viceroy of New Spain, dated Panay July 1570

Sources: AGI; translated in Lopez & Felix, Christianization of the Philippines, Manila, 1965, doc. 13, pp. 332-336.

Fr. Herrera mentions his visit to Guam 12-15 May 1570

Although your Excellency was in a great hurry and we were as diligent as humanly possible, still we were not able to leave the port as soon as all wished. We left on 9 March as your Excellency now knows and I was afraid for I thought we would have a longer and harsher voyage than we actually had as the season was already advanced. However, by the grace of God we had 40 days of good weather and had we had another 20 as good, we would have gotten to the Philippines. But, at the end of 40 days, the winds ceased to blow and though we were 100 leagues from the Ladrone Islands, it took us some time to get there and we only arrived at the island of Guam on 12 May.

There we spent as little time as possible in refilling our water casks and in taking aboard firewood, while the crew laundered their clothing. So as not to lose time, we left Guam on 15 May with reasonably good weather.

Three or four days later, we met a typhoon and the contrary winds were so strong that not only were we unable to sail forward but we were actually pushed back 25 to 30 leagues. With God's grace, we then continued in fair weather until we sighted land in the Philippines on 4 June.

The Indians told us where we could find the Governor and that there was no news as to whether the Portuguese had entered the islands. So, we got to an island that they call Maripipi¹ on 7 June and from there I went to Panay to visit the Governor together with Captain Juan de la Isla where he was then, that we might know where he wanted the vessels to go, for there is no port in Panay and ships must take cover near a small

1 Ed. note: Maripipi is located off the SE tip of Masbate and N of Leyte.

island lying at the mouth of the river where the Governor lives, a place which is dangerous for vessels as the pilots and quarter-masters believe.

When I got to this river of Panay where the Governor was, they were glad that I had come and they were equally glad of the aid and reinforcements sent by His Majesty and Your Excellency aboard the **three vessels**¹ and the Governor ordered that the vessels should come to Panay although many were of different opinion. I myself thought that his decision was wrong for the port was bad and it would be hard to unload the vessels. Also, there was over one league and a half from the anchorage to the town and the sandbar at the mouth of the river made passage difficult.

Nevertheless, on 22 June the vessels got there and when the men aboard saw this sad and stricken place in which we are now settled they were sad. The swamps looked bad and the houses were built by the bank of the river where the water is brackish so that when the river rises it is necessary to go by boat from house to house. It is hot and unhealthy and it rains day and night and although before we came, food was abundant now we lack food. Also, we are very much afraid of the Portuguese so that if the men here found a place that is better hidden they would go there although it might be a worse place and although the Portuguese may not come in the end, these men will not dare to leave for Cebu unless somebody should impose some order.²

...

-
- 1 Ed. note: One of the three vessels was the returning patache San Lucas, but the names of the other two ships are unknown.
 - 2 Ed. note: Legazpi moved back to Cebu in November 1570. There is also a letter by Fr. Juan de Alva to the Viceroy, dated 28 July 1570, which was printed in *Archivo-Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, vol. LIV (Valladolid 1960), on pages 399-400.

Document 1570C

Letter from Fr. Diego de Herrera to the King, dated Panay 25 July 1570

Sources: AGI 68-1-42; B&R 34: 229-234; copied in FBG 8:179-182.

Letter from Father Diego de Herrera, O.S.A. to King Philip II

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

When I saw that the affairs of this land had no permanent settlement and no hopes of one, and that the natives were very much molested by the Spaniards, and that so far as I could see God was being served but little in this region because of the great licence which men have here for evil and the lack of justice, and that very little service was being rendered your Majesty, since they are ruining excellent lands here for you, I determined last year, 1569, to go to New Spain in order to give advice of what was passing here in order that some reform might be instituted in this, and to discuss the matter with the Viceroy in order that he might relieve the condition as much as he could and give notice of the other things to your Majesty. [I determined] that if the Viceroy thought that I ought to go to Spain to discuss the matter with your Majesty, I would also do so. When I reached New Spain and discussed this matter with the Viceroy, and its great necessity for reform, and the extremely ruinous condition of affairs, he thought that I ought to return [to the Philippines] and give notice of it to your Majesty.¹ Accordingly, he told me that I would be fulfilling the service of God and of your Majesty if I would immediately return to these districts on the first ship. He gave me to understand that until the remedy was specified he could [not] reform some of the evils.

Although that order was very grievous to me as I had reached New Spain ill and worn out by the sea, since the service of two such great lords as God and your Majesty

¹ Ed. note: He had written the King from Mexico on 16 January 1570 (See B&R 3:69-72).

was placed before me, I considered it fitting, and accordingly re-embarked for these islands on the 9th of March of this year 1570.

I reached this island of Panay where the Governor is established, on the 22nd of July.¹ All the people were overjoyed at the reinforcements that your Majesty orders sent them, and with the concessions of the petition made from this land. I found the country in a most ruinous condition and such that more has been destroyed in this one year here than during the past five years. Your Majesty owns so many islands in this district that one is surprised at the number. They are all very rich and fertile and contain many gold mines, pearls, and wax, while some of them have cinnamon. They are thickly inhabited and the people promise better than those of New Spain. But since your Majesty does not provide anyone permanently and prescribe the manner of living, and protect and defend the natives, and keep justice for them, and power to punish whoever injures them, all will be lost in a very short time, for the policy employed with the natives could last but one year here if there is much greater violence. That consists in robbing them, burning their villages, and enslaving them. If this is not done it is affirmed that it is impossible to find support. This is false, for on the contrary, it is impossible to find support in this manner, for everything is being destroyed [by this manner of acting]; and the natives are becoming so exhausted because they are not left for an instant. However, they all desire peace in an extraordinary manner and to live under the protection of your Majesty and to pay the tribute. They would give the sum asked of them, if they thought that no evil was to be done them. But today they are made friends and on the morrow they are robbed. Many of them have been killed and many villages burned. I am writing this in general although not going into details in anything, in order not to trouble your Majesty. I wrote more at length to the Viceroy of New Spain in order that he might inform your Majesty, for he can easily ascertain whether these things are so from those who come here. This fleet came here at the beginning greatly in need of people who knew how to govern, and the same is true of war, for besides the Master-of-Camp here, who has died², all the rest know but little as was evident in the war with the Portuguese in Çubu. At that time although the Portuguese were so few, they caused such a great extremity that some captains advised the abandonment of the site and retirement to another part; and if the Portuguese did not cause the abandonment while they were there, they caused it when they left; and the strongest site and best port in all these islands, so far as has yet been seen, was abandoned, and we came here to establish ourselves in Panay along the swampy and very poor shore of a river. It will be very much less strong than Çubu and has no port, while it is hot and unhealthful. If your Majesty does not appoint someone to govern, this colony will daily become less, and will fall entirely into destruction. If we are not more firmly established, we religious cannot treat of the conversion of these natives with zeal and care nor with so much fruit as if the land had peace and security.

1 Ed. note: Error for June (See Doc. 1570B).

2 Ed. note: Mateo del Sanz.

They sent from here to petition your Majesty to concede them the favor to allow them to rob and enslave the Moros throughout these districts. They reason that they gave for it was to say that they were Moros and that they were preventing and opposing the preaching of the gospel. The statement that they were preventing the preaching of the gospel was false, for they have never prevented it nor do so at present. On the contrary, there is an increase to be observed in families where the husband is a Moro and the wife a pagan, who come in order to beg the religious to baptize their son and make him a Christian; for they do not at all object to each one living according to the belief that he likes best. For all the Moros who live in these islands have been Moros for but few years back. Many of them, such as those of Luçon, have nothing except the name, and the fact that they do not eat pork; for they have no mosque or *cacique*¹ (who are their priests). This worship is only a trifle more firmly established among those of the island of Burney than in the other, although they are also of recent date there. Not all the island is Moro, but only certain villages along the coast, for the inhabitants of the interior are heathens. None of them possess the lands of Christians or wage war on them, or do them any injury; although we do to them, and much, for four or five ships of Burney have been pillaged and many people killed, while many more from Luçon have been killed, although excellent friends to us. As to the chiefs, they made the land friendly to us, or at least exerted a great influence in that direction. They supplied us with food in abundance and stuffs very suitable for clothing, and gold for our silver, in order that we might barter for our necessities. Now, however, conditions are such that no one dares come [to trade]. I do not believe that any other reason can be given for authority to rob them, except that they are Moros; and that is no legitimate reason and cannot be done.

After we religious came to these districts with the fleet, at your Majesty's command, nothing besides a little rice has been supplied to us for our sustenance every week in the same way as to the soldiers. It is a ration, but even with bread a man cannot be supported by it. I have written to that effect to the Viceroy of New Spain so that we may be supplied from there with necessities until there shall be sufficient means of gain in this land from which to supply us; but he either has no authority from your Majesty to do that, or he does not dare unless it be remitted to us here. I entreat your Majesty to please order us to be supplied with an amount each week per religious as is done in New Spain, in consideration of the fact that our expenses here are heavier than in New Spain. For the Indians in New Spain know only how to give, but these Indians here know only how to beg. The soldiers who are here now are so poor that it is necessary to try to give to them and not to beg from them. Consequently, it will be necessary for your Majesty to make us a more liberal concession than to the religious of New Spain. I believe that one religious can be supported in these regions for 200 pesos but not with less. I trust,

1 Ed. note: Herrera probably confuses the word "kasis" (the Arabic word for a Christian priest) with the American word "cacique" which means chief.

God helping, that the fruit which will be obtained in the conversion in these districts, will be so great that your Majesty will make us other greater rewards.

We have hitherto stayed here because we suspected here that your Majesty would order us to abandon this place, but since we now know that it is your Majesty's will that we continue to advance the undertaking, we shall begin to baptize all the people; for although there are some Christians, there would be many more if we had known before what we now know.

May our Lord preserve the sacred royal Catholic person of your Majesty for many years, as I your humble and least servant desire.

[From] this island of Panay, 25 July, 1570.

Your sacred royal Catholic Majesty's most humble servant,
Fray Diego de Herrera.

[Endorsed: "Examined. To be given to the reporter, so that he may file it with the others."]

Document 1573A

1572-1573 annual report by Governor Lavezaris to the King, dated Manila 29 June 1573

Source: AGI Fil. 67-6-6; translated in B&R 3:179-188.

Affairs in the Philippines after Legazpi's death

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

When I came to these islands in company with the General Miguel López de Legazpi, I gave your Majesty an account of the events of the expedition. Since then I have not done so, understanding that the Governor sent word by every ship, as was proper, how affairs were going here. Now was our Lord pleased to take him from this life, and I, being treasurer of the royal treasury, succeeded him in the office by a royal provision, emanating from the royal Audiencia of New Spain.

...

In a chest was found the royal decree, by which, in your Majesty's name, he enjoyed and exercised his office as Governor and Captain General. Before his death, the said Miguel López had founded, on the island of Çubu, where we first resided, a city called El Santissimo Nombre de Jesús [The Most Holy Name of Jesus] because of an image of the child Jesus that we found there. Here in this island of Luçon, he founded the city of Manila¹ where from that time until his death he resided, with all his people.

...

Last year, 1572, the Governor Miguel López despatched two ships² to New Spain a few days before his death; but, as it was late when they started, and the weather bad, they could not make the voyage that year. They came back, therefore, much disabled

1 Ed. note: Manila was so named by Legazpi on 3 June 1571, but the city was officially founded on 19 June 1572.

2 Ed. note: The Santiago and the San Juan, which turned back.

and disordered. After the death of the Governor, who had made liberal provision for their repair and [ms. torn here] rigging and pitch, which it has been no little trouble to find. This year, therefore, God willing, three ships¹ will go, so that they may not for lack of vessels neglect to send reinforcements.

Since the death of Governor Miguel López, I have had made from the gold that has been brought and given by the natives as tribute and service, some **jewels**, which I send to your royal Majesty and to the Queen our mistress, with some specimens of the articles brought by the Chinese [traders].

These two ships now carry 136 marks² of **gold**, just as it was obtained from the natives who gave it as tribute. I hope that our Lord, that henceforth your Majesty will be better served with the first fruits of this land. I am also sending to New Spain 372 quintals of **cinnamon**, which I brought from the island of Mindanao, where there is a great quantity of it. There is no longer any necessity for the Portuguese to export hereafter any more cinnamon into your Majesty's kingdoms and dominions, because a greater quantity can be brought from these districts than can be sold in Europe, if ships are supplied. I am sending also to New Spain shoots of the cinnamon and pepper trees, so that they may be planted there and benefit your Majesty. I have also sent previously a **tamarind** tree, and have been informed that it is already bearing fruit in New Spain.³

I have tried to have some **rigging** for the ships made on this island, because what is brought from New Spain is completely rotten and useless, and for want of rigging the vessels have many times been unable to sail. God has been pleased that we should succeed in our endeavors—a thing that will be of great service in the despatching of the fleets that your Majesty will cause to be constructed here. I have also procured **pitch** for the same purpose; and, although there is not much of it, what has been discovered will be of great assistance.

...

May our Lord for many and fortunate years guard and prosper your Majesty's state with increase of greater kingdoms and dominions, as we, your Majesty's faithful vassals, desire.

Manila, 29 June 1573.

Your Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty's faithful vassal and most humble servant, who kisses your royal feet.

Guido de Lavezaris.

1 Ed. note: The Espiritu Santo, the Santiago, and the San Juan; the latter turned back once more.

2 Ed. note: 1 mark was 8 ounces or 1/2 a pound.

3 Ed. note: This tree, called *sampaloc* in the Philippines, is a leguminous tree whose scientific name is *tamarindus indica*. The tender leaves and pods are used to flavor stews, and the ripened pods are eaten as snacks and incorporated into desserts. All parts of the tree, even ashes from the wood, can be used for medicinal purposes (See vol. 2 of Padua et al. Handbook on Philippine Medicinal Plants, UP Los Baños, 1978).

Document 1573B

Letter from the Viceroy of New Spain to the King, dated Mexico 5 December 1573

Sources: Ms. in AHN; published in Cartas de Indias (Madrid, 1877, pp. 290-296; translated in B&R 3:209-219.

Letter from the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Martín Enriquez to King Philip II

Royal Catholic Majesty:

On the 15th of November [1573] there arrived at the port of Acapulco one of two ships¹ which sailed from the Philippines on the 1st of July. The second, the flagship, entered on the 24th, for it was leaking so badly that they succeeded in making port only with great difficulty. On account of this danger, knowing the nearness of the land, the flagship had determined to keep off shore, thinking this course possible because of its better sailing qualities. Ultimately they availed themselves of the land only for the purpose of taking aboard water because their supply was failing. They entered harbor without having lost either any people [sic] or any of their cargo. Don Pedro de Luna, the captain, died of illness 200 leagues away from land, as did a few sailors also.

Fray Diego de Herrera had taken passage in one of these vessels.² It was his intention to continue the journey to Spain to give your Majesty an account of the wrongs committed in those islands, because of the lack of justice; and to tell you that the soldiers, inasmuch as they are unpaid and receive no rations, are being supported at the Indians' expense, and that on this account many extortions are practiced. The factor Andrés de Mirandaola, Captain Juan Pacheco, and Sergeant-Major Juan de Morones,

1 Ed. note: They were the flagship Espiritu Santo and the *almiranta* Santiago.

2 Ed. note: This was his second absence from the mission.

also came. The factor and Sergeant-Major were sent because of certain crimes which they are said to have committed; however, I do not think that these are very serious.

...

He who at the present time exercises the duties of General¹ is not, I believe, held in much esteem; for they knew him when he held the inferior position of a bookseller here.

...

[Trade with China]

Commercial relations are now beginning to be established with the Chinese; but until this is definitely completed the hopes of the merchants here will not rise, in spite of all I do and contrive with them to encourage and spur them on; for, to tell the truth, no certain information comes of a nature to induce them to go. And one of the difficulties consequent upon this commerce and intercourse is, that neither from this land nor from Spain, so far as can now be learned, can anything be exported thither which they do not already possess. They have an abundance of silks, and linen likewise, according to report. Cloths, on account of the heat prevalent in the country, they neither use nor value. Sugar exists in great abundance. Wax, drugs, and cotton are super-abundant in the islands, where the Chinese go to obtain them by barter. And thus, to make a long story short, the commerce with that land must be carried on with **silver**, which they value above all other things; and I am uncertain whether your Majesty will consent to this on account of having to send it to a foreign kingdom. I beg your Majesty to consider all these matters, to inform me concerning them, and to give explicit orders to the person in charge here so that no mistakes may be made.

The management of affairs here is attended with great difficulty, especially concerning the people who shall go; for it is almost necessary to force them to go. Also with regard to the ships, which are taken wherever they can be found. Usually they are miserable little vessels, which draw but little water, and cost almost as much in running them as a ship of 600 tons—necessitating, as they do, pilot, master, boatswain, and sailors. Nor is it possible to get along with fewer, specially for the different watches, for otherwise the vessels could not possibly be navigated. And, inasmuch as it does not appear that the merchants are inclined to buy and fit out ships with a cargo, I am not sure, if this business is to go on at your Majesty's expense, whether it would not be wise to have two ships of about 500 tons constructed; and to arrange them so that one of them should not return [to Manila] the same year it went, in order to have time to collect thoroughly all the trade articles, but that it should return the following year, and another ship then set forth from here. In this way, and in accordance with this plan, after the first expedition a ship would sail from there hence every year. One of them alone would be sufficient to contain the people going to those islands, and keep business progressing and increasing there, since there is no regular expedition.

1 Ed. note: Guido de Lavezaris.

These ships brought 136 marks of gold for your Majesty and some few gold jewels and other things, as your Majesty will order confirmed by this memorandum which the General sends. As for cinnamon, they brought almost 280 quintals of it, besides some belonging to individuals, which I have not seized from them, but have paid them a moderate price for it, of which a previous account has been given to your Majesty. Since your Majesty has not had any answer sent me regarding it, I gather that your Majesty does not desire that this should be done. Likewise I infer the same with regard to other things to which your Majesty has had no answer made me. And besides all this, the ships brought silks of different colors, as well as damasks and satins, cloth-stuffs and some gold, and a quantity of cotton mantles, both white and colored; a quantity of wax, glazed earthenware and other knick-knacks such as fans, parasols, writing desks, and also thousands of small boxes. On account of its being an initial attempt, and because the merchants' interest in this commerce has not been roused or acquired, the matter of import and export duty, as I have written your Majesty, has not yet been settled upon. For the future, however, I will see that they make payment like the rest.

...

[Ships and ship-building]

As I have already written your Majesty, there is a lack of artillery here, for those islands take it all, so that I have no artillery for **a ship which I am now despatching, and which was built in the port of Acapulco**¹; and I shall have to take some of that brought by the other vessels coming here. In future, will your Majesty kindly order some to be sent both for an emergency like this, and for these royal settlements?

Together with this ship, I will endeavor to send one of those that have arrived here which may be repaired; and in them I wish to send all the people able to go—a number not in excess of 180 men—and some munitions. The flagship, which is of larger tonnage, will be repaired and put into shape, for it is in bad condition; a well as another ship which was to sail from there within 20 days.² Afterward, the vessels will remain, in order that they may go from here in a year, and take more people with them. Meanwhile, your Majesty will have time to make such provision as you think best.

The rigging which is bought here is that conveyed by the ships from Spain, and is very costly and very inferior in quality; but nothing else can be done. I beg your Majesty, therefore, to send yonder a large quantity of rigging, both small and cable size, for ships of small tonnage and for larger vessels (provided your Majesty think it best to do so). Please have sent also a lot of canvas. Your Majesty will have to order the officials to make selection of both, and to see that it is very good; or else let them send to

1 Ed. note: It appears that this new ship was the San Felipe and that it was despatched, not in 1574, but only in 1575. In 1574, the same two ships were sent back to the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: What the Viceroy did not know was that the San Juan had been forced back to Manila and tried again only in 1574.

Bilbao where they say the best rigging is made, and at the most reasonable prices. This must come, moreover, with the fleet, if it is to be utilized by these ships.

[Legazpi's legacy]

The accountant Melchor de Legazpi, upon hearing of the death of his father, wished to go to throw himself at your Majesty's feet, in order to beg you to remember his father's services, and how he had died in your royal service; and he had for this purpose sold his property, and was poor and even not free from debt. However, I prevented him from going, by telling him to write to your Majesty, and recall his father's services; and I understand that he was a good man, and served with all possible loyalty.

The favor which his son desires does not lie in those islands, but must be given by your Majesty in this land, and to the extent that seems best to you, in order that certain of his sisters, who are of a marriageable age, may not be left unprovided for... Your Majesty could order the accountant Legazpi to be given such recompense in this land as your Majesty may be pleased to give him; for by remembering the dead your Majesty will encourage the living, so that, in addition to the mere duty involved, they may die for you with the utmost zeal. Whatever your Majesty may do for him, moreover, I shall consider as a favor done to myself.

...

May our Lord preserve the royal Catholic person of your Majesty many years, and grant you the increase of kingdoms and dominions, as we your Majesty's servants desire.

Mexico, 5 December 1573.

Your Majesty's loyal servant, who kisses your royal hands,
Don Martín Enriquez.¹

1 Ed. note: Don Martín Enriquez was the 4th Viceroy of New Spain, from 1568 to 1580. In 1580, he became Viceroy of Peru, until his death in 1583.

Document 1573C

1570-1573 events by the notary Hernando Riquel

Sources: Ms. in the Archives of Simancas under Secretario de Estado, leg. 155; also contained, in part, in a document bound with the Artieda relation in MN, formerly MBU (see Doc. 1567A); RAH has also part of this document copied by Muñoz. It is shown here as translated in B&R 3:231-247 without the corrections and additions made by himself, and others.

News from the Isles of the West by Hernando Riquel

I have always given news of local events, and therefore do so at present, referring to some things which have happened since I last wrote—a letter sent by the last ships which arrived in this kingdom in the year 1570. I will mention the most notable events, leaving other and unimportant matters for other writers who may be less busy than I am; and I refer you to the captains, passengers, and other persons who go in these ships.

On the 17th of November of the year 1570, the Governor Miguel López de Legazpi left the Panay River for Çubu. According to the orders given him by his Majesty, he established a town of 50 inhabitants, to whom he allotted grants of Indians, with the approbation of the Provincial, Fray Martín de Rada, and the Master-of-Camp and the captains.

After establishing this town he returned to Panay, where, after his arrival, he remained until he prepared for the expedition to Manila—a city in the island of Luzon, and at present the principal settlement and camp of his Majesty. He set out on the 16th of April of the year 1571, on Easter Monday. They embarked on the galley called **La Leona de España**, completed in that season. On the way, they were detained 32 days before arriving at the said town of Manila.

...

A camp was formed in the land, and we have established a settlement, as well as we could; and every day more is being accomplished.

...



Statue of Miguel López de Legazpi by A. Marinas. His death occurred suddenly on 20 August 1572. (From *Mundo Naval Ilustrado*, July 1897)

When the affairs of this country were in this condition, the Governor heard of the arrival of two ships, the **Santiago** and the **San Juan**. This caused universal satisfaction; and although the ships arrived in a bad condition, they were repaired as well as they could be, in order to make the return voyage to that New Spain.¹

The same pleasure was experienced at the coming of Don Pedro de Luna in the ship **Espiritu Santo** [in 1572].

Of the three ships, two were despatched last year, but on account of their late departure they experienced stormy weather on the sea, and were compelled to put into port again. Accordingly, God willing, they will sail at the beginning of the month of July of this year, 1573.²

1 Ed. note: They failed to make it in 1572, but returned via Guam where they captured the would-be kidnapper of 1567.

2 Ed. note: They did, but the San Juan turned back a second time in a row.

[Death of Legazpi]

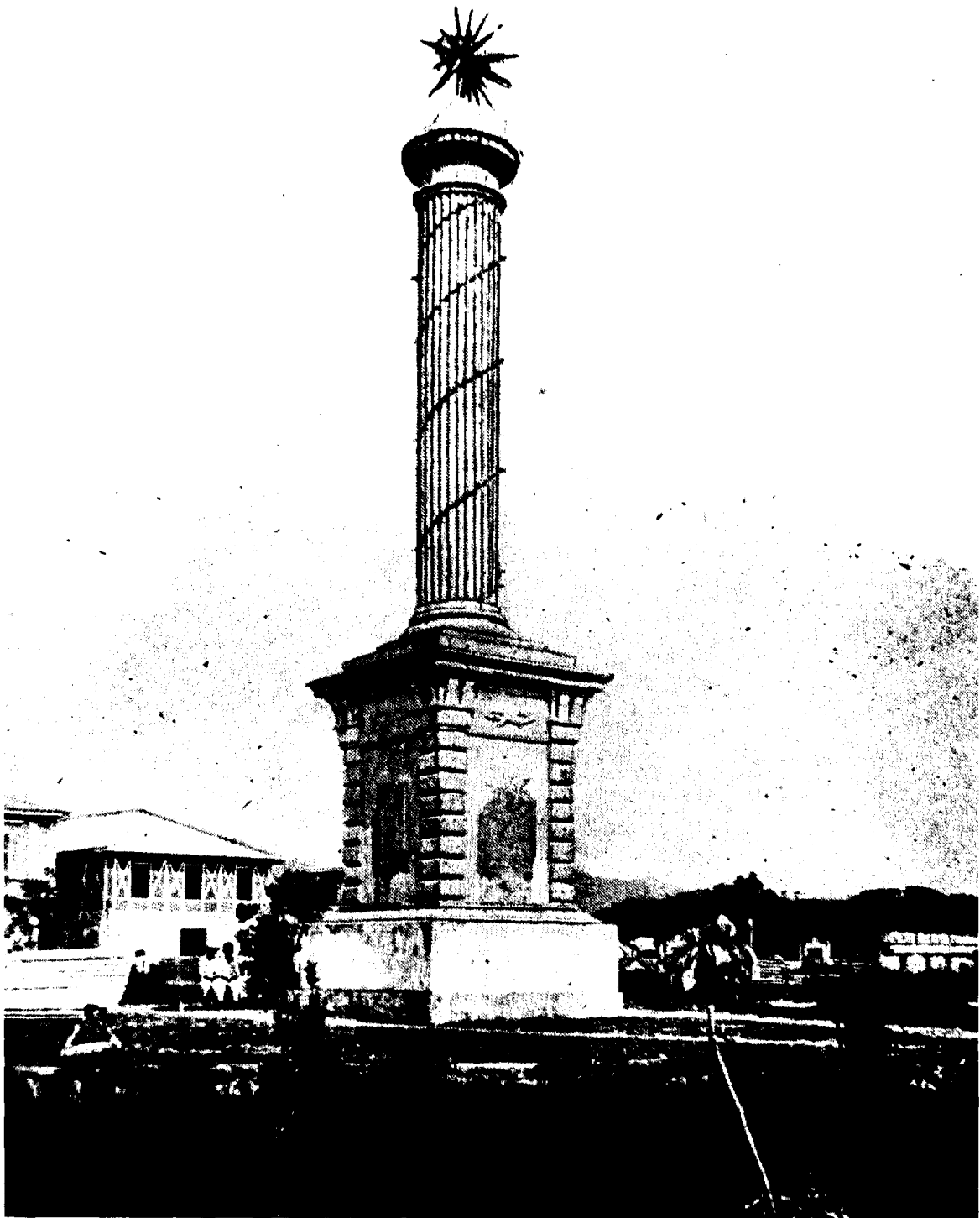
On the 20th of August of the past year 1572, our Lord was pleased to call to Himself the Governor, Miguel López de Legazpi. He died suddenly, having that day arisen in good health. In his cabinet a provision of his Majesty was found, issued by that Royal Audiencia during his administration, on account of the death of the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. Therein were designated the successors of Miguel López; and the office at this time fell to the treasurer, Guido de Lavezaris.

...
A year ago there came to the port of this city three ships from China, and to the neighboring islands five more. Those which came here brought merchandise such as is used among the Chinese, and such as they bring here ordinarily.

...
They brought specimens of many kinds of goods peculiar to their country, in order to arrange the price at which they can be sold—such as quicksilver, powder, pepper, fine cinnamon, cloves, sugar, iron, copper, tin, brass, silks in textiles of many kinds and in skeins, realgar¹, camphor, various kinds of crockery, luscious and sweet oranges; and a thousand other goods and trifles quite as many as the Flemings bring [to Spain]. Moreover, they brought images of crucifixes and very curious seals, made like ours. The cause of this unusual visit is that freedom, and passage to their own country, were given to some Chinese who were slaves among us; those people spread the news of this settlement, where they could come with safety and trade freely; accordingly they came, with the ships and goods to which we have already referred.

...
The matter most essential to this country is what I have already referred to today, regarding trade. May the prospect of riches and traffic be all to the service of our Lord.

1 The red sulphuret of arsenic.



Monument to Legazpi in Cebu City. (From Adeline Knapp's *The Story of the Philippines*, NY, 1902)

Document 1573D

Royal Orders regarding the discovery, settlement and pacification of the Indies

Sources: AGI Indiferente general, legajo 427, libro 29; published in Col. de Indias, vol. 8, pp. 484 et seq., and vol. 16, pp. 142 et seq.; also in Altamira's Ensayo (Madrid, 1959), p. 113 et seq.¹

Introductory note by the editor.

This document is important because it shows the “philosophy” that was to guide Spanish explorers and missionaries until 1900, the end of the period during which their influence was felt in the western Pacific. Hence, we may refer to these guidelines, issued during the “golden century” of exploration, to judge their actions, and those of other European discoverers, according to such contemporary rules of accepted civilized behavior. It would indeed be wrong for us to judge them according to more modern rules of conduct, enacted after the events under scrutiny.

Partial translation of the orders regarding the discovery, settlement and pacification of the Indies, by King Philip II, dated Segovia 13 July 1573

The order to be followed in making discoveries and settlements.

Don Felipe, etc.—

To the Viceroy, Presidents of Audiencias and Governors of our Indies in the ocean sea and to all other persons to whom it concerns or may concern in any manner whatsoever:

¹ Ed. note: These royal orders were drafted by Juan de Ovando, who died in 1575 and was President of the Royal Council of the Indies. I do not know if the orders have already been translated, but it will be faster to make my own translation than to search for some other, which would have to be checked anyhow.

Know ye that, in order for the discoveries, new settlements and pacifications of lands and provinces that are to be discovered, settled and pacified in the Indies be more easily accomplished and in conformity with the service of God and ours and the good of the natives, we have ordered, among other things, that the following orders be issued:

1. No-one, of any status or condition, is to use his own authority to make a new discovery by sea or on land, nor any entry, new settlement or village in what is already discovered or about to be discovered, without a licence and provision from someone who holds our power to give them, under penalty of death and of transfer of all their property to our estate. We order our Viceroy, Audiencias and Governors and other judges in the Indies not to give licences for making new discoveries without consulting with us first and first holding our licence to do so, but in the case of what is already discovered we allow them to give licences to make necessary settlements, provided that they follow the order that is specified in such cases by the laws included in this book, regarding the making of settlements in parts already discovered, and they send us a relation afterwards.

2. Those in charge of the government of the Indies, in things spiritual as well as secular, are to inform themselves as soon as possible about whether there are inside their district, in the lands and provinces who border on it, there may be something to be discovered and pacify and about their substance and qualities, the peoples and nations inhabiting them, without sending military men to them nor anyone else who might cause a scandal, without first informing themselves through the best means possible. In addition, they are to inform themselves about the persons who would be fit to make the said discoveries and, with the persons who would seem most adequate, they are to pass a written contract, offering them some honors and benefits that they can in fact offer justly and without prejudice to the Indians. They are not to carry it out without [first] having it certified, by sending a relation about it to the Viceroy and to the Audiencias, to be forwarded to the Council and, once it has been seen there and licence given for it, they may then carry out their discovery, in accordance with the following order.

3. Regarding **discoveries by land** in the confines of a province that is peaceful and subject to our obedience, they are to found a settlement of Spaniards whenever there is a disposition to that effect, otherwise, one of Indian subjects, so that they may be safe.

4. From the newly-settled place in the confines, by way of trade and barter, Indian subjects and interpreters are to enter the land and the religious and Spaniards with trade goods, with gifts and peace; they are to try and learn, and understand the subject, substance and characteristics of the land and the nations of peoples who inhabit it, the lords who govern it, and to make a description of all that was learned and understood. They must always send a relation to the Governor so that he may forward it to the Council.

5. They are to look for places and posts where Spanish settlements could possibly be made, without prejudice to the Indians.

6. Regarding **discoveries by sea** the following instruction should be respected by whoever has a licence or provision, from us or from someone holding our power, to go on some discovery by sea: he is obliged to bring at least two small ships, caravels or

boats, of at most 60 tons, that can not only cross the ocean but also coast and go up any river or bars without the danger of running aground.

7. The said ships are to go always two by two, so that one can assist the other, and in case of trouble the remaining one would be able to pick up the men.

8. In each of the said ships with the said tonnage are to go 30 men, including sailors and discoverers, and not more so that they may go well supplied, and not less so that they may be well managed.

9. Two pilots are to go aboard each of the said ships, whenever possible, and two priests or religious so that they may take care of the conversion.

10. They ought to be supplied for at least twelve months from the date of departure, well provided with sails, anchors, cables and the rest of the rigging and equipment necessary for the navigation, with reinforced rudders.

11. To trade and barter with the Indians and people of those parts where you would end up, some merchandise of little value is to be carried in each ship, like scissors, combs, knives, axes, fishhooks, colored bonnets, mirrors, jingle bells, glass beads and other things of that quality.

12. The pilots and seamen who are to go in the said ships are to keep on marking their charts and pay attention to their planned routes, the currents, sea swells, increasing winds, watering places that could be found there, and the seasons of the year. With the sounding line in the hand they are to keep on taking note of shoals and reefs they encounter, that are discovered below the surface, the islands, lands, rivers, ports, bays and coves they encounter. In the **logbook** which every ship is to carry to that effect, they are to write everything concerning the latitudes and positions they find, those in one ship consulting those in another as often as possible and when an opportunity presents itself so that, whenever there is a difference, they may agree if possible and check out what is more correct or leave it as it was first written down.

13. The persons who go on a discovery by sea or on land are **to take possession** in our name of all the lands, provinces and parts they encounter and to step ashore to make a ceremony and necessary affidavits sworn in due legal and public form so that it may serve as proof.

14. After the discoverers have arrived at the provinces and lands to be discovered, they are, jointly with the officials, to give names to the whole land, to each province, as well as to the major mountains and rivers found there, and to the towns and cities which they might find in the land and which they themselves found.

15. They are to try and take along some Indians as interpreters to the parts where they go, from where they think most appropriate, and they may do the same thing in the provinces to be discovered from some lands to others. They are to treat them all well and through the said interpreters or as best as they can they are to speak and converse with the inhabitants and to hold discussions and conversation with them, in order to try and understand the customs, qualities and ways of life of the people of the land and their neighbors, informing themselves about the religion they have, the idols they worship, what sacrifices they make, the rites they follow, if there is among them some

doctrine and literature, how they govern themselves, if they have kings and if these are so made by election or blood right, or if they govern themselves as a republic or through lineages, what taxes or tributes they pay or give and how and to whom, what things are the most prized by them from among those found in the land and from those brought there from other parts and which they value, if in the land there are metals, of what quality, if there are spices or some sort of drugs and aromatic things; for this purpose, they are to take along some kinds of spices like pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg and other things as samples to show to them and ask them about. In addition, they are to find out whether there is some kind of stones, precious things which are valued in our kingdoms and to find out about the animals, domesticated and wild, the properties of plants and trees, cultivated or wild to be found in the land, and of the uses they make of them, and finally about all things contained in the headings of descriptions.

16. They are to inform themselves about the types and sources of food to be found in the land and to make provisions of the good types for their voyage.

17. If they see that the people are peaceful and some religious may safely stay among them and if there be some who would be glad to stay and instruct them and teach them civil manners, they are to leave them, promising them to come back for them within one year and before if possible.

18. The discoverers are not to detain themselves in the land nor delay their departure until the food supplies become lacking, in any manner nor for any reason. Rather, once they have spent half of the provisions they had when they went out, they are to turn back to give a report of what they found, discovered, and understood about the peoples they came in contact with, as well as their neighbors they might have heard about.

19. If in a discovery by sea, besides the ships with the above-mentioned capacity, they were to take some ships of high capacity, they are to take care, at the beginning of a coasting operation, to look for a safe port in which to leave them, while the lesser ships and boats continue to coast and discover, sounding until they come to another safe port and from there return for the big ships and take them by the safe area just discovered to the next safe port, and so on, advancing in succession.

20. [**Pacification, not conquest**]. The discoverers by land or by sea are not to impede themselves with war or conquest in any manner nor in helping some Indians against others, nor to get involved with disputes and quarrels with those of the land for any reason whatsoever, nor are they to harm them in any way nor take anything from them against their will unless it be in barter or they give it themselves willingly.

21. The discovery and voyage having been made, the discoverers are to return and give an account to the Audiencias and governors who had despatched them.

22. The discoverers by land or sea are to keep a daily account or diary of everything seen and found and heard about in the lands they might discover and all this is to be written down in a book and after it is written it is to be read publicly every day in front of those who participate in the said discovery, the better to ascertain what went on and to serve as an official record of it, by having one of the leaders sign it. The said book is

to be kept very securely so that, when they return, they may bring it and present it before the Audiencia with whose licence they had left.

23. The persons who might have made any discoveries by sea or on land are to return to give an account to the Audiencias about what they discovered and done in the said discoveries. The latter are to send us a full and detailed relation of it all to our Council of the Indies so that decisions may be made for the service of our Lord and ours, and so that the discoverer may be entrusted with the settlement of what was discovered, by reserving the parts necessary for that or to grant him the reward he may have merited for his work and expense, or to verify that all parts of his contract have been fulfilled.

24. [**Kidnapping generally forbidden**]. Those who make discoveries by sea or on land cannot take and are not to take along any Indian from the lands to be discovered, even though they may be offered to them for sale as slaves or they may wish to come along with them nor in any other manner under penalty of death, except up to three or four persons as interpreters who are to be well treated and paid for their work.

25. [**Purpose and cost of explorations**]. Although, in accordance with the zeal and desire we have, everything to be discovered in the Indies is for the propagation of the holy Gospel and to attract the natives to the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, we would not look closely at what can be spent from our royal treasury to achieve such a holy purpose; however, since experience has shown that in many discoveries and navigations made on our account in the past have been made at much cost and with much less care and diligence on the part of those who went on them, they having tried to take advantage of the royal treasury more than to achieve the desired purpose, we order that no new discovery, navigation or settlement may be made at the expense of our treasury nor can those who govern spend in this anything from it even though they may hold our powers and instructions to make such discoveries and navigations unless they hold a special power to do it at our expense.

26. As long as there will be friars and religious from the orders who are permitted to pass to the Indies with the wish to devote themselves to the service of our Lord available to go and discover lands and preach the holy Gospel there, before anyone else they are to be responsible for the discovery and they are to be given a licence for it. They are to be favored and provided with everything necessary for such a holy and good work at our expense.

27. The individuals to whom new discoveries are to be entrusted are to be examined as to their proven christianity and good conscience, zeal for the honor of God and our service, lovers of peace and of the affairs concerning the conversion of the Indians so that they may give complete satisfaction, not harm them in any way, and by their virtue and goodness they may satisfy our wish and the obligation that we have to try and achieve this purpose with much devotion and temperance.

28. Discoveries cannot be entrusted to foreigners from our kingdoms nor to persons prohibited to pass to the Indies. The persons to whom they will be entrusted cannot take them either.

29. Discoveries are not to be given the title or name of conquests, since they are to be made with such peace and charity as is our wish that we do not want that the name may give an occasion or excuse that might result in force or harm being done to the Indians.

30. The discoverers are to follow the orders in this book, specially those made to favor the Indians, and the specific instructions to be given to them. They are to be given such instructions to fit the characteristics of the province and land where they are to go.

...
136. **[Settlements]**. If the natives want to prevent the [Spanish from making a] settlement, they are to be given to understand that a settlement is desired there, not to cause them any harm nor take their properties, but to make friends with them and to teach them how to live politically and to teach them how to know God and teach them His law so that they may be saved, giving them to understand through the religious, priests and persons to be assigned to this by the Governor and through good interpreters, trying, by all good means possible to make the settlement with their peace and consent. Should they, however, not consent to it after they have been asked to do so by the said means various times, the settlers are to make their settlement without taking what is private to the Indians and without doing them any harm beyond what would be necessary for the defence of the settlers and in order that the settling will not be hindered.

...
138. **[Pacifications]**. Once the settlement and its buildings have been completed, and not before, the Governor and the settlers with much diligence and holy zeal are to try and bring peacefully into the fold of the holy Church and to our obedience all the natives of the province and its neighboring area through the best means they know of and understand, and by the following ones.

...
142. Even though they wish to receive and they do receive the preachers and their instruction, they are to go to their villages with much caution, prudence and precaution so that, although they may want to be rude they may not treat the preachers in a disrespectful manner, because if they were to lose respect for them and treat them with disrespect, punishment would have to be applied to the guilty ones and that would be a serious impediment to the pacification and conversion. Even though it be necessary to go and preach and instruct them with such a warning, let it be done with such a good dissimulation that they do not understand how to treat them with disrespect, such as when they are overly frightened. This result can be accomplished, for instance, by first bringing to the Spanish settlement the sons of chiefs and leading men and leaving them there as hostages under the pretext of teaching them how to dress and by giving them gifts and by using other means that appear proper. Thus the preaching may proceed through all the Indian villages and communities that want to receive them in peace.

143. In parts and places where they do **not** wish to receive the Christian doctrine in peace, the following procedure could be followed in preaching it. A concertation should be had with the principal leader of those who are at peace in order to come to terms with those who are at war and wish to come to his land to rest or for some other thing that might attract them; while there, the preachers with a few Spaniards and friendly Indians may make contact with them, secretly so that they may be safe, and at the right time, discover themselves to those who have been invited and to them and to the rest they may begin to teach the Christian doctrine through interpreters. And, so that they may hear it with more veneration and admiration they should be dressed at least with albs, surplices and stoles, with the cross in the hand and, whenever Christians are to spot them they are to show a very great respect and veneration so that by imitation the infidels are to become fond of being taught. If it be considered necessary to cause more wonder and attention in the infidels, use can be made of choir and minstrel music, in two parts, in order to provoke a gathering of the Indians, and to make use of the other sensible means to tame and pacify the Indians who are at war. Even though it may appear that they become peaceful and ask for preachers, the preachers who are to go to their land are to take the same above-said precaution and prevention, by asking for their children under the excuse of teaching them and by detaining them as hostages in the land of friends, entertaining them and persuading them to build churches first where they may go and preach to them and teach them until such time as they may go in safely. By this means and others that may be found more acceptable they are to go on always pacifying and instructing the natives without in any way or occasion for doing them any harm, since the only thing we wish is their good and conversion.

...

147. In places where Gospel preachers are sufficient to pacify the Indians and convert them and bring them to peace, the entry of other persons who may disturb the conversion and pacification is prohibited.

148. [**Reduction into villages**]. To the Spaniards to whom Indians may be granted are to take great care that the Indians who may be assigned to them are reduced into villages and that churches be built there so that they may be instructed and live in a civilized manner.

Consequently, we order that you to see to it that the said orders be incorporated as written above, that you respect and obey them and have them respected and obeyed, in accordance with their contents, to the letter and spirit, and that you do not disregard nor consent that they be disregarded under penalty of displeasing us.

Made at the grove of Segovia on the 13th of July of the year 1573.

I, the King.

Countersigned by Antonio de Eraso.

Delivered by the members [of the Council of the Indies]: President Juan de Ovando, the Licentiate Castro, Don Gomez Zapata, Botello Maldonado Otalora.

Documents 1574

1573-1574 annual report by Governor Lavezaris to the King, dated Manila July 1574

Sources: For A1 and A2, AGI Fil 1-1-2/24; translated in B&R 3:272-285. For A3, AGI Islas del Poniente 1570-1588, copied by Navarrete and published in Col. de Navarrete, Vol. 18, folios 37 et seq.

Note: There are 3 versions, one sent in each of the 2 ships despatched in 1574, and one made into a relation in Spain.

A1. First version sent via the San Juan, dated 17 July 1574

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

In the past year of 1573, I sent to your Majesty, by two ships despatched to the kingdoms of New Spain, a written account.¹ A few days after the departure of these two ships, I despatched another one, which had taken more time in its preparations. The last-named vessel followed a different course from the others² but put into a harbor again, after having sailed all around this island of Luçon on account of the bad weather which it met.

The ship has been detained until now in order to repair it, and to make all the necessary preparations. We are waiting every day for the arrival of the ships³ from New Spain, for it is already time that they should arrive; but, in order that the *vendavals* may not prevent the navigation of this ship, we shall not detain it here until the others arrive—although it would have been much better for the service of your Majesty to receive an explanation of matters regarding which an answer was expected.

1 Ed. note: See Document 1573A.

2 Ed. note: This was the first attempt to try a return route by going north after leaving Manila Bay and passing by the Bashi Strait north of Luzon.

3 Ed. note: This letter may have been signed on 17 July, but it was started before the arrival of the Espiritu Santo on 5 July (See below).

...
 In July of the past year, 1573 [error for 1572], a ship despatched by the Viceroy Don Martín Enriquez arrived at these islands from New Spain. It brought us news which caused great joy and satisfaction in this camp of your Majesty. We learned that God had granted the Queen, our Lady, the delivery of a prince¹, so much desired by all, and that her Majesty is enjoying the good health so needful.

...
 I am also sending to New Spain cinnamon plants, and pepper plants of the round and large variety; also roots taken from Chinese stock, so that they may be raised here for your Majesty. I am sending a bundle of cinnamon branches with leaves, and three flasks of cinnamon water, for her Majesty the Queen, our Lady.

Last year, I sent to your Majesty in this ship a cup and 14 gold earrings. Now I do the same, and add four daggers of the kind used by the natives. For his Highness the prince, our lord, I am sending a crown, two gold chains, and two daggers.

...
 While this ship was on the point of departure, one of two ships which your Viceroy Don Martín Enriquez despatched from New Spain arrived here on the 5th of the present month. Through these ships he sends me 150 soldiers, some married men, and three Augustinian religious.² The other ship [i.e. the Santiago] has not yet arrived. This camp of your Majesty was much pleased at the news of the birth of the new *infante*.³ May he rejoice your Majesty for many years.

...
 May our Lord preserve the sacred Catholic royal person of your Majesty, and add greater realms and dominions, as we your Majesty's faithful subjects desire.

Manila, 17 July 1574.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty,

Your loyal subject who kisses the royal feet and hands of your Majesty,

Guido de Lavezaris.

[Endorsed: "Philippines, 1574. To His Majesty. From Guido de Lavezaris, 17 July 1574."]

— "Let it be made into a relation."

— "Received, 7 March 1575."

1 Ed. note: The prince, whose name was Fernando, did not survive beyond his childhood.

2 Ed. note: This brought to 13 the number of Augustinians then in the Philippines.

3 Ed. note: He was mistaken earlier when he said that the news of the birth of the prince had reached him by the Espiritu Santo on its previous voyage; the birth occurred in 1572 and could not have reached Manila until the present year of 1574, as no galleon came in 1573.

A2. Second version via the *Espiritu Santo*, dated 30 July 1574

...
26. Up to this point, this letter is a copy of the letter which I wrote to your Majesty by the ship **San Juan**. What afterward occurred is, that the said ship left this port on the 19th of the present month. May God grant the propitious voyage for which we hope.

27. One of the two ships [i.e. the *Santiago*] despatched from New Spain has not yet arrived, nor do we know anything about it. I have sent men to look for it in two different directions, with the oared boats of these natives. It is thought that the vessels is detained on account of stormy weather, and that with the help of God it will soon be here.

...
29. Accompanying this letter, I send a map of the island of Luçon and of the coast of the mainland of China, from which it appears that, from the coast and great river of Cagayan at the northern extremity of this island to the nearest point of China, it is but a short distance by sea, a matter of 40 leagues or thereabout. By next year when we shall have seen and explored more of this land, I shall send your Majesty a fuller description of it than now.

30. I am also sending your Majesty another paper which I received from the Chinese, upon which is **printed a map of the whole land of China**, with an explanation which I had some Chinese interpreters make, through the aid of an Augustinian religious who is acquainted with the elements of the Chinese language. They have promised me to bring next year other maps drawn in more detail and with more precision; and, God willing, I shall send them to your Majesty.

31. By the ship **Espiritu Santo**, now about to sail, I am sending to your Majesty's officials in Mexico 80 quintals of cinnamon and 46 quintals of wax. For lack of room we have a quantity of cinnamon left over.

May our Lord preserve the sacred Catholic royal person of your Majesty with an increase of greater kingdoms and dominions, according to the desire of your Majesty's faithful subjects.

Manila, 30 July 1574.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty.

Your loyal subject and faithful servant who kisses the royal feet and hands of your Majesty,

Guido de Lavezaris.

[Endorsed: "...Received 15 August 1575..."]

A3. The relation made of the 1573-74 events

Year of 1574: Relation of what happened in the Philippine Islands from 1 July 1573, when the two ships named *Santiago* and *Espiritu Santo* left the port of Manila, until 16 July 1574.

...
 On 5 July of this year of 1574, the [flag-]ship **Espiritu Santo** entered this bay. General Alonso Velazquez was aboard. As for the *almiranta* [**Santiago**], aboard which is Lieutenant Sancho Ortiz de Agurto, it disappeared one night before these islands were sighted, eight leagues from them. Some have been sent to look for it. This camp rejoiced at his coming.¹

...
 The ship **Espiritu Santo** which has just entered this bay will be despatched with all haste, because it can make the crossing this year. The *almiranta* will not be able to be made ready until next year.²

For the greater convenience of the service of his Majesty and good of this country, it is necessary that two fleets be operated, so that when one gets to that New Spain, in September or October of each year, [folio 40] the other should be ready to leave for these islands. In this manner, it would be detained only enough time to allow the despatches to be seen, and the same procedure would be followed at these islands. In this manner, the navigation would be made safer with less risk because they would enjoy good weather in either direction.

Aboard this ship a bundle of cinnamon branches with leaves is being sent, and two phials of cinnamon water for her Majesty the Queen, our Lady; in addition, two barrels of china-ware³ and two leather trunks full of rich things for your Majesty, and one cup, 14 gold earrings and four daggers with gold handles.

For H.M. the Prince Don Fernando, our Lord, a crown, and two daggers with gold handles, such as used by the natives.

This is what [happened] until 16 July 1574; what might happen until the departure of the ship **Espiritu Santo**, I will send an advice with it and whenever an opportunity will present itself I will send a report of the events of this camp.

Made at the city of Manila which is in the Island of Luzon on 16 July 1574.

[Unsigned]⁴

1 Ed. note: Actually, Velasquez was an Army captain and Ortiz was his company sergeant (See B&R 4:32). While at sea, however, they had held the senior rank aboard their respective ship.

2 Ed. note: It took two years to overhaul the *Santiago*, because its next voyage was in 1576.

3 Ed. note: The register listed 22,300 pieces of fine gilt china, and other porcelain ware. How many pieces each barrel contained can only be guessed. If 2 barrels contained the King's "fifth", then each barrel held 2,230 pieces!! This is unlikely; so, there may have been as many as 20 barrels reserved for the King.

4 Ed. note: There is another report by the royal officials Cauchela and Aldave in B&R 34:295-303, but it adds nothing new.

Document 1575

Cartography of the Pacific—Part 3

Juan López de Velasco's maps

Sources: The maps included here are from the 14 maps found with many of the copies of the López de Velasco manuscript entitled: "Demarcación y división de las Indias". There exist 4-5 copies of this manuscript, e.g. in BN Madrid (Códice J.15); in AGI; in the Provincial Library in Toledo; one in private hands in Spain in 1894; another in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. First published without the maps in Col. de Indias, vol. 15 (Madrid, 1871), pp. 409-572.

Note: This manuscript was used by Herrera in his "Historia general" of 1601 (and in the Latin and French editions, Amsterdam, 1622), but the material and the maps date from ca. 1575.

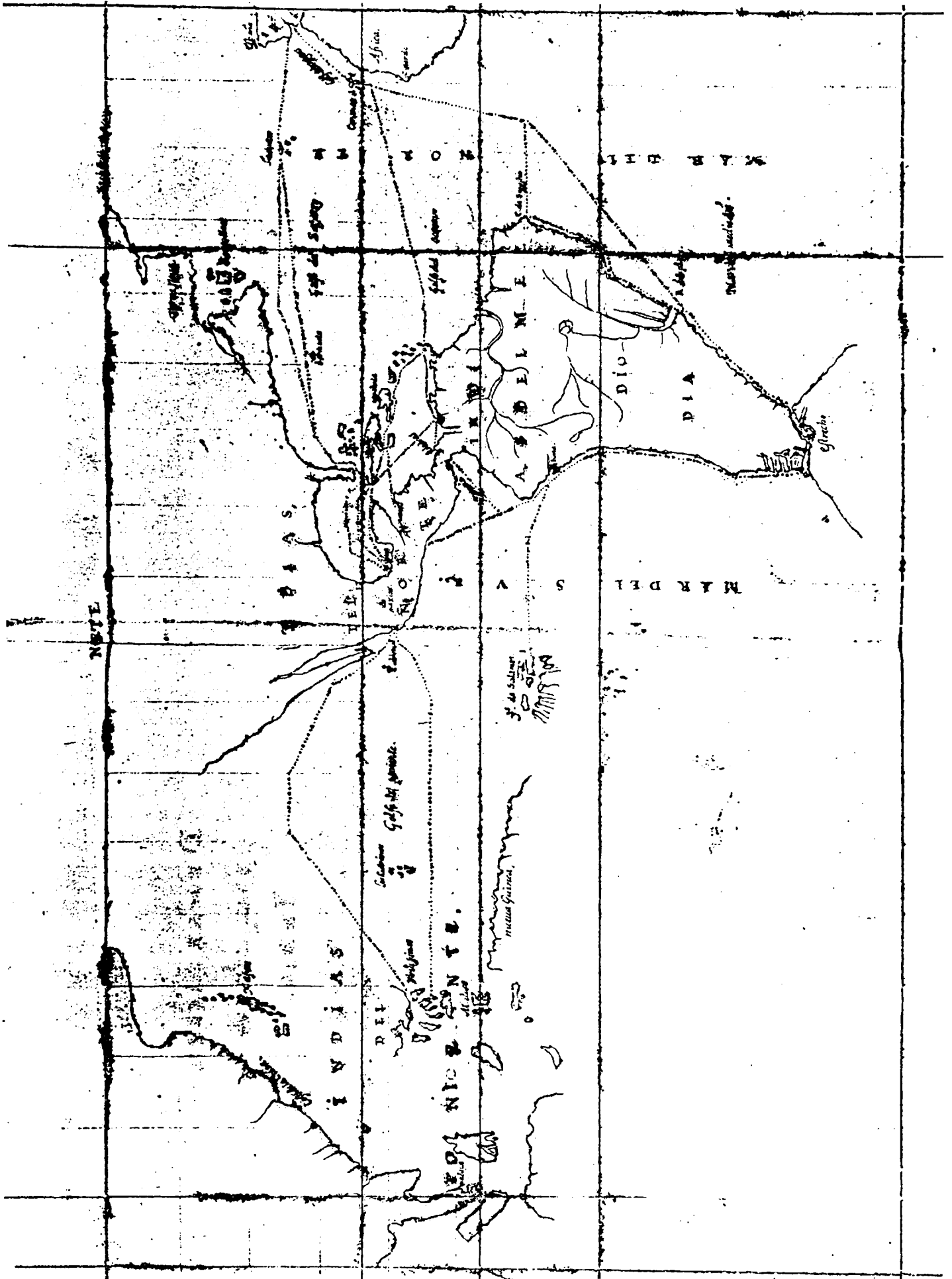
Demarcation and division of the Indies.

The Indies, islands and the mainland of the ocean sea, which are commonly referred to as the New World, are the lands and seas included within the demarcation of the Kings of Castile, which is one hemisphere, or half of the world, and begins to the westward of a meridian which passes 39 or 40 degrees of longitude west of the meridian of Toledo...

...

(Next two pages) **The López de Velasco general map of the Indies, ca. 1575.** *The Spanish galleon routes in the Atlantic and Pacific are shown. Note that the Atlantic was then called the North Sea, as opposed to the Pacific, then called the South Sea; this was with reference to the Isthmus of Panama. North America was called the North Indies, South America the South Indies, and strangest of all were the West Indies, which corresponded to our modern East Indies or Southeast Asia. (From Figure 110 of Skelton's Explorers' Maps and Plate XII of Wroth's Early Cartography).*

The Velasco general map as published by Herrera in 1622. *It is nearly the same as the manuscript map, without the galleon routes and the Indies terminology. The demarcation lines are, however, emphasized, to show the Spanish claim to most of Southeast Asia. (From Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas' Description des Indes Occidentales, Amsterdam, 1622)*



Islands of the Ladrones.

468. The islands of the Ladrones, a range of 15 or 16 islets together that run North-South, at the average meridian of [New] Guinea, from 11 or 12 degrees to 17 of latitude north, or more, not far from the Philippines, and east of them. All of the land is sterile and miserable, without any cattle or metal, [with] few supplies, inhabited by poor people, well-built, naked and very much inclined to stealing, even going so far as removing the nails from the ships that arrive there, for which reason Magellan named them Ladrones [i.e. Thieves' Islands] when he discovered them when he was bound for the Spice Islands.

Their names¹ are: the Inglesa², Camas³, Septentrional⁴, and behind this one Otra or Ora mas⁵, Chemechoa or Chenchia⁶, Gregua [=Agrigan], Agan or Pagan, Oramagan [=Alamagan], Guguan, Cheruguan [=Sarigan], Natan [=Anatahan], Saepan [=Saipan], Botavolid [i.e. Rota and/or Guam].⁷

Between these islands and the Philippines, there are 18 or 20 more islands which they call Los Reyes [=Ulithi] and the Coral Archipelago or Islands and the Jardines⁸. There is another group of islets, Samsilan.⁹ There is another islet near the Jardines, and that of Matalotes [=Fais], plus that of San Juan or [rather and] Palmas, near those of the Moluccas.¹⁰

-
- 1 Ed. note: The names are given from north to south, and are much garbled. Only 11 names are given on the accompanying map. They are to be compared to the names recorded by Cabot in 1544 and the earlier, and more accurate, Portuguese map of 1522 in 1:439 of this series.
 - 2 Ed. note: Which means the English One and is probably one of the three Maug Islands.
 - 3 Ed. note: This name Comoa on the Portuguese map. It must correspond to Maug Island proper. Note that the Maug Islands are shown as Mahao on the accompanying map.
 - 4 Ed. note: Which means the Northern One and corresponds to one of the Maug Is.
 - 5 Ed. note: Misprints for Hora or Uracas, which the copyist mistook for the Spanish words which mean "another".
 - 6 Ed. note: These words are corrupted versions of Sonson, the original name of Asunción.
 - 7 Ed. note: Tinian and Aguijan are not mentioned.
 - 8 Ed. note: Both groups belong to the Marshalls.
 - 9 Ed. note: Written Sanvilan, or something like it, on the manuscript map, and Pulo Vilan, i.e. Vilan Island, in Herrera and elsewhere. It has no correspondence to any real island.
 - 10 Ed. note: San Juan corresponds to Siargao Island, NE of Mindanao. On the map, it is listed as n° 10 of the Philippine Islands. Palmas Island is E of Sarangani and is the same as Meangi or Miangas Island; it was a Portuguese discovery (See 1:634-5). Also, although the maps show Arrecifes and Saavedra as island groups, the text does not mention them.

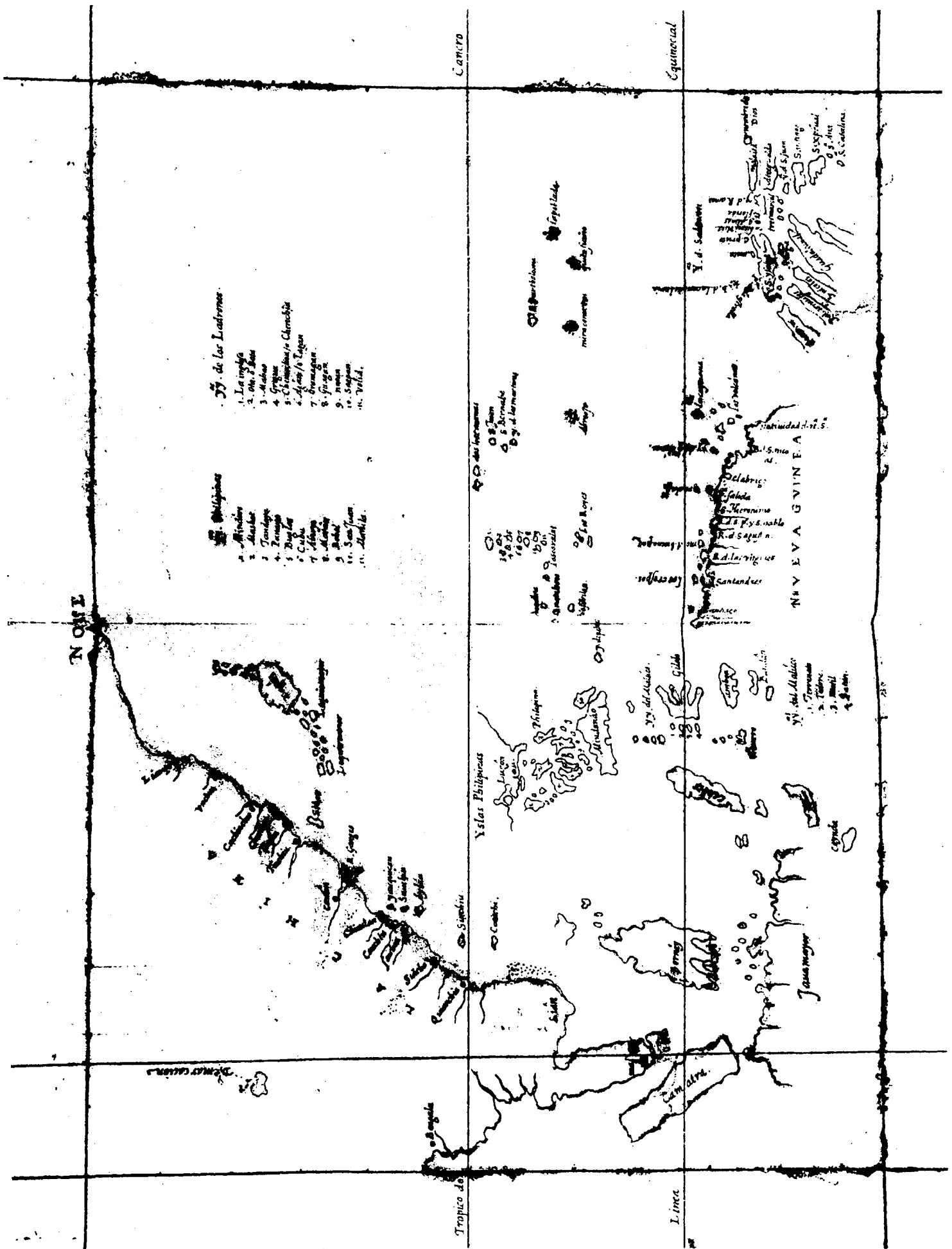
On the northern side of the Ladrones, there are 5 or 6 islets together, called the Volcano Islands, where there is much cochineal.¹ And then there is Malpelo², another islet where there are fine *cinaloës*.³

On the eastern side of the Ladrones, there are two islets they call Dos Hermanas [i.e. Two Sisters] in 24 or 25 degrees. Another one is San Bernabe, another Los Martires⁴ and Abrejo, a shoal in 10°, over 200 leagues before the Ladrones; also San Bartolomé [=Taongi] in 14°; and further toward New Spain, the shoals Mira como vas [=Minto Reef], Quita Sueño or Cata no Duermas [i.e. Takes away sleep or Careful you don't sleep]; and near them the island of Martin⁵, and San Pedro y San Pablo [=Ailuk], another islet with shoals; and La Poblada [the Inhabited One, i.e. Mejit], the easternmost one toward New Spain.

(Next two pages) **Velasco's manuscript map of the West [sic] Indies, ca. 1575.**
The map records the founding of Manila in 1571, in that the southern part of Luzon is charted for the first time. The discovery of the Solomon Islands by Mendaña in 1568 is also recorded in detail, no doubt from an original chart.

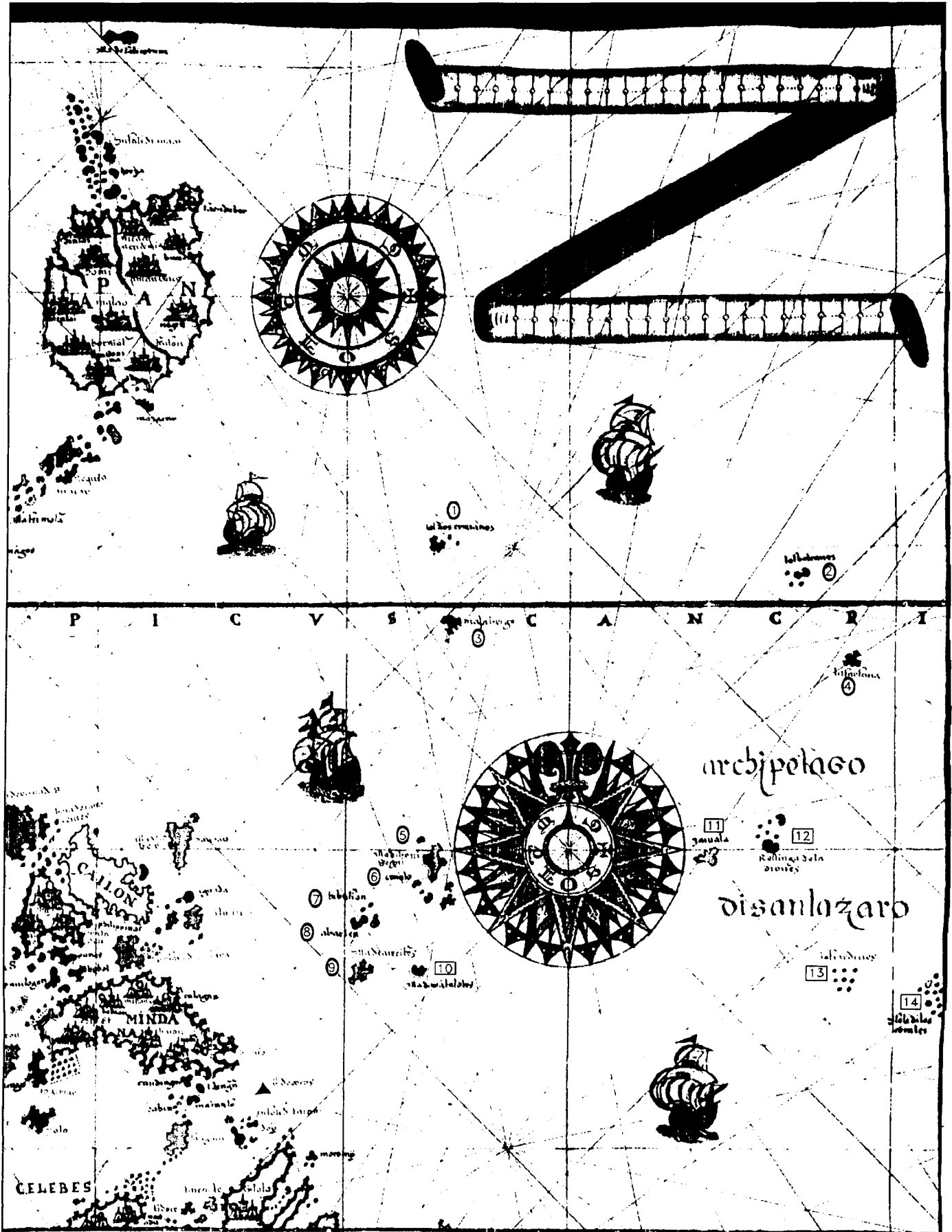
The same Velasco map of the West Indies as published by Herrera in 1601.
It was re-published in a Latin and a French edition of the same work in Amsterdam in 1622.

-
- 1 Ed. note: A type of insect, a wood-louse, whose crushed body was used to make a red dye. However, the word "cochinilla" could be a misprint for the archaic word "chinilla" which meant small pebbles. Either way, who could have landed on Iwo Jima before 1575 to ascertain this fact? It may have been Bernardo de la Torre in 1543.
 - 2 Ed. note: A possible corruption of Malabrigo.
 - 3 Ed. note: Perhaps aloes, unless they found a pebble beach there too.
 - 4 Ed. note: Originally this was the name given to Pulap by Arellano.
 - 5 Ed. note: Probably a duplicate of Martyr Island.



(Facing page) **Part of a map of the western Pacific showing the Islands of Sails or Ladrones, ca. 1580.** *The island names have become so confused that they are hardly recognizable. Gugeham, at 12° N, corresponds to Guam. The islands south of Guam never existed, although the names shown here may have come from the Cabot map of 1544. My theory is that the island names were often looked at upside down and some imagination was called upon when placing a name next to every reported island in the chain. Buvi, for the northernmost island, is a "new" name, probably derived from Hora, for Uracas. The islands facing the word Gigas correspond to Sarigan and Anatahan. Saipan is represented by Sepan, and by Sarpan as well, although the latter name is that assigned by the Spanish for a long time to Rota. An interesting name is that given to Tinian: "Buonavista"; this name must have come from a Spanish chart. We can therefore speculate that the charts stolen by Drake in 1579 have been used by the cartographer. Also, west of Guam are two "new" groups: Saia vedra, which must be a misprint for Saavedra, and I. de Bidivia, which probably comes from I. de Vilan or Pulo Vilan of earlier charts, and which does not exist either. Matalotes is Fais, and west of it we look for Ulithi under its various names of Arrecifes and Los Reyes, only to find a large island marked "I. Veau"; this is either Pulo Vilan transposed, or Reyes misprinted.*

Interestingly, there are some names that come from early Spanish charts seized by the Portuguese, and early Portuguese charts centered on the Moluccas (See Part 2 in Vol. 1). North of New Guinea is I. Dagoada which means the Watering Place Island, Das Graos which means the Island at 2 Degrees. The right arm of Halmahera or Gilolo is Çamafo, of course. Mora is Morotai misplaced, as well as its neighboring islets of Dae [=Doi] and Rao. The first two names north of the Moluccas are part of the Talaud Group. Sarangani and its sister island, Candigar, are recognizable south of Mindanao. The region of Bisaya and the Bay of the Resurrection mentioned by Father Urdaneta appear on the east coast of Mindanao. East of Mindanao is Palmas I. [=Miangas] and the St. John Islands, originally recorded as the name of Sonsorol, but more and more confused with Siargao I. whose real location is at the NE corner of Mindanao. South of Abuyo or Leyte is the Passage of Santa Clara. Cabalien is recorded as Caburan (?). Similarly, Tandola is recognizable as Tandaya, i.e. Samar. Another misprint can be deciphered as "Abocamiento primero", the first mouth of the channel used by the first explorers to enter the St. Lazarus or Philippine Archipelago. Similarly, the place where Legazpi first anchored is recorded in a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese as "Ilhas del Primeiro Surgidero", the Islands of the First Anchorage. Legazpi's Island of Cobos is placed north of that. However, the name of Francisco Gomez appear in-between; this was the name of the soldier in Legazpi's company who was treacherously killed by a Filipino native while he was performing the blood ceremony (See Doc. 1565W). At the NE corner of Samar is Cape of Espiritu Santo.



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Documents 1576A

Governor Sande writes to King Philip II

Sources: Sande's relation of 1576 has been published in Retana's Archivo, ii, n° 1; original in AGI 67-6-6. Also mentioned in Col. de Indias, vol. 34, pp. 72-79. Translated (by Rachel King) in B&R 3:312-314; 4:21-97.

Note: Both of these documents were carried to Acapulco by the ship Santiago.

A1. Letter from Francisco de Sande to the King, dated Manila 2 June 1576

Catholic Royal Majesty:

Although I have served your Majesty in New Spain as an attorney, criminal judge, and member of the royal Audiencia of Mexico, I have not written to your Majesty since the year '67, in order not to disturb you; I have always written to the royal Council of the Indies what I considered in your royal service. Now I have come to and reside in these Philippine islands, where I serve your Majesty as your governor and captain-general. As I am so far away, and have grown old in your Majesty's service, and have examined affairs here, and seen the importance, the isolation, and the dangers of this colony, I venture to address your Majesty briefly.

I write at length, however, to the royal Council of the Indies, to whom I give an account of the voyage, and its events, and of the needs of this land, and I refer you to that letter¹; I have also written of its condition, and of matters concerning the mainland of China, with what I consider it fitting for your Majesty to order. I humbly beg that your Majesty be so good as to examine the above-named relation, and provide therefor, as what refers therein to the expedition to China is a matter of great moment to your Majesty's service. This enterprise would be easy of execution and of little expense, as the Spanish people would go without pay, and armed at their own cost. They will be chosen from the provinces, and will be glad to pay the expenses. The only cost will be for the agents, officers for the construction and command of galleys, artillerymen, smiths, and engineers, and the ammunition and artillery. Food can be supplied to them here, and

1 Ed. note: See Section A2 below.

the troops are energetic, healthy, and young. This is the empire and the greatest glory which remains for the king of the world, the interest which surpasses all others, and the greatest service of God.

I think that I have drawn a true picture of the people, as they are the best in the world for tributaries. They have waged war against the king of Tartaria.¹ If they made war on this coast, his occupation, and even that of both, God helping, would soon be over. They have many enemies in this archipelago, who are more valiant than they and who will be of great help. I beseech your Majesty to provide what is most fitting, that the power and laws of so just and great a king may encircle the world.

In these Philippine islands there are at present 500 Spaniards in all, and if there were ten thousand, all would be rich. As there are so few we suffer many hardships, since we are among so many enemies. Our only consolation, and mine in particular, is that we are serving your Majesty. Our diligence is unremitting, and we hope for your Majesty's favor. Your Majesty will provide in this for your own cause, and that of the Catholic church. As I write at length to your Majesty's Council, this letter is but brief.

May our Lord guard the royal Catholic person of your Majesty, and increase your kingdoms and dominions, as is the wish of your Majesty's vassals and servants.

Manila, in the island of Luçon in the Philippines, 2 June 1576.

Royal Catholic Majesty.

From your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant who kisses your royal hands,
Doctor Francisco de Sande.

A2. Relation of the Philippine Islands, by Governor Sande, dated 7 June 1576

Catholic Royal Majesty:

[1. **Introduction.**] I sailed from the port of Acapulco, New Spain, on the 6th of April of the year 1575, as I had previously informed your Majesty from that port. On account of setting sail during the calms, we were delayed, so that it took us 70 days to reach the **Ladrones**. There we filled our water-butts, and I took on board a large anchor that I found there that had belonged formerly to the flagship lost there by Felipe de Salcedo.² In the other ship³ we placed four small boat-loads of ballast. All this detained us only a day and a half.

On nearing the Cape of Espiritu Santo in Tandaya [i.e. Samar], in the Philippines, our progress was impeded by the *vendaval*, and our pilots also gave us considerable

1 Referring to the Tartar chief Yenta, who harassed the Chinese empire from 1529 until 1570.

2 Ed. note: The San Pablo in 1568.

3 Ed. note: It appears that Governor Sande was aboard the San Juan, the second ship probably being the San Felipe.

trouble, so that I arrived at Manila on the 25th of August of the year 1575. On that day I took possession of the office of governor and captain-general.

2. [Seasons.] Although your Majesty may know better than I the matters I am about to relate, still, like a countryman, I wish to speak, and to tell what I myself have experienced. I am informed here that throughout the entire sea in these latitudes there are two general seasons. During one, the dry season, the *brisas*, as they are called, blow from the southeast to the north, finally blowing directly from the north; while in the other, or wet season, the *vendavals* blow from northwest to south-southeast. Thus, during these two seasons, the winds blow from every point of the compass. For this reason it will be seen that coming from New Spain, from the east toward this western region, the *brisas* would help; while the *vendavals*, especially the usual one, which is a southwesterly wind in the channels of these islands, would impede the progress of the ship.

These two general seasons begin in some years somewhat earlier than in others, and in some places before they do in others. However, it is quite clear and evident that by the end of May and the middle of June, the *vendaval* begins here from the west (and I believe that this is true of all the southern sea), and blows strongly night and day. Now if for any reason it should cease for a moment it would only be to burst forth again with renewed vigor. Such a period of quietness is called here *calladas* ["silences"].

The *brisa* begins in November, and lasts until the end of May. Between these two general seasons two others exist, called *bonançās* ["gentle winds"] which last from the middle of March to the end of May, and comprise also part of September and October. During that time the *bonança* of April and May is the most prevalent wind, although other winds are blowing constantly. Should the usually mild winds prove severe, then the opposite season would develop, so that in April a *vendaval* often presents itself, and in September a violent *brisa* may blow. These seasons, I think, correspond to those of the northern sea [i.e. Atlantic], as you may be already aware...

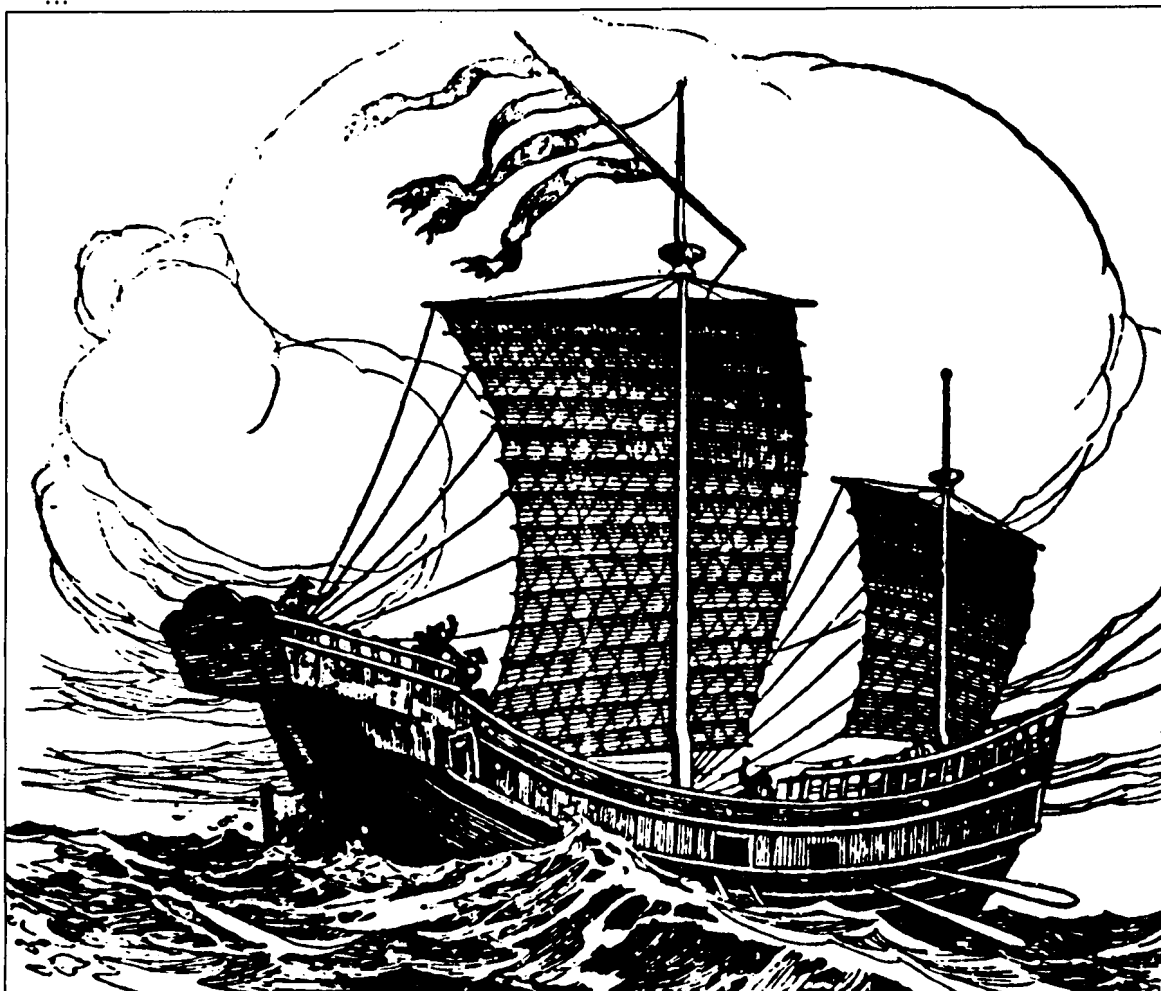
3. I learned in these islands that this city had been burned by a pirate and there had been a war.¹

There they asked me for lead, and I readily complied with their requests, until I was weary of granting petitions. I thought that we had some lead; but on summoning my men, and searching for it, only five or six arrobas were found; and that was in sheets, such as are used to stop leaks in ships. Arriving at Manila, I could get no lead; and, not being able to obtain it elsewhere, we took from the sides of the ships somewhat less than 70 arrobas, some of which was used. With what is left we remain, hoping for the grace of God; for had not the ships arrived sheathed with lead, I do not know what would become of this camp of your Majesty...²

1 Ed. note: Referring to an attack by the Chinese pirate Limahong in 1574. For the story of this war, see the book by René Jouglet, *The Treasure of Limahong* (Lévesque Publications, 1982).

2 Ed. note: This may have been one of the reasons why the ship San Felipe, minus some lead sheets, was lost that year.

Your Majesty will understand, then, the condition of affairs here; and will please have pity and consideration for the men who are serving your Majesty here, so far away, and with so much hardship and so much danger.



Chinese junk.

59. [**Chinese junks**] These people never travel by water except during the months of the *bonanças*, which I have explained. Their ships cannot stand the wind astern, because both bow and stern have the same form and are flat, like a square table; they are so made in order that either end can be used. They navigate always, in either direction, by means of side-winds. These vessels rock to and fro, like cradles with oars.

60. The sails of their ships are made of bamboo, like matting. They do not use a yard on the mast, but raise the mainsail on the mast fastened to a pole as an infantry flag is placed on a pike; and the sheets hang down from the other side with which the sail is turned to this or that side, according to the direction of the wind. The sail is half the width of the ship, and the mast is large and high. The sail is raised by means of a

windlass, which contrivance is used also for a capstan. The rigging is made of reeds and grass, which grow wild. The mast is stepped about two-thirds of the length of the ship nearer the prow, in order that the ship may pitch forward. The foremast is not stationary, being moved to port or starboard, according to the weather or other requirements. The sheets are worked in the same way. The compass is divided for fewer directions than ours. They also use stern-masts as mizzenmasts, which, like that at the bow, are changed from one side to the other, so that they do not need quadrants (?). They go from one side to the other with the wind which helps them. They use two oars at the bow to turn the ship, and two others at the stern that assist the sailing. The compass consists of a small earthenware jar, on which the directions are marked. This jar is filled with water and the magnetized needle placed in it. Sometimes before they happen to strike it right, they could go to the bottom twenty times, thus, although it is marvelous, considering that they are a barbarous people, that they should understand the art of navigation, it is very surprising to see how barbarous are their methods.

61. All their arms, for both sea and land, are firebombs. They have quantities of gunpowder, in the shape of loaves. Their artillery, although not large, is poor. They have also, and quite commonly poor, culverins and arquebuses, so that they depend mainly on their lances. I am informed that they do not fear the arquebuses very much, because they themselves are so poor shots with them, and are amazed at seeing a hen or a pigeon killed with an arquebus-shot. They fear lances more than other weapons.

62. The chief captains and the king never cut their finger-nails, and allow one to grow as long as the finger, and longer. These go to war seated in chairs, carried on the shoulders of other men. They frequently become intoxicated, and are very libidinous.

...

93. [**Ship-building.**] There is in these islands an abundance of wood and of men, so that a large fleet of boats and galleys may be built. There is a quantity of cheap iron from China, worked by the natives here, who can make what is necessary from it—which they cannot do with Spanish iron, for it is exceedingly hard.

We have no pitch, tallow, or rigging worth mentioning, because what there is is so scarce and poor that it amounts to nothing. There is no oakum for caulking. Large anchors cannot be made; but the rest of the tackle can be obtained here in good condition. There is good timber also; to my way of thinking, therefore, the ship that would cost 10,000 ducats in Guatemala, and in New Spain 30,000, can be made here for two or three [thousand], should strenuous efforts be employed.

When I came here I found the city burned and razed to the ground. I erected two separate **shipyards**, separating the workmen, so that they might accomplish more if they entered into competition. The one in Manila has turned out a galliot of 16 or 17 benches and has repaired the ship that brought me here [i.e. the San Juan], and also one that was made in Acapulco [i.e. the San Felipe], which I believe cost more than 15,000 ducats. They were about to burn the latter ship for the iron that they could thus obtain; but through promises and diligence on my part the keel and stern-post, which were rotten were removed, as well as half the hull of the ship; and, God willing, she will sail from

here one month after this ship [i.e. the Santiago]. One fathom was cut off near the bow, on account of its unsatisfactory shape; and more than two fathoms will be added to the original length. This will make a vessel capable of carrying 200 soldiers which, as this ship had been condemned, means that we have, from nothing, made 20,000 ducats. I found that the ship which had been repaired was destroyed during Limahong's attack. Rigging, masts, sails, and everything else necessary have been placed in it, and the ship is called **San Felipe**.

On finishing this, they will begin to work on another galley and, besides, will repair another vessel that is rotten, and whose keel, although of a better pattern, will require as much labor as the other. However, God willing, it will be completed by January, so that there will be two galleys here. In Oton, on the island of Panae I have finished another galley, 34 yards in length, with 20 benches. Still another will be ready by September and I shall continue with the work.

97. It is necessary that two master [carpenters] to build ships and galleys should be sent from New Spain so that, if it were necessary, those here, who are becoming lazy, might be changed. It is necessary to change them and to keep them in two shipyards, as I have done, so that the expense at Acapulco, in New Spain, might cease. All the work done there is thrown away; for the vessels from New Spain alone detain the workmen here in repairing them, and prevent them from building new ones. We need commanders of galleys who know how to manage the lateen sail.

98. We have no lead here, but it abounds in New Spain; it will be necessary to order that more than 500 quintals be brought from that country, for this is our sustenance—besides 300 quintals of gunpowder, for present use.

...
119. [**Loss of the Espiritu Santo.**] Since this letter was written, we have received word that the ship sent by the Viceroy this year [i.e. the Espiritu Santo] with the usual help was lost. It was the pilot's fault, or at least they say that it was. May God find a remedy for this loss, for I dare not speak of it.

120. With this I enclose a copy of the letter that I have written to the Viceroy. With it I send a list of all that is needed here. This ship [Santiago] sets sail at a favorable season, the beginning of June of 1576; and, please God, another will leave in about a month, as it lacks but a little carpentry work. We have been working at it five months.¹

...
122. I am sending also the inquiries that were made about the reasons why a ship did not leave last year [1575]; and about not compelling anyone to assay gold that is mined and traded with here.

123. I am sending the originals, and translations of the letters from China, together with the *residencias*; and other papers, consisting of a **Chinese map** and another small map that I had made here, some stories of China, and those that they call "Flowers of

1 Ed. note: This ship, the San Felipe, was lost.

Silver”, all in a box directed to the Viceroy of New Spain, so that it may be sent to your Majesty.

...

124. Because, as I have said, this year’s ship from New Spain was lost, will your Majesty please order new copies of all the papers sent in it.

...

126. We have shipped in this vessel 90 bundles of cinnamon belonging to your Majesty; and as many more, which remained here, will be shipped in the next vessel, which will sail next month. I have gathered articles of barter, in order to send a commander of troops to Mindanao for next year’s barter; then I will advise you of what is in that island.

...

May our Lord preserve the Royal Catholic person of your Majesty, and bestow upon you greater kingdoms and dominions, as is the wish of your servants and vassals.

Manila, in the island of Luçon, in the Philippines, 7 June 1576.

Catholic Royal Majesty.

Your Majesty’s loyal vassal and servant, who kisses your royal hands,

Doctor Francisco de Sande.

Document 1576B

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 31 October 1576

Sources: Cartas de Indias, Madrid, 1877, pp. 327-330.

Letter from Don Martín Enriquez to King Philip II

...
On 16 October [1576], a ship [i.e. the **Santiago**] arrived from the Islands of the West. It had departed from there on 8 June, with letters from the Governor, Doctor Francisco de Sande...

What this ship carries for your Majesty would be 100 quintals of cinnamon and a few trifles which I have not yet seen; whatever it may be, will be sent to your Majesty by the fleet. As far as goods belonging to individuals, it carries some quantity of gold, wax, mantles and other things from China, like silks and porcelain ware.

[Loss of the Espiritu Santo]

The ship **Espiritu Santo**, which had left the port of Acapulco on 6 January of this year and carried 11 friars and some soldiers and other necessary things, having arrived at the [Philippine] islands and gotten there faster than any other ship from here had ever gone, since it is understood that it arrived there on 25 April, God was pleased that, when it was 100 leagues from the city of Manila, during a hurricane it hit the coast broadside and broke up into a thousand pieces. All the people were drowned, and a few of those who escaped were killed by the Indians. Until now, it appears that no-one was left [alive], except a small Indian of a young age whom Father Diego de Herrera had brought along as a servant and who was returning with him.¹ They write that the Indians had him prisoner and that the boy had sent a message to the effect that he would try and escape. This has given me a very great sorrow and very much grief, because, in addition to the great loss, they were arriving at an opportune time.

¹ Ed. note: This was a young Filipino whom he had taken along on his second absence from the Philippines.

There were aboard Fray Diego de Herrera with the rest of the above-mentioned religious, and a few of them were leading men whom I had sent almost by force, over 100 men, counting Spaniards and sailors.

It is my intention to despatch once more this ship and the other that I hope is coming¹, with all the care and diligence possible, in order to send aboard them as great a number of people as possible, as it is what they most need there. It will be necessary to look for many ways of getting them out, because, although there is a sufficient number of uneducated and useless people in this country, they are so rooted that more than words will be necessary [to uproot them]. I, one way or another, will try to do so. It is my wish to send 400 men, if possible.

...

I am really short of **pilots**, because five of them had died, and they were the best ones sailing this route, and aboard this ship that was shipwrecked two [more] were lost; one of the latter had made this voyage three times, and the other was also a certified pilot. Since my instructions are such that a ship is never to be entrusted to a single pilot, on account of what has happened more than once, i.e. their dying during the crossing, and should there be no-one to direct it, they would go through many hardships. As for this [ship] that has just arrived, the same thing happened; the pilot died before reaching port. I will have to borrow from those who come with the [Atlantic] fleet, given that the [Pacific] navigation is so well understood that any good pilot cannot make a mistake, because he will be given a well-marked nautical chart by which to take directions, and sailors who know how to recognize the land well. Two remain there in the islands, and they are good pilots who understand well this voyage; I have always taken this care to train them for this navigation, but death does its work.

I will advise the Governor that Y.M. orders me to warn him that it should not come carelessly, and no-one in the world will understand it here. As to the cause of the loss of the ship and the other soldiers who went missing there, suffice to say that not a few rumors abound.

...

From Mexico, last day of October 1576.

From Y.M.'s loyal servant who kisses your royal hands,
Don Martín Enriquez.

1 Ed. note: The San Felipe never arrived as it was lost.

Document 1577A

Governor Sande's relation (continued)

Source: AGI 1-1-2/24 (ramo 40); translated in B&R 4:98-118. This document, dated 8 June 1577, is partly a duplicate of Sande's first report of 7 June 1576, with new information added.

Relation dated 8 June 1577, sent via the San Juan

...
The voyages to this country are all by sea, and in ships which are often wrecked, many soldiers being thus lost. Those who have the good fortune to escape with their lives lose their arquebuses, coats-of-mail, swords, and daggers, which constitute their military equipment.

...
As soon as I arrived at this city [in 1575], I began proceeding in the *residencia*, and the examination of accounts, according to your Majesty's commands. Duplicates of the [1576] report were sent in the ship **Santiago** and also in the ship **San Felipe** which was unfortunately lost. In the ship **San Juan** will now be despatched the duplicates, as your Majesty will note in the letter to the Viceroy.

...
As I advised by the ship **Santiago**, I sent to the island of Panay for galleys to be made. Two built there were launched in this city, and I have another of 16 [benches?] finished, and one of 25 is in the course of construction. It would have been completed four months ago had it not been for the overhauling of this ship **San Juan**, which carries this letter... Besides these occupations, all the workmen were engaged during the past year, from Christmas [1575] until July [1576], in overhauling the ships **Santiago** and **San Felipe**. They have been busy since October [1576] in overhauling the ship **San Juan** until its sailing today, to repair damages caused by its wreck. It is now put in very good condition, with pine masts, which I took from that of the [original illegible] which are said to be better than those here; for the wood of this land is very heavy.

After the completion of the galleys which were built here, **I have ordered them to build there a large ship of 400 tons**. After completing the galley, another will be made here of the same style, God willing; we have bought much iron and everything necessary, as I have written to the Viceroy in his letter. God willing, we shall build ships

here which would be worth in New Spain 100,000 ducats, and which cost here less than 15,000. Consequently, the situation here may be improved thereby.

...

I humbly beg that your Majesty be pleased to grant me favor and remember me.
In Manila, 8 June 1577.¹



Plan of the city of Manila (Intramuros) in 1577.

¹ Ed. note: This copy may be one of the duplicates, as it was unsigned.

Document 1577B

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 13 December 1577

Source: BN Madrid Ms. #19692 "Cartas para la historia de Mexico", folio 146.

Extract from the Viceroy's letter

Catholic Royal Majesty:

...

On 22 November arrived at the port of Acapulco the ship **San Juan** which came from the Islands of the West. This was for me the best news that I could come by because I was beginning to fear... This ship departed from there on 12 June and it heard from a Spaniard whom they found along the coast that a large ship had passed and with a very good time; there could not have been any other overthere than the one that I had despatched...¹

¹ Ed. note: The name of the ship that crossed Micronesia in a westward direction in 1577 is not given here. It was probably one named San Juanillo, as a ship by that name is said to have been lost on the eastward passage in 1578.

Document 1578

Letter from Fr. de Jesús to the Pope, dated Manila July 1580

Sources: Vatican Archives, Rome, #Principi 32, p. 174; transcript (in Latin) in Chicago's Newberry Library as Ayer #1391, Vol. 23, doc. 6 (18 pp.); translated by Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A. and published in B&R 34:316-324.

Letter from Fr. Pablo de Jesús, O.F.M. to Pope Gregory XIII

Account of the journey to the Philippine Islands of Fray Paul de Jesús of the Congregation of the Discalced [Franciscans].

To the Most Blessed Father Gregory XIII, chief pontiff, the humble congregation of discalced brothers residing in the Philippine Islands offer homage.

S. p. D.

...

For inasmuch as by order of thy Holiness we have come to these shores, we deem it our duty to relate the whole course of our journey and of our wanderings. From the place where Fray Pedro Alfaro, at the time guardian of our congregation, sent letters to thy Blessedness, we encountered a difficult voyage, all of us having been stricken down with illness, wherefrom six of the brethren our companions died.

At length, we reached New Spain, whence after a stay of six months in order to recover our strength and former good health, we set sail on the Ides of March in the year 1578¹, and after a very long voyage of 2,100 leagues, we fifteen brethren landed at the islands known as the Philippines.

¹ This should be March 15, 1577, for the first Franciscan mission arrived at Manila June 24, 1577. The date 1578 is also given by Gonzalez de Mendoza (see B&R 6:125) Ed. comment: If the name of the ship were given, the year 1578 could be confirmed. I think they left Spain in 1577 and crossed the Pacific in 1578..

[Description of Guam]

While on our voyage thither we touched at a certain island 300 leagues distant from the Philippines, very fruitful in rice, and coconut-bearing palms. This island is inhabited by men who are savages going utterly stark, with no covering at all, the women, however, concealing their private parts with the leaf of a tree. The people are large of frame, robust, and given to pilfering, whence the name of the island, Ladrones.

The natives brought us fruits, fish, rice, and other eatables, which they bartered for iron, which they value more than gold. Some of our companions through pity for those islanders wished to remain with them, in order to bring them to the light of the faith. But we did not think wise to leave them alone and without arms among such a multitude of barbarians. Sailing thence we soon reached the Philippine Islands...

...

Manila, 14th kalends of July 1580.

The most obedient son of they Holiness,
Fray Pablo de Jesús,
and all our congregation.

Extract from the Latin original

Tandem aliquando ad novam Hispaniam pervenimus, ubi sex menses reparandum virium, pristinaeque valetudinis recuperandae gratia commorati anno 1578 idibus Martii iterum solvimus, et longissima duo mille et centum leucarum navigatione ad insulas quas Philippinas vocant quindecim numero fatres appulimus. In itinere ad insulam quandam accessimus que 300 leucarum spacio distat ab insulis Philippinis. Ea est orizae et palmarum quae coccos ferunt uberima. Incolunt eam insulam homines quidem feri qui nudi incedunt nullo penitus tegumento praeter faeminas haec siquidem arboris folio verecundiora contegunt. Corpore grandi, robustoque; latrociniis dediti, unde latronum insula nomen accepit.

Ii ad nos fructus, pisces, origam aliasque ejusdem generis attulerunt, quorum praecio ferrum a nobis emebant, id que auro pluris aestimant. Cupiebant quidam e nostris sociis illie permanere, insularum miserti, ut eos ad fidei lucem adducerent, sed solos eos et inarmes inter tot tantoque immanitate barbaros derelinquere consilium non fuit. Inde progressi dedimus vela ventis brevisque ad insulas Philippinas...

Document 1579A

Letter from Governor Sande to the King, dated Manila 30 May 1579

Source: AGI 67-6-6; translated in B&R 4:144-147.

Letter from Francisco de Sande to King Philip II

Royal Catholic Majesty:

...

I have built a vessel here of 600 tons, which can make the said voyage [to China], if your Majesty will so order; and I am now building another.¹

...

May our Lord preserve your Majesty...

Manila, in the island of Luçon in the Philippines, 30 May 1579.

Royal Catholic Majesty.

Your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant who kisses your royal hands,
Doctor Francisco de Sande.²

-
- 1 Ed. note: I think the first ship referred to is the **Trinidad**, which sailed in 1579; it was built in Panay under the supervision of Miguel de Loarca (see B&R 34: 313+). The other is probably the **Nuestra Señora de la Cinta**, which sailed in 1581.
 - 2 Ed. note: The letter is endorsed with a note stating that it was received in Madrid on 4 June 1581. There was another letter by Governor Sande, his last as Governor, written to the King on 10 June 1580 in which he announced the arrival of his successor, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa (B&R 53:254).

Documents 1579B

The voyage of Francis Drake and the discovery of Palau in 1579

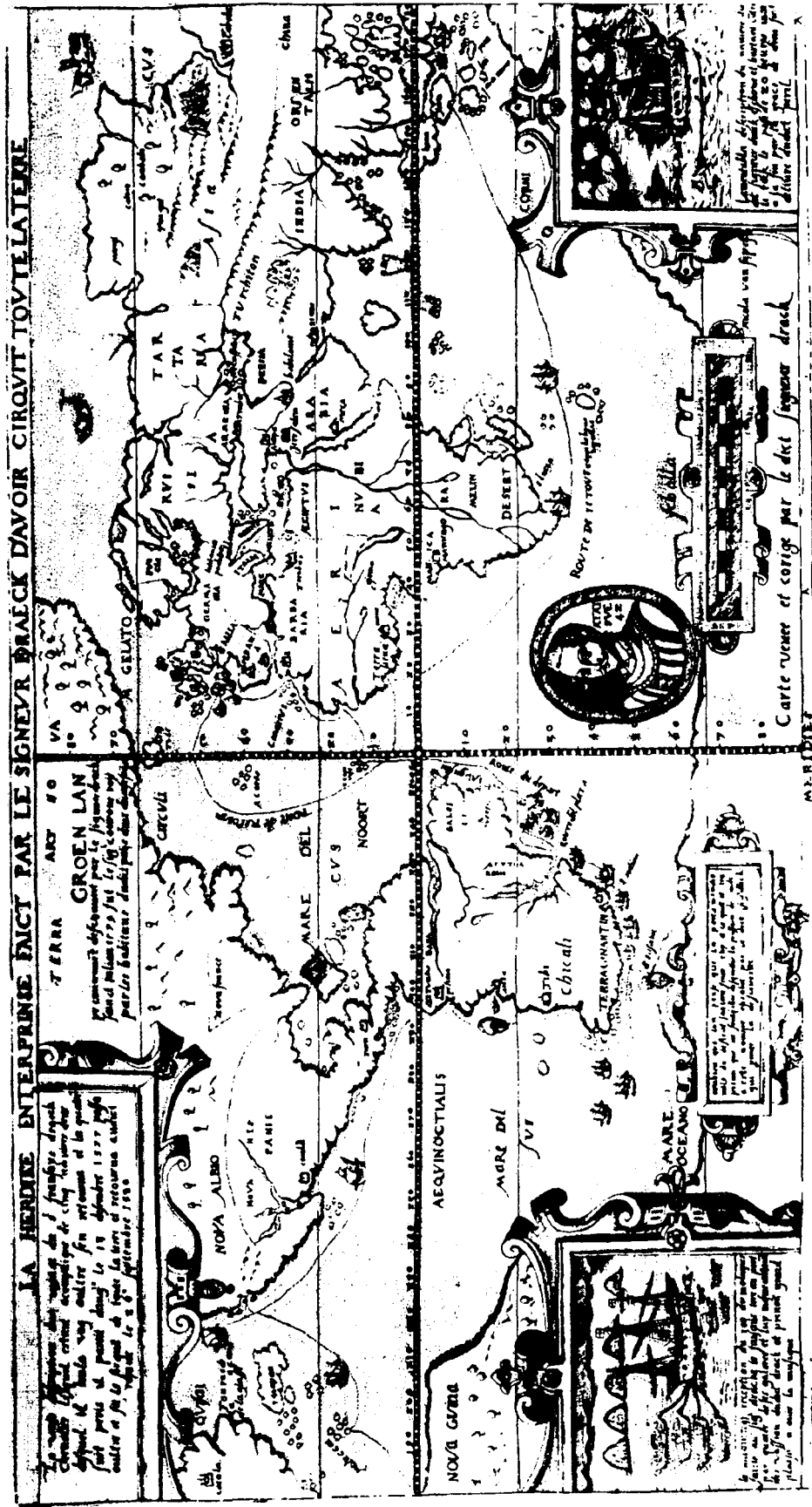
Sources: The two main documentary sources are "The Famous Voyage" and "The World Encompassed". See bibliography, under 1579.

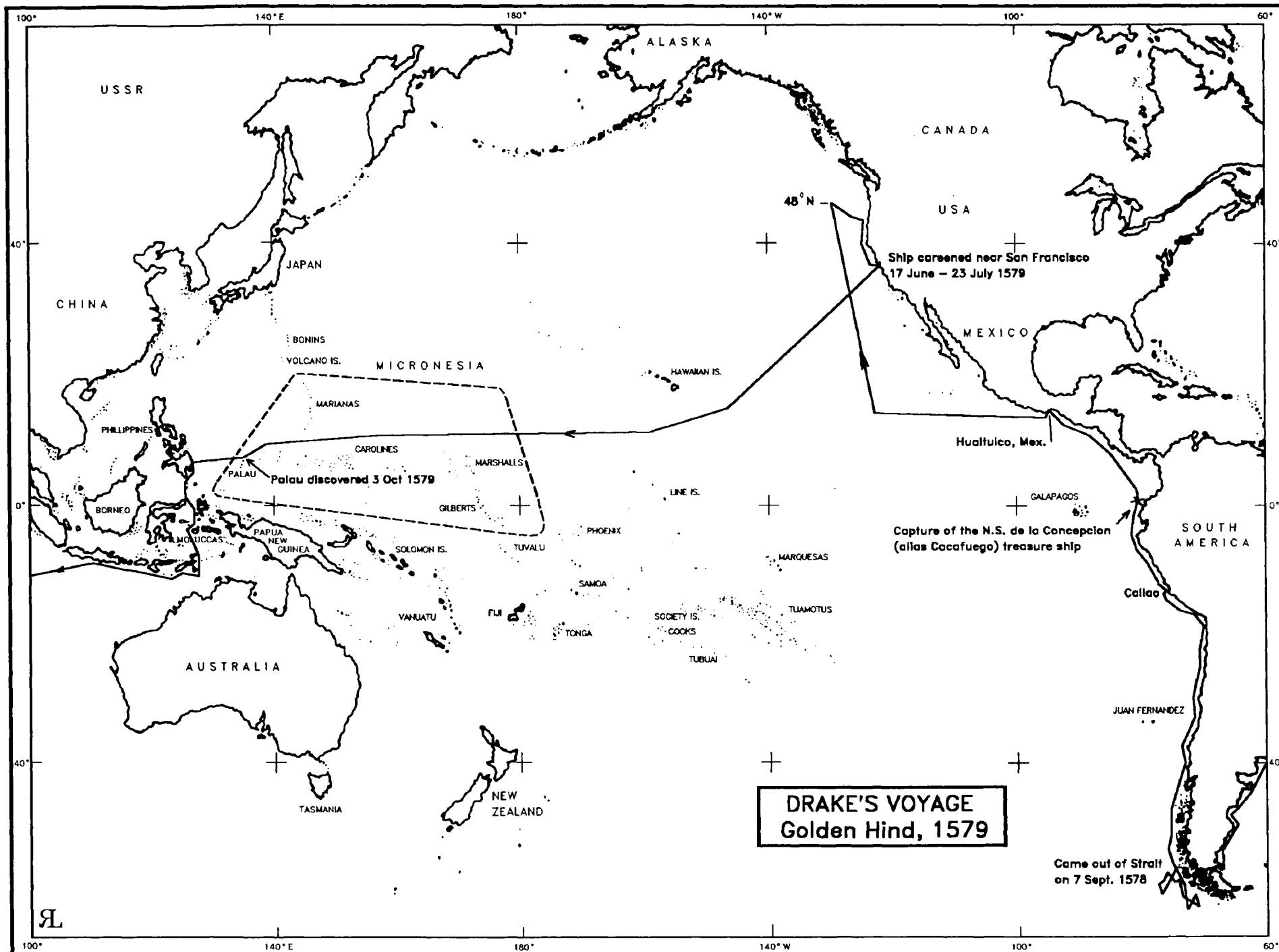
Introductory note.

As William Lessa has so aptly demonstrated¹ the documents about Drake's voyage are greatly flawed in that there are no logbooks and no charts extant; Drake had given these to Queen Elizabeth, and she "lost" them. We are left with two major printed accounts, both based mostly on a manuscript written by Francis Fletcher, the ship chaplain. Another eyewitness, John Drake, who was the teenage cousin of the captain and was later captured by the Spanish, left two depositions that were found in Spanish archives; they contain information that is somewhat contradictory. When Drake left the coast of California, he was using Spanish charts stolen four months before from a Spanish pilot, Alonso Sánchez Colchero, near Huatulco, Mexico. Colchero had been on the way to Panama to join a galleon bound for Manila. Drake had intended to use the standard route across the Pacific (along the 13° parallel) but he seemed to have changed his mind at least once; first, intending to go directly to the Moluccas, then going back to the Philippine route. His actual track across the Pacific is not known with certainty, but the best speculation has it that he skirted the Marshalls on the north side, and avoided most of the Carolines, until he decided to make for the SE corner of Mindanao, and thus came upon some islands (Palau Group) where he spent 3 days. He named them the Islands of Thieves, the same name that Magellan had given to the Marianas.

1 Ed. note: See for instance his article entitled "Drake in the South Seas".

(Overleaf) **A map of the world showing the track of Francis Drake.** *This voyage was the first circumnavigation by an English ship. (From the French edition of Drake's voyage, Paris, 1641.*





There are glaring inconsistencies in the records of the events at Palau, resulting from the poor memory of the witnesses. They mixed their recollections of Micronesia with those of the Philippines, the Moluccas, and Java.

B1. Account printed as *The World Encompassed*

The extant manuscript of Fletcher's account does not cover the Pacific crossing (part missing) but the full account of it was edited by Drake's nephew and published under the title: "The World Encompassed" as follows.

[1579. July 25.]¹ We departed againe the day next following, viz. Iuly 25. And our Generall now considering, that the extremity of the cold not only continued but increased, the Sunne being gone farther from vs, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northerne parts, thought it necessarie to loose no time; and therefore with generall consent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Ilands of the Moluccas. And so having nothing in our view but aire and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68. dayes together, wee continued our course through the maine Ocean, till September 30. following, [Sept. 30.] on which day we fell in kenne of **certaine Ilands, lying about eight degrees** to the Northward of the line.

From these Ilands presently vpon the discovery of vs, came a great number of canowes, hauing each of them in some foure, in some sixe, in some fourteene or fifteene men, bringing with them Coquos, fish, Potatos, and certaine fruites to small purpose.

Their canowes were made after the fashion, that the canowes of all the rest of the Ilands of the Moluccas for the most part are: That is of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning, being made so smooth both within and without, that they bore a glosse, as if it were a harnesse most finely burnished: A prow and sterne they had of one fashion, yeelding inward in manner of a semicircle, of a great height, and hanged full of certaine white and glistening shels for brauery: On each side of their canows, lay out two peeces of timber about a yard and halfe long, more or lesse according to the capacitie of their boate. At the ends whereof was fastned crossewise a great cane, the vse whereof was to keepe their canowes from ouerthrowing, and that they might be equally borne vp on each side.

The people themselues haue the neather parts of their eares cut round or circlewise, hanging downe very low vpon their cheekes, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight: the nailes on the fingers of some of them, were at least an inch long, and their teeth as blacke as pitch; the colour whereof they vse to renew by often eating of an herbe, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carrie about them to the same purpose.

The first sort and company of those canowes beeing come to our ship (which then by reason of a scant wind made little way) very subtilly and against their natures, began

1 Ed. note: Noted in margin.



*Drake perorati novit quem terminus orbis,
Et quem bis mundi vidit utera Polus;
Si facerint homines, facient te Sidera notum,
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse sui.*

Drake's portrait in *The World Encompassed* (1st ed., 1628).



Portrait of Sir Francis Drake.



Another portrait of Sir Francis Drake. Engraved by Thomas de Leu from a painting from life by Joseph Rabel.

THE VVORLD 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 im-*
p:oyment, and diuers others his followers in
the same :

Offered now at last to publike view, both for the honour of
the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of *heroick spirits,*
to benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names
by like noble attempss.



LONDON,

Printed for NICHOLAS BOVRNE
and are to be sold at his shop at the
Royall Exchange. 1628.

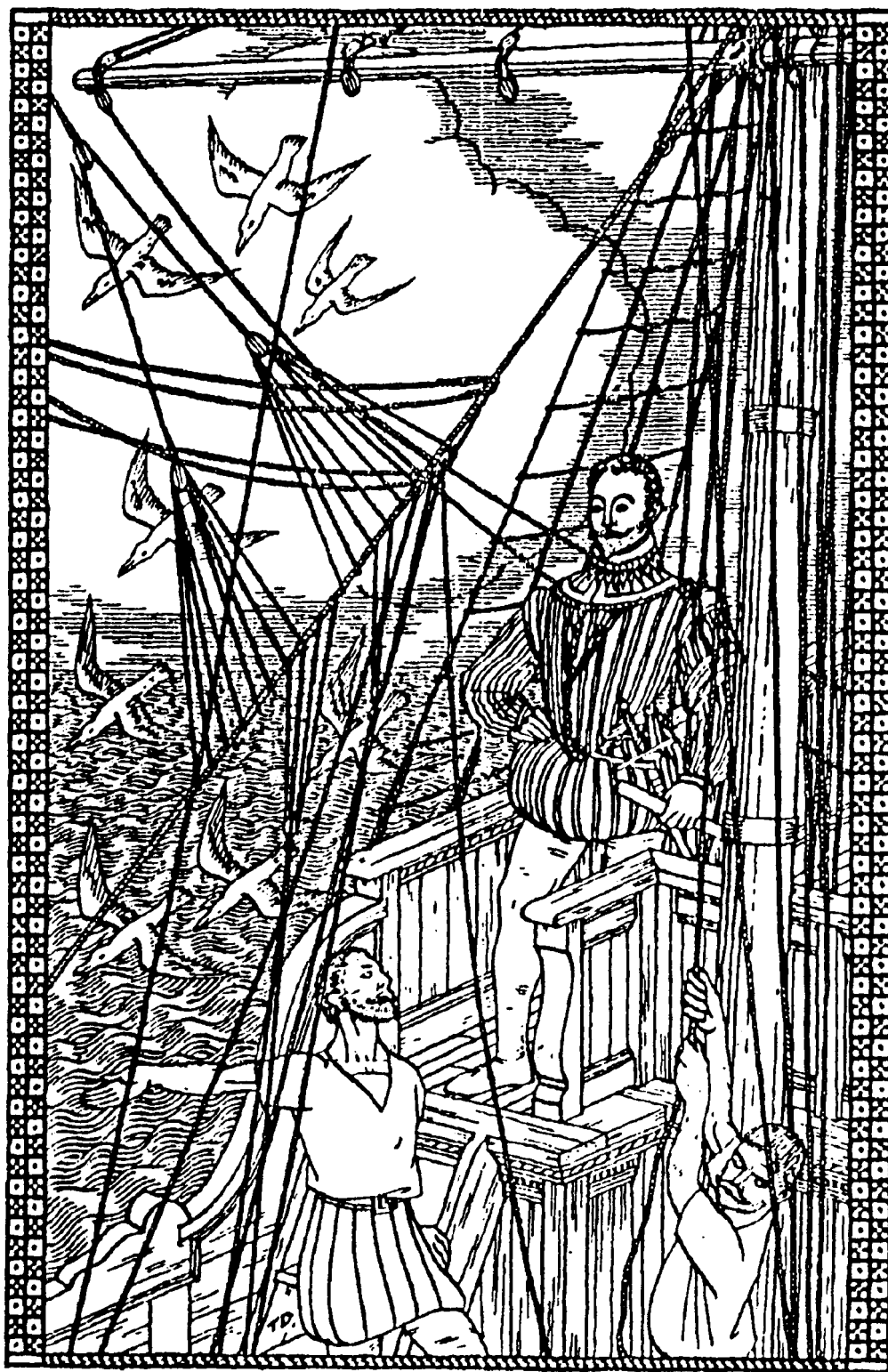
Title page of the 1628 edition of *The World Encompassed*.

in peace to traffique with vs, giuing vs one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceiued) hereby to worke a greater mischiefe to vs: Intreating vs by signes most earnestly to draw neerer towards the shore, that they might (if possible) make the easier prey both of the ship and vs. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, wee were quickly able to guesse at them what they were: For if they receiued any thing once into their hands, they would neither giue recompence nor restitution of it, but thought what euer they could finger to bee their owne: Expecting alwayes with browes of brasse to receiue more, but would part with nothing: Yea being reiected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would haue no more to do, vsing vs so euilly, they could not be satisfied till they had giuen the attempt to reuenge themselues, because we would not giue them whatsoever they would haue for nothing: And hauing stoness good store in their canowes, let flie a maine of them against vs. It was farre from our Generals meaning to requite their malice by like iniurie. Yet that they might know that he had power to doe them harme (if he had listed¹) he caused a great peece to be shot off not to hurt them but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof, they euery one leaped out of his canow into the water, and diuing vnder the keele of their boates, staied them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recouered into their canowes, and got them with speed toward the shoare.

Notwithstanding other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort vnto vs. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence, they put on a shew of seeming honestie, and offering in shew to deale with vs by way of exchange; vnder that pretence they cunningly fell a filching of what they could, and one of them puld a dagger and knives from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it againe, he rather vsed what meanes he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be to ridde of this vngracious company, till we made some of them feele some smart as well as terror: and so we left that place by all passengers to bee knowne hereafter by the name of the **Island of Theeues**.

[Octob. 3.] Till the third of October wee could not get cleare of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course without sight of land till the 16. of the same month [Octob. 16.], when we fell with foure Ilands standing in 7. deg. 5. min. to the Northward of the line. We coasted them till the 21. day [Octob. 21.], and then anchored and watered vpon the biggest of them called Mindanao. The 22. of October [Octob. 22.] as we past betweene two Ilands, about sixe or eight leagues South of Mindanao, there came from them two canows to haue talked with vs, and we would willingly haue talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put vs from them to the Southwards. October 25. [Octob. 25.] we passed by the Iland named Talao in 3. deg. 40. min. we saw

1 Ed. note: Misprint for "liked".

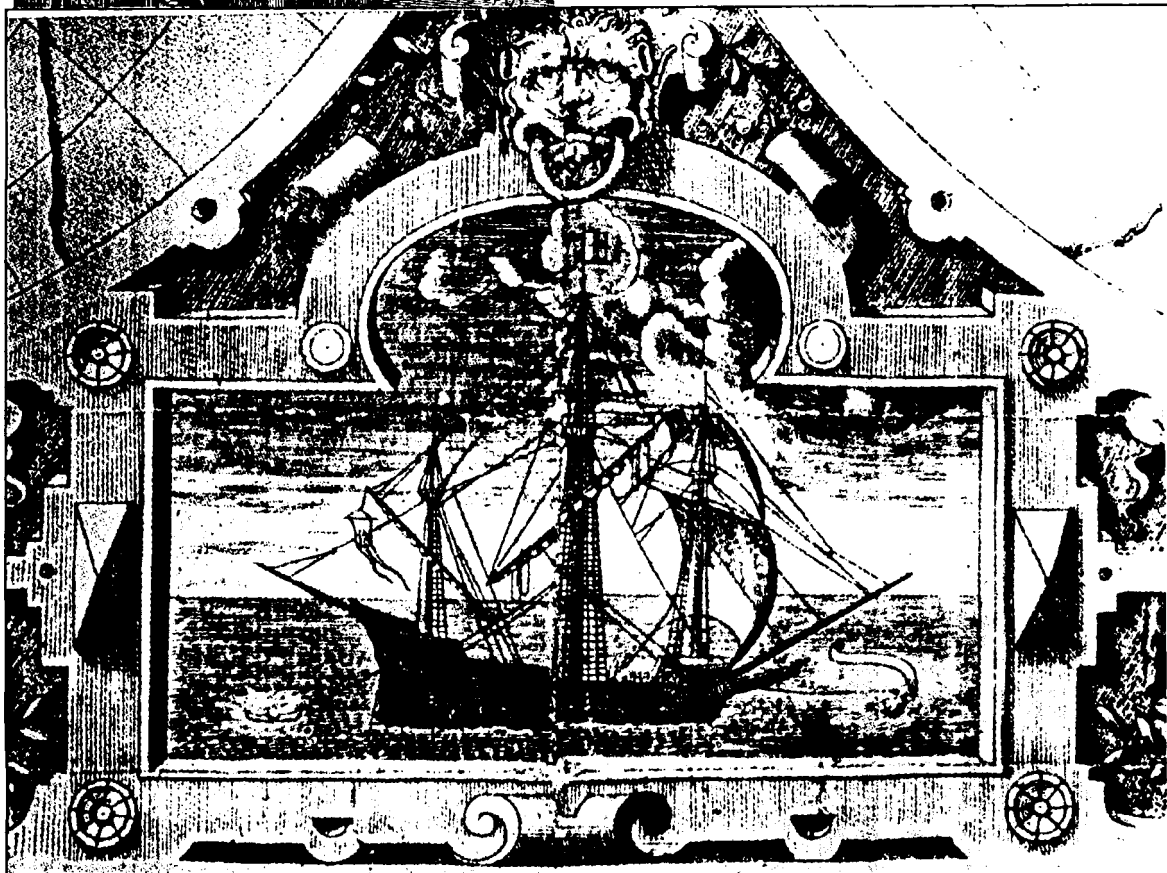


Drake surveying the Palau Group, 1-3 October 1579.

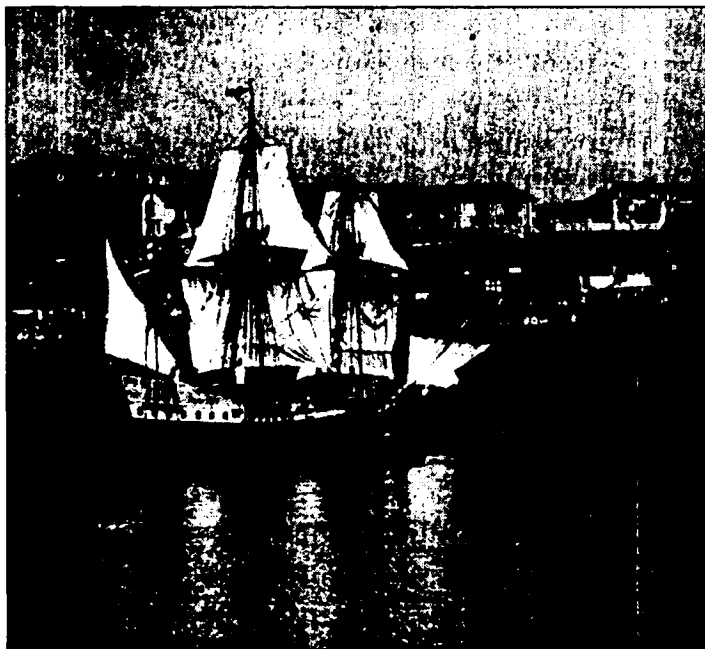


Queen Elizabeth of England knight-
ing Francis Drake on 4 April 1581.
(From Jules Verne's *The Exploration of the
World*, f.p. 368)

(Below) A true picture of the Golden
Hind of Captain Drake. After her famous
circumnavigation, she was exhibited for
about 100 years at Deptford on the Thames.
(From the "Hondius Broadside", ca. 1595:
"Vera totius expeditiones nauticae")



to the Northward of it three or foure other Ilands, Teda, Selan Saran, [Octob. 30.] (three Ilands so named to vs by an Indian)¹ the middle whereof stands in 3. deg. we past the last saue one of these, & the first day of the following moneth [Novemb. 1.] in like manner, we past the Ile Suaro [= Siao] in 1 deg. 30. min. and the third of Nouember [Nou. 3.] wee came in sight of the Ilands of the Moluccaes as we desired. These are foure high piked Ilands, their names, Tirenáte, Tidóre, Matchan, Batchan, all of them very fruitfull, and yeelding abundance of cloues, whereof wee furnished our selues of as much as we desired at a very cheape rate. At the East of them lyes a very great Iland called Gil-lola.



A half-scale version of the Golden Hind at Plymouth in 1938. Originally-named Pelican, Drake renamed his small 100-ton flagship while in the Strait of Magellan. The Golden Hind was equipped with 16 or 18 guns and faced Spanish ships in the Pacific that had no mounted cannon up to that time. (From the National Geographic Magazine, July 1938)

¹ Ed. note: It is said that three islands are named, out of a possible total of four that were seen, but there is no comma between the word Selan and the word Saran in the printed text. This had led me to suppose that Selan Saran is the name of one island (For possible identification, see another footnote below).

B2. Account printed as *The Famous Voyage*

*Source: Hakluyt's 1589 edition of the *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, in the English Voyages part of his Principall Voyages.**

*Note the remark made by Dr. Helen Wallis, in *The Hakluyt Handbook (1974)* about Hakluyt's source for the Pacific portion of the voyage; it is an anonymous ms. (Harleian ms. 280, folios 83-90) entitled: "A discourse of Sir Francis Drakes iourney & exploites after hee had past ye Straytes of Megellan into Mare de Sur, & throughe the rest of his voyadge afterward till hee arived in England. 1580 anno."¹*

[October. Certaine Islands in 8. degrees.] After we had set sail from hence [i.e. California], we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following², which day in the morning we fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, [Strange Canoas.] having in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them coquos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollowe within, and cut with great arte, and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily furnished, hauing a prow, and a sterne of one sorte, yeelding inward circle wise³, being of a great heighth, and full of certaine white shels for a brauerie⁴, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalmes, or bigness of the boate.⁵

This people have the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The

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- 1 Ed. note: This may be a far-fetched statement considering that the anonymous narrative in question, attributed to the dictation of one of two seamen, William Legge, or John Doughty, only says the following about the Pacific crossing: "When they had graved & watred their ship in the latter ende of August they set sayle and bent their course S.S.W. and had not the sight of land againe till ye latter end of november at which time they had sight of one of the Iles of Moluccas, called Trenate where they tooke in about .vj. toon of cloves."
 - 2 Ed. note: Misprint for 1 October 1579. They stayed in the vicinity from 1-3 October.
 - 3 Ed. note: This in-curving feature is not reported accurately, as all Carolinian canoes were out-curving.
 - 4 Ed. note: Later editions may have introduced some errors in stating that the shells were set off "in the inside", perhaps referring to inlaid shells.
 - 5 Ed. note: The expression "on each side of them", rather than "on one side of them", has led most readers to visualize double-outrigger canoes, and this mistake may not have been in the original text by Fletcher.

After we had set saile from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, byinging with them coquos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollowe within, and cut with great arte, and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a hope daintily burnished, hauing a prowe, and a sterne of one soxe, peelding in ward circle wise, being of a great heighth, and full of certaine white shels for a hauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnes, or bignes of the boate.

October.
Certaine Islands in 3. degrees.
Strange Canoas.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwaies cartie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

We leauing this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we light vpon diuers others, some whereof made a great shewe of Inhabitants.

We continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being subiect to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Sinuamon.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of Molucca, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Muryr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Viceking seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whome if he once dealt, he should finde

November.
The Isle of Ternate.

The Famous Voyage (Hakluyt ed. of 1589). Part about Palau.

nailes of their hands are an ynche long,¹ their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwaies carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.²

[Islands.] We leauing this Island the night after we fell with it³, the 18. October, we light upon divers others, some whereof made a great shewe of Inhabitants.

We continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra⁴, being subject to the Portingals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Sinnamon.

[November.] The 14. of November we fell with the Islands of Moluccas, which day and night (hauing directed out course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Viceking seeing us at sea, came with his Canoa to us without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require...

B3. Narrative by John Drake, as told by Antonio de Herrera

Source: Herrera's Historia (Valladolid, 1606), volume 2, book 9, chapter 13; reproduced on p. 334 of Wagner's Sir Francis Drake's Voyage.⁵

... Nueva Albion. Here he remained a month and a half, repairing the two⁶ ships which he had with him. From here he went to the Ladrones Islands in 9° where he killed 20 Indians because they attacked him with 100 canoes in order to take his ships. Steering towards the south and the southwest he went to an island which is in 7°, where he took water and wood, and sailing to the southwest, arrived in 20 days at the Moluccas.

1 Ed. note: There is here none of the nonsense, added in later editions, to the effect that their nails were designed to be used as weapons.

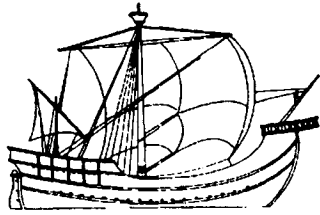
2 Ed. note: The so-called herb was betel leaf, and the powder was the slaked lime, both used in chewing the nut of the areca palm. The words "in a cane" have unfortunately been edited out of some editions. Hence we note that the natives carried their lime in a hollow piece of bamboo.

3 Ed. note: This comment has led to the notion that the ship spent only one day in sight of the Palau Group.

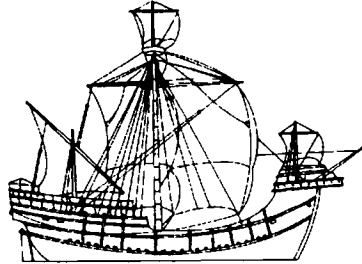
4 Ed. note: Transcribed otherwise in some later editions. The first-mentioned island is clearly recognizable as Tagolandang (or Tahulandang) off the NE tip of Celebes Island, south of Sangihe Island. The other two words may come from a split of the word Selonwarra, a misprint for something like Sulawesi, i.e. Celebes Island.

5 Ed. note: This secondary account is nevertheless based on the two depositions of John Drake, the first made at Santa Fé (now Argentina) on 24 March 1584, the second made at Lima in January 1587. It is in fact copied almost literally from Drake's first deposition.

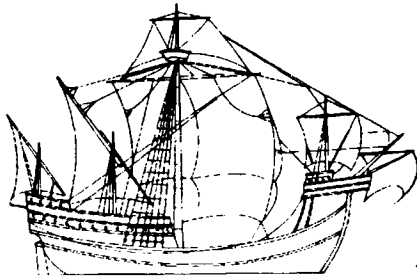
6 Ed. note: Two ships mentioned in the second deposition, but only one (the truth) in the first deposition.



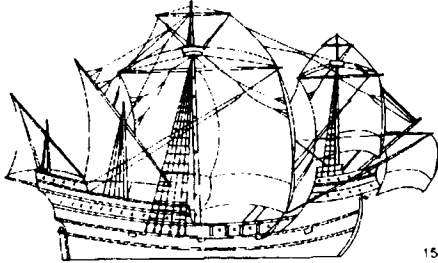
1430



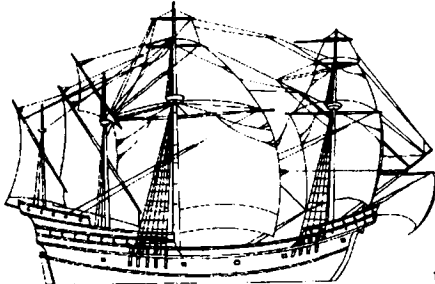
1450



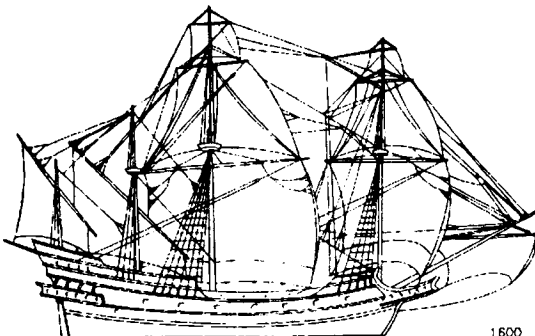
1500



1530



1560



1600

**Evolution of the galleon,
according to R. Morton Nance.**

Document 1580

A short treatise on the evolution of the galleon during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries

Main source: Henry B. Culver's The Book of Old Ships (New York, Doubleday, 1924).

The ancestors of the galleons were round ships

Introduction.

It has been seen that the proportion of breadth to length was greater in the round ships than in the galleys. The long ships of early times were primarily the vessels of war, celerity of movement being of the utmost importance. The round ships, however, both of antiquity and of the Middle Ages, constructed to carry heavy cargos, were not exactly swift movers. Not that the round ships of these times were not sometimes used for fighting: quite the reverse. Although usually designed as carriers of freight and passengers, their greater bulk naturally enabled them to embark a greater number of armed men, and later, when cannon were introduced, to mount armaments disposed in a manner impossible in the long narrow rowing craft...

By a curious verbal transposition the square sails of the round ships were sometimes called in certain maritime localities "round" sails; while the ships themselves on account of the shape of their rectangular canvas were designated as "square" ships.

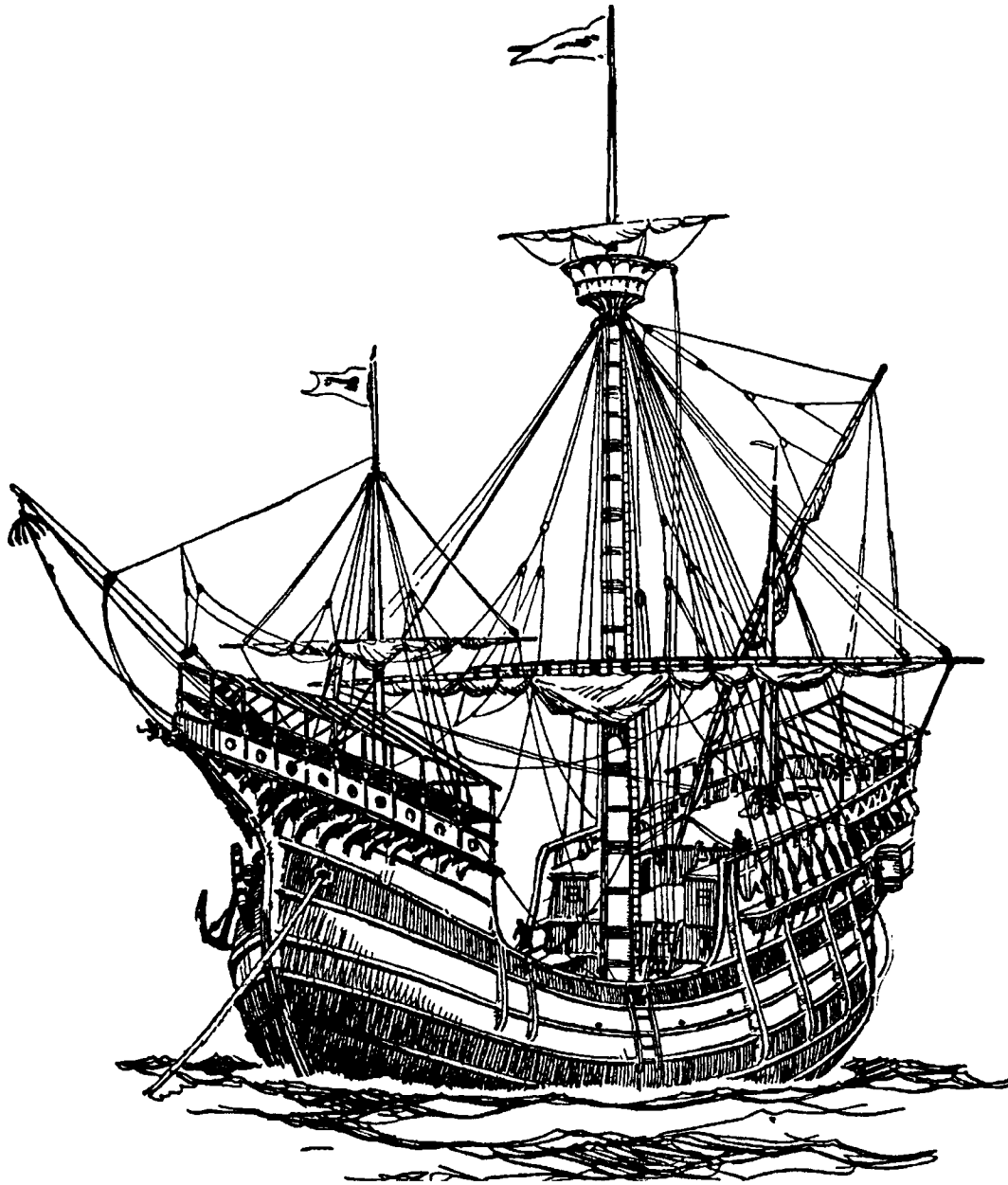
The carrack.

The word employed to designate the larger ships of an indeterminate period, which certainly embraced the 14th, 15th, and part of the 16th centuries, and probably a considerable period of time prior to the earlier date mentioned above, was carrack. Appearing in various forms such as *carraca*, *carraque*, and *kraeck*, the term is of doubtful origin.

During the period above mentioned it was essentially a vessel designed to carry large burdens, but often employed also for purposes of war, and was undoubtedly an

integral part of the shipping of all European maritime nations, although, as to some countries, it may not be possible to identify it by name with any particular ship.

The carrack differed from the *nef*¹ in that it was bigger, of greater draught, and had higher top-sides. Some were probably as large as 1,000 tons.



A typical northern carrack of the 15th century. With the round caravel of the Mediterranean Sea, the northern carrack was at the origin of the very successful hybrid design of the galleon. (From Culver's Old Ships, as drawn by Gordon Grant)

1 Ed. note: The *nao* of the Spanish and Portuguese, which was based on a round caravel.

The hulk.

One of the most interesting subjects in the study of the English language is that which concerns itself with the changes wrought by time and use in the meaning of words. The point is well illustrated in “hulk”. During the early years of the 16th century it was applied to a type of the larger-size vessel. This craft was round sterned, square tucked, high pooped, covered with weak and ineffectual clench work or skids. The rig was substantially that of the ship of a corresponding date...

Today the term “hulk” signifies a vessel reduced to its poorest, meanest condition, the remains or carcass of a ship. At its prime, the hulk constituted one of the principal classes of cargo carriers of merchant vessels *par excellence*.

The galleon.

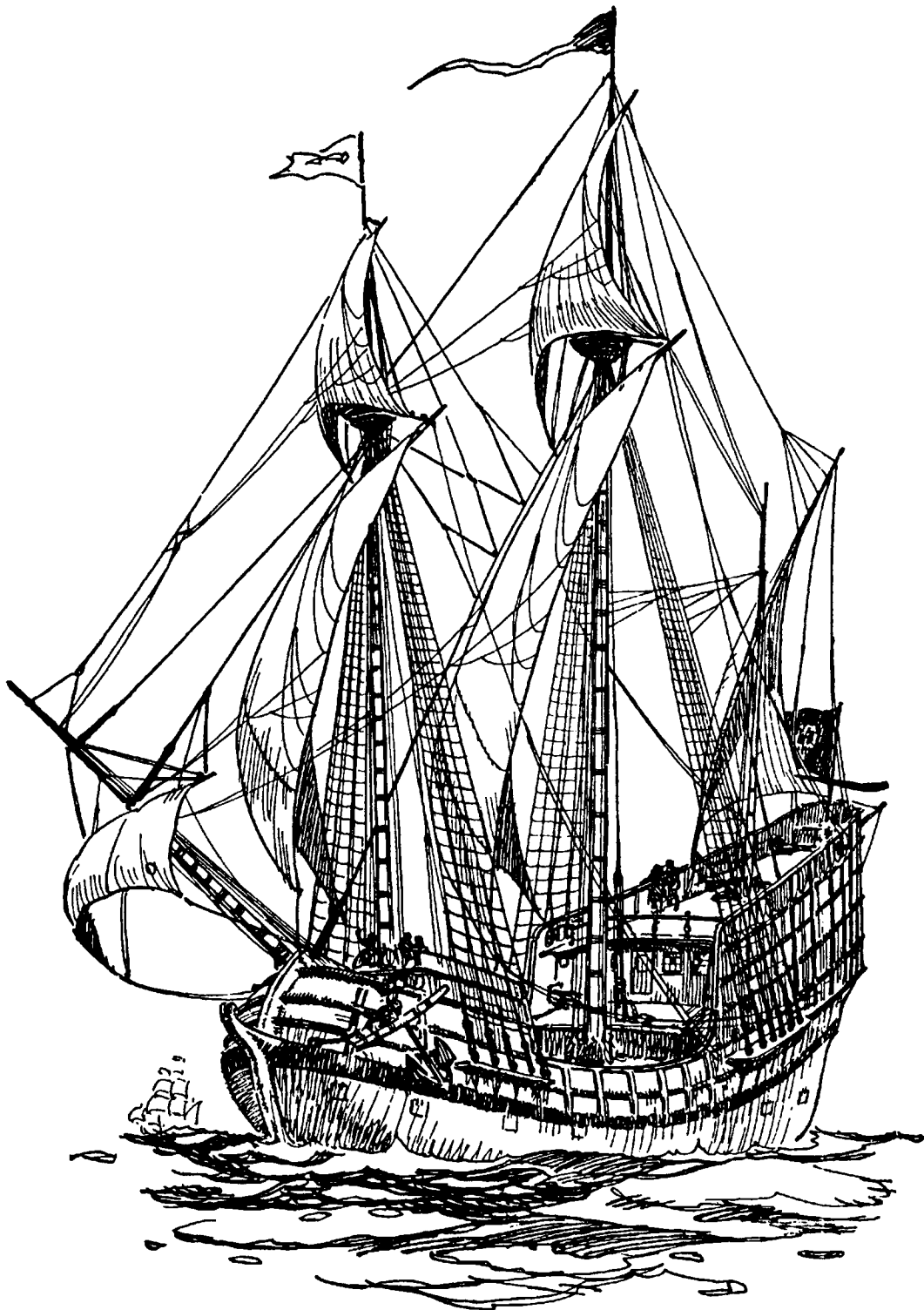
Almost every untutored person who sees a model or picture of an old-time ship calls it a galleon. The reason probably is that the galleon is the type of ancient vessel most exploited in romantic literature.

The galleon was primarily a war vessel. Her “great period” was during the 16th century and early years of the 17th century.

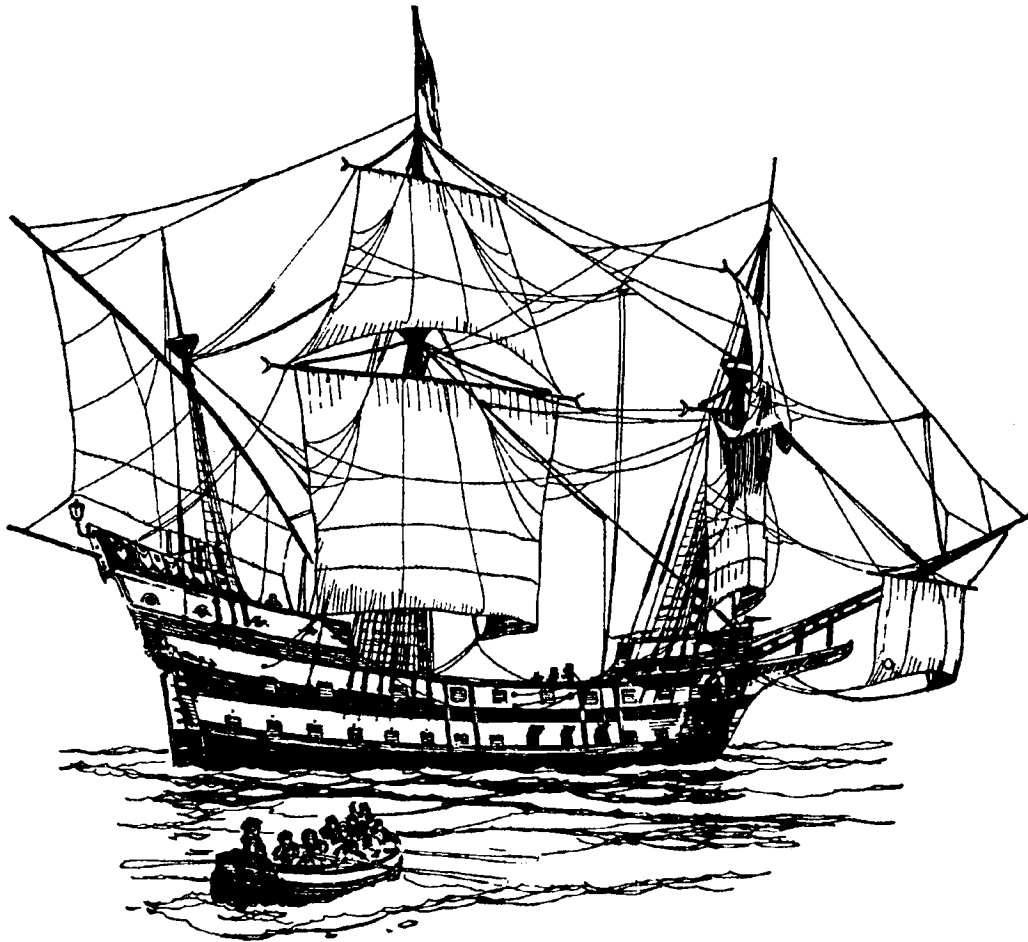
Originally less highly charged, i.e. with fewer decks than her companion the great or capital ship, she was more graceful of aspect and probably a better sailer. Another distinction claimed by some writers is that the decks of the galleon had three divisions or levels, while the great ship had four. One of the peculiarities of the galleon build was the form of her head. Instead of the long projecting forestage or forecastle of many of the larger ships of her time, the galleon’s forecastle ended at her stem, while a long slim beak, similar to that of the galley, projected far forward. The transom of the stern was square, the poop narrow. Clench work or skids strengthened the sides, but this characteristic, while retained in Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish Netherlands seems to have passed out of fashion in English ships at an early date.

The fore and main masts were equipped with round tops and carried courses and topsails. Galleons had also one and sometimes two lateen mizzens. Generally speaking, the running rigging did not differ, except in degree, from that of a much later date. Reef points did not form a part of the equipment.¹

¹ Ed. note: The vessels of the Spanish Armada of 1588 consisted not only of galleons and hulks, but also of pataches, pinnaces, galleys, galleasses, and even caravels equipped with oars.



A hulk, a cargo carrier of the late 16th century. (From *Culver's Old Ships*, as drawn by Gordon Grant)



A European galleon of the late 16th century. Its design evolved mostly from the carrack and the hulk. (From Culver's *Old Ships*, New York, 1924)

The Manila galleon.

The first of the Spanish galleon to cross the Pacific back and forth was the **San Pedro** in 1565.¹ The last one put into port in 1815.² Almost yearly, for the 250 years that lay between the above two dates, the galleons made the long and lonely voyage between Manila and Acapulco. No other line of ships has ever endured so long. No other regular navigation has been so trying and dangerous as this, for in its 250 years the sea claimed dozens of ships and thousands of men and many millions in treasure. As the

- 1 Ed. note: This section is a summary of William Schurz' book entitled: *The Manila Galleon*, mostly his Chapter 5. Schurz repeatedly mentioned the name of the first galleon as being the San Pablo, instead of the correct name which was the San Pedro; this mistake has unfortunately been copied by many other writers.
- 2 Ed. note: So says Schurz. As a matter of fact, the last galleon into Acapulco was the Magallanes in 1817.

richest ships in all the oceans, they were the most covered prize of pirate and privateer. The English took four of them: the **Santa Ana** in 1587, the **Encarnación** in 1709, the **Covadonga** in 1743, and the **Santissima Trinidad**, largest ship of her time (2,000 tons), in 1762.

In 1580, the Duke of Alba conquered Portugal and King Philip II became the most powerful monarch on earth. Soon Manila became the center of Hispanic power in the orient, displacing even Goa. Never again was Manila to know such greatness. The decadence of Manila began when the Moluccas were abandoned to the Dutch in 1662. Though not to the same degree, the Philippines shared in the decadence of the mother country under the later Hapsburgs and the first of the Bourbons. The creation of the monopolistic Royal Philippine Company in 1785 was to mark the beginning of the end, which occurred with the independence of the Spanish American colonies.

During the golden century of the Manila galleon (1565-1665), Spain was the envy of the rest of Europe and east-west trade in the Spanish Lake was part of the reason. The Manila galleons had the high forecastle and poop characteristics of their class. The apparent topheaviness of ships whose ends stood so high out of the water was partly offset by their unusual breadth of beam. In the latter half of the 18th century, the high stern and bow were cut down to approximate the lines of the frigate.

Most of the Manila galleons were built in the yards of Cavite on the Bay of Manila, where a great force of Chinese and Filipino workmen carried on the work of construction and repairs. However, many were built in other parts of the northern islands, where there were found together the three requisites of a safe port and a plentiful supply of good timber and of native labor.¹

The hard woods of the islands were very well adapted for ship-building. The framework was often made of teak, while other native woods were used in the remainder of the ship. For the ribs and knees, the keel and rudder, and inside work the hard Philippine *molave* was generally employed. The sheathing outside the ribs was usually of *lanang*, a wood of great toughness, but of such a peculiar nature that small cannon balls remained embedded in it, while larger shot rebounded from a hull made of this timber. Excellent cordage for the rigging was obtained from the *abaca* or Manila hemp. Sail cloth was produced in the province of Ilocos, while the metal necessary was mostly bought from China, Japan, Macao, or even from India and worked up by Chinese smiths. When completed, these galleons were of unusual strength. In capturing the **Santissima Trinidad** in 1762, the English put over 1,000 balls into her without penetrating her sides...

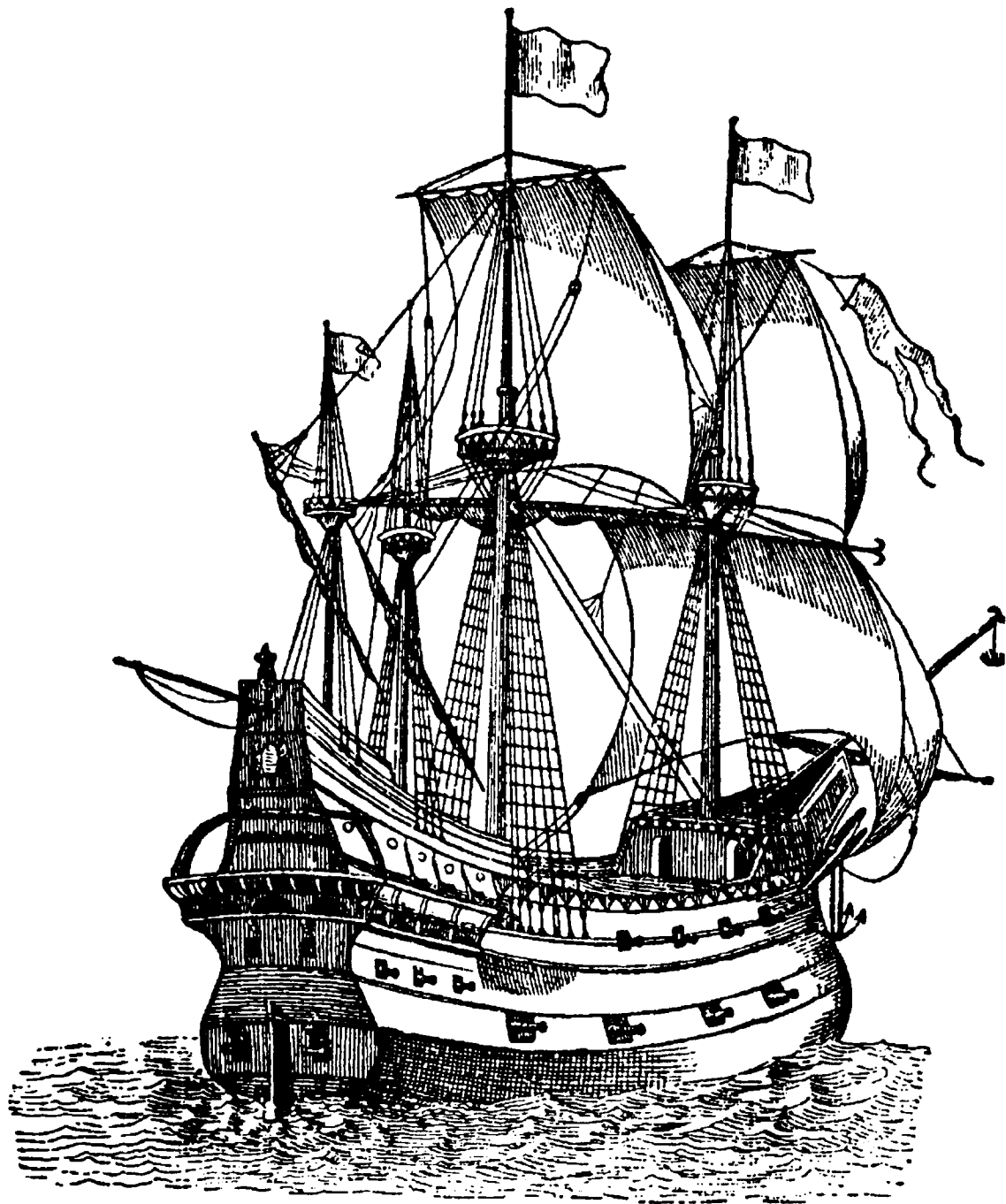
1 Ed. note: Some were also built outside the Philippines, until an order of 1679 prohibited this practice.



Model of a Manila galleon. *(From the photographic files at the Ayala Museum in Manila)*

“Full blow the trades adown the Spanish Main.
With billowing courses, flowing topsail sheets,
and mizzen well distended to the gale, with boiling foam
and spouts of iridescent spray beneath her lengthy beak
and forefoot broad, with gaudy pennants,
and with ancient proudly flaunting in the breeze,
the lordly galleon drives along the ocean’s trackless
plane.
What heaps of tawny gold filched forth from heathen
fanies her orlop holds!
What glittering jewels raped from idol forms
her iron-bound coffers fill!
What lives have sped and tears and blood have
drenched the treasure that she bears!
In vain.
Afar, uplifting from the keen horizon’s blade,
there looms a sail.
In vain.
Can heron foil gerfalcon’s dazzling stroke?
Full soon to her eternal doom
amid the waving sea-kelp’s bloom shall sift
the riven frames of what was once a ship;
and the remnant of her proud Castilian crew
cowering at the terror-laden name of Drake!”

(Henry B. Culver, *The Book of Old Ships*)



A Spanish treasure galleon, ca. 1580. *(From Jurien de la Gravière's Les marins du XV et du XVI siècles)*

Document 1581A

Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated Mexico 1 April 1581

Source: Cartas de Indias (Madrid, 1877), pp. 336-342.

Letter from the Viceroy of New Spain, Count of Coruña¹ to King Philip II

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty:

After I wrote to Y.M. by the first advice ship [for Spain], whose duplicate goes aboard this ship, what is worth mentioning to Y.M. will be said herein.

[New galleon built in Guatemala]

I have received letters from Licentiate Palacios, who comes here to serve in the post of Court Liaison Officer with this Audiencia, one that Y.M. has favored him with. He has been until now in the port of Realejo [in Guatemala], occupied with the building of the ships that are being made there for the Philippine Island run. He came from there aboard a galleon that has been built, to the port of Guatulco, and from there he went to that of Acapulco where he arrived on the 21st of the last month, in spite of the storms en route which gave him some hardship, according to his letter, and so he brought the galleon. However, it came in great need of repair and preparation, which will be carried out, to make it navigable.²

In that port is Don Juan de Guzman as Mayor in Chief; he is a very experienced person with things of the sea and in outfitting ships. He has done it many times before. I have entrusted him with the preparations of those that are there waiting to go on the

1 Ed. note: The 5th Viceroy of New Spain was Don Lorenzo Juarez de Mendoza, who served from 1580 to 1583.

2 Ed. note: This galleon was probably the **San Martín**, which took a year to finish and sailed for the first time across the Pacific in 1582.

said Philippine run, with the religious who are to go to the Philippines under the supervision of their Bishop, Fray Domingo de Salazar, [O.P.]. To this effect, as I wrote to Y.M. in the first letter, given the death of Cosme del Campo, I have sent there someone who understands what he was doing, as in interim measure, while waiting for what Y.M. will be pleased to order.¹



Count Martín Enriquez, Viceroy of New Spain [1568-1580].

voyage to Spain. So, this rigging is rotten, worn out, does not last long, and sells very dear; the ships in which it is placed are at risk. It seems to me that, Y.M. will decide, an order could be given to have it brought from there aboard the ships that come in the fleet, and that the quantity should be sufficient for ships up to 400 to 500 tons, which are the capacities of those sailing to those islands, because they would go safely and would last for more voyages; otherwise, every year it is necessary to replace most of it.

The [previous] Viceroy Don Martín Enriquez has asked me to earmark a ship or two for him, in which he could go to Peru² to comply with what Y.M. had ordered him, and I made some diligence about this. Having heard that a ship had arrived [from Peru] at the port of Guatulco, I then sent an advice to the Mayor in Chief there to put an embargo on it and to take it to Acapulco, from which the said Viceroy is due to leave to go on his voyage; the Mayor in Chief did so. It appears that with this ship and with another belonging to Y.M. which was in the said port of Acapulco, he will have sufficient comfort to make the said voyage. As for the other galleon of Y.M. which has been outfitted there, it is being made ready to send to the Philippines, and in case more than this one ship is necessary, another is being made ready to go in company with it.

Having understood that the rigging which is bought here for these ships is what they take off the ships in the port of San Juan de Ulua [i.e. Veracruz] that are condemned as too old to make the return

¹ Ed. note: The post in question was that of official supplier.

² Ed. note: To his new post as Viceroy of Peru.

The ship which usually comes from the Philippine Islands by this time each year has not yet arrived, but it is believed that it will arrive soon.¹

...

I have received letters from the officials who are at the port of Realejo, Province of Guatemala, building **two ships** that have been ordered made there. They say that they are making as much haste as possible. Up to now, they have been sent 30,000 pesos; in this letter they are asking for 40,000 more, but only half of that is being sent, as the royal officials will write to Y.M. about. Care will be taken that the works will not stop and will be completed.

Aboard the ships that will be sent to the Philippines, I am thinking about not sending military personnel, because Don Gonzalo Ronquillo took along [in 1580] those that Y.M. sent to him, and because no news has been received about those who made it there. As soon as he has advised me about it, I will take care of it. I had it advertised that married men who wish to go will be given passage² but, not having an order from Y.M. regarding free food for the voyage, I do not know if any will wish to go. If they were given it, they tell me that there would be many who would go with their wives, and once there, if necessary, they would be as good soldiers as those sent from here with their wages and food allowance. May Y.M. make provision for what seems appropriate to your service, and I will in turn advise about what here is understood to be necessary.

...

From Mexico, 1st of April 1581.

Sacred Catholic Royal Majesty, the royal hands of Y.M., servant of Y.M.

The Count of Coruña.

1 Ed. note: This is probably a reference to the **Nuestra Señora de la Cinta** which was sent by a new southern route, via New Guinea, but was forced back to Manila.

2 Ed. note: That is, free passage to their family.

Document 1581B

The voyage of Father Martin Ignacio de Loyola, O.F.M., around the world, via Guam

Sources: RAH Colección Muñoz¹ N° A-70 [Sig. n° 9/4807], folios 110v-163. Also "Itinerario y epitome de todas las cosas notables que ay desde España, hasta el Reyno de la China, y de la China a España, bolviendo por la India Oriental, despues de aver dado buelta a casi todo el Mundo" edited by Fr. Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza in his "Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China..." in Madrid, 1586; translated in B&R 6:137-143.

Note: The author of the Itinerary of some Franciscans around the world was a participant, Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, a nephew of St. Ignatius de Loyola who founded the Jesuit order.

Voyage from Mexico to Manila

Departure from the city of Mexico, and journey to the port of Acapulco on the South Sea, whence they embark for the Philippine Islands. The island of the Ladrones is passed, and the condition and rites of the people there are noted. Chapter XI.

From the City of Mexico they set out to embark at the port of Acapulco, a place located on the South Sea in 19° of elevation of the pole, and lying 90 leagues from the City of Mexico, this entire distance being settled with many villages of Indians and Spaniards. At this port they embarked, taking a southeast course until they reached a latitude of 12° and 1/2. They did this in order to find the favorable winds (which in truth they found there), those called by sailors the *brisas*, which are so favorable and steady

1 Ed. note: Transcript made by Muñoz at Seville ca. 1784 from the original ms. then owned by the Count of Aguila.

that even in the months of November, December, and January, there is seldom any necessity for touching their sails.

From this arises the so easy navigation through this sea. From this fact, and from the few storms here, this sea has been called the *Mar de Damas* ["Ladies' Sea"]. A westerly course is taken, following the sun always, upon setting out from our hemisphere. Journeying through this South Sea for forty days¹ more or less, without seeing land, at the end of that time, the islands of Velas ["Sails"], otherwise called the Ladrones, are sighted, which, seven or eight in number, extend north and south. They are inhabited by many people, as we shall now relate.

Islands of Velas, or Ladrones. These islands lie in 12° of latitude. Opinions differ as to the distance in leagues between them and the port of Acapulco, for up to the present no-one has been enabled to ascertain it with certainty, by navigation from east to west, and no-one has been able to measure the degrees [of longitude]. Some assert the distance of this voyage to be 1,700 leagues, others 1,800. The opinion of the former is held to be more nearly correct. All of these islands are inhabited by light-complexioned people, of pleasing and regular features, like those of Europe; although in their bodies they do not resemble the latter—for they are as tall as giants, and of such a great strength that it has actualy happened that one of them, while sitting on the ground, got hold of two Spaniards of good stature, seizing each of them by one foot with his hands, and lifting them thus as easily as if they were two children. Both men and women are naked from head to foot, although some of the women wear bits of deerskin of about half a yard in length, tied about the waist, for decency's sake; but those who wear them are very few compared with those who do not. The weapons used by them consist of slings, and sticks hardened by fire, both of which they throw very deftly. They live on fish, which they catch off the coast, and on wild beasts, which they kill in the mountains, pursuing them afoot.

[Sex customs]

There is in these islands the strangest custom ever seen or heard of anywhere. A time limit is imposed for the youth to marry, in accordance with their custom; and during all this period they are allowed to enter freely into the houses of the married, and to remain with the women, without receiving any punishment therefor, even if the very husbands of the women should see it. These youths carry a club in the hand, and when one enters the house of married people, he leaves this club at the door, in such a position that those arriving may easily see it. This is a sign that no-one may enter until the club is taken away, although it be the husband himself. They observe this custom so strictly that if anyone should violate it, all the others would then put him to death. None of these islands has a king, or recognized ruler, to whom the rest are subject; therefore, each person lives to suit himself.

1 Ed. note: Muñoz has noted in the margin of his transcript "52 days" instead. At the end of this transcript, he has commented that his marginal notes come from his examination of a Mendoza edition printed at Antwerp in 1596.

Between the inhabitants of certain islands and other islands¹ a state of hostility prevails, whenever occasion offers, as happened while Spaniards were in the port of the said island. At the point where the Spaniards anchored, as many as two hundred small boats filled with natives came to the ships to sell chickens, coconuts, potatoes, and other things of those islands, and to buy in exchange things carried by our men—specially iron, of which they were particularly fond, and glass articles, and other trifles. There was a great contest to see which of the canoes would reach the ship first, and their occupants came to blows, wounding each other as savagely as wild beasts, so that many died in the presence of our men. The matter was not settled until, for the sake of peace, an agreement was made among them, with many outcries that those from one island should do their buying on the port side of the vessel, and those from another island, on the starboard side. Whereupon they subsided, and bought and sold to their hearts' content. Then in payment for this good treatment, when they took their departure from us, they hurled their sticks at the ship, wounding a number of men who were on deck. But they did not boast of this, for our men instantly repaid their daring with shots from their arquebuses.

These people esteem iron more highly than silver or gold. They give in exchange for it, fruits, yams, sweet potatoes, fish, rice, ginger, chickens, and many fine and well-woven mats, and all for almost nothing.

These islands are extremely healthful and fertile, and would be very easy to win over to the faith of Christ, if, on the passage of the vessels to Manila a few religious, together with some soldiers for protection, should be left there until the next year. This would cost but a small sum.

Their rites and ceremonies are not known yet, because no-one understands their language; and it has not been possible to learn it, since no-one has been in these islands longer than while passing. According to all appearances, their language is easy to understand, for it is pronounced very distinctly. Their word for ginger is *asno*² and for "Take away that arquebus" they say *arrepeque*.³ They have no nasal or guttural words. It is understood, from some signs that we saw them make, that they are all pagans; and that they worship idols and the devil, to whom they sacrifice those of their neighbors whom they capture in war. It is believed that they are descended from the Tartars, from certain peculiarities found among them which correspond to those found in that people.

These islands extend north and south with the land of Labrador, which lies near Terra-nova [Newfoundland], and are not a great distance from Japan.⁴ It is quite safe

1 Ed. note: In this paragraph, the word "island(s)" should be interpreted as "village(s)".

2 Ed. note: Recorded as *asinor* by Rodriguez in 1565 (see Doc. 1565Q). The narrator remembered this word, probably because it sounded like the Spanish word for donkey.

3 Ed. note: *Ari pek*, or *Eri pak*, literally "No gun" or "Don't shoot".

4 An expression of the opinion, then current in Europe, that the New World was either an extension of the Asiatic continent, or separated from it only by a narrow sea.

to say that they have intercourse with the Tartars, and that they buy iron to sell it to the latter. The Spaniards who passed these islands called them the islands of Ladrones ["Thieves"]; for in sober truth all these people are thieves, and very bold ones, very deft in stealing; and in this science they might instruct the Gypsies, who wander through Europe. In verification of this, I will recount an occurrence witnessed by many Spaniards, one which caused much wonder. While a sailor was stationed, by the order of the captain, on the port side¹ of the ship, with orders to allow none to come aboard, and while he, sword in hand, was absent-mindedly looking at some of the canoes of the islanders—a sort of little boat all made of one piece, in which they sail—one of the natives plunged under the water and swam to where he was, quite unconscious of anything of the sort, and without his seeing it, snatched the sword from his hand and swam back with it. At the cry of the sailor, proclaiming the trick practiced on him by the islander, several soldiers with their arquebuses were stationed to shoot the native when he should emerge from the water. The islander, on seeing this emerged from the water, holding up his hands, and making signs that he had nothing in them. For this reason those who were on the point of shooting him refrained. After a few moments of rest, the native dived once more, and swam under water until out of range of the arquebuses, where, assured of safety, he took the sword from between his legs where he had hidden it, and commenced to make passes with it, jeering the while at our men whom he had deceived so easily. This theft, as well as many very adroit ones that they committed, has given these people the name of Ladrones, and is the reason for calling all the islands inhabited by them by the same name. This appellation is easily pardoned as long as they find opportunity to exercise their evil inclinations.

Departure from the Ladrones Islands and arrival at those of Luzon, or, as they are called also, Philippines; and the relation of some peculiarities of those islands. Chapter XII.

Island of Luzon, and city of Manila. Navigating almost 200 leagues west of the Ladrone Islands, to the channel called Espiritu Santo, one then enters the archipelago, which consists of innumerable islands, almost all inhabited by natives, and many of them conquered by the Spaniards, through either war or friendship. After sailing for 80 leagues, one reaches the city of Manila, located on the island of Luzon...²

1 Ed. note: Muñoz notes in margin; "at the bow of the ship" instead. This was a more likely place for the guard boat to have been stationed.

2 Ed. note: The remaining chapters of the Itinerary treat of the departure from Cavite for China of 7 discalced Franciscans, 3 other Spaniards and 6 natives, on 21 June 1582, of their reception in China, their imprisonment and deliverance through the intercession of the Portuguese, then the travel of the Franciscans to Lisbon via Malacca and India. Fr. Ignacio came back to Macao in 1586.

Documents 1582

Voyage of the galleon *San Martín* to the Philippines

A1. Crew list of the galleon *San Martín*, under the command of General Luis de Sahajosa

Sources: AGI 67-6-6; cited in B&R 53:257.

The document is entitled: "List of the seamen and passengers going to the Philippines aboard the galleon of his Majesty *San Martín* commanded by General Don Luis de Sahajosa; among the passengers are mentioned the Bishop of the Philippines and Jesuit Antonio Sedeño and his three companions."

A2. Letter from Fr. Sedeño to the General of the Jesuits, dated 12 June 1582

Sources: ARSJ 9, 7v; partly transcribed by Fr. Henri Bernard (see Ref. section of the Bibliography), p. 178, as follows.

At the end of the gulf [i.e. Pacific Ocean] one bumps into some islands that are about 15 or 16 in number, [aligned] north-south 10 to 12 leagues apart, which they call **La-drones**, where the ships anchor and take on the necessary refreshments for the voyage. The people of these islands (at least those of the island we visited which would be about 40 leagues in circumference [i.e. Guam]) are well-proportioned and well-featured, without any tattoos nor other uglinesses, but just as God made them. They are very merry and sociable. They show signs of understanding and of being capable of receiving our holy faith; however, I refer only to those who are at peace. They robbed our hearts and it made us sad to see their perdition and finding ourselves in the impossibility of preaching the gospel. Nevertheless, some day God will show the means of solving this problem.

When they saw us, they came out to receive us over 3 or 4 leagues at sea, aboard some small barks the size of launches with their sails made of woven palm mats (which are not less useful than those made of canvas). They sail with wonderful speed and are

so expert at handling them that, in the time [required] for [reciting] one Creed, they make the poop the prow, and go against the wind, something to marvel about. These people have a great need for things made of iron. So, upon seeing the ship, they all come out to trade for barrel hoops, which the sailors and passengers have turned into a thousand pieces. With these, they fill the ship with a thousand refreshments, such as coconuts, bananas, sweet potatoes, rice, fish, and other land products which are very good succor for whomever has been at sea for two months of sailing. These small barks are in such number that I understand there were over 300 of them that were always around us bartering for their small pieces of iron. Some went and others came, so that the sea was full of them, given that the coming of the ships from New Spain is their fair.

From there [i.e. Manila] to this island, there is about 300 leagues; now, dear Father, you can see where they were settled, but who could have shown them and brought them through this great gulf? There are other islands, even 200 leagues farther back, which are called the **Barbudos** [i.e. Marshalls] because the people there let their beard grow; they are also full of people, right in the center of the ocean.

A3. Account of Fr. Alonso Sanchez, S.J., companion of Fr. Sedeño

Sources: "Fritos de las idas...", copy in the Dominican Archives in Manila #64,503; partly transcribed by Fr. Bernard, op. cit., p. 179.

...
53. By the islands of the **Ladrones**, which are very populated and very comfortable in climate and food supplies, there pass each year some religious without any of them remaining there, although I wished to stay there on account of seeing the admirable grace and manner of the people, but everyone judged it to be a crazy thing to want to be where there is no civilian personnel. At the islands they call **Barbudos** also, other religious came but they did not do anything.¹

1 Ed. note: Fr. Alonso Sanchez, S.J., travelled to China in 1582, soon after this letter was written. He made another trip in 1584.

A4. Letter from Fr. Jerónimo de Burgos, O.S.F., to the King, dated Manila 14 June 1582

Source: Cited by Fr. Bernard, op. cit., p. 179; original source not given.

...
We stopped there just one day to take on water, and the next day we hurried to leave. It is a pity to see such a barbarian population lacking some Catholic missionaries. Nobody wants to stay there, because these poor people do not possess either gold or silver, nor the other commercial products sought after by Christians... This island has over 100,000 inhabitants, and it is the most robust of Indian races, the most awake, and has the best appearance that I believe exists in any country.¹

Note on the Gregorian calendar.

The Julian calendar had been in effect since A.D. 325, when the Council of Nice had established it. It was based on wrong astronomical assumptions which amounted to an error of 10 days at the time of its correction in 1582. This was decreed by Pope Gregory XIII in March 1582. He reformed the calendar, directing that the 5th of October in that year be reckoned as the 15th. The vernal equinox, which in the old calendar had receded to March 11, was thus restored to its true place, March 21. This "new style" calendar became known as the Gregorian calendar and is still in use today. The system upon which it is based was calculated by Luigi Lilio Ghiraldi, a learned astronomer of Naples. (From B&R 6:55)

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Bernard goes on to comment that this Franciscan eyewitness, just like his Jesuit companions, has exaggerated the favorable conditions of Guam, adding that the population of the entire archipelago never exceeded 40,000 or 60,000. Fr. Burgos was coming to the Philippines as a Visitor in 1582. Later that year, he went to China where he suffered severe persecution. In 1583, he returned to Manila by way of Macao. That same year, he returned to China, whence he went later to Malacca, and in 1587 to Spain. In 1588, he retired to the Franciscan convent at Madrid, where he died in 1593 (B&R 53:257).

Document 1583

Voyage of the *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* from Peru

Source: RAH Col. Salazar F18 (now N° 9/426), Doc. 14, folios 88-112v.

Narrative of the voyage made by Don Juan de Mendoza from the city of Lima in Peru to that of Manila in the Philippines, and to China, in the year of 1583

On the 2nd of February of the year 1583, the ship named **Nuestra Señora de la Cinta**¹ left the port of Callao of Lima to make our voyage to the Philippine Islands where it arrived after 74 days. The said voyage went without any impediment; rather, favorable weather, and 5 days of calm weather.

Having arrived with this ship at the said Philippines, we found that their Governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, had died there, and the superior government was in the hands of Diego Ronquillo. We also found the city of Manila with many hardships and needs because it had caught fire and was completely burned.

On the 20th of June of the said year, there departed from the port of Manila bound for New Spain a ship of His Majesty named **San Juan Bautista** which, while pursuing its voyage², on the eve of St. John [i.e. 23 June] was hit by such a strong storm and weather that it was [almost] lost many times, in addition to the heavy leakage made by the said ship, as well as the many broken rigging and sails of the said nao, all of this obliged to let the said nao run where the weather wished to take her.

This took us to the coast of Great China where, on the day after we arrived which was on Thursday 11 July, we discovered the coast better. It turned out that some of those going there knew the neighborhood in which we found ourselves.

1 Ed. note: The church dedicated to this Virgin, the Lady with the belt, is located in Huelva, Spain.

2 Ed. note: Northward to round the northern part of Luzon.

...
[The damaged ship was at about 60 leagues from Macao where the Portuguese were established. They were forced to go overland. They reached Canton in August and Macao on the 28th of that month. As for the **San Juan Bautista**, it was made seaworthy again, in time for Francisco Gali to use to make his voyage of discovery to New Spain in 1584.]

Documents 1584A

The voyage of the ship Mora with Governor Santiago de Vera¹

A1. Letter from Dr. Santiago de Vera, dated Acapulco, 3 March 1584

Source: AGI 67-6-18; cited in B&R 53:258.

[This letter says that he was about to leave Acapulco for the Philippines carrying with him the seal of the restored royal Audiencia of Manila.]

A2. Letter from Dr. Santiago de Vera, dated Manila, June 1584

Source: AGI 67-6-18; cited in B&R 53:258.

[This letter says that he spent 3 months to make the voyage from New Spain, that he was almost shipwrecked at the Ladrone Islands, that before he got to Manila he took port in the bay of Ibalon where he learned about the death of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo and the Manila fire of 1583.² He reports the setting up of the Audiencia and requests war supplies and some religious.]

1 Ed. note: The formal name of this ship was the Santa María de Jesús. Santiago de Vera was Governor of the Philippines for 6 years (1584-90). He had previously been a member of the Audiencias of Hispaniola and Mexico.

2 Ed. note: During the funeral of Governor Ronquillo held at the Augustinian convent, sparks from a lighted candle accidentally set fire to the building, which quickly spread to the greater part of the city.

A3. Letter from Dr. Santiago de Vera to the Archbishop of Mexico¹, dated Manila, 20 June 1585

Source: AGI 67-6-6 (Simancas—Secular, Audiencia de Filipinas, cartas y expedientes del gobernador de Filipinas vistos en el Consejo, años 1567 a 1599).

Most Illustrious Sir:

...

After having written another letter which accompanies this one, I received that of your illustrious Lordship which came in the ship **San Juan**...

Great satisfaction was felt in this country that the ship **Mora** arrived [back] so miraculously at port.² The death of the crew, I assure your Lordship, was not for lack of supplying themselves here with the necessaries for the voyage; for although but little time was spent in despatching the ship, I exercised much diligence in seeing that more men and provisions were shipped than is customary. There are things that our Lord permits; since it was His will that they should die, it was an instance of His great clemency.³

...

I appreciate greatly the favor which your illustrious Lordship has done me, by the favorable and prompt despatch of these ships.⁴

...

Although I have tried to despatch the ships here with all haste, I am informed by sailors who understand the matter that it is not safe to send them out until the 20th or 25th of June. The weather is not settled until then, and they usually put into a harbor during the bad weather. Nevertheless, henceforth I will have them sail from here in the middle of June, in order that there shall not be the inconveniences to which your Lordship refers.

...

Your illustrious Lordship commands me to observe the orders given to **Francisco Gali** about the discovery of the route from these ports toward New Spain. I will keep your Lordship's commands to the letter, and will try to advise you soon, although the

-
- 1 His name was Pedro de Moya y Contreras who had come to Mexico in 1571 as Chief Inquisitor for the Holy Office; in 1584, he became Viceroy of New Spain for one year, until the arrival of his successor Villamanrique. He returned to Spain in 1586 and died in 1591, while he was President of the Council of the Indies.
 - 2 Ed. note: The port of Acapulco at the end of 1584. Wagner (Spanish Voyages, p. 131) mentions that the full name of this ship was Santa María de Jesús, and Mora was but her nickname. He gives as a reference Archbishop Moya's letter of 8 May 1585, in AGI 60-4-1.
 - 3 Ed. note: Wagner, op. cit. mentions that the Moya crawled into Acapulco on 29 February 1585, after a 7-month voyage, dismasted and having lost her captain, pilot, master, and 56 sailors and passengers, almost all from scurvy. As for the San Martin which had left Manila at the same time, it had reached Acapulco on 15 December 1584.
 - 4 Ed. note: In the spring of 1585, two ships had been despatched from Acapulco: the San Martin, and the San Juan (Bautista).

ship **San Juan** is of no use, as it is worm-eaten and old. I shall have carpenters examine it, and if it will not serve, I shall have them inspect the ships which I have here, to see if any are fit, and to avoid the expense and delay.

...

Although there are facilities in this country for making ships of all kinds, and the best yet built has not exceeded in cost 6,000 pesos—and many private individuals would after this engage in it for the sake of profit if they could maintain the industry—yet the expenses incurred with the necessary complement of sailors and workmen, can be sustained only by the King. The greatest difficulty is in the bringing of the anchors and rigging from Veracruz. Your illustrious Lordship knows from experience what it costs His Majesty to transport sailors to Mexico, from there to these islands, and from here to the port of Acapulco; and the expense of overhauling the ship, and of keeping it there a winter. Therefore, although I wish to aid Captain Esteban Rodriguez [de Figueroa] in the despatch of the ship he has built, I do not know if it can depart hence for lack of men. It is hard to find them; for, although a large number of sailors usually come here from New Spain to bring the ships here, they are all needed on the return. They bring here the frigates and vessels which convey hither aid and means of defence for this land, and take back the provisions and other supplies needed in the King's service. Nevertheless, I shall do everything possible for the said captain.

...

The artillery which I brought [in 1584] returned in the ships **Mora** and **San Martin** [in 1584]; and because the ship **Santa Ana** is of such importance, I ordered three excellent pieces of bronze artillery to be placed on board besides powder and ammunition.¹ In order that we may not suffer from the lack of artillery in giving this, I beseech your illustrious Lordship to have the artillery returned in the same ship **Santa Ana**, as the Japanese have commenced to show signs of hostility, and it is not desirable that they or other pirates should make light of our power.

...

May our Lord watch over the illustrious person of your Lordship and may the prosperity of your house increase as we your servants desire.

Manila, 20 June 1585.

Illustrious Lord,

Your servant and client kisses the hands of your illustrious Lordship.

Doctor Santiago de Vera.

1 Ed. note: The galleon Santa Ana was making her maiden voyage to Acapulco that year, 1585.

Documents 1584B

Francisco Gali's voyage of 1584 and Pedro de Unamuno's voyage of 1587, in search of islands of gold and silver

Sources: Wagner's Spanish Voyages to the Northwest, Chapter VII, has given a full bibliographical note; Gali's diary of the 1584 voyage is not to be found in the archives of Spain, probably because it was a Mexican project of Archbishop Moya, the future Viceroy; it is no longer extant. It is presumed that when Gali died at Manila in 1585, Unamuno brought this diary to Macao, where it somehow got into the hands of some Dutchman and was conveyed to Linschoten who was then living in Goa. Linschoten translated Gali's diary into Dutch, in his Reysgheschrift (Amsterdam, 1595) which was translated into English in J. Huighen Van Linschoten's Discourse of Voyages to the East and West Indies (London, J. Wolfe, 1598), Book 3, chap. 54, as quoted by Captain Burney in his Vol. 1, chap. 3; this was re-published by Hakluyt under Foreign Voyages, in 1600, as part of his Principal Voyages and Navigations. Other pertinent sources quoted below.

Gali apparently went to Manila aboard the San Martin in 1582

Source: Richard Hakluyt's The Foreign Voyages, pp. 290- 291.¹

The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle [sic] a Spanish Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of New Spaine, to the Islands of the Luçones or Philippinas, unto the Haven of Manilla, & from thence to the Haven of Macao in China, and from Macao backe againe to Acapulco, accomplished in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

¹ Ed. note: As for Captain Burney, he summarizes this story thus: "Francisco Gali sailed from Acapulco on March the 10th, 1582, and steered WSW to the latitude of 16°N., and afterwards West and W by S, till they made the southernmost of the Ladrone Islands, from whence he proceeded to the Philippines, and afterwards to Macao. He sailed from Macao, on his return to New Spain, July the 24th, 1584.

Chap. I.

The tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee set sayle out of the haven of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our course towards the Islands of Luçones, or Philippinas West Southwest, running in that maner for the space of twentie five leagues, till wee came under sixteene degrees, that so wee might shunne the calmes by sayling close by the shoare. From thence forward we held our course West for the space of 30 leagues, & being there, we ran West, and West & by South, for the space of 1800 leagues, to the land called Isla de Enganno [i.e. Guam], which is the furthest Iland lying in the South parts of ye Ilands called **De los Ladrones**, that is, The Ilands of rovers, or Islas de las Velas, under 13. degrees and 1/2. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, upon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Terçera [in the Azores]. From thence we helde our course Westward for the space of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Espirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghost, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the first Iland of those that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with some mines of brimstone in the middle thereof...

Gali's voyage of discovery in the northern Pacific in 1584

Sources: Portuguese translation of Gali's diary in the Portuguese archives in Lisbon; translated into English by E. W. Dahlgren, in his Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, Stockholm, 1916; copied by Wagner, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

[Gali left Macao in July aboard the San Juan Bautista, with Alonso Gomez as pilot, three Portuguese, a Chinese Christian, and goods from Macao. He went by Formosa, through the Okinawa chain, parallel to Japan sailing E by N and eventually reaching the coast of California in 37-1/2°. No new discovery was made. With regards to the possible existence of the Strait of Anian, all he said was that "I also saw a great number of whales, tunny, mackerel, and bonitos, fishes which usually haunt straits and currents, where they spawn; from which I concluded that it was a strait."]

Fr. Aguirre gives some substance to the mythical islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata by linking them with the Armenian Islands east of Japan

Sources: Letter from Fr. Andrés de Aguirre, O.S.A., to Archbishop and Viceroy Moya, undated but written late 1584 or early 1585, in AGI 58-3-16; published in Francisco Carrasco y Suisasola in his Documentos referentes al reconocimiento de las costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino (Madrid, 1882); translated by George Butler Griffin in the Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California (Los Angeles, 1891, Part I, Vol. II); reproduced in Wagner, op. cit. pp. 136-137.

Illustrious Sir:

May the Holy Spirit ever dwell in the soul of your illustrious Lordship. The discovery that your Lordship orders to be made in order to understand the disposition of the coast, ports, and the qualities of the land and its people, that up to this time have been seen to the west of New Spain in the South Sea, as well as to continue the exploration of that coast and land from 41° forward, is very important and necessary for the return of the ships from the Philippine Islands and all parts of the west, and to find out and know the disposition and quality of the land and its people and of the islands near that coast which are understood to be of great importance. Although the ships which come from the west each year to Acapulco sight that coast and travel more than 500 leagues in sight of it, it is not known up to this time what ports or places of shelter it has. It is very essential to know this so that the ships which come in need of a place to repair, after having sailed 2,000 leagues without stopping in any port, can stop for repair and the provision of their necessities. It is of no lesser importance to pursue the exploration of that coast beyond 41° in order to find out its secrets, because it is considered certain that it is continental with the coast of China, unless a narrow strait they call Anian divides them, which according to the notices, is in lat. 52°, the farthest discovery of the coast of China.¹

In that region and in that which lies between the islands of Japan and the farthest discovery on our coast there are very rich islands, thickly populated with a civilized people, according to Father Fray Urdaneta who had a report from a Portuguese captain.² I saw and read this report while he and I were going to Spain to give an account to His Majesty of the success of the first journey that we made by his order, in which the Philippine Islands were discovered and settled [in 1565], and the navigation to them and the return from them to New Spain was revealed. The Father gave this story to His Majesty and I took a copy of it and kept it until leaving Spain in this [1584 Atlantic] fleet [when] the ship in which I came was lost and in it was lost the report and all it carried, and what His Majesty had granted and given me. That which the notice contained, in brief, is the following:

A Portuguese ship sailed from Malacca bound for the Japan Islands and loaded in Canton Chinese merchandise. Arriving in sight of Japan a west storm arose, so strong that the ship could not make those islands. She ran eight days before it cleared up and they caught sight of two large islands. They anchored in a good port at one of these, in which there was a large city enclosed by a strong wall. There were many large and medium-size ships in the port. Soon after they arrived in port many well-dressed and well-mannered people went to the ship, displaying much friendliness to those on board. Learning that they were merchants, the lord of that island and city sent word to the captain that he and those of his people whom he wished might land without any

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- 1 Ed. note: Wagner notes, with reason, that Fr. Aguirre did not realize that the maps of the area, at that time, were purely imaginary.
 - 2 Ed. note: Dahlgren thought it was a report by the Portuguese Captain Diogo da Freitas of the European discovery of Japan (Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, Uppsala edition of 1917, p. 67).

misgiving that he might affront them; he even offered a good reception and told him he might bring a list of the goods he had in his ship as they would barter and trade to his satisfaction. The captain communicated this to his people and determined to send the clerk of the ship to the city with the list of the goods, and two traders, one a Portuguese and the other an Armenian who lived in Malacca.

The lord of the land received them in his home, which was large and well built, and treated them with much liberality. Understanding by signs that the land was abundant and rich in silver and other things such as silk and cloth, the clerk and the Portuguese trader returned to the ship in order to bring the goods to a house they give him for that purpose. The Armenian remained with the lord of the island, being treated with much hospitality, until the goods having been landed, and a great number of people coming with a great quantity of silver to barter, in a little more than 30 days they sold all their goods, making a great and rich profit, so that they all became very rich and loaded their ship with silver.

While they were in the islands they learned that the lord of the island was lord of the other one which was in sight 4 leagues away, and of others near them, all rich in silver and thickly populated. The people were white, well built, well mannered, and well dressed in silk and fine cotton clothes, and were affectionate and affable. The language is different from that of the Chinese and Japanese and easy to learn because in less than the 40 days that the Portuguese were on that island they understood the natives. These islands abound in good food, rice which is the bread they use, fowls like ours in great plenty, tame ducks and many pigs, goats, buffaloes, deer and wild boars, various kinds of birds and fowls, various kinds of fish, and a great abundance of fruit of different kinds. The climate of the island is very good and healthful. These islands are in 35° to 40°. The longitude from Japan to them could not be learned because of their having run before the storm and on account of the weather being dark, but they sailed from Japan to the east.

Having finished their barter they returned to Malacca, giving them the name "Islas del Armenio" on account of the Armenian trader who was very highly regarded among the people of the ship.¹

1 Ed. note: In the light of our modern knowledge of the North Pacific, there is no reason not to believe that the Portuguese ship had simply reached one of the Lequios, i.e. the Riu-kiu or Okinawa Islands.

The voyage of Pedro de Unamuno in 1587

Sources: AGI 1-1-3/25; published in facsimile in Wagner, op. cit., pp. 481 et seq., and translated by him in pp. 141 et seq. The translation of the excerpt below is mine.

Preliminary note.

The Viceroy accepted Gali's proposal, and Fr. Aguirre's endorsement, for a second voyage of discovery to the east of Japan. He gave Gali 10,000 pesos for a refit of the ship **San Juan Bautista** in the Philippines. This ship, in company with the **San Martin**, departed from Acapulco on 25 March 1585 and arrived at Manila in June. Gali soon died after this and Governor Vera appointed Unamuno to pursue the commission and ordered a ship to be built to replace the **San Juan Bautista** which needed some heavy overhauling. It was not until the second half of 1586 that Unamuno left Manila with a ship and a frigate, bound for Macao. His vessels were seized by the Portuguese but he was able to buy another frigate, named the **Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza** [Our Lady of Good Hope] for this voyage eastward to Acapulco. He was accompanied by the same Alonso Gomez as pilot, a few soldiers and Filipino sailors but his most important passenger was the same Father Martin Ignacio de Loyola who had returned to the Far East in 1586 but had been prevented from becoming a missionary to China by rival Portuguese religious, even those of his own order.

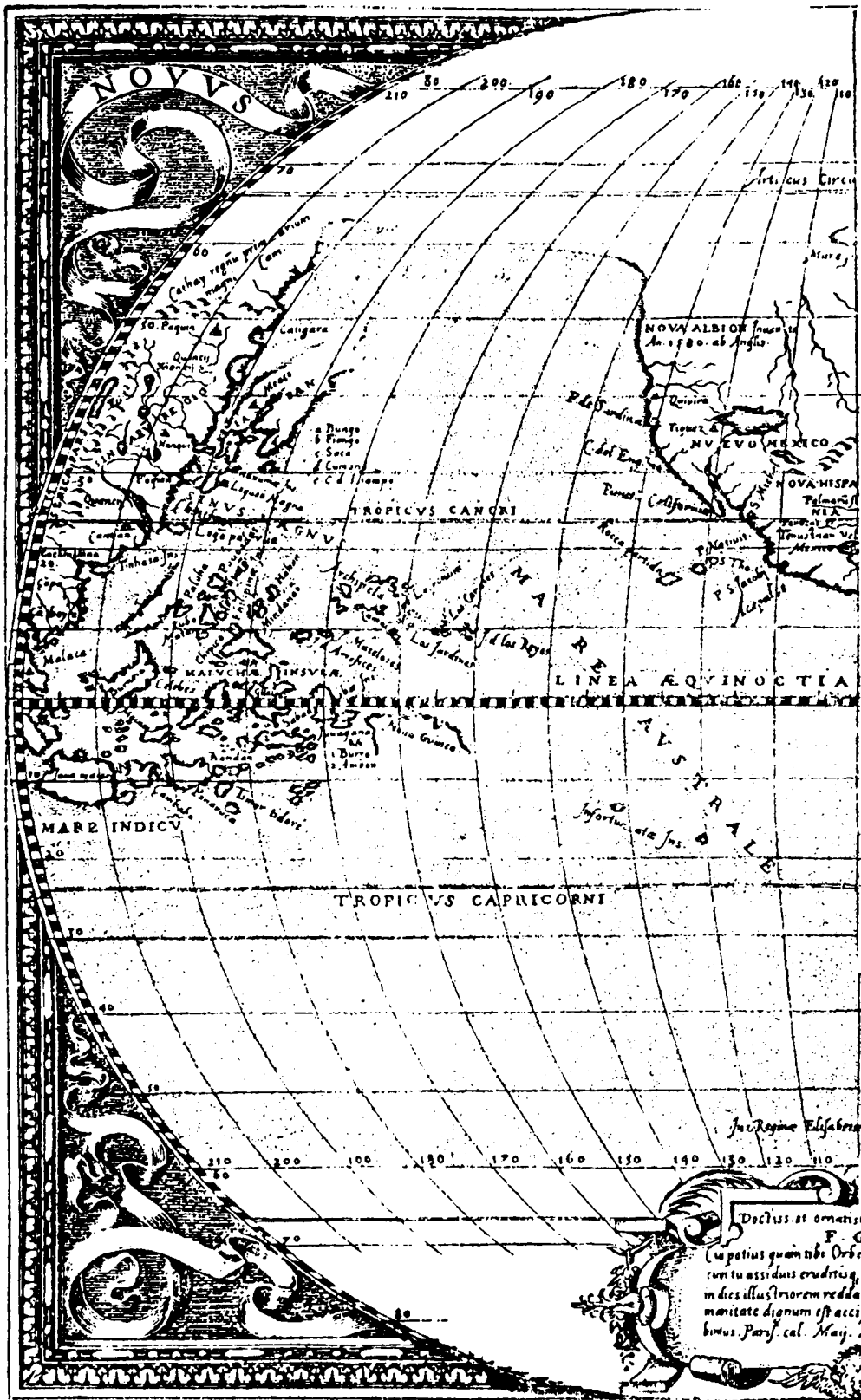
Narrative of the voyage and navigation that Captain Pedro de Unamuno made from the island of Macarena which is one league south of the city of Macarena¹ in the frigate named **Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza** and the major events of the voyage are as follows.

Firstly, I left the said island of Macarena on Sunday 12 July at about noon and I headed ESE for 12 leagues and at about 11 at night found myself just beyond Leme Island, which is off the islands of Macao in 22-1/2°.

From this Leme Island a course was taken for the Babuyanes, steering E by S and, after having covered 96 leagues along the said heading, on Thursday 16th of the month of July, at about noon, those Babuyanes Islands were sighted. The sun was taken in just under 20-1/2°. ² These islands were sighted while we were running on this heading because the compass had an easterly variation of nearly one point; so, we applied the required correction.

1 Ed. note: On the China coast near Macao.

2 Ed. note: At this latitude, the islands in question are the northern Babuyanes, since called the Batanes.



[Discovery of the Northern Daito Islands]

From these Babuyanes Islands we took a course for an island which on some sea charts is labelled **Rica de Oro** [= Rich in Gold] at some 450 leagues from these Babuyanes, heading ENE—WSW, as it is in a latitude of 29° up to over 31°. Running with variable winds toward the said island, I sailed for 12 days on various headings and, on the 28th of the said month of July, we sighted **two small islands**. Each had about three leagues in circumference and were separated by about one league and a half. They are situated N—S 1/4 NE—SW¹ in a latitude of 25-1/2° at which the sun was taken that day. We sailed around them and looked at them but did not find any port in them, nor any trees or signs of having any water. Rather, it was understood by the visual inspection that was made of them that they are of no use for anything, so that they were given the name of [Islas] **Sin Provecho** [= Useless Islands].²

From these islands that same evening the course was taken for the Island of **Rica de Oro** which in the previous chapter has been said to be 330 leagues E—W 1/4 NE—SW [i.e. E by N] from these islands and whose southern point is in latitude of 29° and its northern point almost 31-1/2°, according to its position on some charts.

We did reach that position on Wednesday 19 August, and being in the said latitude, the said island was sought east and west and along other headings as necessary and every effort was made but the said island could not be found, so that it is understood not to exist.³

(Facing page) **Half of a map of the New World published by Hakluyt in 1587. After Drake's visited northern California, which he called Nova Albion as recorded on this map, cartographers realized the immensity of the Pacific Ocean and the lack of connection between the Asian and American continents, although the mythical Strait of Anian was sought for some time thereafter. (From the 1587 Paris edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*)**

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- 1 Ed. note: That is, the northern island is N by E of the southern one.
 - 2 Ed. note: To the east of Okinawa, at some 200 leagues ENE of the Batanes, at a position of about 26°N and 131°E, are two islands lined up as described here. Now called the Kita-Daito group by their Japanese owners, they were formerly called the Oagari Islands, the northern one being called Kita-Oagari and the southern one Minami-Oagari.
 - 3 Ed. note: There is nothing at that position 7° north of Marcus Island, anywhere near 30°N and 155°E.

From this latitude of 31°-32° the course was taken to the ENE in search of another island which is placed on some charts and is called **Rica de Plata** [= Rich in Silver] and from the one they call Rica de Oro and its latitude, 60 leagues, by steering ENE, it is located, according to the charts and its latitude on the charts is in 33° to 34° from its southern to its northern point. We reached this latitude¹ on Saturday 22 August and looked for it east and west and made all possible efforts but it could not be found, reason for which it must be non-existent, although someone on hearsay insisted on having it placed on his chart.

On Sunday 23 August in the evening, we changed our course to go in search of the islands they call the **Armenian Islands** which, according to their placement on some charts, are 20 leagues from the above-said island of Rica de Plata, whose relative position is NE—SW in a latitude of 34° to 35-1/3°. We reached this latitude on Wednesday 26 August and it was carefully looked for but in spite of all the efforts made it could not be found; it is understood not to exist.

From the latitude of the Armenian Island, according to those who say it exists, that is, 35-1/3°, we took our course to E by N and ENE bound for the land of New Spain...

...
We did not visit the Lequios [Riu-kiu] Islands, Japan nor the Pescadores³ as these countries had been explored; besides, the ship was small and carried no guns, the men aboard were few in number, and the people of Japan are numerous and warlike, possessing ships and artillery with which to attack and to defend themselves.

From the Babuyanes, in just under 20-1/2°, to the Port of San Lucas⁴, which has now been discovered in just over 35-1/2°, we sailed 1,890 leagues on various headings as the weather permitted, although on a straight course it would be about 1,550 leagues...

On 12 November, at the mouth of the Port of Valle de Banderas in latitude 21° plus, near Cabo de Corrientes, we met a launch out of the port, which by order of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, was patrolling the coast to warn the ships from China [i.e. from Manila] that the English corsair⁵ was on the coast and to advise them of the damage he had done, and that he was then careening his ship in the port of Mazatlan.

...
We entered the port of Acapulco on Sunday 22 November, whence we wrote Your Excellency and reported the details of the events and hardships of the voyage.

Pedro de Unamuno.

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- 1 Ed. note: There is nothing at the approximate position of 33-1/2°N and 159°E.
 - 2 Ed. note: The ship reached the California coast on 17 October 1587 at a latitude of 35-1/2°N. Unamuno landed at a suitable place and his party got into trouble with the local Indians.
 - 3 Ed. note: Islands off the coast of China.
 - 4 Ed. note: Now known as Morro Bay, according to Wagner.
 - 5 Ed. note: This was Cavendish who, two days later, was to capture the **Santa Ana**. The English date, old style, was 4 November.

Document 1587

The galleon San Martin ends up wrecked at Macao and a small ship makes it to Manila in 1587

Sources: Fr. Diego Aduarte's Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores..., Manila, 1640; 2nd ed., Zaragoza, 1693 and 3rd ed., 2 volumes, Madrid, 1962-63. Synopsized in B&R 30:128-130.

The history of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary

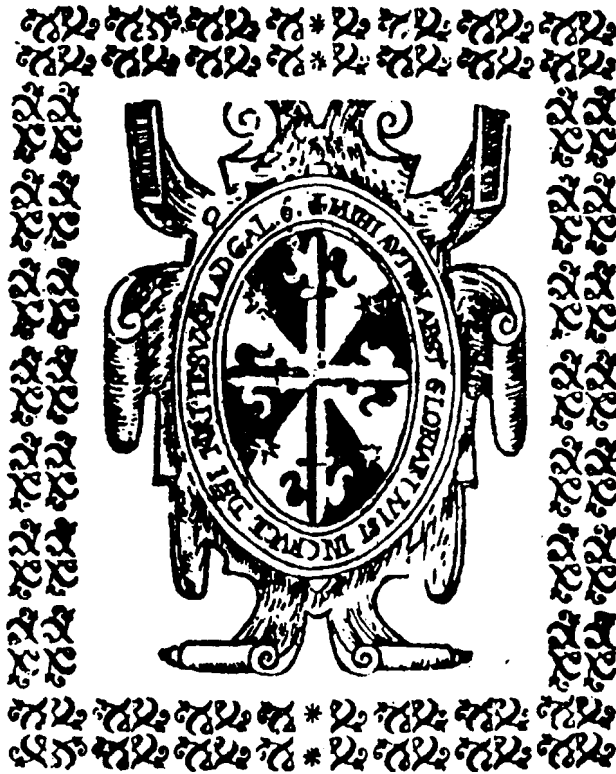
Chapter 8. The voyage of the Fathers from Mexico to the Philippines.

[Synopsis: The three brethren destined for China set sail from the port of Acapulco for Macao in a ship called the **San Martin**. The other 15 religious began their voyage on the Sunday called Quasimodo, the Sunday after Easter, 6 April, in the year 1587. It was very late in the year, so that there was danger of storms; for the time of the *vendavals* had come—stormy and contrary winds, which are feared greatly by the best pilots. They had the misfortune to lose their ship-stores by spoilage¹, and were obliged to live on beans and chick-peas for all the rest of the voyage, which lasted three and a half months. But a much more severe affliction was the narrowness of their quarters in the ship; for two factions broke out among the crew, one party fortifying itself in the forecastle, the other in the poop; and they were about to give battle to each other, as if the one party had been Moors and the other Christians. Fortunately, the Fathers succeeded in reconciling them. The carelessness of the navigators almost caused the ship to be lost on one occasion; on another, the vessel was almost lost on some islands

¹ Ed. note: Henry B. Lathrop, who synopsized the original text for the B&R series, wrongly says that the goods were lost by fire; he simply misread the word “luego” for “fuego.”

HISTORIA DE LA PROVINCIA DEL SANCTO ROSARIO DE LA ORDEN DE PREDICADORES EN PHILIPPINAS, IAPON, Y CHINA.

POR EL REVERENDISSIMO DON FRAY DIEGO
 Duarte Obispo de la Nueva Segovia. Añadida por el muy Reverendo
 Padre Fray Domingo Goçalez Comissario del sancto Officio,
 y Regente del Colegio de Sancto Thomas de la
 misma Provincia.



CONLICENCIA, EN MANILA
 En el Colegio de Sãcto Thomas, por Luis
 Beltran impressor de libros. Año de 1640.

inhabited by cannibals. On the eve of St. Magdalen's Day [i.e. 21 July] they reached port; and they took this saint to be patron of that province.]

Full translation of Chapter 8: Of the voyage made by the founding Fathers from Mexico to the Philippines.

The happy day finally arrived and as luck would have it, it fell upon the feast day of the glorious apostle Matthew, in the year of 1587. The religious who were to pass to the Philippines had gathered and, with a quick and devoted spirit, they offered themselves once again to the Lord, prepared to begin their journey and face its hardships, which were many. However, as they were used to it, they had by then lost fear of it and even relished the prospect because they are usually borne by the Lord and transformed into happiness and consolation, even in this valley of tears, since the Lord cannot contain His favors and rewards when He sees His very own in the middle of hardships and tribulations arm themselves with patience, resigned to His divine will and not wanting nor pretending anything else other than what the Lord would send them, given that, as a Father, He loves them and, being wise and almighty, He knows what is best for them and He sends it to them. They had a large experience of it all; therefore, without fear of great hardships about which they had been told existed along the way, at sea and overland, they prepared to cover the distance and to sail.

They were only sorry to have to leave behind Father Juan Crisóstomo, who was the one who had worked the hardest at this foundation, as it was said earlier, and he was even more sorry to stay. However, the Lord had him so crippled in bed that he could not even move his arms to carry his own food to his mouth, so, he then had to stay, and Brother Juan Deza, who had to serve him and keep him company. Fr. Juan Cobo also stayed, in order to conclude some important business that he had begun and because the Lord, as was seen earlier, with a very special providence, was reserving him for greater things not then understood by men. He demonstrated his good spirit by accompanying them as far as Acapulco¹ which is at the end of 80 leagues of a very bad road; the following year [1588] he embarked for his new province, and not alone, but well accompanied, as will be mentioned later.

The religious arrived at the port of Acapulco during Lent, a time during which the neglectful ones are revived in the service of God and the pious ones take advantage, as these Fathers did by transforming the hospital, where like poor people they had found some cells, into a very religious convent, giving a good example to the others with the rigor of their persons. They preached and heard the confessions of those who had to embark, attracting them to deal truly with the things of the soul, in spite of the many dealings and bothers that appear at such times and that men drag behind them, so much so that, busy as they are with material things, commerce and ship-stores, they forget

1 Ed. note: Fr. Manuel Ferrero, the editor of the 3rd edition mentions the fact that the word Acapulco (in a Mexican dialect, no doubt, perhaps in Nahuatl) means "the mouth of Hell" because of the extreme heat.

the main thing which is what pertains to the soul, and they have a need for people such as they to wake them up.

At that time there were two ships ready to sail; one of them, called the **San Martín**, was going to Macao, a Portuguese port and city on the mainland of China. It was a wonderful opportunity to send aboard it some religious to found there a house and to try an entry into China, whose door did not appear as closed as they had been led to believe. To this effect, the Father Vicar-General ordered the following to embark aboard that ship: Father Antonio de Arcediano, who was going as Prelate of that Mission, and Fathers Alonso Delgado and Bartolomé López, few in number but very well prepared in religion, letters and prudence.

They set sail during Easter week and, once at Macao, they gave so many proofs of their abilities that they gained the goodwill of everyone very easily and they founded a house named after their province, Nuestra Señora del Rosario. They would have founded many in China, if those who should have helped them had not prevented them from doing so, as will be mentioned later.

The other ship was going to the Philippines and aboard it embarked the Father Vicar General with the rest of the religious, 15 in all.¹ They set sail on the Sunday of Quasimodo, which is the Sunday after Easter, which was on the 6th of April of that year, a very late date, reason for which a not too successful voyage could be feared, since, toward the end of the navigation, they had to run a long way among islands and the *vendavals* which are very brisk and contrary winds would have begun to blow, causing great storms, feared even by the greatest pilots. However, they were not feared by those who sail for God; to them, prosperity and adversity are both converted into good and are taken advantage of, as the Apostle said.

Thus, although the weather was threatening storms, they embarked happy and with slightly better accommodation than in the previous navigation [from Spain to New Spain]. Very soon this happiness was attacked by hardships of major proportion that happened. For instance, the same thing happened to them as to the rest of the people aboard, as all the food supplies were later spoiled and they had to make do with only beans and chick-peas the whole time that the voyage lasted. If only that had happened, it would not have been so painful to bear but, although they were trained to suffer great privations, made willingly when they had other foods at hand and would thus suffer this need easily, when they saw others making do, they had not been trained for any of that.

What afflicted them most, and with reason, was the little peace aboard the ship, given that, for the slightest things, two of the leaders aboard were opposed to each other, in

1 Ed. note: From the list of the first Dominican missionaries given earlier in the book, they were: Father Superior Juan de Castro, Fr. Alonso Ximenez, Fr. Miguel de Benavides, Fr. Pedro Bolaños, Fr. Bernardo Navarro, Fr. Diego de Soria, Fr. Juan de Castro (the nephew of the Superior), Fr. Marcos de San Antonio, Fr. Juan Maldonado, Fr. Juan de Ormaça, Fr. Pedro de Soto, Fr. Juan de la Cruz, Fr. Gregorio de Ochoa, Br. Domingo de Nieva (a deacon), and Br. Pedro Rodriguez (a lay brother).

such a way that they formed the ship crew into two bands, one fortifying himself with his gang on the quarter deck, the other with his followers in the forecastle. They were many times about to come to blows and fight one another, as if they were Moors against Christians, without the good advices and exhortations of the religious being able to stop anything between the ones and the others until, by leaving these inexorable men, they dealt this matter with God in prayer, and were heard better by Him and taken care of. The bands composed with each other and all became friends, the Lord having been touched by the many tears the religious had shed about this matter in His presence. With such tears they also pacified the ire of God who, having seen so much discord among them and that they paid little heed to His divine justice and to the just intermediaries who were trying to pacify them, threatened twice to send the ship to the bottom of the sea. The first time was in the middle of the sea, when they were all carefree, sailing without any caution, and with a good wind. The ship was about to hit a rock, unknown before, and that was why it was not indicated on the sea chart. So, they were not on the lookout for it, as they are now. Then, they were going very close to it when Father Miguel de Benavides saw it first, as he was apart from the others and praying by the side of the ship. As he could not tell whether it was a rock or a whale, he hailed a sailor and the latter then shouted that they should move off. This was done urgently but, no matter the diligence they gave, they came so close to it that the side of the ship almost brushed against it. Everyone saw it and everyone was left stunned and they did not stop giving thanks to God, attributing the danger in which they had been to the gangs they had formed, and the favor that the Lord had given them to the holiness of the religious in their company, on account of whom the Lord had forgiven the rest of them, as he had forgiven those who had accompanied St. Paul, while sailing to Rome, by making them arrive at Malta.

The other time was among the Philippine Islands themselves, where they went through three storms. Suffice to say that they were upon the land and among islands for those who know the sea to realize how dangerous they can be. However, one of them was so terrible that it took both topmasts and the mast they call mizzen and the foresail, leaving the ship with only the mainsail; hence, without the help of the others, the ship did not steer well and the force of the wind was so terrible that it was taking it toward some reefs where it would necessarily have broken up into pieces and all would have perished. In such a case, even though some could have escaped by swimming, which is rendered more difficult by such a storm, they would not have escaped with their life for all that, because the land belonged to some cannibalistic Indians, mortal enemies of the Spanish, and they would have finished them off upon seeing them.

When the crew saw that they were in such a great distress, the same necessity forced them to return to God, and, with the best devotion they could muster, they made a vow to make a procession with flagellation upon arriving ashore, if the Lord would have the blood flow. The Lord heard them, like a Father, and against all hope, with only the mainsail they had the ship moved off, went out of danger and filled them with happiness. The next day, there came a propitious wind and with it they entered into the bay

of Manila, which is the main city in the islands, inured to hardships and dangers. But, much favored by the Lord and thankful, they complied with their vow, having forgotten all the rivalries and enmities they had had. To bring out the good the Lord usually sends the hardships. May He be blessed forever.

On the eve of the glorious St. Magdalen they arrived at the port and the religious dressed themselves with the habits made with serge in Mexico which they had brought for use in the new Province. As someone who had put on a poorer habit in order to begin a reformation, on that day they wanted to partake of the favor of this glorious saint, who has so particularly favored our Order in so many occasions, by naming us her friars and by offering herself as our only Patroness; so, they elected her as such and she has remained so since that day, which was the first day the religious got there and they have always received and continue to receive great favors from this glorious saint in the preaching of the Gospel, from someone who was also a preacher and apostle.

Chapter 9. The voyage and experience of the brethren who went to Macao.

[Synopsis: As it was the principal intention, in establishing this new province, to promulgate the Holy Gospel in the great kingdom of China, the Fathers who were sent there were distinguished for sanctity and learning. Of the voyage we know only that the vessel was wrecked on the coast of China, and that they escaped to land as if by miracle. They were not treated with the severity usually shown to foreigners who come to or are lost on the coast of China; but were kindly received by one of the chief men, who had observed their devotion. They did not obtain permission to carry on the work of evangelization in China, but went on to Macao and were thence carried to India. Father Antonio Arcediano taught theology, and was highly regarded in Goa. At different times, he sent his two companions to Spain and to Rome to plead the cause of Macao, and to do what they could to establish the preaching of the Gospel in China. At the end of six years, seeing no hope of what he desired, he returned to Spain, and there became a teacher of theology in the University of Salamanca. He afterwards went to Avila, and died there. The order did not succeed at this time in entering China by way of Macao; but finally, the desired entry to China was obtained by way of Hermosa [i.e. Taiwan].]

...

1 Ed. note: In a letter dated Manila, 24 June 1590, taken from Retana's *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, Bishop Domingo de Salazar, O.P., was to report about "the kind reception given in the province of Chincheo to a ship which the Viceroy then governing New Spain sent to Macao, and whose captain was Lope de Palacios, the brother of the auditor Palacios, member of the Audiencia of Mexico. This ship was driven to Chincheo under stress of weather, and there everyone in her was well received, when the inhabitants of Chincheo learned that they were coming to trade in China."

Document 1588A

Letter from Governor Vera to the King, dated Manila 26 June 1588

Source: AGI 67-6-6; translated in B&R 7:52-63.

News of Cavendish, the English pirate

Sire:

In the past year of '87, I sent your Majesty an account of the condition of this land, by the usual route, and also one by way of India. As the voyage is so uncertain and dangerous, another duplicate is sent herewith; and I beg your Majesty to have it examined, as it is important for your service.

On the 27th of February of this year, I had news from the Pintados [i.e. Visaya] Islands that, on the 7th¹ of the said month, at one of the islands about 80 leagues south of Luçon, an English ship had been seen. With their small boat they had seized a Spanish sailor who was coasting along carelessly in a small bark. He did not flee from the enemy, as he took them to be Spaniards and friends; for it is unusual for ships from England to come here. Next day the English learned that a galleon of your Majesty was being built in the shipyard of Caigoan on the island of Panay. An attempt was made to land troops for the purpose, as is supposed, of burning it; but it was defended by some carpenters and caulkers who were working thereon. By this it may be inferred that the enemy carried but a small force. After this resistance, the enemy went to Mindanao, leaving on an islet in their course the mariner whom they had taken prisoner. From him I ascertained the fresh destruction planned for this country. He says that several Spaniards, who were his fellow-prisoners on the English ship, told him that your Majesty's galleon **Santa Ana** had been captured near California, a country on the mainland which is continuous with New Spain. The galleon left this port in June of the past year, '87; and as no other ships but ours have ever been sighted on this voyage, which is through such remote regions, they have always sailed with little or no artillery, and with

1 Ed. note: The English date would have been 28 January.

as little fear from corsairs as if they were on the river of Seville. Thus the English easily captured the galleon, plundered and burned it, and hanged a canon of our church. The other persons were sent in a small boat to land, where it is believed that some of them have died of starvation and hardships. From this galleon there was plundered a thousand marks of registered gold, and there must have been as large a sum unregistered, 22-1/2 arrobas of musk, an abundance of civet, and many pearls, and the richest of silks and brocades.

At this capture, the enemy took with them [from the *Santa Ana*] several skilful mariners and a pilot, to guide them to these islands, The captive mariner knew these men, and in conversation with them he learned what I have related. This ship left England with two others, and plundered 16 ships off the coast of Peru. One of the three was lost; the remaining two captured the said galleon **Santa Ana**, and came to these islands. They were separated in a storm, and only this one arrived.¹ It brought about 50 men, most of them pilots. This mariner noticed that this vessel carried 25 pieces of bronze, and cast-iron artillery, and much ammunition. The ship is small, of about 150 tons, staunch and well fitted. There is no doubt that they have plundered more than a million [pesos] worth of gold, pearls, musk, civet, and rich merchandise, which all belonged [to merchants] in New Spain. The Spaniards there would have been diligent in pursuing this corsair; but, as I received information so late, and the enemy only reconnoitered here, without remaining at any place, to inform them would have done no good. I sent word to the Moluccas, whither it seems the enemy directed his course, to the captain general and to the sea-captains who might be there with their galleons; also to the petty kings friendly to your Majesty, and to the fort at Amboina—where it is understood this corsair is going to spend the winter and repair his ship. Captain Francisco is at an island of that archipelago called Jula, near either Macassar or Japara. I advised the sending of a message to him, and the exercise of diligence, as they have greater facility for obtaining news there on account of the many ships which are usually near at hand. And I advised them to follow the Englishman and ascertain where he was going to winter; for it was impossible to return immediately to his own country, because the weather began to be contrary.

It would be necessary to pass out through Sunda and other straits, of which the Portuguese are warned; and there it would be easy to await him and cut off his passage, as they hold him so closely. This account was given by a sailor—a native of this land—who was seized in the galleon, and carried away by the Englishman. He escaped at the mouth of the channel of these islands, and I have kept him here with me. His declarations accompany this letter.²

The first time when this galleon **Santa Ana** sailed from here [i.e. 1585], I sent by her some artillery removed from your Majesty's forts, in order to provide greater security.

1 Ed. note: The ship *Content* disappeared and only the flagship *Desire* made it across the Pacific and back to England.

2 Ed. note: They are not available.

In New Spain the artillery was taken out, and the ship returned without it. I thought that if I sent more on the ship, and it were taken out over there, the forts here would be in need, while the ships would gain nothing. Understanding that there was no danger from corsairs on the voyage, I sent the ships, as usual, without artillery. Now that I have seen the need for artillery, and the risk that they run, if it is not carried, **I am sending two ships this year**, each with four heavy pieces of artillery, two falconets, and arquebuses and other arms carried by the sailors and passengers. I am collecting what metal I can find and making thereof some pieces of ordnance with which to fill the place of those sent from the said forts. The merchants are paying your Majesty the value of the artillery, arms, and ammunition carried by one of the ships, and I have loaned the price of those of the other. They will pay this also in the coming year, and the ships will sail armed at the account and cost of the merchants. I beseech your Majesty to command the Viceroy of New Spain to have the artillery and arms returned by the same ships; and that the pieces carried by the **Santa Ana** be returned to these forts, which greatly need them.

In another letter I have written to your Majesty about the general fire in this city. The powder and military supplies were burned and the artillery destroyed. Although I have had the pieces recast, using the metal which was left, there are only 25 heavy pieces and several lighter ones. This is but little artillery for the needs of this land, for defence and the expeditions that are made.

...
According to the commission of your Majesty, I have proceeded against the royal officials in regard to their traffic and trade in merchandise. By the convictions of guilt which have resulted from the investigations and process of law, I have condemned the guilty to pay fines to the treasury. There seems to have been no traffic with funds in the royal treasury; or, if there were any, no damage or injury to it has resulted. I am sending the testimony of the sentences and proceedings to your Majesty's royal Council, where your Majesty will order their examination, if such is your pleasure.

May God guard the Catholic person of your Majesty.

Manila, 26 June of the year 1588.

The Licentiate Santiago de Vera.

Document 1588B

The remnant of the Dominican mission crossed the Pacific in an unnamed small ship in 1588

Source: Aduarte's Historia, tome 1, chap. XXIV; partly translated in B&R 30:200-207.

Chapter XXIV. Of the coming to this province of Father Fray Juan Cobo and other religious

Though Father Fray Juan Cobo and other Fathers did not come on the first voyage for the reasons given, they were always thinking of and longing for this province. So when Father Fray Juan Chrisostomo felt a little better, though he was not well, they began to think immediately of resuming the journey which his severe infirmity had necessarily interrupted. Father Fray Juan Cobo had the same idea; and, even if he had not done so, affairs went on in such a way that he would have been obliged to give up all the business that kept him in New Spain and go to the Philippines.

...

The Viceroy sent into banishment Father Fray Luis Gandullo...

Father Fray Juan Chrisostomo was joined by several: Father Fray Juan Garcia, a distinguished religious and minister to the Indians in New Spain, who was afterwards of the very greatest importance in this province; Father Fray Thomas Castellar, a very religious friar; a brother, better known in this country by the name of "the Holy Friar" than by his own name, who was Fray Pedro Martinez; and the brother Fray Juan Deza, who had come to take care of Father Fray Juan Chrisostomo in his illness. These all had gathered together because of the fame of the province, which was spreading abroad—that it was beginning with such a great reformation within itself, and with zeal for the conversion of so many tribes. There were seven religious in all; and, as they were on the point of departing, Father Fray Juan Cobo wished to bid farewell to one of his friends, a cleric of much virtue called Juan Fernandez de León, who lived in a very exemplary manner in Guastepec. When they reached there they found the house where he lived tightly closed. They shouted to him many times, but the good clergyman who

was within made no answer, so carefully did he protect his retirement. It was necessary to get a ladder and climb in by a window. The virtuous cleric rejoiced much to see Father Fray Juan, and, when he knew where they were all on the point of going, the enterprise pleased him also so well that he immediately determined to go with the religious to the Philippines. He carried out his plan, set a very noble example in life, and after his death was and is venerated as a saint, our Lord proving his sainthood with miracles. A layman of much virtue called Juan de Soria, when he saw people of such virtue making this journey, made the same journey in their company, being desirous of assuming the habit in that province, as he did when he reached the islands. With these two good associates the company increased greatly in virtue, though it was not very great in numbers.

They resolved to make their voyage immediately; and reaching Tisla [i.e. Tixtla] , which is near the port of Acapulco, they were informed that there was being prepared for the Philippines a vessel, small, old, and in ill condition, and so loaded with people, soldiers, and sailors—since they had doubled the number of those needed for the navigation of the vessel because sailors were required in Manila—that it was impossible for them to embark. The news grieved them greatly, and to be assured of the truth of it they sent to the port Father Fray Juan Garcia and Brother Fray Juan Deza, who found all true that had been said of the vessel, and more. It was so heavily laden that it was in the water above the scupper-holes, without having taken on board the people who were to go as passengers, who were of no small number. The religious went back with this report, and repeated what they had been told in the port, namely, that it was impossible to put on board more, at most, than one or two priests, whom they might have with them in case of danger, in order to confess to them; and that if there had to be only two, they would better be the banished ones. They were all deeply grieved—those who remained, because they had to give up their holy enterprise; and those who were to undertake it, because they were to be separated from such a company. As they were so near the port, they thought that they would all go down and bid farewell to those who were about to sail. Father Fray Juan Chrisostomo alone, being so infirm, remained in Tisla. When they reached the port, they saw that according to human reason no more could be put aboard than what they had been told; but as they were taught to direct themselves by other and higher motives, they were not discouraged, but were very instant with the Lord in prayer, the priests all saying mass and begging His aid. Then with new confidence they went to talk with those who had charge of the despatch of the vessel, to persuade them to give the religious a place in it. While they were busy with this, they saw the vessel putting out to sea and beginning its voyage—being in greater haste, perhaps, in order that these new passengers might not be admitted in addition to the great (and indeed excessive) number who were already going. When they saw that they were being left behind, they found a very small boat; and without further stores or other equipment they got alongside. Once there, they pleaded so well—and what is more, the Lord so greatly aided them and gave them such favor with the persons on board—that they admitted the **six**: Fray Juan Cobo, Fray Luis Gandullo, Fray Juan Garcia, Fray

Juan Deza, four religious; and Father Juan Fernandez de León, and Juan de Soria. Instantly, without waiting longer, they set sail with a fair wind, on Shrove Tuesday, 1588.

They were without stores or clothes or provisions, being dependent solely upon the providence of the Lord and upon the alms which they might receive from the people on the ship; these were small, in any case, on such a voyage—and the more so upon this one, for they had set out from a port where the population was so small that they could not provide themselves so well with ship-stores as they could at other places. The vessel had hardly put to sea before it was found to be leaking and to be making much water. The pilot, who was very skilful and very courageous, went straight to the Fathers, and bade them commend the ship to God; for, if the prayers of good men did not save it, it would be certain to founder in the first little storm, and they would be drowned. They undertook to do as he asked, and it was well that they did so.

One night a great storm arose, with a great massing of clouds and with furious winds; and though the wind was not favorable, the pilot ordered sails to be set for a tail wind—letting the ship drive before the wind, because the vessel would not sail close-hauled. The storm was such that, though the pilot did his best to hide his anxiety, and gave his commands in a very low tone, so as not to excite the passengers and bring them on deck to see their own death and to hinder the sailors; yet, in spite of all this care, the religious perceived his fear. Being in alarm at the fury of the winds and the roaring of the sea, and perceiving the danger, they gave themselves to prayer; and with outward silence they uttered the voices of their souls to the Lord, begging His pity. At midnight they heard the pilot say, although in a low voice, that he wished axes to be brought, which is a preliminary to cutting away the masts.

[Father Gandullo's prayers to save the ship]

Thereupon, Father Fray Luis Gandullo left the rest praying, and climbed up into the waist of the ship. He looked upon the sea in silence; its fury terrified him; he lifted his eyes to the heavens, and saw them all cloaked with the deepest blackness. Therewithal, the sea was white with the waves which roared and dashed against one another, sending up spray; it seemed to him that all of the Spaniards must soon be buried in them, so mighty were they, and the vessel so weak. At this point there overcame him a strange consciousness of his sins, which gave him no opportunity to think of those of others, and assured him deep inside that his own transgressions only were the cause of this frightful storm. He went back to his post and fell on his knees before a Christ that was there, prayed to the Lord with great affection to please discharge his ire upon him, who deserved it so much, and to forgive the others, who had not provoke it. He repeated this many times and, when it appeared that the Lord was turning a deaf ear, he turned to the Virgin of the Rosary, begging her to intervene and help. Raising his arms up high, he repeated and invoked the name of the Mother of God with great fervor: "Virgin of Consolation", he said, "for all those people who have gathered to your Holy Rosary, for your servant Fr. Juan Cobo—he had such a regard for him—and for these your friars who are going to serve in your Province, I beg for them here present, not to

let the Devil triumph over so many souls." At this moment, without knowing how, he found himself transported, and he saw what looked like a poor hermitage, but with a great light and splendor, and among them the Virgin with a very honest but very gracious robe, who said:

— "Look at me, here I am. What do you want from me?"

— He responded: "Mother of God, that you may be my mother."

— "I promise it to you," said the Virgin and she disappeared, leaving Father Luis with an extraordinary feeling of safety and consolation, although he was still somewhat elated.

A ship's boy became involved in this; he came very perturbed and made his fear known to the Father, who answered that he had nothing to fear. Then the pilot came in, calling out: "Fathers! cast some relics into the sea. For the love of God recite some litanies, that the Lord may have compassion upon us! I will have a lighted lantern sent down to you." Father Luis replied that they should all be safe, but they would certainly help the Lord to do so. They cast into the sea a certified relic of Saint Mary Magdalen, a great benefactress of our Order and special patroness of this Province, and an *Agnus Dei* [Lamb of God]. Fathers Luis and Juan Cobo threw them into the sea. Then they all began their litany. While they were saying it, Father Luis chanced to look up into the heavens, hoping to see there the accomplishment of the promise made to him. He was not disappointed because, in the middle of all that obscurity, he sighted a very bright star, which made him very happy and warmed his heart. While proceeding with the litany, they kept on sighting more stars, and finally all of them. After the cover of the sky had been removed, the wind died down and the sea subsided; everyone took such a favorable weather as miraculous, because that storm had promised otherwise. They gave infinite thanks to God for having delivered them of it.

Although Father Fray Luis, at that time, said nothing to anyone about what he had seen and heard. That being so, the next day, it was said among the sailors that two of them, who had been below deck that night, had seen an apparition of Our Lady, and it was the occasion for some of them to confess that day, with particular devotion. However, there were many more who, with Lent being well in and they having been admonished many times, did not try and confess themselves. Father Fray Luis frequently declaimed against those, as he had taken upon his charity to become the chaplain of the ship; he would condemn their lack of care for such a great and useful obligation, the more so because they were people who owed much to God's favor and who had seen themselves on the point of being lost.

[Gambling aboard]

A few days later, Easter arrived and, as is usual among worldly people, they fell back into their lax way of living, and particularly into gambling, with all the evils that ordinarily accompany it, and are sometimes followed by others. Such an extraordinary thing happened there to a miserable one; having gambled and lost all he had, agitated by the disgrace that he himself had sought, he opened his sea-chest and took out his rosary,

in which there was a pewter medal with the image of Our Lady with her Child in her arms on one side and that of the face of the Savior on the other; and, as if Mother and Child were the cause of his craziness, he gave it a blow with a butcher knife which penetrated the Virgin through the chest and pierced the face of the Lord. He then threw away the medal where no-one would see it. At least the one who had committed such an evil thing while alone was sure that no-one would see it, but it was not to be so. Such atrocious sins are want to be revealed and punished by the Lord; so, He willed that a crewman would see it.

With the great scandal that such a great disrespect to God and to His Mother caused in him, he came to consult with Father Fray Luis to know from him what he had to do. One can well imagine what the Father felt about this affair; however, he dissimulated it as much as he could and told him who had brought the news: "What every good Christian must do. I beg you to go and get me the image, if he did not throw it overboard, for me to keep it so that nothing bad will happen to that man, and please keep this affair a secret."

— "He threw it between some chests", said the man. "I will look for it."

He did so, and brought it back to the Father who in turn showed it to his companions whose hearts were pierced by sorrow at such a very great temerity. They all prayed to the Lord to let that man realize the true nature of that sin and feel penitence for it. Father Fray Luis, in complete stratagem, nonchalantly approached the culprit and engaged him in conversation, relating the affair as if he did not know the author. The man in question showed himself so scandalized that he said that it was not possible for a Christian to have done such a thing.

— "What if it were you?" said the Father.

The man denied having committed such an evil.

— "Well then, show me your rosary", said the Father, "so that I may check the image that goes with it."

— "My rosary does not have an image," said the man. And the Father continued:

— "That is true, it does not have one, because I have it, and have heard about your despicable crime from someone who has seen it with his own eyes. I know, you don't have to deny it, nor fear anything, because, although much harm could come to you for this affair, in addition to what your soul already suffers from, that is not my intention. Rather, I want to free you body and soul, if only I could extirpate from you the pain and repentance that such an atrocious crime should demand from a baptized Christian. If you are baptized, you would indeed not fail from feeling sorry to see this image of Jesus Christ and His Most Holy Mother—and he showed it to him—more mistreated than it would have been at the hands of the perfidious Jews, simply because they never did anything to the Virgin Mother, reserving their rage and envy only for her Son, since they did not know God the way you should know Him."

The above reasoning brought out an abundant flow of tears from the chest of the sinner. These were taken by the Father as a sure sign of repentance and he asked him if he had confessed. He said that he had done so, but that he had not had the courage

to reveal such a great crime. He was offered to confess, and the man did so with a great feeling. That is how the affair was closed, and that soul saved that would otherwise have been lost. This was not the only one, as many more were saved by the good doctrine and the good examples of those religious aboard.

So, they came to Manila with all those aboard the ship proclaiming the great and wonderful virtue they had seen in the religious whom they carried with them. They would say that it was due to their prayers that such a rotten ship had arrived in port, after having crossed such seas and with the severe storm they had had.

Document 1588C

Letter from the Bishop of Manila to the King, dated Manila 27 June 1588

Source: AGI 68-1-32; translated in B&R 7:64-76.

Letter from Bishop Domingo de Salazar, O.P.

Sire:

In a letter which your Majesty had written to me from Madrid, on the 11th of January of the year '87, I see the reprimand which your Majesty gives me, on account of information that you had received that, on certain occasions which had arisen, I had had controversies with the royal Audiencia here; also that this has finally resulted in scandal and comment in the town, and that there was fault on both sides, I receive this reprimand as from my king and lord, but, although it comes from him, it is very serious and is sufficient to cause much pain; nevertheless, I have not allowed myself to feel hurt, since your Majesty judges according to the information that you have received. He who so informed your Majesty that I was made to appear guilty will give account to God for his good or bad intention, since for my own satisfaction the testimony of my conscience is all sufficient. It is well-known in the city, and outside of it, that if I had not entered as mediator neither the president and auditors, nor the auditors alone, would have had peace. It would not have been possible for me to establish peace if there had not been friendly relations between them and me.¹

...

The hardships and calamities sent by God to this land make me greatly fear that we who live here have seriously offended Him. For I have been here eight years and not one year have I seen pass without the happening of great calamities: loss of ships; death of the animals which maintained us; hurricanes, called here *baguios*, which tear up the trees by the roots and overthrow the houses completely, or leave them so that they cannot be inhabited; and the general fire of the year '83, of which your Majesty has been

¹ Ed. note: Mainly because of what the Bishop says here in his defence, the Audiencia was to be abolished, for a while, by the King.

informed. Both before and since that time, this city has been burned three or four times; and now, as the last straw, the ship **Santa Ana**, which left this city last year, the richest ship to leave these islands, fell into the hands of the Lutherans. With that loss, and also that of the ship **San Juan** the year before [1586], which likewise was laden with goods from this country, some of the citizens of these islands are totally ruined, and others have suffered such heavy losses that it will be long before, with much difficulty, they regain their former state.

It is very evident, and can be denied by no-one, that the loss of that particular ship was ordained by God; for, three days before it reached the coast [of California], another ship—from Macao bound for Mexico—passed the same place and was not sighted by the Lutherans.¹ When news was received in Peru of the coming of this pirate, the Viceroy sent in pursuit of them a good fleet, with many soldiers and ammunition sufficient to engage an equal or greater number. When they came to the port of Acapulco, supplies were needed; and they requested these from the purveyor who had them in your Majesty's warehouses. He was unwilling to give them; and they even say that an order was given to detain some pack-teams which brought biscuits, so that the captain of the fleet from Peru could not take them. Thus they say that, as it was not desired to supply them with provisions, and because Doctor Palacios² became dictatorial in regard to several points, they returned to Peru; while the Lutheran remained free to attack and capture, as he did. So great was our misfortune that, at the time when the two captains were debating as to who should take command, the pirate was near the port of Navidad, which is not very far from Acapulco, repairing his ships. Had they attacked him, it would have been impossible for him to escape; but God chose to blind our men, so that we might be punished by this pirate. The punishment of God did not stop here; for, having set fire to the ship **Santa Ana**, they left it half burned, set sail, and came to these islands.

With more than human courage, they passed in the midst of them with a ship of 100 tons³, where the natives venture trembling in very light boats; but this infidel dared not only to come into our midst, but to collect tributes from your Majesty's vassals. A Spaniard was captured, and after having told him what they wished him to say to us, they put him ashore. What they said was in boast that they had left the coasts of Peru and New Spain utterly ruined; and that they had robbed and burned the ship **Santa Ana**, and hanged a canon who was on his way from this city to Mexico. In testimony of his prowess and our misfortune he displayed the silks, brocades, and cloths of gold which he had seized as plunder. Not content with this, he went away threatening us that he is to return soon to drive us all hence, and to destroy the nest that we have made here—meaning thereby the stone fortress built here.

1 Ed. note: This ship was the N.S. de Buena Esperanza, Captain Pedro de Unamuno.

2 Ed. note: A detached member of the Audiencia of Mexico.

3 Ed. note: Actually, 150 tons.

The grief that afflicts me is not because this barbarian infidel has robbed us of the ship **Santa Ana**, and destroyed thereby the property of almost all the citizens; but because an English youth of about twenty-two years, with a wretched little vessel of 100 tons and 40 or 50 companions, should dare to come to my own place of residence, defy us, and boast of the damage that he had wrought. As your Majesty has here an army of captains, who, as I understand, are certainly as many as the companions of the Lutheran, he went from our midst laughing, without anyone molesting or troubling him; neither has he felt that the Spaniards are in this land to any purpose. In this matter, I do not care to blame anyone, because I understand that the Governor did his duty, although I was always of the opinion that the pirate should be pursued and that the result thereof would not be so bad as some say. The belief here, however, is that God is chastising us for our sins, and is making us the laughing-stock of other nations, who have all hitherto stood in such fear of us.¹

...

As I have said before, I had determined to write nothing whatever in detail concerning the damages that the Viceroy of New Spain had done to these kingdoms. It seems to me that your Majesty will have had advices thereof, and will have ordered a means of correction. Moreover, as many are interested and have grievances, there will be no lack of a person to advise your Majesty thereof. Nevertheless, I have since thought that I neglect my duty in failing to send a memorandum to your Majesty which was forwarded to this city from Lope de Palacios, captain of the ship **San Martín**, which went to China. He sent to this city, asking that he be granted permission to leave Macao, because he feared that they were about to kill him in order to gain possession of his property. I am the only person who can send this memorandum to your Majesty, as Lope de Palacios sent it to this city with much secrecy, and in the same manner it was given to me. I discussed the matter with the President, saying that we should send for the captain as if the idea were our own and he had not requested it—employing such great secrecy that the Portuguese who were here would not learn of it; for the same Lope de Palacios had declared that he would be certainly put to death if they knew that he was trying to come here. Nevertheless, the request to send for him was in vain, and I was moved to forward this memorandum to your Majesty. It states therein the great harm done by the Viceroy in sending the ship **San Martín** to Macao. As the same person who went to learn the damage gives testimony thereof, no witness more worthy of credit can be entered in the cause. I am also writing to the Viceroy of New Spain in regard to the injuries which he wrought on these kingdoms by despatching the ship **San Martín** to China—although God supplied the remedy, by the loss of the same ship. I tell him that if that ship had been sent to this city, a more prosperous voyage would have been made than the investors could have expected, for so many Chinese merchants came this year to this city, that the merchandise was worth nothing; and if the ship **San Martín** had come here a satisfactory and cheap cargo could have been obtained, per-

1 Ed. note: The event that turned the tide was really the Spanish Armada.

haps even in greater quantity than at Macao. Instead of damaging this city, those persons would have been enriched, who on account of greed were unable to see the damage done to all of us. Thus God has punished them all, by depriving them of that profit the desire for which had blinded them to their duty.

They also say that the [wreck of the] ship **Santa Ana** was sold for 30,000 pesos and ordered to make a voyage to Macao. These proceedings also were put to confusion by God, through means which have cost us dearly, namely, the loss of that vessel. It can be said that if it had been at Macao somewhat less damage would have been done to these islands than in the burning of the ship by the Englishman.

As I wrote to your Majesty, via Malacca, for ships to go from Mexico to Macao is to destroy both those kingdoms and these, since the Chinese raise the prices of their merchandise to such an extent that Portuguese and Spaniards cannot live. May your Majesty be pleased to order the viceroy to hold these lands in somewhat higher estimation, since your Majesty considers them (and justly so) worthy of constant attention. Ever since the Viceroy came to Mexico, he has not sent to this country any troops (except exiles or criminals), or ammunition, or the customary supplies for this camp, such as wine, flour, and other articles; he has so reduced everything that there is great privation here, and very little profit to your Majesty.

Your Majesty's Governor and royal Audiencia in these islands look well to the service of your Majesty and the good of this country. Will your Majesty be pleased to order the Viceroy of New Spain, present or future, not to disturb or change what has been decided by their predecessors, not only in the customs duties, but in the price fixed for each ton, and in the mode of registration. According to our information, the Viceroy has changed everything, greatly increasing the taxes imposed here...

Will your Majesty be pleased to order that this be remedied by severe measures.

May our Lord guard your Majesty many years for the good of us who can do but little.

At Manila, 22 June 1588.

The Bishop of the Philippines.

Document 1588D

Letter from the Audiencia of Manila to the King, dated Manila 25 June 1588

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 6:311-323.

Letter of the Audiencia about Cavendish's and other ships

Sire:

The two letters enclosed herewith are duplicates of those sent last year [1587] by this royal Audiencia, one on 24 June, carried by the vessel **Santa Ana**, which left these islands for New Spain; and the other, dated 1 November, sent via Malacca, in Portuguese India. It being understood that the letter carried by the **Santa Ana** was lost, we beg your Majesty to give orders that this letter, together with the enclosed copies, be attended to, taking such steps as may be required for the good service of your Majesty here.

Your Majesty will have received the news of the capture of the **Santa Ana** last year, which occurred while on its way from these islands to New Spain, by an English pirate, who entered the South Sea with two vessels; after having plundered the ship, he burned it, with all the goods which still remained on board. This was one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to this land; because it is estimated from the investments made, and the treasure and gold carried, that the cargo of the said vessel would have been worth in Mexico two millions [pesos]. The loss has caused great poverty and distress in this city, and among its inhabitants and soldiers. To cap the climax, they have learned anew how much harder the Viceroy of New Spain makes things for this country, for he has levied certain taxes, ordering that every ton of cloth shipped from here to New Spain shall pay 44 pesos, the duty having been only 12 pesos up to now—an increase which is keenly felt. As the people here are serving your Majesty without receiving any salary or pay, it seems expedient and just that they be favored by ordering the Viceroy not to alter the regulations hitherto made, and also to allow all those people who desire, to come freely to these lands. From what has been ascertained, it appears

that they find it exceedingly difficult and expensive to obtain a licence to come; and even the personal effects that they bring must be declared and permission obtained for each article. All this causes a great loss, and prevents the development of these islands; and it is necessary, should your Majesty be pleased to do so, that this state of affairs be remedied.

...
This Audiencia wrote to your Majesty, in the letter above referred to as sent via Malacca, concerning the great injury done to this country by the sale of the vessel **San Martín**, sold by the Viceroy of New Spain—an injury not only through the need of ships in these islands but because it was sold with permission to make its first voyage to Macao, and thence to return to Mexico without touching at this city. And now it has been learned by letter from private persons that the ship **Santa Ana**, [partly] burned by the English privateer, has been sold at public auction in the plaza of the City of Mexico, also with the condition that permission would be given so that it could make another voyage to Macao. If this be so, it means the total ruin of this country; because it cannot be supported if commerce be carried on between Macao and Mexico, and if the vessels which carry on that trade be taken away from us.

Your Majesty, if he be so pleased, will look into the matter, and furnish a prompt remedy, as the affair does not admit of any delay, and the welfare and development of this country depend wholly upon such a remedy.

This year [1588] we expected to receive help in the way of people and supplies, of which we suffer great lack, and without which this land is in the utmost danger of ruin; but as the **Santa Ana** and the **San Martín** which were the best ships that we had afloat are not coming anymore, there were no vessels that the Viceroy of New Spain could send for this purpose; accordingly, he sent a vessel so small that it could not carry any people. The necessity of this country and its extremity are such that no carelessness may be allowed in providing help. May it please your Majesty to command that aid be provided, with great care.

From the Portuguese at Macao came a large vessel loaded with a quantity of merchandise. Notwithstanding that the goods were excellent and valuable, they were not better than those brought by the Sangleys¹ who, having made such large profits during the last few years, bring now everything of the best that their country produces. Over 30 vessels have come here from that land, bringing so many people that, together with those who were living here, there are over 10,000 Sangleys now in this city. We have always received them very kindly, as ordered by your Majesty; and they are so friendly to the Spaniards that the **San Martín**, which sailed from New Spain for Macao, upon arriving at the province of Chincheo, which is in the country of those Sangleys, was very warmly received, and they expressed much pleasure at seeing the Spaniards in their country. The Sangleys offered to load the vessel with anything that the Spaniards wanted; but the latter, thinking that they would do a larger business at Macao, where

1 Ed. note: That is, the Chinese traders, from Chincheo.

the Portuguese are in the habit of trading, did not accept the offer; they were supplied with all the provisions that they desired, with much show of friendship and kindness, after which they sailed for Macao. Near that place, the vessel was lost during a heavy gale which it encountered—not, however, until all the people and money were saved. Nothing was lost, as your Majesty will have been notified at greater length through some other source.

...

May God preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty.

At Manila, on the 25th of June of the year 1588.

The Licentiate Santiago de Vera

The Licentiate Melchor Davila

The Licentiate Pedro de Rojas

Don Antonio Rivera Maldonado

Document 1588E

More about Cavendish in a letter from Juan Bautista Roman to the King, dated Manila 2 July 1588

Source: AGI 67-6-29; translated in B&R 34:392-402.

Letter from Juan Bautista Roman¹ to Philip II

Sire:

For the last eleven years that I have been serving your Majesty in these regions of the Indies, I have continually written what has occurred to me regarding your royal service and the benefit and increase of the treasury; and although nothing of notoriously great convenience has been enacted, I shall not neglect to inform your Majesty of the things that occur to me at present in order that I may fulfil my obligation and discharge my conscience so that your Majesty may enact what measures are most advisable.

Your Majesty will have heard from New Spain of the depredations that the English pirates have committed, and that two extremely small ships, one of 150 tons, and the other of 100, and carrying 70 men in both ships, captured your Majesty's ship **Santa Ana** of 600 tons' burden, on the coast of New Spain. It contained 2,300 marks of gold belonging to private persons and 1 million [ducats] worth of merchandise with which it was laden. Then they burned the vessel.

Inasmuch as your Majesty will have as definite information as that known here, I shall only relate what happened to the English later according to what has been learned from them themselves and what we have seen. After they had burned the ship, they sailed toward these islands, but the smaller vessel² went adrift in the open sea. The other arrived in January of this year at the island of Capul, the first island of these Philippines, which forms a strait with this large island of Luzon.

1 Ed. note: The author of this letter was royal factor and treasurer.

2 Ed. note: The Content, consort to the Desire, disappeared without a trace.

The captain bought some food from the Indians at Capul, for which he paid them very liberally and did them no damage. He hanged a Spaniard whom he had brought from the ship **Santa Ana**, one Alonso de Valladolid, because he found on him a letter in which he advised the President of the royal Audiencia of all that had happened. The Indian who was to carry the letter and who was the servant of the said Spaniard, escaped by swimming and concealed himself so securely in the island that the English were unable to find him. They told the Indians of the island that they were hostile to the Spaniards, and that they had left their country for the sole purpose of harming us. They said that they would return with a fleet within three years, in order to colonize these islands and drive us out of them; and that they did not come for any tribute, but only for their friendship and trade.

After a stay of eleven days they set sail and went to another island called Panae, more distant from this settlement of Manila, and toward the south. There is a small city in that island called Arevalo of which Captain Don Juan Ronquillo is mayor. A large ship was being built nearby at the expense of the royal treasury. The Englishmen arrived between the hamlet and the shipyard where the ship was being built on the 7th of February, where he captured by means of his ship's boat a sailor who was coasting along in a boat quite inapprehensive of any such danger. All the information that could be desired was learned from that sailor. Next day, the Englishman landed the sailor with a letter for one Manuel Lorenço, who had the construction of the ship in charge. The letter contained some threats and arguments of little moment and was signed Tomas Candis of Trimbley [sic], as your Majesty will see by the original in the papers sent by the President.



Thomas Cavendish was a young English pirate captain.

At that time, that sailor learned of the disaster to the **Santa Ana**, from one of the Portuguese who had been captured and from certain Flemish sailors whom he knew. It was also learned immediately from the Indian who had escaped in Capul. Both of them declared the captain to be a youth of twenty-two or twenty-three, and that the ship contained scarcely 40 Englishmen. After having done that the English set sail and laid their course toward the island of Mindanao, the last one of these Philippines lying toward the Moluccas. They will necessarily be forced to winter in some desert island near the Moluccas (as Francisco Draque did) until the month of December, for they cannot make use of the *brisas* of this year for the voyage to, and the doubling of, the Cape of Good Hope, as it is already very late. And especially since it would take all the rest of February

and March to sail to the Javas, where one can clear this archipelago and reach the open sea, for that distance is more than 400 leagues, and one can sail only by day...

...
If your Majesty be so pleased you may consider that the royal Audiencia boasts that there are here in these Philippine Islands six Spanish settlements, one Master-of-Camp, 35 captains, 3 galleys, and 3 ships with high freeboard, the smallest of which is of 300 tons' burden, besides many frigates and native ships, powder and weapons, and 400 soldiers, all of which has not served or serves for an affair of such little difficulty and one so necessary. I was constantly of the opinion that the pirate should be pursued immediately, and some others were of the same opinion, but the Governor and the majority (which always temporizes in regard to following their opinion) held contrariwise, and said that it was possible that a fleet was coming from England after the ship, and that if we pursued the latter, this city and fort would be left with insufficient defenders.

...
It would not be difficult to capture it with a single galley, and the capture would be much easier with 12 or 13 frigates that could be assembled...

Many useless expenses to the royal treasury result from the poor administration in many things in the government of these islands, especially in the **cost of the ships of this line**. All of the ships belong to your Majesty, although they could belong to private persons. In the former year of 1585, Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa brought a new ship of 300 tons to the port of this city, in order to freight it for New Spain; but instead of encouraging and aiding him in it, he was denied all protection, so much so that in order that the ship might not rot in the port, he was obliged to sell it for a certain exploring expedition which was made at your Majesty's expense by order of the archbishop of Mexico. Consequently, all those who intended to build ships were discouraged. The reason for this is that since the governors engage in trade and traffic, they do not want any ships belonging to private persons where heavy freights [would] have to be paid. It is known what goods are exported and whose they are if they do not belong to your Majesty, and that his merchandise goes under false pretence and that he does not pay such heavy freight duties. Consequently, in order that the Governors may gain one real, it must cost your Majesty one hundred.

Two of your Majesty's ships are being despatched this year [1588], one of 600 tons and the other of 400, at an expense of more than 50,000 pesos.¹ It is unnecessary to despatch more than one ship, for one ship of 100 tons is sufficient to bring the ammunition and soldiers to be sent from Mexico. However, in order that those two might be laden with merchandise they are sent, and this is one of the incongruities above mentioned. If the merchants of Mexico and of these islands wish commerce they should build ships, and not all carry on their business to such a great harm and loss to the royal treasury.

1 Ed. note: These ships were most probably named Santiago and San Pedro respectively.

Finally, these islands have never been or are of further use than to enrich the Governor, and to enable him to gain 200,000 ducats, while your Majesty loses ten times as much. Things will constantly get worse in this direction, unless your Majesty orders the matter corrected. I am serving your Majesty as factor and treasurer, but I have no part in anything, for the Governor manages things to suit himself. I have always advised your Majesty of these and other incongruities, but no relief has ever been given to anything that I have mentioned touching your royal service, and my letters cannot have had the credit that my faithfulness merits. However, I shall at least have performed my duty as your Majesty's servant and vassal, and to my conscience.

...

May our Lord preserve your Majesty many years with the increase of kingdoms and dominions that we your subjects and vassals desire.

Manila, in the Philippines, 2 July 1588.

Juan Bautista Roman

Documents 1588F

The voyage of Thomas Cavendish—The narratives of Francis Pretty and Thomas Fuller

Source: The narrative of Francis Pretty was first printed in Latin at Frankfurt in 1599 and in English by Richard Hakluyt in Volume 3 of his 3-volume set entitled: The Voyages, Navigations, and Discoveries of the English Nation (London, Barker, 1599); since reprinted and edited many times, e.g. in the collections by Purchas, Callander, Harris, Burney, de Brosse, etc. Some notes from the logbook of Thomas Fuller were also published by Hakluyt.

Introductory note.

Also known as Candish, and erroneously as Escander and Liscander by the Spanish, Thomas Cavendish [1555?-1592] became the second Englishman to circumnavigate the world. He wanted to emulate Drake whose famous trip had earned him a knighthood from Queen Elizabeth. A first cruise in 1585 had earned him enough money to buy three small ships, equipped with 123 men, for his expedition. He left on 23 July 1586 to follow the track opened by Drake around South America.

He sailed up the coast of Chile and Peru, plundering along the way. On November 4, 1587, his flagship **Desire** with the help of the tender **Content** easily captured the galleon **Santa Ana** whose crew was exhausted after six months of a sea voyage from Manila. Shortly afterwards, the **Content** went missing and was never heard of again. The **Desire** crossed the Pacific alone in record time, touching at Guam on 3 January 1588 [English old-style date].

Kingston, in his book on “Notable Voyagers” said that at Guam “a number of natives came off, bringing fruits and vegetables, but became so troublesome that, losing temper, Cavendish in a most justifiable manner ordered a shot to be fired among them. On the 14th of the same month the **Desire** made the Philippines.”

In September 1588, Cavendish was back at Plymouth with his booty. He was to die at sea on the coast of Brazil on yet another expedition (1591-92) during which he visited the Falkland Islands. The following account is reproduced in the original Elizabethan English.



Portrait of Thomas Cavendish. *(From Holland's Hweerologia)*

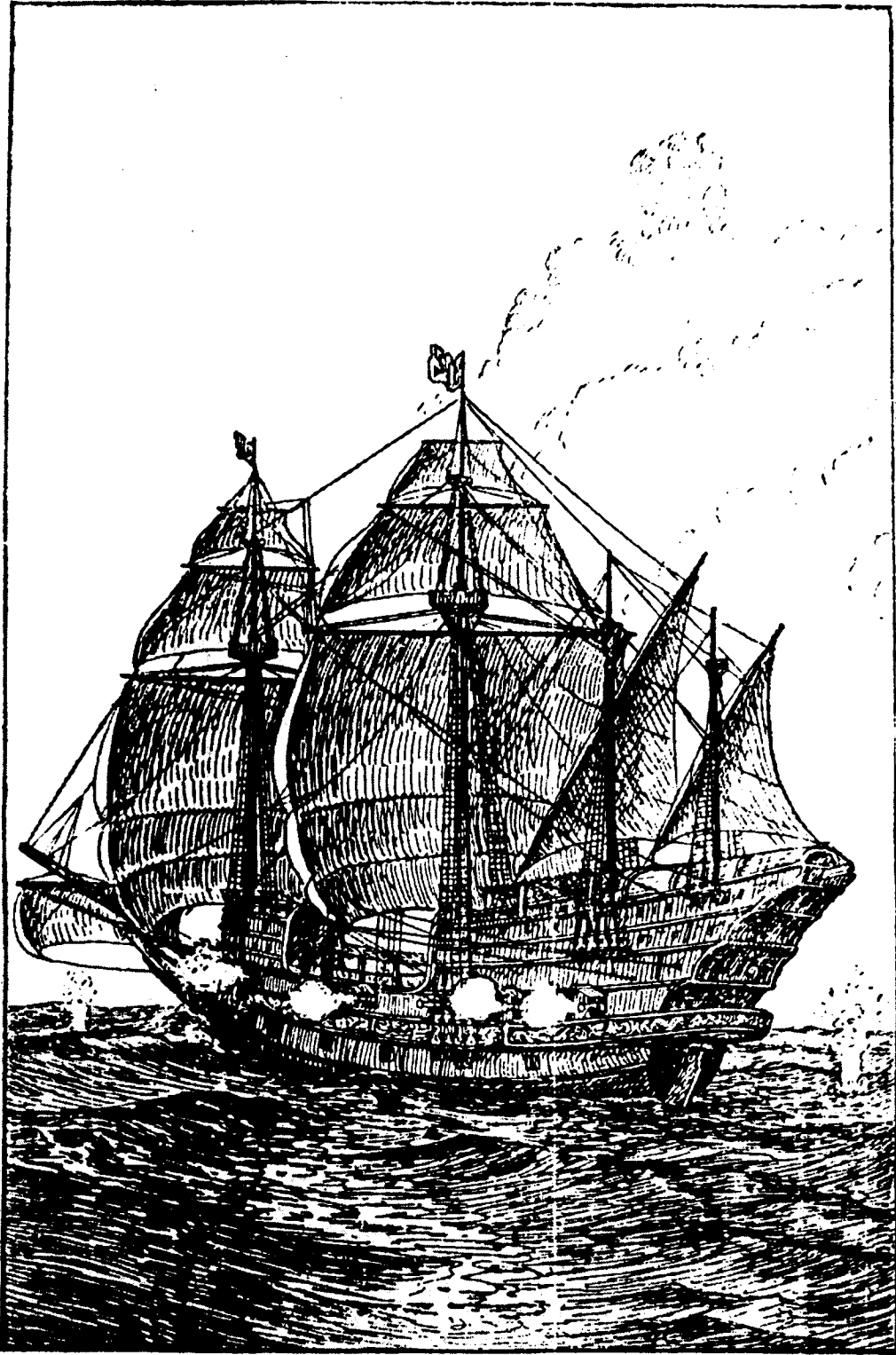
F1. The admirable and prosperous voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish, &c. [by Francis Pretty]

[The capture of the Santa Ana]

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight; and with the said cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire fresh river, about which many Indians use to keepe: wee watered in the river and lay off and on from the said cape of S. Lucas untill the fourth of November, and had the windes hanging still Westerly.

The 4th of November, the **Desire** and the **Content**, wherein were the number of [blank] Englishmen onely living, beating up and downe upon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betwene seven and 8 of the clocke in the morning, one of the company of our Admirall [i.e. flagship] which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape; whereupon hee cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, a sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true gave information unto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readines; which being performed we gave them chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best advantage, and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordinance and a vollee of small shot, and presently layed the ship aboard, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the **S. Anna**, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen.

Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboord upon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put us off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gave them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomfoting of our enemies raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus



A Spanish galleon in combat, ca. 1580. This could represent the *Santa Ana* fighting off Cavendish in 1587. (From Wycherley's *Buccaneers of the Pacific*, 1928)

discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking, by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld.

Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyses out their boate and to come aboard: which newes they were full glad to heare out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboard unto our General: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed our Generals feete, and craved mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for their Captaine and their Pilote, who at their coming used the like dutie and reverence as the former did.

The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promised their lives and good usage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske & divers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choise of many conserves of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforesaid Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboard the **Desire**, and on the 6 day of November following wee sent into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies upon the maine land. Our generall also gave them great store of victuals, of gar-uansos [i.e. chickpeas], peasen, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should bee sufficient to make them a barke.

Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In devision whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the **Content**, which neverthesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

On the 17 day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majesty, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the **Content**, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fire-workes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had never seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gave him a royall reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both wright and

reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeeres olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the youngest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Japon being a countrey most rich in silver mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola¹, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueva Espanna unto the islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens.

The 19 day of November aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which having to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordinance and set sayle joyfully homewardest towards England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast: and night growing neere, we left the **Content** a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her companie and never saw her after.²

Wee were sayling from this haven of Aguada Segura in California unto the isles of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth until the 3 of Januarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space of 45 dayes: and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues.

[Visit to Guam]

The 3 day of January by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of **Guana** [Guam], standing in 13 degrees 2/3 toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come up within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with

1 Ed. note: Notwithstanding what is said below, this man was the master of the Santa Ana, Thomas de Alzola (with his name misspelled). The man who piloted the English as far as the Philippines and was hanged there, for treason, at Capul Island on 26 January 1588 was Alonso de Valladolid (See Doc. 1588E). As for the master of the Santa Ana, he made a declaration about the capture of the ship, dated Acapulco 8 January 1588 (AGI papeles diversos, legajo 14; copy in MN Madrid: Colección de Navarrete, tome 26).

2 Ed. note: The Content, whose captain was Stephen Hare, was conjectured to have stayed behind voluntarily, being dissatisfied with Cavendish, intending to sail northward along the coast of California to look for a quick passage to England by the Strait of Anian, in the winter-time. They may also have tried to return to the Strait of Magellan and they perished in the attempt. As for the Santa Ana, her anchor ropes were burned and she drifted ashore where the Spanish managed to extinguish the flames; after a quick refit, she proved able to sail onward to Acapulco.

60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them up unto us for to truck [i.e. barter] or exchange with us; which when we perceived, we made fast little pieces of old iron upon small cords and fishing lines, and so vered the iron unto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast unto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them until they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men saved themselves being in every canoa 4, 6 or 8 persons all naked & excellent swimmers and divers.

They are of a tawny colour & marveilous fat, & bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marveilous long; yet some of them have it made up and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & some with 2 knots, much like unto their images which wee saw them have carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like unto the images of the devill.

Their canoas were as artificially made as any that ever wee had seene: considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seven or eight yardes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle: their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde.

These Savages followed us so long, that we could not be ridde of them: untill in the end our General commanded some half dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himsele strooke one of them and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea and prevent us by diving.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night until foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees...

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an island called Capul...

...

[Hanging of the Spanish pilot]

The same day at night, being the 15 January 1588, Nicholas Roderigo, the Portuguese whom we had taken out of the great **Santa Anna** at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General understood, he sent for him

& asked him, what he had to say unto him. The Portugal made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true service unto him, and in respect whereof he neither could nor would conceale such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great **sant Anne** for a Pilote, whose name was Thomas de Ersola¹, had written a letter, secretly sealed it and locked it up in his cheste, meaning to convey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were:

“That there had been two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueva Espanna, and Nueva Galicia, and that they had taken many shippes and merchandize in them, and burnt divers towns, and spoiled all that ever they could come unto; and that they had taken the kings ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the merchandize that was therein; and had set all the people on shore, taking himself away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such provision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could use any meanes to surprize us being there at an anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake; and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise, if they let us escape, within fewe yeares they must make account to have their towne besieged, and sacked with an armie of English.”

This information being given, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he utterly denied: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

F2. The notes of Thomas Fuller

Certain rare and special notes most properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candish next before described; concerning the heights, soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the just length of time spent in sayling betweene divers places, and their abode in them, as also the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the same, with the observation of the windes on severall coastes:

¹ Ed. note: As explained earlier, the pilot's name was Alonso de Vallalolid, not Alzola.

Written by M. Thomas Fuller of Ipswich, who was Master in the Desire of M. Thomas Candish in his foresaid prosperous voyage about the world.

...
Item, The 3 day of August [i.e. 13 August, new style] we departed from the port of Aguatulco [Huatulco, Mexico], and the 26 day of August we arrived at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and stayed ther untill the second day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league unto the Westwards of Natividad [Navidad], where we ankered in 8 fadoms water.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natividad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xalisco [Jalisco], where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of September we departed from the bay of Xalisco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the island of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the island of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered under the islands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

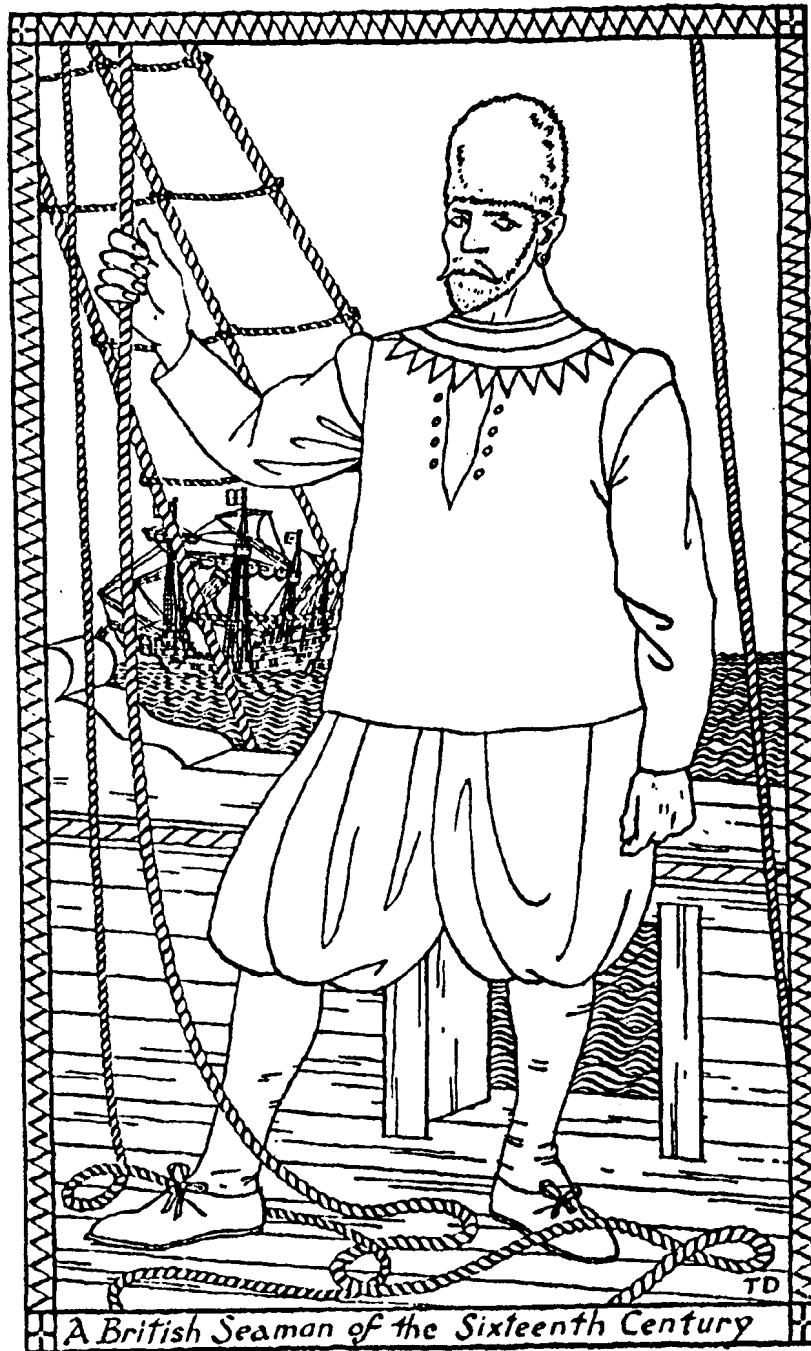
Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the islands of Chiametlan, and crossing over the mouth of Mar vermejo [i.e. Gulf of California], the 14 day of October we lay off the Cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of November we tooked the great and rich ship called **Santa Anna**: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Item, the 19 day of November we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of January [1588] wee had sight of one of the islands of the Ladrones, which island is called The island of **Iwana**¹ [Guam], standing in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minutes.

Item, The 3 day of January we departed from the iland if Iwana, and the 14 day of Januarie we had sight of the cape of Spirito santo, and the same day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas; and the 15 day of January we ankered under the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded.

...
Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arrived, after a long and terrible tempest, in the Narrow seas, in the haven of Plimmouth in safetie, by the gracious and most mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praise and thanksgiving now and for ever. Amen.

1 Ed. note: Typographical error for Guana.



The dress of an English seaman at the close of the 16th century. *“It comprised a ruff and short sleeveless jacket over a doublet, with wide baggy breeches falling into many folds below the knees. On his head he wears a thrummed cap, and at his left side will be seen a dagger or knife.”* (From G. E. Manwaring’s article in the *Mariner’s Mirror*, Vol. IX, 1923. Drawing as adapted by Thomas Derrick from a 1904 edition of Hakluyt)

Documents 1589A

Shipping news for 1589

A1. Letter from Governor Vera to the King, dated Manila 13 July 1589

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 7:83-94.

Sire:

This past year of 1588 I gave an account to your Majesty of the condition of this land. As the voyage is so full of sea-perils and danger from corsairs, and it is difficult for the despatches to reach the hands of your Majesty, the duplicate of that letter accompanies this one. Therein is declared the extreme need of the islands for reinforcements of troops and necessary supplies for the camp, and other things, of which I gave an account to your Majesty.

...

On this route to New Spain your Majesty has four ships and the new one that has just been finished, and which makes the voyage this year.¹ Of these, the Viceroy of New Spain sold the ship **San Martín** to make the voyage to Macao, where it was wrecked and burned by the Chinese. Another was taken by the English corsair, as I reported to your Majesty; and but now when another, in the port of this city, was ready to make the voyage, so great a hurricane burst on this and many other Spanish and Chinese ships that only a small boat was left unwrecked. Of the two remaining, only one is available; the other cannot be used, as it is so old.² Understanding the great need there was of ships, I had a large galleon of 600 tons, which had been built in the Pintados Islands, placed in the shipyards of your Majesty, for the above-named route. God willing, it may sail in the year '91. I have given orders for private persons to make two other ships of less tonnage. One is already finished, and both will be able to sail next year.

1 Ed. note: It seems that only a small boat made the voyage to Acapulco in 1589. No vessel of any kind came from Acapulco that year.

2 Ed. note: This old ship was probably the San Juan Bautista.

It is most important that there be for this navigation plenty of ships, both for the emergencies of war which may arise, and for the preservation of these islands, which are supported by trade. If, as I have suggested several times before, your Majesty were pleased to have about 10,000 pesos sent annually from New Spain, two ships of good capacity can be launched very easily, without harassing the natives in any way and with this help, at even less than a third of the cost elsewhere. Otherwise, there is no way to bring it about. Your Majesty will signify your royal pleasure in this.¹

For the ships sailing between these islands and New Spain, and to other places which may be found, sailors are much needed, to navigate them and to remain here to look after them; also carpenters and caulkers who must reside here to repair them. They should be paid in New Spain as this treasury is too poor. As the money for their wages must be sent, sometimes it is not brought, and at other times it is lost, thereby causing the sailors to die of starvation. Therefore, the sailors serve half-heartedly, and desert; and there is great negligence in the despatch of the fleets. The only remedy for both these evils is from the treasury of your Majesty. If it is to be spent therefor, it would be best for your Majesty to have the amount of the freight charges on the property sent from these islands in the said ships granted annually to this royal treasury up to the sum of 3,000 pesos. Thus the needs here will be met without taking from the treasury of Mexico.²

I have already reported to your Majesty the removal from these forts of a quantity of artillery, for the security of the two ships which I despatched to New Spain last year, 1588.³ That carried by one of the ships is paid for by the merchants, as well as the powder, arms, and ammunition; and that on the other was at your Majesty's expense. Part of the money received I sent to the kingdom of China in order to buy what metal could be obtained. Thence they brought me 125 picos⁴ (about five arrobas) of copper, at 13 pesos and 8 reals. With this, artillery is being cast; to take the place of the pieces carried by the ships, I had others cast from the metal which I had here. The results are very good. Bronze is so cheap in China, and so easy to transport and cast in this country, that, if your Majesty will have money sent hither from New Spain for this purpose, artillery could be provided in this country both for New Spain and Peru. Will your Majesty signify the royal pleasure in this.⁵

...

-
- 1 Marginal note: "Write to the Governor to proceed with and carry out this plan, and to give orders to private persons to build ships."
 - 2 Marginal note: "A decree in accordance herewith. Meanwhile order shall not be given that the ships of this line shall sail at his Majesty's cost."
 - 3 Ed. note: They probably were the galleons Santiago and San Pedro.
 - 4 Ed. note: According to Clarke's Weights, Measures, and Money (N.Y., 1888), one picul weighed 133-1/3 pounds.
 - 5 Marginal note: "Write to the Viceroy of New Spain that this seems expedient, and that he may send money to the Governor, in order that some artillery may be made there, both for New Spain and Peru. Advice as to what is needed must be given to the Viceroy of Peru."

At the shipyard of these islands your Majesty's chief shipbuilder and superintendent of the works was Master Miguel de Palacio. He died and his place was filled by Master Marco, a good builder of all kinds of ships. He died also; and although I understand there is another now in charge of the galleon which is being built in the Pintados, he is old and cannot all alone attend to the work, to the repairing of the ships of the line, and the building of others. There is great need of another good officer, I beseech your Majesty to order that if possible, men be sent for this from the kingdoms of New Spain.

In the relation written by the Audiencia are other matters, of which I give no account here, since they are there mentioned; your Majesty will please order that these be examined.

May God preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty.

At Manila, 13 July of the year 1589.

Doctor Santiago de Vera

A2. Letter from the royal treasurer, Gaspar de Ayala, to the King, dated 15 July 1589

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated by B&R 7:112-136.

Sire:

Last year I gave your Majesty a detailed account of the events that had hitherto occurred in these islands; of what has since happened I will give account in this letter.

As soon as the ships left for New Spain, we set about building a ship of 700 tons at the cost of your Majesty's royal treasury. As purveyor thereof was appointed Captain Don Juan Ronquillo, mayor of the province of Pintados. The ship is being built in that district, and paid for out of the tributes which your Majesty has from that province; and this city provided some articles which were lacking there. The purveyor writes that he can make the voyage this coming year [i.e. in 1590].¹ This ship will be the fourth of your Majesty's vessels on that route. I understand that two of them will be of no use for this next year, as they will have to be laid aside. Thus it will be necessary, for the navigation on that route not to stop, that ships be built continually. Although Marshall Gabriel de Ribera and Captain Juan Pablo de Carrión are each building a ship, they will not be able to support them, and will be obliged to sell them at the port of Acapulco on the first voyage, for the Peru trade. Although they could be bought in these islands on the account of your Majesty's royal treasury, it seems to me better that your Majesty should save the profits that will be made after their construction; since they can easily be built at much less cost than if they were bought after they are built.

¹ Ed. note: If this was the San Felipe, it did not sail until 1591, as the Governor was predicting above.

The accounts of your royal exchequer have been audited this year, and are being sent with everything clearly expressed. The entire accounts are set forth and the data in detail, each class by itself.

...
This year there came from China eleven or twelve vessels with but little merchandise, because, as they say, there have been many wars and a severe plague. It has been reported that a ship from Panama or Peru, prepared to lay out a large sum of money, has arrived at Macao, which is on the river of Canton. As I have stated in previous communications, if it is permitted to carry on trade between Peru or New Spain and China, this country will be depopulated and ruined. The principal means of support here is the merchandise from China, and the profit which results from sending those goods to be sold in New Spain.

This would be completely done away with, should ships go from that country or Peru to China; for it is evident that, if these ships bought the merchandise needed, there would be no market or sale for the Chinese to come here with their ships to sell the goods, or at least not in such large numbers; and besides the general loss to this land, there would be lost the customs duties of import and export.

...
Your Majesty's galleys in this city are useless, and serve for nothing whatever. It will be more profitable and less costly to have a couple of small ships and another couple of armed frigates. This can be done if your Majesty will order them to be built and the galleys to be broken up.

...
This year a Japanese ship came to this port with many supplies and arms. There must have been more than 500 arquebuses and as many of their kind of swords, and some battle-axes. As the conspiracy of the Indians had taken place when the said ship arrived, it was believed that it came for the execution of the plot. On entering the port, this ship was boarded, and all its cargo was sequestered and the crew imprisoned. It was learned that they were going to sell the weapons in Cian [i.e. Siam], and they were released from custody, on condition that they would sell the goods here. This they did, and this country has consequently been supplied with weapons.

...
On the same day [i.e. 29 June 1589] there was an unusually severe storm of wind and water in this city. The natives say that they never saw one like it. The sea and the Madre [i.e. Pasig] River rose until they joined and reached the fort. Much damage was done in the houses; and worse still, two ships which were here loading a cargo for New Spain—one belonging to your Majesty, and the other to Marshall Gabriel de Rivera—were driven on the coast by the force of this storm, and it is understood that they cannot be repaired. Even should one be repaired, it cannot make the voyage this year. In all the port not one ship or frigate escaped, except one small boat, which was taken to send advices to New Spain of the condition of this land, which is most unpropitious. By this calamity, so injurious to the community, the people have become greatly dis-

heartened. Moreover, as I write this sentence, we have had thus far no news of ships from New Spain, although this is the 7th of July.

The entire support of this land depends on the coming and going of the ships; and if they are not here by May or the middle of June, by delaying longer they run great risk of being lost, and with them the welfare and support of this land. Sailing from the port of Acapulco at the beginning of March, they would arrive here in good time and without risk from storms. As this is of so much importance, I beseech your Majesty to be pleased to order your Viceroy of New Spain to exercise the utmost diligence in the early despatch of the ships which are to come to this land, in order that they may accomplish the purpose of the voyage.

...

There is nothing else at present. Only I pray that our Lord may preserve your Majesty many years in perfect health, and with increase of greater kingdoms and possessions, in His holy service.

At Manila, 15 July 1589.

The Licentiate Ayala

Document 1589B

Note on Dom João da Gama and Gamaland

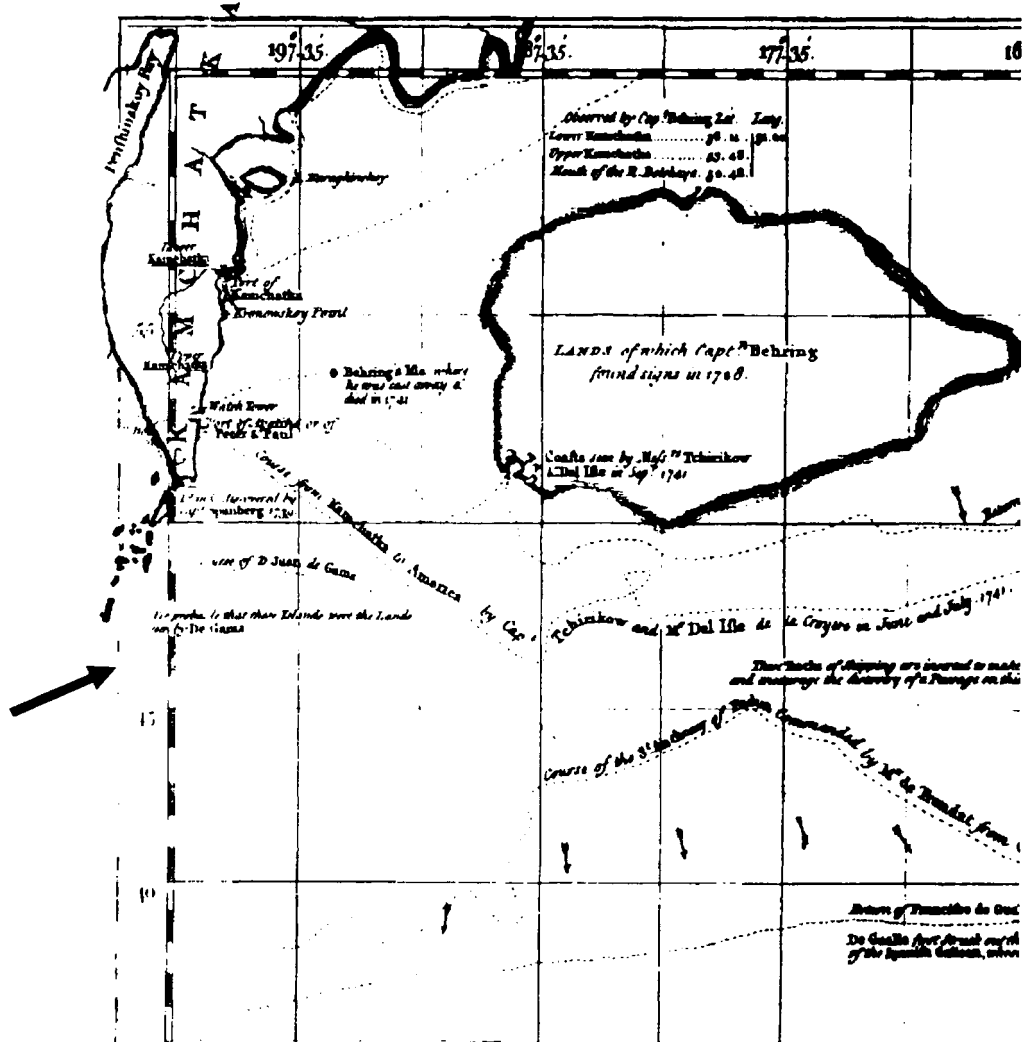
Source: C. R. Boxer's Fidalgos of the Far East, 1550- 1770 (The Hague, 1948), pp. 43-44.

From Macao to Acapulco in 1589-90

The Jesuit Father Louis Frois, in his annual Letter for 1589 wrote: "Dom João da Gama who was sailing for New Spain, was forced to seek shelter here in Japan, owing to the terrible storms and tempests he encountered, which he did with great peril and difficulty, his ship being badly battered and her rudder broken. He put into the port of Saxinoçu [Sashinotsu?] in Amakusa, and from him we learnt that owing to difficulties which had arisen in the port of Macao, it was unlikely that there would be any voyage [from Macao to Nagasaki] this year." This is confirmed by the Ajuda Jesuit Codex which states, "there came no junk from China, nor Soma, this year; only the carrack of Dom João da Gama which was forced into the port of Saxinoçu in the island of Amakusa whilst bound for New Spain, and which continued its voyage at the end of October [1589]. A frigate with dispatches bound from the Philippines to Mexico was also forced to seek shelter in Satsuma about the same time."

Dom João da Gama had served a tour of duty as Captain of Malacca, where he had behaved in such wise as to induce the King to order him to be sent home as a prisoner in irons. Before the Viceroy could act on these instructions Dom João had reached Macao, where he was accused of committing further disorders, and whence he set sail for Mexico in defiance of the Iberian navigation Laws, which expressly prohibited all contact and travel between the colonial dominions of the two Crowns. Despite her stormy voyage in Japanese waters, his ship reached Mexico in safety (the first Portuguese ship to effect the crossing of the Pacific) but he was arrested by the Spanish authorities there and sent prisoner to Spain, whither the confiscated cargo of his ship was likewise remitted. He seems to have died soon after; but a lengthy lawsuit ensued over the impounded goods, for which his heirs claimed compensation. This they apparently eventually received, which is somewhat surprising in view of the grave irregularities he was said to have committed at Malacca and Macao. It was on his voyage

across the Pacific in 1589-90, that Don João da Gama sighted that **Gama land** which proved such a puzzle to 17th and 18th century cartographers, but which was probably Hokkaido (Yezo) or one of the Kurile islands.¹



Part of a 1753 map by T. Jefferys showing Da Gama's track. The arrow points to the following remark: "It is probable that these Islands were the Lands seen by De Gama."

1 Ed. note: The galleon of Dom João apparently crossed the Pacific westward in the latter part of 1591 and arrived at Manila. Nothing more is heard about it, as far as Pacific history is concerned. I could not find the name of the ship either.

Document 1590A

Instructions given to the new Governor, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

Source: AGI 105-2-11, lib. I, folios 171b-195a, part 2; translated in B&R 7:141-172.

Instructions issued by the Council of the Indies in August 1589

The King:

To Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas¹, knight of the Order of Santiago, whom I have appointed as my Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

...

18. In place of the third office of my royal treasury, namely, the office of factor, which is to be suppressed, they petition for a ship purveyor, in order that the vessels may leave better equipped and more promptly; for the other two officials are so busy that they cannot attend to it. As it would be advisable to place this in charge of the factor whom I am having appointed, you shall have care to see that he attends to it, as far as may be necessary, so that there may be no grievance or lack in this matter.

19. In regard to the trade of the said islands, on which their growth likewise depends, the said Father Alonso Sanchez² relates that the large consignments of money sent there by wealthy people of Mexico, who do not quit their homes, is one of the things which has ruined the country; for great injuries result from it. The first is that all Chinese goods are bought by wholesale and are becoming dearer, so that the poor and common people of the said islands cannot buy them, or must buy them at extremely high rates. The second is that, as the said consignments are many and large, and the vessels few in

1 Ed. note: He was corregidor of Murcia and Cartagena in Spain before being appointed. He arrived at the Philippines in May 1590. In October 1593, while he was aboard a galley on the way to the Moluccas, he was treacherously killed in his bed by mutinous Chinese rowers. His son took over the interim governorship.

2 Ed. note: This Jesuit had returned to Spain to report on the situation in the Philippines on behalf of the colonists. He remained in Spain until his death.

number—being at times, and in fact generally, not more than one; and, by this one being quite laden and filled with goods for Mexicans, there is no space left for the citizens and common people to embark their goods.

They have petitioned me that, as a remedy for the above wrongs, I forbid the sending of consignments of money from Mexico, or the maintenance of agents or companies in the said islands for any person of New Spain; that only the inhabitants of the islands be allowed to buy and export domestic and foreign goods to the said New Spain; and that, if anyone else wishes to trade and traffic, it must be on consideration of his becoming a citizen and residing there for at least ten years, and of not trading with the property of another, under penalty of its confiscation, besides that of his other personal effects. Since, by this method, some goods would still be sent to Mexico, the money now taken by the Chinese would not be withdrawn from the country, and goods would be bought more cheaply and in exchange for products of the islands.

Now, because I am desirous of the advancement of the said islands, and the best interests of their inhabitants, I have therefore granted them by one of my decrees that, for the space of six years, only the said inhabitants may trade in China and in the said New Spain. You shall observe the said decree, and shall not allow anything to be done in any wise contrary to its tenor.

...

25. The said islands, as I am told, need stallions, mares, cows, and other domestic animals. In order that they may be bred there in numbers, I am writing to the Viceroy of New Spain to send to the said islands 12 mares, 2 stallions, 24 cows, and 2 bulls. You shall ask him for these as you pass there, and shall take them with you in your vessels as you go upon your voyage; and whatever you think needful for the animals can be brought from China and Japan. You shall order those farmers who are about to go to the said islands, and the chiefs, to tame and breed buffaloes, so that with all these animals there may be a sufficiency to carry on the farming, and for other needful services.

...

46. Beyond and beside the said provinces which are here and there disaffected among the Spaniards and the Indians already converted, are others, which although not so near, owing to their remoteness and the nature of their inhabitants, still cannot be called new discoveries; because they have been visited and known already. These are the Babuyanes, the island of Hermosa [i.e. Taiwan], the island of Caballos, Lequios [i.e. Riu-Kiu], the island of Ayncio [=Honsu?], the Javas, Burney [i.e. Borneo], Paca [=Palawan?], Guan [i.e. Guam], Calamianes, Mindanao, Siao [north of Celebes], the Moluccas, and many others. Because it has been reported that they are falling into a worse condition daily, and having been advised that their welfare and the safety of the Spaniards demand their pacification, and that delay might render it difficult, you shall ascertain the manner and method with which the said pacification and subjection can be best and most quickly brought about, and you shall execute it, as seems best to you.

47. Since it seems advisable that you, from whom I expect so much, should have authority and power to make all the said entrances and pacifications at the cost of my

royal estate, in respect to which if you were constrained to await a reply from here, in a land so distant, important occasions and opportunities might be lost, I have resolved to give you authorization for this. Accordingly I grant it to you, and order the officials of my royal estate of the said islands that, in all matters under your control, they shall honor and pay all the orders that you present to them for the said purpose. But you shall observe that you are to use the said authority only in the most important matter which shall arise, after consulting about matters of law with the ecclesiastics and the lawyers, and those of action with the captains and men of experience and conscience, and taking account of all other necessary conditions, so that the expense may be no greater than can be avoided, and profitable.

48. In order that you may accomplish them better and avoid expense, I authorize you to covenant and bargain with captains, encomenderos, and any others, in respect to the said entrances and pacifications, to make them wholly or partly at their own cost, as seems advisable to you; and to give them title, for a limited time, as governors of the islands or provinces that they explore or pacify, and as captains and masters-of-camp, provided you do not give them title of *adelantado* or marshall. You shall advise me of it, when anyone undertakes this, reporting the services, capacity, and merit of such person. The said covenant and agreement which you shall make may be kept in force until I approve them, because time will be saved thus—but with the condition of sending them to me, so that I may confirm them. You shall bind the parties to the said confirmations, to some brief period, such as you may assign for it.

49. I have been told that, although a few of the encomenderos of the said islands, who fear God and their consciences, are trying to establish ministers of religious instruction in their encomiendas, others are not doing this, and refuse to do it as they are obliged, and as is advisable, notwithstanding that there are plenty of the said ministers; that there are encomiendas which have been paying tribute peacefully for 15, 20, or 25 years, without the Indians of them ever having seen a minister or heard a word of Christian instruction; and that also many other encomiendas pay tribute by pure force of soldiers and arquebuses, who rebel and revolt because of the oppression and severity with which they are treated, without knowing the reason why they should pay it, since they have no instruction.

Since, besides the obligation to procure the welfare of those souls, their conversion, instruction, and teaching, which should be the chief constraining force; and since even for temporal affairs, for the peace and tranquility of the country, so that those pacified should not revolt, and so that those in revolt should be subdued, the best method is that of instruction—for which the common treatment, mildness, upright life, and counsels of the religious and ministers of the Gospel incline and regulate their minds; therefore, I charge you that, after consulting with the bishop you shall, in my name, provide what is advisable in this, so that the necessary instruction may be furnished, that my conscience, and his, and your own may be relieved.

...

You shall attend to all of the above with the care and close attention that I expect from your character and prudence, and from your earnest zeal in affairs touching my service.

San Lorenzo, 9 August 1589.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our sovereign:

Juan de Ibarra

Countersigned by the Council.

Documents 1590B

Two letters from Bishop Salazar to the King, both dated Manila 24 June 1590

Source: AGI 68-1-32; translated in B&R 7:239-261.

B1. First letter from Bishop Domingo de Salazar to King Philip II

Sire:

Five decrees of your Majesty came to me this year of '90 in the ship **Santiago** which arrived at this port on the last day of May. They are all dated at Madrid, four on the 23rd of June of the year '87, and the fifth on the 18th of February of '88.

...

May our Lord guard the royal person of your Majesty, and preserve you many years.
At Manila, 24 June 1590.

Fray Domingo, Bishop of the Philippines.

B2. Second letter from Bishop Salazar

Sire:

The letter which your Majesty ordered to be written to me from San Lorenzo el Real [i.e. El Escorial], on the 17th of August of '89, I received by the hand of the secretary of the Governor, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, in the village of Tabuco, outside of this city, on the 1st of June of this year '89.

...

With regard to what your Majesty orders concerning the remission of tithes for twenty years to those who now come to settle and who may come in the future, I would to God that the Spaniards were inclined to cultivate the land and to gather the fruits from it, rather than that we should ever afflict the natives by tithes. But your Majesty should know that when a man comes to this country, even if he were a beggar in Spain, here he seeks to be a gentleman, and is not willing to work, but desires to have all serve

him; and so no one will give himself to labor, but undertakes trafficking in merchandise, and for this reason military and all other kinds of training have been forgotten. From this fact not a little damage will come to this land, if the Governor does not regulate this.

...
In the next to last paragraph of his letter, your Majesty says that to remedy the present lack of instruction is my own special obligation, which I confess; and I have so appreciated this that, seeing the great present need of instruction and the little help which I can offer, I am so disturbed and so filled with anxiety that, if I were able to leave the bishopric, I would try to flee from it. But if, inasmuch as your Majesty declares to me my obligation, and puts in my charge what is lacking, you should give me, together with it, authority to right affairs, your Majesty would be relieved of responsibility, and I of anxiety, other than to make progress in learning my obligations. If I do not have authority and power to remedy this, I must live all my life in anxiety and perturbation of spirit, because every year I see them collect tribute from a race that is never given to understand why it is collected; nor is there any hope that they may be able to have instruction, because of the great difficulty there is in giving it to them.¹

...
May our Lord preserve the royal person of your Majesty for many years.
At Manila, 24 June 1590.
Fray Domingo, Bishop of the Philippines.

1 Ed. note: It seems as if Bishop Salazar already knew one of the recognized modern principles of organization: that authority should be commensurate with the responsibilities.

Document 1590C

The semi-fictitious voyage of Ordoñez de Cevallos aboard the San Pedro

Sources: Licentiate Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, Viage del mundo hecho y compuesto por el Licenciado Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos (3 books in 1 volume, Madrid, 1614); re-edited Madrid 1691 with a new title: Historia, y viage del mundo del clérigo agradecido Don Pedro Ordoñez de Zevallos.

Preliminary note: From the titles of the two editions of his book, it would appear that Ordoñez was a lawyer, perhaps of Canon law. He claims to have been a soldier of fortune and to have been ordained a priest in Bogota, before completing a voyage around the world back to his home province of Jaen in Spain. My translation below is from a copy of the first edition in BN Paris (G.6485). His story is so full of inaccuracies and embellishments that one is finally led to believe that most of it cannot possibly be true. It is nevertheless worth reproducing here for the impact it had on contemporary readers.

Voyage around the world by Licentiate Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, via Guam

...

[The story begins with Ordoñez fighting rebellious Indians in southern Columbia]

Once the war was finished we went to Popayan, where I was received with great demonstrations of joy, for the victory won, and very solemn processions were made to give thanks to God our Lord, with other feasts organized by the city. They made me a present of some things of value, which, upon receiving them, I give them to Pedro de Lomelin¹, and in addition one set of my clothes, on account of him deserving it also. A few days later, I set free General Pixao [the rebel leader], with signed agreements to the effect that he had to accept a Spanish settlement in his land, whenever the royal Audiencia of Santa Fé of Bogota would decide, and that he would no longer have butchers openly selling human flesh, and other things with which peace was established. I stayed with that government for a few days, and afterward, as the officially-appointed governor had arrived, I returned to Santa Fé, where I determined to change my condition

¹ Ed. note; The military commander of the expedition against the Indians.

and become a priest, as I will narrate in the second book. Glory be to the Lord of everything.

Book 2, in which the grateful priest deals with various events that happened to him, and the trip he made around the world. Composed by the said Licentiate Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos.

Prologue.

Because distinction is the cause of clarity, as Aristotle, the prince of philosophy, says, that is why it seemed to me [appropriate] to divide this history into a second book, in which are dealt with various and diverse events that happened to me, after I was ordained a priest, given that my conditions through the course of my life have been two; hence, I have decided to lay it all down into as many books. In this second one, then, appears everything related to this second condition, the matter being divided as in the first one into chapters. I humbly beg the Lord, that it be for His glory and honor, and for the pleasure and approval of the discrete and prudent reader.

Chapter I. Where is mentioned how I was ordained, and the happiness received by the Archbishop of Santa Fe about it.

There have been a variety of opinions as to the meaning of the word priest...

...

[Ordoñez travels from Bogota to Quito]

As the see was vacant on account of the death of the lord Bishop Fray Pedro de la Peña, they provided [to replace him] Fray Miguel de San Miguel, Bishop of Chile, but having come as far as Riobamba, he died there. He was given a most sumptuous burial the like of which I had never seen before, since it had 330 crosses and as many standards from the Indian villages in the vicinity of Quito. There were all the convents and priests, the fraternities, the Audiencia and the municipal delegations in mourning. He was much regretted, because he was held to be a great saint; he was a Franciscan friar. There was left as vicar-general the Archdean Don Francisco Galavis, who is one of the captives who were freed and with whom I made the voyage to Jerusalem, as I have said earlier. He asked me to go to Spain with the property of the dead lord Bishop, because he remained as testamentary executor, and on the way I was to visit the Vicar of Guayaquil, and two other priests, and the Vicar of Manta. He fixed my daily salary at four ducats. He turned over to me 35,000 ducats, and 4,000 of his. I myself had at that time as much as 4,000 ducats.¹

I went to Quayaquil², which is 100 leagues overland from Quito, with one river [to cross], and many mosquitoes and mud. I visited the vicars and priests; I gained 1,000

1 Ed. note: He was soon to lose the whole of it, over 40,000 ducats.

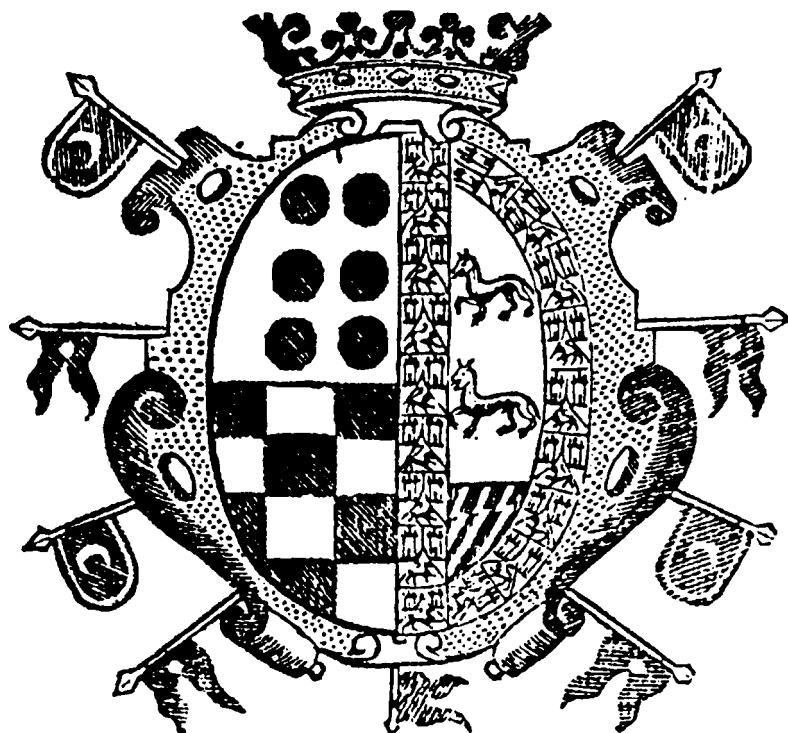
2 Ed. note: As far as I can figure out from later statements, this is supposed to have taken place in the fall of 1588.

V I A G E
D E L M U N D O.

HECHO Y COMPUESTO POR EL
Licenciado Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, natural de
la insigne ciudad de Iacn.

CONTIENE TRES LIBROS.

DIRIGIDO A DON ANTONIO DAVILA
y Toledo, sucessor y mayoralgo en la casa de Velada.



CON PRIVILEGIO.

En Madrid, Por Luis Sanchez impresor del Rey N. S.

Año M. DC. XIII.

Title page of the first edition of Ordoñez' Voyage.

HISTORIA, Y VIAGE
DEL MUNDO
DEL CLERIGO AGRADECIDO
DON PEDRO
ORDOÑEZ DE
ZEVALLOS,

NATURAL DE LA
INSIGNE CIUDAD DE JAEN,
à las cinco partes de la Europa, Africa,
Asia, America, y Magalanica, con
el Itinerario de todo
el.

CONTIENE TRES LIBROS.

CON LICENCIA.

En Madrid: Por JUAN GARCIA IVARRA,
Año de 1691.

Acosta de Joseph Vascones, Mercader de libros,
vendese en las Gradass de San Felipe.

Title page of the second edition of Ordoñez' Voyage.

ducats. I travelled 35 leagues to Puna. From there to Manta, which is 20 leagues further, and we spent twenty days at sea to reach Panama, a distance of 600 leagues. In Panama, I was much in a hurry, because I received news that the galleons were leaving. I went out by Chagre [River] and in three days on the water and one on land, I arrived at Nombre de Dios, twenty leagues. We left for Cartagena, another 80 leagues, and there I found the power of attorney from the Archdean Vicar-general of Quito, and provisions from the royal Audiencias, to the effect that I was to deliver the money of the dead lord Bishop and that it be for the account of his Majesty. I was paid my salaries.

[Treasure lost on the Florida coast]

We left from there to go to Havana, 250 leagues. A very great misfortune happened to me there, as I found myself without any money, not only mine, but also that of others. It happened this way. As the Cape of San Antonio was sighted, the ship sank so that it became impossible to manage it until it broke into pieces. God willed that the people did not perish and returned to Havana with not a few hardships and calamities which I will not mention so as not to sadden the readers. I left aboard a frigate by way of New Spain; I arrived, after many storms and torment on account of the little money, at San Juan de Lua [Veracruz], 500 leagues.

Chapter V. How I arrived at Mexico, and its grandeur, and about a great storm we had in the South Sea.

Since I have arrived at this place, and have touched at Mexico, it has seemed to me [appropriate] (although in passing) to mention its grandeur and abundance of everything. Well, this city is the most populated in the Indies. The settlement covers a very large district, since its Spanish population is 30,000 men and 22,000 women. It has 100,000 Indian men with as many Indian women. There would be in it 20,000 negro men and 15,000 negro women. I witnessed an auto-da-fé of the holy Inquisition, in the central square, and in the streets 35 coaches, large and small. There is a viceroy, also a royal Audiencia, court-appointed judges, a district officer and [his] lieutenant, an Archbishop, and the Holy Office [of the Inquisition]. There is such an abundance that one chicken costs one real; six one-pound loaves of bread cost one real each; a sheep five reals; a cow three ducats; a hog, no matter how big, as many ducats; and at this [kind of] price is sold the rest of the food. There is great trade in silk and in other things that ennoble it.

After I had enjoyed a few of them, I left for Los Angeles [i.e. Puebla] which is 25 leagues distant. This city is such that, when compared to Mexico, it is the cheapest in all the Indies, so cheap in fact that everything is brought from here to Mexico. There are some plains thereabout that are most famous for wheat. Each *fanega* was then worth three reals, and a capon three-quarters of one, a rabbit one-quarter, a partridge half a real. At this city, I began to recover my loss; thus, I found here some of my creditors, from whom I received 2,000 ducats.

I passed to Guatemala, a distance of 350 leagues, where there are nine Spanish towns. From Guatemala, I went out to the dye works, and visited the whole of that kingdom as far as the port of Santiago, a total of 329 leagues. I made a great use of indigo to earn many ducats, then I crossed over to Vera Paz, a distance of 270 leagues. The priests who go around this land are very favored and dedicated, because the great Marquis Martín Cortés honors them a lot, and for this reason the whole of that land has become evangelized.

[Ordoñez, the priest, buys a small ship]

I went back toward Acapulco, 112 leagues, in order to return to Quito. I went by Alcazar, then Puebla. I did not find any ship for Guayaquil and I had to buy a small galloon of 280 tons, a strong one, from Martín de Noruega. It cost me 8,000 pesos cash, and 3,000 on credit. I bought five [artillery] pieces from the big ship owned by the one who sold it to me. I took on food and other supplies, and was left owing a total of 8,000 pesos. I selected 30 seamen, 25 deck hands, a Captain, a Master, a boatswain, a boatswain's mate, a steward, a clerk, and 20 cabin boys. There arrived at this time my good friend Pedro de Lomelin, Marcos Ortiz, Delgado, and Matoso; they came looking for me. I arranged for Pedro de Lomelin to be named Captain of the infantry, and for Diego de Lomelin to be [his] lieutenant. I embarked these men, in all 12 soldiers, as well as two lay Franciscan brothers who were going to Peru. I loaded the ship with things for Guayaquil, canvas for sails, rigging for ships, and up to nine merchants finished by loading it up, so that we ended up with 108 people aboard.

[Departure from Acapulco in October 1589]

We departed with a prosperous voyage, and sailed for seven days and one Sunday three sails were sighted, reason for which we put ourselves on a war footing, and they did the same. They were ships from Peru, and so we all passed with great joy. There was a terrible calm, and that night the wind came back, and on Thursday morning we had so much of it that we would have rather fight enemies than the inclement sea, because it was such that it wanted to swallow us. We ran for two days with the storm, during which time the ship must have covered 300 leagues. On Friday night, it abated; but on Saturday at daybreak it returned as a hurricane, so much so that we thought we would perish. We threw many bundles overboard, and all the heavy things. The storm lasted for 15 days during which we must have travelled a thousand leagues, and we arrived at such a high latitude that all our gums became swollen with the cold and all the supplies we had on hand became spoiled. It improved for 8 days, and the pilot took the latitude and said that we were in 30°, and we found ourselves 1,300 leagues from Acapulco and 1,800 leagues from Guayaquil. Two persons died on us as they could not eat, although we had little to eat. We returned to our voyage for 16 days.

That afternoon the wind freshened, we sailed toward Peru for three days, then another storm returned with such a force that it was something surprising. It lasted for 12 days. We gained latitude and the gum disease returned. Three persons died. It abated on the twelfth day but then there was no strength left in anyone; it took us another 13 days before it improved completely. We found ourselves so far off that the pilot was

saying, along with other seamen who understood it well, that we were over 1,500 leagues from Guayaquil.

[Two Manila galleons supposedly sighted in the North Pacific]

On a Friday, we sighted two merchant ships coming from the Philippines, and it was a pity to see them.¹ Because the winds were very brisk and contrary, and we were sailing so far off course, I had the ship inspected all over. We had food for one month. Water, we had very little. We were all together that way for 12 days and what we would cover in four, or five, toward Guayaquil, in one during which we had contrary wind we would go back.

[The fictitious story about an island peopled with Spaniards]

On a clear day their flagship discovered land and fired one shot. It was a great joy for all. It was very high, with very great rocks and mountains. Nobody knew of it. We went near and saw some stone houses, and at some places crosses; this made us very content. On the higher part of the mountain, there must have been over 30,000 Indians fighting with those of the houses. We heard our Spanish language being spoken by one of them. There were about a hundred stone houses, and on the peaks made by the mountain two very strong fortresses, and above the houses in those crags many caves, which was something to see.

Pedro de Lomelin stepped ashore and brought [back] a mulatto who, upon arriving at the ship knelt down and kissed my hands and feet more than a hundred times. He narrated to me the following story in brief words, as he had heard it from his parents and it is as follows.

[The story of a lost ship, ca. 1549]

Years ago a Spanish ship took port in that island, and broke into pieces. They settled down, and as they had no women, they would go out and kidnap them from among those of the land. They had many wars with the Indians, and every summer they had them with a terrible enmity, until there were not more than three left alive. They were all baptized Christians; they prayed and commended themselves to God. He asked me to shoot at those Indians, because all the islands had joined together and there they were about to finish them off; they had been surrounded for four moons. He asked me for something to eat, which was for me something very painful. We shot six, or eight pieces at the mountains, and there was not one Indian who did not flee. They had their sort of town and church where they were buried.

We landed and talked with everyone. One of the Spaniards was Viceroy and the other two were ordinary mayors in perpetuity and captains. They told us that 40 years ago 160 persons had arrived there, and only one woman who was still alive and 100 years

1 Ed. note: This is a puzzle. If the year is indeed 1589, as Ordoñez says below, there is no record of **two ships crossing together** from Manila to Acapulco, and no ship crossed from Acapulco that year. However, in 1590, the **Santiago** and the **San Ildefonso** crossed together from Manila. It is interesting to note that Fr. Juan de la Concepción in his *Historia* (tome 2, chapter 24) says that a priest came from Mexico to the Philippines in 1591. If so, Ordoñez himself has made an error of 1 year in his narrative.

old, and must have up to 350 descendants from all of them, almost all male. They would have over 300 local Indian women, on account of their having multiplied, and they had women in sufficient quantity. I myself had brought six bags of flour; I made hosts with the irons that I had brought, and I said mass in that church. Thirty-three years had passed since the death of two friars who had been saying mass there. I heard the confessions of all those people, by working as much as possible, and I spent there the Christmas of the year of 1589. It had been a little over one year before that I had left Quito, and over two months since departing the port of Acapulco.

In the meantime, our people went out, along with them, and they brought back much meat from the bush, corn, and other things. The two lay brothers stayed here, because they came sick. I preached to them, and I instructed them in our faith because a few already were not completely [Christian], and I recommended strongly to the friars to get busy to look after their salvation.

After having spent 18 days there, and having made provision of what there is in that land, we embarked. I promised to try and have some people sent to them to settle those islands, and that I would give an account of it to the Viceroy. We took the degrees, capes, and sailing directions so that whoever would come afterward would not become lost. We left there with a prosperous wind, and with enough gold, because there is much in that land.¹ We sailed together with good weather for 8 days, and on Candlemas Day [2 February] of 1590, the storm hit us in the same neighborhood and everything that had been taken from the island became rotten. The other ships, on account of their not sailing toward that latitude, returned to the same course and it appeared to us that they were going back to the same island. As for us, we were working to go toward Peru, or to New Spain, and thus food became scarce.

We agreed to take once again the direction of the island, and in four days we sighted it again, and we saw one ship at anchor, and the other beating to get in. Because it was late, we did not make port that night.

[Arrival at the Ladrones]

At daybreak, a southwesterly hit us so badly that within one hour we could no longer see the land. So, for three days we ran and we discovered another island which was recognized as the island of Ladrones, on the way to the Philippines. Many paddling canoes, [sailing] canoes and rafts² came and the only thing they were carrying was bananas, potatoes, and other roots, and they were asking us for sea-biscuit. They are very tall Indians and they have at the tip of their moustache a wick of hair, and all the rest they remove. When we went away, they threw arrows at us, and they wounded a negro and the Captain of the ship. We left there intending to go to Luçon, and from there to China.

We almost sighted the [Philippine] islands three times and as many times we had storms. We were perishing from hunger, because there were given only a small cup of

1 Ed. note: Thus adding fuel to the existence of the mysterious island of gold called Rica de Oro.

2 Ed. note: Rafts were never used in Micronesia, a clear sign of a bogus story.

corn, two bananas and one potato or yucca. Since we could not touch at any of the Philippine Islands, we determined to go to China, to Macao. Hunger became so intense that we were eating all the things made of leather aboard the ship, and we were giving out as ration a piece of cow leather that one of the merchants was carrying there. It had been three months since we had taken port anywhere and, as what we had taken in at the island of Spaniards had become rotten as well as what we were given at the Ladrões, all we had left to do was to die. It was a great sorrow for me to see a negro woman die of hunger, and a small cabin boy who also died of it.

On Easter Day, 14 April [1590], we touched at a small island, and took some water there, mallows and beets, and we did not recognize anything else that was edible. We almost filled the ship with those vegetables. As we had an abundance of water, we ate them cooked with a piece of leather and 30 grains of corn.

God was served that we sighted the Island of the Name of Jesus in the Pintados [i.e. Visayas]¹ and the port of Cebu. In that city I found Cristobal de Espinosa de los Monteros, a native of Jaen, a great soldier, who, since his life and deeds will be mentioned in a book on the grandeurs of Jaen, I omit what happened there, in order to include it overthere.² We left Cebu bound for China, as will be said in the next chapter.

Chapter VI. How we arrived at Macao. Of the government existing at Canton, with other things that happened to me there.

After so many shipwrecks and hardships, as I have said, on the day of the apostles St. Philip and St. James, we arrived at Macao, and it seemed to us that we had arrived where we could rest. His Lordship received us with great pleasure, and the Captain and Superior Judge did the same. We were there two months. We stocked up on food supplies. There is little to drink, because there is no wine, so much so that a jar was then worth 40 pesos, and this I took to say mass. We loaded on palm wine, and oil from the same source. We took a safe-conduct and one day after the feast of Our Lady in August 1590, we left for Canton.

...

There I paid off the soldiers and seamen; that cost me 11,000 pesos in gold...

³

...

1 Ed. note: It is impossible to reach Cebu without first running into many other islands. Also, it is not probable that a Spanish ship would go from Cebu to Macao without a stop at Manila.

2 Ed. note: There indeed existed a Cristobal Espinosa in Cebu at the time. He is mentioned on a list of *encomiendas*, dated May 1591, as an *encomendero* for the island of Limasawa and Payta (B&R 8:132).

3 Ed. note: In Book 3 of the story, the preceding events are synopsized. A comparison of some points in the story is interesting.

Book 3, Chapter VIII. Of the voyage from the port of Acapulco, until the arrival at Canton in China.

I said in the last chapter how the port of Acapulco is in 19° of latitude in the South Sea. It is a town and is populated by Spaniards and Indians. There is a Mayor there and a Captain of the port. My voyage, as narrated in the history, was about leaving Peru to go to Spain, with my papers and pretensions, how I got lost at the Cape of San Antón, went over to this port of Acapulco, after having first made the rounds of most of New Spain, and wishing to return to Guayaquil, a city in Peru, given that this is how one goes to the province and city of Quito, and how I did not find passage there, as there was no ship to pursue that voyage, I was forced to buy one there, which was called the galleon **San Pedro**. It was organized with seamen, infantry soldiers, as previously mentioned.

We left from there bound for the said Guayaquil but with storms we lost our way and we had great storms and great fights with enemies. We went by different latitudes, even as far as 53°, with so much cold that our gums would fall to pieces, and the food supplies became rotten (as was mentioned) and so the voyage was different from the one intended by a direct route, as one must go down as far as 12° and 1/2, for the islands of the Sails, or **Ladrones**, which are the same, and has to sail to the southwest, and because we discovered other islands that were unknown, which we named the islands of the Spaniards, as we found there a generation issued from Spaniards.

From there we headed for the islands of the Ladrones. Our voyage was very long, over 3,000 leagues, until arriving and sighting the island called **Charpan** [Sarpana or Rota?] which is the first one there, out of seven or eight. The people there are white, and completely naked in the flesh, and with strong limbs, a great strength. It is said that they have only small chiefs, and they make war among themselves. They are gentiles, offering sacrifices to the devil. Their weapons are slings, spears, lances, and very hard leather shields. They are very great thieves and for that they are called Thieves' Islands. The last island, which is where we arrived, is called **Yguam** [Guam]. It seems to me that they would be easy to conquer, because the people are without law and because they much fear the arquebuses, although they are valiant people and with such big bodies that they seem like giants.

From there we sailed another 18 days, and we sighted the Philippine Islands but on account of the storms we could never touch at them, because the way is due west and we could never go directly. There would be 200 leagues to the mouth of Espiritu Santo, a distance that some have covered in 6 days, but we took 18 days. There are there so many islands that it is one of the greatest archipelagoes existing in the whole sea, all inhabited with people, and almost half of them conquered by Spaniards. The main one is called Luçon, or Luçon, and all of them bear the name of our Catholic King, Don Philip III.

From the mouth of Espiritu Santo to Manila, which is the main city, there are over 80 leagues. There are there a Governor and Bishop, some dignitaries and canons. This island is in 14° and 1/4, and there are so many islands next to it that between them run

what look like some narrow rivers, or parts of lagoons. They are so numerous that they almost go as far as Malacca, next to the strait of Singapore, and overthere to the Molucca Islands.

Document 1590D

The Boxer Codex and the 1590 galleons

Sources: A 307-page late 16th-century manuscript, called the Dasmariñas Codex in the Philippines, formerly in the possession of Lord Ilchester in England, and owned since 1947 by Professor C. R. Boxer, formerly with the University of London. Microfilm copies exist, notably as Ayer ms. 1409a in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

1) Described by C. R. Boxer in an article entitled: "A Late Sixteenth Century Manila MS." in the *Royal Asiatic Society Journal* (April 1950, pp. 37-49).

2) Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia in an article entitled: "The Manners, Customs, and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago; Being Chapters of "A Late 16th Century Manuscript"... " in the *Philippine Journal of Science* 87:4 (Dec 1958) pp. 325-451; reprinted in 1961 by the Bureau of Printing, Manila; also summarized by Carlos Quirino in Vol. 4 of the book: *Filipino Heritage; the Making of a Nation* (Manila, Lahing Filipino Pub., 1977).

Background information on the Boxer Codex.

This codex is mostly about the Far East, but the beginning of the document deals with the visit of galleons to Guam. Professor Boxer himself has described how he acquired this document¹ in the following terms:

*Hodgson's Sale Catalogue for the 10th July, 1947, of books from Lord Ilchester's Library at Holland House, contained a curious manuscript which was listed as follows under item N° 60: "Oriental MS.—75 Coloured Drawings of Native Races in the Far East, including the **Ladrones**, Moluccas, Philippines, Java, Siam, China, and elsewhere, those of China depicting Royalty, Warriors, Mandarins, etc., in gorgeous Robes, richly heightened with gold, also 88 smaller Coloured Drawings of Birds and fantastic animals (4 on a page), all within decorative borders, and a double folding Drawing of a Ship, and Natives in small craft, with about 270 pages of MS. text, sm. 4to, calf, lettered, Isla de **Ladrones** (eighteenth century)."*

Intrigued by this somewhat cryptic description, I acquired this codex, and found that the text was written throughout in Spanish, in a late sixteenth century hand, of a type familiar to anyone who has studied the documents in the Archivo de Indias in Seville... The latest date mentioned in the text, whether directly or by inference, is 1590.

1 Ed. note: He paid £70 for it in 1947, as he told my friend Carlos Quirino in the 1950s.



Portrait of Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas [1590-1593]. *A native of Galicia, and knight of the Order of Santiago. He was corregidor of Murcia and Cartagena when Philip II selected him to become Governor of the Philippines in 1589. He arrived at Manila on 1 June 1590 aboard the flagship Santiago, with his son Luís. He quarrelled with the friars and conquered the negritos of Zambales. He was on his way to the Moluccas in 1593 when his Chinese crewmen assassinated him on 25 October 1593. (From *El Oriente*, vol. 1, n° 7, p. 1. Courtesy of the Lopez Museum, Manila)*

*The codex begins with two preliminary blank leaves, neatly ruled on the bottom margin and each side in blue, as are the rest of the pages throughout. It seems likely that there was originally a title-page which has been removed. The third leaf is an oblong folding one, measuring 24 inches by 8 inches, depicting the Manila Galleon off one of the **Ladrones** (Marianas since 1668) islands, surrounded by native craft, in the course of her voyage from Mexico to the Philippines in 1590, as reference to the text on leaves 3-4 discloses. In point of fact, two ships left Acapulco for Manila on 1st March, 1590,*

with the new Governor, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, and his son, Don Luis. Only the flagship, or capitana¹, reached Manila in safety on the 31st May, the almiranta² being wrecked off the island of Marinduque. It is therefore, in all probability, the flagship which is the vessel depicted here.³ The exact location is not given, but the Manila-bound galleons usually aimed to reach the Ladrones between Guam and Sarpana [i.e. Rota] (not to be confused with the more northerly and nowadays better-known island of Saipan) after a seventy-day voyage from Acapulco.

The folding plate is followed by a double-page painting of natives of the Ladrones, whilst the next two leaves [i.e. 4 pages] contain an account of the inhabitants of this island group, entitled “Relación de las yslas de los Ladrones.” It is from this opening chapter heading that the binder has taken the lettering on the spine of the calf binding. The account is unsigned and undated, but it is written (or dictated) in the first person by somebody who was on board one of the two ships which passed through these islands in May, 1590. He comments on the herculean proportions of the naked islanders, describes the speed attained by their outrigger canoes, and explains how they bartered fish, fruit, and water, for bits of iron from the sailors of the passing Spanish ship. He adds that so keenly did the islanders value metal, that when he held out his sword as if to barter it, the occupants of all the canoes left off chaffering with the other passengers and crew, and paddled their craft towards him, offering everything which they had in exchange. This anecdote indicates that the writer was a layman, and for reasons which will be adduced at the end of this paper it is possible that he was either Governor Dasmariñas or his son...

The text seems to be written by a Spanish, or possibly a Filipino clerk; but the illustrations in all probability are the work of a Chinese artist. At any rate, the features of the persons portrayed are mostly of a Mongolian cast, the painter seems to be more at home with his Chinese than with his other subjects, whilst the ideographs are too well written to be the work of one of the very few friars or Jesuits who were capable of wielding a Chinese brush in 1590. The use of Chinese paper, ink, and paints, also suggests a Chinese artist; although this is not conclusive, as European materials were so expensive at Manila that Chinese supplies were often used instead... It seems most likely that the artist of this codex was a “Sangley”⁴ working under European supervision.

...
As to who was the original owner, editor, or compiler of this MS., that is a more difficult question. One thing is certain. He must have been a rich or influential man, as

1 Ed. note: Named the Santiago, a 600-ton galleon.

2 Ed. note: Named the San Pedro, a 400-ton galleon. Both ships had begun service only two years earlier. The date given was accordingly to the Masico calendar.

3 Ed. note: Both ships had similar lines and we cannot tell from their relative size which one is depicted. I rather think that the figure represents the San Pedro, as seen from the flagship Santiago by the Dasmariñas.

4 Ed. note: This word, derived from the Fukienese dialect and meaning travelling salesman or trader, was used by the Spanish to denote all Chinamen in the Philippines.



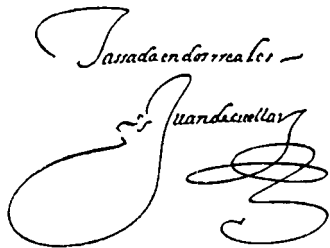
Portrait of interim Gov. Luís Pérez Dasmariñas [1593-1595]. *(Photo of a painting exhibited at St. Louis in 1904. B&R 30:227)*

nobody else could have afforded to pay the high prices involved by such a lavish use of gold leaf in the illustrations and chapter headings... When we recall that this MS begins with things seen from a Manila-bound galleon off the Ladrones in 1590, and that Governor Dasmariñas came out with his son that year, it is surely not too far-fetched to suggest that perhaps one of these two individuals was the original owner.

...
A final word as to its provenance and condition. I have no idea when it came to England, but the transference presents no insuperable difficulties. It might have been picked up during the sack of Manila by Draper's expeditionary force in 1762.¹

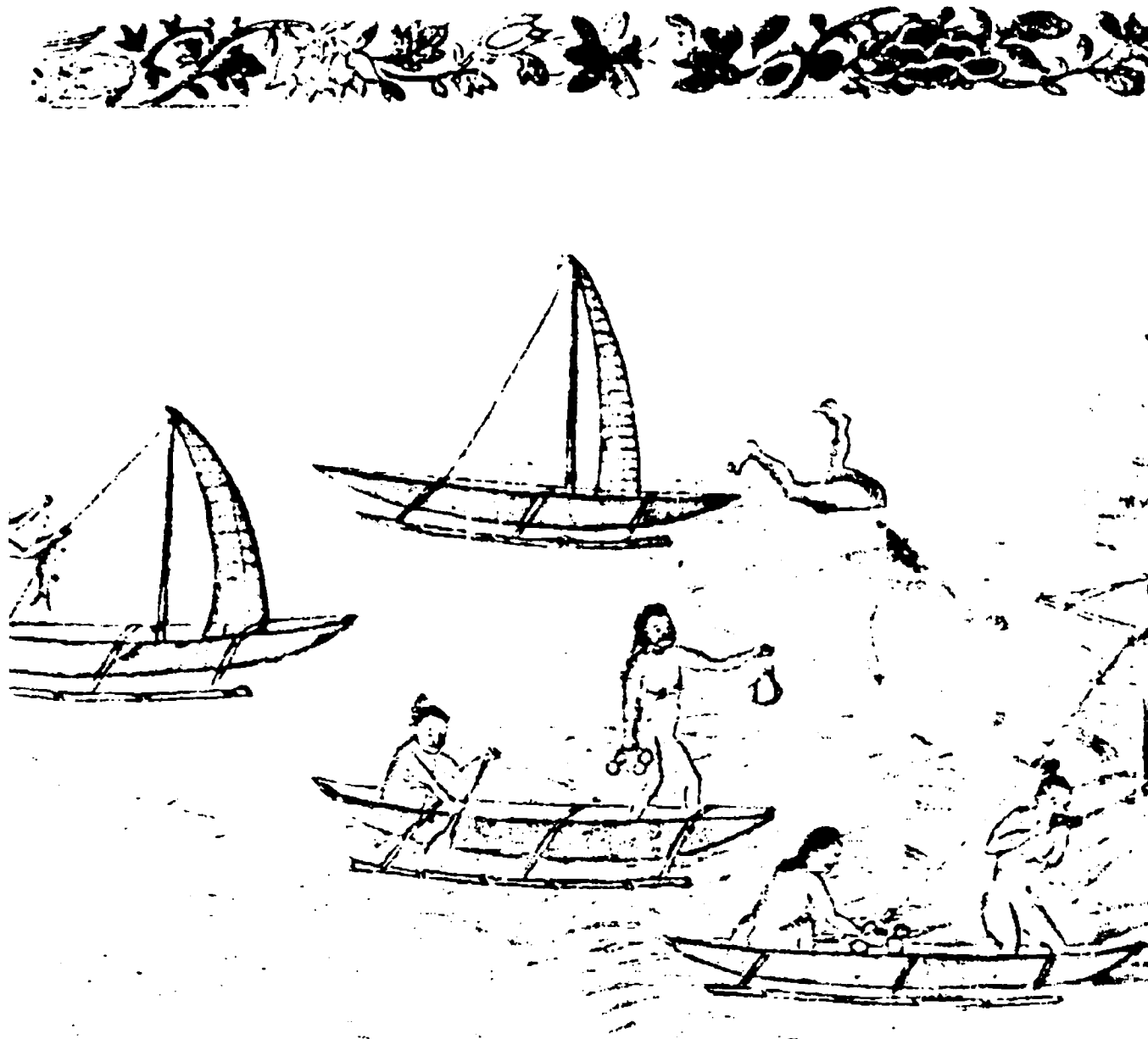
Quirino and Garcia also think that the document belonged to Governor Dasmariñas and, upon his death in 1593, passed on to his son, the interim Governor, who continued to compose it until his own death in 1603, as least insofar as the pages on the Ladrones, the Philippines and perhaps Cambodia are concerned. They go on to prove their point. There is a slight possibility that the original owner may also have been Antonio de Padua, alias Antonio de la Llave, a soldier of fortune who was aboard the galleon **Santiago** in 1590 and could have befriended the young Dasmariñas. This man soon became a friar, taking the habit on 17 March 1591. He is known to have written many works which were unfortunately never published. If not the original owner, he could have done some of the work for the Dasmariñas. Certainly, he could have been the man who waved his sword at the Chamorros of Guam...

Another possible owner is mentioned by Quirino and Garcia. It is Juan de Cuellar, the Governor's secretary, who was also aboard the **Santiago** in 1590. Like Padua, he formed part of the contingent of soldiers who arrived with the new Governor to seek their fortune in the colony. While Padua became a priest, Cuellar became a close confidant and secretary of the Governor. In the course of his work, Cuellar has written narratives of expeditions in and out of the Philippines and could have written some, if not all, of the Boxer Codex. They claim that he was the copyist of this, the final draft, and that the calligraphy of the codex "closely resembles that of Cuellar appearing in the two Doctrinas sent by Dasmariñas to Philip II in 1593, the only samples of his handwriting available to us for comparison."



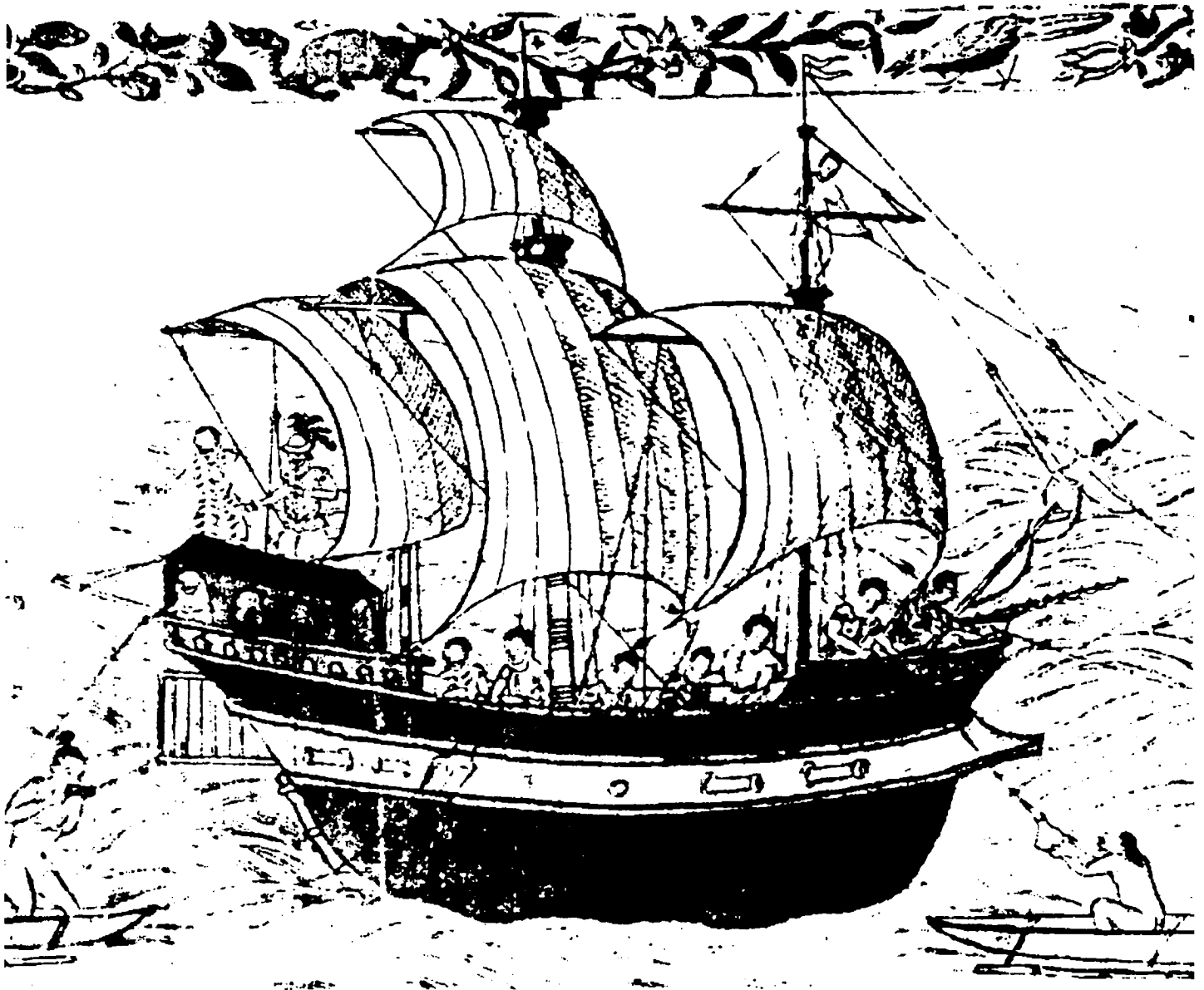
Specimen handwriting of Juan de Cuellar, the secretary of Governor Dasmariñas. I do not personally think that the calligraphy is the same as in the Boxer Codex, at least the first part about the Ladrones (see below).

¹ Ed. note: The English officers allowed their men to loot the whole city of Manila. All maps, charts, manuscripts, and non religious books were transported by Royal Navy ships back to England, where they were scattered. Many ended up in the possession of Alexander Dalrymple. However, I do not think that the codex was part of the loot (See next page).

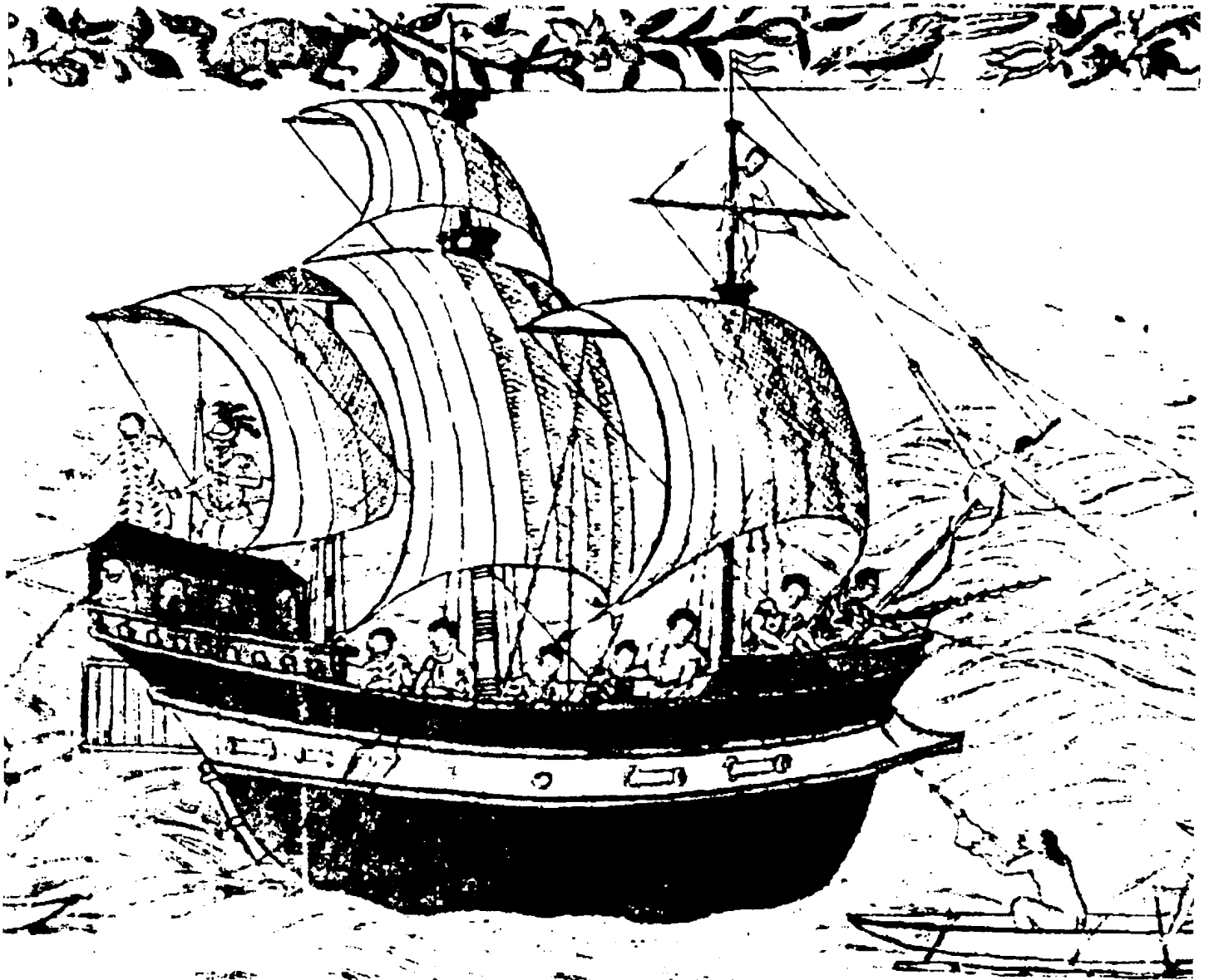


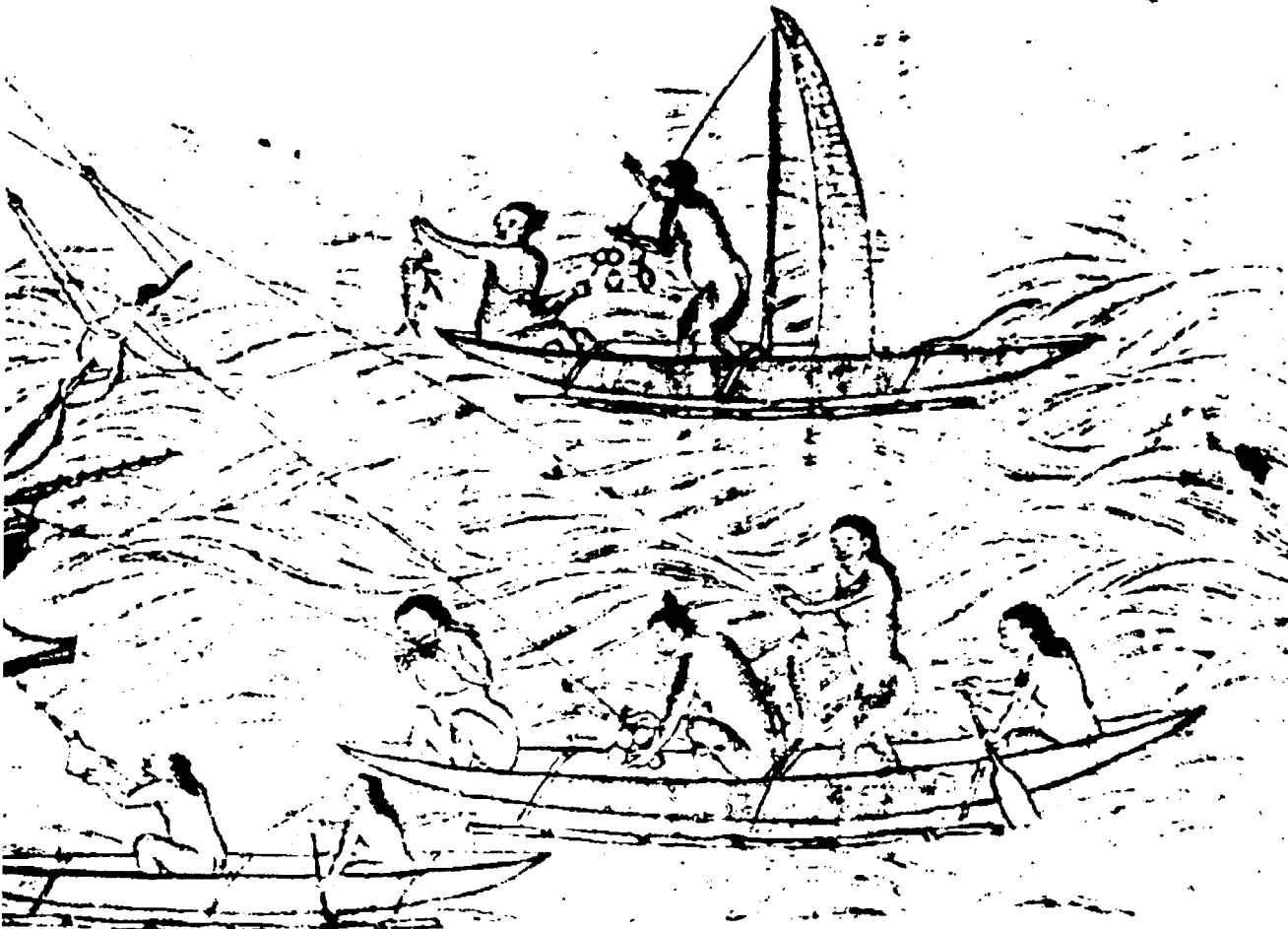
Final word as to provenance of the manuscript.

The English invaded and sacked Manila in 1762. It seemed to me unlikely that a document on such fragile paper would have been so well preserved in a tropical climate since 1590, or that it would have survived the many fires that periodically hit Manila. However, the final proof that the English did not steal it from Manila is that the manuscript was in Spain a few years before that. It was cited as an anonymous manuscript by Gonzalez Barcía in his *Epitome* (Madrid, 1737, 1738), ii, col. 638. I have found this reference in B&R 53:272, where the first line of the codex confirms that it is the same document: “*Relacion de las Islas de los Ladrones. Este genero de gentes, que llaman los Ladrones...*”



The galleon San Pedro as seen from the flagship Santiago at Guam in May 1590. *Around the ship are the canoes of the natives of the Ladrones bartering fish, coconuts and other fruits for iron, which they praised above all else. They did so in 1590 while the ships were under sail as they did not stop because they did not need water. (From C.R. Boxer's "The Manila Galleon: 1565-1815" in History Today, vol. 8, n° 8 (1958), pp.544-545. By permission of Professor Boxer. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago)*







Naked islander of the Ladrões Islands in 1590. Neither men nor women of the islands wore any clothes. Spears were their most common weapons. (From the Boxer Codex. By permission of Professor Boxer)



Naked warrior of the Ladrone. *Wearing a fictitious fig leaf, this warrior carries a bow and arrows, a weapon seldom described. The more usual weapon of the Chamorros was the sling. (From the Boxer Codex. By permission of Prof. Boxer)*

Relación de las Islas de las Molucas
 En el Reyno de España. En la ciudad de Madrid. Año de 1595.
 Vnas y las que ay quatro en las leguas antes del lugar
 al caudo de pueru santo y son las pueru que es de las
 Los nauis que se usan para pueru en las leguas de las
 pinas. que se usan para pueru. En algunas pueru de las
 que ay muncos y buenos y quando nose haze como en
 el Neua je que se haze de lano de go. Por no auer fal
 tado agua. que se topiclla se suele tomar pueru to
 ellos salen dos leguas a la mar en un nauis
 e suelen ser buenos y trancos. que no tienen en el
 de dos paños y medio arriba. Son de la forma que
 ay ban pintados a los lados tienen un contrapeso
 de cañas. yunque es tan ligero. de los de la que es aq
 a ellos se les da bien poco. porque son como peces en el
 agua y si acaso se yne de agua. y no se caen en
 ella. y la saca con medio coco. Se siue de la
 y si no con una pañeta. con que bogan en los nauis bu
 e los naen de la latitud de perate. que se se de palma
 y se siue muncos de ellos en las partes. y hazen los
 Los mores. con muncos de colores y labores grauosas
 que parecen muy bien pintadas. Lo mores
 Curneys. y terrenares. son en los nauis tan ligeros.
 Salendos. Otras leguas. de pueru y en un momento
 En un nauis. a bordo a yunque baya a la uela
 y tienen. o na pañeta la uela. En una uela que
 no tienen en menester para ella. bien como de el
 Toruere. se aso qual fue que en se mar en
 La b. e. ad. suete que bando quier en y es de man
 que no parecen. sino cauallos. muy domados y
 a p. enados. pues de estos nauis. salen a la mar
 en buendo nauis de a. lo boido que en pañeta se siue que

Transcript of the codex

[Leaf 3 recto]

Relacion de las yslas de los Ladrones

*Este genero de gente [que] llaman los Ladrones abitan en =
 unas yslas que ay quatrocientos leguas antes de llegar
 al cavo de spiritu santo, y son las primeras que descubren
 los navios que bienen de acapulco a estas yslas phili-
 pinas. suelen hazer aguada en algun puerto dellas
 que ay munchos y buenos y quando no se haze como en
 este viaje que se hizo el ano de 90, por no aver fal-
 ta de agua que solo por ella se suele tomar puerto =
 ellos salen dos [o] tres leguas a la mar en unos navi-
 chuelos chicos, y tan estrechos que no tienen de ancho
 de dos palmos y medio arriba donde la forma que
 ay ban pintados[.] a los lados tienen un contrapesso =
 de cañas[.] aunque estan seguros de sosobrar cossa que
 a ellos se les da bien poco, porque son como peces en el
 agua y si acaso se ynche de agua, el yndio se arroja en
 ella y la saca con medio coco que les sirve de escudilla
 y sino con una paleta con que bogan[.] estos navichu-
 chuelos traen bela latina de petate que es echa de palma
 y se sirve mucho dellos en estas partes, y hazenlos =
 los moros con munchas colores y labores graciosas
 que parecen muy bien[,] principalmente los moros
 burneys y terrenates. son estos navios tan ligeros
 que salen dos o tres leguas del puerto y en un momento
 estan con el navio abordo aunque baya a la vela
 y tienen otra particularidad en su navegacion que
 no tienen menester para ella biento mas de el
 que corriese[,] sease qual fuere[,] que con ese marean
 la bela de suerte que bando quieren y es de manera
 que no parecen sino cavallos muy domesticos y dis-
 ciplinados. pues de estos navios salen tantos que des-
 cubriendo navio de alto bordo que no parese sino que*

cubien Zamara y que los biota Subemdale
 nri escatai Sieno por que este es su opor. Lo estin
 manemas. quien el y de este resiu en. Entoda
 sus Labiancas y Seas. tienen mune. Los solos yagua
 fresca muy buena. Algunos pescados. que cojen con
 ansuelo. y a ganauos. ce so a su modo. y en bue ben
 lo. Vnas Ojas. y auo san lo a nauio por Sieno y traen
 tan buena algunas frutas. como plantanos y otras.
 que no las conociamos. en llegando como a tiro de pie
 dia. se le cantan en pie y dan grandes voces diciendo ane
 pe que ane pe que. que dicen algunos. que quie de
 ziramigos samiyus. otros quit a alla. el aca buz sea
 Louno. O lo. otro ellos gritan y dicen ane pe que ha en
 Zamano Vnaca a bara grande e agua. y ve los
 opescador. y fincada uno. y traen muesta que el lo.
 que tiene. primer que se case iquen dan mune. Se
 bores. con esta nri presteza. y be la oia y en buendo.
 Sieno se acercan y escatan por el tiro. Lo que traen
 a mandandose para melle. rescatan. de vnca lo de L
 ra bio por a po pa. y de calli y de todo. e nauio. Lo saw san
 a bundancia de Lauos. Vie los yanos paridos de pipas
 y de otros muy de bei por que ena. siendo a sog a
 donde ba atado. El Sieno. La uita en. Los diente como
 si fue se vnca. bane. y a na a ella. Los solos. y lo que
 se piden por señas. tienen nauos a eliana. para seitan
 e de cie sos. de Sieno que no dan mas por bu gran pedaco
 que por un pe que no. y esto se proua. alli ten ellos y se les
 ce san un pe daco a Zamara. son tan grandes. bucos y
 nri adades. que canten que se leguen muy a bu. lo.
 Lo cojen y se bue buen a nauio. y asi. o si. bo a. Mi
 Vno. que ce hando se lo a may no. La be la y. acc so.
 al.

[Leaf 3 verso]

cubren la mar o que ella los brota[.] Suben a el [?] a rrescatar hierro porque este es su oro porque lo estiman en mas que no el y de este se sirven en todas = su labranças y (h)eras. traen munchos cocos y agua fresca muy buena, algunos pescados que cojen con ansuelo y algun arroz[.] cebo a su modo[.] y enbuelbenlos [en] unas ojas y arrojanlo al navio por hierro y traen tambien algunas frutas, como plantanos y otras = que no las conociamos[.] en llegando como a tiro de piedra, se leban en pie y dan grandes boces diziendo arrepeque arrepeque que dizen algunos que quiere dezir amigos amigos, otros quita alla el arcabuz[.] sea lo uno o lo otro, ellos gritan y dizen arrepeque[.] traen en la mano una calabaza grande de agua y cocos = o pescado[.] al fin cada uno trae muestra aquello = que tiene. primero que se aserquen dan munchos bordes con estrana presteza y belocidad y en biendo = hierro se acercan y rrescatan por el hierro lo que traen amarrandose para mejor rrescatar de un cabo del nabio por la popa y de alli y de todo el navio les arojan abundancia de clavos biejos y aros partidos de pipas y todo esto es muy de ber porque en assiando la soga donde ba atado el hierro la cortan con los dientes como si fuese un rrabano y atan a ella los cocos y lo que les piden por señas[.] tienen una cosa estrana para ser tan codiciosos de hierro que no dan mas por un gran pedaço que por un pequeño y esto se provo alli con ellos y si les echan un pedaço a la mar[.] son tan grandes buços y nadadores que antes que lleguen muy abajo = lo cojen y se buelven a su navio[.] y asi lo hizo alli uno que echandose lo amayno la bela y la echo +

A la guaa. y a los que se auen a la villa y a los que se auen
 y en no en el nauo y tarando. La uilla y mas la da de la guaa
 y en grande ya parecei tuuicion que tarai 3/0/4
 hombres y el solo la saio con muni. Sa. fau. la y la
 a los y sin ues catar. mac. si. en. de. bol. u. a. U. p. e. s. t. a. b. a.
 mos. sauer. si. te. man. a. l. g. u. n. o. n. o. a. m. de. sa. ta. m. a. s. q. u. e.
 Usamos. y para esto tuuie vn aca spada. de suuday. 3e
 Se la quencia auo la. ya punto que la bien uo diron
 vna la uo a la ando grandes voces. y en a que to do quencia
 La auo la se peocada vno la quia a particularmente
 y para esto. o ficiacion con senas toda la guaa y fru
 tas. pe. s. m. d. o. y mas vno que penso. l. e. u. n. i. s. e. l. a. con u
 a que. l. e. s. a. c. o. d. e. c. b. a. s. o. m. u. n. c. h. o. s. p. e. t. a. t. e. s. y. a. l. g. u. n. a. s.
 a. q. u. i. l. l. a. s. c. u. i. o. s. a. s. y. t. p. o. l. o. o. f. i. c. i. a. a. l. f. i. n. s. e. f. u. e. r. o. n.
 si nella y a espues bolucion. Otras dos ues. con e
 mismo de sto yo ficiendo lo que te mian tu da se. t. a. d.
 muestrias de uo de de sea munc. h. o. La spada. y a r. i.
 bien uo uo. Si lo bien lo que vno no es cat. o. lo. a. p. a. r. t. a. p. e.
 y s. b. i. e. e. l. u. b. i. r. i. o. n. d. e. n. e. m. i. e. n. t. e. l. l. o. s. a. e. f. i. n. s. e. q. u. e. d. o. s.
 con e. l. e. q. u. e. l. o. t. o. m. o. q. u. e. a. l. p. a. r. e. c. e. r. d. e. u. a. d. e. s. e. i. m. a. s. s.
 puina pa. y. b. a. s. i. e. n. t. e. y. a. u. n. d. e. m. e. j. o. r. t. e. n. d. i. m. i. p. o. r. l. o.
 que quencia. u. e. s. t. a. r. a. i. b. a. y. l. a. b. a. con el lo y b. a. z. i. a. m. u. n. c. h. o. s.
 m. e. n. c. o. s. a. l. p. a. r. e. c. e. i. p. a. r. a. a. f. i. c. i. o. n. a. q. u. e. s. e. l. o. t. o. m. p. r. a. s. e. n.
 v. d. a. n. d. o. a. e. n. t. e. n. d. e. i. q. u. e. e. s. t. i. m. a. u. a. n. e. l. l. o. s. a. q. u. e. l. l. o. y. q. u. e.
 e. i. e. l. u. e. n. o. e. l. l. a. e. s. g. e. n. t. e. m. u. y. c. o. r. p. u. l. e. n. t. a. y. d. e. g. r. a. n. d. e. s.
 y f. o. r. m. i. d. o. s. m. i. e. m. b. r. o. s. b. a. s. t. a. n. t. e. y. n. d. i. c. i. o. y. a. r. g. u. m. e. n. t. o.
 de su muni. Sa. f. u. l. i. c. a. y. e. l. t. e. n. e. l. l. a. e. s. a. e. i. t. o. p. o. r. l. o. q. u. e. l. e. s. a. n.
 V. i. s. t. o. b. a. z. i. e. s. p. a. i. n. o. l. e. s. q. u. e. e. s. t. u. i. u. i. o. n. s. u. t. o. s. s. e. y. s. m. e.
 s. e. s. e. n. v. n. a. d. e. c. s. t. a. s. y. l. a. s. a. l. o. s. q. u. a. l. e. s. e. l. l. o. s. a. u. m. e. r. i. o. n.
 a. l. g. u. n. a. s. u. e. l. e. s. p. e. r. o. s. i. u. d. a. n. o. m. o. y. o. n. a. l. g. u. n. o. s. u. y. o. p. o. r.
 l. a. u. e. l. l. a. l. i. d. a. d. a. q. u. e. t. e. m. a. n. e. n. m. e. r. e. u. e. p. o. r. l. a. s. b. a. r. a. s. d. e.
 l. o. s. a. r. c. a. b. u. l. e. s. b. a. s. t. a. r. a. n. t. e. q. u. e. c. a. y. c. i. o. n. a. l. g. u. n. a. s. d. e.
 p. u. s. o. v. n. p. o. c. o. m. a. s. f. i. e. n. o. y. a. n. o. c. i. m. e. n. t. o. d. e. l. o. q. u. e. s. e. r. a.
 p. e. i. o.

[Leaf 4 recto]

*al agua y luego el se arrojó tras ella y cojo su hierro =
y entro en el navio y sacando la vela mojada del agua
y era grande y al parecer tuvieron que sacar 3 o 4
hombres y el solo la saco con mucha facilidad y la
also y sin rrescatar mas hierro se bolvió[.] allí deseaba-
mos saber si tenían algun conocimiento de las armas que
usamos y para esto tome una espada desnuda y hize
que se la quería arrojar, y al punto que la bieron dieron
un alarito alçando grandes boces y era que todos querian
que la arrojase pero cada uno la quería particularmente
y para esto ofrecieron con señas toda el agua y fru-
tas, pescado y mas. uno que penso llevarsela con =
aquellos saco de debajo muchos petates y algunas
arquillas curiosas y todo lo ofrecia. al fin se fueron
sin ella y despues bolvieron otras dos vezes con el
mismo deseo y ofreciendo lo que tenían[.] todas estas
muestras dieron de desear mucho la espada y tan =
bien un cuchillo biejo que uno rrescato lo aparto ap.se [por sí?]
y sobre el ubieron derrestimiento[?] entre ellos. al fin se quedo
con el el que lo tomo que al parecer devia de ser mas
principal y baliente y aun de mejor entendimiento porque lo
que quería rrescatar baylaba con ello y hazia muchos
meneos al parecer por aficionar a que se lo comprasen
y dando a entender que estimavan ellos aquello y que
era bueno. ella es gente muy corpulenta y de grandes
y fornidos miembros bastante yndicio y argumento
de su mucha fuerça y el tenalla es cierto por lo que les an
visto hazer españoles que estuvieron surtos seis me-
ses en una de estas yslas a los quales ellos acometieron
algunas vezes pero sin daño nuestro y con alguno suyo por
la vestialidad que tenían en meterse por las bocas de
los arcabuzes hasta tanto que cayeron algunos lo que
puso poco mas freno y conocimiento de lo que hera*

[Leaf 4 verso]

pero volviendo a lo de la fuerças es gente que toma uno un coco berde u seco cuvierto de una corteça de 4 dedos u poco menos de grueso y tan tejido que es menester si es seco partillo con = una acha y le dan tantos golpes antes que le desnudan de solo la corteça y ellos de una punada me afirman le parten todo y dan con el en la cavesa y hazen lo mismo[.] tambien dizen que un dia estando rrescatando en tierra con los españoles uno de estos yndios se aparto y adelanto de los demas y tres hombres se abraçaron con el para cojello y tenello para traello consigo y el se abraço con ellos y los llebaba arrastrando y el yva corriendo de manera que para que los soltase fue menester acudiesen otros con arcabuces y entonces los solto[.] esto es = lo que toca a las fuerças[.] su talle como digo es mucho mas grande que el nuestro[.] Son] hombres muy bien echos de todo el cuerpo y mejor de piernas que esto es gracia general en ellos los yndios de esta tierra[.] la cara ancha y chata aunque otros bien agestados pero todos muy morenos[.] la boca muy grande y los dientes los labran agusandolos como de perro y mas y los tinen con un barniz colorado que no se quita, que es para conservar la dentadura sin que jamas se cayga diente por biejo que sea. Otros los tinen de negro que tiene la misma propiedad que el colorado y esto hazen tambien los moros desta tierra[.] el cavello tinen muy largo y = unos suelto. otros le dan una lasada detras. no visten asi hombres como mugeres genero de rropa ni otra cosa alguna ni cubren parte ninguna de su cuerpo sino como nacen andan[.] tien[en] pocas armas y son solo sus arcos con unas puntas y las flechas de gueso de pescadof[.] unos dardillos arrojados y ponenle su punta quanto un gеме de gueso de pescado y muy fuerte y de palo tostado. usan honda y esta desembracan con gran pujança[.] traen servidas unas talegas con piedras al proposito. no se save que tengan otras armas salvo si an echo algunos cuchillo u otra cosa del hierro que rrescatan[.] dizese una cosa bien estrana de estas yslas, que no hay en ellas ningun genero de animal ora sea nocibo o provechoso ni tanpoco ave o pajaro algunof[.] esto no lo vimos porque no surjimos pero lo afirman los que alli estuvieron ser estof[.] asi esta la noticia que hasta agora se tiene de la gente de estas yslas que llaman de Ladrones.—



Said to be natives of Guam, but probably Filipinos instead. *The Quirino Collection in the Ayala Museum in Manila identifies this plate as depicting natives of Guam. However, I think that they are natives of the Philippines. Their breech-cloths remind one of latter-day Yapese. (Boxer Codex. By permission)*

Translation of the codex

[Leaf 3 recto]

Account of the islands of the Ladrones

This type of people called the Ladrones live in some islands that are 400 leagues before arriving at the Cape of Espiritu Santo, and they are the first ones sighted by the ships coming from Acapulco to the Philippine islands. They usually do their watering at some port in the islands where there are many good ones, and when it is not done, as for this voyage which was done in the year of '90, [it is so] because water is not needed, as it is only for it that they do make port.

They come out to sea two or three leagues in some small canoes, so narrow that they would not be two and a half palms in width at the top and whose shape is as illustrated [see above]. On the sides they have a counterweight made of [bamboo] canes. Although they are sure of capsizing, it is something of little importance to them because they are like fishes in the water and if by chance it fills with water, the Indian jumps off and takes it out with half of a coconut [shell] which they use as a bowl [i.e. bailer], or else with the paddle they use for rowing.

These canoes come with a lateen sail of mats made with palm [leaves]. Many such sails are used in these parts. The Moros¹ make them with many colors and charming designs that look very good, specially the Moros of Borneo and of Ternate. These ships [sic] are so light that they come out two or three leagues from port and in one moment they are alongside the ship, although it is under sail. They have another characteristic in their navigation which is that they do not need for sailing any wind other than the one that currently blows, no matter its condition, and with it they work the sail to go in the direction they want, in such a way that they appear like very tame and trained horses.

Well then, so many of these ships come out at the appearance of a tall ship that it seems as if they [Leaf 3 verso] cover the sea or that they sprout from it. They come up to it to barter [for] iron because iron is their gold and they esteem it above anything else; they use it in all their farm plots and garden patches. They bring many coconuts, very good fresh water, some fishes which they catch with a hook and some rice—a type of bait they have—and they wrap them in some leaves and throw it at the ship for iron. They also bring some fruits, like bananas and others that we did not recognize.

When they first come up, at about a stone's throw, they get up and start shouting loudly, saying "*arrepeque arrepeque*" which some say means "friends, friends" but

1 Ed. note: The author refers to the Moslem natives of the Southern Philippines and their *vintas* or *vireys*, those of the Moluccas with their *coracoras*, etc.

others say "take away the arquebus". Whatever it may mean, they shout and say "*ar-repeque*".¹

They carry in their hand a large gourd full of water, coconuts or fish, in short, every one shows a sample of whatever he has. At first, when they are coming up, they tack many times with a surprising skill and speed. When they see the iron they come near and barter what they bring for the iron, making fast to a cable at the poop of the ship in order to barter better from there. From all over the ship they throw out an abundance of old nails and bits of barrel hoops and all of this is something worth seeing because, upon taking hold of the rope to which the iron is fastened they cut it with their teeth as if it were a radish and they tie to it the coconuts and what is being asked of them by signs.

There is this strange thing about their greediness for iron; it is that they do not give more for a big piece than for a small one and this was proven with them at that time. If a piece is thrown into the sea at them, they are such great divers and swimmers that before they get very far down they grab it and return to their ship. One of them did so at that time and, as he threw himself in, his sail came down and he threw it into [Leaf 4 recto] the water. Then he threw himself after it and picked up his iron and went back into his ship and took out the wet sail from the water. That sail was big and apparently 3 or 4 men would have been required to take it out and he took it out by himself very easily, raised it and, without bartering anything more, went off.

At that time we wished to find out if they had any knowledge of the weapons we use and for this [purpose] I took out a naked sword and did as if I wanted to throw it. As soon as they saw it they raised an outcry, shouting loudly. As it were, everybody wanted it for himself and for this they offered me with signs all the water, fruits, fish and more. One who thought he could get it for himself took out from below many mats and some curious little chests² and he was offering it all. In short, they went away without it but later they returned a couple of times with the same desire, offering what they had. They gave all these indications of desiring the sword very much and also an old knife that one bartered for. He took it away for himself [?] but there was a collision among themselves about it. At the end, he who had taken it remained in possession of it; he seemed have been a leading man and a brave one, one with superior understanding even, because whatever he wanted to barter, he danced with it and he made many wriggling motions as if to endear himself and have it bought from him; such is the way they made us believe that they held that thing as valuable and that it was good.

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- 1 Ed. note: The meaning of "ari pek" is "don't shoot", literally "no gun". The word for friend was "chamor" (See Doc. 1565Q). The word "pek" was probably a new word for them, which they invented when they first heard the report made by an arquebus. The same thing happened exactly at Kosrae in 1824; the natives there invented the word "pak" after seeing and hearing their first shotgun fired by their first foreign visitors.
 - 2 Ed. note: They were called "agu" in Chamorro (See Doc. 1565Q) and were probably made of tortoise shell.

They are a very corpulent people, with big and well-developped limbs, a sufficient indication and argument in favor of their great strength. That they have it is certain, from what they have been seen to do by the Spaniards who were anchored six months at one of these islands.¹ The Spaniards were attacked by them a few times, without any damage on our side but some on theirs on account of the stupidity with which they placed themselves in front of the muzzles of the arquebuses until so many fell down, something which put a brake on them somewhat and gave them a knowledge of what it was about.

[Leaf 4 verso] However, to go back to the matter of their strength, they are a people who can take a coconut, green or dry, covered with a husk about 4 fingers in thickness, more or less, and so interwoven that it is necessary, if dry, in order to cut it open with an axe, to give it so many blows just to remove its husk; as far as they are concerned, I am told that they only need one punch to split it, and they crack it open with their head to get the same result. They also narrate that, one day when they were bartering ashore with the Spaniards, one of these Indians stepped forward, ahead of the others. Three men grabbed hold of him with their arms in order to catch him and seize him to take him along with them. He in turn grabbed them and was dragging them off and running away [with them] so that in order to make him release them it became necessary for others to intervene with arquebuses and then he let them go. This is what pertains to their strength. As for their size, as I have said, it is much superior to ours; [they are] men very well developed all over their body, with very good legs which is a specially-good feature general among the Indians of this land. Their face is wide and flat although others are well formed but they are all very brown. The mouth is very big and the teeth are sharpened like those of a dog and more so, and they stain them with a red varnish that cannot be removed and which is to preserve their set of teeth; they never lose one tooth no matter how old they are. Others stain them black, which has the same property as the red [varnish]. This is something that the Moros of this land [i.e. Philippines] do as well.² They keep their hair very long; some wear it loose and others tie it with one loop at the back.

They do not wear any type of clothes whatever, either the men or the women, nor anything else, nor do they cover any part of their body; rather, the way they are born is the way they go about.

1 Ed. note: A reference to the aftermath of the shipwreck of the San Pablo at Guam in 1568 (See Doc. 1568A).

2 Ed. note: The filing of teeth is still done in many parts of Indonesia.

They have few weapons other than their bows with some points and arrows whose tips are made of fish bone¹, some small throwing darts which they cap with a point as much as one span in length made of fish bone², very strong and with a fire-hardened shaft. They use the sling and they fling it with a great force. They take along some bags with stones for the purpose. It is not known if they have other weapons, unless they have made some knives or something else out of the iron that they barter for.

A very strange thing is said about these islands; it is that there is not any kind of animal, be they harmful or useful, nor any fowl or bird either; we did not see this because we did not anchor, but those who were here say that it is so.³

Such is the news that up to now is known about the people of these islands they call the Ladrões.

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- 1 Ed. note: One illustration above shows a bow and arrows, but such a weapon may be fanciful, as such a weapon has seldom, if ever, been described for the Ladrões. This may have been wishful thinking on the part of the author, more familiar with the Indians of America and of the Philippines, some of whom used bows and arrows.
 - 2 Ed. note: These were not darts but medium-sized spears whose tips were made of human bones.
 - 3 Ed. note: They had not seen either the local doves or the flightless rail peculiar to Guam. Shore birds, i.e. sea-birds, were, of course, always present. This is another example of a story that became exaggerated with the telling.

Document 1591A

The Pope issues a decree against slavery

Source: Hernaez' Colección de bulas, Volume 1, page 108; translated in B&R 8:70-72.

Papal Decree from Pope Gregory XIV, dated Rome 18 April 1591

Gregory XIV, Pope: In perpetual remembrance of the affair.

Since, as we have recently learned, in the first attempts to christianize the Indians of the Philippine Islands, so many dangers of life had to be undergone, on account of the savageness of these Indians, that many were constrained to take up arms against those Indians, and even to ravage their property; while subsequently, after the conversion of these Indians who, abandoning their worship of false gods, now acknowledge the true God and profess the Catholic faith—those who formerly had ravaged their property now wish to make good what they destroyed, but are without the means of so doing: with the desire to provide for the peacefulness of conscience of the said persons, and thus to guard against all dangers and discomforts therein, by these presents, with our authority, we charge and command our venerable brother the bishop of Manila to have the above-named persons and the parties to whom restitution is to be made come to an agreement thereon among themselves, with satisfaction to be made to the owners wherever these are known. But where they are not known, then the same compensation is to be made through the bishop in benefit and aid of Indians in distress, should they who are bound to restitution be able conveniently so to do; otherwise, if poor themselves, let them make satisfaction whenever they reach a comfortable state of life.

Moreover, in order that these resolutions determined upon by the said bishop, with religious and learned men assembled together, in benefit of the Christians newly converted to the faith, be not infringed by them through mere whim or anyone's individual deed or fancy, we wish and by our apostolic authority decree that whatever orders and commands be passed by the majority of the assembly in the interest of the Christian faith or the health of souls, for the good government of Indian converts, shall be steadily and invariably observed until further orders or commands by the same assembly...

In fine, we have learned that our very dear son in Christ, Philip, the Catholic king of the Spains, has ordered that in view of the many deceits usually practiced therein, no Spaniard in the aforesaid Philippine Islands shall, even by the right of war, whether just or unjust, or of purchase, or any other pretext whatever, take or hold or keep slaves or serfs; and yet that in contravention of this edict or command of King Philip, some still keep slaves in their service. In order, then, as conformable to reason and equity, that the Indians may go to and from their Christian doctrinas and their own homes and lands freely and safely, without any fear of slavery, in virtue of holy obedience and under pain of excommunication, we order and command all and singular the persons dwelling in those islands—of no matter what state, degree, condition, rank, and dignity—on the publication of these presents to set wholly free, without any craft and deceit, whatever Indian slaves and serfs they may have; nor for the future shall they in any manner, contrary to the edict or command of the said King Philip, take or keep captives or slaves.

For the rest, as it would be difficult [to send] these present letters to all and singular the aforesaid islands, etc.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, 18 April 1591, the first year of our pontificate.

Document 1591B

Letter from Viceroy Velasco to the King, dated Mexico 24 February 1591

Sources: AGI Fil. (1564-1608) Legajo 2; Colección de Navarrete, tomo 18, doc. 49, fol. 278 et seq.

Year of 1591: Letter written to the King by the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Luis de Velasco, on 24 February 1591, about various points regarding the despatch of Philippine ships and their navigation and commercial relation with New Spain, etc.

Sire:

Aboard the first advice ship that I despatched, in a letter dated 23 December of the last year of '90, which I wrote to Y.M. regarding the things and navigation of the Philippine Islands, I advised Y.M. of their condition, that the galleon **Santiago** had come into the port of Acapulco but that the galleon [sic] of Marshall Gabriel de Rivera was missing; however, it did enter the port on the 19th of the month of January of this year. It was successful considering the delay and sickness of the people aboard, and the lack of supplies; it came right on time to supply some of the deficiencies due to the loss and lack of merchandise aboard the [Atlantic] fleet.

In chapter 12 of this same letter of 23 December, I said: that, given that the galleon **Santiago** had come with much damage and needed to be careened, and there was not enough time to have it sail back this year [1591] and I would make use of Don Juan de Gama's ship for this voyage, but later on, I made an effort to find out if the galleon could sail and the keel having been exposed it was found out that, with the light maintenance that was done to it, it is now ready and manned for sailing. It will sail, God willing, at the beginning of March.

I have been given to understand that Don Juan de Gama's ship, and another belonging to Baltasar Rodriguez were to have made the voyage, but it did not appear that they

would be sufficiently outfitted or accomodated to be able to sail, as Y.M. will notice from the information and remarks enclosed herein.

With this galleon **Santiago**, I am despatching another small ship whose name is **San Ildelfonso**, which belongs to Y.M., and it came from the islands on this present voyage;¹ it is of 80 tons burden. Aboard both of them are going 224 soldiers, not counting the other officers, seamen and the religious.

²
...

May God keep Y.M.
Mexico 24 February 1591.
Don Luis de Velasco

-
- 1 Ed. note: The interpretation is that the Viceroy bought it from its previous owner, Gabriel de Rivera.
 - 2 Ed. note: The same captains were to return to Manila, without any change of command, in their respective ships, says the Viceroy. He repeated much the same information in his letter of 25 May 1591 (AGI 58-3-11).

Document 1591C

**Letter from Governor Dasmariñas,
dated Manila 21 June 1591**

Source: AGI 67-6-6; translated in B&R 34:403-411.

Letter from Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas¹

Although I am awaiting the ships and in them a letter from your Grace with good news of the health and prosperity that I desire for your Grace, yet I have wished because of the shortness of the time and because these ships are about to sail, to write this present letter to your Grace, in order to inform you of the condition of affairs here. I wrote your Grace last year, although briefly, for I had only been in this country for twenty days. Now that I have lived here one year, and know more about conditions here, I say that in regard to the camp and soldiers that I found here, the condition was very imperfect, and they had no organization or [knowledge of] military art.

...

There are very few soldiers here, for I only brought 270, and about 40 of those have died already. Before they reach here, those who are sent die and desert on the way. In fact the soldiers of New Spain are not suitable, and consequently, it will be advisable for those who come here to be sent from Spain.

The pay also that is given here to captains, officers, and soldiers is very little toward their maintenance. Therefore I petition your Grace to favor this, so that they may increase in service to his Majesty, and so that I may have more leeway in rewarding them and encouraging them to [exert themselves] in his service.

There was no ammunition here nor a house for it, or any magazines or money to get ammunition or other very important things. There were no barracks for the soldiers, who were quartered in the houses of the citizens, to the great discomfort of the latter. That also gave opportunities to the soldiers themselves to live loosely and sensually.

¹ Ed. note: The addressee is not mentioned, but since it was received in Spain, it may have been sent to the President of the Council of the Indies.

Consequently, I have built a barracks that will accommodate 400, and they will be readily accessible for guard duty and for anything that arises.

...

The Bishop, although I have opposed his journey as much as possible, is going over there...

The ships have now arrived, and with them Diego Ronquillo, who gave me your letter. I am well satisfied with it, and will reply to it in another letter.¹

May our Lord, etc.

Manila, 21 June 1591.

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

[Post scriptum] I enclose herewith a copy of the letter which I am writing to his Majesty in regard to the affairs of the Bishop and his friars, so that your Grace may be forewarned about it, and able to show me favor in everything.

¹ Ed. note: The ships that returned From Acapulco in 1591 were the Santiago and the San Ildefonso (see Doc. 1591B). Diego Ronquillo became Master-of-Camp.

Document 1591D

Register of the ship San Felipe in 1591

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 8:255-256. Note: The register accompanied a letter from Governor Dasmariñas, dated 6 June 1592.

Register of merchandise carried in the ship Sant Felipe [sic]

I, Juan de Cuellar, notary of mines and registers, certify that in the galeon "Sant Felipe", now ready to set sail for New Spain from the port of Cavite, this present year of 1591, the persons named below are exporting the following bales and boxes of merchandise:

	Bales	Boxes
Don Fray Domingo de Salazar, Bishop of the Philippines, 15 bales and 33 boxes.....	15	33
The President Santiago de Vera, with the others contained in his merorandum, 60 bales and 29 boxes.....	60	29
Pedro Hernandez, for the Licentiate Rojas, former auditor of the royal Audiencia, and present counselor, etc., 19 bales and 4 boxes.	19	4
The auditor Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, 52 bales and 20 boxes	52	20
The Licentiate Ayala, fiscal, 27 bales and 17 boxes.....	27	17
The dean of the Manila cathedral, in the said vessel and in that of Juan Pablo [Carrión], 13 bales and 7 boxes.....	13	7
Estevan Gonzalez, canon of said church, 5 bales and 3 boxes.....	5	3
The Licentiate Herver del Corral, visitor of the royal Audiencia of Manila, 18 bales and 1 box.....	18	1
The schoolmaster of the Manila cathedral, 6 bales.....	6	
Father Cervantes, ecclesiastic, 3 bales and 6 boxes.....	3	6
The beneficiary Juan Gutierrez, 2 boxes.....		2
Father Rodrigo de Morales, ecclesiastic, 3 bales.....	3	
Father Crisanto de Tamayo, ecclesiastic, 2 bales.....	2	
Benito Gutierrez, ecclesiastic, 2 bales.....	2	

And in order that this might be evident, I give the present, signed with my name and the usual flourishes.

Given at Manila, 4 June 1591.

Juan de Cuellar, notary of registers.

Documents 1592A

The missionaries stipulate the conditions for making war on the natives

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 8:199-233.

Opinion of the Augustinians

Your Lordship orders us to give our judgment whether it be lawful to make war on the Zambales¹, in view of the many injuries that they have been and daily are inflicting upon our people; and, if so be that the war is lawful and righteous, what measures may be taken to attain the objective proposed therein, security.

In reply to this we say that, according to all the authorities, divines as well as canonists and jurists, **three conditions** are required in a war to make it a righteous one; and on these we will rest the justification of the war at present under consideration.

The **first condition** is that he who begins the war shall have authority; the **second**, just cause for making war; and **third**, righteous intention.

The first requires that he who begins the war and by whose order it is waged be a public person, as St. Augustine declares in *Contra Faustum Manichæum*.²

...

What is said applies not when war is waged for defence against enemies, but in other circumstances; for if it is for defence, such war is permitted to any governor or king, as the authors say, because *vim vi repellere licet*.³ Thus the viceroys and governors of the

1 Ed. note: The occasion for these opinions was the intention of the Manila Government to make war on a Filipino tribe inhabiting the west coast of Luzon, north of the Bataan Peninsula. These important documents, specially the opinion of the Jesuit superior, show the rationale then in use; when Guam was colonized in 1668, the same rationale prevailed.

2 Cited by Gratian (*23 qu. I. c. Quid culpatur*): *Ordo naturalis mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli autoritas atque consilium penes principes sit.*

3 One may repel force with force.

Indies have authority to wage war against disturbers of the peace and quiet of the states of which they are in charge, without necessity of resorting to his Majesty for permission.

The second condition of righteous war is that the cause for which it is waged shall be a just one, as St. Thomas says: "Those upon whom war is waged deserve it for the offences that they have committed, and the grievances that they have inflicted upon the one who makes war on them."

...
The first ground of a righteous war may exist when one is hindered from doing what he may by right do. This is matter of natural and divine law...

The second ground, as I said, of a righteous war is the self-defence of the prince or of his subjects. This ground also is matter of both natural and divine right...

The third cause and ground is rebellion and disobedience of subjects...

The fourth cause and ground for a righteous war is when there is default of keeping faith or carrying out agreements; for in such case the party who has been wronged may lawfully make war on him who, by not keeping faith, has done him injury.

...
The third condition which, as we have said, must be fulfilled to make a war righteous is a right intention on the part of him who wages it; because, failing this, even when the other two conditions concur—to wit, authority and just cause—a faulty intention may render and does render the war unjust. This condition is also laid down by St. Augustine (*op. cit.*)...

...
Such, with all respect for the better judgment of others, is our opinion regarding the matter proposed to us by your Lordship, with command to declare our views. This we do, recommending always moderation and Christian charity, which should ever be practiced, and especially in dealing with this people who, as we have said, do not realize the gravity of their offence; and on whom, therefore, the penalties of the law ought not to be inflicted in all its rigor.

And, to signify that this is our judgment, we confirm it with our names.

Given at San Augustin de Manila on the 19th day of January 1592.

Fray Juan de Valderrama, Provincial

Fray Alonzo de Castro, Definitor

Fray Lorenzo de León, Definitor

Fray Juan de Tamayo, Prior

Fray Antonio Serrano, Prior

Fray Diego Gutierrez

Fray Diego Muñoz

Fray Diego Alvarez

Fray Alonso de Montalban, Superior

Fray Matthias Manrique

Fray Alonso de Paz

Opinion of the Jesuits

Jesus

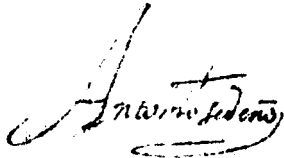
In regard to our right to make war upon the Zambales, the following is our opinion. Granting as true the reports of robberies and murders committed by them, past and present, on both Spaniards and the pacified Indians (who are our allies, and Christians), then it must be ascertained how these crimes have been committed—whether by all their land in common, or one portion of their province, so that by common consent those of one or many villages or the whole province conspire, and the bravest and strongest go forth to rob and kill; whether its head or chief is of one or of many villages or of the entire province, by whose order certain men go out to commit these depredations; or whether it is not really by common consent; or by the authority of the chiefs, but by crowds of ruffians from one or several villages who commit the said injuries.

If these people have a leader, and any go out from the villages or from the province to commit assaults, then this is sufficient cause for war. The same is true, even if they do not go at his order, but if the chiefs allow them to go, and do not punish them; since they have authority and power therefor. If there are no chiefs, then it must be ascertained whether they go out by common consent, to commit assaults, even if all do not go, but only a few. For, if they go by common consent, then war may be made on them all. But war may not be made if they went out as a single band of plunderers, even when they have friends and relatives in the villages, who protect them and supply them with food. It cannot be determined that the latter are accomplices; neither can they be punished, nor be dissuaded from doing it, nor even prohibited from giving them food, etc., because of their being, as is usually the case, women and children, while the former are barbarous and cruel men. In such a case, then, it could only be allowable to seek to apprehend the guilty, as well as one might, and to punish them in conformity with their crimes. But nothing may be done to the others.

But should it be by common consent, according to the first supposition, without any leader, or if they have chiefs who possess authority superior to the others, so that they may punish them as they deserve, but who do not punish these guilty ones or have them punished by their order, then, in these cases, war is allowable against the villages that shall have taken part in the depredation, or against the whole province, or the guilty part; but it must be with the moderation with which our Catholic king has ordered, in such a Christian-like manner, war to be made, with the least bloodshed and injury possible. Those captured shall not be killed, except those who shall have committed individual crimes, who consequently merit death; and the others shall not be reduced to perpetual bondage, but for a limited period only.

However, because of the great danger from this tribe, in order to be sure of peace and to render secure our allies who dwell near the Zambales, whom we are bound to protect, all the children and women and the others may be taken from their land and divided in various parts in small bands, even when their crimes were perpetrated by but a few ruffians. By this method we receive much benefit and security, and they no harm,

but on the contrary much benefit, both spiritual and corporal. But in no case do we think that they may have their ears cut off or be crippled so that they cannot take flight—neither women, nor children, nor those who do not commit any individual crime which may merit such punishment; for this is great cruelty and will engender in all a deadly hatred of our nation and law. Besides, other and gentler means can be used to prevent them from becoming fugitives, such as dispersing them throughout many widely-separated districts, and providing someone to watch over them.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Antonio Sedeño". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Antonio Sedeño¹

¹ Ed. note: The opinions of the Dominicans and Franciscans are not reproduced here, as the main arguments have already been presented above.

Document 1592B

Governor Dasmariñas' 1592 letter to the King, dated Manila 31 May 1592

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 8:236-244.

Letter from Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

Sire:

By two ships which sailed from this port for Mexico at the end of June 1591¹, I wrote your Majesty advising you of everything here, in duplicate, sending a copy in each ship. Afterward, on the 18th of October (same year), by a frigate sailing to Malacca and Eastern India, I wrote later events, and sent the duplicate of the letters. As that route is not considered very safe, I send this, combining both reports, written in fuller detail—fearing lest perchance, on account of the many accidents which have taken place on the sea in these years, all the letters have been lost. I cannot help fearing so because, as I write this, a ship has just arrived from Mexico, by which I have received no letter from your Majesty; nor have I received one since I have been in charge of this government—although, praise be to God, I have had good news of the health of your Majesty. For this I return infinite thanks to God, and pray that it may continue, and that He may give your Majesty complete success in all the new cares and anxieties which may present themselves. I am confident that His Divine Majesty will give long life to your Majesty, in order that everything may be ordered and arranged according to the needs of Christianity.

...

As regards the sailing of the ships on the account of Your Majesty, and not that of private persons, I have already written the weighty reasons, and send herewith a duplicate of the letter in which they are set forth. In fact, when all the expenses are on your Majesty's account, this not only causes no loss whatever to your Majesty's offices and royal treasury, but results in great profit to this state from the charges on the tonnages.

1 Ed. note: The San Felipe, and the ship owned by Captain Solis.

The cost is but half of what it is when the ships sail at the expense of private persons; and, if your Majesty would set the price of the tonnage at the same rate as private persons set it, there would be gained a large sum of money. This is the truth, although in Mexico they try to argue and discuss this point for private ends. Moreover, in this manner deserving soldiers are utilized and occupied, as your Majesty ordains, in these matters of transportation; and the dangers arising from the insufficient number and the vices of those who come from Mexico in these vessels are avoided. There are also deceits practiced by private persons, and other reasons which I have already stated. Besides, when the ships belong to private persons, their owners will not become citizens of these islands; and, on account of the large amount of money taken away by them, the prices of merchandise are raised, and the land is ruined. I therefore repeat that if your Majesty will set a moderate price for the tonnage on the ship, not only will there be no expense for your Majesty's treasury, but there will be gained more than 20,000 pesos. In accordance therewith will your Majesty please signify your will.

...

May our Lord preserve your Majesty for many long years, with increase of better kingdoms and dominions, as is needed for Christendom.

At Manila, 31 May 1592.

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

Documents 1592C

The embassy that came from Japan in May 1592

Sources: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 8:256-267.

C1. Covering letter by Governor Dasmariñas, dated 11 June 1592

Sire:

In another letter I have informed your Majesty of my fears of Japanese enemies. After that letter and packet were closed, and the ships about to leave, it happened that the ambassadors of whom we had advices came here in a ship that made port on the 29th of May.

On the 31st, they delivered a letter from that king, enclosed in a box of wood one and a half yards in length and painted white. Inside this was another box of the same proportions, excellently painted, varnished, and polished in black, with some medium-sized gilded iron rings and some large cords of red silk. Within this box was another one painted in various colors—yellow and gold—with its large iron rings and cords of white and violet silk, both covered with damask. In this third box, wrapped in a stout, wide paper, painted and gilded, was the letter, written with Chinese characters in the Japanese language, on stout paper, illuminated and gilded with great neatness.

The letter was even larger than the sealed bulls from Rome, on parchment, and is sealed with two painted seals stamped in red. I am not sending the originals, because you have no-one who can translate them there; while they will be needed here, perchance, for what must be done to affirm the embassy, and even for objects and matters of importance that we might be able to discuss, by virtue of these letters, with the King of China. Therefore, I enclose only one copy of the letter, in accordance with the best and most exact translation that could be made here; and another copy made for me by the emperor himself, by means of an interpreter. Although those two copies [i.e. translations] differ somewhat, they agree in their essential point, namely, the demand for

recognition and obedience, made with the arrogance and barbaric haughtiness that your Majesty will find in them.

They also brought, resting in small boxes, a letter from the king's chamberlain (one of the grandees of that kingdom), another from their Captain General and another from the King of Firando [i.e. Hirado]; and at other times letters have been written to the governors here. I am also sending the translated copies of these letters, from which your Majesty will see the determination and resolution of that king; and that we are not harboring suspicions, but veritably expect him here by October of this year or the beginning of next.

...
My purpose in sending a person to Japan and in answering his letter, is, as your Majesty will see plainly, only to divert his attention and put him off, until the repairs and fortifications and the reinforcements that I am expecting are well assured; and to prevent him of being informed by his ambassador of matters here, so quickly as the latter could inform him. I also plan that, by means of the envoy going from here, I may know and be advised of affairs there, by one way or another.

...
Your Majesty will ordain what is most to your service.
May our Lord preserve your Majesty many long years, as Christendom requires.
Manila, 11 June 1592.
Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas

C2. Letter from the King of Japan¹

It is more than one thousand years since Japan has been governed by one sovereign. During this period the wars and dissensions among the rulers of the country were so many that it was impossible to send a letter from one part to the other; until now the Lord of Heaven has willed that the country be united in my time, and that it be reduced to my obedience. In accomplishing this, everything was so favorable to me, that as yet I have lost no battle, but have been victorious in every one for ten years. Likewise I have conquered the island of Riu-Kiu, which was not under my sway, and Acoray [i.e. Korea].² Even from Eastern India embassies have been sent to me.

Now I am about to invade Great China in order to conquer it, for heaven, and not my forces, has promised it to me. I am much surprised that that country of the island

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- 1 Ed. note: This is the translation made by the ambassador, through an interpreter. The Spanish in Manila did not immediately realize that they were dealing, not with the actual Mikado or Emperor, but the Kuwambaku or Shogun, i.e. the Regent and military ruler of Japan, the famous Hideyoshi. In 1591, he had relinquished his position in favor of his adopted son, Hidetsugu, but retained effective authority until his death in 1598.
- 2 The conquest of Korea was not accomplished until 1592, although the preceding year had been spent in vigorous preparations for the campaign. Hideyoshi evidently made this statement [in 1591] in boastful anticipation of success.

of Luzon has not sent me an ambassador or messenger, and I was therefore of a mind, on my way to China, to attack Manila with my fleet, were it not that Faranda, a Japanese noble, told me of the good treatment accorded to my vassals, the Japanese traders, who go to those islands from here. When I asked him if the ruler there was my friend, he answered and assured me that, if I should send a letter to the Governor, he would send me an ambassador. And should he not do it, since I am well established in my kingdom, I am so powerful that I have men who can go to conquer any kingdom whatever.

Although this messenger is a man of low rank, I have accredited him, because of the good account he gives. And also, since I am not sending the troops I thought to send, I shall descend, within two months, from where I am now, to Nanguaya [Nagoya], my seaport, where are stationed the forces composing my army; and if an ambassador comes to me there from those islands, and I ascertain that the governor is my friend, I shall lower my banner in token of friendship. If an ambassador is not sent, I shall unfurl my banner and send an army against that country to conquer it with a multitude of men; so that that country will repent at not having sent me an ambassador.

In order to become the friend of the Spaniards, I am sending this embassy from Meaco [i.e. Kyoto], in the year 19 [sic], from the country of Japan, to the country of Luzon.¹

C3. Letter from Governor Dasmariñas to the ruler of Japan

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, knight of the order of Santiago, Governor and Captain General in these islands, great archipelago, and district of the West, for the King, our Sovereign, Don Phelipe the Second, King of Castile, León, Aragon, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarra, Granada, Sardinia, Corsica, Murcía, Jaen, the Algarves, Aljecira, Gibraltar, the Eastern and Western Indies, and the islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan; Count of Hapsburg, Flanders, Brittany, Tirol, etc.:

To the very exalted and powerful Prince and Lord Quamboc [i.e. Kuwambaku], after all due respect, wishes health and perpetual happiness.

Faranda [i.e. Harada] Mango Shiro, a Japanese vassal of yours, and a Christian, arrived at this city, bringing me news of your royal person, at which I rejoiced exceedingly; for, because of your greatness, and the worth and prudence with which the God of Heaven has endowed you, I am much affectioned unto you. Some days ago Faranda gave me a letter, which—although it seemed to be in its form and authority, and even in the gravity and style of its language, a document despatched by such a great prince—yet, since the messenger was below the rank and quality requisite to the royal name of

¹ Ed. note: From the letter of the chamberlain, not reproduced here, the date was the 9th month of the 19th year of Tensho, which was the beginning of 1592, the Tensho period being 1573-92.

him who sends him, and of the one to whom he is sent and the importance and greatness of the embassy, I have doubted, on the one score; and on the other, because he is a man so common and poor, and coming in an ordinary merchant vessel, which came hither for the purpose of selling provisions and other articles.

Because this took so long in coming hither, I have doubted whether these letters were not written by this man himself or by another, for some individual purpose, so that by this means, he might receive more attention here.

Furthermore, as I have no accurate interpreters thoroughly acquainted with both the Japanese and Spanish languages, as has been likewise declared to me by the letter and embassy, I am in doubt also of the true sense and purport of the words of the letter. I think that if the King of Japan wished to write to me, he might, since he has in his kingdom the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and other Spaniards, send me at least a copy of his letter in my own language, through their medium. I can say with truth that I have not even been able to read or understand fully the letter or embassy presented me by this man; and therefore, that he may have practiced any fraud or deceit toward your royal person, or toward me, I have thought it best to detain him here, until I could ascertain the truth and will of the King of Japan, and what are his commands and wishes.

And in that doubt, because of what I owe to even the semblance and appearance of a letter and embassy from you, I have observed this respect and courtesy of writing this reply to the small portion of your letter that I understand, which has been no more than Faranda has chosen to interpret for me.

Since I am sending the Father vicar, Fray Juan Cobo, a man of great virtue and goodness, and of the highest estimation in these islands, from whom because of his prudence and worth, I seek counsel, and to whom I communicate the most important matters, he will express, in my name, the fullest respect due to your exalted rank.¹

For the honor of the embassy, if it is really one, I kiss your royal hands, assuring you that I am and will remain your friend; and that, in the name of my King and sovereign, the greatest monarch in the world, I shall rejoice at your well-being and grieve over ill fortune (which may the King of Heaven keep from you). Let it be taken for granted that I desire your friendship, in the name of my King and sovereign, because of the good reception and hospitality extended by your royal hands to the Spaniards, vassals of my King, who have gone to Japan and Asia by way of Eastern India and these districts; and because the best treatment possible has been extended here to your vassals and will be extended to them with the same love.

My King will consider it a favor to be advised if the message brought to me by this man is true. If it is such, then I shall respond to the friendship due such a great prince, without any lack of my duty and obligation to my King and sovereign, to whom I shall immediately give account of this, in order to ascertain what his orders shall be then.

1 Ed. note: Father Cobo carried out his embassy but was shipwrecked on Formosa on the return voyage, with the loss of all people on board and all papers.

I trust that this matter will result quite to the satisfaction of two great princes such as my King and the King of Japan; and that these discussions and conferences in true friendship and alliance may redound to much peace to the universal happiness of the world, and to the glory of omnipotent God, the King of Kings.

Inasmuch as certain presents have been sent me but lately from Japan, which are of great value, I would wish to have some rare and valuable products of our Spain to send in return; but, since weapons are the articles most esteemed among soldiers, I am sending you with this a dozen swords and daggers. They are the finest that we have, and you will receive them from me as from a private person who desires your well-being and greatness, with the goodwill with which they are offered, and as a token of affection, and only these, because the bearer of this is going only for the purpose of assuring me of what I have stated above, so that we may have the information here that is desired.

May our Lord preserve your royal person with great prosperity.

Manila, 11th of June, 1592 years since the birth of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

Document 1592D

Another letter from Governor Dasmariñas, dated 20 June 1592

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 8:268-275.¹

More about shipping, etc.

Sire:

Last year I wrote to your Majesty that I had arrived in this city of Manila, on the first of June of the year '90, having been nine months on the way, counting the time I spent in Mexico recruiting troops...

...

Likewise, I found here not a ship or a galley, not a pound of iron or of copper, or any powder except what I brought from Mexico—40 quintals. Not a fathom of rope did I find, nor balls for ten pieces of artillery which are here. These are very insufficient for the needs of the place; for four of them are swivel-guns, and another, a large piece, is neither culverin, cannon, nor sacre; nor do any here understand how to manage it, except by chance; there is no account of it, no design, and no name for it. There are no storehouses, with the exception of a shed where there is a little rice; and an enclosure where have been put the wood and remains of three rotted galleys, which were built but never launched. Their timbers are all rotted, and the oars also. The enclosure contains, as well, a makeshift turret where the little powder that they had was kept, and where I put what I brought; but unfortunately, we had a fire, and now it is all gone. In order to collect the necessary supplies from those places where it is not proper to keep them, I resolved to build storehouses, and have constructed four, where we are placing what comes—such as iron (for I confiscate it all), rigging (which is being made, for the sake of having some in reserve), rope, lead, and rice. Shovels, pickaxes, and spades are being made, because of the great need for them.

¹ Ed. note: One of about half a dozen letters sent that year.

Ammunition I planned to obtain in the following way: I sent to Macao a ship which I found here, and which had been despatched hither from Mexico by the Marquis of Villamanrique (bound for Macao¹, as he said), after taking from it guarantees to the amount of 15,000 pesos that it should make the voyage to Macao and return, bringing the ammunition. I sent also a regidor, Pedro de Brito by name, with a copy of the warrant that your Majesty gave me, authorizing me to do this; but up to this time he has not returned. Some Chinese who have come from there say that the ship has been captured by Portuguese, and sent to India. I can scarcely maintain my position for the lack of ammunition, which is great, and greater than ever just at the present time, for 22 Chinese ships have come, without bringing a pound of copper, of saltpeter, or of powder; and they say that under peril of their lives they had been forced to dispose of them. They say the same of horses and black cattle.

...

May our Lord guard the Catholic person of your Majesty for many long years, since Christendom has need of you.

Manila, 20 June 1592.

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas²

1 Ed. note: This was probably the ship owned by João da Gama.

2 Ed. note: The following year, in a letter dated 20 June 1593, Dasmariñas tells the King that "on 27 April (1593), a vessel from Mexico arrived at his port. I received no letter from your Majesty or your councils, because no fleet went from here to Mexico this year. Consequently, I shall note here only what has happened since last year." This statement is a bit confused, unless the 1593 letter was sent via Malacca....

Documents 1592E

A Spanish embassy sent to Japan in 1592 and its aftermath

Sources: AGI 1-1-3/25 and 67-6-6; translated in B&R 9:23-57.

Preliminary note.

Father Juan Cobo, O.P., having been despatched as envoy to the court of Japan with the Governor's letter, was received by Hideyoshi and given a letter. He travelled back to Satsuma to embark for the Philippines, but he refused to go aboard Faranda's ship and took a Portuguese ship instead. By the way, Harada Shiro was called Gaspar Faranda by the Europeans. His master, Faranda Keimon (actually Harada Kiuyemon), was the real ambassador appointed by Hideyoshi, but he had been unable to travel in 1592. However, the Portuguese ship, with Hideyoshi's second letter, was lost on the coast of Formosa and Faranda's ship arrived alone at Manila. Faranda carried only a small note from Fr. Cobo, scribbled at Kushi on 29 October 1592. This turn of events was somewhat confirmed by Antonio López, a Chinese, who sailed with Faranda and also carried a note for the Governor, in which Fr. Cobo says only that "we were well received by the emperor." An enquiry was held at Manila in May 1593 to ascertain the above facts.

From the documents below, we learn that an unnamed ship had crossed the Pacific from Panama to Macao, probably the San Idefonso, Captain Juan de Solis, in 1591. This ship was seized by the Portuguese and Captain Solis eventually built another ship at a port of the province of Satsuma in Japan, 1592. With this vessel he appeared at Manila and was interviewed in May 1593.

E1. The contents of the lost letter, according to Captain Juan de Solis

...

He said that, as one who had just come from the kingdoms of Japan, and who was in Japan when Father Fray Juan Cobo arrived there—where this witness was building

a ship (the one in which he came here), a work which he left and abandoned [temporarily] in order to go and see, protect, and serve the said Father Juan Cobo, and to instruct him in the customs and usages of the country, as the Father came on behalf of his Majesty—he will relate what he knows.

While this witness was in the kingdoms of Japan last year, the emperor resolved to send an embassy here. This he entrusted to Faranda Queymon, but as the latter fell sick at the time of his intended departure from that country, he sent in his stead a Christian Japanese, named Gaspar, otherwise called Faranda.

...

As soon as Father Cobo had arrived and was about to disembark in the port of the said city of Nagoya¹, a nobleman of the court came to receive him, bearing three letters: one for the said Father, another for Captain Lope de Llano, and the third for the present witness. They were borne on the shoulders of men to the house of the man who came to receive them. There lodging had been prepared by order of Cuambac [i.e. Kuwambaku or Hideyoshi].

Within a week, Cuambac had the Father summoned; as soon as the latter had entered the palace, the emperor bade him be seated, and received the messages that he bore. Then he made the above assertion to him with indications of great pleasure. After that he ordered a collation spread for the Father, and asked him if he would like some tea to drink. The Father replied that he kissed his Highness' hands. As he rose to go, the emperor ordered him to be taken to the Chanayu—a small house where the most privileged go for recreation and to drink tea with the emperor. This house is well provided with gilded tables, vessels, sideboards, and braziers; and the cups and basins, and the rest of the service, are all of gold. There the emperor ordered a very fine banquet to be spread for him, and had wine carried to him. He again repeated the words above mentioned, two or three times, and then sat down. After a moment's conversation, he took leave of the Father.

Thirteen days after that, he sent the Father a *catana* or sword, which is held in high estimation there in his kingdom, because of its fineness and adornments; and a letter for the Governor.

This letter was written on a large sheet of gilt paper resembling damask, in letters of gold. This witness saw it, and took it in his hand, and had it read many times. In brief, it contained these words:

"I sent Quiemon, as he is a man of intelligence, and as he had given me a relation of that country, and the good treatment shown to my vassals there; but I do not desire silver, gold, or soldiers, or anything else, but only fast friendship with your nation, for I hold everything under my sway. In Coray [Korea] my captains have already taken the King prisoner, and are now near Lanquin, and about to seize China.

1 Ed. note: A city, then recently-built, east of Kyoto, at the bottom of Ise Bay.

I am sending you this sword now, in order that you may have some remembrance from me in that country. You shall have this written to your King, and shall send me his reply.

To the "lioccata" of Manila, Huye Çama." [that is to say, "the great captain"].

...

This witness declares that he knows that the Father embarked, after receiving many presents and supplies. The vessel on which he embarked was in poor repair, and the season the very depth of winter. The sea was in great turmoil, and the winds contrary. On this account he thinks that the Father perished at sea.

As to the person of the ambassador Faranda, he knows him to be a man of influence in Japan, who was recently created a lord by the emperor of that country. The emperor ordered him to come here in attendance on Father Fray Juan Cobo, as one who was held in high estimation. For this reason, this witness thinks that his coming is without any duplicity, or cause for suspicion—beyond a little vanity, to show that he is a lord, and one whom the emperor chooses for things as important as this. Therefore, this community has no grounds for fear of any wrong being done by that country; but should, on the contrary, esteem highly the friendship made with the said emperor; and as the latter is a friend so powerful and important, his ambassador should be served and entertained in the manner that seems most desirable to the Governor.

This witness asserts the above, by the oath he took, to be what he knows and what he has heard. He is 38 years old. He affixed his signature to the above.

Juan de Solis.

E2. The contents of the lost letter, according to other witnesses

Declaration of Antonio López.

...

Antonio declares that Juan Sami, a master of Chinese letters, who accompanied Father Fray Juan Cobo, read the letter given to this Faranda by the Japanese emperor. It contained injunctions to subdue the inhabitants of these islands, and oblige them to recognize him as lord. If the Spaniards should not do that promptly, he would come soon; and had it not been for the dangerous sea for half the distance, he would have come already.

Juan Sami, master of Chinese letters, declared that he accompanied Father Fray Juan Cobo to Japan. There the Father met Juan de Solis, a Spaniard, who was much persecuted by the Portuguese. This same master presented a petition to the Japanese king, by order of Father Fray Juan Cobo. This petition complained of the injuries that Juan de Solis had received from the Portuguese, who had stolen from him a quantity of gold, silver, and other property. He presented this petition to the king of Japan, on

the day when he met him. The latter accordingly ordered one of his captains to return all the stolen articles, but as yet only 500 pesos are paid.

Declaration of Francisco de Loadi de Oñate.

Francisco de Loadi de Oñate declares that he knows Juan de Solis, who is a captain of the King, our sovereign. This captain went, at the order of the Audiencia of Panama, to Macao, in order to purchase copper and other articles; but the Portuguese seized all his money and his vessel. They sold the ship very cheaply, and sent the crew as prisoners to Goa. From sheer pity, he entered his pulpit one day, and there complained of the injuries done to the captain—among others, maiming one of his arms.

After this the aforesaid Solis, in company with a Father of the Society [of Jesus], who was about to go to Japan as visitor, went to the said kingdom. Without the knowledge of the Father visitor, Solis, as soon as he arrived at Japan, presented [to the king] a rich gift, which according to various estimates cost 7,000 or 8,000 ducats. He also presented certain letters in the name of the King our sovereign, whereupon he was very kindly received by the Japanese king. The latter gave Solis a letter ordering the refunding of all that had been taken from him, with interest.

After this, Solis obtained permission to build a vessel, which was already completed, all but the stepping of the masts. The boatswain was found dead one morning, and the ship scuttled. Solis, after the Portuguese and Theatins had denied that they had done this, went to Meaco. When the king of Japan asked him why he had not gone, he told him what had happened; and recounted to him what the Father visitor had done. Thereupon, the King began to persecute the Theatin Fathers. The witness declares further that the said King gave the said Captain Solis a letter ordering that no Portuguese or any other person should dare or attempt to oppose him any further.

Declaration of Juan Sami.

Juan Sami declared that he saw and read a letter from the King of Japan to the Governor of these islands. Its substance was as follows:

“Formerly I was a man of little renown. Now all who live beneath the sky recognize me and are my vassals. I ordered the king of Core to render me homage. At his refusal, I sent my captain to war upon him, and seize his land even to the confines of Liauton [Liao-tung]. This Liauton is a land with many Chinese soldiers, near which resides the king of China. I have seized the fortress of Partho, which I have subdued, and it is very devoted to me, because I love the people of that fortress as fathers and mothers love their children. Those who recognize my authority I do not ill treat, but I send my captains to war upon whomever shall refuse to submit to me. I am writing this letter to thee, so that it may prove a token, a sign, and a reminder. Thou shalt write these things to the King of Castile quickly, so that he may be informed thereof. Do not delay, but write at once. I send thee that sword, which is called “quihocan”.”

He declares that this letter was given to the Father while in the court; and that when the Father was about to leave, he received a second of like tenor, written later than the above. In it the emperor stated that he was sending this Faranda as ambassador.

[Reconstituted] letter from the emperor of Japan to the Governor of Luçon.

“Formerly I was an insignificant man and held in but little esteem; but I set out to conquer this round expanse under the sky, and those who live beneath the sky upon the earth are all my vassals. Those who do homage to me have peace and security, and live without fear. But I immediately send my captains and soldiers to those who do not render homage to me, to make war upon them, as has recently happened to the king of Core. Because he refused homage to me, I have seized his kingdom even to the confines of Liauton, located near the court of the Chinese king. Already have I seized the fortress and district of Parto, and have pacified it thoroughly. Although the kingdoms were in revolt and about to make war, I gave them by means of my good plans, thought out in one, two, or three days, one after another, laws and decrees, whereby I pacified them; for I love my vassals as parents love their children.

The kings of other nations are not as I; for although they give me but little, still I receive them. In that paper I am sending thee those words, in order that they may serve as a reminder. Thou shall write the following at once to the King of Castile: “Those who insult me cannot escape, but those who hearken to me and obey me live in peace and sleep with security.” I send thee this sword, called “quihocan”¹, as a present. Talk to Tuquy at once, and do not delay.”

E3. Copy of the letter written by Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas to the emperor of Japan, dated Manila 20 May 1593

Last year I wrote to your Grandeur through Father Fray Juan Cobo, in reply to a letter given to me here in your royal name, although I had good reason to doubt the authenticity of the embassy as well as the meaning of the words, and I have waited almost a year to receive your statement and reply; and have only received a very short and general letter from Father Cobo, stating that he sailed away from there six months ago, highly favored and with his mission expedited by your royal hands, which I kiss therefor.

1 Ed. note: In a follow-up declaration, the Chinese Antonio López “asserted also that the Japanese emperor admits in his letter that the sword which he sent by means of the same Japanese [i.e. Faranda], is called “quihocan”. This is a Chinese word, which, being translated into our language, means: “I am sending thee this token of brotherly love. Cross the sea, so that thou may render submission to me.” This letter “gi”, or “qui”, means “love”, and a token of the love which exists between brothers. This word “hoc” means “subjection”. Finally, this word “can” means “sea”. Thus the sword “quihocan” admits of the above explanation.”

Two Japanese vessels, which have been hospitably received by me, have arrived here—one of them bringing Faranda, who claims to be your ambassador, but who brings neither a *chapa* nor your letter, nor an answer to mine, nor anything to clear up my doubt. And now, considering the uncertainty of the sea-voyage, and the fact that Father Cobo has not come, I am more in the dark than ever, and more desirous of learning your royal intentions and wishes. For, although Faranda brings me no credentials, yet I cannot believe that a vassal of your Grandeur, and one to all appearances so honored, would dare to appropriate and use your royal name without your order. Therefore, in such uncertainty, I cannot do otherwise than hear him and speed him in his mission. I answered a note which he gave me, as he will show you.

At present, to clear up the doubt and uncertainty, I am sending Father Fray Pedro Bautista, who is a most serious man, of much worth and character, with whom I counsel and advise in the affairs most important to my king; in short, he is my comfort and my consolation, as he is to all the people of this state. He carries with him the letters which have passed between us, and the copy of Faranda's note, and my answer thereto, so that he may there consider the whole affair with your royal person and bring back to me the explanation and certainty and decision which are to be hoped from your royal heart. He has power from me to accept and establish the peace and amity which are offered in your royal name and requested from us by Faranda; and the treaty shall be held in force and observed until such time as the King my Lord, advised of the facts, shall order me what to do.

I trust that all will come out as you desire. I, for my part, shall do all I can to further this.

May God keep your royal person and grant much prosperity to you.

From Manila, on the 20th of May, in the year 1593 since the birth of our Lord.

[P.S.] I was particularly inclined to send this despatch by one who, besides the high esteem in which he is held by me, is a member of the holy order of St. Francis, as Faranda requested this in his note addressed to me, wherein he said that it would greatly please you to see there Fathers of this blessed order. This man is one of the most strict and holy life, which alone would make him worthy of veneration.¹

¹ Ed. note: His full name was Pedro Bautista Blasquez y Blasquez Villacastin, born on 29 June 1542. He became a Franciscan in 1567. After arriving in Japan and accomplishing his mission, he founded a hospital for lepers in Meaco (Kyoto). On 5 February 1597, he was martyred at Nagasaki with five other Franciscans and a number of Japanese converts. He was beatified in 1627, and canonized by Pope Pius IX in 1862.

Document 1592F

The voyage of Jaque de los Rios in 1592

Sources: Ternaux-Compans, Archive des voyages, tome 1, pp. 249-250; reproduced by Henri Bernard, "Les Iles Mariannes, Carolines et Palau", in Monumenta Nipponica, N° 6, 1943, pp. 177-178.

Note: This narrative is considered bogus or apocryphal.

Narrative of Cristobal de Jaque de los Rios Mancaned

I embarked (at Acapulco) on 18 March (1592).¹ At the end of eight days [sic], the pilot recognized the archipelago of the Barbudos, so called because the inhabitants wear long beards. We continued sailing toward the west by the great gulf [sic] of Espiritu Santo, which is 1,800 leagues in width. At the end of one month, we were abreast of New Guinea, a very big island entirely populated with negroes, at which the ships going to the Philippines never touch. All those who navigate in the South Sea are very surprised to meet negroes in an island so far away from their country of origin.

At the end of 39 days of navigation, we arrived at the Islands of the Sails, more commonly known as the Ladrões. Our pilot did not wish to land. The natives of these islands station on top of the highest mountains some sentinels who warn them of the approach of Spanish ships. They go and meet them in some *vireyes*², a type of small craft, to sell them rice, bananas, coconuts, pineapples and fish. They are paid for them with iron, which they use to build their *vireyes*; they do not want to accept either gold or silver, and they do not know those metals.

These islanders are generally fat and rather white. The women use beauty spots, as in Spain, to enhance the whiteness of their skin. Both sexes believe that they can embellish themselves a lot by tracing all sorts of drawings upon their faces and upon various parts of their bodies (tattooing).

1 Ed. note: If so, it must have been aboard the San Felipe which had made the voyage from the Philippines at the end of 1591. This ship arrived at the Philippines at the end of May 1592.

2 Ed. note: A term usually reserved for Philippine canoes.

When the young people of both sexes have reached the age of fifteen, they are forced to marry; up to that age, they have the right to enter the house of married men and, when they have left their stick at the door, the husband does not dare come in. The virgins wear, to distinguish themselves, a red string around their waist.

The inhabitants of these islands worship the sun, the moon and the stars. They are great thieves, they run and swim so well that they go from one island to another, even though they may be separated by four or five leagues.

This archipelago is distant 300 leagues from that of the Philippines. I have covered this distance in 15 days...

Document 1593

Letter from the King to Governor Dasmariñas, dated Madrid 11 February 1593

Sources: AGI 105-2-11 (letter) and 1-1-3/29 (Decree); translated in B&R 8:301-318.

The King restricts the China trade to the Manila galleon

The King:

To Gómez Pérez Das Mariñas, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

I have received the letters that you wrote me by the last fleet from New Spain.

...

What pertains to the navigation from those islands will be determined as soon as possible—namely, whether it shall be at my account, or at that of private individuals, and you shall be advised of the resolution taken. In either case, you shall send information, now and henceforth, upon all occasions, to my royal Council of the Indies, of all vessels leaving there, and of their registers, with itemized cargo—as, so much in gold, and so much in merchandise, with the declaration of the different kinds.¹

...

In undertaking the construction of the galleys, you shall advise me of its progress, and of their cost, and for what purpose they can best be used.

I am ordering Juan de Ledesma to send you, with this, signed copies of the decrees prohibiting Peru and Guatemala from trading in those islands and in China. In accordance with these decrees, you shall regard as confiscated everything that may be traded in violation of those orders.

¹ Ed. note: Obviously, if this order had been obeyed, copies of the registers of all galleons as of 1593 would have found their place in AGI, Seville.

It is not advisable to make any innovation in regard to the permission which you request—namely, power to despatch vessels to Peru and other points; but you should observe the decree.

The other points of your letters are being discussed, and an answer will be sent to you upon the first occasion.

Madrid, 17 January 1593.

I, the King.

By order of the King, our sovereign:

Juan de Ibarra.

Countersigned by the Council.

Royal Decree of 1593 regarding commerce

The King:

Inasmuch as, whenever we have promulgated ordinances prohibiting trade between the Western Indies and China, and regulating that of the Philippines, I have been informed that there has been neglect in the execution thereof; and that, as the merchants and other persons in the North Sea [i.e. Atlantic] who trade in these our kingdoms of Castile, and in the Indies, have suffered so many losses during past years, and those engaged in the profits of the Chinese trade have gained so much, the latter has increased greatly, while the commerce of these my said kingdoms has declined, on which account both these kingdoms and my royal income have received great damage: therefore, since it is so important that the commerce of these my said kingdoms and of the Indies be preserved and increased, and that there be quite usual communication and trade between them, I have, with the concurrence of my royal Council of the Indies, determined to prohibit by new orders—as by this present I do prohibit, forbid, and order—in the future, in any manner and under any circumstances whatever, any vessel from sailing from the provinces of Peru, the mainland, Guatemala, New Spain, or any other part of our Western Indies, to China, for trade or traffic or for any other purpose. Neither can they go to the Philippine Islands, except those from New Spain, which are permitted to go by another decree of this same date.

We have ordained that should this be done, such vessel will be regarded as confiscated, with all its money, merchandise, and other cargo. One third part of all of this shall be turned over to our treasury, a second third to him who shall give information thereof, and the other third to the judge who shall pass sentence. And further, we forbid that any merchandise brought to the said New Spain from the Philippine Islands be transferred to the said provinces of Peru and the mainland, even when the duties imposed on such merchandise have been paid. For our purpose and will is that nothing from China and the Philippine Islands be used in the said provinces of Peru and the mainland, except that may be there at present, and for which we allow them four years, to be determined from the date on which this our decree shall be promulgated. For this purpose every person shall register what he has at present, before the justice of the city, town, or hamlet, where he lives, or of which he is a citizen. Henceforth whatever of the

aforesaid merchandise shall be taken to the above-named provinces, or whatever shall be found in the possession of any person whatsoever, outside of the said register, or after the conclusion of the above deadline, we order that it be confiscated also, and divided and shared as above stated. But we permit them to bring to these kingdoms, anything of the above-named articles that they may have had heretofore, within the limit of the said four years.

I order my viceroys of Peru and New Spain, my Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, the presidents and auditors of my royal Audiencias in the Indies, and all other magistrates therein, that they observe and fulfil this our decree, strictly, inviolably, and punctually; and that they execute the penalties contained herein without any remission or dispensation whatever, as is thus my will, and as is fitting for my service. They shall promulgate it in all places where this shall be necessary and desirable, so that all may have notice of it, and none may plead ignorance.

Given in Madrid, 11 February 1593.

I, the King.

Documents 1594A

Letters from/to Japan, 1594

Source: AGI 1-1-3/25 ramo 50; translated in B&R 9;122- 136.

Introduction.

In the city of Manila, on 22 April 1594, Don Luis Pérez Dasmariñas¹, knight of the order of Alcantara, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, ordered a council of war to be held in his presence...

...

The said Governor communicated to them that Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, his late father (who is in Heaven), sent to Japan Father Fray Pedro Bautista and other Franciscan fathers, together with [Captain] Pedro Gonzalez [de Carbajal].

The latter returned from that kingdom of Japan a few days ago, and brought for the said Governor a letter from the King, which was shown to them, and its contents read, after it was translated into the Spanish language. It was as follows:

A1. Letter from the Emperor of Japan²

Father Pedro brought me letters from which I learned the customs of your country, as also from what Father Pedro told me particularly, and from what Father Cobo had stated before.

When I was born, the sun shone on my breast; and this is a miracle, and portends that I was destined from the beginning to be lord of all between the rising and the setting sun, and that all kingdoms must render me vassalage and bow down before my door; and unless they do it, I will destroy them with war. I have conquered all the kingdom of Japan, and that of Coria [Korea], and many of my commanders have asked my permission to go and capture Manila. Learning this, Faranda and Funguen³ told me

1 Ed. note: Son of the former Governor who had been killed by his Chinese oarsmen.

2 Ed. note: It should perhaps be repeated here that the letter was sent, not by the Emperor, but by Hideyoshi, the Regent of Shogun fame.

3 Ed. note: Otherwise written as Hunquin, an individual who had obtained a commission for the invasion of Luzon and had sent ships on a spying mission to Manila in 1591.

that ships went there from here, and came back, and so the people there appeared not to be enemies, for which reason I did not send troops. I made war against the Koreans [instead] and conquered as far as Meaco [error for Parto], because they failed to keep their word. Afterward my soldiers killed many Chinese and many nobles who came to help the Koreans. In view of this they humbled themselves, and sent an ambassador who asked that we send some of our people to Coria, and said that the Chinese desired eternal friendship with the kingdom of Japan. I have sent many of our people to Coria to occupy the fortresses and await the embassy.

Should they break their word again, I will go in person to make war upon them; and after going to China, Luzon will be within my reach.

Let us be friends forever, and write to that effect to the king of Castile. Do not, because he is far away, let him slight my words. I have never seen those far lands, but from the accounts given I know what is there. You were very discreet in coming immediately, and this pleased me greatly. I received your present. I will never fail in my friendship. Those who come from your country may come safely over land and sea without any wrong being done them, or their property being stolen. You may believe everything that the man who came with the Father [i.e. Gonzalez] says, because he has seen my country and the hospitality which I tendered.

Write to the King of Castile that he is waiting there.¹ Tell him to send a man of rank so that our friendship may be stronger. The rest I have entrusted to Funguen.”

A2. Official reply to the above letter, dated Manila 28 April 1594²

The letter addressed by your Grandeur to my father was received by me as the person left in charge of the government of this land at his death, which occurred on the way to the Moluccas. He was treacherously killed while sleeping one night, without apprehension or precaution, as one who did not dream of having enemies or traitors with him. The traitors were the Sangleys, whom he took with him to work his galley. Like the ineffably low, vile, and cowardly people that they are, they killed my father because he trusted them, and set them loose for their own comfort. The news of this event reached me far from the place of its occurrence, while I was awaiting him with the fleet and troops, that we might depart. Although after his death I endeavored to continue my journey, I was prevented because of several events and considerations.

I came back here, desirous of hearing news from your Grandeur and of seeing your letter replying to those sent by my father through Father Fray Pedro. Although two vessels arrived here from Japan, they could not give me the desired news. The arrival of Pedro Gonzalez has given me great pleasure, especially in view of the fact that I was unable to understand his delay, and of the rumor here that your Grandeur was going

1 Ed. note: That is, that Fr. Pedro Bautista is staying in Japan.

2 Ed. note: This is the final draft. A previous draft had been discussed in the council of war.

to send your armies, a report very different from the agreement made in your name with my father by your ambassador and servant Faranda, which was for firm peace and full amity. Through the letter brought by Pedro Gonzalez, I have learned that it is your royal desire that such relations be continued, and this has greatly pleased me; for it is to be hoped that as the kings are great, great will be the friendship, and greater still the fruits of it. Equally great is my desire that hereafter we treat each other in every way as friends, with less formality and more frankness than in your royal letters hitherto received. Since your Grandeur speaks of vassalage, I wish your Grandeur to understand that my king's power is so great and so extensive, and the kingdoms and states ruled by his Christian hand are so many, that they are beyond compare with the greatness of many kings, though these be most powerful each by himself. His dominions here are nothing but a corner, and my king's possessions are not to be judged by his dominions here. The reason that they are so small is, that our Christian and divine laws do not permit us to do injury or damage to anyone by taking away that which belongs to him. I say this to your Grandeur that you may know that, although we are in a confined and narrow region, we do not recognize other ruler, other power, other dominion, or other lord, than Jesus Christ, the almighty and true God and Lord, and our most Christian King Don Phelipe.

Concerning the friendship that your Grandeur suggests we ought to maintain forever, it will be kept by us; and I feel assured that your Grandeur will keep it on your part since it is so declared in your royal letters.

I will advise my Lord and King at the earliest opportunity of the peace and friendship established, so that he may ratify it from there; and I trust in the Lord that everything will be done as desired by your Grandeur, whom I wish to serve and please as the friend of my King and our own. For such purpose I should have been glad if I had some curious things from Castile to send as presents to your Grandeur, but I cannot do it now, and will send them later when they come.

Should Your Grandeur wish that as friends we send each other men of rank and of a high station, so that our intercourse might be more friendly and informal—not that the religious who have gone are not among us respected and highly esteemed as ministers of God, or are not sufficiently high in station—but from now on a layman could be sent of higher rank than that of those who have gone heretofore. Should your Grandeur desire to send someone to visit the court of my King and see its splendor, and the power and dominion of his Majesty, he will be sent on from here, and will be well received and highly favored by my King, because he is very fond of receiving and entertaining foreigners, specially such as might come from your Grandeur, who would receive special favor. Your Grandeur can advise me of your decision in regard to this as well as the other matters; and may our Lord keep and enlighten you with His divine light.

Documents 1594B

Reports on the last embassy to Japan

Source: AGI 1-1-3/25; translated in B&R 9:140-141, 147-149.

B1. Letter from the Governor to the King, dated Manila 22 June 1594

Sire:

In the papers I send your Majesty by these vessels, I give an account of Japanese affairs and suspicions. In this letter I shall content myself with saying that when my father made answer to the second Japanese embassy, he sent with Father Fray Pedro Bautista, to accompany and take care of the fathers, and with further orders to treat with that king, one Pedro Gonzalez, a man who, by trade and commerce, had acquired some knowledge of that land, and acquaintance with some of its inhabitants. He went and performed his mission well.

The Japanese king, either because he is a man of unusual good-will, or because he harbors designs, tells me in his original letter that he wishes to have your Majesty see it, and to have the same Pedro Gonzalez, who brought it, take it with him to Spain, together with an account of what he saw in that kingdom. He indicates with some insistence that he wishes this, and I am advised by letters from there that, if he be not sent, as he knows everything that is done here, he will be vexed and take it as a pretext for making an earlier declaration of war. Therefore in my opinion his wishes ought to be observed since no harm will be done. Pedro Gonzalez carries the original letter and its translation, together with the reply which was sent from here. Although, as I say, the bearer goes ostensibly only to comply with the wishes of the king of Japan (for I have already written to your Majesty respecting this matter), yet your Majesty may, if such be his pleasure, hear from Pedro Gonzalez certain peculiarities of that kingdom which he has observed. So, because he is an honorable man, prudent, straightforward, of good reputation and abilities, and because he labored and incurred heavy expenses on these voyages, kindly grant him some favor; for he has deserved it, on account of the affection, good-will, and care that he has been ordered to do in your Majesty's service.

May our Lord preserve your Majesty for many prosperous years.

Manila, 22 June 1594.
Luis Pérez Dasmariñas¹

B2. Report from Pedro Gonzalez de Carbajal to the King, ca. 1595

Sire:

It is well known that the emperor of Japan is powerful in men and weapons, and that his people are of great courage. He is making ready 200 ships, and casting quantities of artillery. Japan is distant from the realms of the Philippines 400 leagues, which is a voyage of 15 or 20 days by sea. On his friendship depends the preservation of the Philippines, and of 200,000 Christians in that same kingdom of Japan, as well as of the rest of its people, who are being christianized from day to day. We have great hopes that all of them will become Christians, because it is known surely that many of the principal people of Japan would become Christians, if they were not hindered by their fear of the said emperor's indignation. He ordered me to say to your Majesty, on his part, that if your Majesty would make friends with him, he would always provide the governor of the Philippines with what assistance was necessary, even to 10,000 men. When the governor of Meaco (who is the person who governs all that kingdom) delivered me the letter which he brought for your Majesty, he told me to tell your Majesty that the emperor was your friend, and that on his part the friendship would not fail; and that your Majesty should not, because he was so far away, consider it as of little account.

Gómez Pérez de Las Marinas [sic], Governor of the Philippines, sent me with Father Fray Pedro Bautista and three other fathers of St. Francis, to take a letter to that emperor in response to the one which he had written. We went with this arrangement, that the fathers would remain in Japan (as they did) and that I should return with the answer that the Governor desired. Having delivered the letter to the emperor, when he learned from the letter that the Governor of the Philippines wished to notify your Majesty of this emperor's intentions, he said, without giving me an answer, that since the Governor wished to advise you, he could not do it better than through me. That I might be the better able to do so, he ordered that I should examine his fortresses, cities, and rich palaces, and the indications of his great power, so that I could give your Majesty a good account of it all, as well as of the kind treatment that was always given to me, and to the Franciscan fathers who remained there. These fathers asking him for a small piece of ground on which to build a house and church, he told them that he would give them a large piece in the place where they were, and also furnish them food. Then he ordered

1 Ed. note: The next day, the Governor wrote a small letter, by way of a post-scriptum: "After despatching a letter to your Majesty in the vessel **San Felipe**, which it was thought best to send first, as it was in Cebu, I had other letters from Japan from Father Fray Pedro Bautista, the originals of which I send herewith. From these letters, and from one from the emperor of Japan, a copy of which is enclosed, we can easily infer how little security is assured us by his friendship and promises, and be sure that any slight occasion would induce him to break them." [AGI 67-6-18.]

that the site and house that they might select should be given to them. And because the land was so cold, he ordered the fathers (who are discalced) to be given shoes and [warm] clothes; and said that he would give them these things and would treat them as his children if they would obey him as their father.

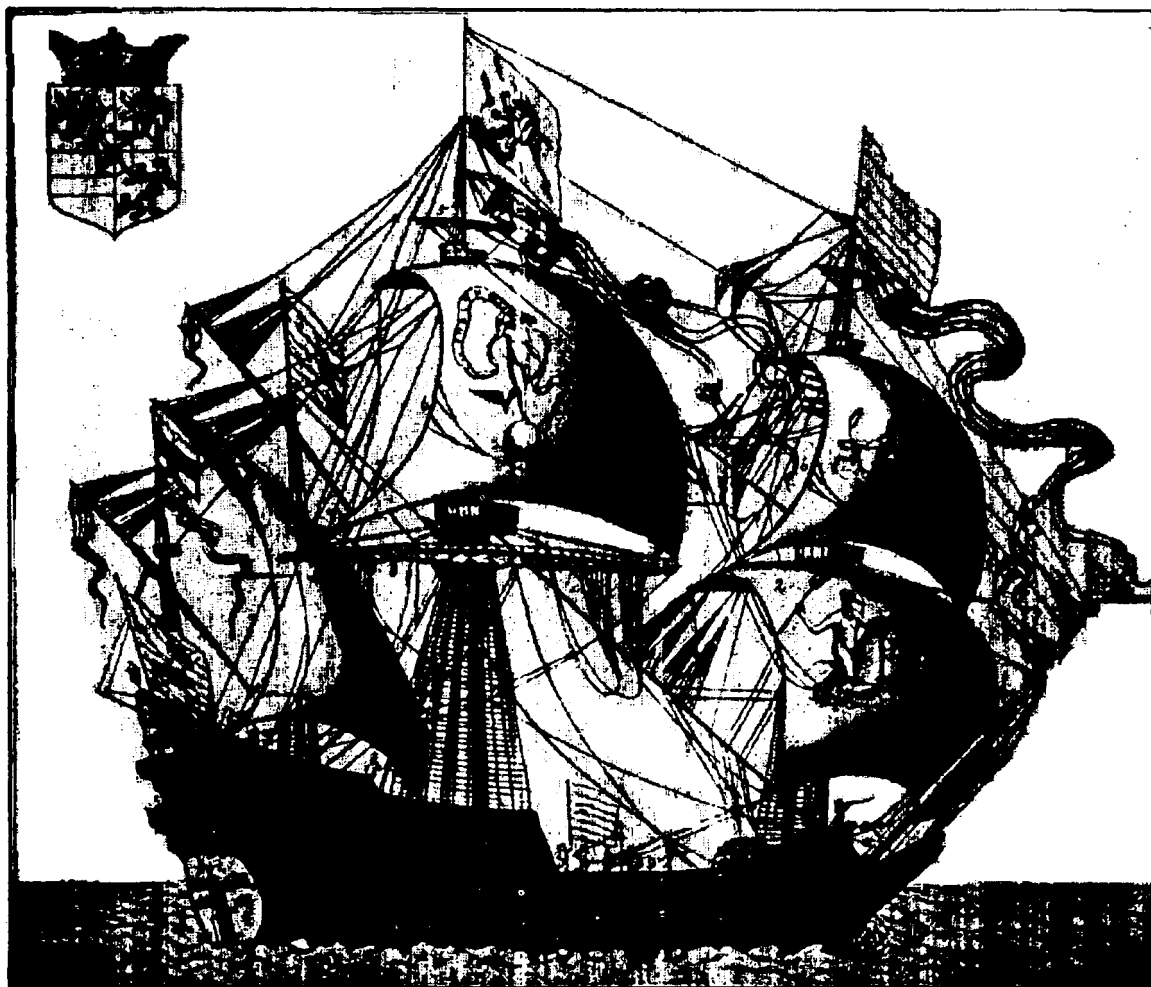
He sent me word to say that he would await your Majesty's answer. While we were in Japan at that time, the fathers and myself knew for certain that some of the Japanese chiefs asked the emperor's permission to go to subjugate the Philippines, and make him lord of them, without any cost to him. The latter replied that he would have nothing to do with it, until he saw your Majesty's response.

It is quite necessary that your Majesty should send an order to the Bishop of Great China at Macao; and the fathers of the Society of Jesus, to the effect that all the ships should leave there and go to Japan. These should investigate, and look to it that they carry no people who have not a good understanding of Christianity and fidelity; because that emperor is desirous of meeting people who will teach him to construct ships and artillery in our manner. All this will be of considerable harm and inconvenience; for, although he has artillery and ships, they are less effective than ours.

They tell me that on this [Spanish] coast is Father Fray Miguel de Benavides¹ of the order of St. Dominic, by whom your Majesty can be very well informed of all these matters, because he has dealt with some Japanese, and has gone through Great China.

Pedro Gonzalez de Carbajal

¹ Ed. note: Fr. Benavides had arrived at Manila in 1587 but had left in 1592 in the company of Bishop Salazar.



A galleon of 1594. (From a Dutch engraving)

Document 1594C

The round-trip voyage of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1594-95

Sources: As stated by Wagner (Spanish Voyages, Chapter IX), most of the documents relating to this expedition are in AGI 58-3-11 and 58-3-12, with Cermeño's narrative being in the latter, another copy being in 58-3-16. The small excerpt translated below was made from a copy in MN ms. 1509, folios 49-58, from the "Colección Guillén, California, 1645" and is comparable to the abstract published by Wagner (See Wagner, op. cit., p. 156).

Introductory note.

On 17 January 1594, the King wrote a letter to the new Viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, ordering him to undertake a better exploration of the California coast, the approach to be made along the galleon route from the Philippines. On 6 April, 1594, Velasco acknowledged receipt of the order and said that he had bought the **San Pedro**, in case no better ship could be found at Manila, and he had appointed Cermeño, who was going out as pilot of the flagship [**Santiago**], to make the eastward voyage of exploration.¹

The ships left Acapulco on 21 March 1594. Once in Manila, the **San Pedro** was not considered fit to make the return voyage. One year was lost while a suitable replacement was being sought. Finally, the small **San Agustín** was purchased from its private owner, army Captain Pedro Sarmiento, and Cermeño took it under his command. Some 130 tons of freight were placed on board, as well as a dismantled launch to explore the northwest coast.

¹ Ed. note: Would it be possible that this San Pedro was the same small ship mentioned by Ordoñez in connection with his (fictitious) voyage of 1590? Cermeño was a Portuguese.

Abstract of Cermeño's own account of the eastward voyage

“[5 July 1595-24 April 1596]. Account of the voyage made by Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño from the Philippine Islands to Cedros Island, with the survey of part of the coast of California. Copy of the original in AGI Audiencia of Mexico—*Cartas y expedientes del Virrey vistos en el Consejo, Años de 1595-97.*”

In the name of God, Amen.

The account of what happened during the voyage that I, Captain Sebastian Rodriguez y Cermeño, am going to make regarding the discovery of Cape Mendocino is as follows.

We left the port of Cavite in the Philippine Islands on 5 July [1595], a Tuesday in the morning, and that day we anchored at the foot of the Fraile.¹ The next day, the 6th of the said month, we set sail with a *vendaval* and by 4 in the afternoon the wind rose so much that we were forced to seek shelter in the lee of the Island of Mariveles [i.e. Corregidor]...

...

[He passed the meridian of the Marianas and, in mid-August, he sighted the three **Volcano Islands**, between 23° and 25° N. Then he crossed the North Pacific at latitudes varying between 34 and 42°, finally reaching the coast of California. His major discovery was that of San Francisco Bay.]²

...

Made at Mexico, 24 April 1596.

Signed: Sebastian Rod. Cermeño

1 Ed. note: A rock island at the mouth of Manila Bay.

2 Ed. note: Modern historians say that this bay corresponds in fact to Drake's Bay today and that the shipwreck occurred near Point Reyes, north of San Francisco Bay. The survivors escaped in the launch, named San Buenaventura.

Document 1595

**Letter from Lieutenant-Governor
Antonio de Morga to the King, dated
Manila 25 June 1595**

Source: AGI 67-6-18; translated in B&R 9:154-155.

Sire:

On the 10th of this month of July [rather June], I arrived at port in these Philippine Islands with the fleet¹ of your Majesty, and the reinforcements that were sent to this place by the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, under my command. I found the land at peace, and more free from suspicions of enemies than it has been hitherto. There is great hope that if moderate diligence be shown, our Lord may be pleased to open the door to the preaching of the gospel among the heathen. This is proved by the harvest gathered by the four discalced friars of the order of St. Francis, who went hence to Japan last year. I found Don Luis Dasmariñas governing this land, on account of the death of his father, as your Majesty will have been fully informed before this. I will serve according to your Majesty's orders in the office of Lieutenant General of these islands with as much care as my strength will permit, until your Majesty may be pleased to order otherwise.

I humbly beseech your Majesty that the method of procedure that is to be followed here be sent to this kingdom with the utmost despatch. May those who live here be granted reward, for they have served your Majesty with much care and fidelity; and if the land is not burdened with taxes, the maintenance and advancement of it are likely to bring about great improvements even in the neighboring kingdoms, to the service of God and of your Majesty.

I shall commence the *residencia* which your Majesty orders me to take in the case of Licentiate Pedro de Rojas, my predecessor, and of other ministers, as soon as these ships for New Spain have sailed. In order not to hinder their despatch, it has seemed

1 Ed. note: Aduarte says that the ships had left Acapulco on 23 March (Tome I, Chap. XXXV).

best to postpone this work; but by the first ships I shall do as your Majesty bids me in this matter.

I was inaugurated into my office as soon as I arrived at this city, and concerning the inauguration I send the accompanying report to your Majesty. As I have come so recently I give no report in detail as to what should be done in this region. From what I have seen, however, it seems to me that I ought to remind your Majesty of what I wrote from Mexico. Your Majesty's treasury in these islands has been administered at a great loss to your Majesty's treasury, and it is very necessary for your Majesty to send someone to make investigations and set things in order for the future. In that way your Majesty will be enabled to meet the expenses incurred, without providing therefor from New Spain, as is done now. Everything is greatly in arrears.

May our Lord preserve the royal person of your Majesty for many long years, as is needed by universal Christendom, and as we your Majesty's servants desire.

Manila, 25 June 1595.

Dr. Antonio de Morga

Appendix A

List of ships through Micronesia for the period 1565-1596

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1992.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT		NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1565	a	San Pedro	M. López de Legazpi	Spanish	*Legazpi, *Rodriguez, *Plin, *Espinosa, *Fortún & Martín, *Mirandaola, etc.	
1565	b	San Pablo	M. del Sanz	"	" " " " " "	" " " " "
1565	c	San Juan	J. de la Isla	"	" " " " " "	" " " " "
1565	d	San Lucas	A. de Arellano	Spanish	*Arellano & Martín.	First voyage eastward across the Pacific.
1565	e	San Pedro	F. de Salcedo	Spanish	*Urdaneta, *Espinosa, *Rodriguez.	First official eastward passage.
1566		San Jerónimo	Pericón/Martín/Delangle	Spanish	*Martínez, Legazpi, Saz, Lavezaris, etc.	Pericón Expedition. Marooned mutineers.
1567	a	San Pedro	F. de Salcedo	Spanish	*Artieda, Figueroa.	Juan de Salcedo aboard.
1567	b	San Lucas	J. L. de Aguirre	"	" "	B&R 3:130; 34:205.
1568	8	San Pablo	F. de Salcedo	Spanish	Legazpi, Lavezaris, Mirandaola.	Shipwrecked at Guam. B&R 3:29-44.
1568	a	Los Reyes	A. de Mendaña	Spanish	*Mendaña, *Sarmiento, *Gallego, Catoira.	Discovered Namu atoll and Wake I.
1568	b	Todos los Santos	P. Sarmiento de Gamboa	"	" " " " " " "	" " " " "
1569		San Juan	J. L. de Aguirre	Spanish		
1570	4	San Lucas + 2 other ships	J. de la Isla	Spanish	*Herrera, Alba.	B&R 3:108,130; 34:230.
1571	a	Santiago	J. de Aguirre (?)	Spanish	Gaspar de San Augustin, Riquel, Anon.	B&R 3:239, 241.
1571	b	San Juan	J. de la Isla	"	" " " " " " "	" "
1572		Espiritu Santo	P. de Luna	Spanish	Gaspar de San Augustin, Riquel, Anon.	B&R 3:239, 241.
1572		San Juan	Aguirre & Chacón	"	" " " " " " "	Turned back. Captured 1 Guamanian.
1574	a	Espiritu Santo	A. Velazquez	Spanish	Lavezaris, Cauchela & Aldave.	B&R 3:279, 282; 34:296.
1574	b	Santiago	S. Ortiz de Agurto	"	" " " " "	" " "
1575	a 6	San Juan	F. de Sande	Spanish	*Sande.	Gov. Sande aboard. B&R 4:75, 116-7.
1575	b 6	San Felipe	?	"	"	" " " "
1576		Espiritu Santo	?	Spanish	Sande, Enriquez.	Shipwrecked in Philippines.
1577		?	?	Spanish	Enriquez, Concepción.	BN 19692.

SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1992.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1578	San Juan	?	Spanish	*Pablo de Jesús, Enriquez.	B&R 34:317.
1579	Golden Hind	F. Drake	English	*Fletcher, *Drake, *Anon.	Discovery of Palau.
1580	(unnamed ship)	G. Ronquillo	Spanish	*Ronquillo.	AGI Fil. 2; B&R 53:256.
1580	Trinidad	?	Spanish		AGI 67-6-6.
1581	Espiritu Santo	?	Spanish	*Mendoza, *Loyola, Concepción.	Took port in Casiguran, Philippines.
1582	5 San Martin	L. de Sahajosa	Spanish	*Sedeño, *Sanchez, *Burgos, *Anon.	B&R 53:257-8. AGI 67-6-6.
1583	3 N. S. de la Cinta	?	Spanish	*Mendoza.	
1584	San Juan Bautista	F. Gali	Spanish	*Gali, *Moya, *Mendoza, Vera.	Gali's voyage eastward. AGI 67-6-18.
1584	5 Santa María de Jesús (alias Mora)	S. de Vera	Spanish	*Vera, Moya.	B&R 53:258; 6:67.
1585	a San Juan Bautista	F. Gali	Spanish	Vera.	B&R 6:66-75. Westbound.
1585	b San Martin	?	"	"	" " "
1586	(unnamed ship + 1 other)	P. de Unamuno	Spanish	Audiencia, Pereira.	Unamuno westbound.
1586	(unnamed ship)	R. de Cordoba	Spanish		From Peru to Canton.
1587	a San Martin	L. de Palacios	Spanish	Aduarte, Salazar. B&R 6:73-75;7:215; 30:	129-130. To Macao; wrecked on China coast.
1587	b (unnamed ship)	?	"	Aduarte.	
1587	c N. S. de Buena Esperanza	P. de Unamuno	Spanish	*Unamuno.	Eastward passage.
1587	d Santa Ana	?	Spanish	*Alzola, *Sierra.	Eastward passage. Captured by Cavendish.
1588	(unnamed ship)	?	Spanish	Aduarte.	
1588	1 Desire	T. Cavendish	English	*Pretty, *Fuller, *Alzola.	Captured Santa Ana. Ship Content disappeare
1589-90	(unnamed ship)	J. da Gama	Portuguese	Boxer.	1st Portuguese ship to cross the Pacific.
1590	a 5 Santiago	G. P. Dasmariñas	Spanish	*Dasmariñas, *Ordoñez, Velasco, Salazar.	B&R 7:239. Gov. Dasmariñas aboard.
1590	b 5 San Pedro	?	"	" " " " " "	" " " "
1591	a Santiago	Lope de Avalos Santillán	Spanish	Dasmariñas, Velasco.	B&R 34:410.

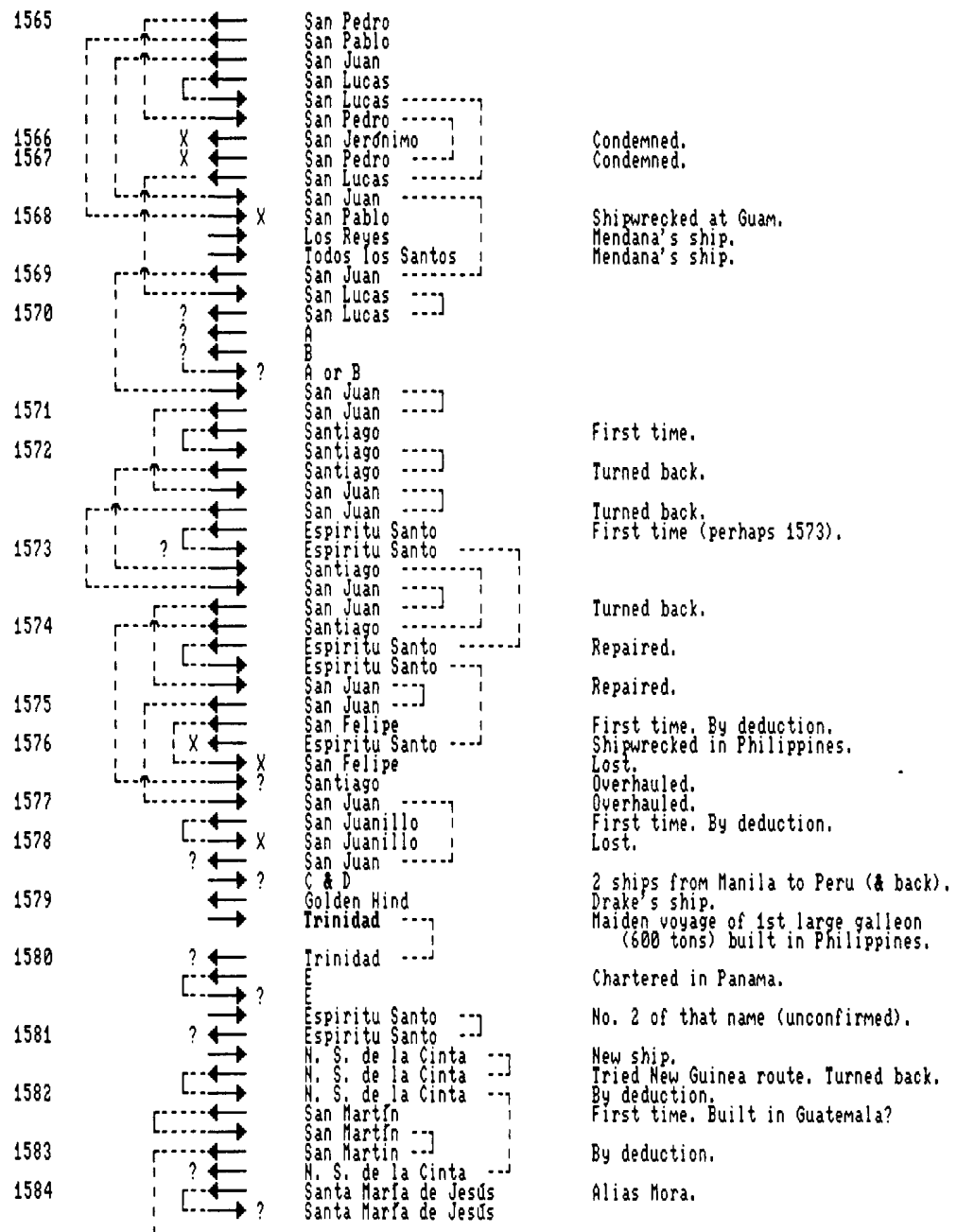
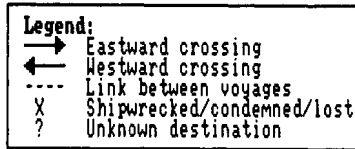
SHIPS THROUGH MICRONESIA, by Rodrigue Lévesque, 1992.

YEAR & MTH OF VISIT	NAME OF SHIP	NAME OF CAPTAIN	SHIP NATIONALITY	CHRONICLERS *Primary source.	COMMENTS
1591 b	San Ildefonso	D. Ronquillo/J. de Solis	Spanish	Dasmariñas, Velasco.	B&R 9:42.
1591 c	(unnamed ship)	?	Portuguese		Westbound. Ex-Gama.
1592	San Felipe (?)	?	Spanish	*Jaque de los Rios, Dasmariñas.	B&R 8:236, 255.
1594 a	San Pedro	S. Rodriguez Cermeño	Spanish	Velasco, Martínez de Zúñiga.	
1594 b	Santiago	?	"	" " " "	
1595 a	Santiago	A. de Morga	Spanish	Aduarte, Chirino. Dr. Morga aboard.	B&R 9:141; 30:284.
1595 b	San Felipe	M. de Landecho (?)	"	" " " "	" + AGI 105-2-11. Lost in Japan in 1596.
1595-96	San Felipe	F. Corzo	Spanish	*Quirós, Figueroa, Zaragoza.	Mendaña's galliot. Via Palau?
1595-96	San Jerónimo	P. Fernández de Quirós	Spanish	*Quirós, Figueroa, Zaragoza.	2nd Mendaña Expedition. Discovered Pohnpe

VOLUME 2 APPENDIX A

FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1565-1596.

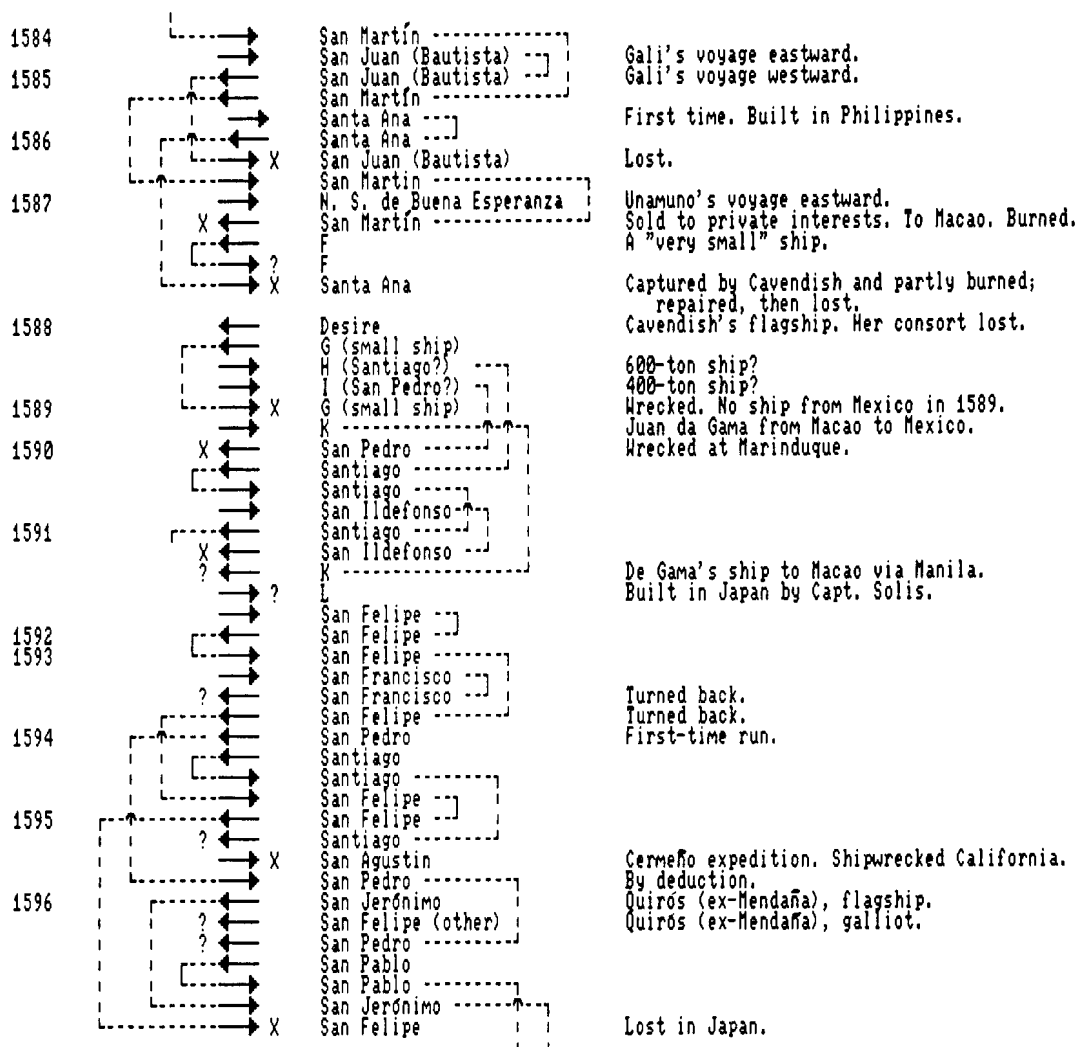
by Rodrigue Lévesque



VOLUME 2 APPENDIX A

FLOW DIAGRAM OF THE GALLEONS ACROSS THE PACIFIC, 1565-1596 (continued)

by Rodrigue Lévesque



NOTES

Appendix B

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