

# **HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**

## **A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 16—THE MALASPINA EXPEDITION,  
1773-1795**

Compiled and edited  
by

**Rodrigue Lévesque**

## Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

History of Micronesia : a collection of source documents

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Partial contents: v. 1. European discovery, 1521-1560.

- v. 2. Prelude to conquest, 1561-1595.
- v. 3. First real contact, 1596-1637.
- v. 4. Religious conquest, 1638-1670.
- v. 5. Focus on the Mariana Mission, 1670-1673.
- v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.
- v. 7. More turmoil in the Marianas, 1679-1683.
- v. 8. Last Chamorro revolt, 1683-1687.
- v. 9. Conquest of the Gani Islands, 1687-1696.
- v. 10. Exploration of the Caroline Islands, 1696-1709.
- v. 11. French Ships in the Pacific, 1708-1717.
- v. 12. Carolinians drift to Guam, 1715-1728.
- v. 13. Failure at Ulithi Atoll, 1727-1746.
- v. 14. Full census of the Marianas, 1746-1773.
- v. 15. Mostly Palau, 1783-1793.
- v. 16. The Malaspina Expedition, 1773-1795.

ISBN 0-920201-00-8 (set) – ISBN 0-920201-01-6 (v. 1) – ISBN 0-920201-02-4 (v. 2)  
 ISBN 0-920201-03-2 (v. 3) – ISBN 0-920201-04-0 (v. 4) – ISBN 0-920201-05-9 (v. 5)  
 ISBN 0-920201-06-7 (v. 6) – ISBN 0-920201-07-5 (v. 7) – ISBN 0-920201-08-3 (v. 8)  
 ISBN 0-920201-09-1 (v. 9) – ISBN 0-920201-10-5 (v. 10) – ISBN 0-920201-11-3 (v. 11)  
 ISBN 0-920201-12-1 (v. 12) – ISBN 0-920201-13-X (v. 13) – ISBN 0-920201-14-8 (v. 14)  
 ISBN 0-920201-15-6 (v. 15) – ISBN 0-920201-16-4 (v. 16)

1. Micronesia—History—Sources. I.

Lévesque, Rodrigue, 1938-

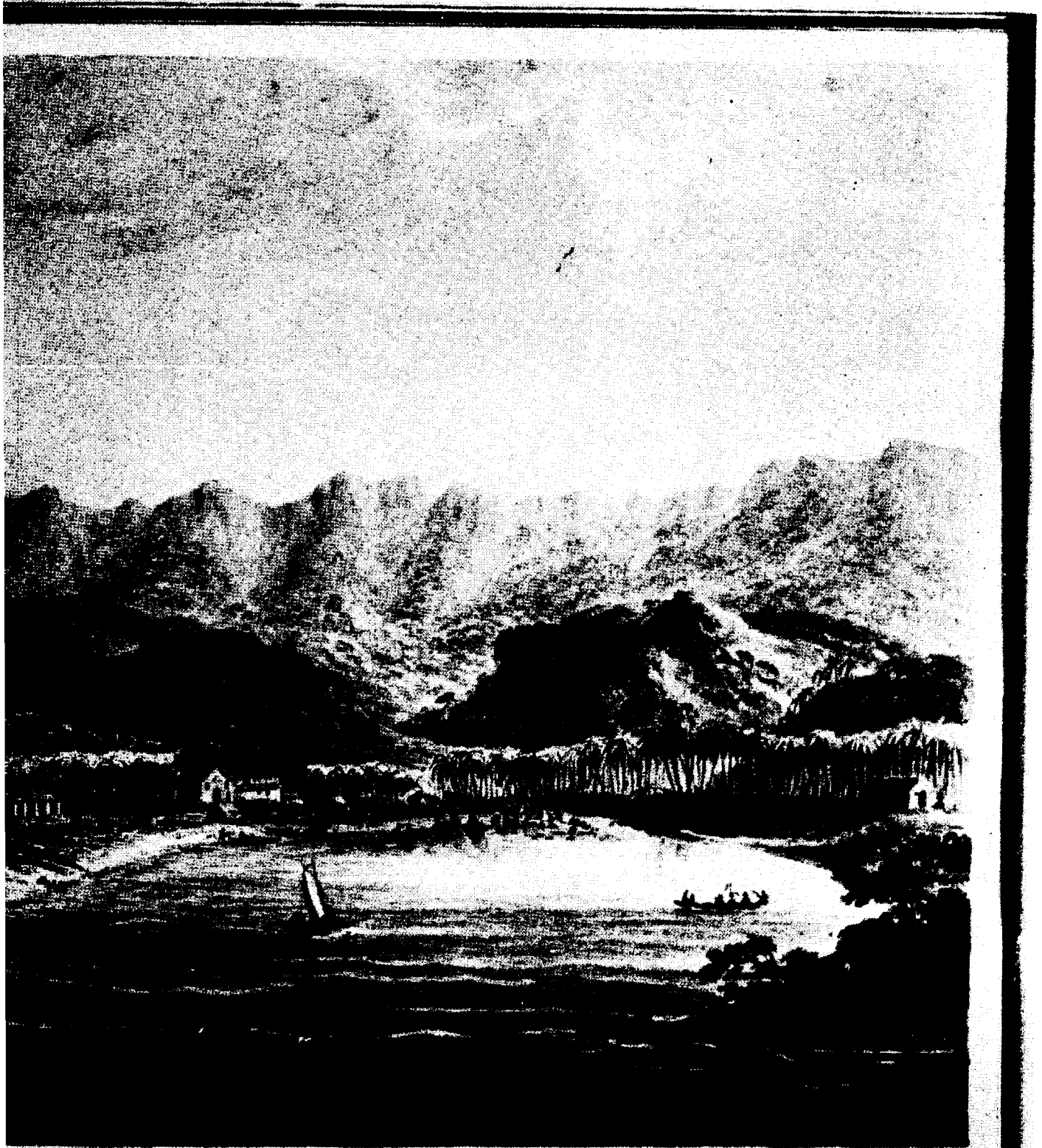
DU500.H57 1992            996.5            C92-090188-3

**Copyright © 2000 by Rodrigue Lévesque**

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, including photocopying, without permission in writing from the publisher. Information on subscribing to this series can be obtained from the publisher: Lévesque Publications, 189 Dufresne, Gatineau, Québec, Canada J8R 3E1

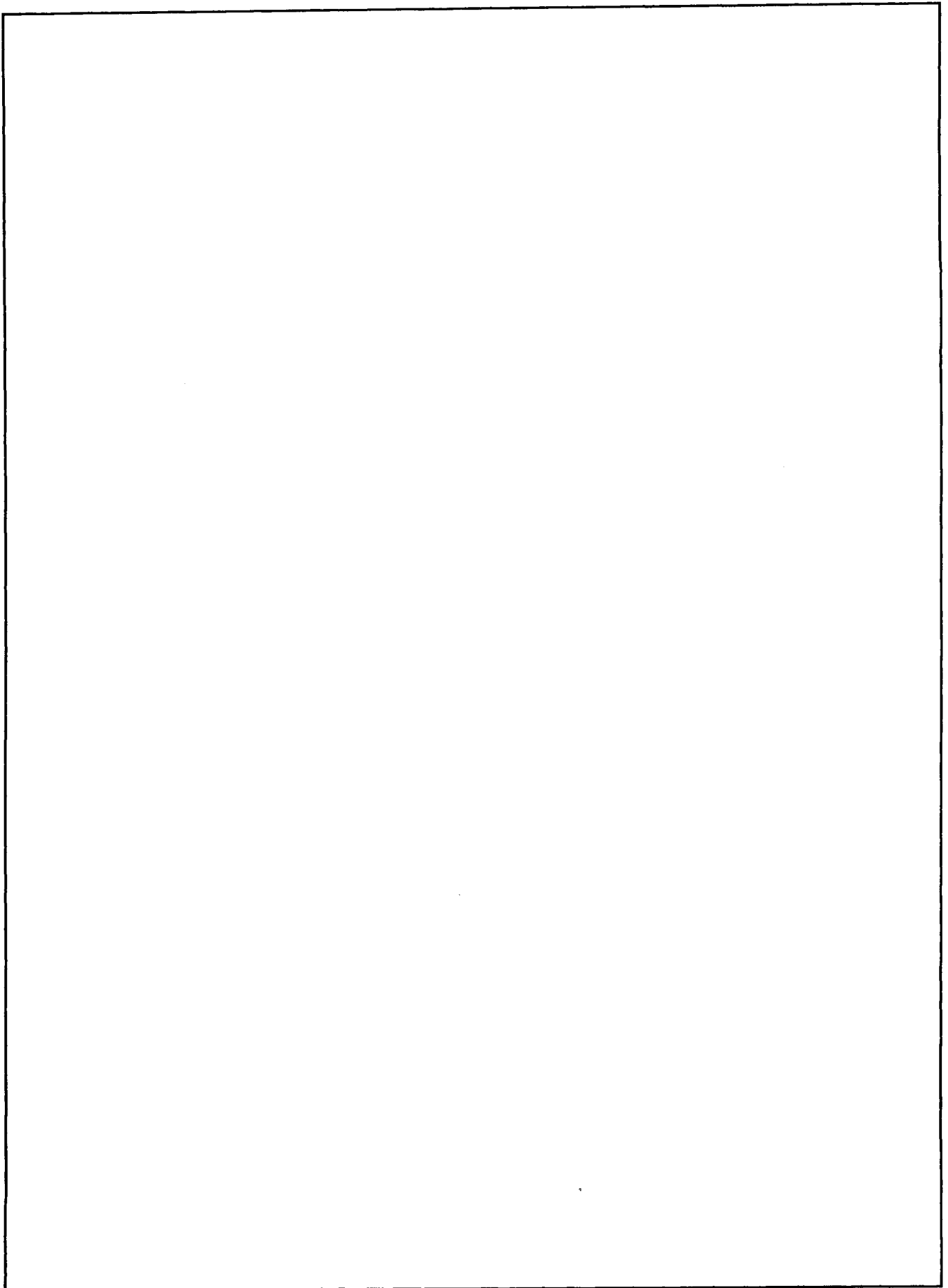
ISBN 0-920201-16-4 (Vol. 16)

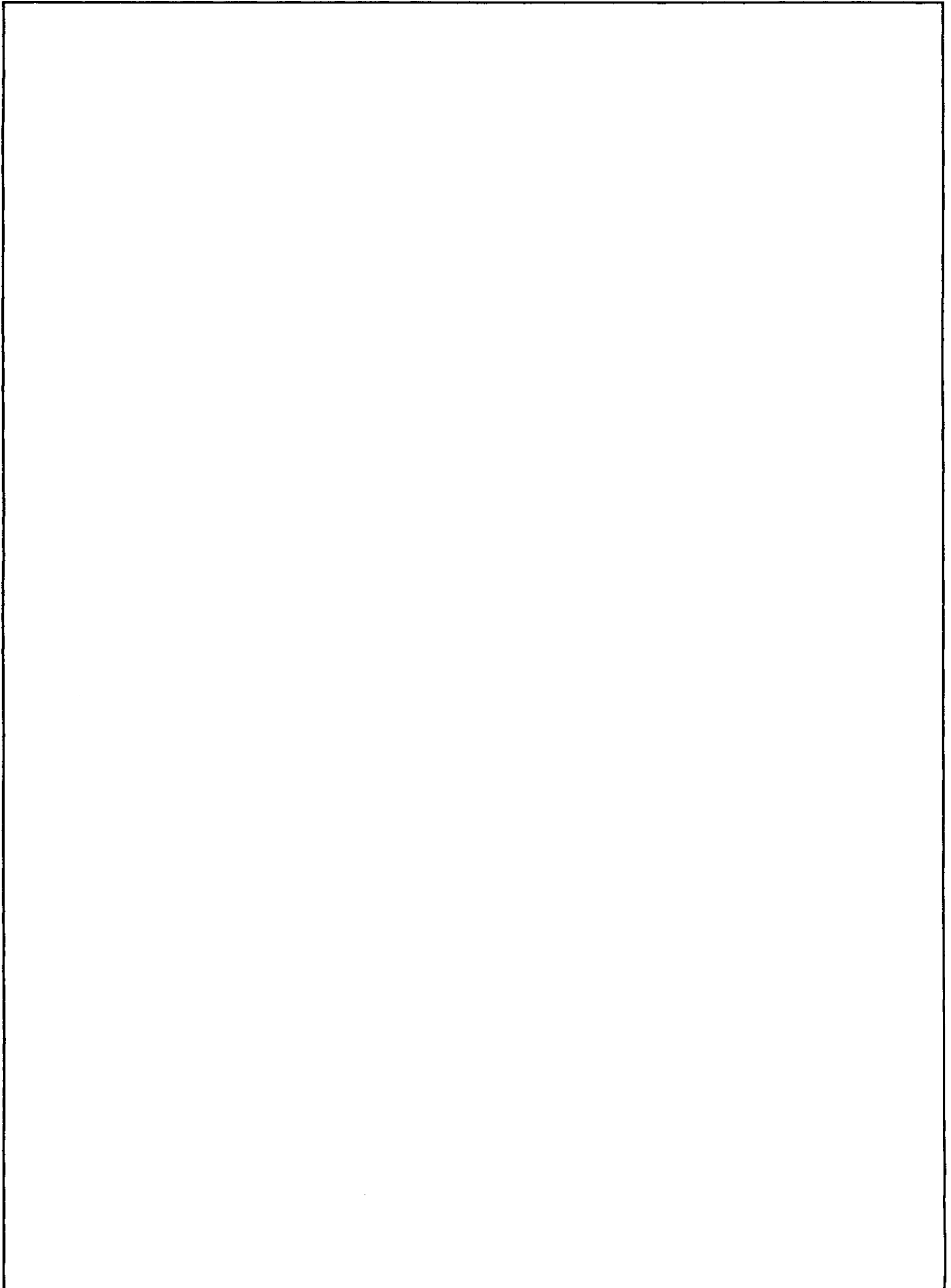
Country of origin: Mexico



*Handwritten signature or text, possibly "M. J. ..."*







---

## Contents

---

	Page
List of illustrations	8
Abbreviations	10
Foreword	13
Doc. N <sup>o</sup>	
1773B The trials and tribulations of the Spanish Jesuits, 1773-1852	17
1773C Suppression of the Jesuit order by Pope Clement XIV	20
1773D The voyage of the Buen Fín, Chief Pilot Thompson—Discovery of Ngatik and Oroluk	47
1773E Correspondence regarding the ship Buen Fín	59
1774A Report by the Accounting Department about Augustinian Recollects in the Marianas	68
1774B Letter from the King to Governor Anda, dated El Pardo 7 Feb. 1774	70
1774C Population of the Marianas in 1774	73
1775A The story of the shipwreck of patache Concepción at Guam in 1775	76
1775B Subsidies for the Recollect missionaries in the Marianas, 1767-1774	80
1776A The fire that destroyed the San Carlos at Cavite on 5 August 1776	86
1776B Documents regarding Governor Ceraín in 1776	90
1776C Population of the Marianas in 1776	98
1776D Voyage of the galleon San José in 1776	101
1777A The College of Guam is officially turned over to the Recollect Fathers	105
1777B The king wants the galleons to sail north of Luzon	108
1777C Population of the Marianas in 1777	114
1778A A history book, by William Robertson, banned by the Spanish king	117
1778B The galleon San José de Gracia, General Díaz Conde	119
1779A New facts on Captain Cook's third voyage—A spy story	124
1779B Historic eastward crossing of the San José in 1779	134
1779C The Mexican ship San Carlos was a bad sailer	137
1779D The galleon San Pedro, alias Caviteño, Captain David	142
1780A The voyage of the San Antonio, Captain Choquet, in 1780	157
1780B Subsidy for the Marianas 1777-79	166
1780C Gilbert Islands—The war between Tarawa and Abemama	168
1780D Letters about Governors Arleguí and Ceraín	170
1781A Lieutenant Mourelle in the Princesa, from Manila to San Blas, via Guam in 1781	179
1781B Letters regarding the Princesa's voyages, 1780-1782	197

1781C	Two English ships a few days apart	205
1782A	The ship Lord North via Tobi Island	208
1782B	The return voyage of the San José in 1782	210
1783C	<b>Palau Part 10</b> —A letter to Madan Blanchard, by E. M. Forster	221
1784A	Notes on some ships that crossed the N. Pacific, from 1784 onwards	229
1784C	True Briton, Captain Farrer, named Pulo Anna Savage Island	233
1785A	Governor Ceraín and Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine	235
1786A	The famous La Pérouse stopped in the Northern Marianas in 1786	239
1786C	Population of the Marianas in 1786	249
1786D	Mourelle sent to Manila aboard the Fidelidad—Creation of the RPC	251
1787A	Chart of the Caroline Islands, drawn by Governor Arleguí in 1787	259
1787B	Letter of appointment of Governor Arleguí y Leóz	284
1787C	The ship Warren Hastings, Captain John P. Larkins	289
1787D	The Spanish ships of 1787	291
1787E	The RPC ship Astrea visited Guam in 1787	301
1787F	Captain Dentrecaesteaux crossed the Carolines with the ships Résolution and Subtile	313
1787G	The ships Queen Charlotte, Captain Dixon, and King George, Captain Portlock	316
1787H	The logbooks of the Glatton, and Woodcot, EIC ships	324
1787I	Population of the Marianas in 1786-1787	327
1787J	Bio-sketch of Antonio Valdés	331
1788B	The Lady Penrhyn, Captain Sever, via Tinian and Saipan	333
1788C	The Lady Penrhyn—Journal of Lieutenant Watts	334
1788E	Discovery of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands—Account of Captain Marshall	337
1788F	Discovery of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands—Account of Captain Gilbert	352
1788G	Ships that visited New South Wales, 1788-1800	375
1789A	Visit to Tinian of the brig Mercury, Captain Cox	382
1789B	The fictitious second visit of the French Viscount Pagès	386
1789C	Diary of José Gomez, Mexico City, 1789-1794	393
1789D	Visit of 25 Carolinians to Guam in July 1789	402
1790A	The despatch of the galleon San Andrés in 1790	407
1790B	Recollect missionaries who arrived in 1790	411
1791C	The return voyage of the Waakzamheydt, Captain Smith, via Sorol and Yap	413
1791D	Captain Colnett's visit to Micronesia, via Maug	422
1791E	The story of the Princess Royal, a captured English sloop	425
1791F	The round-the-world voyage of Captain Marchand	429
1791G	The galleon San Andrés upon arrival at Acapulco in 1791	437
1791H	Some EIC ships mentioned by Horsburgh, 1791-1806	442



1792A	The Malaspina Expedition—Introductory chapter	447
1792B	The Malaspina Expedition—The narratives of Malaspina himself	453
1792C	The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Commander Bustamante in charge of the <i>Atrevida</i>	479
1792D	The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Lieutenant Viana	483
1792E	The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Lieutenant Tova	491
1792F	The Malaspina Expedition—The journals of Antonio Pineda	495
1792G	The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative of Espinosa y Tello	531
1792H	The Malaspina Expedition—The works of Thaddaeus Haenke	535
1792I	The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative of Arcadio Pineda	544
1792J	The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative attributed to Felipe Bauzá	561
1792K	The Malaspina Expedition—The logbook attributed to Aliponzoni	571
1792L	The Malaspina Expedition—The artistic works of the Italian painters, Ravenet and Brambila	572
1792M	Letters of appointment of Governor Manuel Muro	584
1792N	The <i>Halcyon</i> , Capt. Barkley, and the <i>Venus</i> , Capt. Shepherd, via Yap	589
1792O	The Royal Admiral, Captain Essex Henry Bond, visited the Ralik Chain in December 1792	572
1792P	Subsidies for the Marianas, 1787-1792, aboard galleon <i>San Andrés</i>	594
1793A	The first U.S. ship to visit the Marianas—The <i>Hope</i> , Capt. B. Page	607
1793B	The discovery of the Mortlocks by Capt. Raven in ship <i>Britannia</i>	608
1793C	Another convoy of English ships return, via Yap	610
1793D	<b>Palau Part 11</b> —McCluer left Palau in a small boat, and returned with the snow <i>Venus</i> in 1794	615
1793E	The <i>Sugar Cane</i> , Capt. Musgrave, and the <i>Boddingtons</i>	632
1793F	Manuscript map of the Mariana and Bonin Islands, Cadiz 1793	634
1793G	The U.S. Ship <i>America</i> , Captain Baker, tried to visit Guam	642
1793H	D'Entrecasteaux returns to search for <i>La Pérouse</i> , skirting Micronesia	646
1794A	Proclamations of Governor Muro issued in 1794-97	647
1794B	Permission given to Guam natives to harvest coconuts at Tanocatan	662
1794C	The <i>Walpole</i> , Captain Butler, visited Eniwetok	664
1794D	The <i>Carnatic</i> , Capt. Jackson, with the <i>Dublin</i> , Captain Smith	666
1794E	Another fleet of 3 English ships to China by way of Micronesia	668
1795A	Voyage of the ships <i>Magallanes</i> and <i>Concepción</i> , via Hawaii in 1795	671
1795B	Subsidies for the Marianas, for 1793, 1794, and 1795	678
1795C	Ship arrivals at Manila, June 1795-May 1796	686
Appendix 1. Bibliography of Micronesia, Vol. 16 of History of Micronesia		687
Index		697

---

## List of illustrations

---

	Page
The World of Oceania	15
Map of Micronesia	16
Pope Clement XIV	20
First page of the papal brief suppressing the Jesuit order	22
Map of Ngatik, by Pilot José Vazquez, in 1773	53
Map of Oroluk, by Pilot José Vazquez, 1773	55
King Charles III, 1759-88	57
Viceroy Bucarelí, 1771-78	58
One of Captain Cook's ships, 1770s	122
Chart of the Volcano Islands, seen in November 1779	130
Track of the Maurelle Expedition, 1780-81	178
Francisco Antonio Maurelle de la Rúa, Spanish navigator	184
Chart of Maurelle's voyage in the South Pacific, 1781	188
Map of the port of San Blas, by Maurelle, 1777	194
Modern map of the port of San Blas, and vicinity, 1999	195
Viceroy Mayorga, 1779-1783	196
Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine in Guam (photos taken in 1998)	234
Part of the Piti-Agat Road in 1939	235
Viceroy Matías de Galvez, 1783-1784	237
Viceroy Fernando de Galvez, 1785-85	238
Count of La Pérouse (1741-1788)	240
Spanish chart of the North Pacific, used by La Pérouse	246
Chart drawn by Lieutenant-Colonel Arleguá in 1787	260
The RPC ship Astrea that visited Guam in 1787	300
Chart of the Mariana Islands, by Tomás Lopez, 1794	304-305
Plan of Umatac, published by Dalrymple in 1796	309
Manila Bay, showing Manila and Cavite in 1787	312
Bruni D'Entrecasteaux	313
Manuscript chart of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition of 1786-87	314-315
View of the south side of Saipan Island in 1787	319
John Nicol, mariner, at age 67	321
Facsimile of census summary for the Marianas in 1786-87	328
Archbishop Viceroy Nuñez de Haro, 1787	332
Track of the ships Scarborough and Charlotte near Aranuka and Kuria	339

Track of the Scarborough and Charlotte in 1788	340
First chart of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, discovered in 1788	341
A canoe and natives of Mulgrave's Range, i.e. Mili Atoll	344
View of Mili and Tarawa atolls	356
View of Abaiang and Ailuk atolls	357
Views of the Marshall Islands	362-363
King Charles IV, 1788-1808	394
Viceroy Flores, 1787-89	394
Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, 1789-94	394
Viceroy Branciforte, 1894-98	402
Captain John Hunter, R.N.	414
Sorol atoll viewed from the deck of the Waakzamheydt	416
Yap Island and Hunter Bank, seen on 17 July 1791	417
Yap and Sorol Islands, as published by Dalrymple in 1794	421
Description of the galleon San Andrés upon arrival at Acapulco in 1791	438
The corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida at Palapag, Samar I.	448
The corvette Atrevida, by Felipe Bauzá	451
Commander Alejandro Malaspina	454
Portrait of Commander Malaspina in formal uniform	455
Gravity experiments at Port Egmont, as sketched by Ravenet	466
Survey of Apra Harbor, Guam, by Pilot Juan Inciarte	469
Commander José Bustamante, commanding the corvette Atrevida	480
Title page of the 1849 edition of Lieutenant Viana's journal	482
Antonio Pineda (1753-1792)	496
Field notes on the pandanus, by Antonio Pineda	520
Sketches of some representative fishes found in Guam	527
Some sketches of natural history left by the Malaspina Expedition	528-529
Portrait of Lieutenant José Espinosa y Tello de Portugal	530
Title page of <i>Reliquiæ Haenkeanæ</i>	536
Portraits of Thaddæus Haenke	537
Type of grass collected at Guam by Thaddæus Haenke	540
Map of Apra Harbor, published by Dalrymple	554
View of a native village, by Felipe Bauzá	560
A tropical hut, by Felipe Bauzá	563
Some houses of the Indians of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá	565
Indian couple of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá	565
Woman of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá	568
Man of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá	569
Man of the Island of Guam, draft sketch by Ravenet	574
Man of the Island of Guam, refined sketch by Ravenet	575
Man from the Caroline Islands, a draft sketch by Ravenet	576
Man from the Caroline Islands, refined sketch by Ravenet	577

Woman of the Island of Guam, by Ravenet	578
View of the port of Acapulco in 1791, by Brambila	581
View of the anchorage of Umatac, Guam, by Brambila	582-583
Chart of the Palau Islands by Captain McCluer—Dalrymple #78	621
Idem, Dalrymple #79	623
Idem, Dalrymple #80	625
Idem, Dalrymple #81	627
Chart of the Peeloo Archipelago, by John McCluer	629
Faint ms. chart of Palau in the Naval Museum in Madrid	631
Ms. map of the Mariana and Bonin Islands, Cadiz 1793	640-641

Front endpaper: **The port of Umatac, viewed from the sea, by Brambila**  
 (Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome I-29, Inv. n° 2,287).  
 Comment: Painted from aboard one of the corvettes at anchor.  
 On the left is Fort Santo Angel.

Rear endpaper: **The anchorage of Umatac, Island of Guam, by Brambila**  
 (Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome I-28, Inv. n° 2,288).  
 Comment: Panoramic view of the cove of Umatac, seen from  
 ashore near the Santa Barbara Battery. In background the corvettes  
 at anchor, and to the right of them Fort Santo Angel.

---

## Abbreviations

---

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CIMA	Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology.
EIC	East India Company.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
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.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
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.
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago.
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
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 Prædicatorum (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.
PNA	Philippine National Archives, Manila.
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.
RPC	Royal Philippine Company.
SHM	Service Historique de la Marine, Palais de Vincennes, Paris.
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His [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 (Hamilton Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UTK	University of Tokyo.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.

---

## Foreword

---

*“The inhabitants [of the Gilbert Islands] seem to be a fine set of people; they are of a copper colour, stout and well made; their hair is long and black, with black eyes and eyebrows, and they seem to have very fine teeth. The only ornaments seen amongst them were necklaces made of beads intermixed with teeth, and many of them had their faces painted white.”*

[Captain Marshall, upon discovering the Gilberts in 1788 (see Doc. 1788E)].

The Gilbert Islands were the last archipelago of Micronesia to be discovered by Europeans and described in a meaningful way by them. Captain Marshall named them after his travelling companion. The two men then took their ships through the southern part of the Marshall Islands. Their observations were sufficient to place these two archipelagos accurately “on the map.” Their ships were the first convict ships to visit New South Wales and the first to discover a quick sailing route from there to China. Many other convict ships and those of the East India Company (EIC) would cross Micronesia in the years that followed.

The Royal Philippine Company (RPC) was created in this period also, for the same purpose of modernizing trade around the known world. Since the king of Spain was an investor, well-trained Navy officers were soon commanding those ships, as well as the Manila galleons. Both types of ships were to be successful until the 1820s, when the Spanish colonies in America began their struggle for independence. The Manila galleons usually carried convicts also, as proven by Corporal José Gomez, who documented their regular dispatch from Mexico City.

*“I we were to compare the numberless sacrifices in men that overseas possessions have cost Europe with the social benefits derived from trade and navigation, either through a relative gentility of customs, or through the multiplication of our species, surely most of the advantages expected from the discovery of America would dissipate rapidly and induce a stop to the massive projects regarding the limitless expansion in power and the thoughtless rivalry among nations.”*

[Commander Malaspina, upon leaving Acapulco for Guam in 1792 (Doc. 1792B)].

The Spanish were the first Europeans to carry out a modern scientific expedition in the Pacific. This volume contains the work of the 12 senior members of this expedition while they were in Guam. Commander Malaspina was a free-thinker, who wrote his political opinions in the form of recommendations to the king. After his return to Spain,

he was considered a subversive and placed in jail. The publication of the results of his expedition was thus delayed by one century.

*“It is nothing but my zeal for my country that prompts me to follow this resolution [i.e. to stay at Palau in 1793]; and I hope to succeed in the plan I have formed, which may benefit my country and the world in general, by enlightening the minds of these noble islanders: should I fail in the attempt, it is only the loss of an individual, who wished to do good to his fellow-creatures.”*

[Captain McCluer, writing to Lieut. Wedgeborough in 1793 (see Doc. 1793D)].

Soon after this statement was written, Captain McCluer disappeared at sea, and it was not until some 200 years later that Palau joined the United Nations as an independent country, to the benefit of the world in general. McCluer was undoubtedly a very unusual man for his times; like Malaspina, he saw the political aspects of new discoveries and the effects of colonization.

One of most interesting documents in this volume is a note written by a Spanish spy in London, announcing the third voyage of Captain Cook. Strange as it may seem, this famous explorer never visited Micronesia...

Rod Lévesque  
Gatineau, November 2000.

### **Acknowledgement**

I wish to acknowledge the collaboration of a fellow member of the Society for the History of Discoveries, Dr. Andrew S. Cook, Map Archivist at the British Library in London, for having helped me find more information about Alexander Dalrymple, the cartographer of the East India Company and the man who published Captain McCluer's surveys.

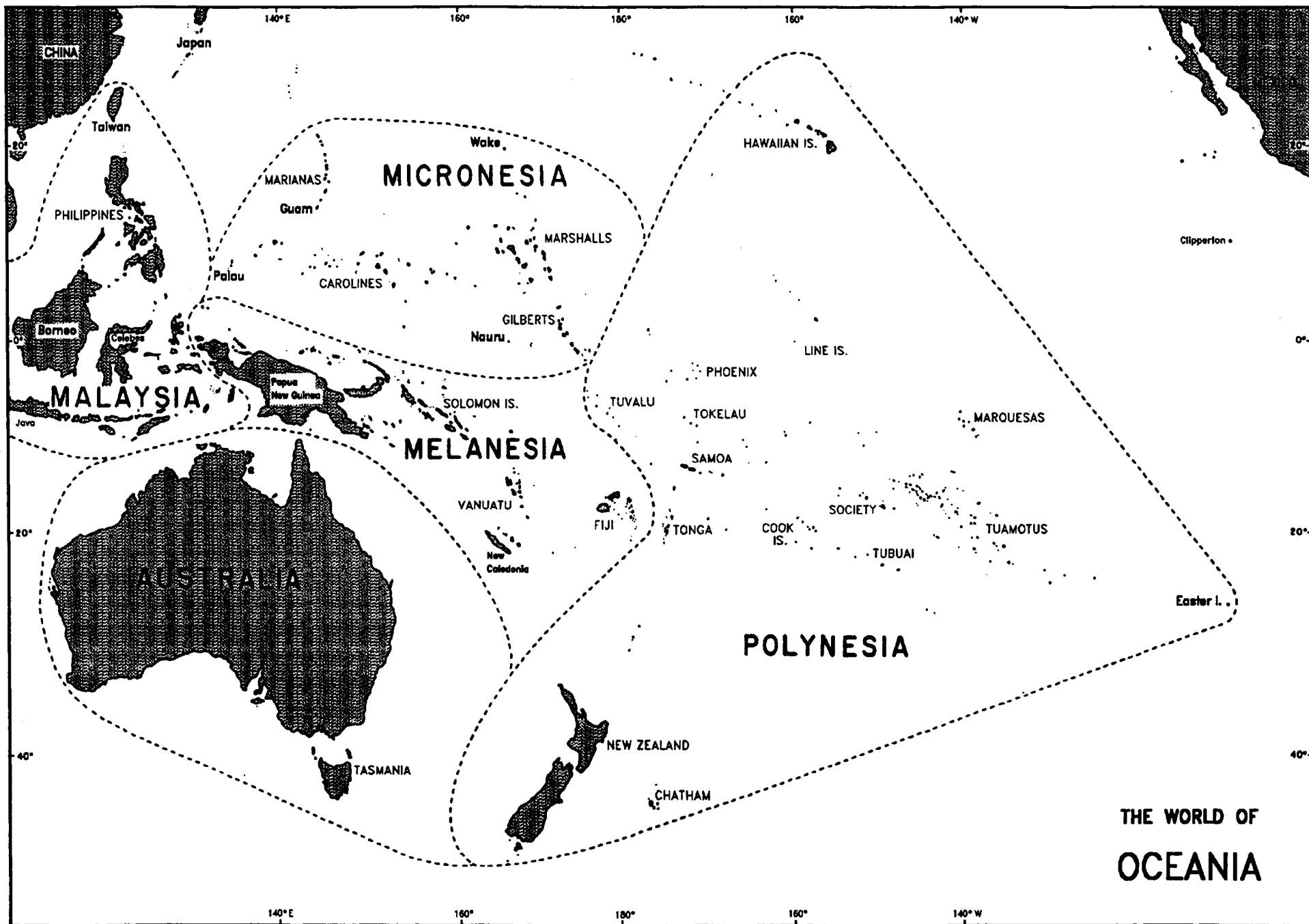
### **Errors and corrections**

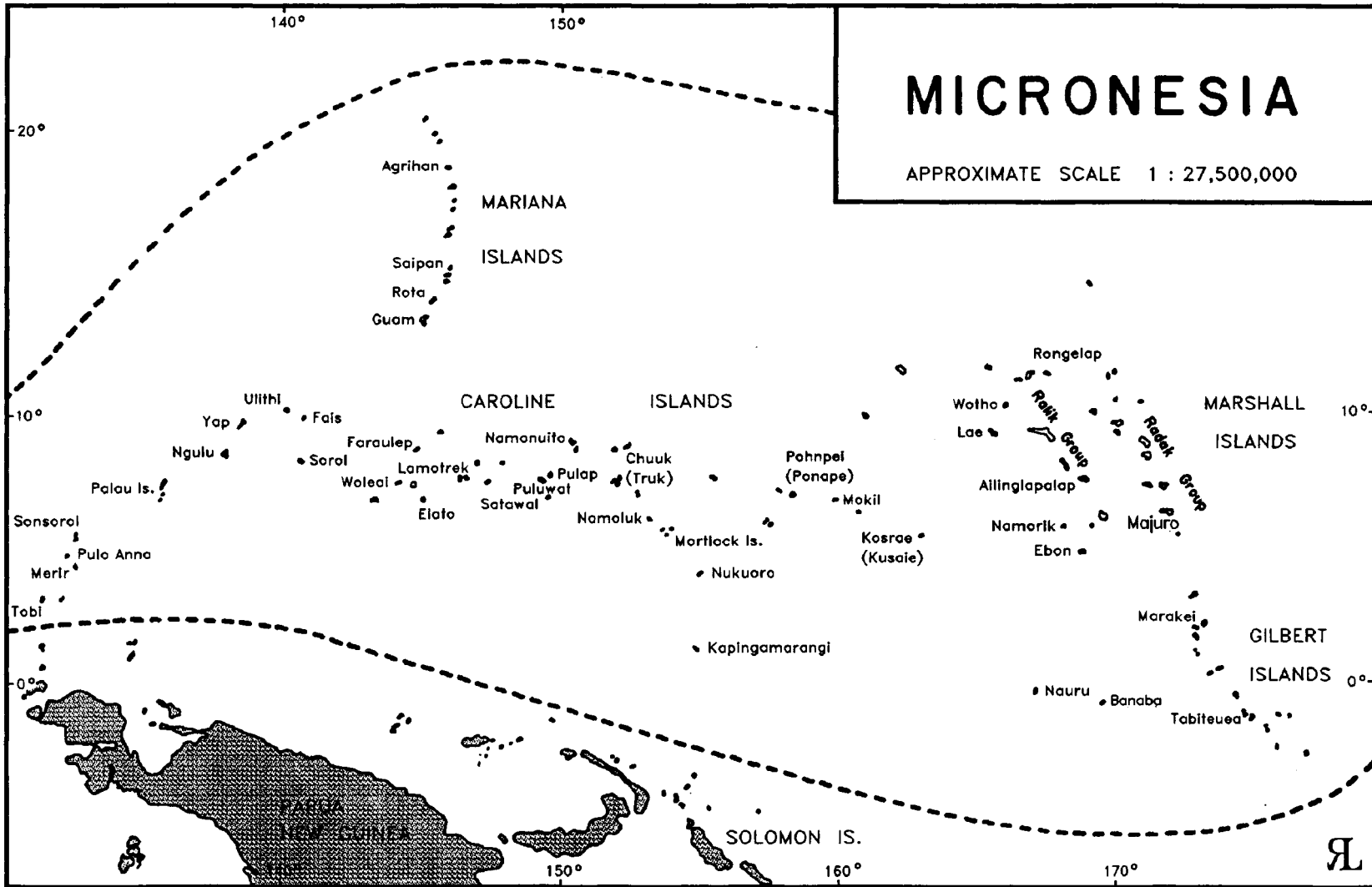
Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

### **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 1773B

---

# The trials and tribulations of the Spanish Jesuits, 1773-1852, by Emma Helen Blair

*Sources: B&R 52: 208-213, which is taken from her book: "The Expulsion of the Jesuits" (Cleveland, 1907). The extract reproduced below is taken from: Danvila y Collado, Manuel, "Reinado de Carlos III," (Madrid, 1894), iii, pp. 613-625.*

## The aftermath of the Papal Brief and royal decree of 1773

A royal decree of 22 January 1784, by Carlos III, declared the ex-Jesuits competent to acquire and hold property; and, in the case of those secular coadjutors who had married, to bequeath their property to their heirs. That monarch died in 1788; and was succeeded by his eldest son, as Carlos IV. In October 1797, the government learned that the Spanish ex-Jesuits were determined to return to Spain, on account of the persecutions and even death which menaced them in the Genoese territories, owing to a change in the government there, and that some of them had already reached the Spanish ports; it therefore decided that they should be allowed to remain in the country, but must live in certain abandoned convents. The Jesuits objected to this, and finally the government permitted them (in 1698) to retire freely to the homes of their families or into any convents they might choose, save that they were not allowed to reside in Madrid or other royal seats.

*"Many ex-Jesuits," says Danvila, "returned to their fatherland, and others decided to remain in Italy; but this situation did not last long, for in the year 1801 another decree was issued condemning them anew to proscription."*

Orders were given that within one week all Jesuits should leave their homes and present themselves at Alicante or Barcelona, where new orders would be given them. Some Fathers advanced in years were allowed to remain in Spain; but all the rest were for the second time shipped to Italy, where they suffered great hardship.

In 1808, the Spanish government felt more leniently toward these unfortunate exiles, considering moreover, the difficulty of furnishing their pensions, and the fact that all those moneys were thus taken out of Spain to foreign countries, to find their way ultimately into the hands of her enemies; and a royal decree by Fernando VII, dated 15 November 1808, granted permission to those Jesuits who desired to return to Spain, with the same pension which they had been receiving. After the war between Spain and

France was ended, urgent requests were made to Fernando VII by various personages prominent in ecclesiastical, educational, and municipal affairs that he would re-establish in his dominions the Society of Jesus; and permission was given by a royal decree dated 9 May 1815, for the Jesuits to have houses in the towns and cities which had asked for them.

A year later, after various preparations for this change had been made by the government, another decree extended the re-establishment to all the towns where the Jesuits had formerly had their institutions.

*"In view of this, all the Spanish Jesuits who were residing in Italy returned to Spain, at the expense of the court. All these decisions were adopted in Spain in fulfilment of the bull of Pius VII dated 7 August 1814, **Solicitud omnium ecclesiarum**,<sup>1</sup> by which the Jesuits were re-established in all the Catholic countries—that of Clement XIV, which decreed the extinction of the Order, being thereby annulled."*

*"Not five years had passed after the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in Spain when, the revolution of 1820 having been successful, the Cortes assembled; and the Spanish monarch, by decree of 6 September in that same year, again suppressed the [Jesuit] institute, together with the other monastic Orders, allowing the Jesuits, however, liberty to reside in Spain. Fernando communicated to His Holiness the above decision, and Pius VII replied in a letter of 15 September, expressing the displeasure with which he had received the tidings; but in 1823, the constitutional government having been destroyed, the regency issued a decree on 11 June, re-establishing the Society and the rest of the regular Orders in the same condition in which they were before 7 March 1820."*

*"Fernando VII died on 29 September 1833, and the civil war began; and on 17 July 1834, occurred the lamentable **massacre of the Jesuits and other religious**."*

*"By royal decree of 4 July 1835, the Society of Jesus was anew declared extinguished; and its property was ordered to be sold, in order to apply the product thereof to the extinction of the public debt. In spite of this decision, the Jesuits remained established in Spain; and it was necessary, in the last revolutionary period, to issue the decree of 12 October 1868, suppressing the Society of Jesus in the Peninsula and the adjacent islands; and commanding that within the space of three days all their colleges and institutions should be closed, and possession be taken of their temporalities in the form provided on this point by the royal decree of 4 July 1835. To these provisions were added this, that the individuals of the suppressed Society might not again reunite in a body or a community, nor wear the garb of the Order, nor be in any way subordinate to the superiors of the Order who existed either within or without Spain, those who were not ordained in sacris remaining subject in all matters to the ordinary civil jurisdiction. But the realization of this measure was ephemeral; for when the constitution of 5 June 1869 was published, the right of every person was declared—and repeated in the constitution of 30 June 1876—to associate with others for all the purposes in human*

---

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1814A.

*life which are not opposed to public morals; and, by favor of this liberty, the individuals of the Society of Jesus considered themselves authorized to form an association and found anew colleges and houses in the Spanish dominions.”*<sup>1</sup>

A brief of Pope Leo XIII, dated 13 July 1886, finally re-established the Society of Jesus throughout the world, and abrogated that of Clement XIV which in 1773 suppressed the Order. The Pope took occasion to express this permission in the warmest and most forcible terms; and “*the rehabilitation of the Society of Jesus could not have been more complete or more satisfactory.*”

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In fact, Danvila does not mention that the Jesuits had in the meantime, on 19 October 1852, been once again re-instated. They arrived back in the Philippines in 1859, and were assigned to a new mission field, in Mindanao Island, in 1861.



---

## Document 1773C

---

# Suppression of the Jesuit order by Pope Clement XIV

*Sources: There are many printed versions of this Brief, in the original Latin and in translations in various European languages. Examples of sources are Jesuit Curia Library, Rome; and AHN Leg. 98.*

### **Introductory notes.**

After the Society of Jesus was banned from the Portuguese empire in 1759, it was similarly banned from France in 1764, and three years later from Spain and her dominions. Pressure from European courts mounted on the papacy to suppress the Order altogether. Pope Clement XIV formally did so in 1773. After the French Revolution and the fall of the Bourbon monarchies, restoration of the Order became feasible. The Society was formally restored by Pope Pius VII on 7 August 1814.

Meanwhile, the worldwide suppression of the Jesuits started at Rome on 16 August 1772. Fr. Lawrence Ricci, the last general, was arrested and thrown into jail inside Fort Sant'Angelo, where he died two years later. In the Low Countries, the letters-patent issued by Queen Maria Teresa of Austria were published in September 1773. As in other countries, the Jesuit properties were confiscated by the State and a small pension paid to Jesuit priests. The Jesuits who had not attained priestly rank were released from their vows. All Jesuits had been encouraged to join other regular orders, or to become secular priests, but few did. They continued to say mass in private. Few survived until 1814, when the Society was vindicated.

José Moniño y Redondo was Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See and it is proven that he had a great influence on the drafting of the papal brief, a task that had been assigned to Francisco de Zelada, a Spanish priest at the Vatican. Zelada was made Cardinal in April 1773 and received a gift of 8,000 escudos from the Spanish government for his good work. As for Moniño, he received the title of Count of Floridablanca.



## CLEMENS PP. XIV.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.



OMNIBUS, ac Redemptor noster JESUS CHRISTUS Princeps pacis a Propheta prænuntiatus, quod hunc in mundum veniens per Angelos primum pastoribus significavit, ac demum per se ipsum antequam in cælos ascenderet, semel & iterum suis reliquit discipulis; ubi omnia Deo Patri reconciliavisset, pacificans per sanguinem crucis suæ, sive quæ in terris, sive quæ in cælis sunt, Apostolis etiam reconciliationis tradidit ministerium, posuitque in eis verbum reconciliationis, ut legatione fungentes pro Christo, qui non est dissensionis Deus, sed pacis, & dilectionis, universo Orbi pacem annuntiarent, & ad id potissimum sua studia conferrent ac labores, ut omnes in Christo geniti solliciti essent servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, unum corpus, & unus spiritus, sicut vocati sunt in una spe vocationis, ad quam nequaquam pertingitur, ut inquit S. Gregorius Magnus, si non ad eam unita cum proximis mente curratur.



## Papal Brief abolishing the Jesuit order, dated Rome 21 July 1773

### Original text in Latin.

*Clemens PP. XIV*

*Ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.*

*Dominus, ac Redemptor noster JESUS CHRISTUS Princeps pacis a Propheta præ-nuntiatus, quod hunc in mundum veniens per Angelos primum pastoribus significavit, ac demum per se ipsum antequam in cœlos ascenderet, semel & iterum suis reliquit discipulis; ubi omnia Deo Patri reconciliavisset, pacificans per sanguinem crucis suæ, sive quæ in terris, sive quæ in cœlis sunt, Apostolis etiam reconciliationis tradidit ministerium, posuitque in eis verbum reconciliationis, ut, legatione fungentes pro Christo, qui non est dissensionis Deus, sed pacis, & dilectionis, universo Orbi pacem annuntiarent, & ad id potissimum sua studia conferrent ac labores, ut omnes in Christo geniti solliciti essent servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, unum corpus, & unus spiritus, sicut vocati sunt una spe vocationis, ad quam nequaquam pertingitur, ut inquit S. Gregorius Magnus, si non ad eam unita cum proximis mente curratur.*

*Hoc ipsum potiori quadam ratione nobis divinitus traditum reconciliationis verbum, & ministerium, ubi primum, meritis prorsus imparibus, eVecti fuimus ad hanc Petri Sedem, in memoriam revocavimus, die, noctuque præ oculis habuimus, cordique altissime inscriptum gerentes, ei pro viribus satisfacere contendimus, divinam ad id opem assidue implorantes, ut cogitationes, & consilia pacis nobis, & universo dominico gregi Deus infundere dignaretur, ad eamque consequendam tutissimum nobis, firmissimumque aditum referare. Quinimo probe scientes, divino nos consilio constitutos fuisse, super gentes, & super regna, ut in excolenda vinea Sabaoth, conservandoque Christianæ religionis ædificio, cujus Christus est angularis lapis, evellamus, & destruamus, & disperdamus, & dissipemus, & ædificemus, & plantemus, eo semper fuimus animo, constantique voluntate, ut quemadmodum pro Christianæ Reipublicæ quiete, & tranquillitate nihil a nobis prætermittendum esse censuimus, quod plantando, ædificandoque esset quovis modo accommodatum; ita, eodem mutæ charitatis vinculo exoptulante, ad evellendum, destruendumque, quidquid jucundissimum etiam nobis esset, atque gratissimum, & quo carere minime possemus sine maxima animi molestia, & dolore, prompti æque essemus, atque parati.*

*Non est sane ambigendum, ea inter, quæ ad Catholicæ Reipublicæ bonum, felicitatemque comparandam plurimum conferunt, principem fere locum tribuendum esse regularibus Ordinibus, ex quibus amplissimum in universam Christi Ecclesiam quavis ætate dimanavit ornamentum, præsidium, & utilitas. Hos idcirco Apostolica hæc Sedes approbavit non modo, suisque fulcita est auspiciis, verum, etiam pluribus auxit beneficiis, exemptionibus, privilegiis, & facultatibus, ut ex his ad pietatem excolendam, & religionem, ad populorum mores verbo & exemplo rite informandos, ad fidei unitatem inter fideles servandam, confirmandamque, magis magisque excitarentur, atque inflammarentur. Ast ubi eo res devenit, ut ex aliquo regulari Ordine, vel non amplius uberri-*

*mi ii fructus, atque optatissima emolumenta a Christiano populo perciperentur, ad quæ afferenda fuerant primitus instituti, vel detrimento potius esse visi fuerint, ac perturbandæ magis populorum tranquillitati, quam eidem procurandæ accomodati; hæc eadem Apostolica Sedes, quæ eisdem plantandis operam impenderat suam, suamque interposuerat auctoritatem, eos vel novis communire legibus, vel ad pristinam vivendi feveritatem revocare, vel penitus etiam evellere, ac dissipare minime dubitavit.*

*Hac sane de causa Innocentius Papa III prædecessor noster cum comperiisset, ni miã Regularium Ordinum diversitatem gravem in Ecclesiam Dei confusionem inducere, in Concilio generali Lateranensi IV firmiter prohibuit, ne quis de cætero novam Religionem, inveniat; sed quicumque ad religionem converti voluerit, unam de approbatis affirmat; decrevitque insuper, ut qui voluerit religiosam domum de novo fundare, regulam, & institutionem accipiat de approbatis. Unde consequens fuit, ut non liceret omnino novam religionem instituere, sine speciali Romani Pontificis licentia, & merito quidem; nam cum novæ Congregationes majoris perfectionis gratia instituantur, prius ab hac sancta Apostolica Sede ipsa vitæ futuræ forma examinari, & perpendi debet diligenter, ne sub specie majoris boni, & sanctioris vitæ, plurima in Ecclesia Dei incommoda, & fortasse etiam mala exoriantur.*

*Quamvis vero providentissime hæc fuerint ab Innocentio III prædecessore constituta, tamen postmodum non solum ab Apostolica Sede importuna petentium inhiatio aliquorum Ordinum Regularium approbationem extorsit, verum etiam nonnullorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum Ordinum, præcipue mendicantium nondum approbatorum, effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit. Quibus plene cognitis, ut malo statim occurreret, Gregorius Papa X pariter prædecessor noster in generali Concilio Lugdunensi, renovata Constitutione ipsius Innocentii III prædecessoris, districtius inhiavit, ne aliquis de cætero novum Ordinem, aut religionem adinveniat, vel habitum novæ religionis affirmat. Cunctas vero generaliter religiones, & Ordines mendicantes post Concilium Lateranense IV adinventos, qui nullam confirmationem Sedis Apostolicæ meruerunt, perpetuo prohibuit. Confirmatos autem ab Apostolica Sede modo decrevit subsistere infrascripto: ut videlicet professoribus eorundem Ordinum ita liceret in illis remanere, si voluerint, quod nullum deinceps ad eorum professionem admitterent, nec de novo domum, vel aliquem locum acquirerent, nec domos, seu loca, quæ habebant, alienare valerent, sine ejusdem sanctæ Sedis licentia speciali. Ea enim omnia dispositioni Sedis Apostolicæ reservavit in Terræ sanctæ subsidium, vel pauperum, vel alios pios usus per locorum Ordinarios, vel eos, quibus Sedes ipsa commiserit, convertenda. Personis quoque ipsorum Ordinum omnino interdixit quoad extraneos prædicationis, & audiendi confessiones officium, aut etiam sepulturam. Declaravit tamen in hac Constitutione minime comprehensos esse Prædicatorum, & Minorum Ordines, quos evidens ex eis utilitas Ecclesiæ Universali proveniens perhibebat approbatos. Voluitque insuper Eremitarum S. Augustini, & Carmelitarum Ordines in solido statu permanere, ex eo quod istorum institutio prædictum generale Concilium Lateranense præcesserat. Demum singularibus personis Ordinum, ad quos hæc Constitutio extendebatur, transeundi ad reliqua Ordines approbatos licentiam concessit generalem; ita*

*tamen, ut nullus ordo ad alium, vel Conventus ad Conventum se, ac loca sua totaliter transferret, non obtenta prius speciali Sedis Apostolicæ licentia.*

*Hiscemet vestigiis secundum temporum circumstantias inhæserunt alii Romani Pontifices prædecessores nostri, quorum omnium decreta longum esset referre. Inter cæteros vero Clemens Papa V pariter prædecessor noster, per suas sub plumbo 6, nonas Maii anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1312 expeditas litteras, Ordinem Militarem Templariorum nuncupatorum, quamvis legitime confirmatum, & alias de Christiana Republica adeo præclare meritum, ut a Sede Apostolica insignibus beneficiis, privilegiis, facultatibus; exemptionibus, licentiis cumulatus fuerit, ob universalem diffamationem suppressit, & totaliter extinxit, etiamsi Consilium generale Viennense, cui negotium examinandum commiserat, a formali, & definitiva ferenda sententia confuerit se abstinere.*

*Sanctus Pius V similiter prædecessor noster, cujus infignem sanctitatem pie colit, & veneratur Ecclesia Catholica, Ordinem Regularem Fratrum Humiliatorum Concilio Lateranensi anteriorem, approbatumque a felicis recordationis Innocentio III, Honorio III, Gregorio IX, & Nicolao V Romanis Pontificibus prædecessoribus itidem nostris, ob inobedientiam decretis Apostolicis, discordias domesticas, & externas extortas, nullum omnino futuræ virtutis specimen ostendentem, & ex eo quia aliqui ejusdem Ordinis in necem S. Caroli S. R. E. Cardinalis Borromæi Protectoris, ac Visitoris Apostolici dicti Ordinis scelerate conspiraverint, extinxit, ac penitus abolevit.*

*Recolendæ memoriæ Urbanus Papa VIII etiam prædecessor noster, per suas in simili forma Brevis die 6 Februarii 1626 expeditas litteras, Congregationem Fratrum Conventualium Reformatorum a felicis memoriæ Sixto Papa V itidem prædecessore nostro solemniter approbatam, & pluribus beneficiis, ac favoribus auctam, ex eo quia ex prædictis Fratribus ii in Ecclesia Dei spirituales fructus non prodierint, imo quamplures differentiæ inter eosdem Fratres Conventuales Reformatos, ac Fratres Conventuales non reformatos ortæ fuerint, perpetuo suppressit, ac extinxit: Domus, Conventus, loca, supellectilem, bona, res, actiones, & jura ad prædictam Congregationem spectantia Ordini Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium concessit, & assignavit, exceptis tantum domo Neapolitana, & domo Sancti Antonii de Padua nuncupata de Urbe, quam postremam Cameræ Apostolicæ applicavit, & incorporavit, suæque, suorumque successorum dispositioni reservavit: Fratribus denique prædictæ suppressæ Congregationis ad Fratres S. Francisci Capucinos, seu de Observantia nuncupatos transitum permissit.*

*Idem Urbanus Papa VIII per alias suas in pari forma Brevis die 2 Decembris 1643 expeditas litteras, Ordinem Regularem Sanctorum Ambrosii, & Barnabæ ad nemus perpetuo suppressit, extinxit, & abolevit, subjecitque Regulares prædicti suppressi Ordinis jurisdictioni, & correctioni Ordinariorum locorum, prædictisque Regularibus licentiam concessit se transferendi ad alios Ordines regulares ab Apostolica Sede approbatos. Quam suppressionem rec. memoriæ Innocentius Papa X prædecessor quoque noster solemniter, per suas sub plumbo Kal. Aprilis anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1645 expeditas, confirmavit, & insuper Beneficia, Domus, & Monasteria prædicti Ordinis, quæ*

*antea regularis erant, ad sæcularitatem reduxit, ac in posterum sæcularia fore, & esse declaravit.*

*Idemque Innocentius X prædecessor, per suas in simili forma Brevis die 16 Martii 1645 expeditas litteras, ob graves perturbationes excitatas inter Regulares Ordinis Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum, etsi Ordo prævio maturo examine a Gregorio Papa XV prædecessore nostro solemniter approbatus fuerit, præfatum regularem Ordinem in simplicem Congregationem, absque ullorum votorum emissionem, ad instar Instituti Congregationis Presbyterorum sæculatium Oratorii in Ecclesia S. Mariæ in Vallicella de Urbe S. Philippi Neri nuncupatæ, reduxit: Regularibus prædicti Ordinis sic reducti transitum ad quamcumque religionem approbatam concessit: admissionem Novitiorum, & admissorum professionem interdixit: superioritatem denique, & jurisdictionem, quæ penes Ministrum generalem, Visitatores, aliosque Superiores residebat, in Ordinarios Locorum totaliter transtulit: quæ omnia per aliquot annos consecuta sunt effectum, donec tandem Sedes hac Apostolica, cognita prædicti instituti utilitate, illum ad pristinam votorum solemnium formam revocavit, ac in perfectum regularem Ordinem redegit.*

*Per similes suas in pari forma Brevis die 29 Octobris 1650 expeditas litteras, idem Innocentius X prædecessor, ob discordias quoque & dissentiones exortas, suppressit totaliter Ordinem S. Basilii de Armenis: regulares prædicti suppressi Ordinis omnimode jurisdictioni, & obedientiæ Ordinariorum Locorum subiecit in habitu Clericorum sæcularium, assignata iisdem congrua substentatione ex redditibus Conventuum suppressorum: illisque etiam facultatem transeundi ad quamcumque religionem approbatam concessit.*

*Pariter ipse Innocentius X prædecessor, per alias suas in dicta forma Brevis die 22 Junii 1651 expeditas litteras, attendens, nullos spirituales fructus ex regulari Congregatione Presbyterorum Boni Jesus in Ecclesia sperati posse, præsatam Congregationem perpetuo extinxit: Regulares prædictos jurisdictioni Ordinariorum Locorum subiecit, assignata eisdem congrua substentatione ex redditibus suppressæ Congregationis, & cum facultate transeundi ad quemlibet Ordinem regularem approbatum a Sede Apostolica: ssuoque arbitrio reservavit applicationem bonorum prædictæ Congregationis in alios pios usus.*

*Denique felicitatis recordationis Clemens Papa IX prædecessor itidem noster cum animadverteret, tres regulares Ordines, Canonicorum videlicet regularium Sancti Georgii in Alga nuncupatorum, Hieronymianorum de Fesulis, ac tandem Iesuatorum a Sancto Johanne Columbano institutorum, parum, vel nihil utilitatis, & commodi Christiano populo afferre, aut sperare posse, eos esse aliquando allaturos, de iis supprimendis, extinguendisque consilium cepit, idque perfecit suis litteris in simili forma Brevis die 6 Decembris 1668 expeditis; eorumque bona, & redditus satis conspicuos, Venetorum Republica postulante, in eos sumptus impendi voluit, qui ad Cretense bellum adversus Turcas sustinendum erant necessario subeundi.*

*In his vero omnibus decernendis, perficiendisque satius semper duxerunt prædecessores nostri, ea uti consultissima agendi ratione, quam ad intercludendum penitus adi-*

*tum animorum contentionibus, & ad quælibet amovenda dissidia, vel partium studia, magis conferre existimarunt. Hinc molesta illa, ac plena negotii prætermissa methodo, quæ in forensibus instituendis judiciis adhiberi consuevit, prudentiæ legibus unice inhærentes, ea potestatis plenitudine, qua tamquam Christi in terris Vicarii, ac supremi Christianæ Reipublicæ moderatores amplissime donati sunt, rem omnem adsolvendam curarunt, quin regularibus Ordinibus suppressioni destinatis, veniam facerent, & facultatem, sua experiundi jura, & gravissimas illas vel propulsandi criminationes, vel causas amoliendi, ob quas ad illud consilii genus suscipiendum adducebantur.*

*His igitur, aliisque maximi apud omnes ponderis, & auctoritatis exemplis, nobis ante oculos propositis, vehementique simul flagrantibus cupiditate, ut in ea, quam infra aperiemus, deliberatione, fidenti animo, tutoque pede incedamus, nihil diligentiam omisimus, & inquisitionis, ut quidquid ad regularis Ordinis, qui Societatis Iesu vulgo dicitur, originem pertinet, progressum, hodiernumque statum perscrutaremur: & compertum inde habuimus, eum ad animarum salutem, ad hæreticorum, & maxime Infidelium conversionem, ad majus denique pietatis, & religionis incrementum a Sancto suo Conditoris fuisse institutum; atque ad optatissimum hujusmodi finem facilius, feliciusque consequendum, arctissimo Evangelicæ paupertatis voto tam in communi, quam in particulari fuisse Deo consecratum, exceptis tantummodo studiorum, seu literarum Collegiis, quibus possidendi redditus ita facta est vis, & potestas, ut nihil tamen ex iis redditibus in ipsius Societatis commodum, utilitatem, ac usum impendi unquam possit, atque converti.*

*His, aliisque Sanctissimis legibus probata primum fuit eadem Societas Jesu a rec. Memoriam Paulo Papa III prædecessore nostro, per suas sub plumbo 5 Kal. Octobris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1540 expeditas litteras, ab eodemque concessa ei fuit facultas condendi jura atque statuta, quibus Societatis præsidio, incolumitati, atque regimini firmissime consuleretur. Et quamvis idem Paulus prædecessor Societatem ipsam angustissimus sexaginta dumtaxat alumnorum limitibus ab initio circumscripsisset; per alias tamen suas itidem sub plumbo pridie Kal. Martii anno. Incarnationis Dominicæ 1543 expeditas litteras, locum dedit eadem in Societate iis omnibus, quos in eam excipere illis moderatoribus visum fuisset opportunum, aut necessarium. Anno deinde 1549 suis in simili forma Brevis die 15 Novembris expeditis litteris idem Paulus prædecessor pluribus, atque amplissimis privilegiis eandem Societatem donavit, ac in his indultum, alias per eundem præpositis generalibus dictæ Societatis concessum, admittendi viginti Presbyteros Coadjutores spirituales, eisque impertiendi easdem facultates, gratiam, & auctoritatem, quibus Socii ipsi professi donantur, ad alios quoscumque, quos idoneos fore iidem Præpositi generales censuerint, ullo absque limite, & numero extendendum voluit, atque mandavit; ac præterea Societatem ipsam, & universos illius Socios, & personas, illorumque bona quæcumque ab omni superioritate, jurisdictione, correctione quorumcumque Ordinariorum exemit, & vindicavit, ac sub sua, & Apostolicæ Sedis protectione suscepit.*

*Haud minor fuit reliquorum prædecessorum nostrorum eandem erga Societatem liberalitas, ac minificentia. Constat enim a rec. memoriæ Julio III, Paulo IV, Pio IV &*

*V, Gregorio XIII, Sixto V, Gregorio XIV, Clemente VIII, Paulo V, Leone XI, Gregorio XV, Urbano VIII, aliisque Romanis Pontificibus, privilegia eidem Societati, jam antea tributa, vel confirmata fuisse, vel novis aucta accessionibus, vel appertissime declarata. Ex ipso tamen Apostolicarum Constitutionum tenore, & verbis palam colligitur, eadem in Societate suo fere ab initio varia dissidiorum, ac æmulationum semina pullulasse, ipsos non modo inter Socios, verum etiam cum aliis regularibus Ordinibus, Clero sæculari, Academiis, Universitatibus, publicis literarum gymnasiis, & cum ipsis etiam Principibus, quorum in ditionibus Societas fuerat excepta; easdemque contentiones, & dissidia excitata, modo fuisse de votorum indole, & natura, de tempore admittendorum Sociorum ad vota, de facultate Socios expellendi, de iisdem Sociis ad sacros ordines promovendis sine congrua, ac sine votis solemnibus contra Concilii Tridentini, ac sanctæ memoriæ Pii Papæ V prædecessoris nostri decreta; modo de absoluta potestate, quam præpositus generalis ejusdem Societatis sibi vindicabat, ac de aliis rebus ipsius Societatis regimen spectantibus; modo de variis doctrinæ capitibus, de scholis, de exemptionibus, & privilegiis quæ Locorum Ordinarii, aliæque personæ in Ecclesiastica, vel sæculari dignitate, constitutæ suæ noxia esse jurisdictioni, ac juribus contendebant; ac demum minime defuerunt gravissimæ accusationes eisdem Sociis objectæ, quæ Christianæ Reipublicæ pacem, ac tranquillitatem non parum perturbarunt.*

*Multæ hinc ortæ adversus Societatem querimoniæ, quæ nonnullorum etiam Principum auctoritate munitæ, ac relationibus ad rec. memoriæ Paulum V, Pium V & Sustum V prædecessores nostros delatæ fuerunt. In his fuit claræ memoriæ Philippus II Hispaniarum Rex Catholicus, qui tum gravissimas, quibus ille vehementer impellebatur rationes, tum etiam eos, quos ab Hispaniarum Inquisitoribus, adversus immoderata Societatis privilegia, ac regiminis formam acceperat clamores, & contentionum, capita a nonnullis ejusdem etiam Societatis viris doctrina, & pietate spectatissimis confirmata, eidem Sixto V prædecessori exponenda curavit, apud eundemque egit, ut Apostolicam Societatis visitationem decerneret, atque committeret.*

*Ipsius Philippi Regis petitionibus, & studiis, quæ summa inniti æquitate animadvertat, annuit idem Sixtus prædecessor, delegitque ad Apostolici Visitoris munus Episcopum prudentia, virtute, & doctrina omnibus commendatissimum; ac præterea congregationem designavit nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, qui ei perficiendæ sedulam navarent operam. Verum dicto Sixto V prædecessore immatura morte prærepto, saluberrimum ab eo susceptum consilium evanuit, omnique caruit effectu. Ad Supremum autem Apostolatus apicem assumptus felicitatis recordationis Gregorius PP. XIV per suas litteras sub plumbo 4 Kal. Julii ann. Dominicæ Incarnationis 1591 expeditas, Societatis institutum amplissime iterum approbavit; rataque haberi jussit, ac firma privilegia quæcumque eidem Societati a suis prædecessoribus collata; & illud præ ceteris, quo cautum fuerat, ut a Societate expelli, dimittique possent Socii, forma judiciaria minime adhibita, nulla scilicet præmissa inquisitione, nullis confectis actis, nullo ordine judiciario servato, nullique terminis etiam substantialibus servatis, sola facti veritate inspecta, culpæ, vel rationabilis causæ tantum ratione habita, ac personarum, aliarumque circumstantiarum. Altissimum insuper silentium imposuit; vetuitque sub*

*pæna potissimum excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, ne quis dictæ Societatis Institutum, aut decreta directe, vel indirecte impugnare auderet, ve. aliquid de iis quovis modo immutari curaret. Jus tamen cuilibet reliquit, ut quidquid addendum, minuendum, aut immutandum censeret, sibi tantummodo, & Romanis solum Pontificibus pro tempore existentibus vel immediate, vel per Apostolicæ Sedis Legatos, seu Nuncios significare posset, atque proponere.*

*Tantum vero abest, ut hæc omnia satis fuerint compescendis adversus Societatem clamoribus, & querelis, quin potius magis, magisque universum fere Orbem pervaserunt molestissimæ contentiones de Societatis doctrina, quam fidei veluti Orthodoxæ, bonisque moribus repugnatem plurimi traduxerunt; domesticæ etiam, externæque efferbuerunt dissensiones, & frequentiores factæ sunt in eam, de nimia potissimum terrenorum bonorum cupiditate accusationes; ex quibus omnibus suam hauserunt originem tum perturbationes illæ omnibus satis cognitæ, quæ Sedem Apostolicam ingenti mœmore affecerunt, ac molestia; tum capta a Principibus nonnullis in Societatem consilia. Quo factum est, ut eadem Societas novam instituti sui, ac privilegiorum confirmationem a felicis recordationis Paulo Papa V prædecessore nostro impetratura, coacta fuerit ab eo petere, ut rata habere vellet, suaque confirmare auctoritate decreta quædam, in quinta generali Congregatione edita, atque ad verbum exscripta in suis sub plumbo, pridie Non. Septembris anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1606 desuper expeditis litteris; quibus in decretis discretissime legitur, tam internas Societatem querelas, ac postulationes, Socios in comitiis congregatos impulisse ad sequens condendum statutum:*

“Quoniam Societas nostra, quæ ad fidei propagationem, & animarum lucra a Domino exæcitata est, sicut per propria instituti ministeria, quæ spitualia arma sunt, cum Ecclesiæ utilitate, ac proximorum ædificatione sub crucis vexillo finem feliciter consequi potest, quem intendit; ita & hæc bona impediret, & se maximis periculis exponeret, si ea tractaret, quæ sæcularia sunt, & ad res politicas, atque ad status gubernationem pertinent, idcirco sapientissime a nostris majoribus statutum est, ut militantes Deo aliis, quæ a nostra professione abhorrent, non implicemur. Cum autem his præsertim temporibus valde periculosis, pluribus locis, & apud varios Principes (quorum tamen amorem, & charitatem sanctæ memoriæ Pater Ignatius conservandam ad divinum obsequium pertinere putavit) aliquorum fortasse culpa, & vel ambitione, vel indiscreto zelo religio nostra male audiat; & alioquin bonus Christi odor necessarius sit ad fructificandum; censuit Congregatio, ab omni specie mali abstinendum esse, & querelis, quoad fieri poterit, etiam ex falsis suspicionibus provenientibus, occurrendum. Quare præsentis decreto graviter, & severe nostris omnibus interdicit, ne in hujusmodi publicis negotiis, etiam invitari, aut allecti, ulla ratione se immisceant, nec ullis precibus, aut suasionibus ad instituto deflectant. Et præterea quibus efficacioribus remediis omnino huic morbo, sicubi opus sit, medicina adhibeatur, patribus Definitoribus accurate discernendum, & difiniendum commendavit.”

*Maximo sane animi nostri dolore observavimus, tam prædicta, quam alia complura deinceps adhibita remedia nihil ferme virtutis præ se tulisse, & auctoritatis, ad tot,*

*ac tantas evellendas, dissipandasque turbas, accusationes, & querimonias in sæpeditam Societatem, frustra que ad id laborasse cæteros prædecessores nostros Urbanum VIII, Clementem IX, X, XI & XII, Alexandrum VII & VIII, Innocentium X, XI, XII & XIII, & Benedictum XIV, qui optatissimam conati sunt Ecclesiæ restituere tranquillitatem, plurimus saluberrimis editis Constitutionibus, tam circa sæcularia negocia, sive extra sacras Missiones, sive earum occasione minime exercenda, quam circa dissidia gravissima, ac jurgia adversus Locorum Ordinarios, regulares Ordines, loca pia, atque Communitates cujusvis generis in Europa, Asia, & America non sine ingenti animarum ruina, ac populorum admiratione a Societate acriter excitata; tum etiam super interpretatione, & praxi Ethnicorum quorundam rituum aliquibus in locis passim adhibita, omissis iis, qui ab Universali Ecclesia sunt rete probati; vel super earum sententiarum usu, & interpretatione, quas Apostolica Sedes tamquam scandalosas, optimæque morum disciplinæ manifeste noxias merito proscripsit; vel aliis demum super rebus maximi equidem momenti, & ad Christianorum dogmatum puritatem sartam tectam servandam apprime necessariis, & ex quibus nostra hac non minus, quam superiori ætate plurima dimanarunt detrimenta, & incommoda; perturbationes nimirum, ac tumultus in nonnullis Catholicis regionibus; Ecclesiæ persecutiones in quibusdam Asiæ, & Europæ provinciis; ingens denique allatus est mæror prædecessoribus nostris, & in his piæ memoriæ Innocentio Papæ XI, qui necessitate compulsus eo devenit, ut Societati interdixit novitios ad habitum admittere; tum Innocentio Papæ XIII, qui eandem pœnam coactus fuit eidem comminari; ac tandem rec. memoriæ Benedicto Papæ XIV, qui visitationem Domorum, Collegiorumque in ditione charissimi in Christo filii nostri Lusitaniæ, Y Algarbiorum Regis Fidelissimi existentium censuit decernendam; quin ullum subinde vel Sedi Apostolicæ solamen, vel Societati auxilium, vel Christianæ Eripublicæ bonum accesserit, ex novissimis Apostolicis litteris a felicis recordationis Clemente Papa XIII immediato prædecessore nostro extortis potius, ut verbo utamur a prædecessore nostro Gregorio X in supracitato Lugdunensi Oecumenico Concilio adhibito, quam impetratis, quibus Societatis Jesu institutum magnopere commendatur, ac rursus approbatur.*

*Post tot, tantasque procellas, ac tempestates acerbissimas, futurum optimus quisque sperabat, ut optatissima illa tandem aliquando illucesceret dies, quæ tranquillitatem, & pacem esset cumulativissime allatura. At Petri Cathedram gubernante eodem Clemente XIII, prædecessore, longe difficiliora, ac turbulentiora accesserunt tempora. Auctis enim quotidie magis in prædictam Societatem clamoribus, & querelis, quinimo periculosissimus alicubi exortis seditioibus, tumultibus, dissidiis, & scandalis, quæ Christianæ charitatis vinculo labefactato, ac penitus disrupto, fidelium animos ad partium studia, odia, & inimicitias vehementer inflammarunt, eo discriminis, ac periculi res perducta visa est, ut ii ipsi, quorum avita pietas, ac in Societatem liberalitas hæreditario quodam veluti jure a majoribus accepta omnium fere linguis summopere commendatur, charissimi nempe in Christo Filii nostri Reges Francorum, Hispaniarum, Lusitaniæ, ac utriusque Siciliæ, suis ex Regnis, ditionibus, atque provinciis socios dimittere coacti omnino fuerint, & expellere; hoc unum putantes extremum tot malis superesse*



*remedium, & penitus necessarium ad impediendum, quominus Christiani populi in ipso sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ sinu se se invicem lacerarent, provocarent, lacerarent.*

*Ratum vero habentes prædicti charissimi in Christo Filii nostri, remedium hoc fir-  
mum esse non posse, ac Universo Christiano Orbi reconciliando accommodatum, nisi  
Societas ipsa prorsus extingueretur, ac ex integro supprimeretur; sua idcirco apud præ-  
fatum Clementem PP. XIII prædecessorem exposuerunt studia, ac voluntatem, & qua  
valebant auctoritate, & precibus, conjunctis simul votis exostularunt, ut efficacissima  
ea ratione perpetuæ sinorum subditorum securitatil, universæque Christi Ecclesiæ bono  
providentissime consuleret. Qui tamen præter omnium expectationem contigit, ejus-  
dem Pontificis obitus rei cursum, exitumque prorsus impedivit. Hinc nobis in eadem  
Petri Cathedra, divina disponente Clementia, constitutis, eadem statim oblatae sunt  
preces, petitiones, & vota, quibus sua quoque addiderunt studia, animique sententiam  
Episcopi complures, aliique viri dignitate, doctrina, religione plurimum conspicui.*

*Ut autem in re tam gravi, tantique momenti tutissimum caperemus consilium,  
diuturno Nobis temporis spatio opus esse judicavimus, non modo ut diligenter in-  
quirere, maturius expendere, & consultissime deliberare possemus, verum etiam ut  
multis gemitibus, & continuis precibus singulare a Patre luminum exposceremus auxi-  
lium, & præsidium; qua etiam in re Fidelium omnium precibus, pietatisque operibus  
nos sæpius apud Deum juvari curavimus. Perscrutari inter cætera volumus, quo inni-  
tatur fundamento pervagata illa apud plurimos opinio, religionem scilicet Clericorum  
Societatis Jesu fuisse a Concilio Tridentino solemnè quadam ratione approbatam, &  
confirmatam; nihilque aliud de ea actum fuisse comperimus in citato Concilio, quam  
ut a generali illo exciperetur decreto, quo de reliquis regularibus Ordinibus cautum fuit,  
ut finito tempore novitiatus, nobitii, qui idonei inventi fuerint, ad profitendum admit-  
tantur, aut a Monasterio ejiciantur. Quamobrem eadem sancta Synodus (Seff. 25. c. 16  
de Regular) declaravit, se nolle aliquid innovare, aut prohibere, quin prædicta religio  
Clericorum Societatis Jesu, juxta pium eorum Institutum a Sancta Sede Apostolica  
approbatum, Domino, & ejus Ecclesiæ inservire possit.*

*Tot itaque, ac tam necessariis adhibitis mediis, Divini Spiritus, ut confidimus, adjuti  
præsentia, & afflatu, necnon muneris nostri compulsæ necessitate, quo & ad Christianæ  
Reipublicæ quietem, & tranquillitatem conciliandam, fovendam, roborandam, & ad  
illa omnia penitus de medio tollenda, quæ eidem detrimento vel minimo esse possunt,  
quantum vires finunt, arctissime adigimur; cumque præterea animadverterimus, præ-  
dictam Societatem Jesu uberrimos illos, amplissimosque fructus, & utilitates afferre am-  
plius non posse, ad quos instituta fuit, a tot prædecessoribus nostris approbata, ac  
plurimis ornata privilegiis, imo fieri, aut vix, aut nullo modo posse, ut ea incolume  
manente, vera pax ac diuturna Ecclesiæ restituatur; his propterea gravissimis adducti  
causis, aliisque pressi rationibus, quas & prudentiæ leges, & optimum Universalis Ec-  
clesiæ regimen nobis suppeditant, altaque mente repositas servamus, vestigiis inhæren-  
tes eorundem prædecessorum nostrorum, & præsertim memorati Gregorii X  
prædecessoris in generali Concilio Lugdunensi; cum & nunc de Societate agatur, tum  
Instituti sui, tum privilegiorum etiam suorum ratione, Mendicantium Ordinum nume-*

*ro adscripta; maturo consilio, ex certa scientia, & plenitudine potestatis Apostolicæ, sæpeditam Societatem extinguimus, & supprimimus: tollimus, & abrogamus, omnia, & singula ejus officia, ministeria, & administrationes, Domus Scholas, Collegia, Hospitia, Grancias, & loca quæcumque quavis in Provincia, Regno, & ditione existentia, & modo quolibet ad eam pertinentia; ejus statuta, mores, consuetudines, Decreta, Constitutiones, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, aut alias roboratas; omnia item, & singula, privilegia, & indulta generalia, vel specialia, quorum tenores præsentibus, ac si de verbo ad verbum essent inserta, ac etiamsi quibusvis formulis, clausulis irritantibus, & quibuscumque vinculis, & decretis sint concepta, pro plene, & sufficienter expressis haberi volumus. Ideoque declaramus, cassatam perpetuo manere, ac penitus extinctam omnem, & quamcumque auctoritatem Præpositi Generalis, Provincialium, Visitorum aliorumque quorumlibet dictæ Societatis Superiorum, tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus; eandemque, jurisdictionem, & auctoritatem in Locorum Ordinarios totaliter, & omnimode transferimus, juxta modum, casus, & personas, & iis sub conditionibus, quas infra explicabimus; prohibentes, quemadmodum per præsentis prohibemus, ne ullus amplius in dictam Societatem excipiatur, & ad habitum, ac novitatum admittatur; qui vero hactenus fuerunt excepti, ad professionem votorum simplicium, vel solemnium, sub pœna nullitatis admissionis, & professionis, aliisque arbitrio nostro, nullo modo admitti possint, & valeant. Quinimo volumus, præcipimus, & mandamus, ut qui nunc tyrocinio actu vacant, statim, illico, immediate, & cum effectu dimittantur; ac similiter vetamus, ne qui votorum simplicium professionem emisissent, nulloque facto Ordine sunt usque adhuc initiati, possint ad majores ipsos Ordines promoveri pretextu, aut titulo vel jam emissæ in Societate professionis, vel privilegiorum contra Conc. Trident. decreta eidem Societati collatorum.*

*Quoniam vero eo nostra tendunt studia, ut quemadmodum Ecclesiæ utilitatibus, ac populorum tranquillitati consulere cupimus; ita singulis ejusdem religionis individuis, seu sociis, quorum aliquod, & auxilium afferre studeamus, ut ab omnibus, quibus hactenus vexati fuerunt contentionibus, dissidiis, & angoribus liberi, fructuosius vineam Domini possint excolere, & animarum saluti uberius prodesse; ideo decernimus, & constituimus, ut socii professi votorum dumtaxat simplicium, & sacris Ordinibus nondum initiati, intra spatium temporis a Locorum Ordinariis definiendum, satis congruum ad munus aliquod, vel officium, vel benevolam receptorem inveniendum, non tamen uno anno longius, a data præsentium nostrarum litterarum inchoandum, Domibus, & Collegiis ejusdem Societatis omni votorum simplicium vinculo soluti egredi omnino debeant, eam vivendi rationem suscepturi, quam singulorum vocationi, viribus, & conscientiæ magis aptam in Domino judicaverint; cum & juxta Societatis privilegia, dimitti ab ea hi poterant non alia de causa, præter eam, quam Superiores prudentiæ, & circumstantiis magis conformem putarent, nulla præmissa citatione, nullis confectis actis, nulloque judiciario ordine servato.*

*Omnibus autem Sociis ad sacros Ordines promotis veniam facimus, ac potestatem, easdem domos, aut Collegia Societatis deferendi, vel ut ad aliquem ex regularibus Or-*

*dinibus a Sede Apostolica approbatis se conferant, ubi probationis tempus a Concilio Tridentino præscriptum debebunt explere, si votorum simplicium professionem in Societate emiserint; si vero solemnium etiam votorum, per sex tantum integros menses in probatione stabunt, super quo benigne cum eis dispensamus: vel ut in sæculo maneat tamquam Præsbyteri, & Clerici Sæculares sub omnimoda, ac totali obedientia, & subjectione Ordinariorum, in quorum diœcesi domicilium figant; decernentes insuper, ut his, qui hac ratione in sæculo manebunt, congruum aliquod, donec provisi aliunde non fuerint, assignetur stipendium ex redditibus domus, seu Collegii, ubi morabantur, habito tamen respectu tum reddituum, tum onerum eidem annexorum.*

*Professi vero in sacris Ordinibus jam constituti, qui vel timore ducti non satis honestæ sustentationis ex defectu vel inopia congruæ, vel quia loco carent ubi domicilium sibi comparent, vel ob propectam ætatem, infirmam valetudinem, aliamque justam, gravemque causam, domus Societatis, seu Collogia derelinquere opportunum minime existimaverint, ibidem manere poterunt; ea tamen lege, ut nullam prædictæ domus, seu Collegii administrationem habeant, Clericorum Sæcularium veste tantummodo utantur, vivantque Ordinario ejusdem loci plenissime subjecti. Prohibemus autem omnino quominus in eorum, qui deficient locum, alios sufficient; Domum de novo juxta Concilii Lugdinensis decreta, seu aliquem Locum acquirant; Domos insuper, res, & loca, quæ nunc habent, alienare valeant; quin imo in unam tantum Domum, seu plures, habitata ratione Sociorum, qui remanebunt, poterunt congregari, ita, ut Domus, quæ vacuæ relinquuntur, possint in pios usus converti, juxta id quod sacris canonibus, voluntati fundatorum, divini cultus incremento, animarum saluti, ac publicæ utilitati videbitur suis loco, & tempore recte, riteque accommodatum. Interim vero vir aliquis ex Clero Sæculari prudentia, probisque moribus præditus designabitur, qui dictarum Domorum præsit regimini, deleto penitus, & suppresso nomine Societatis.*

*Declaramus, individuos etiam prædictæ Societatis ex omnibus Provinciis, a quibus jam reperiuntur expulsi, comprehensos esse in hac generali Societatis suppressione; ac proinde volumus, quod supradicti expulsi, etiamsi ad majorem Ordines sint, & existant promoti, nisi ad alium regularem Ordinem transierint, ad statum Clericorum, & Præsbyterorum Sæcularium ipso facto redigantur, & Locorum Ordinariis totaliter subjiciantur.*

*Locorum Ordinarii, si eam, qua opus est, deprehenderint virtutem, doctrinam, morumque integritatem in iis, qui e Regulari Societatis Jesu Instituto ad Præsbyterorum Sæcularium statum in vim præsentium nostrarum litterarum transierint, poterunt eis pro suo arbitrio facultatem largiri, aut denegare excipiendi sacramentales confessiones Christi Fidelium, aut publicas ad populum habendi sacras conciones, sine qua licentia in scriptis nemo illorum iis fungi muneribus audebit. Hanc tamen facultatem iidem Episcopi, vel Locorum Ordinarii nunquam quoad extraneos iis concedent, qui in Collegiis, aut domibus antea ad Societatem pertinentibus vitam ducent, quibus proinde perpetuo interdiciamus, Sacramentum pænitentiae extraneis administrare, vel prædicare, quemadmodum ipse etiam Gregorius X prædecessor in citato generali Concilio simili modo prohibuit. Qua de re ipsorum Episcoporum oneramus conscientiam, quos memores*

*cupimus severissimæ illius rationis, quam de ovibus eorum curæ commissis Deo sunt reddituri, & durissimi etiam illius iudicii, quod iis, qui præsent, supremus vivorum, & mortuorum Judex minatur.*

*Volumus præterea, quod si quis eorum, qui Societatis institutum profitebantur, munus exerceat erudiendi in litteris juventutem, aut Magistrum agat in aliquo Collegio, aut schola, remotis penitus omnibus a regimine, administratione, & gubernio, iis tantum in docendi munere locus fiat perseverandi, & potestas, qui ad bene de suis laboribus sperandum signum aliquod præ se ferant, & dummodo ab illis alienos se præbeant disputationibus, & doctrinæ capitibus, quæ sua vel laxitate, vel inanitate gravissimas contentiones, & incommoda parere solent, & procreare; nec ullo unquam tempore ad hujusmodi docendi munus ii admittantur, vel in eo, si nunc actu versantur, suam sinantur præstare operam, qui scholarum quietem, ac publicam tranquillitatem non sunt pro viribus conservaturi.*

*Quo vero ad sacras attinet missiones, quarum etiam ratione intelligenda volumus quæcumque de Societatis suppressione disposuimus, nobis reservamus ea media constituere, quibus & Infidelium conversio, & dissidiorum sedatio facilius, & firmiter obtineri possit, & comparari.*

*Cassatis autem, & penitus abrogatis, ut supra, privilegiis quibuscumque, & statutis sæpeditæ Societatis, declaramus, ejus Socios, ubi a Domibus, & Collegiis Societatis egressi, & ad statum Clericorum Sæcularium redacti fuerint, habiles esse, & idoneos ad obtinenda juxta sacrorum canonum, & constitutionum Apostolicarum decreta, Beneficia quæcumque, tam sine cura, quam cum cura, Officia, Dignitates, Personatus, & id genus alia, ad quæ omnia eis in Societate manentibus aditus fuerat penitus interclusus a felicis recordationis Gregorio PP. XIII per suas in simili forma Brevis die 10 Septembris 1584 expeditas litteras, quarum initium est: Satis, superque. Item iisdem permittimus, quod pariter vetitum eis erat, ut elemosynam pro Missæ celebratione valeant percipere; possintque iis omnibus frui gratiis, & favoribus, quibus tamquam Clerici REGulares Societatis Jesu perpetuo caruissent. Derogamus pariter omnibus, & singulis facultatibus, quibus a Præposito generali, aliisque Superioribus, vi privilegiorum a Summis Pontificibus obtentorum, donati fuerint, legendi videlicet hæreticorum libros, & alios ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos, & damnatos; non servandi jejuniorum dies, aut esurialibus cibus in iis non utendi; anteponendi, postponendique horarum canonicarum recitationem, aliisque id genus, quibus in posterum eos uti posse severissime prohibemus; cum mens nobis, animusque sit, ut iidem tamquam Sæculares Præsbyteri, ad juris communis tramites, suam accommodent vivendi rationem.*

*Vetamus, ne postquam præsent nostræ litteræ promulgatæ fuerint, ac notæ redditæ, ullus audeat earum executionem suspendere, etiam colore, titulo, prætextu cujusvis petitionis, appellationis, recursus, declarationis, aut consultationis dubiorum, quæ forte oriri possent, alioque quovis prætextu præviso. Volumus enim ex hunc, & immediate suppressionem, & cassationem universæ prædictæ Societatis, & omnium ejus officiorum suum effectum fortiri, forma & modo a nobis supra expressis, sub pœna majoris excommunicationis ipso facto incurrendæ, Nobis, nostrisque successoribus Romanis*

*Pontificibus pro tempore reservatæ, adversus quemcumque, qui nostris hisce litteris adimplendis impedimentum, obicem, aut moram apponere præsumperit.*

*Mandamus insuper, ac in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ præcipimus omnibus, & singulis personis Ecclesiasticis, regularibus, sæcularibus cujuscumque gradus, dignitatis, qualitatis, & conditionis, & iis signanter, qui usque adhuc Societati fuerunt adscripti, & inter Socios habitu, ne defendere audeant, impugnare, scribere, vel etiam loqui de hujusmodi suppressione, deque ejus causis, & motivis, quemadmodum nec de Societatis instituto, regulis, Constitutionibus, regiminis forma, aliave de re, quæ ad hujusmodi pertinet argumentum, absque expressa Romani Pontificis licentia; ac simili modo sub pœna excommunicationis nobis, ac nostris pro tempore successoribus reservatæ prohibemus omnibus, & singulis, ne hujus suppressionis occasione ullum audeant, multoque minus eos, qui Socii fuerunt, injuriis, jurgiis, contumeliis, aliove contemptus genere, voce, aut scripto, clam, aaut palam afficere, ac laccessire.*

*Hortamur omnes Christianos Principes, ut ea, qua pollent, vi, auctoritate, & potentia, quam pro sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ defensione, & patrocinio a Deo acceperunt, tum etiam eo, quo in hanc Apostolicam Sedem ducuntur obsequio, & cultu, suam præstent operam, ac studia, ut hæ nostræ litteræ suum plenissime consequantur effectum, quinino singulis in iisdem Litteris contentis inhærentes, similia constituent, & promulgent decreta, per quæ omnino caveant, ne, dum hæc nostra voluntas executioni tradetur, ulla inter Fideles excitentur jurgia, contentiones, & diffidia.*

*Hortamur denique Christianos omnes, ac per Domini nostri Jesu Christi viscera obsecramus, ut memores sint, omnes eundem habere magistrum, qui in cœlis est; eundem omnes Reparatorem, a quo empti sumus pretio magno; eodem omnes lavacro aquæ in verbo vitæ regeneratos esse, & filios Dei, cohæredes autem Christi constitutos; eodem Catholicæ doctrinæ, verbique divini pabulo nutritos; omnes demum unum corpus esse in Christo, singulos autem alterum alterius membra; atque idcirco necesse omnino esse, ut omnes communi charitatis vinculo simul colligati cum omnibus hominibus pacem habenat, ac nemini debeant quidquam, nisi ut invicem diligant, nam qui diligit proximum, legem implevit; summo prosequentes odio offensiones, similtates, jurgia, insidias, aliaque hujusmodi ab antiquo humani generis hoste excogitata, inventa, & excitata ad Ecclesiam Dei perturbandam, impediendamque æternam Fidelium felicitatem sub fallacissimo scholarum, opinionum, vel etiam Christianæ perfectionis titulo, ac prætextu. Omnes tandem totis viribus contendant, veram, germanamque sibi sapientiam comparare, de qua scriptum est per Sanctum Jacobum (cap. 3 Epist. Canon. vers. 13):*

“Quis sapiens, & disciplinatus inter vos? Ostendat ex bona conversatione operationem suam in mansuetudine sapientiæ. Quod si zelum amarum habetis, & contentiones sint in cordibus vestris, nolite gloriari, & mendaces esse adversus veritatem. Non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens; sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus, & contentio, ibi inconstantia, & omne opus pravum. Quæ autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilis, bonis con-

sentiens, plena misericordia, & fructibus bonis, non judicans, sine æmulatione. Fructus autem justitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.”

*Præsentes quoque litteras etiam ex eo quod Superiores, & alii religiosi sæpeditæ Societatis, & cæteri quicumque in præmissis interesse habentes, seu habere quomodolibet prætendentes illis non consenserint, nec ad ea vocati, & auditi fuerint; nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis, obreptionis, nullitatis, aut invaliditatis vitio, seu intentionis nostræ, aut alio quovis defectu, etiam quantumvis magno, inexcogitato, & substantiali, sive etiam ex eo quod in præmissis, seu eorum aliquo solemnitates, & quævis alia servanda, & adimplenda servata non fuerint; aut ex quocumque alio capite a jure, vel consuetudine aliqua resultante, etiam in corpore juris clauso, seu etiam enormis, enormissimæ, & totalis læsionis, & quovis alio prætextu, occasione, vel causa, etiam quantumvis justa, rationabili, & privilegiata, etiam tali, quæ ad effectum validitatis præmissorum necessario exprimenda foret, notari, impugnari, invalidari, retractari, in jus, vel controversiam revocari, aut ad terminos juris reduci, vel adversus illas restitutionis in integrum, aperiitionis oris, reductionis ad viam, & terminos juris, aut aliud quodcumque juris, facti, gratiæ, vel justitiæ remedium impetrari, seu quomodolibet concessio, aut impetrato quempiam uti, seu se juvari in judicio, vel extra illud posse; sed easdem præsentis semper, perpetuoque validas, firmas, & efficaces existere, & fore, suosque plenarios, & integros effectus fortiri, & obtinere, ac per omnes, & singulos, ad quos spectat, & quomodolibet spectabit in futurum inviolabiliter observari.*

*Sicque, & non aliter in præmissis omnibus, & singulis per quoscumque Judices Ordinarios, & Delegatos, etiam causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, ac S. R. E. Cardinales, etiam de Latere Legatos, & Sedis Apostolicæ Nuncios, & alios quavis auctoritate, & potestate fungentes, & functuros, in quavis causa, & instantia, sublata eis, & eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, seu interpretandi facultate, & auctoritate, judicari, ac definiri debere, ac irritum, & inane, si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter, vel ignoranter contigerit attendari, decernimus.*

*Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, & ordinationibus Apostolicis, etiam in Conciliis generalibus editis, & quatenus opus sit regula nostra de non tollendo jure quæsito, nec non sæpeditæ Societatis, illiusque Domorum, Collegiorum, ac Ecclesiarum, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, & consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis, & Litteris Apostolicis eidem Societati, illiusque Superioribus, Religiosis, & personis quibuslibet, sub quibusvis tenoribus, & formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque decretis etiam irritantibus, etiam motu simili, etiam consistorialiter, ac alias quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis, & innovatis. Quibus omnibus, & singulis, etiamsi pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, expressa, & individua, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio, seu quævis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum omnium, & singulorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum nihil penitus omisso, & forma in illis tradita observata exprimerentur, & infererentur, præsentibus pro plene, & sufficienter expressis, & insertis habentes; illis alias in suo rebore permansuris,*

*ad præmissorum effectum specialiter, & expresse derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque.*

*Volumus autem, ut præsentium litterarum transumptis, etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis, & sigilio alicujus personæ in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides in judio, & extra adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus ipsis adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.*

*Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem sub annulo Piscatoris die xxi Julij MDCCLXXIII Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.*

*A. Card. Nigronus.*

### **Part translation.<sup>1</sup>**

[The Brief begins by enumerating the various religious orders which have been treated in a similar manner at different periods in the history of the Church, but it omits to note that their extinction occurred only after a judicial examination. Thus, for instance, when Clement V suppressed the Knights Templars in 1321, he first ordered all the bishops of the world to summon the Knights who had chapters in their dioceses; to subject them to a regular trial and then to forward a report of their proceedings to Rome... In the case of the Society there was a dissolution but no trial. After recounting these facts, the Pontiff says:]

Having before my eyes these and other examples of Orders suppressed by the Church and being most eager to proceed with perfect confidence in carrying out the purpose which shall be referred to later, we have left nothing undone to make ourselves acquainted with the origin, progress and actual condition of the religious order commonly known as the Society of Jesus. We have seen that it was established by its Holy Founder for the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics and especially of the heathen, and also for the increase of piety and religion. To accomplish these purposes its members were bound by a very strict vow of evangelical poverty both in common and individually, with the exception of its houses of study or colleges which are allowed to possess certain revenues, but in such wise that they could not be diverted or applied to the use of this Society.

In consequence of these statutes and of others equally wise, our predecessor Paul III approved of the Society of Jesus, by his Bull of 27 September 1540, and allowed it to draw up rules and statutes to ensure its peace, its existence and its government; and although he had restricted this Society to sixty members, yet by another Bull dated 28 February 1543, he permitted the superiors to receive all who appeared to possess the proper qualifications for the work proposed. Subsequently, the same Pontiff by a Brief of 15 November 1549, accorded very great privileges to this Society and gave its Generals the power of accepting twenty priests as spiritual coadjutors and of conferring on them the same privileges, the same favor and the same authority as the Professed. His

---

1 Ed. note: From Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. *The Jesuits 1534-1921* (New York, Encyclopedia Press, 1921), vol. 2, chap. xviii.

wish was and he so ordained that there should be no limit or restriction put on the number of those whom the General should judge worthy of being so received. Furthermore, the Society itself, all its members and their possessions were entirely withdrawn from all superiorship, control and correction of bishops and taken under the protection of the Holy See.

Others of our predecessors have exhibited the same munificent liberality to this order. In effect Julius III, Paul IV, Paul V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII and other Popes have either confirmed or augmented, or more distinctly defined and determined the privileges already conferred on these religious. Nevertheless, the tenor and even the terms of these Apostolic Constitutions show that even at its inception the Society saw spring up within it various germs of discord and jealousies, which not only divided the members, but prompted them to exalt themselves above other religious orders, the secular clergy, the universities, colleges, public schools and even the sovereigns who had admitted and welcomed them in their realms. These troubles and dissensions were sometimes caused by the character of the Society's vows, by its power to admit novices to the vows, to dismiss from the Society, to present its subjects for ordination without any ecclesiastical title and without having made solemn vows. Moreover, it was in conflict with the decisions of the Council of Trent and of Pius V, our predecessor, both with regard to the absolute power arrogated by the General, as well as in other articles which not only relate to the government of the Society, but also on different points of doctrine, and in the exemptions and privileges which the ordinaries and other dignitaries both ecclesiastical and secular claim to be an invasion of their jurisdiction and their rights. In brief, there is scarcely any kind of a grave accusation that has not been brought against this Society, and in consequence, the peace and tranquility of Christendom has been for a long time disturbed.

Numberless complaints backed by the authority of kings and rulers have been urged against these religious at the tribunals of Paul IV, Pius V and Sixtus V not only the urgent and grave personal reasons which prompted his action in this matter, but also the protest of the Spanish Inquisition against the excessive privileges of the Society. His majesty also complained of the Society's form of government, and of points in the Institution which were disputed by some of the members of the Society who were conspicuous for their knowledge and piety, and he asked the Sovereign Pontiff to name a commission for an Apostolic visitation of the Society.

As the zealous demands of Philip seemed to be based on justice and equity, Sixtus V appointed as visitor Apostolic a bishop generally recognized for his prudence, virtue and intellectual gifts. A congregation of cardinals was also instituted to dispose of the matter, but the premature death of Sixtus prevented any action. On the other hand, the first act of Gregory XIV on his accession to the Chair of Peter was to give by his Bull of 28 June 1591 the most extensive approval of the Institute. He confirmed and ratified all the privileges accorded by his predecessors, and especially that of dismissal from the Order without juridical procedure, that is to say without having taken any previous information, without drawing up any indictment, without observing any legal process,



or allowing any delay, even the most essential, but solely on the inspection of the truth of the fact and without regard to the fault or whether it or the attendant circumstances sufficiently justified the expulsion of the person involved.

Moreover, Pope Gregory absolutely forbade under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, any direct or indirect attack on the institute, the constitutions, or the decrees of the Society, or any attempt to change them, although he permitted an appeal to himself or his successors, either directly or through the legates and nuncios of the Holy See, and also the right to represent whatever one might think should be added, modified or retrenched.

However, all these precautions did not avail to silence the clamorous complaints against the Society. On the contrary, strife arose everywhere about the doctrines of the Order, which many maintained were totally opposed to the orthodox faith and sound morality. The Society itself was torn by internal dissensions while this external warfare was going on. It was also everywhere reproached with too much avidity and eagerness for earthly goods and this complaint caused the Holy See much pain and exasperated many rulers of nations against the Society. Hence, to strengthen themselves on that point these religious, wishing to obtain from Paul V of happy memory a new confirmation of their Institute and their privileges, were compelled to ask for a ratification of some decrees published in the fifth general congregation and inserted word for word in his Bull of 14 September 1606. These decrees expressly declared that the Society assembled in general congregation had been compelled both by the troubles and enmities among the members, and by the charges from without, to formulate the following statute:—

“Our Society which has been raised up by God for the propagation of the Faith and the salvation of souls, is enabled by the proper functions of its Institute which are the arms of the spirit to attain under the standard of the Cross the end it proposes, with edification to the neighbor and usefulness to the Church. On the other hand, it would do harm and expose itself to the greatest danger if it meddled in affairs of the world and especially with what concerns the politics and government of States. But, as in these unfortunate times our Order, perhaps because of the ambition or indiscreet zeal of some of its members, is attacked in different parts of the world and is complained of to certain sovereigns whose consideration and affection we have been bidden by St. Ignatius to preserve so that we may be more acceptable to God, and as, besides, the good odor of Jesus Christ is necessary to produce fruits of salvation, this congregation is of the opinion that it is incumbent upon all to avoid as far as possible even the appearance of evil, and thus to obviate the accusations that are based on unjust suspicions. Hence, the present decree forbids all under the most rigorous penalties to concern themselves in any way with public affairs, even when invited to do so or when for some reason they may seem to be indispensable. They are not to depart from the Institute of the Society no matter how entreated or solicited, and the definitors are to lay down rules and to prescribe the means best calculated to remedy abuses in cases which may present themselves.”

We have observed with bitter grief that these remedies and many others subsequently employed failed to put an end to the troubles, complaints and accusations against the Society, and that Urban VIII, Clement IX, Clement X, Clement XI, Clement XII, Alexander VII, Alexander VIII, Innocent X, Innocent XI, Innocent XII, Innocent XIII, and Benedict XIV were unable to give the Church peace. The constitutions which were drawn up with regard to secular affairs with which the Society should not concern itself, whether outside of these missions or on account of them, failed to have any result. Nor did they put an end to the serious quarrels and dissensions caused by members of the Society with the ordinaries and religious orders, or about places consecrated to piety, and also with communities of every kind in Europe, Asia and America; all of which caused great scandal and loss of souls. The same was true with regard to the practice and interpretation of certain pagan ceremonies which were tolerated and permitted in many places while those approved of by the Universal Church were put aside. Then, too, there was the use and interpretation of maxims which the Holy See deemed to be scandalous and evidently harmful to morality. Finally, there were other things of great moment and of absolute necessity for the preservation of the dogmas of the Christian religion in its purity and integrity which in our own and preceding centuries led to abuses and great evils such as the troubles and seditions in Catholic states, and even persecutions of the Church in some provinces of Asia and Europe.

All of our predecessors have been sorely afflicted by these things, among others Innocent XI of pious memory, who forbade the habit to be given to novices; Innocent XIII, who was obliged to utter the same threat; and, finally, Benedict XIV, who ordered a visitation of the houses and colleges of our dear son in Christ, the most faithful King of Portugal and the Algarves. But the Holy See derived no consolation from all this; nor was the Society helped; nor did Christianity secure any advantage from the last letter, which had been rather extorted than obtained from our immediate predecessor Clement XIII (to borrow the expression employed by Gregory X in the Ecumenical Council of Lyons.)

After so many terrible shocks, storms and tempests, the truly faithful hope to see the day dawn which will bring peace and calm. But under the pontificate of our predecessor Clement XIII, the times grew more stormy. Indeed, the clamors against the Society augmented daily and in some places there were troubles, dissensions, dangerous strifes and even scandals which, after completely shattering Christian charity, lighted in the hearts of the faithful, party spirit, hatred and enmity. The danger increased to such a degree that even those whose piety and well-known hereditary devotion to the Society, namely our very dear sons in Jesus Christ, the Kings of France, Spain, Portugal and the Two Sicilies, were forced to banish from their kingdoms, states and provinces all the religious of this Order; being persuaded that this extreme measure was the only means of remedying so many evils and putting an end to the contentions and strife that were tearing the bosom of Mother Church.

But these same kings, our very dear sons in Jesus Christ, thought that this remedy could not be lasting in its effects or could avail to tranquilize Christendom unless the

Society was altogether abolished and suppressed. Hence, they made known to Clement XIII their desire in this matter and asked him with one accord and with all the authority they possessed, adding also their prayers and entreaties to bring about in that way the perpetual tranquillity of their subjects and the general good of the Church. But the sudden death of that Pontiff checked all progress in the matter. Hardly, however, had we, by the mercy of God, been elevated to the Chair of St. Peter, than the same prayers were addressed to us, the same insistent demands were made and a great number of bishops and other personages illustrious by their learning, dignity and virtue united their supplications to this request.

Wishing, however, to take the surest course in such a grave and important matter, we believed we needed a much longer time to consider it, not only for the purpose of making the most exact examination possible and then to deliberate upon the most prudent methods to be adopted and also to obtain from the Father of Light His special help and assistance, we offered our most earnest prayers, mourning and grieving over what was before us, and we entreated the faithful to come to our aid by their prayers and good works. We have especially thought it advisable to find out upon what basis this widespread feeling rested with regard to the Society, which had been confirmed and approved in the most solemn manner by the Council of Trent. We discovered that the council mentions the Order only to exempt it from the general decree passed for other Orders. The Jesuit novices were to be admitted to profession if judged worthy, or they were to be dismissed from the Society. Hence the council (Session 25, c. xvi, de reg.) declared that it wished to make no innovation nor to prevent these religious from serving God and the Church in accordance with their pious Institute which had been approved by the Church.

Wherefore, after having made use of so many necessary means, and aided as we think by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and, moreover, compelled by the duty of our office which essentially obliges us to procure, maintain and strengthen with all our power, the repose and tranquillity of Christendom, and to root out entirely what could cause the slightest harm; and, moreover, having recognized that the Society of Jesus could no longer produce the abundant fruit and the great good for which it was instituted and approved by so many Popes, our predecessors, who adorned it with so many most admirable privileges, and seeing that it was almost and, indeed, absolutely impossible for the Church to enjoy a true and solid peace while this Order existed, being bound as we are by so many powerful considerations and compelled by other motives which the laws of prudence and the wise administration of the Church suggest but which we keep in the depths of our heart: Following in the footsteps of our predecessors and especially of Gregory X at the Council of Lyons, since the cases are identical, **we do, hereby, after a mature examination, and of our certain knowledge, and by the plenitude of our Apostolic power, suppress and abolish the Society of Jesus. We nullify and abrogate all and each of its offices, functions, administrations, houses, schools, colleges, retreats, refuges and other establishments which belong to it in any manner whatever, and in every province, kingdom or state in**

**which it may be found.** We do the same for its statutes, customs, usages, decrees, constitutions, even those confirmed by the oath and by the approbation of the Holy See or otherwise, as well as all and each of its indults, both general and particular whose tenor we wish to be regarded as fully and sufficiently set forth by these present letters, as if they were here inserted word for word; notwithstanding any clause or formula to the contrary, no matter upon what decrees or obligations they may be based. Hence, we declare as forever broken and entirely extinct all authority, spiritual or temporal, of the General, provincials, visitors and other superiors of this Society, and we transfer absolutely and without restriction this same authority and this same jurisdiction to the ordinaries of the places where the afore-said are, according to the case or persons, in the form and under the conditions which we shall explain here-after; forbidding, as we do by these presents forbid, that any one should be received into this Society or admitted to the novitiate or invested with the habit. We also forbid any of those who have already been received to pronounce the simple or solemn vows, under pain of nullity either of their admission or profession and under other penalties as we may see fit. Moreover, we wish, ordain and enjoin that those who are at present novices, should be immediately, instantly and effectually dismissed, and we forbid those who have not made solemn vows and who have not yet been admitted to the priesthood to be promoted to either under the title or pretext of their profession or in virtue of any privileges accorded to the Society and in contravention of the decrees of the Council of Trent.

But as the object we have in view and which we are most eager to attain is to watch over the general good of the Church and the peace of the nations, and at the same time to help and console each one of the members of this Society whom we tenderly cherish in the Lord, so that, freed at last from all the quarrels and disputes and annoyances in which they have until now been engaged, they may cultivate with more fruit the vineyard of the Lord and labor with more success for the salvation of souls, we decree and ordain that the members of this Society who have made only simple vows and who are not yet in Holy Orders shall depart from their houses and colleges freed from their vows, and that they are free to embrace whatever state they judge most conformable to their vocation, their strength and their conscience. The ordinary of the place will fix the time which may be deemed sufficient to procure an employment or an occupation, without, however, extending it beyond a year, just as in the Society they would be dismissed without any other reason than because the prudence of the superior so judges, and that without any previous citation or juridical proof.

We allow those in Holy Orders either to leave their houses and colleges and enter some religious order approved by the Holy See, in which case they must pass the probation prescribed by the Council of Trent, if they have only taken simple vows; if they have taken solemn vows, the time of their probation will be six months in virtue of a dispensation which we give to that effect; or they may remain in the world as secular priests or clerics, and in that case they shall be entirely subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the ordinary of the place in which they reside. We ordain, also, that a suitable pension shall be assigned to those who remain in the world, until such time as they

shall be otherwise provided for. This pension shall be derived from the funds of the house where they formerly lived, due consideration, however, being had to the revenues and the indebtedness of such houses.

The professed who are already in Holy Orders and who fear they may not be able to live respectably on account of the smallness of their pension, either because they can find no other refuge or are very old and infirm, may live in their former houses on condition that they shall have no share in its administration, that they dress like secular priests and be entirely subject to the bishop of the place. We expressly forbid them to supply anyone's place or to acquire any house or place in the future, or, as the Council of Lyons decrees, to alienate the houses, goods or places which they actually possess. They may, nevertheless, meet in one or more houses, in such a manner that such houses may be available if needed for pious purposes, as may appear most in conformity, in time and place, with the Holy Canons and the will of the founders, and also more conducive to the growth of religion, the salvation of souls and public utility. Moreover, some one of the secular clergy, commendable for his prudence and virtuous life, must appear in the administration of such houses, as the name of the Society is now totally suppressed and abolished.

We declare, also, that those who have been already expelled from any country whatever are included in the general suppression of the Order, and we consequently decree that those banished Jesuits, even if they are in Holy Orders and have not entered a religious order, shall from this moment belong to the secular clergy and be entirely subject to the ordinary of the place.

If the ordinaries recognize in those who in virtue of the present Brief have passed from the Society to the state of secular priests necessary knowledge and correctness of life, they may grant or refuse them, as they choose, the permission to confess and preach, and without such authorization none of them can exercise such functions. However, the bishops or ordinaries will never grant such powers as are conceded to those not of the diocese, if the applicants live in houses or colleges formerly belonging to the Society; and therefore we forbid such persons to preach or administer the sacraments, as Gregory X, our predecessor prescribed in the general council already referred to. We lay it on the conscience of the bishops to watch over the execution of all this and we command them to reflect on the rigorous account they will have one day to render to God of the sheep committed to their care and of the terrible judgment with which the Sovereign Judge of the living and the dead menaces those who govern others.

Moreover, if among those who were members of the Society there are any who were charged with the instruction of youth or who have exercised the functions of professors in colleges and schools, we warn them that they are absolutely deposed from any such direction, administration or authority and that they are not permitted to be employed in any such work, except as long as there is a reason to hope for some good from their labors and as long as they appear to keep aloof from all discussions and points of doctrine whose laxity and futility only occasion and engender trouble and disastrous contentions. We furthermore ordain that they shall be forever forbidden to exercise the

functions aforesaid, if they do not endeavor to keep peace in their schools and with others; and that shall be discharged from the schools if they happen to be employed in them.

As regards the missions, we include them in everything that has been ordered in this suppression, and we reserve to ourselves to take measures calculated to procure more easily and with greater certainty of results the conversion of the heathens and the cessation of disputes.

Therefore, we have entirely abolished and abrogated all the privileges and statutes of this Order and we declare that all of its members shall as soon as they have left their houses and colleges and have embraced the state of secular clerics, be considered proper and fit to obtain, in conformity with the Holy Canons and the Apostolic Constitutions, all sorts of benefices either simple or with the care of souls annexed; and also to accept offices, dignities and pensions, from which in accordance with the Brief of Gregory XIII of 10 September 1584, which begins with the words: *Satis superque*, they were absolutely excluded as long as they belonged to the Society. We allow them also to accept compensations for celebrating Mass, which they were not allowed to receive as Jesuits, and to enjoy all the graces and favors of which they would have always been deprived as long as they were Clerks Regular of the Society. We abrogate likewise all permissions they may have obtained from the General and other superiors, in virtue of the privileges accorded by the Sovereign Pontiff, such as leave to read heretical books and others prohibited and condemned by the Holy See, or not to fast or abstain, or to anticipate the Divine Office or anything, in fact, of that nature. Under the severest penalties we forbid them to use such privileges in the future, as our intention is to make them live in conformity with the requirements of the common law, like secular priests.

After the publication of the Brief, we forbid anyone, no matter who he may be, to dare to suspend its execution even under color, title or pretext of some demand, appeal or declaration or discussion of doubt that may arise or under any other pretext, foreseen or unforeseen; for we wish that the suppression and cessation of the whole Society as well as of all of its officers should have their full and entire effect, at the moment, and instantaneously, and in the form and manner in which we have described above, under pain of major excommunication incurred *ipso facto* by a single act, and reserved to us and to the Popes, our successors. This is directed against anyone who will dare to place the least obstacle, impediment or delay in the execution of this Brief. We order, likewise, and we forbid under holy obedience all and every ecclesiastic secular and regular, whatever be their grade, dignity, quality or condition, and notably those who are at present attached to the Society or were in the past, to oppose or attack this suppression, to write against it, even to speak of it, or of its causes or motives, or of the extinct Institute itself, its rules, constitutions or discipline or of anything else, relative to this affair, without the express permission of the Sovereign Pontiff. We likewise forbid all and everyone under pain of excommunication reserved to us and our successors to dare to assail either in secret or in public, verbally or in writing, by disputes, injuries and af-

fronts or by any other kind of contempt, anyone, no matter who he may be and least of all those who were members of the said Order.

We exhort all Christian princes whose attachment and respect for the Holy See we know, to employ all the zeal, care, strength, authority and power which they have received from God for the execution of this Brief, in order to protect and defend the Holy Roman Church, to adhere to all the articles it contains; to issue and publish similar decrees by which they may more carefully watch over the execution of this our present will and so forestall quarrelling, strife and dissensions among the faithful.

Finally, we exhort all Christians and we implore them by the bowels of Jesus Christ Our Lord to remember that they have the same Master, who is in Heaven; the same Savior, who redeemed them at the price of His blood; that they have all been regenerated by the grace of Baptism; that they have been all made sons of God and co-heirs of Christ; and are nourished by the same bread of the Divine word, the doctrine of the Church; that they are one body in Jesus Christ, and are members of each other; and consequently, it is necessary that being united by the bonds of charity they should live in peace with all men, as their only duty is to love each other, for he who loves his neighbor fulfills the law. Hence, also, they should regard with horror injuries, hatred, quarrels, deceits and other evils which the enemy of the human race has invented, devised and provoked to trouble the Church of God and to hinder the salvation of souls; nor are they to allege the false pretext of scholastic opinions or that of greater Christian perfection. Finally, let all endeavor to acquire that true wisdom of which St. James speaks (iii, 13): "Who is a wise man and imbued with knowledge among you? Let him show, by a good conversation, his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have a bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your heart; glory not, and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom, descending from above; but earthly, sensual, devilish. For, where envying and contention is, there is inconstancy, and every evil work. For the wisdom, that is from above, first indeed is chaste, then peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded, consenting to the good, full of mercy and good fruits, without judging, without dissimulation. And the fruit of justice is sown in peace, to them that make peace."

Even if the superiors and the other religious of this Order, as well as all those who are interested or pretend to be, in any way whatever, in what has been herein ordered, give no assent to the present Brief and were not summoned or heard, we wish, nevertheless, that it should never be attacked, weakened or invalidated on the plea of subreption, obreption, nullity, invalidity or defect of intention on our part or for any other motive, no matter how great or unforeseen or essential it may be, or because formalities and other things have been omitted which should have been observed in the preceding enactments or in any one of them, or for any other capital point deriving from the law or any custom, or indeed contained in the body of the law; nor can there be any pretext of an enormous or a very enormous and extreme injury inflicted; nor, finally, can there be any reasons or causes however just or reasonable they may be, even one that should have necessarily been expressed, needed to give validity to the rules above given.

We forbid that it should be ever retracted, discussed or brought to court or that it be provided against by way of restitution, discussion, review according to law or in any other way to obtain by legal procedure, fact, favor or justice, in any manner in which it might be accorded, to be made use of either in court or out of it.

Moreover, we wish expressly that the present Constitution should be from this moment valid, stable and efficacious forever, that it should have its full and entire effect; that it should be inviolably observed by all and each of those to whom it belongs or will belong in the future in any manner whatever.

...

---

1 Ed. note: An additional brief was issued on 13 August. It created a special committee of Cardinals and legal advisers to implement the above brief. See Doc. 1814A for the brief restoring the Jesuit order.



---

## Documents 1773D

---

# The voyage of the Buen Fín, Chief Pilot Thompson—Discovery of Ngatik and Oroluk

*Sources: Mostly in AGI 640, and 390; other files are quoted in: María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola's book: "Dos nuevos derroteros del galeón de Manila (1730 y 1773)" (Sevilla, 1956).*

*Notes: The name Buen Fín means Good Purpose. There were 99 persons on board this private ship that went from Manila to San Blas by a new route. The Commander was the ship owner, retired Army Lieutenant, and Manila merchant, Juan Francisco Solano.*

## Summary of the voyage, by Fray de la Concepción

*Source: Fray Juan de la Concepción's Historia general (Manila, 1788-92), Tome II, pp. 34-43.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*4. Con el motivo de la arribada de el Navio **San Carlos** el año de 1772, vino al pensamiento de tres conocidos, y distinguidos Comerciantes Don Juan [Francisco] Solano, Don Juan de Otaí, y Don Juan de Yturralde a costa propia intentar nuevo rumbo; satisfizoles de su posibilidad un insigne Piloto Inglés, D. Phelipe Tongson [rather Tompson], yá naturalizado, y casado en Manila, hicieron sus presentaciones en gobierno, ofreciendo el nuevo descubrimiento en Barco propio, y a costa de sus caudales con que se les concediese el embarque de setenta mil pesos de permiso, con cuyo comercio pudiesen en parte soportar los costos, consultó el Governador que era Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, la presentación al Real Acuerdo, que convino en la propuesta, respecto que en nada perjudicaba a la Real Hacienda, y sería tal descubrimiento, si se lograba, de mucho util en urgencias precisas: Con esta Consulta, dió el Governador sus licencias, y despachos, apromptóse Navio, gente, y abundancia de viveres:*

*Salió de este Puerto en seis de Henero de 1773, gobernó por la contra Costa de Mindoro: notando hacía agua la Fragata, dió fondo en la rada de Antique, recorrieron la obra muerta, en que se reconoció el agua: no se remidió mucho; por que saliendo de este Puerto, y trabajando el Barco, se notaron sus pulgadas de agua en la Bomba: reconociendola por de bajo, hallaron dos barrenos; que se taparon bien; despues se conoció la disminución en dos pulgadas; y se advirtió ser el Surtidero por de bajo de los batideros, y mura de estribor entre el durmiente, lo que no se podia remediar sin alijerar de Proa: para esto determinó su Comandante arribar a Samboangan, en donde dieron fondo; quitando carga suspendió la Proa; se quitó la primera tabla de aforro, y juntó*

*a la roda, bajo de la cinta, se halló una costura sin estopa: Corregieron estos, y otros defectos los Galafates; con cuya diligencia se cogió el agua; y estuvieron al ancla siete dias en esta faena: Concluida salieron con viento fresco, y navegaron hasta [la] Punta de Flechas, y tomaron el rumbo para Sarangán, en cuyo paralelo hallaron Islas, que no tenían los Mapas, y pusieron los nombres, como a una de Arriaga, y a otra de Anda, en latitud Norte 4 grados, y cinquenta, y dos minutos[.] siguiendo otra Isla, con nuevo nombre San Carlos en tres grados dies y ocho minutos[.] en esta latitud corrieron en longitud con vientos variables en que descubrieron un bajo con un arbol solo; lo demas se hizo juycio [que] era piedra cubierta de agua, San Phelipe; notando [que] era de quatro à cinco leguas Norte Sur, y no se halla en las cartas; asi fueron disminuyendo en latitud, abanzando en longitud quanto permitia el tiempo. En diez minutos latitud Norte observaron el monte de el Gigante Moliner, y con la observación enmendaron en él de el monte Coronado, tierra de nueva Guinea, Leste del Cabo de buena Esperanza haciendola recalacion sobre esta costa.*

*5. Siguiendo esta altura descubrieron las Islas Quelli; y de la Governadora, a cuyas espaldas estaba la Isla Sc[h]outen tierra alta: la latitud observada en estas Islas fue de 22 minutos al Sur; mantubose el rumbo en primeros grados Norte con variacion de minutos abanzando en longitud variando los vientos favorablesL a los 153 grados de longitud [E de Paris] empezaron a montar en latitud, considerandose bastante a barlovento de Marianas, experimentando vientos Lestes, LesNordeste, y Nordeste achubascados, y tempestuosos, y fué en 29 de Marzo; el 6 de Abril en altura de 4 grados, y 24 minutos [N], y en longitud de 156 [grados] y 38 [minutos E de Paris] a las 6 de las Marianas [sic = de la mañana] se descubrió una Isla, que arrimandose a ella a distancia de tres leguas, vieron otras, uniendolas una cordillera de arrecifes; pasaron al Oeste costeadolas, por si se podia fondear en alguna de ellas, y hacer aguada: dirigiendo la proa a la mas grande; arrimaron en distancia de dos millas, en que no se halló pasage, ni fondo; arribando descubrieron otra cercada de arrecifes; enfilaron con los Islotes, y Isla mas al Leste, y descubrieron mas al Oeste otra; eran en todas siete, y siguieron en demanda de la ultima; pero todo arrecifes, sin fondo; en todas distinguieron muchos Cocales, como plantados a mano; pero ni Casa, ni gente: Costeando todo el arrecife a media milla sin hallar con 50 brazas de fondo, salieron a la playa como 28 o 30 hombres como Cafres pero de color rojo tostado; todos armados con palos, siguiendo por la playa la derrota de el Navio: este no hallando fondo aun a un apique de el arrecife, siguió ciñiendo el viento; pusieron a esta Isla habitada el nombre [Is]la de los valientes.*

*Al ocho de Abril se descubrió un gran banco de Arena, para pasar a Sotavento de él, arribaron, y le costearon a distancia de una legua, en que conocieron varios bancos, y farallones, divididos por canalizos; al remate se descubrió una Isla, la que denominaron San Agustín.*

*6. Experimentaron en este paralelo vientos Norte, Leste, Les-Oeste [sic], y Nordeste cubierto(?), y achabascados con recias turbonadas, Orizontes oscuros, y cargados, la mar gruesa, y empollada, tambien Leste, y Sursuestes mas suaves de los 21 grados ade-*

*lante mezclados con Norte, Sur, Leste, y Nordeste asi hasta la altura de 31, 32, 33, y 34 grados en que yá alcanzaron vientos Oestes, Noruestes, y Suduestes con lo que se puso la proa a las costas de Nueva España[.] bolvieron a experimentar Les-Oeste, Leste, y Nordeste lo que oblige a subir a 36, 37, y 38 con 45 minutos[.] con vientos Suduestes se fue disminuyendo la altura; y al 22 de Junio se consideró el Comandante a poca distancia de la Costa, y al 26 vieron señas de ella en 36 grados, 48 minutos[.] gobernando al Leste descubrieron en 5 de Julio los Farallones, y otra tierra mas alta: al medio dia demarcaron el Morro hermoso, la Isla de la Natividad, y la de Cerros, con la mediania de morro tajado, que llaman Cabo de San Agustin desde donde con el rumbo ordinario se pusieron a vista de el Puerto de San Blas el dia 25 de Julio, y en 5 brazas dieron en el fondo; de aqui se despachó correo a Mexico con un Derrotero al Señor Virrey, que era el Excellentissimo Señor Theniente general Don Antonio Bucareli; admitió el permiso; recibió tambien denuncias que la Fragata llevaba contravandos, y partidas excedentes al registro: por lo que no pudo permitir la descarga en aquel Puerto; hizose precisa en él la imbernada hasta el tiempo regular de pasar a Acapulco.*

...  
 8. *Con la detención dicha, y el ir a hacer al Puerto de Acapulco su descarga, no bolvió a estas Islas hasta Julio de 74 retardandose seis meses su regreso, que huviera sido en el Enero antecedente, como tenia prometido su maior Piloto, a quien este viage hizo digno de perpetua memoria; y aseguró, que adelantando las Naves sus salidas, lograrán mejores tiempos, y vientos mas oportunos, que harían el viage mas feliz: conocióse el merito de este descubierto viage en nuestra Corte; dió su Majestad las gracias a Don [Juan] Francisco Solano que procuró no dar parte a sus compañeros en esa gloria, que se interesaron tanto a proporción: gratificó su Majestad y recompensó su habilidad, y trabajo a Don Phelipe Tonson [sic], habiendo-le Piloto maior de la Real Armada, graduado de Alferes de Navio, con el sueldo de 70 pesos mensuales: há mostrado este Oficial su reconocimiento, y esta dispuesto a sacrificarse por la Real merced en quanto sea util, y necesario; lo que frustró su intempestiva muerte.*

### **Translation.**

4. Because of the return in distress of the ship **San Carlos** in the year 1772, the idea came the three well-known and distinguished traders, Don Juan [Francisco] Solano, Don Juan de Otal, and Don Juan de Iturralde, to try a new route at their own expense. A famous pilot, Don Felipe Thompson, an Englishman who was already naturalized and with a wife in Manila, assured them that it was indeed possible. They made representations to the Government, offering to use their own ship to make this new exploration, using their own funds for the purpose, provided they were granted permission to load 70,000 pesos' worth of merchandise, in order to recover part of their expenses from the sale thereof. The Governor, who was then Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, held a consultation with the Audiencia, where the proposal was accepted, since it did not prejudice at all the Royal treasury, and since such an exploration, if it met with success, would be very useful in cases of emergencies. With this result of the consultation, the

Governor gave his licenses and despatches. The ship was made ready, with men and abundant food supplies.

The ship left this port on 6 January 1773, and cruised along the opposite of Mindoro. When it was noticed that the frigate was leaky, they anchored in the harbor of Antique, to inspect the upper works, where leakage was found, but the repairs did not do much, because, after leaving this port, when the ship was laboring, they noticed the number of inches in the water pump. When they went down to inspect, they found two drill holes, which they plugged very well. Afterwards, they noticed that the water had gone down by two inches; and it was recognized as caused by the stock under the reinforcement pieces and tack on the starboard side between the clamp,<sup>1</sup> something that could not be fixed without raising the bow. For this reason her Commander decided to go to Zamboanga, where they anchored. Some cargo was removed to lift the bow. The outer layer of the side was removed. Next to the stem, below the wale, a seam was found that was without pitch. The caulkers corrected these and other defects. This action stopped the leakage. They were anchored for seven days and busy at this task, at the end of which they departed with a fresh gale, and they sailed as far as Punta de Flechas, from where they headed toward Sarangani [Island], on whose parallel they found some islands that do not appear on the Charts, and they gave them some names: one was called Arriega Island, and another Anda Island; they are in 4°52' Lat. N.<sup>2</sup> There followed another island, given the new name of San Carlos, in 3°18' Lat. N.<sup>3</sup> They ran along this latitude with variable winds until they discovered a shoal with one single tree; as for the rest of it, they figured that it was all submerged rocks. They named it San Felipe, and noted that it was from 4 to 5 leagues from north to south, and it was not shown on the charts.<sup>4</sup> And so they were losing latitude and advancing in longitude, weather permitting. At 10 minutes lat. N., they sighted what they thought was Mount Giant Moliner, but after observing the sun they figured that it was Mount Coronado, belonging to New Guinea, to the east of Cape of Good Hope, and they made a stopover along this coast.

#### [Discovery of Ngatik]

5. By continuing at the same latitude, they sighted the Kely Islands, and Gobernadora Island, at whose shoulders was Schouten Island, a high island; the latitude observed at these islands was 22 minutes South. They then maintained a route along the first few degrees North with some variation of a few minutes, progressing in longitude,

---

1 Ed. note: Passage whose translation is but approximate.

2 Ed. note: Probably the modern Nenusa Islands, with individual names of Karatung and Merampit. Arriaga was then Minister of the Indies at the time, and Anda was Governor of the Philippines, of course.

3 Ed. note: Perhaps Tobi Island, at 3° exactly; however, Díaz-Trechuelo shows that it was north of Morotai, and preceded another sighting, called Bajo de Vazquez.

4 Ed. note: This was Helen Reef, named St. Philip, in honor of the Captain's patron saint. Therefore, Pilot José Vazquez made a mistake in recording it as San Feliz on his chart.

with variable but favorable winds, until they reached 153 degrees of longitude [E. of Paris], then they began increasing their latitude, as they considered themselves far enough to windward of the Mariana Islands, experiencing winds that blow from E, ENE, and NE as they went, encountering squalls and gales; this happened on 29 March. On 6 April, at a latitude of 4°24' [N.], and in a longitude of 156°38' [E. of Paris], at 6 a.m., they discovered an island. Upon approaching it, at a distance of 3 leagues, they saw others, all linked by a reef barrier. They passed west of them, after sailing along their coast, to find out if they could anchor at one of them, and take on water. Turning the bow toward the largest one, they approached it within two miles, but could not find a pass, nor the bottom. Staying close to the shore, they discovered another reef barrier. They followed the islets, and the easternmost island, and they discovered another one, to the west. All in all, there were seven islands. They headed for the westernmost one, but along the way, they found nothing but reef, and no bottom. On all of the islands they distinguished many coconut-tree groves, that looked as if they had been planted by hand, but no houses, and no people. They sailed along the whole reef at a distance of half a mile, without finding bottom, even at 50 fathoms. There came to the beach about 28-30 men, who looked like negros but of a red sunburnt color. They were all armed with sticks. The ship was on a route parallel to the beach, but did not find bottom, not even right up to the reef. The wind kept on being almost a headwind. They gave the name of **Island of the Brave** to the inhabited island.

#### [Discovery of Oroluk]

On 9 April, a big sand bank was discovered. To pass in the lee of it, they turned back, and sailed along it at a distance of one league, during which time they recognized vary banks, and rocky outcrops, separated by passes. At the end, they discovered one island, which they named **St. Augustine**.

6. Along this parallel, they experienced winds from NE, E, E-W [sic], and NE, cloudy(?) and squally with stiff thunderstorms, dark horizons, and overcast skies, the sea running high, and breaking, but with more controlled easterlies and southeasterlies from 21° and after, mixed with winds from N, S, E and NE until the latitudes of 31, 32, 33 and 34 degrees in which they finally encountered winds from W, NW and SW, which allowed them to steer for the coast of New Spain. Once again, they experienced winds from E-W, E and NE, which forced them to climb to 36, 37 and 38 degrees and 45 minutes[.] With SW winds, they were able to decrease in latitude. On 22 June, the Commander considered that he was a short distance from the coast, and on the 26th they saw the signs of it in 36°48'[.] By steering E, on 5 July, they sighted the Farallones, and another, higher, land. At noon, they recognized Morro Hermoso, Natividad Island, and Cerros [rather Cedros] Island, with the vicinity of Morro Tajado, which they called Cape San Agustín.<sup>1</sup> From here they followed the ordinary route and came into sight of the Port of San Blas on 25 July, where they anchored in 5 fathoms of water. A courier

---

1 Ed. note: They were then on the coast of Baja California, at approx. 28° N.

## Map of Ngatik, by Pilot José Vazquez, in 1773

*Source: Fray de la Concepción's Historia (op. cit.)*

*Note: Both charts were engraved at Manila by the Filipino C. Bagay.*

### Extract from the logbook.

#### PLANO

*De las Islas descubiertas, y costeadas este día à las quales pusimos el nombre de las [rather Islas] de Pasion por ser vistas el Martes Santo, y no hallarse situadas en las Mapas, y el centro de dichas Islas se halla situado (segun la observacion del medio día hecha con tres Octantes todos conformes) en la Latitud de 5°43' Norte y Long. de 156°10' al Leste del Meridiano de Paris (segun la estima) que corresponden à 33°30' de S. Bernardino: todas ellas son pequeñas, y bajas que la mayor distancia à que pueden verse es à 6 leguas[.] están cercadas de un Arrecife a modo de Calzada que puede pasar à pie enjuto de unas à otras menos el canalizo P. se hallan en todas muchos ranchos de Cocales como plantados à mano, pero ninguna de ellas puede abaxarse pues no se halla fondo: en las demas Oeste vimos varias chozas, ò Casillas de Nipa de donde salieron algunos Indios à la Playa armados con Lanzas ò Palos que no podemos distinguir, y en la darcena que forma el Arrecife se vieron algunas Canoas[.] (à la Isla havitada) pusinos nombre de los Valientes.*

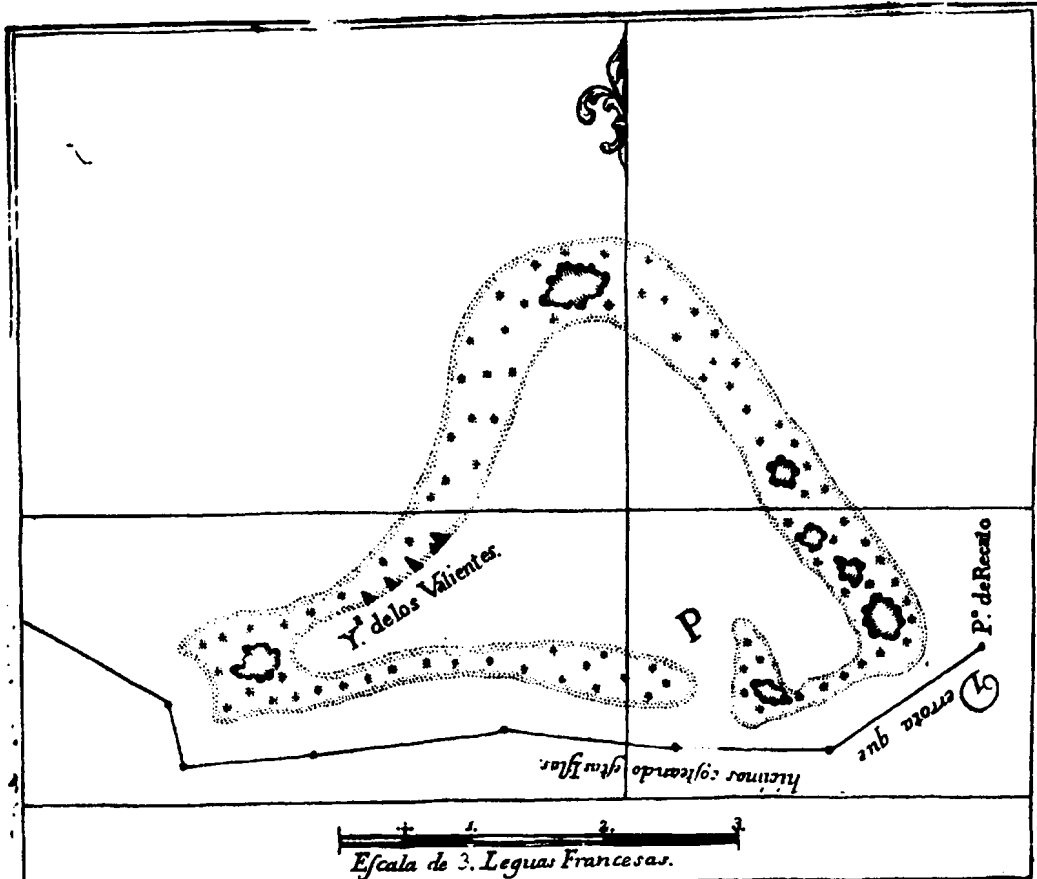
*[Track:] Punto de Recal[ad]o. Derrota que hicimos costeano estas Islas.  
Escala de 3. Leguas Francesas.*

#### MAP

Of the islands discovered and along which we sailed today. We named them Passion Islands, since they were sighted on Tuesday of Holy Week, and they were not found on the charts. The center of said islands is situated (according to the observations made at noon with three octants, all in agreement) in 5°43' Lat. N. and 156°10' Long. East of the meridian of Paris (according to the estimate) which corresponds to 33°30' [E.] of San Bernardino. They are all so small and low-lying that the longest distance from which they can be seen is 6 leagues. They are enclosed by a reef that forms a sort of causeway that could be used to walk from one island to another, when dry, except where there is a small channel marked with the letter P. In all of them are found many coconut-tree groves, as if they had been planted by hand, but one cannot step ashore at any of them, since no bottom can be found. At the westernmost island, we saw various huts, or small houses, thatched with nipa, from where some Indians came out to the beach. They were armed with lances or sticks that we could not distinguish, but a few canoes were seen in the basin formed by the reef. The name of Island of the Brave was given to the inhabited island.

*[Track, east to west:] Point where we sighted land. Route that we followed while sailing along these Islands.*

*Scale of 3 French leagues.*



# PLANO

De las Islas descubiertas y cartadas este día a las quales fuimos el día de las de Parion por ser vigilia el 11 de Santos, y no hallar en situadas en las Mapas, y el centro de dichas Islas se halla unido (segun la observacion del día de la fecha con tres Ombres todas conformes) en la Latitud de 5. 23. N. y Long de 156. 10. al Oeste del Meridiano de Paris (segun la estadia) que corre por distancia a que pueden verse a 6 leguas estan cercadas de un Arroyo de Calzada que puede parar a pie enjuta de mar a otra man. del conabio P. se hallan en todas muchos ranchos de Casales como plantados a mano, pero ninguna de ellas puede abaxarse a puer no se halla fondo. en las demas O. vino un nar Chonca, o Carillas de Papa de donde ubieron algunos Indios a las Playas ar mados con Lanzas o Balas que no podemos distinguir, y en la derecha que forma el Arroyo se vieron algunas Canoas (a la Isla habiendopurrimos nom. bre de los Valientes.



C. Bagay, f. n. l.

## Map of Oroluk, by Pilot José Vazquez, 1773

### Captions in Spanish.

*Plano del Bajo descubierto este día el qual creo sea el que señalan las Cartas de esta Carrera con nombre de los Arrecifes aunque dhas Cartas lo sitúan en 9° de Lat. poniendo en el varias Islas, y nosotros hemos visto mas que una que està de S. Augustin con varias Piedras, y Bancos de Arena sobre el agua con algunos canalizos como lo demuestra este Plano (levantado desde la Fragata) no habiendo reconocido por la parte del Norte el Sitio que ocupan las dos letras PP. observamos la mediana de este Banco en Lat. Norte 7 leg. [rather grados] 31' y estimamos 154°23' al Leste de Paris que corresponden à 31°43' al Leste de S. Bernardino.*

[Track:] *Punto donde recalamos à vista del vajo.*

*Virada, y derrota que hicimos costeandolo.*

*Punto à donde anohecimos.*

*Viramos de Bordo.*

*Bordada hasta medianoche.*

*Viramos hasta el dia.*

*Punto donde amanecemos.*

[Island:] *Ysla de S. Augustin. P-P. Este pedaso no [se] reconociò.*

### Translation.

Map of the shoal discovered on this day, which I believe is that shown by the charts of this [Manila-Acapulco] run with the name Los Arrecifes,\* although said charts place it in 9° Latitude and show various islets in it, but we saw only one island, that of St. Augustine, plus various rocks, and sand banks above the water with some small passes, as shown on this chart (drawn on board the Frigate). We did not survey the northern part indicated by the letter PP. We observed the center of this shoal to be 7°31' Lat. N. and we estimate the Longitude to be 154°23' East of Paris, which corresponds to 31°43' East of San Bernardino.

[Track, east to west:] Point where the bank came into view.

Tack, and route followed as we sailed along it.

Point reached by nightfall.

Where we tacked.

Tack until midnight.

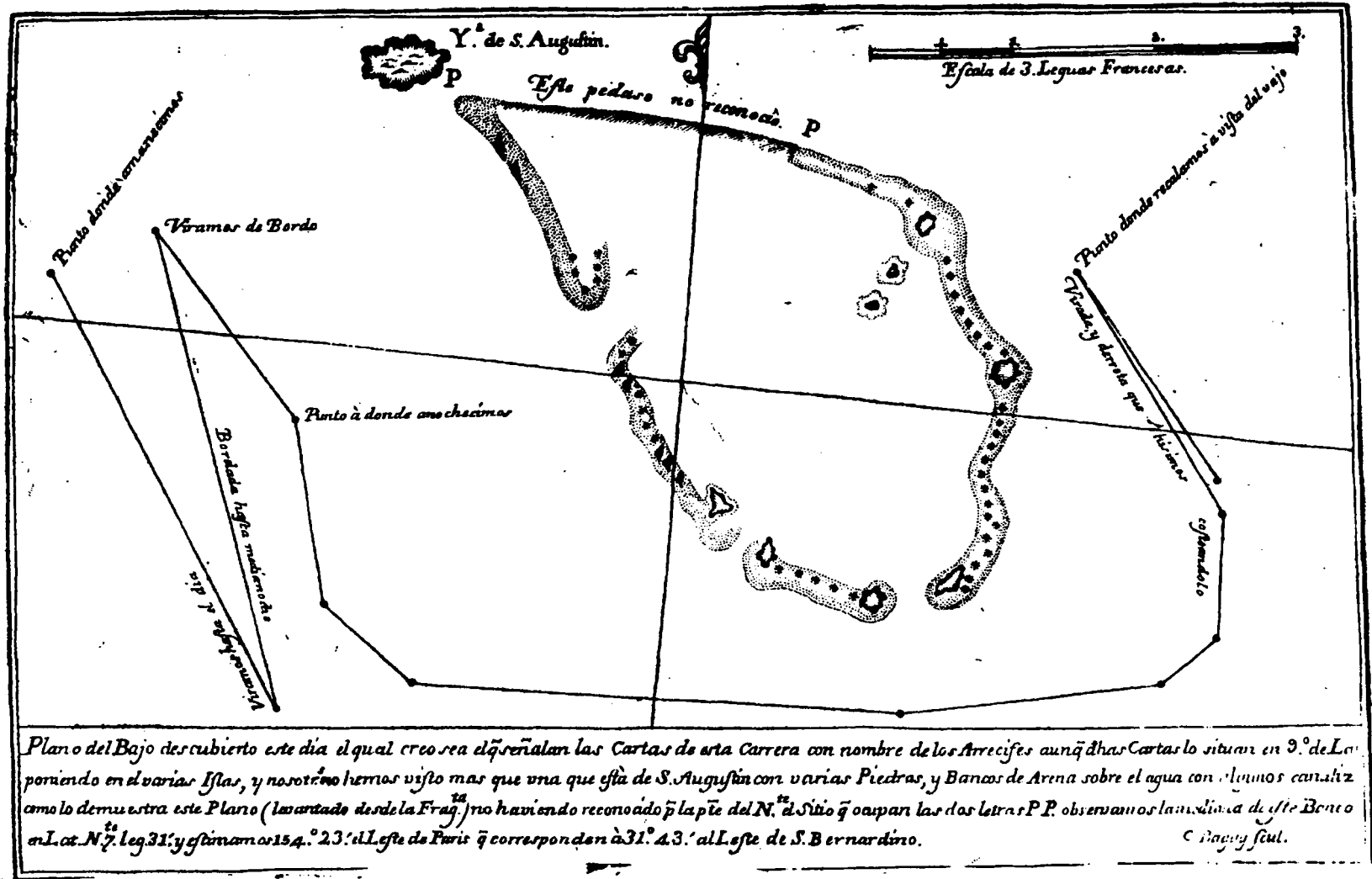
Tack until daytime.

Point where we were at daybreak.

[Island:] Island of St. Augustine. P-P. This stretch was not surveyed.

\* *Ed. note: This was a new discovery, unrelated to Arrecifes.*





was despatched from here to Mexico City, with a copy of the logbook for His Lordship the Viceroy, who was then the Most Excellent Lieutenant-General Antonio Bucareli. He accepted the permit, but he also accepted some denunciations that the frigate carried contraband goods, and some entries outside of the manifest; for this reason, he could not give permission for unloading in that port. So, the ship spent the winter season there, until it could proceed to Acapulco at the regular time.

...  
8. On account of said delay, and the side-trip to the Port of Acapulco to unload, it did not return to these Islands until July 1774. Its return had been delayed by six months, as it should have occurred on the previous January, as its Chief Pilot had promised. This pilot has been made worthy to be forever remembered for this voyage. He asserts that, if the galleons can leave earlier, they will met with better weather, and more favorable winds that would make the voyage more successful. The merit of this exploration voyage was recognized in our Court. His Majesty gave thanks to Don [Juan] Francisco Solano, who chose not to share the glory with his companions, who also had some proportional share in it. His Majesty thanked Don Felipe Thompson, and rewarded him for his skill and work, by making him Chief pilot of the Royal Navy, giving him a commission as Navy Lieutenant, with a salary of 70 pesos per month. This officer had shown his gratitude, and remains ready to sacrifice himself for the Royal favor whenever called upon, and when necessary, but this was frustrated on account of his untimely death.<sup>1</sup>

### **Additional notes.**

In MN577, folios 233-235, there are 4-1/2 pages of text representing the first week of the voyage made by the *Buen Fin*, Captain Thompson from Manila to San Blas in 1773.

In the same MN577, folios 236-237, there are 8 pages of a very succinct summary of the same voyage, which Fray de la Concepción (above) has summarized so much better.

The whole of Ngatik was called "Islas de la Pasión" [Passion Islands] by the Spanish, and only the westernmost islet was called "Isla de los Valientes" [Island of the Brave]. Similarly, the whole of Oroluk was called "Bajo Triste" [Sad-looking Shoal] and only the islet in the northwest was called "Isla de San Agustín" [St. Augustine Island]; it was so named, not because it was the feast-day of this Saint, but probably because of Augustinians on board: Fray José Montañez, chaplain, and Fray Juan de Zúñiga, surgeon.

---

1 Ed. note: Thompson died in April 1779 in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios in Manila, as reported in a letter from Governor Basco y Vargas to Galvez, dated Manila 20 May 1779 (AGI Fil. 494), but not after he had done a survey of the Babuyan Islands, and gone to Guam to rescue the survivors of the *Concepción* shipwreck of 1775.



**King Charles III. He ruled Spain from 1759 to 1788. (From *Manuel Rivera Camba's Los gobernantes de México, vol. 1, México, Aguilar Ortiz, 1872.*)**



**Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, 1771-1778.**  
*(Manuel Rivera's Los gobernantes de México).*

---

## Documents 1773E

---

### Correspondence regarding the ship *Buen Fín*

#### E1. Some letters from the files

*Sources: AGI Fil. 390, 640.*

*Note: They are mostly concerned with the shipment of goods.*

—Letter from Governor Anda to Viceroy Bucareli, dated Manila 29 December 1772.

—Letter from Governor Anda to the King, dated 7 January 1773.

—Letter from the ship-owner, Don Juan Francisco Solano, to the King, dated 18 January 1773.

—Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated 27 August 1773.

—Letter from the Viceroy to the King, dated 26 September 1773.

—Letter from Governor Anda, dated Manila 19 July 1774.

*Note: Letter n° 383, recommending Thompson for a promotion to Navy Lieutenant.*

—Letter from Governor Anda to the Director General, dated Manila 10 January 1775.

*Source: AGI Fil. 390, letter n° 417. Note: The maps by Pilot Vazquez, and the official logbook by Thompson, were originally attached to it.*

*Note: In AGI Fil. 494, there is Letter #121 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 20 May 1779, saying that Felipe Tomson had died before he could take charge of the galleon *San José* to Acapulco, by way of Northern Luzon. He died in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios, date not mentioned.*

...

## E2. Letter from the King to the Viceroy regarding the Buen Fin

*Source: AGI Fil. 337, libro 19, fol. 1-7, pp. 81-93.*

### Letter from the King to Viceroy of New Spain, dated San Ildefonso 18 August 1774

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Virrey de Nueva España aprobándole el auto en que dispuso la descarga y venta de los efectos con que nabegó la fragata **el Buen Fin** desde Philipinas por un nuevo derrotero en el Puerto de Acapulco; y encargando le inquiera reservadamente el producto que le haia dejado al dueño la Generala, que se le concedió; y ejecute lo demás que se expresa.*

*El Rey.*

*Don Antonio Maria Bucarely y Ursua, Virrey Governador y Capitan General de las Provincias de la Nueva España y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia que reside en la Ciudad de Mexico.*

*En carta de 27 de Agosto del año proximo pasado disteis cuenta de que al propio tiempo que os habia comunicado Don Joseph del Campo comisionado del Puerto de San Blas aver anclado en él la Fragata titulada **el Buen Fin** procedente de Manila haviais recibido Carta de Don Simon de Anda y Salazar Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Islas en que os exponia lo ocurrido en la llegada de la Fragata **San Carlos** que en el año de 1772 viajaba à esas Provincias y los urgentisimos motivos que le havian obligado à admitir la proposicion que le hizo Don Juan Francisco Solano vezino y del comercio de las mismas Islas de emprender viage para ese Reyno por un nuevo derrotero con la condicion de que se le concediesen 60,000 pesos de Generala libres de derechos à su salida y regreso, y os recomendaba los Interesados en esta expedicion para que los atendiereis: Que noticioso por medio del referido comisionado del Puerto de San Blas de lo temerosos que se hallavan el Capitan, y Pilotos de la enunciada Fragata **el Buen Fin** de continuar el viage à el de Acapulco, asi por los contratiempos que havian experimentado el dia antes de su arrivo, como porque en Manila no se havian obligado à mas que à arrivar à alguna de las costas inmediatas à esas Provincias, y que de seguir se exponian à los Sures, y suertes de aquellas Mares; haviais providenciado mediante no poderse verificar por entonces la descarga de los efectos que conducia la nominada Fragata, se pasase el expediente à la vista del Fiscal de esa mi Real Audiencia y à informe del Ministerio del Puerto de Acapulco, el cual expuso no contemplava bastantes los motivos que se alegaban para dejar de seguir el viage à aquel Puerto, mediante la corta distancia que havia desde el de San Blas, y poco dificil la navegacion, y que de hacerse la descarga de efectos en este, no vajaria ningun comerciante por no arriesgarse a la intemperie del Pais, y à erogar crecidos gastos en su ida, y regreso, ademas de las introducciones furtivas, y contravandos que se harian en per-*

*juicio de mi Real Hacienda por lo abierto de la costa y que atribuia à malicia la mencionada arriuada por lo que juzgava muy preciso el proprio Ministerio en caso de deliverarse la descarga, y venta de los efectos de la mencionada Fragata en Acapulco, se mandasen cerrar y sellar las escotillas para precaver que ningun genero se desembarcara, interin se presentava tiempo favorable à la Navegacion, y que de continuar la tripulacion en el rezelo que havian manifestado, juzgava conveniente se ejecutase el viage vajo la direccion de un Piloto de los mas practicos de aquel departamento, pues de lo contrario era abrir puerta en lo sucesivo para iguales pretensiones: Que el Fiscal de esa Audiencia se havia adherido en todo al anterior dictamen tanto por las mejores proporciones, que havia en el Puerto de Acapulco para carenarse la Fragata, cargar, y conducir los Situados, y abastecer de todo lo necesario para su regreso, quanto por que la condicion estipulada en Manila tenia distinto sentido del que davan sus Gefes: Que instruido de los anteriores dictámenes, y insistiendo el proprio Capitan y Pilotos en la repugnancia de viajar à Acapulco, haviais determinado pasar el expediente por voto consultivo à esa Audiencia, la que en vista de todo havia sido de parecer de que no devia exponerseles à mayores contingencias, ni arriesgar sus intereses en el peligroso viage, desde el citado Puerto de San Blas, al de Acapulco, ya que felizmente tenia vencido el principal objeto de su navegacion, mayormente pudiendose ejecutar à presencia de Don Joseph del Campo comisionado de aquel Puerto la referida descarga, evitandose de esta manera los gastos, y perjuicios que se les ocasionarian con la demora que tambien seria en notorio detrimento de las Philipinas, que esperavan por instantes el situado para socorrer la infeliz constitucion en que se hallava todo su vezindario: Que sin embargo del anterior dictamen, y de haver informado segunda vez el Ministerio de Acapulco de orden vuestra que devia controvertirse este punto en Junta de Guerra y Real Hacienda determinasteis remitirlo segunda vez por voto consultivo à la Audiencia, la que expuso que en caso de subsistir las causas examinadas en el primer acuerdo, podria prevenirse al Capitan de la expresada Fragata **el Buen Fin**, las ventajas informadas por el insinuado Ministerio de Acapulco à efecto de que procurase emprender su viage à él, y en el de declararse peligrosa la navegacion en la Junta que à este fin se deveria formar con asistencia del Capitan, Pilotos practicos de las costas, y del nominado Don Joseph del Campo en calidad de Presidente, se diesen por vos las ordenes combenientes para que se verificase en el de San Blas la descarga, y visita de efectos, obligando à pagar al referido Capitan los costos que se siguiesen à mi Real Hacienda en la conduccion del situado, y demas gastos que se ocasionasen con este motivo: Que uno de los Ministros que asistieron al mismo acuerdo añadió en su dictamen se agregase à este expediente el que en otra ocasion se havia formado con motivo de aber arriavado al proprio Puerto de Matanchel la Nao de Philipinas, y que se pidiese informe al Consulado de esa Ciudad, al de aquellas Islas y al Comercio de estos mis Reynos sobre el assumpto, pero hecho cargo de que no permitia tanta dilacion, no haviais conformado con el parecer del Real acuerdo, y en su consecuencia expedisteis orden al Capitan previniendole que si la Fragata se descargava en el expresado Puerto de San Blas seria de su cuenta el resguardo que se pusiese para evitar el contravando, y que solo le eximi-*

*nais de los gastos de conduccion del situado con respecto à la condicion estipulada en Manila de arrivar à uno de esos Puertos, y otra al Comisionado Don Joseph del Campo, diciendole que si en la Junta que se celebrasse, que dava determinado no siguiese à Acapulco la nominada Fragata, permitiese la descarga, tomando quantas precauciones juzgase correspondientes, pero no la venta de los efectos, hasta que le pasaseis oficio para egecutarlo, en cuyo estado quedava el expediente, y de sus resultas ofreciais darne cuenta con Justificacion.*

*Subcesivamente en otra Carta de 26 de Septiembre del mismo año disteis cuenta con testimonio de que havindose celebrado la Junta de Pilotos de que queda hecha mencion para que se controvertiese el punto de si la descarga, y venta de los efectos, que conducia la referida Fragata **el Buen Fin**, devia hacerse en el Puerto de San Blas donde se hallava, ó en el de Acapulco, y determinandose en ella, que aguardando al mes de Noviembre del mismo año para cuyo tiempo habrian cesado las turbonadas en aquellos Mares, podria verificarse su vajada à Acapulco, os havia representado su Capitan Don Antonio de Saravia y Villar adelantaria el viage luego que pasase el equinocio, y cordonazo de San Francisco si el tiempo se lo permitia: Que comunicadas estas resultas al Ministerio de Acapulco, y al Fiscal con una relacion de los generos que se conducian fuera de registro en la misma Fragata, havia reproducido el primero sus anteriores dictámenes, reducidos à que se expidiesen las ordenes combenientes para que se hiciese la descarga y venta en aquel Puerto, y havilitase el Buque con los situados, viveres, reclutas, y demas que fuese necesario para que pudiese regresar à Manila, y el Fiscal havia corroborado en un todo el dictamen precedente en consideracion à dividirse las razones en que se fundaba à evitar todo fraude en mis Reales intereses, y los excesivos gastos que de haserse la descarga en el de San Blas era forzoso se causasen, con de nuevo resguardo que seria preciso exear [=exercer?] en aquel Puerto por no tenerle, yà que de ello no resultava perjuicio à la buena causa de Don Juan Francisco Solano, dueño de la citada embarcacion, en cuya inteligencia y de averos conformado con los anteriores pareceres provehisteis auto en 11 del citado mes de Septiembre declarando la descarga, y venta de los efectos en Acapulco, mandando à los oficiales de mi Real Hacienda de esa Capital hiciesen la regulacion del situado, y aprompto de caudales, y al Ministerio del citado Puerto de Acapulco à los 105 dias que se consideravan consumiria en su navegacion, contando con sesenta reclutas, que deveria llevar, y que no contemplavais justo se embarcaran en esa Nave los desertores que se hallavan en esas Provincias por no tener tropa que los sugetase, si se desordenavan, ni tampoco los quarenta y dos marineros de las mismas Islas, que estaban esperando ocasion de restituirse à ellas, y haviais dispuesto se comunicase esta determinacion al Capitan y Comisionado del Puerto de San Blas à fin de que al tiempo prefinido saliese el Barco para Acapulco, y que de ningun modo permitiese el desembarco de efecto alguno aunque fuese con titulo de Generalas, lo que poniais en mi Real noticia à efecto de obtener la aprovacion correspondiente, y ofreciendo avisar las resultas de la Feria de los nominados efectos.*



*Al propio tiempo se recibió una carta del mencionado Gobernador de Philipinas de 7 de Enero del citado año proximo pasado, con la que acompañó otra del nominado Don Juan Francisco Solano de 18 del mismo, haciendome presente el particular merito de este interesado contrahido en la enunciada expedicion, por cuió medio se lograba el descubrimiento de un nuevo derrotero para navegar à ese Reyno, y recomendando la instancia que promovia reducida à que se le concediese la dispensacion de la paga de mis Reales derechos à la salida, y regreso de la expresada su Fragata.*

*Y visto lo referido en mi Consejo de las Indias con lo que en su inteligencia y de lo informado por la Contaduria General de él expuso mi Fiscal, y consultandome sobre ello en 28 de Abril de este año: hé resuelto aprovaros (como por la presente mi Real Cedula os apruevo) lo que determinasteis por el citado auto de 11 de Septiembre del año proximo pasado avisandoos de ello para vuestro gobierno; y encargaros (como lo executo) indagueis reservadamente el producto y utilidades que haya dejado la insinuada Generala al enunciado Don Juan Francisco Solano, no solo à la venida à ese Reyno sino tambien à su regreso, imponiendo al nominado mi Consejo ve si queda ó no suficientemente resarcido con él, del servicio que alega, y que remitais el derrotero del nuevo rumbo que se ha descubierta, à efecto de que en su vista se pueda venir en conocimiento de si es acrehedor, ó no à que se le franqueé el indulto que pretende; por ser asi mi voluntad, y que de este Despacho se tome razon en la mencionada Contaduria general.*

*Fecha en San Ildephonso à 18 de Agosto de 1774.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Pedro Garcia Mayoral.*

### **Translation.**

To the Viceroy of New Spain, approving what he did, as per the record of proceedings, when he arranged for the unloading at the port of Acapulco and sale of the effects with which the frigate **Buen Fin** had sailed from the Philippines by a new route; and entrusting him to make a confidential inquiry to find out the profit that the owner would have made through the general permit that was granted him; and he is to carry out other things mentioned therein.

The King.

[To] Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, Viceroy Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audiencia that resides in the City of Mexico.

In a letter dated 27 August of last year, you reported that at the same time as Don José del Campo, commissioner of the Port of San Blas, had communicated to you that the frigate named **Buen Fin**, had anchored there and had come from Manila, you also received a letter from Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of those Islands, in which he exposed to you what had happened in 1772 when the frigate **San Carlos** that was on the way to those Provinces turned back in distress, and the most urgent reasons that had forced him to accept the proposal made to him by

Don Juan Francisco Solano, a resident and trader of the same Islands, to undertake a voyage to that Kingdom by a new route, with the condition that a general exemption for 60,000 pesos of duty-free merchandise be granted him, in both directions, and he recommended the parties interested in this expedition to you, so that they be taken care of; that, having been warned by the above-mentioned commissioner of the Port of San Blas about the fear that the Captain and Pilots of said frigate **Buen Fin** had of continuing their voyage to the port of Acapulco, not only on account of the bad weather that they had experienced the day before their arrival, but also because in Manila, they had obliged themselves only to arrive at any port whatever along the coasts of these Provinces, and that by pursuing their voyage, they would meet with southerlies and the risk of those seas. You had provided that, as long as the the unloading of the effects carried by said frigate could not then be verified, the file was to be passed to the Fiscal of my Royal Audiencia there, for review, and for comments by the Ministers responsible for the Port of Acapulco. The latter expressed their opinion that they thought the reasons alleged for not going to Acapulco were not sufficient, given the short distance between San Blas and Acapulco, and the little difficulty of said navigation, besides the fact that if an unloading of effects were to take place in San Blas, no trader would go there, on account of the risk due to the rough terrain to get there, and the high travel expenses in the round trip involved, in addition to the furtive introductions and contrabands that would occur, in prejudice to my Royal treasury, on account of the openness of the coast. They attributed to malice the arrival there. Consequently, the Ministers thought it necessary, in case the cargo of the frigate be unloaded, and sold, at Acapulco, that the hatches be closed and sealed, to prevent any good from being unloaded, until the weather became favorable for the navigation and, if the crew remained afraid of sailing, they thought that it would be appropriate for the voyage to take place under the direction of a pilot, from among the most skilled of that Department; indeed, otherwise, it would be to open the door to similar pretensions in future. The Fiscal of that Audiencia concurred fully with the previous opinion, not only because there were better facilities to careen the frigate in the port of Acapulco, to load and convey the subsidies, and to provide the food supplies necessary for the return voyage, but also because the condition stipulated in Manila had a different meaning than that given to it by his Superiors. Instructed by the above opinions, and at the refusal of the Captain himself and the Pilots to travel to Acapulco, you decided to submit the case file to that Audiencia for a consultative vote. However, after they reviewed it, they were of the opinion that they should not be exposed to the additional risks involved in continuing a dangerous voyage, from said port of San Blas to that of Acapulco, since they had already achieved the main objective of their navigation, specially since said unloading could be carried out before Don José del Campo, commissioner of that port, thus avoiding the expenses and prejudices that the delay would occasion them, and would also cause a notable detriment to the Philippines, that were desparately waiting for the subsidy in order to succor the unhappy condition in which all the colonists found themselves. In spite of the earlier opinion, and of a second opinion given by the Ministers of

Acapulco given at your order, in favor of a referral of this point to a joint Meeting of the War and Finance Council, you decided to remit it instead a second time for a consultative vote of the Audiencia, which expressed its opinion to the effect that, should the causes examined in the first agreement persist, the Captain of the above-named frigate **Buen Fín** could be advised of the advantages stated by said Ministers of Acapulco, to urge him to undertake said voyage, but in the case of the navigation being declared dangerous in a Meeting that would be held to that effect, with the attendance of the Captain, the coastal pilots, and the above-mentioned Don José del Campo, acting as president, you were then to give the appropriate orders for the unloading to take place in the port of San Blas, with the inspection of the merchandise, and forcing the above-said Captain to pay the expenses that would be incurred by my Royal treasury for having to convey the subsidy there. and for the other expenses occasioned by it. You reported that one of the Ministers taking part in the same agreement expressed his opinion that the case file created when a Philippine galleon had arrived on another occasion at the Port of Matanchel be attached, and that a report be requested from the Consulate of that City, from that of those Islands, and from the traders of these my Kingdoms regarding this matter, but realizing that so much delay could not be allowed, you had not agreed with the opinion of the Royal agreement, and consequently you had issued an order to the Captain, warning him that if the frigate were to be unloaded in the above-said port of San Blas, the expenses made to prevent contraband would be on his account, that he would only be exempt from having to reimburse the expenses of conveying the subsidy overthere, with respect to the condition stipulated in Manila that he could make port at any of those ports. You also sent another letter to the Commissioner, Don José del Campo, telling him that, if the eventual meeting were to decide that said frigate did not have to go to Acapulco, he was to allow the unloading of the goods, while taking as many precautionary measures as he could, but not the sale thereof, until he had received a specific letter to this effect. Such was the situation of the case file, and you offered to inform me of any follow-up actions, along with a record of proceedings.

Subsequently, in another letter dated 26 September of the same year, you reported, enclosing the record of proceedings, that the Meeting of Pilots had been held, in which was discussed the point whether the unloading, and sale of the effects carried by the above-mentioned frigate **Buen Fín**, should take place in the Port of San Blas, where she was anchored, or in the Port of Acapulco. It decided to wait until the month of November of the same year, at which time the squally weather in those seas should have ceased, and then to sail down to Acapulco. Her Captain, Don Antonio de Saravia y Villar,<sup>1</sup> had represented to you that he would sail earlier, after the equinox and after the ceremony of the rope belt of St. Francis had both passed, weather permitting. But after you had communicated these results to the Ministers of Acapulco, and to the Fiscal, along with a list of the goods carried aboard the same frigate outside of the mani-

---

1 Ed. note: A lower position than either Commander or Chief Pilot aboard Spanish ships.

fest, the former expressed their opinion to the effect that their previous opinions held, that is, the appropriate orders should be despatched to allow the unloading and sale to take place in that port, and for the ship to be made ready with the subsidies, food supplies, recruits, and other things necessary to enable her to return to Manila. The Fiscal, having agreed fully with the preceding opinion, considering that the questions as to why any risk of fraud in my Royal interests was to be avoided should be held separate from [the case of] the excessive expenses that the unloading in the port of San Blas would cause, as a result of the additional security that would be necessary to put up in that port (where there is not any), inasmuch as no prejudice would result from it to the good cause of Don Juan Francisco Solano, the owner of said vessel. Thus informed, and in agreement with the foregoing opinions, you provided a writ on the 11th of said month of September, declaring that the unloading and sale of the effects were to take place at Acapulco, ordering the officials of my Royal treasury of that Capital to arrange for the calculation of the subsidy, and prompt payment of the funds, and [ordering] the Ministers of said Port of Acapulco to arrange for food supplies for the 105 days of the planned voyage, including for 60 recruits who would be transported, but you did not consider it correct for that ship to take the deserters who were found in those Provinces, since there were no soldiers to guard them, if they created disturbances, not even the 42 sailors from the Islands themselves, who were awaiting an occasion to be sent back home.<sup>1</sup> You ordered this decision to be communicated to the Captain and to the Commissioner of the Port of San Blas, so that the ship would leave at the pretermine time for Acapulco, and that in no way was the unloading of any effect be permitted, though it be under the guise of duty-free exemptions. This you reported to me, in order to get the corresponding approval, and you offered to let me know the results of the Fair of the above-mentioned effects.

At the same time a letter was received from the above-mentioned Governor of the Philippines dated 7 January of last year, to which he had attached a letter from the above-named Don Juan Francisco Solano dated the 18th of said month, and in which he praised the merit of this interested party in the above-mentioned expedition, by means of which the discovery of a new route to sail to that Kingdom would be made, and recommending his request to be granted a dispensation from having to pay my Royal duties at the departure and return of his frigate.

And this having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about it, after he had reviewed the information therein, and a report from the Accountant General, I was given the consultation report on 28 April of this year, and consequently, I have decided to approve (as by the present my Royal decree I do approve) what you decided in your writ of 11 September last, and I advise you of same for your governance; and I entrust you (as I do now) to send me a confidential report on the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Many Filipino sailors had illegally remained in Mexico through the years, helping Mexicans to make *tuba*, or aguardiente, from the coconut trees. They periodically were gathered up and deported back to the Philippines.

revenue and profits that said Don Juan Francisco Solano had derived from his duty-free exemption, not only when he came to that Kingdom but also upon his return, and I ask my Council to decide whether or not he has been sufficiently indemnified for the service he alleges to have done, and you are to remit the logbook of the new route that has been discovered, so that by it can be judged whether or not he made himself worthy of the exemption that he seeks, as such is my will. Let the Accountant General take note of this despatch.

Made at San Ildefonso, 18 August 1774.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,  
Don Pedro García Mayoral.

---

## Document 1774A

---

# Report by the Accounting Department about Augustinian Recollects in the Marianas

*Source: AGI Fil. 1051.*

*Note: The report itself is missing, and could perhaps be found in some Contaduría, or Contratación, files.*

### Notes from the official summary

#### Original text in Spanish.

*17 de Junio de 1774*

*El Gobernador de Philipinas.*

*Informe sobre que resulta del expediente que hà causado, con motivo de haber puesto al cuidado de los Agustinos Recoletos de alli el gobierno espiritual de las Yslas Marianas, que antes lo estaba al de los Regulares expatriados.*

*La Contaduría General, ha visto el expediente causado à representacion del actual Gobernador de Philipinas, sobre haver puesto al cuidado de los Agustinos Recoletos de alli el Gobierno espiritual de las Yslas Marianas, que administraban los Regulares extinguidos; el qual en virtud de acuerdo del Consejo de Indias de Diziembre ultimo ha pasado a esta oficina.*

*El Sr. Fiscal a quien se comunicó este expediente, en respuesta de 7 de Julio de 1772, estimó por arreglada, y precisa la providencia citada en todas sus partes, siendo de parecer el que se aprovase.*

*En contaduría, nada sele ofrece que exponer sobre lo principal de este asunto, por ser peculiar su merito de los conocimientos del Consejo, y unicamente deve añadir que la persona que se nombre en las Islas Marianas para el manejo, y distribucion de los 3 mil pesos, con que concurre S.M. para la manutencion del citado Seminario, deve quedar obligada a dar cuenta justificada de su imbersion, vajo las mismas formalidades, en su dacion, toma, y responsivilidad, que todas las demas cuentas de real hacienda, deviendo tambien remitirse a esta oficina, para la ultima operacion que la incumbe por su ministerio, o el Consejo acordará lo que fuere de su agrado.*

*Madrid y Junio 17 de 1774.*

*Don Thomas Ortiz de Landazuri.*

**Translation.**

17 June 1774.

The Governor of the Philippines: He reports on the results of the case that he had opened regarding the assignment of Augustinian Recollects from there to the spiritual government of the Mariana Islands, in replacement of the Regulars who have been expatriated.

The Accountant General has seen the file created at the representation of the present Governor of the Philippines, regarding the assignment of Augustinian Recollects from there to the spiritual government of the Mariana Islands, that had been administered by the abolished Regulars; said file, in accordance with a decision of the Council of the Indies of December last, has now been passed to this office.

The Fiscal, to whom this file was forwarded, gave his opinion on 7 July 1772, considering that the provision in question was comprehensive and necessary in all its parts, and should be approved.

As for accounting, there is nothing to say regarding the core of this matter, because its merit is well known in the Council. There remains only to add that the person to be chosen in the Mariana Islands for the handling and distribution of the 3,000 pesos, which H.M. provides for the maintenance of the Seminary, must be obliged to give a report to justify the investment, under the same procedures for issuance, delivery and responsibility as all the other accounts of the Royal treasury, report which should also be remitted to this office, for the last operation that it must do for its ministry, or the Council will decide what may be of their pleasure.

Madrid, 17 June 1774.

Don Tomás Ortiz de Landazuri.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: For follow-up, see Doc. 1777A

---

## Document 1774B

---

# Letter from the King to Governor Anda, dated El Pardo 7 February 1774

*Source: AGI Fil. 336, libro 18, fol. 369v-370v, pp. 816-818.*

*Note: The Church used to print and sell papal bulls, mostly for indulgences, to government officials and military officers, as a way to help its finances. They were a form of religious tax. Over-zealous superiors sometimes tried to help the process.*

## Governor Soroa does not have to pay for Bulls he did not receive

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas aprovandole la providencia que tomó en quanto à liber-  
tar à Don Joseph Soroa Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, del pago de una partida de  
Bulas, que no havia llegado à sus manos, por el motivo que se expresa.*

*Don Simon de Anda y Salazar Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipi-  
nas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*En carta de 29 de Diziembre del año de 1771, disteis quenta con testimonio de que  
hallandose el Gobernador de las Islas Marianas Don Josef Soroa, se le remitieron por  
mano de su Apoderado, dos partidas de Bulas de la Santa Cruzada, la primera de 70 y  
diferentes limosnas, que importaron 31 pesos y la segunda de 697 igualmente con diver-  
sas limosnas que ascendieron à 354 pesos y 5 reales y no constando à los oficiales Re-  
ales de esas cajas que hubiese dado quenta el referido Soroa del producto de las  
mencionadas Bulas, providenciaron que Don Pedro de Asteguieta como su fiador y  
Apoderado exiviese lo que huviesen producido las referidas dos partidas, y haviendosele  
notificado esta providencia se presentó exponiendo que los 31 pesos importe de la  
primera partida se hallaban ya entregados en mi Real caja, y los 354 p 5 reales de que  
se le hacia cargo, y al insinuado Soroa por el importe de la segunda remesa de Bulas,  
no havia llegado à las Marianas, por haver apresado los Ingleses el Navio **La Santissi-  
ma Trinidad** que las conducia; por lo qual devia correr esta perdida de quenta del ramo  
de Cruzada, en cuya inteligencia, y de lo que dijo el Fiscal de esa mi Real Audiencia, y  
los mismos oficiales Reales proveisteis auto declarando por libre del enunciado cargo  
à Don Joseph Soroa, y mandando à los enunciados oficiales Reales le bonificasen en  
su cuenta esta partida absolbiendo à estos igualmente de su responsabilidad, y asi*



*mismo los Bienes à Don Nicolas de Echauz por lo que contra él resultaba en esta causa, y que se pusiese en mi Real noticia para que me hallase enterado de ello.*

*Y visto lo referido en mi Consejo de las Indias, con lo que en su inteligencia y de lo informado por la Contaduria general de él, espuso mi Fiscal: ha parecido confirmar, y aprovar la providencia que tomasteis en este asunto y participaroslo (como lo executo) para vuestra inteligencia por ser asi mi voluntad, y que de este Despacho se tome razón en la enunciada Contaduria general.*

*Dada en el Pardo à 7 de Febrero de 1774.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Pedro Garcia Mayoral.*

### Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, approving the measure he took when he freed Don José Soroa, Governor of the Mariana Islands, from having to pay for a consignment of [papal] bulls that had not reached his hands, for the reason stated therein.

Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, residing in the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 29 December 1771, you reported, along with a record of proceedings, that the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don José Soroa, had received a shipment of two consignments of Bulls of the Holy Crusade from his agent, the first one for 70 or other different alms, totally 31 pesos, and the second one for 697, also containing various alms, that totalled 354 pesos and 5 reals, and since there was no record by the Royal officials of that treasury to the effect that the above-named Soroa had reported on the above-mentioned Bulls, they advised Don Pedro de Asteguieta, his bondsman and agent, to exhibit the revenue that the two above-mentioned consignments might have produced, but after he had received said advice, he showed up in person to say that the 31 pesos of the first consignment had already been paid into my Royal treasury, but that he did not recognize the 354 pesos and 5 reals that were claimed from him, and from said Soroa, for the amount of the second consignment of bulls, because they had never reached the Marianas, on account of the galleon **Santísima Trinidad** that was transporting them having been captured by the English; hence, this loss should be absorbed by the Crusade account. In view of the above, and of what the Fiscal of that Royal Audiencia there said about it, as well as the Royal officials themselves, you provided a writ declaring that Don José Soroa was freed from the obligation, and ordering said Royal officials to credit his account for the amount of said consignment, and absolving them as well of any responsibility, and removing the lien that had been imposed on the property of Don Nicolás de Echauz in this cause.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Nicolás de Echauz Beaumont had been Royal treasurer at Manila when the English invaded, and had taken the government moneys out of Manila.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, along with what my Fiscal said about it, upon the advice of the Accountant General, I have decided to confirm and approve the measure that you took in this matter, and to let you know (as I do now) for your information, as such is my will. Let the above-mentioned Accountant General's office take note.

Made at El Pardo, 7 February 1774.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,  
Don Pedro García Mayoral.

---

 Document 1774C
 

---

## Population of the Marianas in 1774

Source: AGI Fil. 1052.

### Report of the Recollect Fathers, dated 15 June 1774

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Año de 1774. Testimonio Literal del Estado de los Ministerios, Misiones, y Numero de Almas que administran las Sagradas [sic] Religiones de San Augustin, Santo Domingo, San Francisco y Recoletos de estas Islas.*

...

*Yllmo Señor.*

*El Provincial de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Augustinos Descalzos de estas Yslas Philipinas, en cumplimiento de la presixa obligacion que tiene de informar a V. Señoria Yllma. anualmente sobre el estado de su Provincia segun y como esta mandado por S.M. (Dios le guarde) dize que toda la administracion de dicha su Provincia en que se hallan empleados Setenta Religiosos es como se sigue:*

...

#### *Yslas Marianas Ciudad de Agaña.*

*—La Ciudad de S. Ygnacio llamada Agaña es la Capital de estas Yslas[.] Las Almas de dicha Capital entre Naturales, Españoles y Mestizos Componen el numº*

<i>de .....</i>	<i>1240</i>
<i>—Pueblo de la Antigua [sic = Anigua] tiene .....</i>	<i>0145</i>
<i>—Visita de Asan tiene .....</i>	<i>0077</i>
<i>—Visita de Tipungan tiene .....</i>	<i>0049</i>
<i>—Visita de Sinahaña tiene .....</i>	<i>0099</i>
<i>—Visita de Mongmong tiene .....</i>	<i>0083</i>
<i>—Visita de Apurgan tiene .....</i>	<i>0079</i>
<i>—Visita de Pago tiene .....</i>	<i>0155</i>
<i>—Pueblo de Agat tiene .....</i>	<i>0209</i>
<i>—Pueblo de Merizo tiene .....</i>	<i>0196</i>
<i>—Pueblo de Ynanarajan [sic] tiene .....</i>	<i>0182</i>
<i>—Pueblo Umata tiene .....</i>	<i>0187</i>

*Fuera de estos Pueblos hay en la Ysla de Rota (once leguas de la Capital por Mar, travesía bastantemente peligrosa) Pueblecitos quasi unidos, que todos componen segun las Cartas de los PP. el numº de ..... 0400*

*Suma general de los Tributos y Almas de cada Provincia*

*Marianas [0 tributo] ..... 3301 Almas.*

...

***El numero de Religiosos que al presente se hallan en esta Provincia su hedad y Empleos, es como se sigue:***

...

***Yslas Marianas.***

*—El P. Fr. Andres de San Joseph Vicario Provincial Comisario del Santo Oficio y Ministro de Agaña de edad de quarenta y cinco años.*

*—El P. Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion Ministro de Merizo de edad de treinta y dos años.*

*—El P. Fr. Thomas de Santa Rita Ministro de Ynarajan de edad de treinta años.*

*—El P. Fr. Christoval de San Onofre Ministro de Agat de edad de veinte y nueve años.*

*—El P. Fr. Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar Ministro de Rota de edad de treinta y dos años.*

...

*Y esto es lo que al presente puedo informar a V.Señoria Yllma. quedando siempre con el Ciudado de dar parte en adelante de lo que acaesiese y con la precisa obligacion de rogar a Dios Nuestro Señor Prospere, y Guarde la vida de V.S. Y. muchos y dilatados años como todos deseamos y hemos menester.*

*Convento de S. Sebastian y Junio à quinze de mill Setecientos setenta y quatro años.*

*B.L.M. de V.S.Y. su mas adicto Capellan y prompto Servidor.*

*Fr. Roque de San Bruno, Provincial.*

**Translation.**

**Year of 1774. Exact copy of the Summary List of the Ministries, Missions, and the Number of Souls ministered to by the Sacred Orders of St. Augustine, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and the Recollects of these Islands.**

...

Most Illustrious Sir.

The Provincial of the Province of St. Nicholas of the Discalced Augustinians of these Philippine Islands, to comply with the necessary obligation that he has to inform Your Most Illustrious Lordship yearly regarding the state of his Province, in accordance with the dictates of H.M. (may God save him), declares that the whole administration of said Province, in which a total of 70 Religious are employed, is as follows:

...

**Mariana Islands, City of Agaña.**

—The City of San Ignacio, or Agaña, is the Capital of these islands. The number of souls in said Capital, including the Natives, Spanish, and Half-breeds, amounts to

.....	1,240
—Church of Anigua .....	145
—Visit of Asan .....	77
—Visit of Tipungan .....	49
—Visit of Sinahaña .....	99
—Visit of Mongmong .....	83
—Visit of Apurguan .....	79
—Visit of Pago .....	155
—Church of Agat .....	209
—Church of Merizo .....	196
—Church of Inarajan .....	182
—Church of Umata .....	187

Besides the above settlements, there are other small settlements, located close together, in the Island of Rota (11 leagues distant from the Capital by sea, and a rather dangerous crossing). According to the letters sent by the Fathers, the number of souls there is .....

400

Grand total for the Tributes and Souls in said Province

Marianas [0 tribute] 3,301 Souls.

...

**The number of Religious who are presently found in this Province, their age and employments, are as follows:**

...

**Mariana Islands.**

—Father Fray Andrés [Blasquez] de San José, Vicar Provincial, Commissioner of the Holy Office and Curate of Agaña, 45 years old.<sup>1</sup>

—Father Fray Antonio [Sanchez] de la Concepción, Curate of Merizo, 32 years old.

—Father Fray Tomás [Caxaraville] de Santa Rita, Curate of Inarajan, 30 years old.

—Father Fray Cristobal [Ibañez] de San Onofre, Curate of Agat, 29 years old.

—Father Fray Pedro [Torres] de la Virgen del Pilar, Curate of Rota, 32 years old.

And, this being what I can at present report to Your Most Illustrious Lordship, I remain obliged to report any occurrence in future and with the necessary obligation to pray God our Lord to save and lengthen the life of Y.I.L. by as many years as we all wish, and need.

Convent of San Sebastián, 15 June 1774.

The most affectionate Chaplain and attentive servant of Y.I.L. who kisses your hand,  
Fr. Roque de San Bruno, Provincial.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This age seems to be in error, since he is also reported to be 36 two years later (see Doc. 1776C).

---

## Documents 1775A

---

# The story of the shipwreck of the patache Concepción at Guam in 1775

*Sources: AGN Fil. X, file 1, fol. 1-426; AGN AHH 459.*

*Notes: This Concepción was nicknamed Desengaño, which means Disappointment; from hindsight, one could say that it was indeed an appropriate name for this patache. There is also a file in the Philippine National Archives, but it is badly mutilated (so worm-eaten as to be unuseable). The shipwreck occurred in the port of Apra on 29 October 1775.*

### A1. Letter from the Finance Department in Manila to the Royal officials in Mexico, dated Manila 31 Julio 1776

#### Original text in Spanish.

[Endorsement:] *Nº 7: Otra en que se acusa el recivo de la Carta Cuenta del Situado que se acreditó a estas Caxas por lo correspondiente a el año pasado de mil settecientos setenta y quatro, y que no se ha recaudado aquella caudal, por el naufragio de la Fragata **Concepcion**.*

*Muy Señores mios:*

*Con la Carta de V[uestras] Mercedes de quince de Marzo del año anterior de mil setecientos setenta y cinco: recibimos la Carta cuenta, en que esas Reales Caxas acreditan a estas de nuestro cargo, los Dos cientos cinquenta mill pesos por el Situado devengado en el de mil setecientos setenta y quatro: pero como la plata, ni el Maestre, que conducio el Desengaño, no ha llegado a estas Yslas, por haver tenido la dolorosa fatalidad de hacer naufragio sobre las Marianas; aunque con el consuelo de que se salvarsen todos, juntamente con los intereses, no han recibido estas Arcas el socorro de que tanto necesita: pero no dudamos que si veniere en bien se cumplira con la entrega exactamente.*

*Dios guarde á V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Manila 31 de Julio de 1776.*

*B.m. de V.Ms., sus mui atentos servidores,*

*Joseph Antonio de Garzaval*

*Francisco Gomes Henriquez*

*[A los] Señores Offiziales de la Real Hazienda y Caxas de la Ciudad de Mexico.*

### Translation.

[Endorsement:] N° 7: Another letter in which is acknowledged the Letter of accounts of the Subsidy credited to this treasury for the subsidy of the past year 1774, but that such funds have not [yet] been deposited, on account of the shipwreck of the frigate **Concepción**.

Gentlemen:

Along with the letter from Your Graces dated 15 March of the past year of 1775, we received the letter of accounts by which that Royal treasury credited this treasury the 250,000 pesos of the subsidy that became due in 1774; however, as neither the Master of the silver, nor the silver transported aboard the **Desengaño**, has yet reached these Islands, on account of the deplorable accident in which she was shipwrecked in the Mariana Islands, though with the consolation that all were saved, and so the interests, this treasury has not yet received the funds that are so needed, but we do not doubt that when they do arrive, they will be turned over in their entirety.<sup>1</sup>

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Manila, 31 July 1776.

Your most sincere servants who kiss the hands of Your Graces,

José Antonio de Garzaval

Francisco Gomez Enriquez

[To the] Gentlemen of the Royal treasury in the City of Mexico.

## A2. Naval events during Governor Anda's second term, 1770-76

*Sources: NLA ms. 1289a (but manuscript missing from the bundle described in Lietz, page 97).*

### About the galleon **Concepción** and others

#### Original text in Spanish.

[Doc. B2] *Succinto apunte de los adelantamientos de las Yslas Philippinas en el 2º Gobierno de ellas de Don Simon de Anda, en assumptos politicos y militares de que tiene dado cuenta â S.M. en distintas ocasiones por las vias reservadas y Consejo de Yndias.*

#### *Marina*

*El navio la **Concepción** de 60 codos de quilla limpia fue construido por Don Simn de Anda (y ha echo dos viages â Acapulco en Nueva España) y a su fatiga se debió al que su coste no ascendiese a mas que 60,000 pesos por que visitando tres o quatro vezes al dia la construcción del mismo Governador y comprando las maderas en el mismo astillero, y no haciendo los cortes en provincias remotas, ni por comisiones, se logra-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Captain Thompson was then on his way to Guam to pick up the survivors and the King's silver which was salvaged entirely, although some personal treasure had to be left behind.

*ron increíbles ahorros a la Real Hacienda, como se demostró en la quenta de la construcción de este nabio cotejada con las de los demas fabricados en tiempo de sus antecesores que ninguno vaja de 170,000 pesos por dar lugar a fraudes, de cuios [h]echos pudo atestiguar toda la Marina que pasaba de Cadiz anualmente à Philipinas, siendo de notar que el espresado nabio ademas de su poco coste se construyo à la vista del Palacio del Gobernador en solo cinco meses, desde poner la quilla, hasta votarle al agua.*

### *Descubrimientos de navegación*

*En su tiempo se reconoció la navegación para Acapulco por el Cabo de Bugeador, y de Engaño al norte de la Ysla de Luzon, y evitaron con este descubimiento las arriadas de las naos, y se logró un refugio para no dar con enemigos en tiempo de guerra, y de este assumpto dió cuenta à S.M., y aprobado por Junta de Generales de Marina, y mandó practicar esta navegación por sus grandes ventajas.*

*Se descubrió el rumbo para Acapulco del oeste, al sur de la línea equinocial, reconociendo la Ysla de Gilolo, y costa de la Nueva Guinea y el primer buque despachado à este efecto por Don Simon de Anda, llegó con felicidad al Puerto de San Blas de Nueva España, habiendo descubierto y observado en su navegacion diferentes utilidades al estado.*

### **Translation.**

[Doc. B2] **Short summary of the progresses made in the Philippine Islands during the second term of Don Simon de Anda, in political and military affairs, about which he has already reported to H.M. on various occasions, by confidential mail and via the Council of the Indies.**

### **Ships.**

The ship **Concepción** of 60 cubits in length of keel was built by Don Simon de Anda (and she has made two [sic] voyages to Acapulco in New Spain).<sup>1</sup> It was thanks to his application that her cost did not reach beyond 60,000 pesos, because the Governor would personally visit the works three to four times a day, buying the lumber at the shipyard itself and not doing the timber cuts in remote provinces, nor through commissions either, thus achieving incredible savings for the Royal treasury, as was shown in the accounts of the construction of this ship, as compared with the costs of other ships built by his predecessors, none of which cost less than 170,000 pesos, because fraud was involved. These facts can be ascertained by [the members of] the Navy who have come yearly to the Philippines from Cadiz. It is worthwhile to add that, besides her low cost, she was built in sight of the Palace of the Governor in only five months, from the time the keel was laid down, until she was launched.

---

1 Ed. note: This remark may confirm the fact that the frigate **Concepción (y San José)** could have been confused with ship **San José (de Gracia)** although the *Concepción* that was wrecked at Guam in 1775 was better known by her alias as the *Desengaño*.



## Naval discoveries.

During his term, the navigation route to Acapulco by way of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño on the north coast of the Island of Luzon was surveyed, and with this discovery they avoided the forced returns of the galleons, and a refuge was found to avoid enemies in wartime. He reported to H.M. about this matter, which was approved by a Council of Generals of galleons, and he ordered the adoption of this navigation route, on account of its great advantages.<sup>1</sup>

The western route to Acapulco, south of the equatorial line, was also discovered, as the Island of Gilolo and the coast of New Guinea were sighted. The first ship that was despatched for this purpose by Don Simon de Anda arrived safely at the Port of San Blas in New Spain, and discovered and observed along the way different benefits for the state.<sup>2</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: Although a first trial was run by Correa in 1740, the first successful voyage to Acapulco by way of northern Luzon was that of the San José in 1779, three years after the end of Gov. Anda's term.

2 Ed. note: First tried by Captain Thompson in 1773.

---

## Documents 1775B

---

### Subsidies for the Recollect missionaries in the Marianas, 1767-1774

#### B1. Letter from Governor Anda to Viceroy Bucareli, dated Manila 12 July 1775

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 393-396v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*Mui señor mio.*

*Por el testimonio que acompaña las diligencias practicadas para la recaudacion de las cantidades libradas contra las caxas Reales de esa capital a favor del colegio Seminario de Marianas, será constante a V.E. el recibo de introduccion en la caja real de su termino de los nueve mil pesos que en los años de 1772, y 74, se registraron en la fragata **San Joseph**, y vinieron arreglar los seis mil en el año de 73, a la provincia de San Nicolas de Agustinos descalzos de esas Yslas; y los tres mil restantes en el pasado del 74, al Ilustrísimo Señor Gobernador actual.*

*Dichos nueve mil pesos segun el contesto de la carta de V.E., su fecha 13 de Marzo de 1772, de tanto de otra del P. Presidente del Hospicio de San Nicolas preservando por el P. Procurador General Francisco de San Buenaventura, y de las de los Sres. Castellano y Oficiales Reales de Acapulco y México sus fechas 15 de Marzo y 10 de Abril de 1774, insertas todas en dicho testimonio, son correspondientes a los devengados de los años de 1770, 71, 72, van solamente; y por tanto resultando en descubierto dicho colegio por lo respectivo a los años de 1767, 68, 69, 73, 74, vengo por indispensable y mi propia de mi obligación hacerlo presente á V. Exc. para practicar las diligencias que convengan con el caso de haberse librado alguna otra cantidad a favor de dicha Provincia de San Nicolas del Governador de Marianas o de otro sujeto operando de la notoria justificacion de V. Exc. si no se lo han librado desde el año de 766 hasta el presente mas que los referidos nueve mil pesos, se dignara disponer se satisfaga lo que legítimamente se resultase abierto al expresado colegio para que, remitido á esta y introducido en la caja de su destino, pueda informarse de todo conforme a las ordenes de nuestro soberano con las listas de las aplicaciones establecida en esta capital.*

*Nuestro Señor Guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Julio 12, de 1775.*

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*B.L.M. de V.E. su mas afecto y deseoso servidor.*

*Juan Francisco de Anda.*

*Excelentísimo Señor B° Fr. Don Antonio de Bucareli y Ursúa.*

*México 21 de enero de 1776.*

*Ynformen los oficiales Reales de estas Casas al B° Bucareli.*

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*El reclamo que se hace en esta Representacion para el reingreso y envio de las cantidades que han deseado de servirse correspondientes á la pension de tres mil pesos que S.M. tiene asignados anualmente al colegio Seminario Cantidad alguna de esta pension en los años que intermediaron desde 1767 en que se verificó la expropiacion a los Regulares expulsos, á cuyo cargo corrio el gobierno y dirección del citado colegio hasta el de 770, que se encomendó á los Religiosos Agustinos Descalzos de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Filipinas, si no tambien de no haberse entrado mas que tres mil pesos con los situados de 770, y 774 comprehendidos de dos cada uno.*

*Con atención a lo que contiene el termino mio remitido con otra Representación, y á que en ella se pide la cantidad vencida de la indicada pension de tres mil pesos correspondientes á los años pasados de 1767, 68, 69, 73, y 74 se reconocieron para averiguarlo los libros de las cuentas de Real Hacienda que fueron á nuestro cargo desde el año de 767, hasta el 775 y por ello se ha reconocido que si bien es cierto que se acordado de enviar la cantidad que ya expresaremos, no es tanta como la que se pide por Don Juan Francisco de Anda, Oidor de la Real Hacienda de Filipinas, porque la pension de tres mil pesos correspondiente á los ocho años que se encuentran desde el de 1767 hasta el 774, ambos incluidos, importa la cantidad de veinte y cuatro mil pesos, y pago de ella consta por los libros Reales haberse entregado y remitido las siguientes:*

*Tres mil pesos que en 24 de febrero del año de 767, se satisficieron al Apoderado de los Jesuitas Misioneros en las Yslas Marianas, correspondientes á la pension del mismo año consignada al Colegio Seminario de ellas: seis mil pesos que el 19 de Febrero de 770, y en 7 del mismo mes de 772, se entregaron al Apoderado de los Religiosos Agustinos Descalzos, á cuyo cargo se puso el citado colegio, y tres mil pesos que de orden de V.E. se enviaron consignados al Señor Gobernador de Filipinas con el situado que se termino en el nes de Marzo del año de 774, cuyas cantidades entregadas y remitidas montan a doce mil pesos; y rebaxada esta de la de veinte y quatro mil que queda expresada, resulta solo por reintegrarse, como no remitida, hasta fin de año de 774 la de doce mil pesos, porque la respectiva del de 775, se envió en Marzo del mismo año consecuente á la indicada orden de V.E. á los Oficiales Reales de Acapulco para que la embarcaren con separacion consignada al Gobernador de Filipinas; y habiendose de remitir también en este año los tres mil pesos correspondientes al de la expresada pen-*

*sion, ascendera lo vencido y debido de ella á la cantidad de quince mil pesos; y sobre el envio de ellos V.E. resolverá y nos mandara lo que tenga por conveniente y debamos executar sobre este asunto para practicar al mismo tiempo de enviar el situado de Filipinas.*

*México 22 de Febrero de 1776,  
Valdés Gutierrez Mexia.*

*México 24 de Febrero de 1776.*

*Vuelva á Oficiales Reales de estas Caxas para que executen la remesa de los quince mil pesos que expresaron en su precedente conforme en la Fragata **San Joseph de Gracia**, tomándose razon en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas, y constesten la carta del Señor Oydor de la Audiencia de Manila Don Juan Francisco de Anda con copia certificada del informe de los citados Ministros.*

*B<sup>o</sup> Fr. Bucareli.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir.

From the record created by the efforts made to collect the sums paid out by the Royal treasury of that capital to the order of the Seminary College of the Marianas, it will be obvious to Y.E. that 9,000 pesos were received by the Royal treasury in the years 1772 and 1774, which were registered aboard the frigate **San José**, that is, the 6,000 pesos of 1773 that were turned over to the Province of San Nicolas of the Discalced Augustinians of those Islands, and the 3,000 other pesos of 1774 that were sent to His Illustrious Lordship the present Governor.

Said 9,000 pesos, according to the context of Y.R.'s letter dated 13 March 1772, which quoted another letter from the Father President of the Hospice of San Nicolas, acting on behalf of the Fr. Procurator General Francisco de San Buenaventura, and that from the Gentlemen Warden and Royal Officials of Acapulco and Mexico dated 15 March and 10 April 1774 respectively, enclosed with said record, correspond to the amounts due for the years 1770, 71, and 72 only. Therefore, said College is still without its subsidies corresponding to the years 1767, 68, 69, 73, and 74. I consider it my duty to let Y.E. know about this, and hope that you will take whatever measure is necessary to pay out the sums that are still owed to the Province of San Nicolas, to the Governor of the Marianas, or to any other individual acting on their behalf. I expect, from the well-known justice of Y.E., if indeed there have not been made payments since 1766 to the present other than said 9,000 pesos, that you will be pleased to order the payment of what is lawfully owed to said College, so that, once the sums have been received and deposited in the account in question, our sovereign may be informed that his orders have been obeyed, along with the other subsidies destined to this capital.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 12 July 1775.

Your Excellency,  
From the most affectionate and willing servant of Y.E.,  
Juan Francisco de Anda.  
[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio de Bucarelí y Ursua.

[Minute]

Mexico, 21 January 1776

Let the Royal officials of this Treasury submit a report to Bailiff Bucarelí.

Your Excellency.

The claim made in the above letter is to recuperate and have despatched all of the sums pertaining to the annual subsidies of 3,000 pesos that H.M. has granted as an annuity to the Seminary College in question, starting in 1767 when it was expropriated from the expelled Jesuits, in whose care it was, until 1770, when it was entrusted to the Discalced Augustinians of the Province of San Nicolas of the Philippines, in view of the fact that said 3,000 pesos were already sent with other subsidies in 1770 and 1774, that is, for two-year periods each time.

As far as I am concerned, and with respect with another request that the overdue sums under the heading of this annuity of 3,000 pesos, for the past years of 1767, 68, 69, 73, and 74, the account books of this Royal treasury, from 1767 to 1775, were reviewed and it turned out that, though it is true that certain sums were sent (as we will show), they are not as much as Don Juan Francisco de Anda, member of the Royal treasury of the Philippines, says they were. Indeed, the total of 3,000 pesos for the 8 years calculated from 1767 until 1774, including 1774, amounts to only 24,000 pesos, and the payments that were made and despatched, according to the Royal account books, are as follows:

—3,000 pesos were paid out on 24 January 1767 to the Agent for the Jesuit missionaries of the Mariana Islands, and they corresponded to the annuity of said Seminary College for said year;

—6,000 pesos were paid out on 19 February 1770, and on 7 February 1772, to the Agent for the Discalced Augustinian Fathers, under whose care said College was placed; and

—3,000 pesos that were sent, by order of Y.E., to the Governor of the Philippines, along with the subsidy covering the period up to the end of March 1774.

Therefore, the sums paid out and despatched total 12,000 pesos. When they are subtracted from said 24,000 pesos that were owed, it turns out that the sums that were still due, until the end of 1774, amounted to 12,000 pesos, because the amount for 1775 was sent in March of said year, by order of Y.E. addressed to the Royal officials of Acapulco, for them to despatch same to the Governor of the Philippines under a separate entry. Now, since another 3,000 pesos, corresponding this year's annuity, must be sent, what is owed and due amounts to a sum of 15,000 pesos. Y.E. ought to order us to send the

sum that you will see fit and to do what is proper in this matter, so that we may thus send it at the same time as the subsidy for the Philippines.

Mexico, 22 February 1776.

Valdés Gutierrez Mexia.

[Minute]

Mexico, 24 February 1776.

Return this to the Royal officials of this Treasury, for them to carry out the despatch of the above-mentioned 15,000 pesos aboard the frigate **San José de Gracia**, and let the Royal tribunal of accounts take note of this, and let them write an answer to the letter from the Member of the Audiencia of Manila, Don Juan Francisco de Anda, enclosing a certified copy of the report from the above-mentioned Ministers.

Bailiff Fray Bucareli.<sup>1</sup>

## B2. Letter from the Viceroy to Governor Anda, dated Mexico 13 March 1776

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 397-397v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Luego que recibí la Carta de V.S. de doce de Julio del año proximo anterior en que reclama el reintegro y envio de las cantidades que han dexado de remitirse correspondientes á la pension de tres mil pesos que tiene el Rey asignados anualmente al Colegio Seminario de Islas Marianas, preveni á los Oficiales Reales de las Caxas de esta Capital me informasen las noticias que constaran en aquella oficina sobre el particular á fin de providenciar en su vista lo que carrespondiese; y resultando como comprehenderá V.S. de la adjunta copia que la respuesta de estos Ministros que lo que se ha dexado de remitirse desde la expulsion de los individuos de la extinguida Compañia á cuyo cargo estaba puesta la dirección del expresado Colegio hasta fin del año de 1774 asciende á quince mil pesos, he dispuesto se rexistre y embarque esta cantidad en la presente Fragata **San Joseph de Gracia**, cuya noticia comunico á V.S. en respuesta de su citado oficio quedandome la satisfacion de haber correspondido con esta providencia á sus intenciones.*

*Dios, &c.*

*Mexico 13 de Marzo de 177[6].*

*[Al] Sor. Don Juan Francisco de Anda.*

*B.I.m. &a.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: According to Doc. 1776D, over 18,000 pesos were sent for the Marianas that year.

**Translation.**

My dear Sir:

As soon as I received the letter of Your Lordship dated 12 July of last year, in which you claim the payment and despatch of the sums that had remained unpaid for the annuity payments assigned to the Seminary College of the Mariana Islands by the King, I requested the Royal officials of the Treasury of this Capital to give me a report containing the details of the measures taken in the past on this matter. Y.L. may read the answer of these Ministers, a copy of which is enclosed, regarding the sums that were not despatched since the expulsion of the Jesuits, in whose care said College had been, until the end of 1774, and totalling 15,000 pesos. I have ordered that said sum be placed on the manifest and loaded aboard this year's frigate, the **San José de Gracia**, and hasten to let Y.L. of same. I hope that this decision will meet with your expectations.

May God, etc.

Mexico, 13 March 1776.

[To] Don Juan Francisco de Anda.

He who kisses the hand, etc.

**B3. Subsidies aboard the Concepción in 1775**

*Source: AGN Fil. 10, fol. 139.*

**Note regarding the funds and profits registered on behalf of the King and Individuals aboard the frigate Concepción that departed from this port today.**

	Pesos/reales/granos
Belonging to the King	316,620 6 0
<b>Subsidies of the Marianas</b>	<b>1,345. 0 0</b>
Sinods [i.e. allowances] for the Missions	13,174. 0 0
From the Permit of the Traders of Manila	716,773. 2 10
Leftovers from the year 1774	108,513. 0 0
Idem for 1767	101,000. 0 0
Value of the profits	19,330. 0 0
	-----
	<b>1,293,008. 0 10</b>
	-----

Sum of the money and value of the profits registered: one million, two hundred ninety three thousand and eight pesos, and 10 grains.<sup>1</sup>

Acapulco, 13 April 1775.

Elizondo Carrera Portugués

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: One entry worth 16,252 pesos is missing, for this total to be correct.

---

## Documents 1776A

---

# The fire that destroyed the San Carlos at Cavite on 5 August 1776

## A1. Letter from the royal officials in Manila to the Viceroy

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 13-13v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Mui señor mio.*

*La inesperada desgracia de haverse incendiado y reducido á cenizas por un rayo la fragata **San Carlos** con todo el permiso a este comercio, que tenía a su Bordo en el dia 5. del mes que espira, lista ya para hacerse a la vela para el Puerto de Acapulco y sin embargo de lo abanzado del tiempo puso a este Gobierno en la extrema necesidad de aprontar el Paquebot Nombrado **N.S. del Rosario** que ba mandado el Capitan y primer piloto D. Phelipe Viera con la atencion unica de dirigir los pliegos del servicio, y a su retorno conducir el Real situado para estas caxas sin cuyos es imposible subsistir.*

*El pliego de oficios y relativos a la correspondencia de ese Virreynato y Capitanía General dispuestos para V.E. a el tiempo de la referida desgracia estaran puestos en el correo, y aora van en el citado Pauquebot, y como la diferencia de Buques no altera en nada los documentos, que alli se incluye a fin de que V.E. se digne expedir las providencias que en ellos le suplicamos nos ha parecido propio en este caso ponerlo en su inteligencia por nuestra parte no obstante de que estamos mui persuadidos por el gobierno se comunica tambien a V.E. el fatal suceso con mas estensión.*

*A los oficiales Reales del puerto de Acapulco dirigimos la segunda via Testimoniada de la manifestación que hizo en esta Real Contaduria de los efectos quemados en la expresada Fragata **San Carlos**, para lo que pueda importar este conocimiento en aquel ministerio, que igual a la primera que se embia a este mismo tiempo al Real y Supremo Consejo como S.M. tiene mandado.*

*Dios Guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 31 de Agosto de 1776.*

*Excelentísimo señor.*

*Besan la mano de V.E. sus muy atento servidores,*

*Francisco Gomes Joseph Antonio Garzaval*



[A1] *Excelentísimo Señor B. Fray Antonio María Bucarely y Ursua*

### Translation.

My dear Sir:

The frigate **San Carlos** had the unexpected misfortune of having caught fire and been reduced to ashes by a bolt of lightning, along with all of the permitted goods of this commerce that were on board her, on the 5th of the present month. She was then ready to sail to Acapulco. In spite of the advanced season, this government found itself in the extreme necessity to make ready the packet boat named **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** that goes under the command of Captain and chief pilot Don Felipe Viera, with the unique purpose of delivering the service mail, and upon her return voyage, to bring the Royal subsidy for this treasury, without which it is impossible to subsist.

The bundle of files and letters related to the correspondence with that Vice-Kingdom and Captaincy General and were addressed to Y.E. at the time of the above-mentioned disaster will be dispatched by mail, but now they are being sent aboard said packet boat. Since it does not matter which ship the documents go with, they remain the same and are added, so that Y.E. may be pleased to issue the provisions that we request therein, as it seemed to us correct in this case to bring them to the attention of Y.E. just the same, although we are sure that the government will also give a report to Y.E. about the fatal event in greater details.

We are also sending certified copies of the list of the effects that were burned aboard the above-mentioned frigate **San Carlos**, using the official manifest deposited in this Royal Accounting Department, for said Ministers to be informed of same. They are the same as those that are being sent at the same time to the Royal and Supreme Council [of the Indies], in accordance with royal regulations.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 31 August 1776.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servants of Y.E. who kiss your hand,

Francisco Gomes José Antonio Garzaval

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fr. Antonio María Bucarely y Ursua.

## A2. Letter from the royal officials in Manila to their counterparts in Mexico

*Source: AGN AHH 459-15.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Mui Señores míos.*

*El día cinco del mes concluyente con motivo de haver descendido un rayo sobre la Fragata **San Carlos** que se hallava con la carga que este Comercio remitia al Puerto de Acapulco la redujo toda á cenizas, desgracia la mas dolorosa que pudiera imagi-*

*narse, pues se vió arder con tal desconsuelo que hasta los elementos contribuyeron á constituir la inevitable.*

*En este estado lamentable se há visto este superior Gobierno empeñado en el apromto del Paquebot del Rey nombrado **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** que en esta ocasion (aunque tiempo yá bien abanzada) sale en demanda del referido Puerto, con la unica mira de embiar los Pliegos del servicio, y que pueda á su retorno traerse el Situado para estas pobres Caxas, con cuio auxilio solo y no pocas penurias puede subsistir esto.*

*El Pliego de oficios que devia llevar para V.Ms. ya la citada Fragata **San Carlos** que antes del incendio estaban en el correo van áora en dho Paquebot, y no encontramos mas variacion que la del nombre, pues no se alteran por esta causa los efectos de los documentos que incluyen; pues en quanto al abono de dicho Situado, Estipendios Ecclesiasticos encarga hechos para estos Almacenes &<sup>a</sup> todos subsisten en su fuerza, y vigor.*

*A los Señores Ofiziales Reales del Puerto de Acapulco para lo que pueda importar este conocimiento dirigimos la Manifestacion testimoniada recibida en esta Contaduria igual en todo á la primera via que encaminamos al Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias, como S. M. tiene resuelto.*

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Manila 31 de Agosto de 1776.*

*B. mano de V.M. sus attentos segs. servidores,*

*Jph Antonio de Garzaval Francisco Gomez Enriquez*

*Señores Ofiziales Reales de la Real Hazienda y Cajas de la Ciudad de Mexico.*

## **Translation.**

Gentlemen:

On the 5th of this month which is concluding, lighting hit the frigate **San Carlos** that was already loaded with the cargo that this trade was remitting to the Port of Acapulco and reduced it completely to ashes—a misfortune that was so deplorable that it is hard to imagine; indeed, she was seen burning with such disconsolateness that even the elements conspired to make it inevitable.

In this deplorable state, this superior Government saw itself obliged to made ready His Majesty's packet **Nuestra Señora del Rosario** which, on this occasion (although the season is very advanced) is leaving, bound for said port, for the only purpose of taking the official mail, and bringing the subsidy on the way back, for this poor treasury—subsidy which is the only help we can rely upon, and subsist through periods of shortages such as this one.

The official mail addressed to Your Graces, that was to go aboard the above-mentioned frigate **San Carlos** before the fire, is now going aboard said packet, and we do not find any other modifications to make except the name of the ship; in fact, this correction is not made to the documents enclosed, since it does not affect the validity of the documents regarding the payment of said subsidy, church stipends, purchase orders for these warehouses, etc.

To the Gentlemen Royal officials of the Port of Acapulco, for whom it may concern, we send a certified copy of the manifest that had been received in this accounting office, an exact copy of the one sent by the first route directly to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, in accordance with H.M.'s regulations.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Manila, 31 August 1776.

Your sincere servants who kiss the hands of Your Graces,

José Antonio de Garzaval Francisco Gomez Enriquez

[To their] Lordships, the Royal officials of the Royal treasury in the City of Mexico.

---

## Documents 1776B

---

### Documents regarding Governor Ceraín in 1776

#### B1. Official letter of appointment, dated Madrid 14 July 1776

*Source: AGI Fil. 344, libro 14, fol. 19-22, pp. 83-89 (formerly 105-2-16).*

*Notes: The text of the letter is virtually the same as that for Governor Coronado (see Doc. 1748A). It is worth noting that this salary remained unchanged for one century, ever since Master-of-Camp Saravia was appointed first official Governor.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Titulo de Governador de las Islas Marianas para Don Phelipe Cerain, Capitan del Regimiento Fixo de Infanteria de la Plaza de Manila. V.M. lo mandó. Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Pedro Garcia Mayorál y firmado de los Señores Arco, Casafonda, y Dominguez.*

*Don Carlos por la Gracia de Dios, &a.*

*Por quanto en atencion al merito de vos Don Phelipe Cerain, Capitan de Regimiento Fixo de Infanteria de la Plaza de Manila, hé venido por mi Real Decreto de 29 de Junio de este año en conferir en propiedad el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, que ós hallais sirviendo interinamente en virtud de nombramiento de mi Governador de Philipinas. Por tanto mando à este, y al Presidente y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la referida Ciudad de Manila, que tomen, y recivan de vos el nominado Don Phelipe Cerain el Juramento acostumbrado, si ya no le hubiereis hecho, con la solemnidad, que en tal caso se requiere, y debeis hacer de que bien, y cumplidamente servireis el Mencionado Gobierno; y que habiendole executado, y puestose testimonio de ello à espaldas de este Titulo ós entreguen los Despachos, è Instrucciones que se huvieren dado à vuestros antecesores, dando la residencia en la referida mi Real Audiencia de Philipinas. Y assimismo ordeno al enunciado Presidente, y Oidores de ella, y à los demás Jueces, y Ministros de los Tribunales de aquellas Islas, y à los Vecinos, y Moradores de la Jurisdiccion del enunciado Gobierno de las Islas Marianas que os hayan, y tengan por tal Governador de ellas; y ós guarden, y hagan guardar todas las honras, gracias, mercedes, inmunidades, prerrogativas, exempciones, y preeminencias, que os tocan, sin limitacion alguna. Y tambien mando que se ós asista con ciento y diez pesos de sueldo al mes, que es el que está asignado à este empleo, pagandoseos de los efectos*

*de mi Real Hacienda, y à los tiempos, y plazos à se satisficieren los sueldos de la gente de Guerra del Presidio de las nominadas Islas Marianas, desde el dia en que tomareis posesion en adelante por todo el tiempo que sirviereis el expresado Gobierno; que en virtud de este Titulo ó su traslado signado de Escrivano Publico, y vuestras Cartas de pago será bien dado todo lo que por esta razón se ós satisficere sin otro recaudo alguno; y declaro que por esta Merced, y por el sueldo que habeis de gozar no debeis cantidad alguna al derecho de la Media Annata respecto de que tengo declarados por de guerra viva los empleos Militares de los Presidios de mis Reynos de las Indias, y no causarla los que me sirven en ellos.*

*Y de este mi Real Titulo se tomará la razón en las contadurias generales, de Valores, Distribucion de mi Real Hacienda, y de mi Consejo de las Indias dentro de dos meses de su data, y no executando assi quedará nula esta gracia; y tambien se tomará por los del expresado Gobierno, sinó que las causas que se ofrecieren las remitais à aquel Governador, excepto en los casos inescusables, y precisos, y en estos será à costa de los que lo pidieren con apercivimiento de que de lo contrario se proveerá de remedio.*

*Fha en Madrid à 14 de Julio de 1776.*

### **Translation.**

Letter of appointment as Governor of the Mariana Islands for Don Felipe Ceraín, Captain of the standing Regiment of Infantry of the garrison of Manila. As ordered by Y.M. Countersigned by His Lordship the Secretary, Don Pedro García Mayoral and signed by the following Gentlemen [of the Council of the Indies]: Arco, Casafonda, and Dominguez.

Don Fernando by the grace of God, etc.

Dear Don Felipe Ceraín, Captain of the standing Regiment of Infantry of the garrison of Manila: In view of thine merits, I have decided by my Royal decree of 29 June last to grant thee the post of official Governor of the Mariana Islands, a post in which you have been serving on an interim basis by virtue of an appointment made by my Governor of the Philippines. Consequently, I order him my Governor and the President and Members of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila, to take and receive from thee, the above-mentioned Felipe Ceraín, the customary oath, if they have not already done so, with the solemnity that is required in such cases, thou swearing to serve well and faithfully in the above-said post of Governor. Once this will have been done, and a testimony thereof placed on the reverse side of this letter of appointment, they must also deliver to thee the despatches and instructions that might have been given to your predecessors, subject to a management audit by the above-mentioned my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands.

In addition, I order the above-mentioned President and Members of it, and the other Judges and Ministers of the Tribunals of those Islands, and the residents of the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government of the Mariana Islands, to observe and make others observe all of the honors, favors, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions, and pre-eminences belonging to thee, without any restriction whatever. And I also order

them to assist thee with one hundred and ten pesos of salary per month, which is the one assigned to this position, paying it to thee out of the momeys in my Royal treasury, and at the same times and frequencies as for the salaries of the military men of the garrison of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, from the day in which thou shall take possession of it forward, for the whole time period in which thou shall serve in the above-mentioned post of Governor; and by virtue of this letter of appointment, or a copy of it certified by a notary public, plus your pay record card, should be considered ample and sufficient authorization to collect same, without any other proof being required; and I declare that for this favor and for the salary that thou shall enjoy, thou shall not have to pay any sum in excise tax, or so-called Media Annata, because I have declared the military positions in the garrisons of my Kingdoms of the Indies as situated in war zones, and it does not apply to those who serve there.

And the Accountants General in the pay sections of my Royal treasuries are to take note of the present my Royal letter of appointment, within two months of its date, as otherwise that favor will become null and void, and also the the accountants of the above-mentioned Government, with the exception that if legal cases might arise, you are to remit them to that Governor, except when absolutely necessary in urgent cases, but these are to be at the expense of those who request them, to be collected separately from anything that might be charged in sentencing.

Made at Madrid, 14 July 1776.

## **B2. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 14 July 1776**

*Source: As above.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas, ordenandole haga dar posesion del Gobierno de las Islas Marianas à Don Phelipe Cerain, Capitan del Regimiento fixo de Infanteria de la Plaza de Manila.—Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Pedro Garcia Mayoral.*

*El Rey.*

*Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas, y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por mi Real Título de fecha de este dia hé hecho Merced à Don Phelipe Cerain, Capitan del Regimiento fijo de Infanteria de esa Plaza, del Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, en la forma que por el citado Título lo entenderéis; y por que mi voluntad es que no se ponga embarazo al entero, y puntual cumplimiento de esta Merced, ni se dilate la posesion con ningun pretexto, ni motivo, segun y por las razones que se expresan en el mencionado Título, hé querido participaroslo para que lo observeis precisamente (como os lo mando) y me deis cuenta de haberse executado, para hallarme enterado de ello.*

*Fha en Madrid à 14 de Julio de 1776.*

**Translation.**

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to arrange for the governorship of the Mariana Islands to be given to Don Felipe Ceraín, Captain of the standing Regiment of Infantry of the garrison of Manila.—Countersigned by His Lordship the Secretary, Don Pedro García Mayoral.

The King.

[To the] Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, residing in the City of Manila.

By this my Royal letter of appointment of this date, I have favored Don Felipe Ceraín, Captain of the standing Regiment of Infantry of that garrison, with the governorship of the Mariana Islands, in the form that you will see in said letter of appointment. And since it is my will that there be no hindrance to the complete and ready compliance with this favor, there shall be no delay or pretext, nor excuse, in so doing, for the reasons expressed in said document, I have decided to let you know of it, so that you observe it precisely (as I order you to do now) and you are to report to me on action taken, so that I may be kept fully informed.

Made at Madrid, 14 July 1776.

**B3. Letter from Governor Ceraín to Viceroy Bucarelí, dated 15 January 1776**

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 84-85.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Acapulco y Enero 15 de 1776*

*El Governador de Islas Marianas.*

[Nota:] *Acompaña el Duplicado de la carta que dirigió por el Puerto de la Navidad.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Por el Puerto de Navidad, doi quenta à V.E. de mi venida a este Reyno en la presente Fragata S. Joseph con el fin de regresarme en ella, para tomar posesion del Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas; cuio duplicado con el maior respecto pongo en manos de V.E.*

*Con este motibo, y el de haver llegado à este Puerto, me ofrezco de nuebo con todo rendimiento a las ordenes de V.E., deseando siempre tener el honor de servirle y complazerle.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco y Enero 15 de 1776.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m. de V.Ex. su mas rendido servidor*

*Phelipe de Ceraín.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. B° Fr. D. Antonio Bucarelí y Ursua.*

**Translation.**

Acapulco, 15 January 1776.

The Governor of the Mariana Islands.

[Note:] He sends the duplicate of the letter that he mailed from the port of Navidad.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

Through the port of Navidad, I let Y.E. know about my visit to this Kingdom aboard this year's galleon, the **San José**, for the purpose of returning aboard her, in order to take possession of the government of the Mariana Islands. The present is a duplicate of that letter with I submit to Y.E.

For this reason, and that of having arrived at this port, I once again humbly place myself at the orders of Y.E., and wish as always to have the honor to serve you and please you.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 15 January 1776.

Your Excellency.

Your most devoted servant, who kisses the hand of Y.E.,

Felipe de Ceraín.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucarelí y Ursua.

**B4. Letter from Governor Ceraín, dated Navidad 3 January 1776**

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 87-87v; copy in 86-86v.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*El Yllustrisimo Señor D. Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas, a concequencia de una Real orden, para que el Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas se sirva por oficial del exercito, tubo la bondad de nombrarme para este destino en 7 de Maio proximo pasado, ordenandome berificase mi embarque en esta Fragata, afin de que a su regreso del Puerto de Acapulco pueda pocesionarme del mismo empleo, dando quenta con Testimonio de haverlo executado; respecto a que no habiendo Pilotos ni embarcasion en Manila con que poder mandarme en derecha a dichas Yslas, y por los àorros [sic] de la Real Hazienda en los gastos que precisamente devia hacerse, era indispensable mi transporte en la presente ocasion.*

*Con este motibo, parte del Abio ordinario que suele llevarse a las expresadas Yslas Marianas para sus naturales, viene en esta Fragata en partida de Registro con prevenccion de que en Acapulco se mantenga en poder del cavallero y oficiales reales para embarcarlo al regreso, y dexarlo entrar Yslas Marianas.*



*Por las ulimas cartas del Gobernador del presidio de Zambuanga con fecha de 5 de maio ultimo se tubo la cierta noticia tambien de que dos datos del Reino de Jolo con trecientos hombres de refacion dieron un asalto a los ingleses establecidos en las Yslas de Balanbangan, obligando a estos que desocuparen aquel establecimiento; salvandose el gobernaor ingles con pocos de los suyos, haciendose a la Vela fugitivo dexando muertos algunos soldados de la tropa Europea, y Sipaes quedando en poder de dicho Datos la Ysla Fortaleza, y poblacion inglesa con un Barco, dos pontones, y cantidad considerable de armas, municiones de guerra y otros efectos: cuya noticia doy a Y.E. por considerarla digna de su acreditada celo al servicio del rey.*

*Este largo viaje para mi destino me proporciona la apreciable ocacion de ofrecerme con el maior reconocimiento a las superiores ordenes de V.E. deseoso de que en este Reyno ó en otra cualquiera parte me honrre con sus preceptos.*

*Nuestro Señor que Guarde a V.E. muchos a\$os.*

*Abordo de la fragata **San Joseph** a la vista del Puerto de Navidad y Enero 3 de 1776.  
Exmo. Se\$or.*

*Besa la Mano de Y.E. su mas rendido servidor*

*Phelipe de Ceraín.*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor B° Fr. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua.*

## Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

The Most Illustrious Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, as a consequence of a Royal order to appoint an army officer to the post of Governor of the Mariana Islands, was kind enough to appoint me to this post on May 7th of last year. He also ordered me to board this frigate, in order to be able to take possession of said post, during her return voyage from the port of Acapulco, and I was to send him a proof that I did so. The reason for this was the lack of pilots and vessels in Manila, in order to send me directly to said Islands, and also in order to save money to the Royal treasury by avoiding the expenses that would necessarily have been made, it was inevitable to arrange my transport aboard the present galleon.

That is why part of the ordinary supplies that are usually despatched to the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, for their natives, are aboard this frigate, under a separate entry on the manifest, and are earmarked for safe-keeping by the warden and the royal officials, for eventual reloading and delivery at said Mariana Islands.

Through the last letters from the Governor of the garrison of Zamboanga, dated May 5th of last year, the news was confirmed that two datus of the Kingdom of Jolo had, with 300 spare men, attacked the English who had settled in the Islands of Balanbangan, forcing them to abandon that settlement. The English governor saved himself, along with a few of his people, by sailing off, leaving behind some dead soldiers, Europeans as well as Sepoys. Said datus took over the island fortress, the English town, plus one ship, two hulks, and a considerable quantity of weapons, war munitions and other

effects. I pass on this news to Y.E., because I consider it worthy of your known zeal in the service of the king.

This long voyage toward my destination gives me the appreciable opportunity of offering myself with the greatest of gratitudes to the superior orders of Y.E., and I hope that you will honor me with your mandates in this Kingdom or anywhere else.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the frigate **San José** in view of the port of Navidad, 3 January 1776.

Your Excellency.

The most humble servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Felipe de Ceraín.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

## **B5. Letter from Governor Ceraín, dated Agaña 15 November 1776**

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 375.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Recibida el 1 de octubre.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*Mui señor mio.*

*El día 6 de Junio ultimo tome posesión del empleo de Gobernador de estas Yslas, y lo aviso a V.E. en cumplimiento de mi obligacion, para que se sirva nomvrame con el seguro de que en este destino y otro qualquiera apetesco tener el honor de que V.E. conosca por ellas mi ciega obediencia y deseos de servirle y complacerle.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianaas y Noviembre 15 de 1776.*

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*Besa la mano de Y.E. su mas rendido servidor*

*Phelipe de Cerain*

*[Al] Ylustrísimo Señor Baylio D. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua.*

### **Translation.**

Received on 1 October [1777].

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

On 6th June last, I took possession of the post of Governor of these islands, and I so advise Y.E. in compliance of my duty, so that you may call on me with the certainty that in this and any other post I long to have the honor to prove to Y.E. my blind obedience and my wishes to serve you and please you.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña, capital of the Mariana Islands, 15 November 1776.

Your Excellency.

The most humble servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Felipe de Cerain

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fr. Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

## **B6. Acknowledgment of the Viceroy**

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 376.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Estimo la atencion con que en carta de 15 de Noviembre de 1776 me participa V.m. haver tomado el dia 6 de Junio del mismo posecion del empleo de Gobernador de esas Yslas, y deseando que en todos destinos logre V.m. las maiores sstisfacciones, pido a Dios &a.*

*Mexico 26 de Febrero de 1778.*

[A] *Sr. Don Phelipe de Cerain, San Ygnacio de Agaña.*

### **Translation.**

I am grateful to you for your kind letter dated 15 November 1776 in which Your Grace lets me know about your having taken possession of the governorship of those Islands on 6 June of that year. I hope that Your Grace will enjoy great successes in all of your posts and beg God, etc.

Mexico, 26 February 1778.

[To] Don Felipe de Cerain, San Ignacio de Agaña.

---

## Document 1776C

---

# Population of the Marianas in 1776

*Source: AGI Fil. 1052.*

## Report of the Recollect Fathers, dated 18 June 1776

### Original text in Spanish.

*Año de 1776. N° 1.*

*Testimonio de las Listas exividas por los R.R. y Devotos P.P. Provinciales de las quatro Sagradas Religiones de los Ministerios, y Misiones, que administran Doctrinas sus Subditos en las Provincias de estas Islas y en los Imperios de China.*

*Fray Juan de San Augustin Provincial de Recoletos.*

*Yllustrisimo Señor.*

*El Provincial de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Augustinos Descalzos de estas Yslas Philipinas, cumpliendo con la obligacion que tiene de Ynformar â V.Señoria Yllustrisima annualmente el estado de su Provincia, segun y como esta mandado poor su Magestad (Dios le guarde) dice, que toda la Administracion de dicha su Provincia en que se hallan enpleados cinquenta y seis Religiosos es como se sigue:*

...

<i>Islas Marianas</i>	<i>Almas</i>
<i>Ciudad de Agaña .....</i>	<i>01250</i>
<i>Pueblo de Antigua [sic] .....</i>	<i>00120</i>
<i>Visita de Asan .....</i>	<i>00052</i>
<i>Visita de Tipungan .....</i>	<i>00040</i>
<i>Visita de Sinahaña .....</i>	<i>00074</i>
<i>Visita de Mongmong ....</i>	<i>00062</i>
<i>Visita de Apurgan .....</i>	<i>00054</i>
<i>Visita de Pago .....</i>	<i>00114</i>
<i>Pueblo de Agat .....</i>	<i>00320</i>
<i>Pueblo de Merizo .....</i>	<i>00214</i>
<i>Pueblo de Ynarajan ....</i>	<i>00220</i>
<i>Pueblo de Umata .....</i>	<i>00300</i>
<i>Pueblo de Rota .....</i>	<i>00330</i>

...

*Suma total, Marianas . 3150 Almas.*

***El numero de Religiosos que al presente se hallan en esta Provincia, su edad empleos, y Patria es como se sigue:***

...

***Yslas Marianas.***

*—El Padre Fray Andres de San Joseph natural de Cañaverl Obispado de Caría de hedad de treinta y seis años Ministro de Agaña.*

*—El Padre Fray Antonio de la Concepcion Natural de Alia Arzobispado de Toledo de hedad de treinta y tres años Vicario en Marianas.*

*—El Padre Frai Thomas de Santa Rita Natural de Matanas Arzobispado de Santiago de hedad de treinta y dos años Vicario en Marianas.*

*—El Padre Fray Christobal de San Onofre Natural de Alama Obispado de Tarasona de hedad de treinta y un años Vicario en Marianas.*

*—El Padre Frai Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar Natural de Forcas Arzobispado de Zaragoza de hedad de treinta y tres años, Vicario en Marianas.*

...

*Todos los Religiosos arriva expresados hacen el Numero de ochenta y nueve Religiosos de estos ay algunos achacosos è inposivilitados de servir administracion tan penoso como la Nuestra por lo remoto, y disperso, y por las invaciones de los Moros. Y esto è lo que al presente puedo informar a V.Señoria Yllustrisima quedando siempre con el Cuidado de dar parte en adelante de lo que acaeciese, y con la precisa obligacion de rogar a Dios Nuestro Señor prospere por muchos años la importante vida de V.Señoria Yllustrisima muchos y dilatados años.*

*Convento de San Nicolas a dies y ocho de Junio de setenta y seis.*

*Fray Juan de San Agustin Provincial de Recoletos.*

**Translation.**

**Year of 1776. Nº 1.**

Official copy of the List exhibited by the Reverend and Devout Provincials of the four Sacred Orders of the Ministries and Missions where their subjects, in their Provinces in these Islands and in the Empire of China, teach religion.

Most Illustrious Sir: .

The Provincial of the Province of St. Nicholas of the Discalced Augustinians of these Philippine Islands, to comply with the obligation of informing Your Most Illustrious Lordship yearly regarding the state of the Province, in accordance with the dictates of H.M. (may God save him), declares that the whole administration of said Province, in which a total of 56 Religious are employed, is as follows:

...

<b>Mariana Islands</b>	<b>Souls</b>
City of Agaña .....	1,250
Church of Anigua .....	120
Visit of Asan .....	52
Visit of Tipungan .....	40
Visit of Sinahaña .....	74
Visit of Mongmong .....	62
Visit of Apurguan .....	54
Visit of Pago .....	114
Church of Agat .....	320
Church of Merizo .....	214
Church of Inarajan .....	220
Church of Umatac .....	300
Church of Rota .....	330
...	
Grand total, Marianas	3,150 Souls.

**The number of Religious who are presently found in this Province, their ages, employments, and birthplaces, are as follows:**

...

#### **Mariana Islands.**

—Father Fray Andrés [Blasquez] de San José, born in Cañaverál, Diocese of Caría [=Soria?], 36 years old, Curate of Agaña.

—Father Fray Antonio [Sanchez] de la Concepción, born in Alia, Archdiocese of Toledo, 33 years old, Vicar in the Marianas.

—Father Fray Tomás [Caxaraville] de Santa Rita, born in Matanas [=Betanzos?], Archdiocese of Santiago, 32 years old, Vicar in the Marianas.

—Father Fray Cristobal [Ibañez] de San Onofre, born in Alama [=Alhama], Diocese of Tarazona, 31 years old, Vicar in the Marianas.

—Father Fray Pedro [Torres] de la Virgen del Pilar, born in Forcas [or Foreas], Archdiocese of Zaragoza, 33 years old, Vicar in the Marianas.

...

All of the Religious mentioned above make a total of 89 Religious. Among them are some who are too sick or invalid to serve in a rough administration such as ours, one that is remote, scattered and subject to attacks by the Moors. And, this being what I can at present inform Your Most Illustrious Lordship, I remain obliged to report any occurrence in future and with the necessary obligation to pray God to lengthen the important life of Your Most Illustrious Lordship for many long years.

Convent of San Nicolás, 18 June 1776.

Fray Juan de San Agustín, Provincial of the Recollects.

---

 Documents 1776D
 

---

## Voyage of the galleon San José in 1776

### D1. Letter from the Royal officials at Acapulco, dated 7 February 1776

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 246-246v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Castellano y Oficiales Reales dan noticia de la visita de fondeo que hicieron á la Fragata **San Joseph**, ya que se esta carenando para el torna viaje.*

*Ayer hicimos la visita de fondeo á la Fragata de Filipinas **San Josseph de Gracia**; y á consecuencia de las ordenes expedidas por V.E. para que esta embarcación verifique su salida de este Puerto el dia 25 del mes proximo, tenemos dadas por nuestra parte la providencia correpondiente á su carena, procurando se execute con la posible brevedad, y el mayor ahorro de la Real Hacienda: cuya noticia damos a V.E deseando al mismo tiempo que Nuestro Señor dilate su importante vida muchos años.*

*Acapulco 7 de Febrero de 1776.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*Domingo Elizondo Estevan de la Carrera Bartolome Pico Palacios*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor B<sup>o</sup> Fr. Francisco de Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.*

#### Translation.

The Warden and Royal Officials give notice that they have made the regular inspection of the frigate **San José**, now that she is being careened for the return voyage.

Yesterday we carried out the regular inspection of the Philippine frigate **San José de Gracia** and, as a consequence of the orders issued by Y.E. for this vessel to effectively depart from this port on the 25th of next month, we have taken the steps required of us to arrange for her carenage, to be done as fast as possible and at the least coast to the Royal treasury. We let Y.E. know of this, and take the opportunity to wish that Our Lord save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 7 February 1776.

Your Excellency.

Domingo Elizondo Estevan de la Carrera Bartolomé Pico Palacios

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

## D2. Another letter from the Royal officials at Acapulco, dated 31 March 1776

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol 213-213v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Acapulco 31 de Marzo de 1776. Los Oficiales Reales piden nuevamente licencia para transferirse a México.*

*Respecto á que en carta privada damos cuenta á V.E. de que la Fragata **Filipina Sn. Joseph de Gracia** salió ayer de este Puerto, ya que V.E. en respuesta de 20 del que expira nos previno que despues de haberse echo á la vela la expresada embarcación agitemos la solicitud de su superior licencia para transferirnos á esa Capital, lo ejecutamos ahora suplicando rendidas a V.E se sirva concedernosla, mediante á que quando nos llegue ya tendremos evacuadas todas las funciones que regulen aqui nuestro personal asistencia.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V. E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 31 de Marzo de 1776.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*Estevan de la Carrera Bartolome Pico Palacios*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor Bº Fr. Antonio Bucareli y Ursua,*

### Translation.

Acapulco, 31 March 1776. The Royal officials are asking once again for permission to return to Mexico.

Given that in our confidential letter we reported to Y.E. that the Philippine frigate **San José de Gracia** left this port yesterday, and that Y.E., in your answer of the 20th extant, told us to renew our request for your superior permission as soon as said vessel had sailed, for us to return to that Capital, we do so now, humbly begging Y.E. to be pleased to grant it to us, since we should have completed all of our regular functions by the time it reaches us.

Acapulco, 31 March 1776.

Your Excellency.

Estevan de la Carrera Bartolomé Pico Palacios

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.

## D3. Letter from the Royal Officials at Acapulco regarding the cargo loaded aboard the San José

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 306-307.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Acapulco 31 de Marzo de 1776.*



**45.**

*Castellano y Oficiales Reales avisan la salida de la Nao Filipina, y remiten Nota de los caudales y frutos que lleva registrados.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Ayer á las quatro de la tarde salíá de este Puerto con viento fresco la Fragata de S.M. nombrada **San Joseph de Gracia** al mando de su General D. Antonio Pacheco. La carga que lleva registrada á su bordo asi del Rey, como de Particulares consta en la adjunta Nota que dirigimos á manos de V.E., deseando que Nuestro Señor guarde su importante vida muchos años.*

*Acapulco 31 de Marzo de 1776.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Domingo Elizondo Estevan de la Carrera Bartolomé Pico Palacios.*

*[A] Exmo. Sor. B° Fr. Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.*

**Nota**

*De los caudales, y frutos que lleva registrados de cuenta de S.M. y Particulares, la Fragata **San José de Gracia** que salió de este Puerto para las Yslas Filipinas el dia treinta del corriente mes, y año.*

<i>De cuenta del Rey</i>	296,530p	3.3-1/2
<i><b>Del Situado de Marianas</b></i>	<b>. 18,054p</b>	<b>2.00</b>
<i>De Sinodos de Misiones, y Limosna</i>	20,017p	4.00
<i>Del Permiso del Comercio de Manila</i>	991,927p	4.00
<i>Del Dinero de buelto á dicho Comercio</i>	56,320p	6.00
<i>De resagos del año de 775</i>	273,449p	0.04
<i>Ydem del de 74</i>	17,436p	0.00
<i>Ydem del de 67</i>	153,625p	7.36
<i>De Embarcos Extraordinarios</i>	.. 3,500p	6.00
<i>Del valor de los Frutos</i>	50,141p	4.00

-----  
1.881,003p 5.01-1/2  
-----

*Suma del dinero, y valor de los Frutos registrados un millon, ochocientos, ochenta y un mil tres pesos, cinco tomines, uno, y medio granos.*

*Acapulco 31 de Marzo de 1776.*

*Carrera Pico.*

**Translation.**

Acapulco, 31 March 1776.

**N° 45.**

The Warden and Royal officials advise the departure of the Philippine galleon, and remit the Note of the funds and profits that she carries on her manifest.

Your Excellency.

Yesterday at 4 p.m. H.M. Frigate named **San José de Gracia** left this port under the command of her General Don Antonio Pacheco. According to her manifest, the cargo that she carries, for the King as well as for individuals, is listed on the attached Note that we address to Y.E., wishing that Our Lord may save your important life for many years.

Acapulco, 31 March 1776.

Your Excellency.

Domingo Elizondo Estevan de la Carrera Bartolomé Pico Palacios

### Note

Regarding the funds and profits carried on behalf of the H.M. and individuals on the manifest of the frigate **San José de Gracia** which left this port for the Philippine Islands on the 31st of the current month, and year.

Belonging to the King	296,530p	3.3-1/2
<b>Subsidies of the Marianas</b>	<b>18,054p</b>	<b>2.00</b>
Allowances and alms for the Missions	20,017p	4.00
From the Permit of the Traders of Manila	991,927p	4.00
Cash being returned to said Traders	56,320p	6.00
Leftovers from 1775	273,449p	0.04
Idem for 1774	17,436p	0.00
Idem for 1767	153,625p	7.36
From extraordinary freight	3,500p	6.00
Value of the profits	50,141p	4.00

-----  
**1.881,003p 5.01-1/2**  
 -----

Sum of the money and value of the profits registered: one million, eight hundred eighty one thousand and three pesos, five tomins, and 1-1/2 grains.

Acapulco, 31 March 1776.

Carrera Pico

---

## Document 1777A

---

# The College of Guam is officially turned over to the Recollect Fathers

*Sources: AGI Fil. 337, libro 19, fol. 216v-218, pp. 512-515; copy in Colección Pastells, Fil. 14, fol. 280v-281.*

## Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Aranjuez 23 April 1777

### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Philipinas, participandole averse aprobado la providencia que dió su antecesor para que el Gobierno espiritual del Seminario establecido en las Islas Marianas corra à cargo de los Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos; y ordenandole lo demás que se expresa.—Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Tananco.*

*El Rey*

*Don Joseph Basco, Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Philipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*En carta de 15 de Julio de 1771 dió cuenta vuestro antecesor Don Simon de Anda y Salazar de que aviendo quedado sin Directores el Seminario establecido en las Islas Marianas para la educacion de sus naturales, con motivo de la expulsion de los Regulares de la Compañia, á cuyo cargo estaba, puso al cuidado de los Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos su direccion espiritual y enseñanza, y al del Gobernador de aquel Distrito lo perteneciente à lo temporal, por ser mas conveniente que este manejo recuyese en persona que estuviese sujeta à dar cuenta de la inversion de sus rentas; y concluyó diciendo tenia pasados los oficios correspondientes con el Virrey de la Nueva España para que los 3,000 pesos, que están situados annualmente en las Reales Caxas de Mexico para la manutencion del expresado seminario los entregase al nominado Gobernador de las Islas Marianas, ó à la persona, que nombrase; todo lo qual concluyó. diciendo ponia en mi Real noticia por si merecia mi Real aprovacion.*

*Y visto en mi Consejo de las Indias, con lo que en su inteligencia, y de lo informado por la Contaduria general, expuso mi Fiscal, há parecido aprobar, como por la presente mi Real Cedula apruevo lo providenciado en el particular de que se trata por el mencionado vuestro antecesor Don Simón de Anda y Salazar, entendiendose que la dis-*

*tribucion de los 3,000 pesos consignados al expresado seminario, se hà de ejecutar vajo las ordenes del Governador de las Islas Marianas por el Pagador, y que este haya de presentar, y presente cuenta formal, y instruida en la Contaduria principal de esa Capital para que glosada y examinada por ella se remita con las demás de Real Hacienda à la general del expresado mi Consejo, y en su consecuencia os ordeno, y mando deis las disposiciones convenientes para que se cumpla, y observe puntualmente esta mi Real determinacion en la forma, que va referido; por ser asi mi voluntad, y que de este Despacho se tome razon en la mencionada Contaduria general.*

*Fecha en Aranjuez à 23 de Abril de 1777.*

*Yo el Rey.*

### **Translation.**

To the Governor of the Philippines, to let him know of the approval of the measure taken by his predecessor to have the spiritual administration of the Seminary established in the Mariana Islands be under the care of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers, and ordering him to do other things mentioned therein.—Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Tananco.

The King.

Don José Basco, Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia, residing in the City of Manila.

In a letter dated 15 July 1771, your predecessor, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, reported that the Seminary established in the Mariana Islands for the education of their natives having remained without directors, on account of the expulsion of the Regular members of the Society, in whose care it was, he placed its spiritual direction and teaching under the care of the Augustinian Recollect Fathers, but he had reserved its temporal affairs to the Governor of that district, since it would be more appropriate to have a person that would be responsible to reporting on the investment of its trust funds; he concluded by saying that he had forwarded the corresponding documents to the Viceroy of New Spain, in order to have the 3,000 pesos, that are earmarked as its annual subsidy in the Royal treasury of Mexico for the maintenance of the above-mentioned seminary, delivered to the above-said Governor of the Mariana Islands, or to the person whom he might appoint; all of which he concluded, by saying, that he was bringing same to my Royal notice, in case it deserved my Royal approval.

And this matter having been seen in my Council of the Indies, in view of the information contained therein, along with the opinion of my Fiscal, after he had consulted the Accountant General, I have decided to approve, as I by the present my Royal decree do approve, the measures taken in this specific matter by your predecessor, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, with the understanding that the distribution of the 3,000 pesos assigned to the above-mentioned seminary must be done under the orders of the Governor of the Mariana Islands by the paymaster, and that the latter must present a formal accounting report, as instructed by the main Accounting office of that Capital, so that it would appear there as a separate entry and form part of the other accounts

of the Royal treasury appearing in the general report submitted to my Council, and therefore, I order you to make the appropriate arrangements to have this my Royal decision complied with and observed exactly, in the form prescribed above, as such is my will. My registry is to advise the above-mentioned Accountant General.

Made at Aranjuez, 23 April 1777.

I the King.

---

## Documents 1777B

---

# The king wants the galleons to sail north of Luzon

## B1. Royal decree dated San Lorenzo 25 October 1777

*Source: AGI Fil. 645, file n° 21.*

*Note: Reproduced in relation with the despatch of the galleon San José to Acapulco by the northern Luzon route in 1779.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Año de 1779. C.N. 21. Testimonio del expediente creado sobre el efectivo cumplimiento de la Real Orden fecha en San Lorenzo à 25 de Octubre de 1777 que previene que las Naos de este Comercio hagan su navegacion por le nuevo derrotero del Cavo de Bogeador, y de Engaño, y salgan en los días que expresa, assi de este Puerto, como el de Acapulco.***

...

*Real Orden.*

*Señor Governador de Philipinas.*

*Afin de precaver las continuas perdidas y arrivadas qe han padecido los Buques del anual rexistro de esas Yslas, y los enormes perjuicios que por consiguiente han sufrido el real Erario, y Comercio de ellas, desde que se practica la navegacion a ida, y buelta de Acapulco, por el estrecho de San Bernardino, a causa de los muchos escollos que en el hay, y ser continuas las tormentas que se experimentan en esos mares, en las estaciones en que es indispensable executar los Viages, se sirvio el Rey, despues de bien examinado el asunto, mandar por Real Orden de primero de Enero de mill setecientos setenta y uno comunicada al antecesor de V.S. D. Simon de Anda se practicase el Viaje de ida a Acapulco por el Cabo Bojeador, y el del Engaño, saliendo de esa Bahía en todo el mes de Junio, y sele acompaño para su observancia copia del derrotero formado por la Junta de oficiales, y primeros Pilotos de la Real Armada que a este intento se celebró en Cadiz en el Mes de Diciembre de setecientos y setenta: y aunque en el se decia, que siempre que se verificase por qualquiera motivo que pudiera acaeser, la Salida de Acapulco antes del primero de Febrero, devia preferirse la navegacion desde Marianas, en demanda del Cabo del Engaño; se previno, sin embargo, en la citada Real Orden, que el regreso de Acapulco se practicase por le Embocadero de San Bernardino, aten-*

*diendo a que la salida de dicho Puerto, determinada en Marzo obligaba a seguir esta antigua derrota.*

*En Carta de veinte y ocho de Noviembre del mismo año de setenta y uno avisó el enunciado Gobernador el recivo de la citada Real Orden y derrotero que con ella se acompañó, expresando haver suspendido su cumplimiento à instancea de ese Comercio, hasta que se hiciese el reconocimiento de los mares, y costas de los mencionados Cabos Bojeador, y del Engaño, con Buque proporcionado, sin carga; y aunque en posteriores cartas de trece de Julio de setecientos setenta y dos y ocho de Enero de setenta y tres dio quenta el nuevo Gobernador de haver dispuesto se havilitase para aquel efecto el Paquebot de S.M. el **Rosario**, y verificado este Buque el Viaxe à Marianas por el nuevo rumbo al cargo del primero Piloto de la Real Armada D. Josseph Rodriguez Montenegro, expresando no haver experimentado descalabro[,] enfermedad grave a su bordo, ni hallado desde la ultima vista del Cabo del Engaño, Ysla[,] Bajo, señal de fondo ni cosa notable, y si vientos varios bonancibles con corrientes de poca consideracion, y que con este conocimiento haria que las Naos con el rexistro de la permission de este Comercio practicasen sus viages por el mismo nuevo rumbo, pues ya no mediaba motivo alguno de recelo; se ha continuado sin embargo hasta oy el antiguo derrotero ignorandose la Causa de ello. Y teniendo S.M. presente las recientes perdidas de las Fragatas **San Carlos**, y **Concepción**, aquella incendiada con toda la carga, por efecto de un Rayo, en el Puerto de Cavite, donde estubo detenida por no haverle permitido el tiempo su salida, y està a su regreso de Acapulco por el temporal que le entró en Marianas, y la llegada del Navio **San Jossef** en su tornaviage del mismo Puerto, habiendo tenido que imbernar en el de Sorsogon hasta el cambio de la Monson, para poder entrar en esa Bahía[,] hà resuelto, conformandose con el dictamen de la nueva Junta de Oficiales, y Pilotos de la Armada, celebrada en la Ysla de Leon en trece del presente mes de Octubre, que sin admitir recurso, ni suplica alguna que aun pueda intentar ese Comercio, por no conocer el Origen de los Males que padece, ni su mismo beneficio a que se dirige esta disposicion, tome V.S. las mas estrechas providencias para que precisamente se practique la Navegacion à Acapulco, segun y como se acordó en la anterior citada Junta del mes de Diciembre del año de setecientos y setenta, y derrotero que en ella se formó y remetio para su observancia con la Real Orden de primero de Enero del siguiente año de setenta y uno con solo la adiccion de que la salida de esa Bahía, ha de ser a mediados de Mayo, y no en primero de Junio, como en dicha Junta, y derrotero se prefixo, y que la de Acapulco se anticipe a mediados de Enero, para que la Nao pueda dexar en las Yslas Marianas el Situado respectivo a ellas, sin que resulte nuevo gasto al Erario en la havilitacion de otro Buque para su embio, ni dexé dicha Nao de montar el Cabo Bojeador en las estaciones oportunas: por cuio medio no solo se evitarran los riesgos, y considerables perdidas que el Real Erario y el Comercio han padecido en la antigua Navegacion; sino que se lograrian las conocidas ventajas que en la nueva derrota ofrecen los Puertos de S. Francisco y Monterrey nuebamente establecidos, y poblados en la costa de California para entrar en uno de ellos a los tres [sic] meses de Viage, y refrescar la aguada[,] viveres, y tripulacion, evitando las enfermedades que son*

*consiguientes en las largas navegaciones, y esperando en qualquiera de ellos la estacion propia para seguir el Viage à Acapulco, adelantando por tierra desde aquel Puerto en que se haga escala el aviso al Virrey de Nueva España con los pliegos del Real Servicio, y Cartas de los Particulares para que recibiendo anticipadas las noticias relativas al Comercio, no haya detencion en celebrarse la Feria o Venta de los efectos, y se disponga el rancho para el regreso à Manila. Todo lo qual prevengo a V.S. de Orden de S.M. para que disponga su puntual observancia en la parte que le toca, en la inteligencia de que se avisa con esta fecha al Virrey de Nueva España esta resolucion para que por la suya tenga ygual cumplimiento, y espera S.M. del celo de V.S. se dedicara con el teson que corresponde a remover todos los obstaculos que hayan embarasado o puedan impedir el cumplimiento de esta bien meditada determinacion[;] pues su Real animo es que V.S. la lleve apuro, y devido efecto, dando quenta de ello, y de quanto practicare en el asunto para su Real noticia.*

*Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.*

*San Lorenzo veinte y cinco de Octubre de mill setecientos setenta y siete.*

*Joseph de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

**Year of 1779. C[onsultation] N° 21. Copy of the file created regarding the effective accomplishment of the Royal Order dated San Lorenzo 25 October 1777 that dictates that the galleons of this Commerce are to make their voyages by Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, and to depart from this port, and that of Acapulco, on certain dates.**

...

Royal Order.

To the Governor of the Philippines.

In order to prevent the continuous losses and returns in distress of the ships of the yearly subsidy of those Islands, and consequently the huge prejudices suffered by the Royal Treasury, and the Commerce of those Islands, since the navigation to and from Acapulco has been carried out by the Strait of San Bernardino, on account of the many dangers that exist in it, and because there are continuous storms in those seas during the seasons in which they must make such voyages, the King has been pleased, after examining the matter very well, to issue a Royal Order dated 1 January 1771, addressed to Y.L.'s predecessor, Don Simon de Anda, to execute the forward voyage to Acapulco by way of Cape Bojeagor and Cape Engaño, departing that bay at some time during the month of June; to this order was attached, for execution, a copy of the sailing directions written by a Council of officers and Chief Pilots of the Royal Navy that was formed for that purpose in Cadiz during December 1770. And, although it was said therein, that whenever possible, to prevent any untoward incident, departure from Acapulco should take place before the 1st of February, and the route to be followed after the Marianas should be that of Cape Engaño, nevertheless, said Order allowed the possibility of the return voyage from Acapulco to follow the route through the Strait



of San Bernardino, given the fact that a departure from said port during March would oblige them to follow the old route.

In a letter dated 28 November of that same year 1771, the above-mentioned Governor acknowledged the receipt of said Royal Order, and enclosed sailing directions, and advised that he had postponed its execution, at the request of that Commerce, until a survey be done of the seas and coast of said Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño with a ship of an appropriate size; and, although in later letters, dated 13 July 1772 and 18 January 1773, the new Governor reported that he had ordered the outfitting of H.M.'s packet boat **Rosario**, and that this ship had made the voyage to the Marianas by the new route, under the command of the Chief Pilot of the Royal Navy, Don José Rodríguez Montenegro, and saying that no mishap, or grave sickness had taken place on board, and that they had not sighted any island, shoal, bottom, or anything remarkable after losing sight of Cape Engaño, and only variable but favorable winds with currents of little importance, and that, using this knowledge, he would make the galleons of the subsidy and permission of this Commerce make their voyages by the new route, since there was no longer any reason to fear. In spite of all that, the old route has nevertheless been followed, for unknown reasons. H.M. has since learned of the recent losses of the frigates **San Carlos**, and **Concepción**, the former burned with all her cargo by a fire lit by lightning in the port of Cavite, where her departure had been delayed by bad weather, and the latter during her return voyage from Acapulco by a storm that hit her in the Marianas, not to forget the arrival in distress of the galleon **San José**, during her return voyage from the same port, being forced to spend the winter in the port of Sorsogon until a change of the monsoon made it possible for her to reach that bay. Consequently, H.M. has decided, in agreement with the decision of a new Council of Officers and Pilots of the Navy, held at the Island of León on the 13th of the present month of October, that, in spite of any petition that the traders might make, since they do not recognize the true source of their problems, nor the benefits they themselves would get from this measure, Y.L. shall not admit any claim, or request, and issue the strictest orders so that the navigation to Acapulco take place in accordance with the decision of the previous Council of December 1770, and the sailing directions written therein, and enclosed, for execution, with the Royal Order of 1 January 1771, except that the departure from that bay shall take place in the middle of May, and not on 1 June, as previously mentioned in said Council, and sailing directions, and that the departure from Acapulco shall take place earlier in January, so that the galleon may leave the subsidy of the Mariana Islands there, without additional expenditures by the Royal Treasury for making ready another ship to send it there, and soon enough for said galleon to go by way of Cape Bojeador in the appropriate season. In this way, not only will the risks and considerable losses suffered by the Royal Treasury and Commerce along the old route be avoided, but also the known benefits offered by the ports of San Francisco and Monterrey along the new route will be taken advantage of. Indeed, one of the latter ports, new settlements along the coast of California, can be reached after three [sic] months of navigation, and used to refresh the water, the food, and the crew,

to avoid the sicknesses that are inherent in long voyages, and to await in either of them the proper time to continue the voyage to Acapulco, and sending overland from there a courier to the Viceroy of New Spain with the official mail, and letters from individuals, so that upon receiving the news relative to the trade, there be no delays in holding the trade fair, or sale of the goods, and so that the food supplies for her return be prepared. All of which I inform Y.L. about, on orders from H.M., for you to arrange the timely observance of those that concern you, with the understanding that a copy of the same resolution was sent this date to the Viceroy of New Spain, for him to comply equally. H.M. is hoping that Y.L. will dedicate himself with zeal to removing all of the obstacles that might hinder, or could hinder, the execution of this well-thought of decision; indeed, the Royal intention is for Y.L. to take decisive action immediately, and report on actions taken regarding the matter, for his Royal notice.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Lorenzo, 25 October 1777.

José de Galvez.

### Editor's notes.

Upon receipt of the above royal order, the Governor of the Philippines called a meeting of the Consulado, or Council of local traders. They said they would obey the royal order, but stated that Captain Rodriguez Montenegro had omitted to mention in his logbook many difficulties that he had encountered in his voyage to the Marisnas, for instance, that he went through such a storm that he lost his boat. Furthermore, they stated that Don Felipe Tompson, in the voyage that he made last year of 1776 to take the succor to the people who had been shipwrecked with the **Concepción** [in Apra in 1775], having departed on 14 May, was unable, on account of the very strong breezes that prevail in this period at Capes Bogeador and Engaño, to reach the Marianas until the 8th of August.

Another objection put up by the traders was that the rainy season in New Spain prevents the mule trains from getting to Acapulco until early March. Furthermore, they said that it would be "physically impossible" for them to prepare their freight for the middle of May, as the first Chinese junks do not arrive at Manila before the end of April each year, etc.

The Governor decreed that the 1779 galleon was to go by the new route and he decided to appoint a Navy Lieutenant José de Emparan, to be in charge of this galleon, the **San José**. There were 2,037 packages of merchandise, half a million pesos, 1,000 pieces, plus so-called introductions of 22,529 additional pesos. The galleon was to sail on 17 May and make a stopover in San Francisco and Monterrey, California. However, she did not sail until after the 24th, the date of the last document in this file.

File n° 28 in the same bundle gives a list of authorized personnel aboard the **San José** that year: a total of 289 persons, as follows: 8 senior officers, 21 sea officers, 25 soldiers, 9 gunners, 215 sailors, and 11 servants. This was a reduction as the galleon of 1777 had carried 315 men.

## B2. The Viceroy gets into the act

*Source: AGN Fil. 13, fol. 233.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Febrero 27 de 78.*

*Al Ministerio de Acapulco.*

*Passo a V.S. y V.ms. Copia de la Real Orden de 25 de octubre ultimo, y de la que en ella se cita dirigido al Señor Governador de Filipinas acerca de los viajes que precisamente deven hacer en lo sucesivo las Naos de aquel Comercio por los Cavos Bojeador, y del Engaño, a hida, y buelta de ese Puerto, a efecto de que enterados V.S. y V.ms., de esta Real disposicion, cuiden de su cumplimiento en la parte que les toca.*

*Dios &a. y febrero 27 de 1778.*

*[A los] Señores Castellano y Oficiales de Acapulco.*

### Translation.

28 February 1778.

To the Ministers of Acapulco.

I forward to Your Lordship and Your Graces a copy of the Royal order dated 25 October last, to let you know of its contents, as addressed to the Governor of the Philippines regarding the voyages that from now on the galleons of that trade must make by way of Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, in going and returning from that port. and for Y.L. and Y.G. to keep this Royal disposition in mind in the fulfilment of your duties.

May God, etc. 22 February 1778.

[To] the Warden and Officials of Acapulco.<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: The Royal officials acknowledged the receipt of this letter on 11 March 1778.

---

## Document 1777C

---

# Population of the Marianas in 1777

*Sources: AGI Fil. 642, n° 28, and Fil. 1052.*

*Note: On 29 December 1778, the Audiencia of Manila forwarded to the King the report of the various religious orders regarding the number of tributes and religious personnel they had in the Philippines. For the Mariana Islands, the number of tributes is always zero, as the natives there were exempted.*

## Report submitted by the Discalced Augustinians

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Año de 1777*

*Testimonio de tres Extractos generales del numero de Almas, Exividos por las tres Religiones, de San Francisco, Santo Domingo, y Recoletos.*

...

*Senor:*

*El Vicario Provincial de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Agustinos Descalzos de estas Yslas Philipinas por hallarse s P. Provincial ausente en la visita de la Prov<sup>a</sup> informe a V.S. del estado, y administracion de ella en la forma siguiente*

...

<b><i>Yslas Marianas</i></b>	<b><i>Almas</i></b>
<i>Ciudad de Agaña tiene .....</i>	<i>1356</i>
<i>Pueblo de Antigua [sic] tiene .....</i>	<i>0142</i>
<i>Anexo de Asan tiene .....</i>	<i>0058</i>
<i>Anexo de Tepungan tiene .....</i>	<i>0047</i>
<i>Anexo de Sinahaña tiene .....</i>	<i>0076</i>
<i>Anexo de Mongmong tiene .....</i>	<i>0060</i>
<i>Anexo de Apurgan tiene .....</i>	<i>0055</i>
<i>Anexo de Pago tiene .....</i>	<i>0119</i>
<i>Pueblo de Agat tiene .....</i>	<i>0334</i>
<i>Pueblo de Merizo tiene .....</i>	<i>0223</i>
<i>Pueblo de Ynarajan tiene .....</i>	<i>0234</i>
<i>Pueblo de Umata tiene .....</i>	<i>0316</i>
<i>Pueblo de Rota tiene .....</i>	<i>0345</i>

...

***Religiosos empleados en la administracion del Arzobispado de Manila su edad y patria.***

...  
48. *El P. Fr. Andres de San Joseph natural de Cañaverol Obispado de Coria de edad de treinta y siete años Ministro de Agaña.*

49. *El P. Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion natural de Alia Arzobispado de Toledo de edad de treinta y quatro años Ministro de Agat.*

50. *El P. Fr. Thomas de Santa Rita natural de Matanzas(?) Arzobispado de Santiago de edad de treinta y quatro años Ministro de Rota.*

51. *El P. Fr. Christoval de San Onofre natural de Alanza [rather Alhama] Obispado de Tarasona de edad de treinta y dos años Ministro de Ynarajan.*

52. *El P. Fr. Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar natural de Foreas(?) Arzobispado de Zaragoza de edad de treinta y quatro años Ministro de Umata.*

...  
*Todos los quales hazen el numº dd 67 Sacerdotes y ocho Hermanos Legos que es lo que al presente puedo Ymformar a V.S.*

*Convento de S. Nicolas à 23 de Maio de 1777.*

*Fray Juan de la Concepcion: Vicario Provincial*

**Translation.**

**Year of 1777**

Copy of three general Extracts of the number of Souls, exhibited by the three Religious Orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and the Recollects.

...  
Sir:

The Vicar Provincial of the Province of St. Nicholas of the Discalced Augustinians of these Philippine Islands, in the absence of the Father Provincial who is visiting the Province, informs Y.L. regarding its state and administration, as follows.

...	
<b>Mariana Islands</b>	<b>Souls.</b>
City of Agaña .....	1,356
Village of Antigua [rather Anigua] ...	142
Annex of Asan .....	58
Annex of Tepungan .....	47
Annex of Sinahaña .....	76
Annex of Mongmong .....	60
Annex of Apurguan .....	55
Annex of Pago .....	119
Village of Agat .....	334
Village of Merizo .....	223
Village of Ynarajan .....	234
Village of Umatac .....	316

Village of Rota ..... 345

[Total:] ..... [3,365]

...  
**Religious employed in the administration of the Archdiocese of Manila, their ages and hometowns.**

...  
 48. Father Fray Andrés de San José, born in Cañaveral, Diocese of Coria [=Soria?], 37 years old, Curate of Agaña.

49. Father Fray Antonio de la Concepción, born in Alia, Archdiocese of Toledo, 34 years old, Curate of Agat.

50. Father Fray Tomás de Santa Rita, born in Matanas, Archdiocese of Santiago, 34 years old, Curate of Rota.

51. Father Fray Cristobal de San Onofre, born in Alanza(?), Diocese of Tarazona, 32 years old, Curate of Inarajan.

52. Father Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar, born in Foreas(?), Archdiocese of Zaragoza, 34 years old, Curate of Umatac.

...  
 The total of the above is 67 priests and 8 lay brothers. This is all I can report to Y.L. at present.

Convent of San Nicolas, 23 May 1777.

Fray Juan de la Concepción, Vicar Provincial.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This Father is **not** the same as the author of a famous History of the Philippines in 15 volumes.

---

**Document 1778A**

---

**A history book, by William Robertson, banned  
by the Spanish king**

*Source: AGI Fil. 497. Note: The History of America was first published in London in 1777 (see Bibliography—General).*

**Letter #265 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 5  
May 1780****Original text in Spanish.**

*El Governador de Philipinas.*

*Contexta haver dado cumplimiento al Real Orden de 23 de Diz. de 78 en el que se le ordena que con el maior rigor y vigilancia cele no se introduzge en estos Dominios la Historia del Descubrimiento de la America escrita por el Doctor D. Guillermo Robertson.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*V.R. n° 265*

*Mui Sor. mío.*

*En Real Orden de 23 de Diziembre de 78 me comunica V.E. la resolucion del Soberrano sobre que con el maior rigor, y vigilancia cele no se introduzcan en estos Dominios la Historia del Descubrimiento de la America escrita en Idioma Ingles por el Doctor Don Guillermo Robertson Chrononista de Escocia, y en su cumplimiento hê mandado publicar Bando en esta Capital, y sus Extramuros remitiendo al mesmo efecto testimonios à los Governadores, Corregidores, y Alcaldes maiores de la comprehension de este Gobierno, y thomadosse razon del Real rescripto en las correspondientes Oficinas, lo que comunico à V.E. para la devida inteligencia del Soberano contextando su recivo.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Mayo 5 de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m° de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Don Jossè de Galbes.*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines answers, saying that he has complied with the Royal order dated 23 December 1778 in which he orders that a strict watch be kept to make very sure that the book entitled History of the Discovery of America written by Doctor William Robertson not be introduced in these Dominions.

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter n° 265.

My dear Sir:

In the Royal order dated 23 December 1778, Y.E. let me know about the decision of the Sovereign regarding the greatest vigilance to make sure that the History of the Discovery of America written in the English language by Doctor William Robertson, the chronicler of Scotland, not be introduced in these Dominions.<sup>1</sup> To comply, I have ordered the publication of a proclamation in this capital, and its suburbs, and had the file copied and sent to the Governors, Town Magistrates and Provincial Mayors withing the jurisdiction of this government, and said Royal rescript has been posted in their respective offices. I hasten to inform Y.E. of this, for the eventual information of the Sovereign while acknowledging receipt of same.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 5 May 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most attentive and devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas

[To] His Excellency José de Galvez.

---

1 Ed. note: William Robertson's *The History of America* (2 volumes, London, 1777).



---

 Document 1778B
 

---

## The galleon San José de Gracia, General Díaz Conde

### Letter from General Díaz Conde to the Viceroy, dated Acapulco 7 January 1778

*Source: AGN Fil. 13, fol. 55.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Acapulco Enero 7 de 78*

*El General de la Nao de Filipinas*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Muy Señor mio:*

*Manuel Diaz Conde, menor Criado de V.E. è hijo mio, que con Decreto del Governador de Philipinas, há benido sirviendo de boluntario sin racion, y sin sueldo el empleo de Guardia Marina, havilitado de Oficial, para hacer las Guardias, entre los demas de la Fragata **San Joseph** de mi comando; deseoso de ofrecer á V.E. su humildes respectos, y de ver esa Ciudad, con Licencia del Cavallero Castellano de este Puerto, y mia, pasa á ella, y suplico á V.E. se sirba aprobar esta determinacion, y el de imponerle á él, y á mi, los superiores preceptos que fuesen del agrado de V.E. cuya importante vida guarde Dios muchos años.*

*Acapulco, y Henero 7 de 1778.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*V.l.m. de V.Ex. su mas atento servidor*

*Antonio Díaz Conde*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor Bº Fr. don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua, Teniente General de los Reales Exercitos, Virey Governador y Capitan General de esta Nueva España, &a &a.*

#### Translation.

Acapulco, 7 January 1778.

The General of the Philippine galleon.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

Thanks to a decree by the Governor of the Philippines, Manuel Díaz Conde, your least servant and son of mine, has been serving as a volunteer without rations and without pay in the post of cadet officer, taking turns during watches, among others aboard the frigate **San José** under my command. Wishing to pay his humble respects to Y.E., and to visit that City, with permission of the Warden, and mine, he is on his way there. I beg Y.E. to please approve this decision, and impose upon him, and me, the superior orders that may please Y.E., whose important life may God save for many years.

Acapulco, 7 January 1778.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Antonio Díaz Conde

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armies, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain, etc. etc.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A short time later, General Díaz announced to the Viceroy that he had appointed his son as his Mate, or Lieutenant, following the resignation of Lieutenant Miguel de Memije, due to illness.

---

## Documents 1779A

---

### New facts on Captain Cook's third voyage

#### A1. A spy in London warns the Spanish court about this English expedition

*Source: AGI Fil. 390.*

*Note: The spy probably delivered this letter, still bearing a red wax seal, personally to the Spanish Ambassador's residence in London.*

#### Original text in bad French.

*Monseigneur*

*L'Amour que jentretien pour le país des mes ancetres ne me permettent pas de cacher les intelligences que j'ai recu contre le bonheur de la monarchie espagnolle. On va metre en mer toute de suite deux frigates nommé le **Resolution** et le **Discovery** pour faire un voyage des recherches aux Indes, sous pretexte de remettre le natif d'Otaheité sur son isle. on va poursuivre les cours de notre flotta des Indes, pour decouvrir des isles dont on a recue quelque intelligence, aupres les isles des Ladrone. et de la on va passer a la Californie, a tracer les rivages de la nouvelle mexique, pour faire du traffique [a la Co-]lonie parmi les habitans de ces parages - Capitaine Cooke qui commande en chef est l'ami intime, d'un des mes parens Anglois, et il m'a dit plusieurs fois, que comme les anglois aoient perdue, leurs colonies ancien, il devint necessaire de chercher de nouveau il dit, que les espagnolles ne sont pas les maitres des isles philippines, et mesme qu'ils n'ont pas la connoissance des toute il attend la recompense donne par la chambre bas a ceux quils trouvent le fameux passage de N.W. pour laquelle il aura des ordres de faire la recherche dans le golfe de la californie. les frigates sont a Dedford de quoi et toute le reste votre excellence peut etre informer*

*J'ai l'honneur d'etre*

*de Votre Excellence*

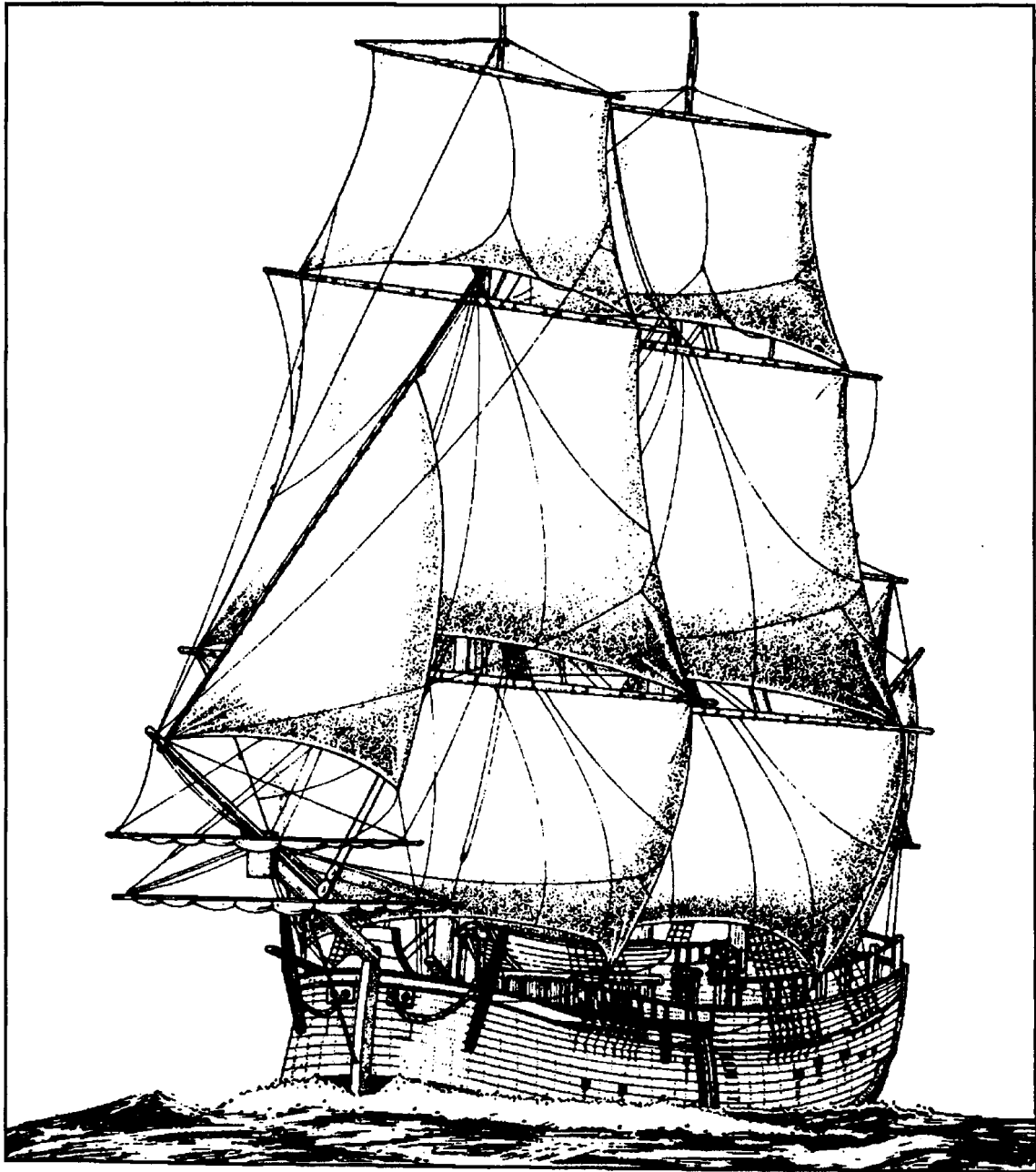
*Le serviteur fidelle*

*Juan de Gusman*

*Née de Mendoce*

*A Londres*

*15 Fev 1776*



**One of Captain Cook's ships, 1770s. Although this is a representation of the Endeavour, it must be similar to HMS Resolution and HMS Discovery that sailed north of the Marianas in November 1779.**

**Translation.**

My dear Sir:

The love that I have for the country of my ancestors does not allow me to hide the intelligence that I have received against the happiness of the Spanish monarchy. They [i.e. the English] will immediately send off two frigates named **Resolution** and **Discovery** on a voyage of exploration to the Indies, under the pretext of taking the native of Tahiti back to his island. They will follow the track of our fleet in the Indies, to explore some islands about which they have received some intelligence, in the vicinity of the Ladrones Islands, and from there they will go on to California, to follow the coasts of New Mexico, to trade with the inhabitants of those neighborhoods.

Captain Cooke [sic], who is commander-in-chief, is the intimate friend of one of my English relatives, and he has told me many times that, since the English have lost their old colonies, it has become necessary to look for new ones. He says that the Spanish are not masters of the Philippine Islands, and that they do not even know all of them. He expects to get the reward promised by the Parliament to those who find the famous Northwest passage for which he will receive orders to explore in the gulf of California. The frigates are at Depthford.<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency can verify this and all the rest.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's faithful servant,

Juan de Guzman Mendoza

London, 15 February 1776.

**A2. Letter from the Marquis of Grimaldi to the King's Secretary**

*Source: AGI Fil. 390.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Ilmo. Sor.*

*Acaba de dirijirme el Principe de Maseranolo la adjunta carta que le ha escrito un sujeto desconocido informandole de que se preparaban en Ynglaterra dos embarcaciones para hacer nuevos descubrimientos en la Mar del Sur y reconocer la Costa de Californias. La paso a V.E. por lo que pueda importar al real servicio, advirtiendo que es cierto se aprontan dichas dos embarcaciones para la Mar del Sur aunque tal vez no serà su comision tan vasta como se supone.*

*Dios guarde a V.I. muchos años como deseo.*

*El Pardo 20 de Marzo de 1776.*

*El Marques de Grimaldi*

*[A] Sr. Don Joseph Galvez*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Next to Greenwich on the Thames River, the point of departure of most of the EIC ships.

### Translation.

Illustrious Sir:

Prince Maseranolo has just handed me the enclosed letter that an unknown individual has written to him, informing him that two vessels had being made ready in England to go on a new voyage of exploration in the South Sea and to survey the coast of the Californias. I forward it to Y.E. for whatever purpose may be in the interest of the royal service. However, I must tell you that it is true that two such vessels are being made ready for the South Seas, although their commission may not be so wide as suspected.

May God save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

El Pardo, 20 March 1776.

The Marquis of Grimaldi

### A3. Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 1 April 1776

*Source: AGI Fil. 390.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

[Summary:] *Preveniendole del apresto de dos Fragatas que se hace en Londres al comando del Capitan Cooke para que prevenga al Governador de las Yslas de Ladrones estè con suma vigilancia para impedir qualquiera tentativa que pueda trazar en ellas.*

*Illmo. Sor.*

*Se tienen noticias seguras en este Ministerio de que se aprestan en Londres dos Fragatas nombradas la **Resolucion**, y la **Descubierta** que comandarà el Capitan Cooke con el pretexto de restituir à las Yslas de Otaheytì en el Mar del Sur un Yndio que en anterior expedicion sacò de ellas. Los fines à que se dice dirigirse esta, segun otro aviso que se ha recibido, son el de examinar el rumbo de nuestra proxima Flota, y reconocer bien las Yslas de Ladrones continuando desde ellas à la California para trazar el Comercio con el Nuevo Mexico, y tentar el descubrimiento del famoso paso del N.O. y aunque no merece la mayor atencion esta noticia por lo basto del proyecto, se hace sin embargo necesario estar con suma vigilancia para impedir qualquiera tentativa, y que à este efecto prevenga V.Y. lo combeniente al Governador de las citadas Yslas de Ladrones, para que tome las precauciones correspondientes, y procure, en el caso de que arive à ellas alguna de las mencionadas fragatas, indagar sus intentos, instrucciones y ordenes que lleve, dando de todo quenta V.Y. para trasladarla à S.M. de cuya Real orden lo prevengo à V.Y. para su cumplimiento.*

*Dios guarde à V.Y. muchos años.*

*Madrid 1º de Abril de 1776.*

[draft copy, unsigned]

[A] *Sor. Governador de Filipinas.*

### Translation.

[Summary:] Warning him that two frigates are being made ready in London, under the command of Captain Cooke, and that he should warn the Governor of the Ladrões Islands to be extremely vigilant to repulse any possible attempt that may be tried there.

Illustrious Sir:

Some certain news have been received in this Ministry regarding two frigates named **Resolution** and **Discovery** being made ready in London, which will be commanded by Captain Cooke, under the pretext of returning to the Islands of Tahiti in the South Sea one Indian whom he took out from there on a previous expedition. It is said that the objectives of this new expedition, according to another advice that has been received, are to spy on the track taken by our next fleet, and to do a good survey of the Ladrões Islands, then to continue from there to California to plan a trade route with New Mexico, and try and discover the famous Northwest passage. Although this news does not deserve much attention, on account of the plan being too vast, nevertheless, it is necessary to be extremely vigilant to prevent any attempt. To this effect, I warn Y.E. that it would be appropriate to warn the Governor of the above-mentioned Islands of the Ladrões, for him to take the corresponding precautions. Should one of the above-mentioned frigates visit there, he is to try and investigate their intentions, instructions and orders, to give a full report about them to Y.E. who is to forward same to H.M., on whose Royal order I am warning Y.E., for execution.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 1 April 1776.

[draft copy, unsigned]

[To the] Governor of the Philippines.<sup>1</sup>

## A4. Answer from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 6 July 1778

*Source: AGI Fil. 390.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Gobernador de Philipinas*

*Avisa el recibo, y cumplimiento que ha dado a la Real orden que se le comunicò con motivo de las noticias que aqui se pidieron de aprestarse en Londres dos Fragatas nombradas la **Resolucion** y la **Descubierta**, que comandaria el Capitan Cooke, con el designio que se expresa.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V. R. n° 45.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A similar letter was sent to the Viceroy of New Spain on 23 March 1776.

*Muy Sor. mio.*

*Por Real orden de 1º de Abril de 1776 se sirve V.E. intruirme de las noticias seguras, que se tenían en esse Ministerio de aprestarse en Londres dos Fragatas nombradas la **Resolucion**, y la **Descubierta**, que comandaria el Capitan Cooke, con el pretexto de restituir à las Yslas de Otaheytí en el Mar del Sur un Yndio, que en anterior expedicion sacò de ellas: Que los fines, à que se decia dirigirse esta, segun otro aviso, eran de examinar el rumbo de nuestra proxima Flota, y reconocer bien las Yslas de Ladrones, continuando desde ellas à la California para trazar el Comercio con el nuevo Mexico, y tentar el descubrimiento del famoso paso del N.O. previniendome V.E. al mismo tiempo de orden del Rey, que aunque no merecia la menor atencion la noticia por lo basto del Proyecto, se hacia sin embargo necesario estar con suma vigilancia para impedir qualquiera tentativa, y que à este efecto previniese Yò lo conveniente al Governador de las citadas Yslas de Ladrones, ò Marianas, para que tome las precauciones correspondientes, y procure en el caso de que arrive à ellas alguna de las mencionadas Fragatas indagar sus intentos, Instrucciones, y Ordenes que lleve, dandome de todo cuenta para trasladarlo à S.M.*

*Y en ovedecimiento de esta Real resolucion aprovechando la presente ocasion de la salida de la Nao de Acapulco, que a su regreso hace escala en las referidas Yslas de Ladrones, comunico la mas estrecha orden à aquel Governador Don Phelipe Ceraín para su cumplimiento, previniendole al mismo tiempo que precisa, è indispensablemente me hà de contextar el recibo à la buelta de la misma Nao que la conduce con quantas noticias ciertas, ò dudosas, haya tenido en el particular, y que executee lo mismo en lo sucesivo para trasladarlo todo à la Real noticia.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 6 de Julio de 1778.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m. de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor,*

*Pedro Sarrío.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Don Joseph de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines.

He acknowledges the receipt of, and compliance with, the Royal order that was sent to him, because of the news received here about two frigates named **Resolution** and **Discovery** being made ready in London, to be commanded by Captain Cooke, with the project mentioned therein.

Your Excellency:

Confidential Letter n° 45.

My dear Sir:

By Royal order dated 1 April 1776, Y.E. was pleased to let me know about certain news that had been received in that Ministry about two frigates named **Resolution** and



**Discovery** that were being made ready in London, and were to be commanded by Captain Cooke, under the pretext of taking back to the Islands of Tahiti in the South Sea one Indian whom he had taken from there on a previous expedition; That the supposed objectives of the new expedition, according to another advice, were to follow the track of our next fleet, to survey the Ladrones Islands well, and from there go on to California to begin trading with New Mexico, and attempt the discovery of the famous Northwest passage. At the same time Y.E. warned me, by order of the King, although said news did not deserve much attention since the project was too vast, nevertheless, to be extremely vigilant to prevent any attempt, and that I was to warn the Governor of the above-mentioned Ladrones, or Mariana, Islands to take the corresponding precautions, and, in case one of the above-mentioned frigates were to visit there, to try and investigate their intentions, Instructions and Orders, to give me a report that I was to forward to H.M.

And to comply with this Royal decision, taking advantage of the opportunity of the departure of the Acapulco galleon, which will make a stopover at the above-mentioned Islands of the Ladrones on her return voyage, I transmit the most pertinent order to that Governor, Don Felipe Cerain, for execution, warning him at the same time that he must immediately acknowledge receipt thereof by that same galleon, and must indispensably provide me with news, certain or doubtful, that might have anything to do with the subject matter, and that he is to give me yet another report by the next galleon, for me to bring everything to the Royal attention.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 6 July 1778.

Your Excellency.

Y.E.'s sincerest servant,

Pedro Sarrío

[To] His Excellency José de Galvez.<sup>1</sup>

## A5. The information was sent to Acapulco by the Viceroy

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 4-5.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Reservado.*

*Por seguras noticias se save el apresto en el Rio de Londres de dos fragatas nombradas la **Resolucion**, y la **Descubierta** que mandará el Capitan Cook con el pretexto de restituir a las Yslas de Otaheyte, en el Mar del Sur al Yndio que sacá de ellas en anterior expedicion, y como los fines a que parece se dirige esta, son á examinar el rumbo de la Flota que esperamos, reconocer bien las Yslas de los Ladrones continuando desde*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The correspondence with Governor Cerain is not enclosed. The two English ships (see below) came close to the Northern Marianas a few months after Governor Cerain received the above news.

*ellas a la California; y tentar el descubrimiento del famoso paso del N.O. para ganar el premio ofrecido por la Camara de los Comunes a el que lo consiga; y aunque tan diversos obgetos pudiera hacer dudosa la noticia, siendo preciso sin embargo vivir con suma vigilancia, porque la misma confusion con que se esparcen semejantes especies influye la sospecha del intento de Algunas de ellas, y correspondiendo á mi obligacion el adelantar las precauciones á estas tentativas, para que se procuren inutilizar en la forma posible, y sin procedimiento de mano Armada, si no es por los medios de escazes de auxilios, y otros que gobierna una buena politica, lo prevengo a V.S. asi para su puntual cumplimiento, y que si se verifica el arribo a el Puerto de Acapulco de alguna de las citadas fragatas, examine V.S. sus intentos, Ynstrucciones, y ordenes que llevan, y practique V.S. todas las formalidades que se requieren, afin de que dandome cuenta con el expediente que resultare, pueda yo tomar providencias oportunas.*

*Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años que deseo.*

*Mexico 26 de Junio de 1776.*

*{Al] Sor. Don Domingo Elizondo.*

### **Translation.**

Confidential.

Through secure channels it has been learned that two frigates, named **Resolution** and **Discovery**, are being made ready in the River of London and will be under the command of Captain Cook. The pretext is to return to the Tahiti Islands in the South Sea the Indian who was taken from there in a previous expedition. However, the apparent objectives of this [new] expedition are to check the track of the fleet that we are awaiting, reconnoitering the Ladrone Islands and then going on from there to California, and attempt the discovery of the famous northwest strait, in order to win the reward offered by the House of Commons to whom would achieve it. Though so many objectives seem to make this news unbelievable, it is nevertheless necessary to live with extreme vigilance, because the same confusion that reign whenever they spread similar rumors make us suspect that some of them will be attempted. Given that it is my duty to take precautions against such attempts, in order to render them as useless as possible, and without the involvement of armed forces, given the shortage of them, and other reasons dictated by good politics, I advise Your Lordship to be on your guard, in case one of the above-mentioned ships shows up at the port of Acapulco. In such a case, Y.L. is to inquire into their intentions, instructions, and the orders that they carry, and apply all of the formalities required in order to be able to write me an eventual report, the better for me to take timely measures.

May God save Y.L. for as many years as I wish.

Mexico, 28 June 1776.

[To] Don Domingo Elizondo.

### **A6. Answer by Elizondo**

*Source: AGN Fil. 11, fol. 186-186v.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Señor.*

*La preventiva superior orden de V.E. fecha en 26 de Junio proximo anterior, sobre el apresto en Londres de dos Fragatas, que mandará el Capitan Cook, con el pretexto de restituir a las Yslas de Octayti [sic], en el Mar del Sur, al Yndio que sacò de ellas en anterior expedicion; La hee trasladado literal, a mi primer Theniente en Acapulco Don. Thomas Gil, recomendandole el vigilo con la reserva que V.E. me encarga, y que cele con suma vijilancia, la exacta y puntual observancia de las vien premeditadas precauciones dictadas por V.E. en dicha Orden, y arreglado â ella, si se verifica el arribo el Puerto de Acapulco de alguna de las citadas fragatas, examine sus intentos, ynstrucciones, y ordenes que llevan, practicando todas las formalidades que se requieren, dê cuenta con el expediente que resultare, afin que V.E. pueda tomar las providencias oportunas.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años.*

*Mexico 20 de Julio de 1776.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m. de V.E. su mas respectuoso servidor*

*Domingo Elizondo.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. B. F. Don Antonio Bucarely y Ursua.*

**Translation.**

Your Excellency.

Sir:

Regarding the precautionary superior order of Y.E. dated 26 June last, regarding the outfitting in London of two frigates to be commanded by Captain Cook, under the pretext of returning to the Tahiti Islands in the South Sea the Indian whom he took from there in a previous expedition, I have forwarded an exact copy of same to my first Lieutenant in Acapulco, Don Tomás Gil, and I have recommended to him to keep secret what Y.E. has entrusted me with, to maintain the strictest vigilance, and to observe exactly and in a timely fashion the premeditated precautions dictated by Y.E. in said order, and in accordance with same, in the event that either of the above-mentioned frigates should arrive at the port of Acapulco, to inquire into their intentions, instructions, and the orders that they carry, and apply all of the formalities required in order to be able to write me an eventual report, the better for Y.E. to take timely measures.

May Our Lord save the life of Y.E. for many years.

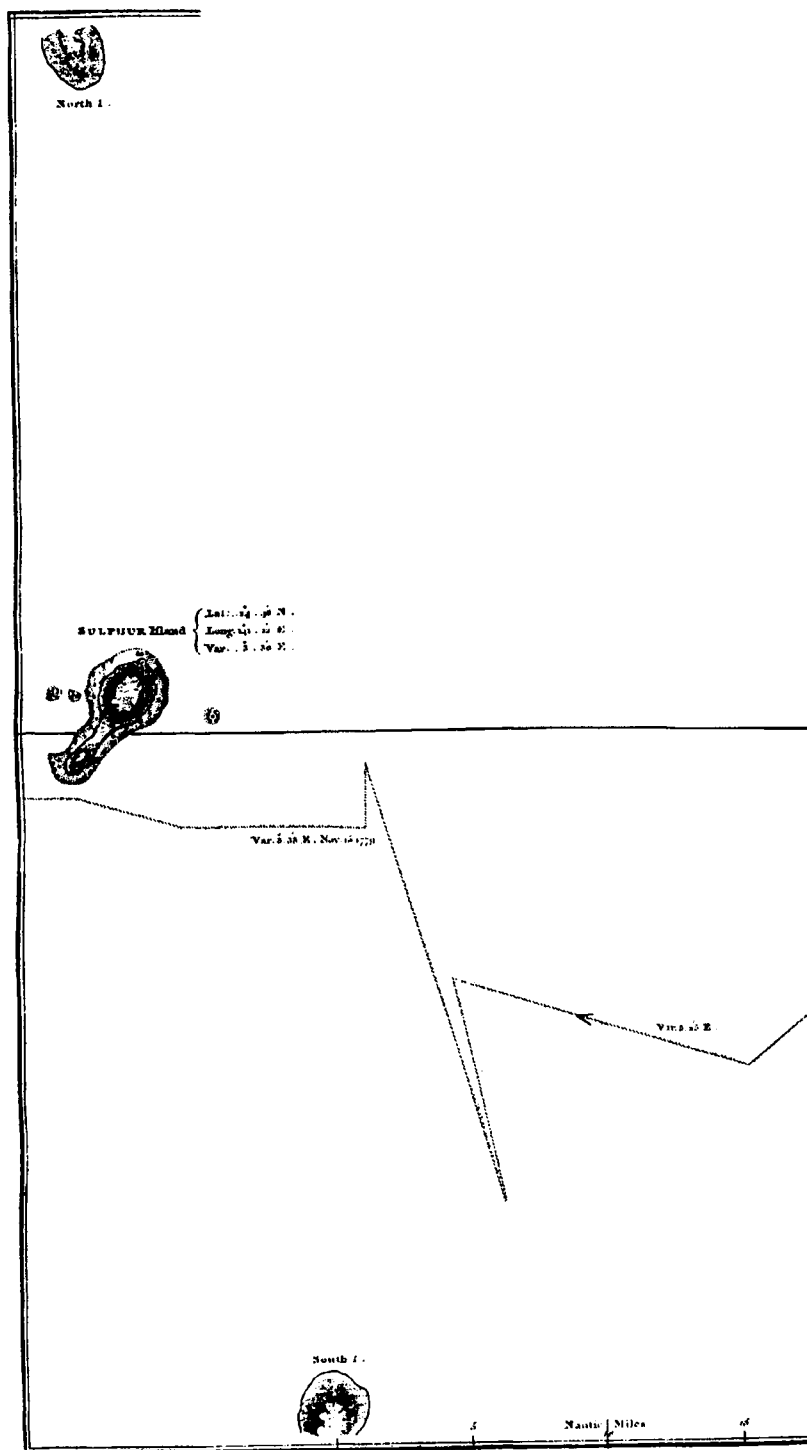
Mexico, 20 July 1776.

Your Excellency.

The most respectful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Domingo Elizondo

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa.



**Chart of the Volcano Islands, seen in November 1779.** Also called *Kazan Retto* and part of the *Bonin*, or *Ogasawara*, Archipelago, they are the *Iwo Islands*: North Island being *Kita-Iwo*; and South Island being *Minami-Iwo*; Sulphur Island is actually *Iwo Jima*, i.e. *Iwo Island proper*.

## A7. Extract from the actual Voyage of Captain Cook

*Source: James Cook, et al. A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (London, 1784), Vol. III, pp. 408-410.*

### Captain Gore in the HMS Resolution and Captain King in HMS Discovery, via the Volcano Islands

#### Introductory note.

Surprising as it may seem, the famous Captain James Cook, the explorer of the Pacific Ocean, never crossed any part of Micronesia during his three voyages.

After the untimely death of Captain Cook in Hawaii, the largest of the island group which he had discovered a short time earlier, the two exploration ships made their way to Macao by the most direct route. This is how they came across the Volcano Islands, that had been sighted numerous times before by Manila galleons on the way to Acapulco.

#### Extract from the logbook of Captain King.

...

1779. November.

Friday 12.

... At noon, the latitude, by account, was 27°36', longitude 144°25'

Saturday 13

In the morning of the 13th, the wind shifting round to the North West, brought with it fair weather; but though we were at this time nearly in the situation given to the island of St. Juan, we saw no appearance of land.<sup>1</sup> We now bore away to the South West, and set the top-sails, the gale still continuing with great violence. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 26°0', longitude 143°40', and variation 3°50' East. In the afternoon, we saw flying fish, and dolphins, also tropic birds, and albatrosses. We still continued to pass much pumice stone: indeed, the prodigious quantities of this substance, which float in the sea, between Japan and the Bashee Islands, seem to indicate, that some great volcanic convulsion must have happened in this part of the Pacific Ocean; and, consequently, give some degree of probability to the opinion of Mr. Muller, which I have already had occasion to mention, respecting the separation of the continent of Jeso,<sup>2</sup> and the disappearance of Company's Land, and Staten Island.

At six in the afternoon, we altered our course to the West South West, Captain Gore judging it useless to steer any longer to the South South West, as we were near the meridian of the Ladrões, or Marianne Islands, and at no great distance from the track of the Manilla ships.

---

1 Ed. note: He means that he had reached the meridian of Guam.

2 Ed. note: Rather Yezo, the previous Japanese name for Hokkaido.

Sunday 14.

In the morning of the 14th, the weather became fine, and the wind, which was moderate, gradually shifted to the North East, and proved to be the trade wind. At ten, Mr. Trevenen, one of the young gentlemen who came along with me into the **Discovery**, saw land appearing, like a peaked mountain, and bearing South West. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was  $24^{\circ}37'$ , longitude  $142^{\circ}2'$ . The land, which we now discovered to be an island, bore South West half West, distant eight or ten leagues; and at two in the afternoon, we saw another to the West North West. This second island, when seen at a distance, has the appearance of two; the South point consisting of a high conical hill, joined by a narrow neck to the Northern land, which is of a moderate height. As this was evidently of greater extent than the island to the South, we altered our course toward it. At four, it bore North West by West; but, not having day light sufficient to examine the coast, we stood upon our tacks during the night.

Monday 15.

On the 15th, at six in the morning, we bore away for the South point of the larger island, at which time we discovered another high island, bearing North three quarters West, the South island being on the same rhomb line, and the South point of the island ahead, West by North. At nine, we were abreast, and within a mile of the middle island, but Captain Gore, finding that a boat could not land without some danger from the great surf that broke on the shore, kept on his course to the Westward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $24^{\circ}50'$ , longitude  $140^{\circ}56'$  East.

This island is about five miles long, in a North North East, and South South West direction. The South point is a high barren hill, flattish at the top, and when seen from the West South West, presents an evident volcanic crater. The earth, rock, or sand, for it was not easy to distinguish of which its surface is composed, exhibited various colours, and a considerable part we conjectured to be sulphur, both from its appearance to the eye, and the strong sulphureous smell which we perceived, as we approached the point. Some of the officers on board the **Resolution**, which passed nearer the land, thought they saw steams rising from the top of the hill. From these circumstances, Captain Gore gave it the name of **Sulphur Island**. A low, narrow, neck of land connects this hill with the South end of the island, which spreads out into a circumference of three or four leagues, and is of a moderate height. The part near the isthmus has some bushes on it, and has a green appearance, but those to the North East are very barren, and full of large detached rocks, many of which were exceedingly white. Very dangerous breakers extend two miles and a half to the East, and two miles to the West off the middle part of the island, on which the sea broke with great violence.

The North and South islands appeared to us as single mountains, of a considerable height; the former peaked, and of a conical shape; the latter more square and flat at the top. **Sulphur Island we place in latitude  $24^{\circ}48'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ}12'$ .**<sup>1</sup> The North is-

---

1 Ed. note: Sulphur Island corresponds to the Iwo Jima of World War II. Its latitude is correct, but its actual longitude is about 1 degree further East of Greenwich.

land in latitude  $25^{\circ}14'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ}10'$ . The South island in latitude  $24^{\circ}22'$ , and longitude  $141^{\circ}20'$ . The variation observed was  $3^{\circ}30'$  East.

Captain Gore now directed his course to the West South West, for the Bashee Islands...

---

## Document 1779B

---

# Historic eastward crossing of the San José in 1779, north of Luzon and via N. Marianas

*Source: MN577, fol. 238-241v.*

*Notes: This ship left Cavite on 31 May 1779, went north along the west coast of Luzon and reached Aparri in Cagayan on 12 June, where she stayed for 3 days to refresh. Then she reached the Northern Marianas on 28 July, and finally arrived at Acapulco only of 21 November, after a voyage that lasted 174 days with two stops along the way.*

*Felipe Tomson had been selected to be the Chief Pilot of this voyage, but he died, and was replaced by Pablo Cordero (AGI Fil. 494, Letter #121).*

## Logbook of the voyage

### Original text in Spanish.

***Diario del nuevo viage executado en la Fragata de S.M. nombrada San Josef del mando del Teniente de Navio de la Real Armada Don Jose de Emparan, desde el Puerto de Cavite en Filipinas, à el de Acapulco en el Reyno de la Nueva España.***

1779.

*El dia 1º de Mayo, se me dió posesión del mando, por el Comandante de Marina, en presencia de la Tripulación y guarnición a consecuencia de orden del Capitan General, y inmediatamente se procedio a aparejar el Navio y ponerlo en posición de recibir la carga.*

...

*A las 3 de la tarde del 31, mareamos con viento fresquito del SO...*

...

*El tercer dia, despues de haver comunicado estas noticias al Governador, remplazado el agua, y la leña, y refrescado la gente nos hizimos a la vela, logrando montar antes de la noche el Cabo del Engaño, lo que me hizo creer que el viage seria de los mas cortos que hasta ahora se havian echo; pero las continuas calmas, con los ventolinas del ESE, SE, ENE, y NE que se succedian indistintamente con las corrientes para el NW, que experimentamos, retardaron la llegada a las Islas Marianas hasta el 28 de Julio, sin que en este tiempo huviese ocurrido novedad particular.*



*El día siguiente sufrimos un tiempo duro con vientos desde el ENE, hasta el S, que nos dió tanto mas cuidado, quanto que al O, NW, y SO, teniamos la Cordillera de las Islas Marianas, a tan corta distancia, que la de Grigan, estaba 15 leguas, en circunstancias que la fuerza, y inconstancia de los vientos, que indiferentemente se cambiaban, nos impedian hacer la vela necesaria para livertarnos del empeño; no obstante se esforgó toda lo posible, y a media noche habiendose entablado por el S logramos franquearnos gobernando con diligencia al ENE.*

...  
*Abordo de la Fragata San Jose à el ancla en el Puerto de Acapulco à 21 de Noviembre de 1779.*

*Josef de Emparan.*

### **Translation.**

**Logbook of the new voyage carried out aboard His Majesty's frigate named San José commanded by Navy Lieutenant José de Emparán, from the Port of Cavite in the Philippines to that of Acapulco in the Kingdom of New Spain.**

1779.

On the 1st of May, I was given the command, by the Commander of the Navy, in the presence of the crew and garrison, as a consequence of an order by the Captain General, and we immediately proceeded to make the ship ready, and prepare to receive the cargo on board.

...  
 At 3 in the afternoon of the 31st, we sailed off with a rather fresh wind from SW...

...  
 [The pilot's name was Manuel Correa, the man who had previously explored the route which they then followed around Cape Bojeador, and north of Luzon. They made their first stopover at Aparri.]

On the third day, after we had communicated these news to the Governor, replaced our water and wood, and refreshed the men, we made sail and managed to double Cape Engaño before nightfall, which made me believe that the voyage would be one of the shortest ones that had been made until now, but the continuous calms, and the puffs of winds from ESE, SE, ENE and NE that followed one another indifferently, plus the currents that we experienced, that ran NW, delayed our arrival at the Mariana Islands until 28 July, although nothing special happened during this period.

The next day, we suffered tough weather, with winds from ENE to S, that gave us so much to worry about, specially since the chain of the Mariana Islands was such a short distance toward the W, NW and SW, that Agrigan Island was but 15 leagues off, under circumstances such that the strength and lack of constancy of the winds, that changed indifferently, prevented us from making use of the necessary canvas to extirpate ourselves from this problem; nevertheless, we made all possible efforts, and by midnight, when the wind finally blew steadily from S, we managed to free ourselves and steered forthwith to ENE.

...  
[The captain then aimed for the 34° latitude. On 11 October, he was at 37°03' Lat. N. and 126° Long. W. He was able to cross the vast expanse of ocean between the Marianas and the coast of California in 74 days. **He made the first official stopover at Monterrey, California** and finally reached Acapulco on 21 November.]

...  
Aboard the frigate **San José** at anchor in the Port of Acapulco, on 21 November 1779.  
José de Emparán.

---

## Documents 1779C

---

# The Mexican packet San Carlos was a bad sailer

*Source: AGI Fil. 497.*

*Note: This ship arrived at Manila in February 1780. Her captain, Juan Manuel de Ayala returned to San Blas in charge of a replacement ship, the Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu.*

## C1. Letter from Captain Ayala to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 29 February 1780

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Yllustre Señor*

*Mui Señor mío.*

*Hè tenido el honor, y fortuna de haver logrado los objetos principales à que se dirigia mi Comision con haver puesto los pliegos del Real Servicio en manos de V.Señoria y la entrega de ciento y cinquenta mil pesos, remitida por el Superior Gobierno de Nueva España en estas Caxas y para cumplimiento de todo devriendome regresar con los ofiziales, Guarnicion, y Tripulacion, que à mis ordenes ha venido en el Paquebot del Rey nombrado **San Carlos** del Departamento de San Blas, (a menos que V.Señoria tenga por conveniente al Real Servicio destinarme, en estas Yslas, en cuyo caso estoy prompto à executar sus ordenes) devo exponer que dicho Paquebot, asi en este viage, como en otro que hà hecho, se hà experimentado ser de malas propiedades, pues con viento à Popa y muy duro no hay exemplar que haya llegado à navegar seis millas [por hora], y con viento largo y fresco de doce quartas con todo su aparejo[,] Alas, y rastrearas, que solo anda de quatro a cinco millas, y à la bolina en siete quartas con viento fresco, y mar bonanza tres millas, y dos brazas y con Mar, menos, siendo su abatimiento en esta Dispocision de quatro à cinco quartas. De estas propiedades, y que regularmente por la Altura que regresa à Nueva España se experimentan muchos vientos escasos, y contrarios, devo hacer juicio que el expresado Barco de mi mando es incapaz de poder vencer el viage de su regreso en la disposicion que actualmente tiene, à que se agrega la incomodidad que padece la Tripulacion sin abrigo alguno, por no tener dicho Barco mas de una cubierta, cuya circunstancia[,] unida a las antecedentes abre campo para presumir el riesgo eminente à que iria expuesto el Buque y su dotacion.*

*He meditado en todo el viage que me ha causado no pocos cuidados sobre la enmienda que pudiera tener dicho Barco con el unico fin de lograr el cumplimiento de mi*

*Comision, y aunque me ha fatigado bastante mi Cortedad no ha encontrado ninguna[;] pues si se le quiere poner otra cubierta para abrigo de la gente me parece que los defectos actuales serian mayores como todo persona inteligente podrá Jusgar en cuia inteligencia tomando V.Señoria informe de los Pilotos del proprio y demas personas que halle conveniente, se servirá determinar lo que fuere de su agrado. Quedo con todo respecto à disposicion de V.Señoria pidiendo à Nuestro Señor le guarde muchos años.*

*Manila veinte y nueve de Febrero de mil setecientos y ochenta.*

*Besa la mano à V.Señoria su mas atento y seguro servidor.*

*Juan Manuel de Ayala.*

*[Al] Muy Yllustre Señor Don Jose Basco y Vargas.*

### **Translation.**

Most Illustrious Sir:

I have had the honor and good luck of achieving the main objectives of my Commission, by placing in the hands of Your Lordship the mail of the Royal service and delivering the 150,000 pesos remitted to this Treasury by the Superior Government of New Spain. To achieve the rest of my objectives I must return with the officers, soldiers, and crew who came with me aboard the King's packet boat named **San Carlos** from the Department of San Blas (unless Your Lordship should think it proper to the Royal service to give me an assignment in these islands, in which case I am ready to execute your orders). I must say that said packet boat, not just in this voyage, but also in an earlier one that I made with it, has bad characteristics; indeed, even with a very strong wind blowing astern, it has never reached 6 miles [per hour] and with a steady wind blowing fresh 12 points [from the bow], and all sails out, including auxiliaries, it can only reach from 4 to 5 miles [per hour], and when tacking with a fresh wind from 7 points, and a serene sea, 3 miles and 2 fathoms [per hour], and less speed in heavy seas, its leeway in this case being 4-5 points. From these characteristics, and the fact that in the high latitudes of the return voyage to New Spain one may experience light, and contrary, winds, I must express my opinion that said vessel under my command is incapable of making the return voyage, in its present condition, to which can be added the discomfort that the crew might suffer on an open deck, since it has but one deck; this circumstance, plus those mentioned earlier, leads one to presume that the ship and its crew might be exposed to obvious risks.

I have been thinking often during the whole voyage, and taken some care to study the possible improvements that could be made to said ship, with the only purpose of carrying out my Commission; although I have wracked my brains, I could not come up with any. In fact, if a second deck were added to give shelter to the men, it seems to me that the actual defects would simply be made worse; any knowledgeable person might agree with me. If Your Lordship cares to seek the opinion of the local Pilots and other consultants, you may then decide what may be of your pleasure. I remain respectfully at the disposal of Your Lordship, praying our Lord to save you for many years.

Manila, 29 February 1780.

The most sincere servant of Your Lordship who kisses your hand,  
Juan Manuel de Ayala.

[To] His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don José Basco y Vargas.

## C2. Letter #279 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 8 May 1780

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Philipinas.*

*Dà cuenta con testimonio haverse resuelto en Junta general de Hazienda se quede en estas Islas el Paquebot de S.M. nombrado el S. Carlos por no poder vencer el viaxe, atento a sus malas propiedades y que se construya otro de 36 codos para las atenciones del Real Servicio en el Departamento de S. Blas de donde fue despachado el nomnado.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. N. 279.*

*Mui Señor mio:*

*En oficio que me pasó Don Juan Manuel de Ayala Comandante del Paquebot de S.M. el S. Carlos despachado por el Exmo. Señor Virrey de Mexico desde el Departamento de S. Blas, en calidad de aviso à estas Islas, me informó que dicho Buque así en este viage como en otros se ha experimentado ser de mui malas propiedades, por lo que contemplaba no poder vencer el viaxe de su regreso en la disposicion que en la actualidad tiene, à mas de la incomodidad grande, que padecia la tripulacion por la falta de abrigo à causa de no tener mas de una cubierta, causas todas que le motivaban à contemplar el riesgo eminente à que se exponia el buque y su dotacion.*

*Contemplando desde luego lo fundado de sus razones dispuse, que por el Comandante de Marina[,] el del Buque, sus Pilotos, y contra maestres del Arsenal pasasen à su reconocimiento, y formado concepto sobre su aptitud, o inaptitud para el regreso de su destino me lo expuciesen, en cuió obedecimiento fueron convocados los nomnados, y habiendo pasado à Bordo, y echo la mas prolixa inspeccion hallaron que las principales dimensiones son mui defectuosas como tambien su poco razel, y ningun Recogimiento de las obras muertas, por lo que se hacia preciso concurriesen las malas propiedades, que le notò, y expresa el comandante y que aunque se quisiesen remediar no se podria conseguir con toda proporcion, y tal vez se empeorarian causas, que les motivaba, desde luego à concebir era mui arriesgada la empresa de su regreso teniendo por mas seguro que se quedase en estas Islas empleado en asuntos del Real servicio.*

*En vista de lo expuesto se remitió el expediente al Real Fisco, quien enterado, pidió se agregase a este Departamento para emplearlo en aquellos Servicios à que util segun sus circunstancias, precediendo tasacion, y practicado lo expuesto pasase a Junta de Real Hazienda.*

*Verificada la abaluzion pedida por el fiscal, y pasado à Junta enterados del todo del Expediente, y conferenciado sobres sus puntos unamimes resolvieron se sacase à publica subasta, y no habiendo quien diese su valor se aplicase al Servicio de S.M. fabricandose otro Paquebot ò fragata de 36 codos en su reemplazo que puesto a la carga se despachase de cuenta de S.M. à su destino con aprovechamiento de fletes, y derechos Reales para por este arbitrio lograr el quedar beneficiada la Real Hazienda y expedito el mexor servicio del Rey en aquellos importantes establecimientos[,] lo que hago presente à V.E. acompañando testimonio, para la mayor claridad y noticia que debe tener el Soberano.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Maio 8 de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.l.m<sup>o</sup> de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> su mas atento y seguro servidor.*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

[Al] *Exmo. Señor D. Josè de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines.

He reports, along with a record of proceedings, about having decided, in a General Meeting of the Treasury, to have the Packet boat of H.M. named **San Carlos** stay in these Islands, as it is unable to make the voyage, on account of its bad characteristics and that another measuring 36 cubits was to be built and destined to the Royal service in the Department of San Blas, whence the above-named had come.

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter N<sup>o</sup> 279.

My dear Sir:

In a letter sent to me by Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, Commander of the Packet of H.M. named **San Carlos**, despatched by His Excellency the Viceroy of Mexico from the Department of San Blas, as an advice boat to these Islands, I was informed that said ship had been recognized, not only during this voyage but also in others, as having bad properties, which made him think that he could not make his return voyage with it under the actual circumstances, in addition to the great discomfort that the crew would suffer, without shelter, because it has only one deck—all of them good reasons to make him believe that the ship and her crew would be exposed to obvious risks.

Thinking that his reasons were sound, I arranged for the Navy Commander, with the Commander of said ship, its Pilots, and the overseers from the Shipyard to inspect et and decide whether or not it was fit to make her return voyage. To comply, said individuals met on board and carried out a very detailed inspection. They found out that its main dimensions were all wrong, the same with the design of its bottom and of upper works, hence the bad properties that were noted in its performance. The Commander added that, although one might try to remedy such properties, improvements could not

be satisfactorily made, and perhaps its performance would be worse. Such reasons, of course, made them consider that a return voyage aboard it would be a risky enterprise, and they thought that it would be preferable to keep it in these islands and to employ it in matters of the Royal service.

In view of the above, the file was passed to the Royal Fiscal who, once aware of the contents, requested that it be assigned to this Department and to those services in which it could be useful, within its possibilities, and that, following an official valuation, and turnover, the file should be seen by the Council of the Royal Treasury.

Once the valuation request by the Fiscal had been completed, and the Council made aware of everything in the file, and had discussed its many points, they unanimously resolved to offer it for sale by public auction, and, if no-one offered what she was worth, it be assigned to the service of H.M., and that a replacement packet or frigate be built, one measuring 36 cubits, to be loaded and despatched to the point of origin, on the account of H.M., thus taking advantage of the transport fees, and Royal duties, and in this manner to do something in benefit of the Royal Treasury and in the greater service of the King in those important settlements. All of which I report to Y.E., enclosing the record of proceedings, for greater clarity and the information of the Sovereign.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 8 May 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most respectful and sincere servant of Your Excellency who kisses your hand,  
José Basco y Vargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

---

## Documents 1779D

---

# The galleon *San Pedro*, alias *Caviteño*, Captain David—Eastward in 1778 and westward in 1779

*Source: AGN Fil. 13, various folios, as follows.*

## D1. Letter from Captain David to Viceroy Bucareli, dated 13 November 1778

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excelentísimo Señor*

*Muy señor mio.*

*Dirijo a manos de V.E. la lista adjunta que incluye la oficialidad de mar, y guerra de esta Fragata de S.M. para que V.E. quede enterado, como también la de los pasajeros que vienen con sus respectivas licencias del superior gobierno de Filipinas.*

*Dios guarde a V.Exc. muchos años.*

*Abordo de la Fragata **San Pedro el Caviteño** 13 de Noviembre de 1778.*

*Excelentísimo. Sor.*

*Besa la mano de V.E. su mas atento servidor*

*Francisco David*

[A] *Excelentísimo Señor Baylio Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua.*

### *Lista de los Oficiales de Mar y Guerra de esta Fragata de S.M. nombrada San Pedro el Caviteño.*

*General*

*D. Francisco David*

*Capitan de Navio*

*D. Pedro de Galarraga*

*Primer Teniente idem*

*El Capitan de infanteria D. Francisco Ximenez*

*Segundo idem*

*D. Estevan Vallesteros*

*Primer Alférez idem*

*El Teniente de Infanteria D. Juan Casamara*

*Segundo idem*

*D. Juan Bautista Maruja*

*Escribano Contador*

*D. Justo Pastor de Azteguieta*

*Capellan*

*Fr. D. Gabriel Molina*

*Cirujano*

*El R.P. Fr. Joaquin Saavedra*

*Primer Piloto de Armada D. José Vazquez*



<i>Segundo piloto</i>	<i>D. Agustin de Ibarra</i>
<i>Tercero idem</i>	<i>D. Antonio de Teràn</i>
<i>Maestre de plata</i>	<i>D. Vicente Verzosa</i>
<i>Contra Maestre</i>	<i>Pedro Rioja</i>
<i>Segundo "</i>	<i>José Fernandez</i>
<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Felipe Cotelo</i>
<i>Segundo "</i>	<i>Andrés Gonzales</i>
<i>Maestre de Jarcia</i>	<i>D. Juan Rodriguez</i>
<i>Maestre de Raciones</i>	<i>Juan Gaballas</i>
<i>Carpintero</i>	<i>Cipriano Basa</i>
<i>Calafate</i>	<i>Juan de Noguera</i>

*Abordo de dicha Fragata 13 de Noviembre de 1778.*  
*Francisco David*<sup>1</sup>

[fol. 34]

***Lista de pasajeros, que vienen detras. parte de esta Fragata de S.M. nombrada S. Pedro el Caviteño, con sus respectivas licencias.***

*El M.R.P. Visitador de Agustinos Calzados Fr. José Pereyra*

*El M.R.P. Fray Fernando Rey*

*D. Bernardo Blanco*

*D. Manuel Camus*

***D. Vicente Diaz, Sargento mayor para Marianas***

*D. Ventura de los Reyes*

*A Bordo de dicha Fragata 13 de Noviembre de 1778*

*Francisco David*

**Translation.**

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

I am sending the attached list to Y.E., that includes the navy and army officers of this frigate belonging to H.M., to inform Y.E., along with the list of the passengers who are travelling with permits issued by the superior government of the Philippines.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the frigate **San Pedro el Caviteño**, 13 November 1778.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Francisco David

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There is another list of crew members on fol. 43.

**List of the Navy and Army officers of this frigate belonging to H.M. and named San Pedro el Caviteño.**

General	Francisco David
Ship Capitan	Pedro de Galarraga
First Lieutenant	Infantry Captain Francisco Ximenez
Second Lieutenant	Estevan Ballesteros
First Midshipman	Infantry Lieutenant Juan Casamara
Second Midshipman	Juan Bautista Maruja
Accounting Clerk	Justo Pastor de Azteguieta
Chaplain	Fr. Gabriel Molina
Surgeon	Rev. Fr. Joaquin Saavedra
First Navy Pilot	José Vazquez
Second Navy Pilot	Agustin de Ibarra
Third Navy Pilot	D. Antonio de Terán
Master of the Silver	Vicente Verzosa
Boatswain	Pedro Rioja
Boatswain's Mate	José Fernandez
Coxswain	Felipe Cotelo
Coxswain's Mate	Andrés Gonzales
Master of the Rigging	Juan Rodriguez
Master of the Rations	Juan Gaballas
Carpenter	Cipriano Basa
Caulker	Juan de Noguera

Aboard said frigate, 13 November 1778.

Francisco David.

**List of the passengers travelling on the afterdeck of this frigate belonging to H.M. and named San Pedro el Caviteño, each with his respective permit.**

Rev. Fr. Visitor of the Calced Augustinians, Fr. José Pereira

Rev. Fr. Fray Fernando Rey

Don Bernardo Blanco

Don Manuel Camus

**Don Vicente Díaz, Sergeant Major for the Marianas**

Don Ventura de los Reyes

Aboard said frigate, 13 November 1778.

Francisco David

**D2. Acknowledgment of the Viceroy, dated 2 December 1778**

**Original text in Spanish.**

[fol. 35]

*Ha llegado a mis manos con carta de V.m. a 13 de Noviembre la lista de la oficialidad de Mar y Guerra de la Fragata de su mando nombrada **San Pedro el Caviteño**.*

*Dios guarde a V.m. muchos años.*

*2 de Diciembre de 1778.*

[Al] *Señor Don Francisco David.*

### Translation.

I am in receipt of the letter from Your Grace dated 13 November, and the list of the Navy and Army officers of the frigate under your command, named **San Pedro el Caviteño**.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

2 December 1778.

[To] Don Francisco David.

## D3. First report by General David

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 36]

*Mi señor mio.*

*En cumplimiento de mi obligacion participo a V.E. como habiendo salido del puerto de Cavite el dia 12 de julio con la Fragata de S.M. nombrada **San Pedro el Caviteño** me hallo a la vista de las costas de la Navidad oy de la fecha, habiendo logrado hasta ella un feliz viaje, y sanidad, sin haber experimentado, ni el motivo, que regularmente a de anclar a los navios de esta carrera en San Jose de Californias por lo que pase de largo, no teniendo por otra cosa, que sea digna de poner en la atención de V.E. mas, que la de haber regresado de este Reyno con bien a Manila el 26 de junio la fragata y que esta de mi mando conduce abordo un mil novecientas veinte y cinco piezas de comercio como mas individualmente da quenta a V.E. el Maestre de Plata.*

*El pliego adjunto es el que el Superior gobierno de Manila me entrego para dirigirlo a manos de V.E.*

*Me ofrezco con todo rendimiento a las ordenes de V.E. deseoso de tenerlas repetidas.*

*Dios Guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*A bordo de la fragata **San Pedro el Caviteño** 13 de Noviembre de 1778.*

*Excelentisimo Señor*

*Besa la mano de V.E. su mas atento servidor*

*Francisco David*

[Al] *Excelentisimo Baylio Fray D. Antonio Maria Bucareli, y Ursua.*

### Translation.

My dear Sir:

To comply with my duty, I let Y.E. know of my departure from the port of Cavite on 12 July with H.M. Frigate named **San Pedro el Caviteño**. Today I find myself in sight of the coast facing Navidad. So far I have had a good voyage, without health problems, and I did not even experience the problem that normally forces the ships of this run to make a stop at San José in California<sup>1</sup> so that I did not go near it. I have nothing else worthy of being brought up to the attention of Y.E., except perhaps to say that I made a good return voyage from this Kingdom and arrived at Manila last June 26th and that the frigate which is now under my command carries 1,925 pieces of trade goods, the details of which will be given to Y.E. by the Master of the Silver.

The enclosed mail comes from the superior government of Manila. I was asked to deliver it to Y.E.

I very humbly place myself at the disposal of Y.E. and hope to receive your repeated orders.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the frigate **San Pedro el Caviteño**, 13 November 1778.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Francisco David

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D4. Second report by General David

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 38]

*Muy señor mio.*

*Quatro viajes (incluso el presente) tengo hecho en los galeones de Filipinas destinados a esta carrera, y los tres con el mando de general y la experiencia de ellos me ha hecho conocer los grandes peligros a que se exponen los intereses de la Real Hacienda, y del comercio de aquellas islas, con la salida de los galeones de Acapulco porque así se encuentran en el golfo la brisas flojas, y de recalada al Embocadero de S. Bernardino, o a principio de los vendabales, o entablados que son los que han ocasionado las perdidas de los expresados galeones, y internadas; por lo que suplico a V.E. con todo rendimiento, que para obviar estos fatales accidentes dirija sus superiores ordenes afin de que con la anticipación posible baxen los Mercaderes de ese reyno con los caudales correspondientes a que se pueda verificar abierta la feria en el tiempo, que suela salir de retorno esta fragata de mi mando el dia primero de Marzo tiempo en nos podemos prometer una moral seguridad no experimentar los inconvenientes dichos*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*A Bordo de la Fragata **San Pedro el Caviteño** 13 de noviembre de 1778.*

*Excelentísimo Señor*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: That is, lack of food and/or water.

*Besa la mano de V.E. su mas atento servidor  
Francisco David*

[A] *Excelentísimo Señor Baylio Fr. D. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa.*

### Translation.

My dear Sir:

This voyage will be the fourth one that I make aboard Philippine galleons of this run. I was General in charge of three of them and experience of them has taught me to recognize the great risks associated with the interests of the Royal treasury, and the trade of those Islands, with the departure of the galleons from Acapulco, because they thus meet with slack winds in mid-ocean, and risk having to stop within the Strait of San Bernardino, either at the beginning of the monsoon season, or when such winds have already set in, the very winds that have caused the loss of the above-mentioned galleons, or their wintering along the way. That is why I beg Y.E. with all due respect, in order to avoid such fatal accidents, to please issue your superior orders, so that the Merchants of this Kingdom would come down as early as possible with the corresponding funds to enable the fair to be opened on time, so that this frigate under my command may be able to leave at the usual time, that is, the 1st of March. That would virtually guarantee us safe passage and an avoidance of the above-mentioned disadvantages.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the frigate **San Pedro el Caviteño**, 13 November 1778.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Francisco David

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D5. Answer of the Viceroy

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 39]

*Tengo expedidas las ordenes convenientes para la Fragata **San Pedro el Caviteño** al mando de V.m. emprenda su retorno sin falta alguna el dia primero de Marzo proximo a fin de que se eviten los fatales accidentes que pudiera ocasionarla su tardo regreso en el golfo y recalada al Embocadero de San Bernardino como indica V.m. en su carta de 13 de noviembre ultimo.*

*Dios, &c. 2 de Marzo de 79.*

[A] *Señor Don Francisco David*

### Translation.

I have issued the appropriate orders for the frigate **San Pedro el Caviteño** under the command of Your Grace to undertake her return voyage without fail on the 1st day

of March, in order to avoid the fatal accidents that might cause her to be delayed in mid-ocean or seek shelter within the Strait of San Bernardino, as Your Grace has mentioned in your letter of 13 November last.

May God, etc. 2 March 1779,

[To] Don Francisco David.

## D6. Letter from the ship captain, dated Navidad 13 November 1778

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 42]

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*Tengo el honor de estar a las ordenes de V.E. con el motivo de ser el capitán de Alto-Bordo de esta Fragata, la que habiendose hecho a la vela el 12 de julio último del Puerto de Cavite en demanda del de Acapulco con los pliegos para S.M. del superior gobierno de Manila, y la carga del permiso de aquel Comercio, se halla en las costas de este Reyno, y á la vista del puerto de la Navidad: lo que participo a V.E. en cumplimiento de mis obligaciones, y en virtud de ella dirijo a sus superiores Manos el Estado adjunto para que V.E. providencie lo que hubiere por combeniente, y a mi me ordene lo que fuere de su superior agrado.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*A bordo de la Fragata del REY Nuestro Señor San Pedro el Caviteño y Noviembre 13 de 1778.*

*Excelentísimo Señor*

*B.L.M. de V.E. su mas rendido servidor*

*Pedro de Galarraga*

[Al] *Excelentísimo Señor Baylio Fray Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua.*

### [List of required supplies]

[fol. 43]

*Estado ... en que se manifiesta lo que por aora se ha reconocido necesitar la expresada Fragata, para su repuesto, y carena.*

*Recorrer las Costuras del Costado, y Cubiertas.*

*Veinte arrovas de Cebo.*

*Una arrova de Hilo acarreto para coser Velas.*

*Una bandera de Combate, hecha de Ruan: su largo 9 varas y su ancho 6-1/2, pintura Armas Reales.*

*Otra dicha de Proa: su largo 7 varas, y su ancho 4-1/2.*

*Dos Gallardetes: su largo 20 varas, y su ancho 7-1/2.*

*Doce Faroles de mano para la Bodega.*

*Dos Machetes.*

*Seis Aserradas.*

*Ocho libras de Clavo de bote, ò mena de una pulgada.  
 Todos los cuales utencilios son necesarios con alguna anticipacion, por haver de servir la mayor parte de ellos para la carena.*

### **Medicamentos.**

#### **Jaraves.**

<i>De Sidra</i>	<i>4 Libras.</i>
<i>De Granada</i>	<i>4 "</i>
<i>De Claveles</i>	<i>3 "</i>
<i>De Ojimièl</i>	<i>4 "</i>
<i>De Chicoria</i>	<i>6 "</i>
<i>De Canela</i>	<i>2 "</i>
<i>De Alt[h]jea</i>	<i>6 "</i>

#### **Semillas.**

<i>De Anis</i>	<i>8 oz.</i>
<i>De Hisopo</i>	<i>8 oz.</i>
<i>De Melon</i>	<i>2 Libras.</i>
<i>De Sandia</i>	<i>2 "</i>

#### **Ojas, y Flores.**

<i>De Borrajas</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Violetas</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Rosa</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Manzanilla</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Endivias</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Alt[h]jea</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Zarza Parrilla</i>	<i>2 "</i>

#### **Aguas.**

<i>De la Reina</i>	<i>8 oz.</i>
<i>De Cal de primera</i>	<i>6 Libras.</i>
<i>De Agua rosada</i>	<i>1 "</i>
<i>De Vinagre estilado</i>	<i>4 "</i>

#### **Ungüentos.**

<i>De Bazalicòn</i>	<i>1 Libra.</i>
<i>De Agripa</i>	<i>8 oz.</i>
<i>De Alasbastrò</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>De Populeon</i>	<i>8</i>

#### **Aceytes.**

<i>De Manzanilla</i>	<i>1 Libra.</i>
<i>De Membrillo</i>	<i>8 oz.</i>

#### **Tintura.**

<i>De Laudano Liquido</i>	<i>4</i>
---------------------------	----------

#### **Polvos.**

*De Xalapa* 4  
*De Nitro purificado* 1 Libra.  
***Pildoras.***  
*De Estoraque* 4  
*De Pildoras Mercuriales* 4  
***Espiritus.***  
*De Carminativo de Silvio* 4

***A Bordo de dicha Fragata y Noviembre 13 de 1778.***  
*Pedro de Galarraga.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

I have the honor to be at the orders of Y.E. because I am the high-sea captain of this frigate, the same that sailed from the port of Cavite on 12 July last bound for the port of Acapulco with H.M.'s mail from the superior government of Manila, and the freight belonging to the traders there. We are now along the coast of this Kingdom and in sight of the port of Navidad. I let Y.E. know about this to comply with my duty, and that is why I also must place at your disposal the attached Report on the condition of the ship, the better for Y.E. to provide for the appropriate orders. As for myself, I stand ready to obey whatever order might be of your pleasure.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Aboard the frigate belonging to the King our Lord **San Pedro el Caviteño**, 13 November 1778.

Your Excellency.

The most humble servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,  
 Pedro de Galarraga

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa.

### **[List of required supplies]**

Report ... of what appears to be required by the above-mentioned frigate at present, for her maintenance and carenage.

To go over the seams on the sides and decks:

20 arrobas of tallow.

1 arroba of pack-thread to repair the sails.

1 battle flag, made of serge: 9 yards long and 6-1/2 wide, painted with the royal crest.

1 other flag for the bow: 7 yards long and 4-1/2 wide.

2 pendants: 20 yards long and 7-1/2 wide.

12 hand lanterns for the hold.

2 machete knives.

6 hand-saws.

8 pounds of boat, or cordage, nails, one-inch.



All of which supplies are required with some urgency, because most of them are to be used for the carenage.

### Medicines.

#### Syrups.

Of cider	4 pounds.
Of pomegranate	4 "
Of carnation	3 "
Of oximel	4 "
Of chicory	6 "
Of cinnamon	2 "
Of marshmallow	6 "

#### Seeds.

Of anise	8 oz.
Of hyssop	8 oz.
Of melon	2 pounds.
Of water-melon	2 "

#### Leaves and flowers.

Of borrago	1 "
Of violets	1 "
Of roses	1 "
Of manzanilla	1 "
Of endives	1 "
Of marshmallow	1 "
Of sarsaparrilla	2 "

#### Waters.

Of the Queen	8 oz.
Of quick-lime	6 Libras.
Of rose water	1 "
Of distilled vinager	4 "

#### Ointments.

Of "Basilicon"	1 pound.
Of "Agripa"	8 oz.
Of "Alasbastrò"	8
Of "Populeon"	8

#### Oils.

Of manzanilla	1 pound.
Of quince	8 oz.

#### Tinctures.

Of liquid laudanum	4
--------------------	---

**Powders.**

Of Jalapa<sup>1</sup> 4  
 Of purified nitre 1 pound.

**Pills.**

Gum of the storax-tree 4  
 Of Mercurial 4

**Spirits.**

Of Silvio's carminative 4

Aboard said frigate, 13 November 1778.  
 Pedro de Galarraga.

**D7. Third report by General David****Original text in Spanish.**

[fol. 47]

*Exmo. Señor*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Desde la Navidad di parte à V.E. como me hallaba en aquellas costas el 13 del presente con esta Fragata de mi mando, y que havia salido del Puerto de Cavite el 12 de Julio ultimo, con lo demàs, que me pareció digno de la atencion de V.E., y del cumplimiento de mi obligacion, y habiendo, à Dios gracias, llegado con felicidad à este Puerto, lo pongo en noticia de V.E. para que en el me ordene quanto fuere de su superior agrado.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 26 de Noviembre de 1778.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*B.I.m. de V.E. su mas atento servidor*

*Francisco David*

[A] *Exmo. Sr. Baylio Fr. D. Antonio Maria de Bucareli, y Ursua.*

**Translation.**

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

From Navidad I have let Y.E. know of my arrival along those coasts on the 13th of this month with the frigate under my command, and that I had left the port of Cavite on 12 July last, with other news that I judged worthy of the attention of Y.E., in compliance with my duty. I have now arrived at this port, thanks be to God, and I hasten to report this to Y.E. so that you may order whatever may be of your superior pleasure.

---

1 Ed. note: A town near Veracruz, Mexico.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.  
 Acapulco, 26 November 1778.  
 Your Excellency.  
 The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,  
 Francisco David  
 [To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D8. Official notice of arrival at Acapulco from the royal officials

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 322]

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Señor:*

*Las acertadas providencias de V.E. motivaron que nuestra venida á este Puerto se verificase con tanta oportunidad, que llegasemos á tiempo de recibir la Fragata Filipina **San Pedro**, que diá fondo en esta Bahía el día de ayer.*

*Mi llegada aquí ha sido sin particular novedad. Deseo que V.E. no la tenga en su preciosa salud: que honre mi obediencia con sus preceptos en este destino; y que Nuestro Señor prospere su vida muchos años.*

*Acapulco 27 de Noviembrre de 1778.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Estevan de la Carrera.*

[Al] *Exmo. Sor. B<sup>o</sup> Fr. Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.*

### Translation.

Your Excellency.

Sir:

The fitting provisions of Y.E. have resulted in our arriving at this port in such a timely manner that it was just in time to receive the Philippine frigate **San Pedro** that anchored in this bay yesterday.

My voyage hither has been without incident. I wish a similar fate to the precious health of Y.E. and remain ready to obey your mandates at this place.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 27 November 1778.

Your Excellency.

Estevan de la Carrera

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D9. Request by General David to visit Mexico City

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol 332]

*Diciembre 9 de 78.*

*Castellano y Oficiales Reales quedan interados de la licencia que V.E. concedió al General Don Francisco David, para pasar á México.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Por Carta de V.E. de 2 de este mes, quedamos entendidos de que al General de la presente Nao de Filipinas Don Francisco David, se sirvió V.E. concederle licencia con dictamen del Señor Fiscal, para que pueda pasar á esa Capital por quince ó veinte dias á la práctica de varios asuntos personales, con la calidad de que no ha de emprender su viage hasta tanto que haya concluido las funciones que pertenecen á su empleo y la de que deberá estar de vuelta aqui dia 20 de Enero próximo inmediato.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 9 de Diciembre de 1778.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*Francisco Antonio Cañaverl y Ponce*

*Estevan de la Carrera*

*Bartolomé Pico Palacios.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. B<sup>o</sup> Fr. Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursua.*

### Translation.

9 December 1778.

The Warden and Royal officials acknowledge the receipt of the permit that Y.E. has granted to General Francisco David, to visit Mexico.

Your Excellency.

From the letter of Y.E. dated 2nd instant, we have been made aware of the permit that you have been pleased to grant to Don Francisco David, the General of the present Philippine galleon, following the recommendation of the Attorney General, in order for him to visit that capital for 15 to 20 days, to look after various personal affairs, with the condition that he is not to begin said voyage until he has completed the tasks that belong to his post, and that he shall have to be back here by next January 20th.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 9 December 1778.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Antonio Cañaverl y Ponce

Estevan de la Carrera

Bartolomé Pico Palacios

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D10. Letter from General David, dated Acapulco 27 January 1779

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 50]

*Exmo. Señor*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Por precisa consecuencia de mi obligacion, doy parte à V.E. haver logrado mi buelta de esa Ciudad à este Puerto, el dia 25 del corriente, en donde espero, que bajo de aquella satisfaccion, que debe tener de mi reconocido afecto, y sumisa obediencia, me subministre sus superiores órdenes, para acreditar en ellas el vivisimo deseo, que me asiste de servir à V.E.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años, como deseo.*

*Acapulco, y Enero 27 de 1779.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*B.I.m. de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> su mas atento servidor*

*Francisco David*

[A] *Exmo. Sr. B<sup>o</sup> D. Antonio Maria Bucareli, y Ursua.*

### Translation.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

As a necessary duty on my part, I report to Y.E. that I have successfully completed my return voyage from that City to this Port on the 25th instant, where I remain satisfied in the knowledge that I continue to be very grateful and very desirous to humbly submit to your superior orders, so that I could thus prove that I am anxious to serve Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Acapulco, 27 January 1779.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Francisco David

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.

## D11. Last letter from General David to the Viceroy

### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 52]

*Exmo. Señor*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Luego que lleguen à este Puerto los cien Reclutas, y tres Reos que deben embarcar en esta ocasion para Manila, haré se conduzcan à Bordo en la forma, que V.E. se sirve prevenirme en carta de 17 del corriente, y comunicaré, en cumplimiento de mi obligacion, el correspondiente aviso para su inteligencia.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años como deseo.*

*Acapulco, y Febrero 24 de 1779.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*B.l.m. de V.E. su mas atento servidor*

*Francisco David*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. B° D. Antonio María Bucareli, y Ursúa.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

As soon as the 100 recruits, and 3 convicts, who must board this ship bound to Manila have arrived at this port, I will have them come aboard in the manner that Y.E. was pleased to warn me about in your letter of the 17th instant, and I will send you a further notice of having complied, for your information, and for me to comply with my obligation.

May God save Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Acapulco, 24 February 1779.

Your Excellency.

The most devoted servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Francisco David

*[To] His Excellency Bailiff Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.*

---

 Documents 1780A
 

---

## The voyage of the San Antonio, Captain Choquet, in 1780—8 natives taken for a ride...

### A1. Letter #282 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 10 May 1780

*Source: AGI Fil. 497.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Philipinas.*

*Dà cuenta haver llegado al Puerto de Cavite en 16 de Abril del corriente el Paquebot de S.M. nombrado **San Antonio alias el Principe** despachado por le Exmo. Sor. Virrey de N.E. desde el Departamento de San Blas en calidad de aviso y con 150 mil pesos de Situado.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. n° 282.*

*Mui Sor. mio.*

*El Paquebot de S.M. nombrado **San Antonio alias el Principe** que en calidad de aviso, y con 150 mil pesos de Situado se despachò por el Exmo. Sor. Virrey de N.E. en virtud de Reales ordenes en 18 de Diciembre del año antecedente de 79 en demanda de estas Yslas al cargo de su Comandante el Teniente de Navio de la Real Armada D. Diego Choquet de Ysla, dio fondo en el Puerto de Cavite en 16 de Abril del corriente.*

*El primero de Marzo segun las noticias que me pasó el expresado Comandante lograron la recalada de Marianas, y la inmediacion à el Puerto de Umata, donde para tomar fondo pidió Practico, y habiendo llegado à Bordo en una pequeña Canoa con siete Yndios practicaron las mas vivas diligencias, afin de poder entrar, no siendoles posible à causa de haver areciado el viento; el dia siguiente se vieron precisados à seguir su derrota sin lograr bolver à sus Casas los Ocho naturales nominados à los que aclarò plaza de Grumetes para el servicio del Buque.*

*A los 10 dias subsequentes embocaron el estrecho de San Bernardino, y el 20 del mismo mes, dieron fondo en el Puerto de Pola donde se mantubieron por la contrariedad de los Vientos, y desde cuia rada, me pasó el nominado Comandante las noticias*

*relacionadas que son las unicas que ocurrieron en toda la navegacion sin otra cosa digna de hacerse presente.*

*Viendo, que esperar la llegada de dicho Buque era conocida atraso al Real servicio, resolví sin perdida de tiempo, que por tierra, y con la maior seguridad se condujesen los Pliegos, y Real Situado, como efectivamente se consiguio, con anticipacion de muchos dias a mes de la entrada del Barco al Puerto de su destino.*

*Luego que el Comandante me hizo presente la venida a su Bordo del Practico, y los siete Hombres que por los tiempos no pudo dejar en tierra determinè se les continuase con el sueldo, y racion que les havia señalado en el viaje que regresasen con las mismas plazas en el Barco **San Pedro** destinado al Puerto de Acapulco distinguiendo al Piloto con la de Artillero sin la presicion de concurrir à las faenas de dicha Plaza, y luego que se verifique su llegada à Marianas se les haga sus ajustes, y satisfagan sus devengados que deven ser por cuenta de las Reales Caxas de Mexico, como considerandos del Departamento de San Blas, para cuiò cumplimiento se le han pasado los correspondientes avisos al Exmo. Sor. Virrey; lo que hago presente à V.E. en cumpliiento de mi obligacion, y noticia del Soberano.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Mayo 10 de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.l.m<sup>o</sup> de V.Ex<sup>a</sup> su mas atento y seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[A] Exmo. Sor. D. Joseph de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines.

He reports having arrived at the port of Cavite on 16 April last with H.M.'s packet named **San Antonio alias el Príncipe** that had been despatched by His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain out of the Department of San Blas as an advice boat and with 150,000 pesos in subsidy.

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter # 282.

My dear Sir:

His Majesty's packet named **San Antonio alias el Príncipe** that had been despatched as an advice boat, with 150,000 pesos in subsidy, by His Excellency the Viceroy of New Spain by virtue of Royal orders dated 18 December of the past year 1779 to these Islands under the command of its commander, Royal Navy Lieutenant Diego Choquet de Isla, has anchored in the port of Cavite on 16 April last.

According to the report that I received from said commander, they sighted the Mariana Islands on the 1st of March, and reached the vicinity of the port of Umatac, from where they requested a local pilot in order to get to the anchorage. After a small canoe came alongside with seven Indians aboard it, they made very active efforts to reach the



anchorage but to no avail, because the wind became brisk. The next day they were forced to continue their voyage. The eight natives mentioned above were unable to return home and they were enlisted as ship's boys to serve on board the ship.

Ten days later they reached the Strait of San Bernardino, and on the 20th of the same month, they anchored in the port of Pola where they remained because of contrary winds. It was from this roads that the above-named commander sent me a written report to tell me about the incidents during his voyage. The above news are the only ones worth repeating.

Since a wait for said ship would certainly cause delays in the Royal service, I decided, so as not to lose time, to have the mail and the royal subsidy brought overland with the greatest security arrangements. This indeed took place, many days, if not one month, ahead of the ship reaching the port of its destination.

As soon as the commander reported to me the presence on board of the local pilot and the 7 men whom he was unable to place ashore on account of the bad weather, I decided to have the pay and rations that they had received during the voyage be continued, and to send them back with the same posts aboard the galleon **San Pedro** bound to the port of Acapulco. The pilot was to serve as a gunner, provided he be able to carry out the tasks involved in said post, until he reached the Marianas where their wages would be calculated and paid to them. Since they are considered to have served for the Department of San Blas, this pay should come out of the Royal treasury of Mexico. That is why the corresponding notices are being sent to His Excellency the Viceroy. I bring said information to the attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty, and advice of the Sovereign.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 10 May 1780.

The most devoted and faithful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,  
José Basco y Vargas.

## A2. Extract from the pilot's logbook

*Source: MN577, fol. 27-65v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Jesús Maria, y José con Señor San Juan Nepomuceno à quien dedico este diario, y en quienes espero me favorezcan en la navegacion, que voi à practicar desde el Puerto de San Blas situado en la Latitud Norte de 21 grados 35 minutos y Longitud de 112 grados 30 minutos (meridiano de San Bernardino) al de Manila en las Yslas Filipinas, mandando el Paquebot del Rey, nombrado San Antonio (alias) el Principe, con 6 cañones montados[,] 52 plazas de dotacion, 150 mil pesos de transporte, y Pliegos del Real servicio, y correspondencia publica.*

## Año de 1779

...

*Día 1° à 2 [Marzo]*

*En esta cingladura se han andado 120 millas al Rumbo del O1/4SO corrigiendo del todo, con variacion observada de 6°48' y segun lo navegado me estimo por Latitud de 12°36'.*

[Note in margin:] *El error (que es ninguno) y se puede llamar diferencia, que hê tenido en la Longitud desde la salida de San Blas, hasta Guajan es de 25 Leguas; pues desde ayer al medio dia navegue 15 y aumentè de Latitud, por quedar en 13°9' N al recaló. (Signed) Choquet.*

*A las 4-1/2 de la mañana descubri la Tierra, y à las 5 mareamos en demanda de ella, y a las 7 se tirò un cañonazo con bala, à causa de haver visto gente en tierra, y una Bandera arbolada, que parecia Españoles, à las 11 se tirò un cañonazo pidiendo Practico, ya montada la Ysla de Cocos, y su restinga, que sale al Sur.*

[Note in margin:] *La distancis navegada hasta aqui son 5410 millas, y encontrè de diferencia en Longitud 13 grados que Cabrera Bueno y esto seran las Aguas que el mismo cita tiran al O. desde los Bajos.*

*Día 2 a 3.*

*A las 2 de la tarde se virò de bordo en Demanda del Puerto y vino el Practico, à Bordo à las 4 se bolvió à virar de Bordo, à las 6 se hizo lo mismo, y à las 6-1/2 se le dio fondo a la Ancla de Estribor, y por falta de èl con 130 brazas, no se alcanzò[,] se nos empezó à venir el Ancla por ser el fondo àcantilado, y arriamos todo el Cable, y viendo que no hacia fondo me mantubè con la Mezana, recogiendo el Ancla, la que à fuerza de mucho trabaxo, vino à Bordo al ser de Dia, y seguimos con las Gavias en rizos, el viento NE fresco, y la Proà al NNO[,] la corriente corre al SO algo regular.*

*A las 8 viramos de bordo, con la Proa al ESE el mismo viento àchubascado, y frescachon. A las 12 se determinò, mirando, que se perdía mucho, meter la Lancha, y seguir nuestro Destino, à no perder el tiempo.*

*Nos demora dicha Ysla su Punta mas al NO al angulo N 6-1/2 grados en el 1° quadrante y al N 83 en el mismo la Punta mas SE Distancia de 7-1/3 leguas y de largo 11 leguas, por esta parte del SO y para la del NE considero tenga de 12 à 13 leguas[,] es alta, y tiene una Ysleta al SSO de ella que tendra como 1 legua de largo llamada, Ysla de Cocos.*

...

**Translation.**

**Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and also St. John Nepomucene to whom I dedicate this logbook, and I hope they will favor the voyage that I am about to undertake from the port of San Blas, situated in 21°35' lat. N. and 112°30' [E] (of the meridian of San Bernardino), to the port of Manila in the Philippine Islands, in command of His Majesty's packet boat named San Antonio, alias Príncipe, car-**

rying 6 guns, 52 crewmen, 150,000 pesos, and the royal mail, as well as public mail.

Year of 1779.

...

From 1st to 2nd [March]

On this daily run a distance of 120 miles has been covered in a resultant direction toward W1/4SW. The [magnetic] variation was observed as 6°48' and, according to what was sailed, my estimated latitude is 12°36'.

[Note in margin:] The error (which is non-existent) and can be called difference, that I have had in longitude since my departure from San Blas, as far as Guajan, is 25 leagues; indeed, since yesterday noon I have made 15 [miles] and increased my latitude to 13°9' N when the island was sighted.

[Signed] Choquet.

At 4:30 in the morning, I sighted land, and at 5 we set out toward it. At 7 a loaded gun was fired, because we saw some people ashore, and the flag that was hoisted seemed to be Spanish. At 11 another gun was fired to ask for a local pilot. At this time we had already passed Cocos Island and its barrier reef, which extends from it southward.

[Note in margin:] The distance covered thus far is 5,410 miles, and I found a difference of 13 degrees between my longitude and that given by Cabrera Bueno; this must be due to the currents that run westward beginning at the Shoals.<sup>1</sup>

From the 2nd to the 3rd.

At 2 p.m. we tacked and headed for the port. The local pilot came alongside at 4, when we tacked back. At 6 this maneuver was repeated, and at 6:30 the starboard anchor was let go, the full 130 fathoms of line was run out, but the anchor did not hold; indeed, it kept moving up when we pulled on the line, because it was lying on a steep slope; thus we took in the whole cable. Seeing that I had no bottom, I maintained myself under the mizzen sail, recovered my anchor but only after much work. It finally came aboard at daybreak, and we kept on sailing, the topsails being furled, the wind NE fresh, with the bow pointing NNW. The current runs generally runs SW.

At 8 a.m. we tacked back with the bow pointing ESE, with the same wind direction but with squalls of rain and wind. At noon it was decided, given that we were losing ground, to take in the ship's boat and pursue our voyage, so as not to lose time.

The NW point of said island bore N6°30'E while the SE point bore N83°E distant 7-1/3 leagues. Its length is 11 leagues, but between this SW corner to that in the NE I think there are from 12 to 13 leagues. It is a high island, and it has an islet in its SSW corner that is about 1 league in length that is called Cocos Island.

..  
.

---

1 Ed. note: That is, Taongi, now part of the Marshall Islands.

### A3. Report regarding the same voyage

*Source: MN 577, fol. 27+*

#### Original text in Spanish.

...  
*La recalada à Marianas (esto es à Yguan) el día 1º de este [Marzo de 1780] se verificó con tanto acierto, como la inmediación al Puerto de Umata, donde pedimos práctico, y habiendo llegado a este bordo, en una pequeña canoa, con 7 Indios, nos mantubimos bordeando todo el día con el viento al Nordeste, hasta que cerca de la oración ya recio dexamos caer el ancla, y después de haber hecho ella se nos vino, y por haber cantil, cayó donde el escandallo, con ciento, treinta brazas, no halló fondo. Es patente la diligencia que se hizo hasta el día, para no perder este hierro, y su cable, que a costa de trabajo salvamos.*

*Al día inmediato, bordeamos con las 4 principales [velas] sin rizos, sin embargo de la furia del mismo viento y desengañados de ver [que] no aprovechabamos nada, de una vuelta, ni otra; se determinó seguir a nuestra comision para cuya brevedad, me estrechaban las Instrucciones de mi Comandante.*

*Se consiguió a los 10 dias despues, à vista el Cabo de Espiritu Santo.*

*Pto de Palapa y 20 de Marzo de 1780.*

*Diego Choquet de Isla*

*Juan Augustin de Echeverria*

*Christoval Espinosa*

#### Translation.

...  
 The sighting of the Marianas (that is, of Iguan) on the 1st day of this month [March 1780] went well and we reached the vicinity of the Port of Umata where we requested a local pilot. He came alongside aboard a small canoe, with 7 Indians. We maintained ourselves tacking all day long with a northerly wind, until the time of prayers, when it became brisk and we let go the anchor. Once the prayers had been said, the anchor gave way, and on account of the steep sloping bottom, it fell where the sounding line could not find bottom at 130 fathoms. It stands to reason that we made all possible efforts to recover it until the next morning, so as not to lose this iron, and its cable, and after much labor we finally did it.

That day, we tacked with all four sails unfurled, in spite of the fury of the same wind, and were disappointed to see that we did not gain any ground whatever, from one tack to the next; so, it was decided to go on with our commission, as per the Instructions that I had received from my Commander, who had emphasized the need for urgency.

The voyage was pursued and within 10 days we sighted Cape Espiritu Santo.

Port of Palapa, 20 March 1780.

Diego Choquet de Isla [Captain]  
 Juan Agustín de Echeverría [First mate]  
 Cristobal Espinosa [Second mate]  
 [& other signatures]

### Editor's notes.

AGI Fil. 494 contains another file, accompanying Letter #284 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 27 May 1780, stating that the Mexican packet **San Antonio, alias Príncipe** had been declared unfit to make the return voyage to San Blas, because it was such a bad sailer, that it should stay in the Philippines, and that two similar vessels (not exceeding 14 feet in draft) but with good properties, were being sought to send to San Blas in exchange, to the garrisons of California.

This packet brought news of a state of war with England (again), but another packet, also sent from San Blas, and named the **San Carlos**, Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala, had already brought this news to Manila two months earlier (ref. Letters #14 and #27 in same file).

## A4. Letter #326 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 6 July 1780

*Source: AGI Fil. 496.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excmo. Sor.*

*V.R. n° 326.*

*Mui sor. mío:*

*Con fecha de 27 de Mayo di cuenta à S.M. por mano de V.E. con testimonio de las diligencias seguidas à representacion de Don Diego Choquet de Ysla, Theniente de Navio de la Real Armada, que vino à estas Ysslas de Comandante del Paquebot el **Príncipe**, procedente del Puerto de San Blas, despachado por el Exmo. Sor. Virrey de Mexico, con los Pliegos del Real Servicio, necesitar dicho Buque para su regreso un exacto examen del estado en que se hallaba; y habiendose executado dicho reconocimiento se determinò en Junta de Real Hacienda, que se mandase à los constructores del Arsenal de Cavite reconocer los Basos que havia en esta Bahía pertenecientes à varios individuos vecinos, para que tomandose uno de Real cuenta pudiese regresar a dicho Puerto de San Blas; executose este, y de resultas me propusieron Paquebot **N. S. de Aranzazu** de la pertenencia de un particular comerciante, cuyo importe total con los Peltrechos de Guerra, y aparejo ascendia à 7 mil 337 pesos segun el abaluo que me presentaron, haciendome presente, que para su composicion en estado de poder navegar, era necesario gastar de cuenta del Rey 1 mil 800 pesos con los Jornales, y operarios poco mas ò menos, en cuio estado, habiendose seguido varias diligencias para que se efectuase la compra, con Audiencia fiscal se determinò por uniformidad de votos en*

*Junta de Real Hacienda, se tomase dicho Buque por la misma Cantidad de 7 mil 335 pesos 4 granos de su abaluo con el fin de que regresase a dicho Puerto; y puesto en execucion, y dadas las providencias por mí mandé se arquease con el fin de que este comercio embarcase la Carga, que admitiese a flete; con advertencia de que en Junta de Real Hacienda se havia regulado 2-1/2 pesos p% de Almojarifazgo de salida, y 10 reales por cada palmo cubico, que ocupasen sus efectos, prefiriendose en dicha Carga al Comercio, en inteligencia, que dicha asignacion de flete era sin exemplar; De cuius determinacion pase à Oficiales Reales aviso, para que admitiesen con este arreglo la que buenamente pudiese llevar dicho Paquebot el qual se despacha a dicho Reyno à cargo de su Comandante Theniente de Navio Don Juan Manuel de Ayala como todo consta del Testimonio que incluyo.*

*Por los mesmos terminos dicho Theniente de Navio Don Juan Manuel de Ayala que vino à estas Yslas de dicho Puerto de San Blas con el Duplicado de los Reales Pliegos en el Paquebot **San Carlos** me representò lo imposible que era regresar a su destino por sus malas propiedades de que dè cuenta à S.M. con testimonio por mano de V.E. con fecha de 8 de Mayo: y habiendo dado mis providencias para que se reconociese otro Buque para dicho regreso en lugar de dicho Paquebot **San Carlos**, no tubo efecto en ninguno de los de este Comercio respecto a no haverlo al proposito para aquel Puerto pero en vista de combenir al Real servicio el embio de otro Buque quedo con el cuidado de que pasada esta monzon que no dà lugar a la construccion de otro, que sea al proposito para aquellos mares poner en execucion su fabrica con la precision que demanda para en tiempo oportuno despacharlo.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Julio 6 de 1780.*

*B.I.mº de V.E. su mas atento y seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[A] Excmo. Sor. D. Joseph Galbez.*

## Translation.

Confidential letter #326.

My dear Sir:

In my letter of 27 May last, addressed to H.M., care of Y.E., along with the record of the proceedings that followed the representation of Don Diego Choquet de Isla, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, who came to these Islands as captain of the packet **Príncipe** that came from the port of San Blas, despatched by His Excellency the Viceroy of Mexico, with the royal mail, I reported that said ship required a close inspection to find out its condition before it could return. This inspection has been carried out. A board of the Royal treasury has decided to ask the shipbuilders at Cavite to check the vessels that are presently in this bay and belong to various individuals of this city, so that one could be purchased and sent to said port of San Blas. This was done, and the result is that they recommended to me the packet boat named **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** that belonged to a trader, whose total price, including all of its equipment and rigging,

was 7,337 pesos, according to an evaluation that they presented to me, but they estimated that it was necessary for the king to spend an additional 1,800 pesos approximately in wages for repairmen. After various proceedings involving the attorney general of the Audiencia in order to close this deal, a joint meeting of the Royal treasury finally decided unanimously to buy said ship for the exact amount stated in the evaluation, that is 7,335 pesos and 4 grains, and to send it back to said port. This was done. I then gave orders for this ship to be gauged so that the traders could load their freight, for which fees would be charged. In a joint meeting of the Royal treasury, said fees had been fixed at the rate of 2-1/2 pesos, rather percent, in export customs duties, and 10 reals per cubic palm, that their goods would occupy, with the understanding that said freight belonging to the trade would thus get preferential treatment, but that said assignation of fees was without precedent. To follow on this decision, I instructed the Royal officials to admit only as much freight as said packet boat could really carry. It is now being despatched to said Kingdom under the command of Navy Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala, as can be seen from the record of proceedings, attached.

By the same token, said Navy Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala who had come to these Islands from said port of San Blas carrying a duplicate set of the royal despatches, in charge of the packet boat **San Carlos**, had also represented to me that he could not return home with it on account of its bad properties, about which I sent a report to H.M., dated 8 May, care of Y.E., enclosing the record of proceedings. In this case, I had also issued orders to look for another ship to replace said packet boat **San Carlos** for the return voyage, but none suitable could be found, among those belonging to the traders here. However, given that it would be in the interest of the royal service to send another ship, I remain determined, once the present monsoon season has passed (because ship-building stops during it) to have another ship built for those seas, and have it ready for eventual despatch.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 6 July 1780.

The most devoted and assured servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas

[To] His Excellency Don José Galvez.

---

## Document 1780B

---

### Subsidy for the Marianas 1777-79

*Source: AGN AHH 459-147.*

#### Letter of payment dated Mexico 12 February 1780

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Mexico 12 de Febrero de 1780*

*Mediante á que en informe de diez y ocho de Enero próximo pasado expusieron los Oficiales Reales de estas Caxas no pulsar inconveniente en la remision de los nueve mil pesos que importa el situado del Colegio de San Juan de Letran de las Islas Marianas en los tres últimos años de setenta y siete, setenta y ocho, y setenta y nueve: Los citados Ministros remitiran al Puerto de Acapulco la referida cantidad para que se embarque en la Fragata **San Joseph** consignados al Señor Governador de Manila, con independencia del Real Situado; tomándose razon de este decreto en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas.*

*[Martin de] Mayorga*

##### Translation.

Mexico, 12 February 1780.

Inasmuch as the Royal officials, in their report dated 18 January last, did not find any reason to oppose the remittal of the 9,000 pesos which represent the subsidy of the College of San Juan de Letrán in the Mariana Islands for the last three years 1777, 1778 and 1779, the above-mentioned Ministers are to remit said sum to the Port of Acapulco, to be placed aboard the frigate **San José** consigned to His Lordship the Governor of Manila, as a entry separate from the [general] Royal subsidy. Let the Royal tribunal of accounts take note of this decree.

[Martín de] Mayorga, [Viceroy of New Spain].

##### Historical notes for 1780.

The frigate **San José** was the first ship that successfully make the eastward passage to Acapulco in 1779 by the new route north of Luzon (see Doc. 1779B).



During her return voyage in 1780, the **San José** acted as a flagship, under the command of Lieutenant José Emparán. In company sailed the King's packet **Nuestra Señora del Rosario, alias La Princesa**, whose commander, or Almirante, was Lieutenant Bruno Heceta. There was a Second-Lieutenant Maurelle aboard the Princesa who would take charge of her the following year (see Doc. 1781A). The two ships feared an encounter with English ships; so, they avoided Guam, preferring instead to sail via the northern Marianas. In fact, they sighted Anatahan on 23 May, then headed SW until they sighted Sarigan and Tinian. Having done so, they headed west, intending to approach Samar just south of Cape Espiritu Santo. They effectively sighted this island on 10 June, and went on cautiously to anchor in the port of Palapag.

The galleon **San Pedro, alias El Caviteño** also used the new route north of Luzon on the way to Acapulco in 1780. She departed Cavite on 1 June and reached Acapulco on 27 October. She was the first ship to return to Manila in 1781 by this new route on purpose, in order to avoid the Embocadero and potential enemies, as England and Spain were again at war. However, this westward voyage took over 11 months to accomplish.

Again in 1782, the **San Pedro** used the same route, but she vanished without a trace, somewhere east of northern Luzon in the Pacific...

---

## Document 1780C

---

# Gilbert Islands—The war between Tarawa and Abemama

*Source: Father Ernest Sabatier, M.S.C. Sous l'équateur du Pacifique: Les îles Gilbert et la mission catholique, 1888-1938 (Issoudun & Paris, 1939).*

*Editor's note: Although this book has been translated into English by Ursula Nixon, and published in Melbourne by the Oxford University Press in 1977, my own translation appears below. This story is from a Gilbertese legend, collected by French missionary Fathers almost 100 years (4 generations) after the events here described.*

### A woman's revenge

At about 1780, the people of Tarawa carried out an expedition against Abemama where they were defeated. In order to consider themselves the clear winners, the people of Abemama thought that they had to continue the war at Tarawa (70 miles away). Three main characters were the leaders of these expeditions: one general, one soothsayer, and one pilot. This time, it was a woman, Paintapu, who led the fleet. At first, everything went well. Instead of being received with spears, the warriors from Abemama were practically buried under taro roots, fresh coconuts, and properly-cooked fish. Feasts were organized, dances also; ornaments, mats and all sorts of other gifts were brought in. During the distribution of these gifts, Paintapu, was not considered a chief; worse, being a woman, she was completely ignored.

Did she shed any tears? Did she make claims and then recriminate? The well-fed and contented chiefs took no notice. The injustice was not repaired.

During the return voyage, the easterly wind was contrary. They had to tack, out of sight of land. As nightfall was approaching, the men with the steering oars were taking their cue from the leading canoe. Suddenly, Paintapu regained all of her prestige. But, that day, the chief was not too bright. Indeed, Paintapu, lying on a mat inside the small cabin, was pretending to be asleep. All day long, the canoes had sailed in a straight line, without touching their sail. Strange, indeed, every time someone tried to consult the woman, she had simply said "Keep going", without bothering to raise her head. Finally, the men come to realize that she is angry, and they realize why. They suspect her to be a traitor. Her game ends up by being recognized for what it is. By nightfall, the men become exasperated; they seize the woman and, with her mat, an throw her overboard. All the canoes pass her by, but the last one come in sight of something floating;

they recognize a mat, and nearby somebody swimming. They pick it up, and recognize Paintapu. She had fallen overboard by accident, she said, and nobody had noticed. Thank you for saving me.

The woman ordered the canoe to slow down, a little. The other canoes have disappeared. Never mind, they would be seen again by morning. Now, it is time to tack back. The sail was carried to the other end of the canoe. Paintapu consulted the stars, and gave her orders, before laying down again, this time, with her face upwards. All night long, her canoe sailed without meeting with any other canoe. At daybreak, not one canoe could be seen anywhere. Many days went by, in solitude and anguish. Finally, an island came into sight: it was Abemama. No other canoe had made it. Time passed, and not one of them ever returned. We will never know what Paintapu was thinking, at night, when she heard the screams of the mothers and widows, because she had so well succeeded in her revenge.

The history of the Gilbert Islands is full of similar tragedies, mostly forgotten. What happened to the lost canoes? Did the men end up in the bellies of sharks, or in those of cannibals, in Santa Cruz Island, or in the Solomon Islands?

---

## Documents 1780D

---

### Letters about Governors Arleguí and Ceraín

#### D1. Letter #11 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 27 December 1779

*Source: AGI Fil. 496.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Filipinas.*

*Ynforma sobre la Pretension que hizo à S.M. Don Joseph Arlegui en solizitud del Grado de Theniente Coronel, y de la propiedad de la Comandancia del Esquadron de Luzon.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. N° 11.*

*Muy Señor mui:*

*En carta reserbada de 24 de Octubre de 1778 me manda V.E. de orden del Rey informe sobre la solizitud que dicha Real Orden incluye de Don Joseph Arlegui actual Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon en que solizita la propiedad de la Comandancia con el grado de Theniente Coronel. Por los Ynformes del Ynspector Don Pedro Sarrio, y por lo que he obserbado de la recomendable conducta y aplicazion de Arlegui lo juzgo acrehedor à la Comandancia respecto tambien à que siendo su patente y la del Capitan Don Juan Mir de una misma fecha segun informa el Ynspector, en Arlegui concurre la circunstancia de ser dos años mas antiguo del anterior grado inmediato; tambien pareze obrà la pretension de la graduazion que pretende respecto à tenerla todos los Comandantes de Dragones del Exercito.*

*S.M. resolvera lo que fuere de su Real agrado.*

*Dios guarde la vida de V.E. muchos años como deseo.*

*Manila 27 de Diziembre de 1779.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*B.I.m. de V.E. su mas atento y seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[A] Exmo. Sor. Don Joseph de Galvez.*

**Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines reports about the petition presented to H.M. by Don José Arleguí to get a promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the permanent assignment as Commander of the Luzon Battalion.

Your Excellency.

Confidential Letter N° 11.

My dear Sir:

In a confidential letter dated 24 October 1778 Y.E. orders me, on the order of the King, to report on the petition, enclosed with said Royal Order, that was presented by Don José Arleguí, the actual Commander of the Battalion of Dragoons of Luzon, in which he solicits to become its permanent Commander with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. From the reports submitted by the Inspector General Pedro Sarrio, and based on what he has observed of the commendable conduct and application of Arleguí, he judges him to be worthy of becoming permanent Commander; besides, although his commission to the rank of Captain bears the same date as that of Captain Juan Mir, Arleguí had two years' seniority over him in the previous rank, and it seems that there is another valid argument in the fact that all other Commanders of Dragoons in the Army hold that rank.

H.M. will decide what may be of his Royal pleasure.

May God save the life of Y.E. for as many years as I wish.

Manila, 27 December 1779.

Your Excellency.

The most attentive and faithful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Bargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

**D2. Letter #321, dated 6 July 1780**

*Source: AGI Fil. 496.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. N. 321.*

*Mui Sor. mío:*

*En Consulta de 21 de Agosto me prebiene V.E. de orden de S.M. continúe D. Phelipe Cerain en el empleo de Governador de Marianas hasta nueva providencia, y al mismo tiempo que el Situado de dichas Yslas respecto de haverse prebenido à N.E. que el Galeon de este año no toque en Marianas, y por que de resultas de haver llegado la Fragata **San Josef** prebine à Oficiales Reales que para el cumplimiento de esta Real Orden tubiesen aquel Real Situado en disposicion de que pudiese ir en el Paquebot **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** proximo à emprender viaje à dicho Reyno, y Puerto de San Blas à cargo de su Comandante D. Juan Manuel de Ayala, estos me informan no puede tener*

*cumplimiento mi determinacion en atencion à no haverlo registrado, y embarcado en Acapulco el Apoderado de aquel Governador, y Presidarios, a quien los Ofiziales Reales de Mexico entregaron veinte mil ciento treinta y siete pesos y quatro reales que se consideraron por legitimos en dicho Presidio, doy cuenta à V.E. para que lo ponga en noticia de S.M.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila y Julio 6 de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m<sup>o</sup> de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. D. Joseph de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter N<sup>o</sup> 321.

My dear Sir:

In a consultation dated 21 August, Y.E. advises me, on the order of S.M., to let Don Felipe Ceraín continue to serve as Governor of the Marianas until a new provision, and at the same time to have the subsidy of said Islands delivered there. However, it turns out that the frigate **San José** has indeed arrived.<sup>1</sup> the Royal Officials advise me that, in order to comply with this Royal Order, I should make the Royal subsidy available, so that it should be placed on board the packet boat **Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu** (that is about to leave for said Kingdom, and Port of San Blas, under the command of Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala). However, the same Royal officials tell me that this is impossible, because the Agent of that Governor, and the Garrison there, to whom the Royal Officials of Mexico had turned over the 20,137 pesos and 4 reals that they considered legitimate, simply did not register same. I report this to Y.E. so that H.M. can in turn be informed.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 6 July 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most attentive and faithful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: By way of Tinian, without stopping at Guam.

### D3. Letter #22 from the Governor of the Philippines, dated 10 July 1780

*Source: AGI Fil. 497.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Philipinas.*

*Contexta à la Real orden de 21 de Agosto de 1779 sobre la pretension de Don Joseph Arlegui del Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, que hà solicitado de la Real Piedad.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. n° 22.*

*Muy Sor. mio.*

*Tengo antecedentemente informado à S.M. en cumplimiento de la Real orden de 24 de Octubre de 78 sobre la pretencion de Don Josè Arlegui à la Comandancia del Esquadron de Luzon, y al grado de Theniente Coronel, exponiendo à S.M. que de ambas cosas lo considero acreedor por antiguedad merito y circunstancias, y no menos lo encuentro idoneo, y proporcionado para obtener el Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, que ha solicitado de la Real Piedad; todo lo qual expongo à V.E. en obediencia de la Real orden de 21 de Agosto de 1779 que para el efecto me comunica V.E.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 10 de Julio de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m° de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Don Josè de Galvez.*

#### Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines answers the Royal Order dated 21 August 1779 regarding the petition of Don José Arleguí for the Governorship of the Mariana Islands, which he has solicited from the Royal mercy.<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter n° 22.

My dear Sir:

I have previously informed H.M., in compliance of the Royal Order of 24 October 1778, regarding the petition of Don José Arleguí to become Commander of the Luzon Battalion, and for the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, telling H.M. that I considered him worthy of both things, on account of seniority, merit and circumstances. I do not con-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In his letter #67 dated 5 July 1778, the Governor of the Philippines has previously transmitted Arlegui's first petition for appointment as Governor of the Marianas.

sider him any less deserving of the Governorship of the Mariana Islands, which he has solicited from the Royal mercy. All of which I express to Y.E. in compliance with the Royal Order of 21 August 1779, which Y.E. has communicated to me for the purpose.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 10 July 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most sincere and faithful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

#### **D4. Letter #23 dated 10 July 1780 also**

*Source: AGI Fil. 497.*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*El Gobernador de Philipinas.*

*Ynforme en cumplimiento de la Real orden de 21 de Agosto de 1779 del merito y destino del Capitan Don Phelipe Cerain, del Regimiento de Ynfanteria del Rey que guarnece estas Yslas.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*V.R. n° 23.*

*Muy Sor. mio.*

*Don Phelipe Cerain vino à estas Yslas de Capitan de Recluta despachado por el Sor. Virrey de Mexico el año de 67 y quedò agregado al Regimiento del Rey con el mismo grado. El año de 68 fuè de General de la Nao y haviendo arrivado bolvió à salir para Acapulco al siguiente año, y continuò à la buelta en el Regimiento sin nota hasta el año de 75 que fuè destinado al Gobierno de las Yslas Marianas, y tomò posesion de èl à mediado del de 76.*

*Este Oficial fuè destinado à la Expedicion de Mamburao por mi Antecesor en la que se portò con buena conducta, y valor, tiene capacidad, es lo que consta en este Gobierno, y lo que Informo en cumplimiento de la Real orden de 21 de Agosto de 1779 que V.E. me comunica para el efecto.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 10 de Julio de 1780.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*B.l.m° de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Don José de Galvez.*



### Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines reports, in compliance of the Royal Order dated 21 August 1779, on the merit and posting of Captain Felipe Ceraín, of the King's Infantry Regiment stationed in those Islands.

Your Excellency.

Confidential letter n° 23.

My dear Sir:

Don Felipe Ceraín came to these Islands as Captain of recruits enlisted by the Viceroy of Mexico in 1767 and he remained and was attached to the King's Regiment with the same rank. In 1768, he was General of the galleon and, having turned back in distress, he left again for Acapulco the following year, and rejoined the Regiment upon his return, without citation until the year 1775 when he was posted to the Governorship of the Mariana Islands, and he did take possession of same in the middle of 1776.

This officer was assigned by my predecessor to the Expedition of Mamburao, in which he behaved with good conduct, and courage; he is a man of ability. This is what is recorded in the files of this Government, and so I inform, in compliance with the Royal Order dated 21 August 1779 which Y.E. has communicated to me for the purpose.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 10 July 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most sincere and faithful servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

### D5. Letter #336 dated 11 July 1780

*Source: AGI Fil. 496.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Philipinas.*

*Contexta el recivo y cumplimiento de la Real orden sobre la antigüedad de los Capitanes de Dragones Don Joseph Arlegui y Don Juan de Mir.*

*Nº 336.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Mui Sor. mio.*

*En cumplimiento de la Real orden de 21 de Agosto de 1779 en que S.M. me manda decidir la duda ofrecida sobre la anticipacion de los Capitanes de Dragones de Luzon, y à qual de ellos correspondia el mando en Jefe de este Cuerpo: hè probeido el Decreto siguiente, previas las diligencias necesarias para enterarme de el caso.*

*“Manila 7 de Julio de 1780. Vistas y reconocidas por mi las Libretas de servicios de los Capitanes de Dragones D. Joseph Arlegui y Don Juan de Mir, cuia copia me remittio el Sor. Ynspector firmada de su puño, en las quales consta que estos dos Oficiales gozan una misma antigüedad de Capitanes desde 26 de Diciembre de 1769 pero en la clase proxima anterior de Tenientes es mas antiguo Don Joseph Arlegui, por que lo fuè en 31 de Julio de 1764 y Don Juan de Mir en 22 de Abril de 1766. Declaro arreglando me al art. 1º trat. 2º tit. 26. de las Reales Ordenanzas y en virtud de la facultad que S.M. me dà en Real Orden de 21 de Agosto de 79 para que decida qual de estos dos Capitanes es mas antiguo, y por consiguiente debe ser comandante natural del esquadron de Luzon, que una y otra prerrogativa pertenece al referido Arlegui. En consecuencia de lo qual despachese orden al Sor. Ynspector con insercion de la citada Real orden y de esta declaracion para que la traslade à los dos Ynteresados, y en la orden general de la Plaza dè à reconocer por Comandante y Jefe natural del nominado esquadron al citado Arlegui. Tomese razon en ambas Contadurias, y dese cuenta à S.M. en contextacion de dicha Real orden con debolucion del Despacho de Comandante que se habia recibido à favor de Don Juan de Mir.—Basco.”*

*El qual traslado à la noticia de V.E. para la Real inteligencia de S.M. debolviendo à sus Reales manos el Despacho de Capitan Comandante expedido à favor de Mir como mas antiguo quando se formò el esquadron, pero despues se sirvio el Rey declarar à favor de Arlegui que debia gozar la antigüedad de Capitan desde 26 de Diciembre de 69 y entonces, fuè quando se antelò à Mir.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años como deseo.*

*Manila 11 de Julio de 1780.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*B.I.m. de V.E. su mas atento seguro servidor*

*Joseph Basco y Vargas.*

*[A] Excmo. Sor. Don Joseph de Galvez.*

### **Translation.**

The Governor of the Philippines acknowledges the receipt of, and compliance with, the Royal Order regarding the seniority of the Dragoon Captains, Don José Arlegui and Don Juan de Mir.

Nº 336.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

In compliance with the Royal Order dated 21 August 1779 in which H.M. orders me to resolve the doubt that exists regarding the relative seniority of two Captains of Dragoons of [the Battalion of] Luzon, and to whom properly belongs the post of Commander-in-chief of this Corps. I have issued the following decree, after I made the necessary efforts to become knowledgeable in the matter.

“Manila, 7 July 1780. Having seen and examined the Service Records of Captains of Dragoons Don José Arleguí and Don Juan de Mir, whose copy was remitted to me by the Inspector General, signed by his own hand, it appears that these two officers enjoy the same seniority in the rank of Captain, as of 26 December 1769, but in the rank immediately inferior, that of Lieutenants, Don José Arleguí has more seniority, since he became Lieutenant on 31 July 1764, whereas Don Juan de Mir became Lieutenant only on 22 April 1766. I declare that, in accordance with Article 1, Book 2, Title 26 of the Royal Ordinances, and by virtue of the power vested in me by H.M. in a Royal Order dated 21 August 1779 for me to decide which one of these two Captains has more seniority, and consequently must naturally become Commander of the Luzon Battalion, that both prerogatives belong to the above-mentioned Arleguí. Consequently, please despatch an order addressed to the Inspector General, enclosing said Royal Order and this declaration, so that they may be copied to both interested parties. The Routine Orders of the Garrison should also carry the notice that every member of the Luzon Battalion is to recognize said Arleguí as their Commander and natural Superior. Both accounting offices are to be advised, and a letter prepared to give an answer to the Royal Order, and with it to send back the Letter of appointment that had been received. and mentions Don Juan de Mir as potential Governor of the Marianas.— Basco.”

I bring the above to the notice of Y.E. for the Royal intelligence of H.M., and I return to his Royal hands the Despatch of Captain Commander issued in favor of Mir, as the more senior officer when the battalion was created, but, afterwards the King was pleased to declare in favor of Arleguí who should have enjoyed seniority as Captain since 26 December 1769, and therefore he has been senior to Mir since that date.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

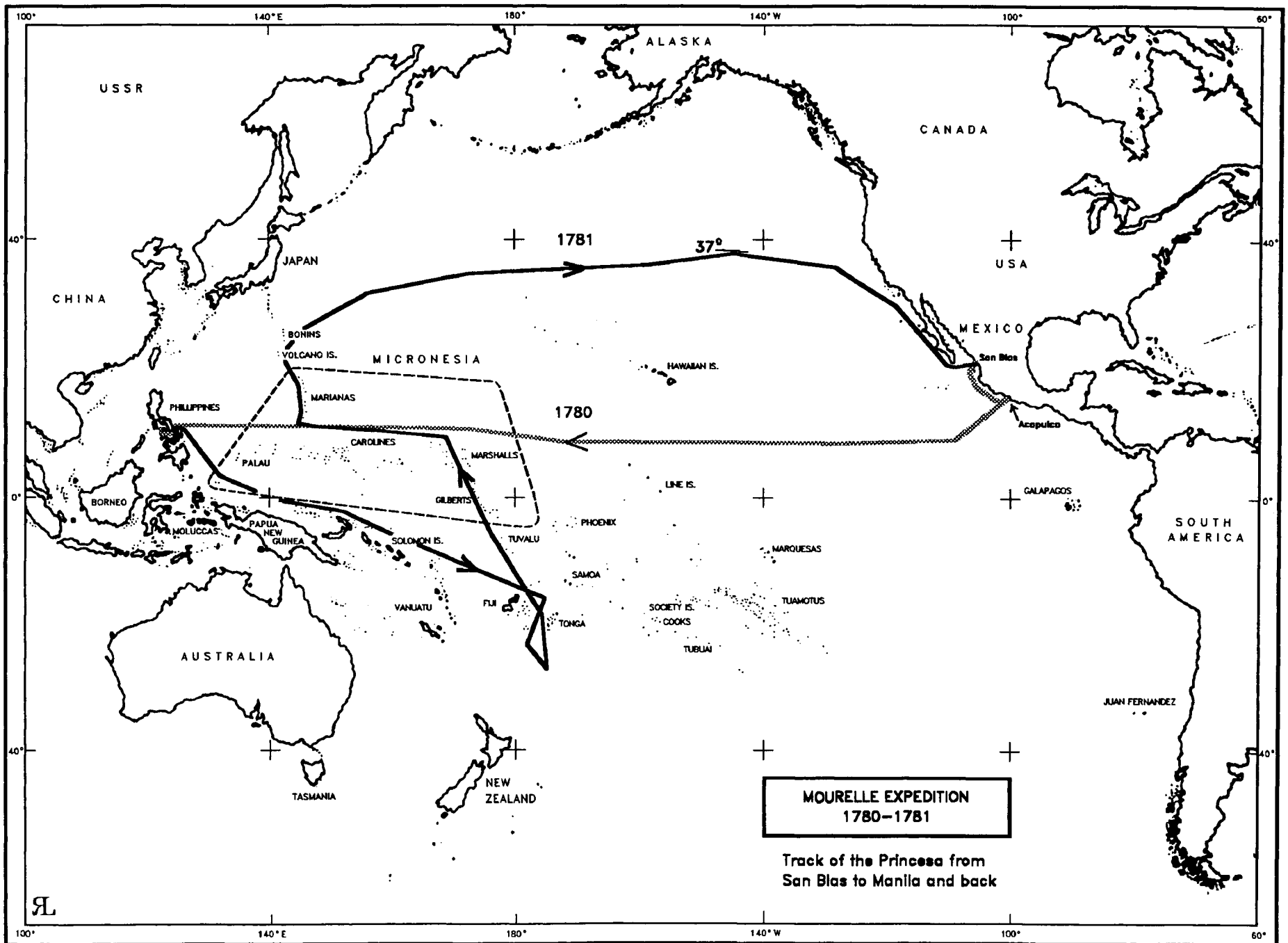
Manila, 11 July 1780.

Your Excellency.

The most sincere and obedient servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

José Basco y Vargas.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.



---

## Documents 1781A

---

# Lieutenant Mourelle in the *Princesa*, from Manila to San Blas, via Guam in 1781

### Introductory notes.

Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Antonio Mourelle had arrived at Manila aboard the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, alias *La Princesa* under the command of Lieutenant Bruno Heceta. Although he was but a youth of 25, there was such a shortage of naval personnel at Manila that he was then given the command of this packet and sent back to San Blas, via the southern route, but he found it necessary to fall back upon Guam to refresh, before continuing his long voyage.

Mourelle was born at San Adrián de Corme, near Coruña, in 1754 and died at Cadiz in 1820. Many documents concerning his full career are in AGI Guadalajara 520. See also the Bibliography at the end of this volume.

The frigate *Princesa* had been built at San Blas for the 1779 expedition to the north-west coast of America. She was a small vessel of 189-1/2 tons, 40 cubits of keel length, and 14 cubits in breadth. After many other voyages, she was condemned in 1793.

**Mourelle wrote his own name thus, not as Maurelle.**

### A1. Mourelle's own narrative—Extract

*Sources: AGI Fil. 220-224; certified copies in AGI Guadalajara 520 (formerly 104-6-22); edited copies in MN mss. 181, 276, 413 (fol. 155+ which are the track information) and 577 (fol. 242-259v); ordinary copy published as an appendix in La Pérouse's Voyage (see below); quoted by Landín in his biography of Mourelle; quoted by Espinosa y Tello in his Memorias; cited by Navarrete in Biblioteca marítima española I, p. 475; cited by Fernández Duro in Armada española VII, p. 456; among many others.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Noticia de la navegación de la fragata Princesa, al mando del Alférez de Fragata Don Francisco [Antonio] Mourelle, desde Manila á San Blas por el Océano Pacífico, en 1780 y 1781.***

*Noviembre de 1779.*

*Hallándome en el puerto de San Blas en Noviembre de 1779 después de la exploración de descubrimiento en que fui empleado el mismo año, a tiempo que por ocurrencias de la guerra con la Inglaterra, ordenó S.M. que del reyno de México fuesen*

*socorridas las Filipinas con caudales, tropas y pólvora, dispuso a este efecto el Excelentísimo Señor Virey que a la mayor brevedad diese la vela del puerto de San Blas para el de Acapulco le fragata **Princesa**, al mando del Capitán de la misma clase Don Bruno Hezeta, sirviendo yo el destino de segundo Comandante de ella.*

*La nao **San Josef**, procedente de Manila, mandada por el Teniente de Navío Don Josef Emparán, nos esperaba en dicho puerto, para conducir reunidos el socorro dispuesto.*

*Febrero y Marzo de 1780.*

*Nosotros dimos la vela del puerto de San Blas el 21 de Febrero de 1780, y a pesar de una continua sucesión de calmas que retardó nuestro arribo, fondeamos el día 5 de Marzo en el puerto de Acapulco. donde se acopiaban entonces los viveres y cuanto debia embarcarse en ambos buques para el citado destino.*

*Con el objeto de precaver todo encuentro con los enemigos, que como otras veces, podian esperar el arrobo de la nao sobre el archipiélago de Filipinas, tuvimos una junta para fixar la derrota y determinar los puntos de recalada; verificado lo cual sólo pensamos en apresurar nuestra salida.*

*El día 15 de Marzo dimos vela del puerto de Acapulco, cuya latitud es de 16°50'N., y su longitud oriental del cabo de San Lucas (adonde siempre se refieren mis meridianos), es de 9°49', llevando sobre nuestro buque los caudales, tropas y pólvoras que nos tenían prevenidos.*

*Los vientos al tiempo de nuestra partida eran de cuarto cuadrante, pero al paso que nos fuimos separando de la costa hasta hallarnos de 150 a 200 leguas de distancia, rodaron progresivamente hacia el Levante, con cuyo motivo continuó nuestra navegación sin accidentes ni sucesos particulares, conservando el paralelo de 12 grados poco más o menos, según lo exigían las situaciones de algunas islas, que aunque mal situadas en las crtas, nos las monstraban la concurrencia de muchos páxaros marítimos.*

*Mayo de 1780.*

*El día 15 de Mayo, hallándonos en 13°2' de latitud, y considerándonos libres de los baxos de San Bartolomé [i.e. Taongi], hicimos rumbo en el cuarto cuadrante proximo al Poniente para subir a la latitud de 17° en que está la isla de **Anatajan**, que segun nuestra junta debiamos reconocer; y en efecto la descubrimos por la proa el 23 a las 4 de la tarde, quando nos hallábamos sobre 16°57' de latitud N., y nos consideramos al occidente del cabo de San Lúcas.*

*Ya que nos aseguramos de su demarcación y de Faranllobelá [sic],<sup>1</sup> que está à la vista, pasamos aquella noche por su canal, reconociendo las de Tinian y Sariguan, despues de lo qual volvimos el rumbo al tercer cuadrante próximo al Oeste, con el fin de recalar al Sur del cabo de Espiritu Santo...*

...

---

1 Ed. note: On his chart, this rock was later renamed Farallón de Medinilla.

[The following year, the return voyage to San Blas was undertaken by the southern route, but food and health problems forced the ship to fall back to Guam, when they had already reached the neighborhood of the Gilbert Islands.]

*Mayo 12 [1781].*

*El día 12 atravesé la línea hacia el Norte con bastantes turbonadas de todos los cuadrantes; y por los aparatos que mostraban los horizontes después de la isla del Cocal, me hice juicio que por la parte del Este de mi derrota se hallan desde ella muchas tierras o islas, que din duda forman una cordillera desde los Galápagos, corrida por la parte del Sur de la equinoccial, con muchas interposiciones entre ellas.*

*En este corto tiempo que se racionaban las cinco onzas de pan, no hubo individuo que sucesivamente dexase de relajarse del estómago, debilitando tanto sus fuerzas y carnes, que apenas juntas las dos guardias podían izar la gavia; y por esta razón muchas veces suprimí las maniobras necesarias para evitar algun desarbolo.*

*Mayo 22.*

*El día 22 me consideraba sobre los baxos de San Bartolomé, y aunque en este caso debía precaverme por las noches con algunas capas por faltarme la luna, y correr los vientos no solamente frescos sino muy recios, la lástima de ver mi pobre gente cada día en más deplorado estado, picados los más del escorbuto que ocasionó la total inutilidad del pan, no me dió lugar a usar de las precauciones necesarias, tomando el partido de corresponder a ellas con la mayor vigilancia de todos, y forzar de vela cuanto me fue posible a fin de no perder momento.*

*Mayo 24.*

*El día 24 ya me hallé en la latitud de 13°16' N. libre de todo recelo, y gobernó al occidente en vuelta de la isla de Guajan, capital de Marianas,*

*Mayo 31.*

*en la cual anclé el día 31 en la rada de Umata, recibiendo inmediatamente los precisos socorros para racionar desde entonces mi tripulación.*

*Como al tiempo de mi arribo se acercaba la estación de los vendavales, y no tenía por entonces anclas suficientes para asegurarme en los abrigos que ofrece aquella isla, pasé inmediatamente los correspondientes oficios al Gobernador de ella Don Felipe Cerain, manifestándole mi actual estado y el objeto de mi comisión, para que con la actividad posible procediese a mi apresto hasta ponerme en términos de subsistir a la vela en caso de correr los tiempos contrarios; declarándole igualmente, que sin embargo de la total decadencia de mis xarcias y velámen, estaba resuelto a continuar mi derrota para el reino de Nueva España, a fin de poner en manos del Excelentísimo Señor Virey la importante noticia de la situación en que quedaban las Filipinas, como por su parte me facilitase los viveres pertenecientes a la dilatada navegación que debía emprender; bien entendido, que considerando la imposibilidad de hallar en aquel presidio los que efectivamente componen la ración de Armada, estaba conforme en recibir los frutos que buenamente se proporcionasen siempre que su cantidad produxesen el equivalente de aquella.*

*Deseoso el Gobernador de verificar por su parte todas las providencias conducentes al logro de mi comisión, y precaviendo al mismo tiempo la fatal consecuencia que resultaría si los vientos me arrancasen de aquella rada sin alimentos con que poder socorrer mis gentes, tomó el partido de ponerme a bordo quince días de víveres en arroz, maíz y cerdos, no cesando desde entonces los refrescos diarios para recobrar la tripulación del escorbuto que padecía, y disponerla a mi nueva salida: igualmente me hizo conducir desde el presidio (que distaba diez leguas de Umata) una antiquísima ancla, que aunque le faltaba la cuarta parte de la barra, la preparé de modo que quedó servible; y ayudada de otra de madera que construí con mi carpintero, me ví a los tres días en estado de dar fondo sostenido sobre tres cables, aunque con poca satisfacción de todos.*

*En esta disposición sólo me restaba la aguada perteneciente a los mismos días para asegurar de una vez mi subsistencia al ancla y a la vela cuando llegase el caso de correr los vendavales interín se acopiaban los restantes víveres, para cuyo efecto había presentado sucesivamente sobre aquella playa desde el punto de mi arribo toda la pipería que conducía en mi buque, dando principio a su composición con ardiente actividad; pero en este caso creció la general admiración, pues cuando nos considerábamos con alguna agua a bordo, atendiendo al corto tiempo de nuestra salida de las islas de Mayorga, donde fue rellenada, y creyendo que la andana baxa, por estar enterrada en el lastre menudo, no padecería el universal estrago de la alta, nos vimos en Marianas sin hallar en la bodega más de dos pipas de lla, faltándole a la una un barril completo; porque justamente el agujero que a esta le hicieron en su fondo lo tenía en el canto alto.*

*Yo llamé al Gobernador, su Mayor y todos los individuos de mi fragata para que la registrasen públicamente, donde dieron gracias al Señor de haber salido con bien a vista de aquel notable estrago que por momento nos ofrecía la última infelicidad.*

*Como sus duelas de costados y fondos estaban roídas por todas partes, fue forzoso rebaxarlas y fabricarlas enteramente de nuevo, dexando de cuatro barriles las que antes eran de seis; y no ofreciendo la presteza con que se trabajó en ellas la mayor seguridad para acabar felizmente mi larga navegación; a que se añadía el corto número de 48, que únicamente se pudieron armar durante los 19 días de mi demora, comprendió el Gobernador que lograría el éxito que yo deseaba y entonces me ofreció 300 cañas de a 8 cuartillos cada una que me puso a bordo con suma brevedad, cuyo socorro aunque no permitía la mayor consistencia y satisfacción para resistir a la perjudicial sabandija, me ensanxó el ánimo, y me quitó todo el recelo, esperando que con la abundancia tendrían en que divertirse.*

*Los víveres que me franqueó se componían de 140 hanegas de maíz, 50 de arroz, 90 cerdos, 20 novillos, 45 arrobas de carne seca, manteca, sal, aceite de la tierra para las luces, aguardiente de coco para la marinería, 600 [or 6,000?] cocos para los lechones, con todas las restantes bagatelas necesarias en las embarcaciones; y finalmente, los abundantes refrescos con que socorrió mi tripulación interín me mantuve en aquella isla, y abasteció para los primeros días de la salida, proporcionaron el restablecimiento de ella.*



*Las expresadas provisiones en más favorable situación nunca fueron admisibles para emprender tan dilatada navegación; pero un punto de honor que me reducía al más melancólico estado, me hacía cerrar los ojos a los poderosos obstáculos que realmente había; y aunque muchos de los más respetables de mi buque se interesaban fuertemente con el Gobernador para que me persuadiese a regresarme, tratando antes en junta las justas razones que había para dexar una resolución que trataba de temeraria, el Gobernador nunca se atrevió a proponerme con esfuerzo la interposición que le hacían, conociendo que si aquellos socorros (aunque despreciables) me faltaban, era consiguiente en mí la desesperación; y así sólo con la mayor suavidad solía compadecerse de las calamidades que me pronosticaban.*

*La marinería, convencida de mi obstinación, padeció el mayor desconsuelo, considerando que si anteriormente habían estado a las puertas de la muerte, que en este caso con los víveres que llebábamos era segura su pérdida. Todos clamaban por quedarse en Marianas; y hubo algunos desertores que por no querer detenerme el tiempo preciso para buscarles, se quedaron, y los restantes ofrecían hacerse perpetuos habitantes de Guajan si les permitían quedarse en aquella isla, de cuyas propuestas nunca hice aprecio,*

*Junio 20.*

*y me dispuse a la salida el día 20 de Junio de 1781, con el firme empeño de morir antes que dexar de llegar a Nueva España.*

***Salida de la rada de Umata en la isla de Guajan, capital de Marianas, situada sobre 13°10' de latitud N., y al Este de Manila 21°28' para el reino de Nueva España.***

*Provisto de los expresados víveres en términos de concluir mi navegación al reino de Nueva España, executé la salida de la rada de Umata el día 20 de Junio de 1781, en cuyo caso experimenté, como siempre, la decadencia de uno de mis cables que sostenía por el ancla que me facilitó el Gobernador, pues cuando ya estaba a la lumbre del agua reventó por la inmediatez a la malla; y como a este tiempo había abatido el buque a mucho fondo, fue sumergida adonde no aboyaba el orinque.*

*Los vientos Estes y Esnordestes me llevaron hasta la latitud de 20°10' N., y allí sufrí 7 días de continuas calmas, en los cuales sólo anduve la distancia que me llevaron las corrientes al Noroeste.*

*Julio 3.*

*El día 3 de Julio sobre los 24° y 26° empezaron los vientos del cuarto cuadrante, y unas veces bonancibles, y otras calmosos, me pusieron el día 7*

*Julio 7.*

*en la latitud de 25°20', considerándome entonces sobre la isla Volcan Grande,<sup>1</sup> continuando con la misma latitud hasta el 11,*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The middle island of the Volcano, or Sulphur, Islands, is also known as Iwo, and is situated at 24°50' N. (see Doc. 1779A).

**A 143**

El Ex<sup>mo</sup>. Sr. D. Fran. Ant. Mourelle Com. Gral. en 1819 de la Gran Exped. de Ultramar Primer Viajero, que reconoció hasta los 62° de latitud N; Descubridor del grupo de Vavao y otras Islas de la Occania. Nació el año de 1754, y murió en el de 1826.

**Francisco Antonio Mourelle de la Rúa, Spanish navigator. He was only a 25-year-old Sub-Lieutenant when he visited Guam in 1781 (Portrait hanging in the Museo Naval in Madrid).**

*Julio 11.*

*que hallándome en 27°52' me contemplaba al E. de la isla Malabrido 25 leguas de distancia, libre ya de la cordillera de Marianas, en cuyo caso rodaron los vientos al tercer cuadrante, y con ellos seguí en vuelta del N.E. ganando más latitud con el objeto de buscarlos más frescos y favorables, hasta cuando me cí en los 40 grados que goberné al E. y al E. 1/4 N.E., conservando este rumbo en tanto que los vientos lo permitieron...*

...

*Anclé el día 27 [de Setiembre] en la noche en la boca del puerto de San Blas...*

*Desde este puerto despaché al punto mi idario y demas instrumentos pertenecientes al Excelentísimo Señor Virey Don Martín Mayorga.*

*San Blas 27 de Setiembre de 1781.*

*A bordo de la fragata Princesa.—*

*Francisco Mourelle.*

### **Translation in appendix of La Pérouse's Voyage.**

*Sources: Already translated by many, for example, Joseph Bumstead, in Voyage round the world (Boston 1801), whose translation follows.*

**Abstract of A Narrative of an Interesting Voyage, from Manilla, the Capital of the Philippine Islands, to San Blas, on the western Coast of Mexico; which was performed in the years 1781 and 1782 [sic], by the Spanish Frigate La Princesa, under the command of Don Antonio Maurelle.**

...

On the 21st day of November, 1780, the Princesa frigate sailed from the port of Sisiran for San Blas, on the western coast of America. She was wafted by fine breezes from the E.N.E. and E. Mr. Maurelle endeavoured to get to the northwest. On the 30th, he found himself in 10 deg. 14 min. N. Lat. The winds and high swelling seas retarded the progress of the vessel, and in time diverted her from her course, so that, on the 9th of December, she was still within sight of the island of Catanduanes, one of the Philippines. Tolerably fresh breezes from the south and west, now enabled them to run to the eastward till the 14th of December. New variations of the wind soon obliged them to run to the southward. The charts which they had on board, represented different islands, none of which appeared as lying within sight of the track over which they passed between the 18th and 21st. But, the short and heavy billows which now rolled around them, were such as must certainly have been produced by the proximity of the Caroline Island, or the New Philippines. They crossed the line on the 29th, and entered the southern hemisphere. Mr. Maurelle still made it his principal object to steer southward, till he might fall in with the westerly winds, such as are naturally to be expected in high latitudes; yet varied his course in compliance with the frequent variations of the breezes.

In this course, many large trunks of trees, birds of different species, boobies, and those fowls which the Spaniards named *dominicos*, were often seen by the ship's company, while they sailed on.

...

[On 27 May 1780, they left the Port of Sisiran, heading south toward New Guinea, then back up toward the Gilbert Islands.]

...  
On the 16th of February [1781], finding that the weather did not become more favourable; that they were still far distant from the place of their destination; and that there did not now remain on board provisions for more than three months: he thought proper to reduce the total daily allowance to two-thirds of what it had hitherto been. The ship was unhappily infested with cockroaches, which committed the most destructive depredation on the casks of biscuit. Many of the water-casks had also leaked out the greater part of their contents, and had become entirely unfit for further use. Mr. Maurelle was, therefore, induced to make sail for Solomon's Islands, in order to replace the water which he had lost. But the north-easterly winds blowing without interruption, still drove the vessel, in spite of every effort southward. On the 20th of February, they were 17 leagues westward from Cape Santa Cruz, or Guadalcanal. Breezes from the E.N.E. and E soon made them lose all hopes of gaining Solomon's Isles. It was determined, as the last resource, to proceed farther southward, till they should fall in with those Isles of joy and abundance, which have been so much celebrated by the English navigators.

...  
Losing no favourable moment, Mr. Maurelle had made his way, on the 5th of May, as far as the 6 deg. of S. Lat. Here was found a low isle<sup>1</sup> with a sandy shore, that terminated in an impenetrable reef, near to which a line of more than fifty fathoms gave no indication of bottom. This isle was covered with cocoa-trees. The long boat was sent out with an armed party, to bring in a supply of cocoa-nuts. But the breakers of the reef made it impossible for her to land. The Indians, however, launched their canoes, and came out with such small supplies of cocoa-nuts as the difficulty of the navigation would allow them to bring. They endeavoured, without success, to tow in the frigate towards the shore. But after six hours of fruitless labour, the attempt was given up. The people of this isle were frightfully besmeared with paints, and different somewhat in their speech from those of the more southern isles. They had, for the most part, long beards, hanging down their breasts.

On the 6th, Mr. Maurelle was obliged to reduce the daily allowance of food to each man of his crew, to five ounces of bread, three ounces of pork, and two ounces of beans. That evening, they saw another isle, larger and lower than the last. To this isle they gave the name of **San Augustin**.<sup>2</sup>

On the 13th [May 1781], they again crossed the Line. Every appearance concurred to persuade them, that, in the latter part of this course, they had left much land to the

---

1 Ed. note: Which they named Gran Cocal, identified by Sharp (op. cit.) as Namuman[g]a.

2 Ed. note: The ship's position at noon of 6 May was 5°9' Lat. S. and 171°41' W. Sharp (op. cit.) identifies this island as Nanumea, in Tuvalu.

eastward.<sup>1</sup> While the crew were confined to the above mentioned small allowance of bread, every one complained of a weakness of stomach. Their strength was in general, so exceedingly enfeebled, that they were now hardly able to walk the ship. Most of them were attacked with the scurvy. On the 24th they found themselves in 13 deg. 16 min. N. Lat. and all danger was at an end. They steered W. by N. for Guam, the capital of the Marian Isles. On the 31st, they anchored in the road of Umata.

Don Philippe Zerain, governor of this isle, no sooner received notice of the arrival of the **Princesa**, and of her wants, than he sent on board a temporary supply of rice, maize, and hogs, for fifteen days, to be used, if the vessel should, by any sudden accident, be driven from the road; gave daily supplies of antiscorbutic provisions for the use of the crew; and furnished an old anchor to supply for one of those which had been lost. A wooden anchor was framed to make up for the loss of the others. Water was next taken in, with all expedition. To their astonishment, they found, that, by unknown leaking from the casks, their store of water had been, before their arrival in the road, reduced to less than two butts. Their barrels were entirely spoiled: but of these also, a supply was furnished by the care of the governor. Of eatables was obtained a supply of about five hundred bushels of maize, two hundred and sixty bushels of rice, thirty hogs, twenty bullocks, with a large quantity of dried meat, of butter, of salt, of lamp-oil, of cocoa-nut brandy, with sixty [sic] cocoa-nuts for the hogs.<sup>2</sup> On the 20th of June 1781, the **Princesa** was ready for the renewal of the voyage. On the 20th the anchor was weighed. In the raising of the anchor, the cable again unfortunately broke and the anchor was lost.

Mr. Maurelle chose to steer a northerly course. Winds from the E. and N. carried them to 20 deg. 10 min. N. lat. For the next eight days, they experienced a calm that left them entirely at the mercy of the winds [rather currents], by which they were drifted to the N.W. On the 3d of July, in Lat. 24 deg. 26 min. the winds between the W. and N. began to blow, at times, with considerable force, at other times, more faintly. On the 7th they were carried to Lat. 25 deg. 9 min. On the 11th they had reached the latitude 27 deg. 52 min. On the 5th of August, after a progress which had not been very successful, they fell under the influence of a north-west wind. Till the 13th they steered E. by S. In the interval, the winds had been extremely variable. On the 3d they were in N. Lat. 37 deg. 5 min. and, by accurate reckoning, in 144 deg. 17 min. of longitude W. from Paris. Till the 3d of September they stood to the eastward. Sea-weeds, and trunks of fir-trees floating upon the water, here gave them the first indications of the proximity of the land of California. To approach this coast, they steered E.S.E. On the 4th, the colour of the waters of the sea began to change: Small birds were also seen; and all things conspired to indicate that land was nigh. On the 8th they found themselves but five leagues distant from Point Pedernal. After obtaining sight of this point, they

---

1 Ed. note: Wrongly shown to the west of the ship's track on the French map published with this chapter.

2 Ed. note: However, the full logbook has other quantities: 90 pigs, and 6,000 coconuts.

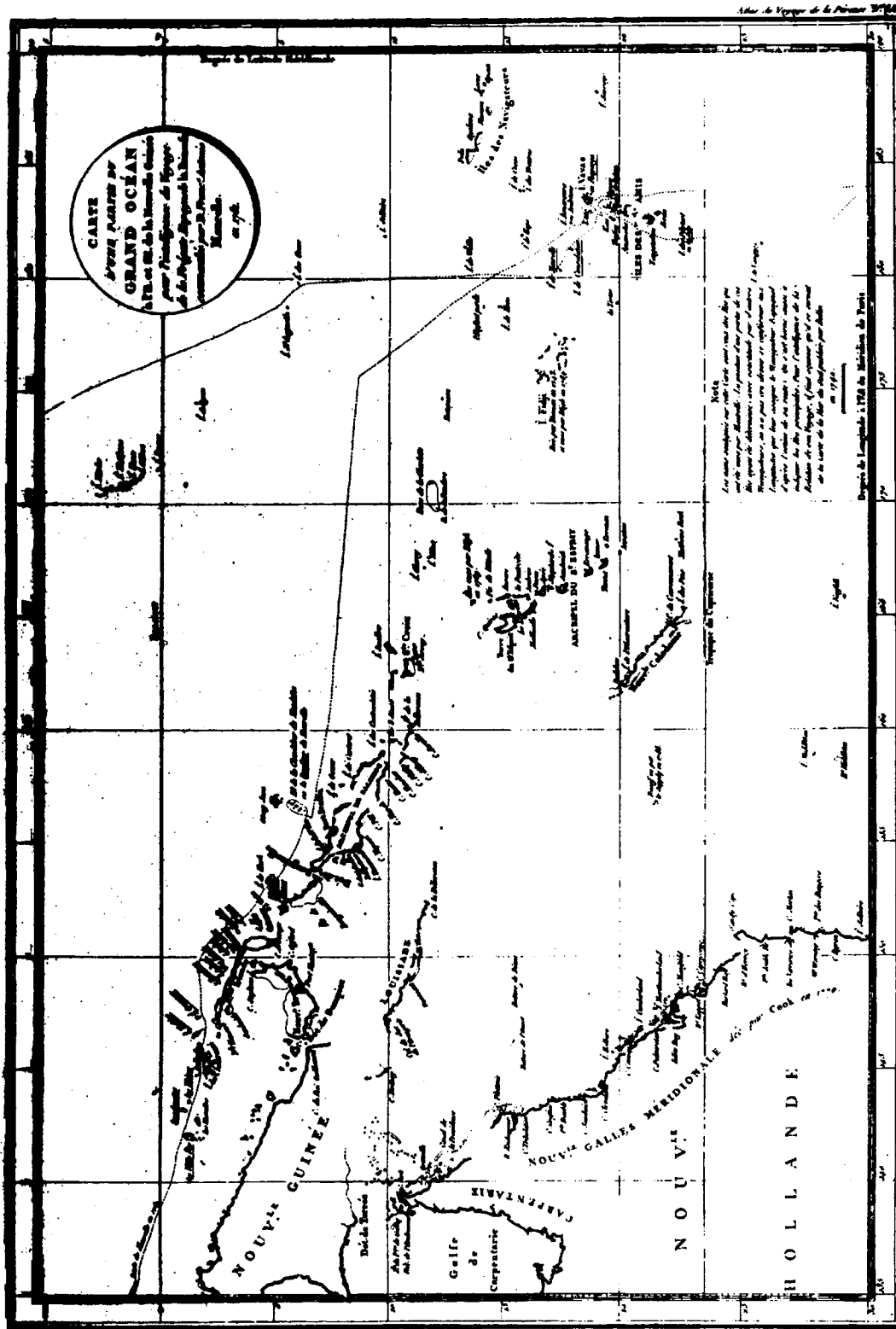


Chart of Maurelle’s voyage in the South Pacific, 1781. (From the Atlas of La Pérouse’s Voyage).

directed their course towards Cape San Lucas. In their course, eight leagues eastward from the island of Guadalupe, they had some days of calm. They next came within sight of Morro San Lázaro. On the 22d they were near to Cape San Lucas. A dreadful hurricane overtook them on the 25th. For six hours it continued to rage with such fury, that, even against an heavy sea, they were driven on at the rate of seven miles and a half, an hour, under the foresail. On the 26th and 27th, they doubled the Maria Islands, and came at last to an anchor in the road of San Blas in 21 deg. 30 min. N. lat. in 134 deg. 5 min. Long. E. from Manilla, 107 deg. 6 min. Long. W. from Paris. In spite of all their difficulties, only two men had died on the voyage; one in the harbour of Sisiran; the other, of a phthisis.

## A2. Extract from the logbook of Pilot Vazquez

*Source: AGI Guadalajara 520.*

*Note: Vasquez notes that his longitudes are calculated E of San Bernardino, whose meridian, he says, is 121°40' E of Paris.*

### Original text in Spanish.

...

#### ***Acaecimientos en la Rada de Umata al Ancla.***

*El Dia 31 de Mayo, acabado de amarrar la Fragata, se comenzó a llebar la piperia en tierra, a ver si pudiamos componerla con toda brevedad, y a la tarde vaxamos el Comandante y Yò en tierra, y se le hizo saver al Governador (que se hallaba en Aumata) nuestra suma miseria, y al mismo tiempo, el gran empeño que teniamos, en seguir nuestro viage a N.E. como tan importante al Real servicio, y inmediatamente nos facilitò quanto sele pidió para dicho fin, dando las mas vivas, y eficazes providencias que le fueron posibles, tanto como aproviarnos los viveres para el viaxe, quanto para tuviéremos por el pronto algunos à bordo de la fragata para algun ympensado accidente que nos pudiese sobrevenir, pues este era su maior cuidado, y vigilancia, y al mismo tiempo franqueò Carpintero para ayudar à hacer el Sinipite, ò Ancla de palo, mandando su Lancha, y gente por un Ancla vieja que haria en la Capital, por si nos pudiese servir: de suerte, fue su vigilancia que a los 3 dias ya teniamos varios viveres a bordo: a los 5 se acabò el Sinipite, el que tendimos con el Cable de esperanza, à cuiò tiempo, habiendo venido el Ancla de la Ciudad, sin embargo de que estaba falta de unas caña y zepo, se compuso, y el dia 8 la tendimos con un Calabrote, con lo qual yà quedamos asegurados para las Brisas, como tamvien para yr al Puerto en caso de necesidad; Ynterín se estaba preparando con toda vela actividad, 50 arrobas de Maiz y 40 cabanes de arroz (que fue menester le dieran los Padres, por no tenerlo el Presidio por las secas del año anterior) y demas menudencias: assimismoo mandò hacer 3,000 bombones de caña de ocho quartillos de agua cada uno, respecto de que la Piperia era casi ynutil, pues aunque no se parò de Trabaxar en ella desde nuestra llegada apenas pudieron componerse 45 y esto sacando duelas, y fondos de unas para otras, siendo esta la causa de maior demora en esta Rada, pues los viveres a los 15 dias estaban todos a bordo, y considero que*

*solamente la grande eficacia, y actibidad del dicho Governador pudiera haver conseguido abilitarnos tan bien, y pronto en paraxe donde tasadamente havia para el presidio con las semillas anuales.*

*Los vientos durante nuestra esta[da] aqui se mantubieron mui frescos a la brisa con recias turbonadas desde el SE al LNO [rather ENE] sin apariencia de Vendebales, ni virazones, que no hà sido la menor fortuna; pues de haver algo de esto, huvierando nuestra demora mayor, pues era menester yr al Puerto de San Luis en dicha Ysla.*

***Dia 19 al 20 de Junio Miercoles.***

*Este dia se gastò en recoger menudencias, embarcar el ganado, que fueron 95 Puercos, y 20 toretes, levar el sinipite, y tesar las jarcias, y estando prontos el dia 20 al amanecer, comenzamos arriar por nuestra ancla afin de hacernos a la Vela sobre la que compusimos aqui, y el calabrote, y poco despues de las 7 estando apique de ella, hicimos forte, y guindamos Masteleros, y Vergas de Juanete que teniamos sobre Cubiertas: a las 8 vino el Governador trayendo su Lancha, y gente para que nos ayudaren a lebar, y seguimos dicha faena poniendola en su lugar el ancla, y llamandonos apique, cui faena durò hasta las 10-1/2 que se despedio el Governador, y poco despues la Lancha, y a las 11 con tiempo fresco del L y LSE nos hicimos a la vela sobre las gavias, y estando al ancla que se compuso cerca de la lumbrè del agua, faltò el calabrote que estaba pasmado, con lo que la perdimos en mucho fondo, y seguimos haciendo fuerza de vela la buelta del NO: afin de montar la punta de Farfi [rather Facpi], y siguiò el viento con repetidas turbonadas, y rafagas fuertes de la tierra que nos hacian arriar las gavias.*

*Al medio dia quedamos L. Ote con la punta de Farfi, a distancia de media legua, y seguimos en demanda de Punta de Orotè la buelta del N.*

***Dios nos dexè llegar con gracias à Puerto de Salvacion.***

***Dia 20 al 21 de Junio Juebes.***

*A medio dia seguimos con las 4 principales [velas] la buelta del N. con el viento L. fresco, y algunas turbonadas de tierra, con las que se arriaban las gavias: a las 3 se metio el Bote dentro, y habiendo safado el barco, seguimos con las 4 principales el viento L. y L.N.E aturbonado.*

*A las 7 se demarco la punta del N de la Ysla de Guaxan al L. 1/4S.E. distancia 3 a 4 leguas, a cui hora quedaba la tierra cargada, el viento LNE fresco, la mar gruesa del viento, y seguimos con las 4 principales sobremesana, y vela estay de gavia: a las 10-1/2 se armo un mal cariz al primer quadrante y nos obligo a quedar con solo trinquete y gavia al soco por haver rompido en mucha agua, y viento, el que comenzò à adelgazar para las 3 y a las 4 comenzamos à marear las principales.*

*Amaneciò el tiempo mas delgado, el viento, la mar gruesa, viendose desde arriba la ysla de Rota, distancia 9 a 10 leguas[.] fue cargandose y no se vido mas: a las 6-1/2 mareamos toda vela, seguimos hasta media dia.*

...



***Día 27 al 28 de Septiembre Viernes.***

*Al medio día seguimos con toda vela al SE 1/4 S que demoraba la Piedra blanca de fuera, el viento NO fresquito y tiempo claro, y se echaron al agua Lancha, y Bote: a las 3 estábamos de traves con dicha, y seguimos al SE en demanda de la Barra de San Blas, a la que llegamos a las cinco de la tarde distancia de ella 1 legua, y por quedarse el viento, dimos fondo, manteniéndose así hasta las 11 del día que entro virazon floxo del NO y nos levamos, y fondeamos en dicha Barra a la 1 y vinieron Lanchas de tierra con un cable, y ancla, anclote, y calabrote.*

*Joseph Antonio Vazquez.*

*Es copia de su original de que Certifico.*

*Mexico cinco de octubre de Mil setecientos ochenta y dos.*

*Pedro Antonio de Cossio.*

**Translation.**

...

**Remarks while at anchor in the Harbor of Umatac**

On the 31st of May, once the Frigate had been moored, we began to take the water barrels ashore, to see if we could repair them as soon as possible, and in the afternoon the Commander and I stepped ashore, and a note was sent to the Governor (who happened to be in Umatac) to let him know about our extreme misery, and at the same time the great obligation that we had to pursue our voyage to New Spain, one that was so important to the Royal service. He immediately let us have anything we asked for said purpose, by giving the most effective and efficient orders, to provide the food supplies, not only for our voyage, but also for our immediate needs on board, to allow us to survive in case some unfortunate accident might take her away. Indeed, this was his greatest worry, and his remedy for it. In addition, he provided free a Carpenter to help build a wooden anchor, by sending his launch and people for an old anchor that they had in the Capital, in case we might find it useful. His vigilance was such that within three days we had various food supplies on board, and within five the wooden anchor had been finished and we were using it as a sheet anchor. At this time, the iron anchor arrived from the City; in spite of the fact that it lacked its cross-arms, it was repaired and on the 8th was hung from stream cable. We were then safe from the tradewinds, and could possibly move to the Port [of Apra] in case of need. In the meantime, people were kept busy preparing 50 arrobas of corn and 40 cavans of rice (which the Fathers had to provide, because the Garrison did not have any, on account of the drought of the previous year), as well as the other small articles. In addition, the Governor ordered the preparation of 3,000 bamboo tubes to be filled with water, each containing 8 pints, in view of the fact that the barrels were almost useless; indeed, although work had not stopped at trying to fix them since our arrival, we could hardly make 45 of them, by taking the staves from some and the bottoms from others to make new ones, and this work was the source of the greatest delay in this harbor. In fact, it took 15 days to get all of the food supplies on board, and I consider that it was only because of the great

effectiveness and efficiency of said Governor that we were able to refresh so well, and so soon, in a place where the garrison hardly had sufficient seeds left to plant the following year.

The winds during our stay here remained very fresh tradewinds, with frequent squalls coming from SE to ENE, without an appearance of monsoon winds, nor hurricanes, thanks be to God; indeed, if any of those had come, our stopover here would have been longer, because we would have had to move to the Port of San Luis in said Island.

**From the 19th to 20th of June, Wednesday.**

This day was spent collecting small articles, loading the cattle which consisted in 95 pigs and 20 small bulls, weighing the wooden anchor, and tightening the rigging. And, being now ready, on the 20th in the morning, we began to take in the anchor that we repaired here, and the stream cable, in order to sail. A little after 7, as we were over our anchor, we stopped this maneuver and hoisted the topmasts and yards which had been lying on deck. At 8 the Governor came with his launch and men to help us weigh the anchor, and we continued this maneuver, placing the anchor in its place, and pulling ourselves over the other anchor; this task lasted until 10:30, when the Governor said goodbye, and a little afterwards the launch left us. At 11, with a fresh wind from E and ESE we sailed with the topsails. When the anchor that had been repaired was breaking the water, the stream cable snapped and we lost this anchor in deep water. We continued sailing towards the NW in order to pass Facpi Point. The wind continued to be squally, with strong gusts coming from the land that made us furl our topsails.

At noon we were E-W with Facpi Point at a distance of half a league, and heading N towards Orote Point.

**May God let us reach the Port of Salvation!**

**From the 20th to the 21st of June, Thursday.**

At noon we were sailing with the 4 main sails out, heading N, with the wind E fresh, and a few gusts from the land that made us furl our topsails. At 3 the boat was taken in, and having tacked with the ship, we continued with the 4 main sails out, the wind E and ENE with squalls.

At 7 the north point of the Island of Guam bore E1/4SE distance 3-4 leagues. At this time the land was obscured by clouds, the wind ENE fresh, the waves raised by the wind, and we kept going with our 4 main sails, the mizzen topsail and top stay-sail. At 10:30 the sky became overcast in the first quarter and we had to remain with only the foresail, as our fore topsail had been torn during a violent wind and rain squall. By 3 a.m., the storm began to die down, and by 4 we began to use the main sails.

At daybreak the weather was clear but the wind and the sea rough, and the Island of Rota could be seen from the tops, distance 9 to 10 leagues, but the sky became overcast and it disappeared. At 6:30 we set all sails and continued thus until noon.

...

**From the 27th to the 28th of September, Friday.**

At noon we were sailing with all sails out towards SE1/4S. At this time Piedra Blanca bore outside, the wind was NW somewhat fresh and the sky clear. We put out the launch and the boat. At 3 we were abreast of said rock, and we headed SE towards the bar of San Blas. We were 1 mile from it by about 5 p.m. when the wind died down and forced us to drop anchor. We remained thus until 11 the next day when there arose a slack breeze from NW and we sailed, to anchor in said bar at 1 p.m. Launches came from shore with a cable, an anchor, a kedge anchor, and a stream cable.

José Antonio Vazquez.

It is a copy from the original which I certify.

Mexico, 5 October 1782.

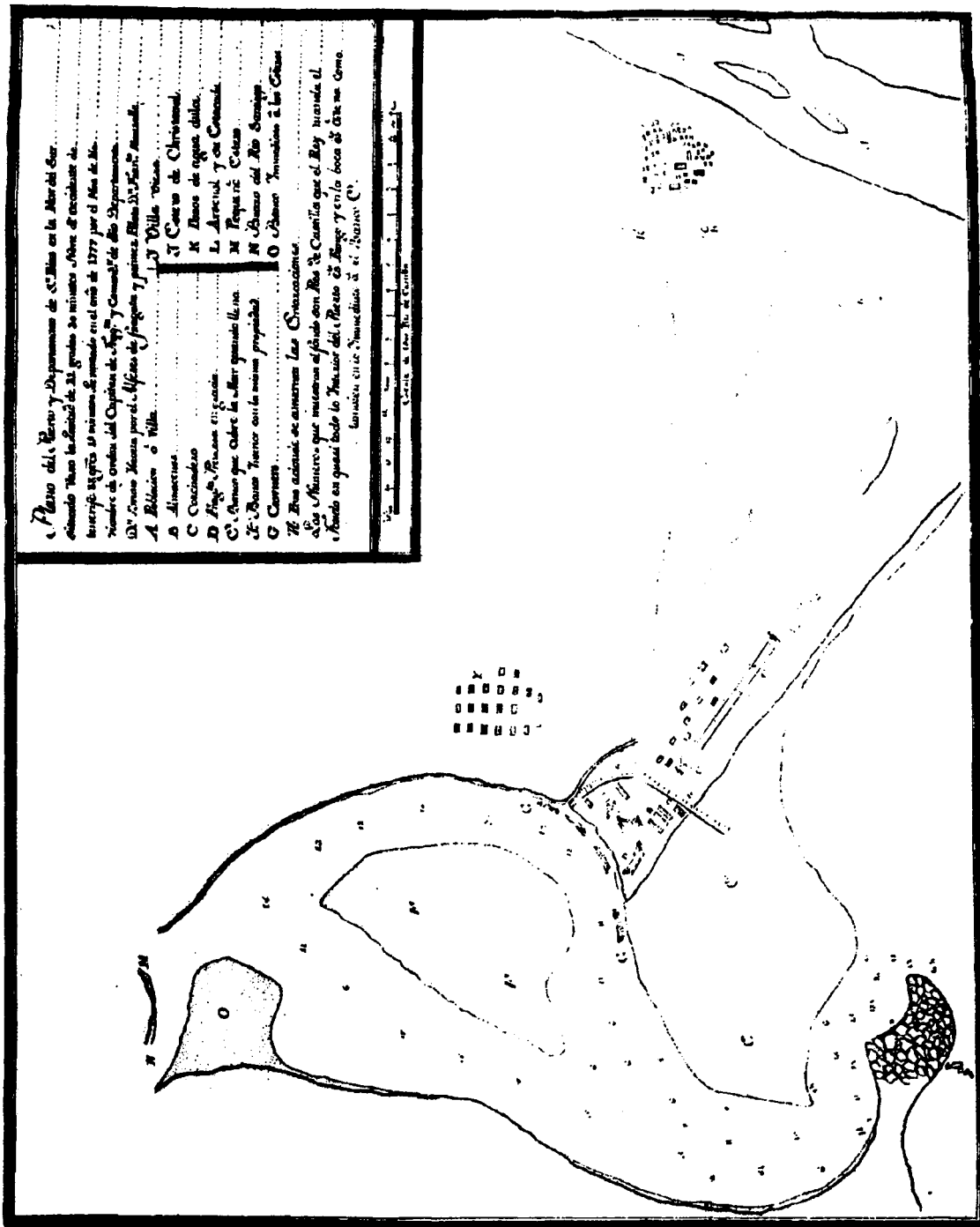
Pedro Antonio de Cosio.

**Caption and legend of the Map of the Port of San Blas (overleaf):**

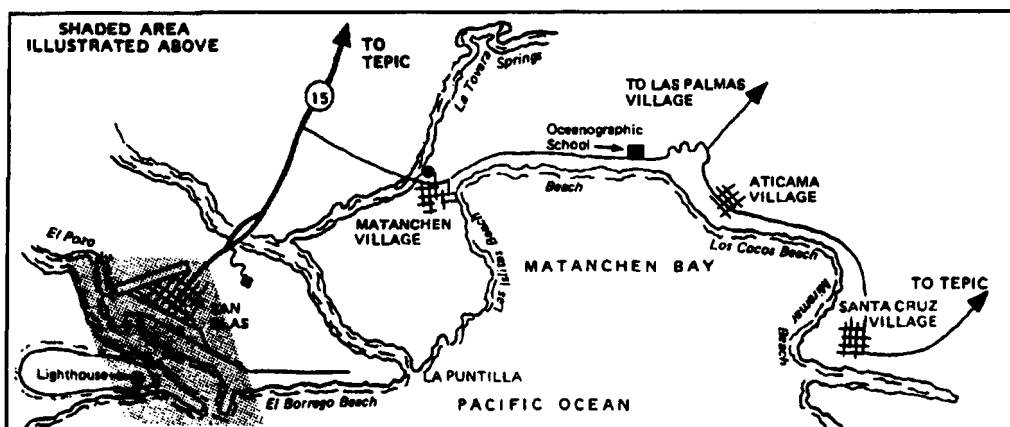
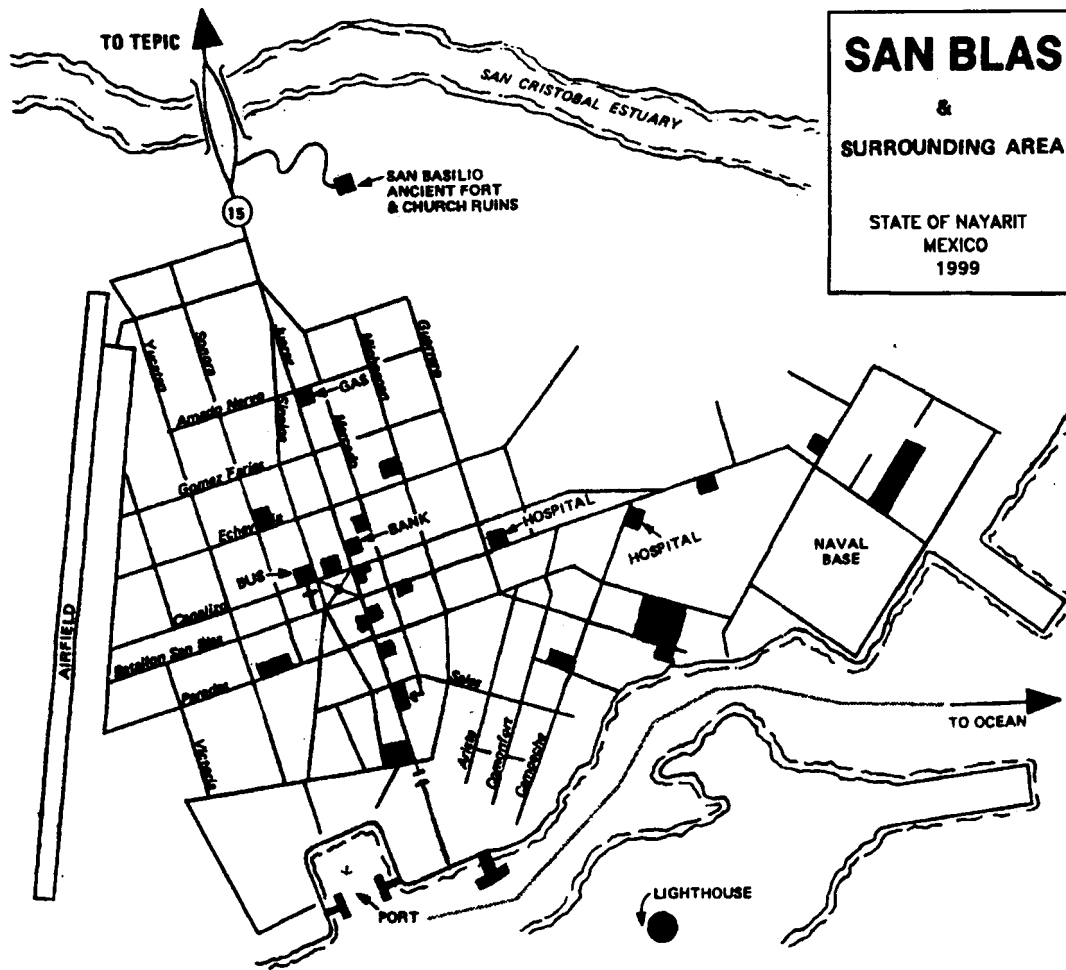
Map of the Port of the Department of San Blas on the South Sea located below the latitude of 21 degrees 30 minutes North, and 88 degrees 15 minutes West of the western side of Tenerife [in the Canary Islands], drawn up in November 1777 by order of Navy Lieutenant and Commander of said Department, Don Bruno Hece-ta, by Second-Lieutenant and Chief Pilot, Don Francisco Mourelle.

- A** Town site.
- B** Warehouses.
- C** "Corchadero" [which could be a place to repair nets].
- D** Frigate **Princesa** on the stocks [a proof that she was being built as early as 1777].
- E** Bank, submerged at high tide.
- F** Inner bank with the same property.
- G** Careening place.
- H** Basin where boats are moored.
- Y** Old town site.
- J** Cristobal Creek.
- K** Wells, potable water.
- L** Arsenal and its stockade.
- M** Small creek.
- N** Branch of the Santiago River.
- O** Bank near the creeks.

The numbers indicating the bottom are in Castilian feet in accordance with royal orders. The bottom is almost completely muddy inside the port and sandy at the mouth as well as near Bank E.



Old map of the Port of San Blas, by Maurelle, 1777. See previous page for explanations (From MN Madrid).



**Modern map of the port of San Blas, and vicinity, 1999. Fort San Basilio, located on a bluff near the San Cristobal River, is where the Spanish had their Customs House from 1770 until 1787, when it was moved closer to the basin. Both buildings were destroyed during the Mexican Revolution and are in ruins. (Adapted from an official tourist map).**



**Viceroy Martín de Mayorga, from 1779 to 1783.**

---

## Documents 1781B

---

### Letters regarding the Princesa's voyages, 1780-1782

*Source: AGI Guadalajara 520.*

#### **B1. Letter from Mourelle to Viceroy Mayorga, dated San Blas 30 September 1781**

##### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Señor, Luego que tubimos la satisfaccion de desembarcar en Manila los caudales y tropas con que V.E. socorrio aquella Plaza[,] eligio el Sor. Governador de ella la Fragata **Princesa** para una reservada comision, y quando la tubo tripulada incluso el Comandante me dio en los dias de la vela que fue el 24 de Agosto de 1780 la orden de recibir el mando de ella con un Pliego cerrado que debia abrir a distancia de doce leguas del Puerto, en el que halle que me destino por entonces al de Sisiran en la costa del Este de la misma Ysla.*

...

*El dia 21 de Abril me provei en otra Isla sobre 15 grados 32 minutos de varios Lechones y frutas que duraron hasta el 6 de Mayo desde el qual empeze á subministrar diez onzas de mal alimento compuesta de Pan y carne[,] llegando de esta suerte el 31 del mismo á la rada de Umata en la Isla de Guaxan presiado á recibir aquel mismo dia la racion que me facilito prontamente el Governador de ella Don Felipe Cerain.*

*La total decadencia que padecian mis Gentes bien se dexa persivir á vista de la suma estrechez que sufrían[,] pues puedo asegurar á V.E. que apenas havia sobre cubierta quien pudiera conservarse en pie y si los refrescos adquiridos entre aquellos Gentiles no fueran tan abundantes que mantube con ellos 33 dias la tripulacion fuera inevitable la General Peste en mi Fragata bien entendido que el retardarse el arrivo a Marianas algunos dias necitabamente pereciamos por faltarnos de un todo el agua, pues sin embargo que habia sido completa en 19 de Marzo y por consiguiente la andana baxa debia estar casi llena, quando la hizè desembarcar en Umata para su composicion solo dos se hallaron y estas con bastante merma[,] pues todas las restantes tenian tales agujeros*

*en los fondos que se introducian los dedos por ellos sin que el haberlas enterrado en el lastre las pusiese à cubierta de las cucarachas.*

*El ansia de dar cumplimiento a una comision que tal vez me pareció seria favorable à los asuntos de estado me obligò à emprender nuevamente mi viaxe para el qual segun la situacion en que me hallaba debia formar una Junta de mis Pilotos y Oficiales de Mar con asistencia del Governador y Mayor de aquella Isla, pero enterados que los votos atendiendo al deplorable estado de Jarcia, velamen y poca consistencia de mi aguada convendrian unanimes en regresar à Manila tomé la resolucion por mi propio evitando aquella que no acordaba con mi deseo, y recibiendo los viveres que podian facilitarse compuesta de 120 ps de Maiz[,] cincuenta de Arroz[,] 45 arrobas de carne[,] 20 Reses y 90 cerdos pero aunque esta provision no me ofrecia proceder regularmente abundante con la Marineria con todo mas cuidado me dio el dificil reemplazo de las vacijas necesarias para mi aguada pues de 70 que la componian ninguna se hallo servible y en los 19 dias de mi demora se prepararon 48 rebaxadas de 6 à 4 Barriles por cuya razon me puso a Bordo el Governador 3000 cañas de à ocho quartillos y con ellas acabe felizmente mi nabegacion à este Reyno el 27 de Septiembre de 1781, en cuya posicion sin duda alguna no es mui practicable. Si V.E. no se desdeñase de informarse por mi diario hallara en el sucesos tan extraños que raras veces se experimentan en las navegaciones como igualmente las particularidades de los Indios con quienes trate cuyo Gobierno jamas havia observado en mis anteriores Expediciones de descubrimientos...*

...

*Los continuos disgustos que me ocasionaron tan contrarios incidentes me quitaron mucha parte de la salud y robustez que antes poseia por cuya razon no me es posible llebar por mi propio los Pliegos a manos de V.E., como en orden particular me lo prevenia el Sr. Governador, y me obligan à suplicar à V.E. que para recuperarla tome a bien mi entrada en esa Corte pues por ahora no me es dable poder subsistir en un temperamento tan poco favorable à los mas robusto. La carta adjunta se sirvo el Sr. Governador de Filipinas remitirmela para dirijirla à V.E.*

*Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Fragata **Princesa**, al ancla en el Puerto de San Blas y Septiembre 30 de 1781.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Francisco Antonio Maurelle.*

*[Al] Excmo. Sor. Virrey Don Martin de Mayorga.*

*Es copia de su original de que certifico.*

*Mexico catorce de Octubre de mil setecientos ochenta y uno.*

*Pedro Antonio de Cossio.*

## **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

Sir: As soon as we had the satisfaction of unloading in Manila the funds and the soldiers that Y.E. had sent to reinforce that Garrison, His Lordship the Governor selected the frigate **Princesa** to carry out a confidential commission, and when she had been



provided with a crew, including a Commander, I set sail on the 24th of August 1780, carrying sealed orders that I was to open 12 leagues from the port. Upon opening same, I was appointed Commander of the frigate which I was to take then to the port of Sisiran on the East coast of the same island.

...  
On the 21st of April, I obtained on another island located in 15°32' various piglets and fruits that lasted until the 6th of May when I began to ration the men with 10 ounces [per day] of bad food consisting of bread and meat. In this way we arrived, on the 31st of said month at the harbor of Umatac in the Island of Guam, in great need of the ration that we promptly received that same day from its Governor, Don Felipe Cerain.

The complete collapse that my men suffered was made obvious by the extreme lack of food; indeed, I can assure Y.E. that there was hardly anyone who could stand on deck and if the refreshment acquired from those heathen had not been so abundant as to feed the crew for 33 days, disease on board my frigate would have become general. Had our arrival at the Marianas been delayed by a few days, we would necessarily have perished, as we completely lacked water; indeed, in spite of having taken on board a full supply of water on the 19th of March, and therefore the lower row should have been almost full, but when I had it taken out at Umatac to repair the barrels, only two of them had some water inside, and even they had suffered some leakage. In fact, all of the other barrels had such great holes in their bottoms that one could push in a finger; they had been buried in the ballast but the cockroaches still got at them.

I was anxious to carry out my commission, which perhaps had to do with important matters of state, and therefore I was forced to renew my voyage. For this purpose, given the situation which existed, I had to hold a Council of my pilots and sea officers, with the participation of the Governor and Major of that Island. When they were made aware of the deplorable state of the rigging, sails, and of our small supply of water, they voted unanimously to return to Manila, but I took the decision on my own to avoid that recommendation which did not agree with my wish. We took on the food supplies that could be provided, which consisted in 120 ps [sic] of corn,<sup>1</sup> 50 of rice,<sup>2</sup> 45 arrobas of meat, 20 small bulls and 90 pigs, but, although these provisions did not allow me to be too generous with the sailors, my most important concern was the difficult task of replacing the missing water barrels with necessary jars; indeed, from the 70 barrels that were had, none was serviceable. During the 19 days of my stay, 48 barrels were rebuilt, taking 6 to make 4. That is why the Governor provided me with 3,000 bamboo tubes, each containing 8 pints, and with those I successfully completed my voyage to this Kingdom on the 27th of September 1781. The track of said voyage is undoubtedly not very practicable. If Y.E. should deign to read my logbook, you will find there some very strange occurrences that are rarely met with during voyages, as well as some details

---

1 Ed. note: That is, 150 fanegas, as he said in his full logbook.

2 Ed. note: His full logbook says 50 "cavans" of rice.

about the Indians with whom I dealt, whose government I had never observed in my previous voyages of exploration.

...

The continuous hardships that such contrary incidents have caused me, have taken away a great part of the health and physical strength that I enjoyed before. That is why I cannot go myself to place the mail in the hands of Y.E., as my orders from the Governor mentioned specifically, and I am obliged to beg Y.E. to please let me go to that City to recover; indeed, for now I cannot survive in a climate that is so little favorable to the most robust. The enclosed letter came from His Lordship the Governor of the Philippines who saw fit to hand it to me, to give to Y.E.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Frigate **Princesa**, at anchor in the Port of San Blas, 30 September 1781.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Antonio Maurelle.

[To] His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Martin de Mayorga.

This is a copy of the original, which I certify.

Mexico, 14 October 1781.

Pedro Antonio de Cosio.

## B2. Letter from Governor Ceraín to Viceroy Mayorga, dated 17 June 1781

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excmo. Señor.*

*Señor.*

*Mui Señor mio: La Fragata **Princesa** del mando de Don Francisco Mourelle, y del Departamento de San Blas, que salió de Philipinas por Nobiembre del año proximo pasado con destino à ese Reyno à conducir Pliegos del Real Servicio, con la noticia de no haverse verificado la imbasion de los Yngleses en Manila la campaña ultima, y avisando tambien el estado de Defensa en que se hallan aquellas Yslas, arrivò à este Puerto el 31 de Mayo ultimo en el mas deplorable estado despues de mas de seis meses de navegacion, por la parte del Sur; pues careciendo de toda clase de viveres, me fuè preciso disponer se racionase toda su Gente desde el dia que anclò, proveyendo inmediatamente el embarque de los comestibles que tenia a mano en abundancia para precaver que en caso de algun tiempo inopinado que obligase à la Fragata hacerse mar à fuera, no perciese su tripulacion de [h]ambre y sed. Y habiendome manifestado el expresado Comandante deseava seguir su Viage para ese Reyno si yo le subministraba los viveres necesarios para toda la navegacion por lo importante que hera el mejor servicio del Rey, el que S.M. supiese el estado de Philipinas: inmediatamente le aprontè quanto necesitava para su Gente, à fin de racionarla abundantemente el tiempo de cinco meses sin costo alguno de la Real Hazienda; y como la piperia de la aguada se hallava destruzada è inservible por lo menos los dos tercios, le proporcionè el embarque de tres mil*

*Bombones de caña con veinte y quatro mil quartillos de agua, por ser el unico arvitrio que quedava para el pronto apresto.*

*El motivo principal de esta arrivada hà consistido, en haverse infestado la Fragata de una Plaga numerosa de cucarachas que consumieron mucha parte de los viveres, y lo que ès de mas particular que la Vasigeria de la aguada la inutilizaron en terminos de que si el Comandante se ha[bia] tardado pocos dias mas en llegar aqui, sin duda hubiera fallecido con su Gente desgraciadamente[.] con este motivo el expresado Comandante vivia con la mayor desazon manifestando su mucho pundonor, con el sentimiento que le causava no haver podido (como deseava) poner prontamente en la superior noticia de V.E. su importante comision; y el mismo podrá informar à V.E. de las disposiciones por mi dadas para facilitarle los viveres, y aguada para su largo viage.*

*Si mi conducta mereciese à V.E. alguna consideracion, espero se sirva ponerlo en la Real noticia, proporcionandome à mi sus superiores ordenes, para que yo dè à V.E. pruebas de mi ciega obediencia.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Villa de Umata Jurisdiccion de las Yslas Marianas y Junio 17 de 1781.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Señor.*

*B.l.m. de V.E. su mas rendido servidor,*

*Phelipe Cerain.*

*[Al] Excmo. Sor. Don Martin de Mayorga.*

*Es copia de la carta original que queda en la Secretaria de Camara y Virreynato, que ès à mi cargo, de que certifico.*

*Mexico veinte y siete de Octubre de mil setecientos ochenta y uno.*

*Pedro Antonio de Cossio.*

## **Translation.**

Your Excellency, Sir:

My dear Sir: The frigate **Princesa** commanded by Don Francisco Mourelle, from the Department of San Blas, which left the Philippines in November of last year bound to that Kingdom, to deliver the Royal mail, and carry the news that the English had not invaded Manila as expected during their last campaign, and also advising on the state of defence of those Islands, arrived at this port on the 31st of May last in the most deplorable condition, after a voyage of more than six months below the Line. Indeed, they lacked all sorts of food supplies, and I was obliged to provide food to all men on board as soon as they anchored, by immediately providing them with the food that was readily available in abundance, to prevent them from dying of hunger or thirst, if the frigate was forced offshore, As her Commander wished to continue his voyage for that Kingdom, if I were to provide him with the necessary food supplies for the whole voyage, on account of the importance to the royal service of H.M. learning of the state of the Philippines, I immediately prepared as much as the crew needed in abundant ration for over five months, at no cost whatever to the Royal Treasury. And, as the water

barrels were found to be ruined and unserviceable, at least two-thirds of them, I arranged for the embarkation of 3,000 bamboo tubes full of water, a total of 24,000 pints, as this was the only means to store water rapidly.

The main cause of this unexpected visit was the fact that the frigate had suffered a plague of cockroaches that had consumed a large part of the food supplies and, worst of all, had rendered the water containers useless, to such an extent that, if the Commander had been delayed by a few more days in getting here, he would unfortunately have perished with his men. For this reason, said Commander was affected by his honor and showed much displeasure at not having been able (as he wished) to bring his important commission to the attention of Y.E. He will surely inform Y.E. himself about the arrangements that I made to provide him with food and water for his long voyage.

If Y.E. should think that my conduct deserves some consideration, I hope that you will be pleased to let H.M. know about it, and that you will transmit to me your superior orders, so that I can give to Y.E. proofs of my blind obedience.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Town of Umatac, in the Jurisdiction of the Mariana Islands, 17 June 1781.

Your Excellency.

Sir.

The most obliged servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Felipe Ceraín.

[To] His Excellency, Don Martin de Mayorga.

This is a copy of the original letter which remains in the Secretariat of the Council of State of this Vice-kingdom, which is under my care, which I certify.

Mexico, 27 October 1781.

Pedro Antonio de Cosío.

### B3. Two letters from Viceroy Mayorga, dated 19 & 26 October 1781

#### Original texts in Spanish.

*Nº 1309 [summarized]*

*Mexico 19 de Octubre de 1781.*

*El Virrey. Yncluye una carta del Alferez de Navio Don Francisco Antonio Mau-  
relle, fecha en la fragata **Princesa**, al ancla en el puerto de San Blas, à 30 de Septiem-  
bre de 81 en que dio cuenta de su arrivo à aquel Departamento, mandando dicha fragata  
en su regreso de Manila. Que le participò la navegacion que emprendio por nuevo  
rumbo de orden del Governador de Filipinas con el fin de conducir los pliegos destina-  
dos a aquel gobierno: las miserias y calamidades que sufrió el y la tripulacion del dicho  
buque en el viage, por otras derrotas que descubrio en que tardò cerca de trece meses.*

*Que le remitió los diarios[,] planos y cartas que formò y las manufacturas y armas  
de los Yndios de las Yslas que descubrio en su nuevo rumbo y le noticiò el estado de  
defensa en que quedava Manila. Remite copia de la citada carta de Maurelle, ofrecien-*

*do el Virrey enviar en el correo siguiente los disrios[,] planos y cartas que por ser mui comulosos y corto el tiempo, no se han podido havilitar. Tambien ofrece remitir las manufacturas y las armas de aquellos Yndios.*

*Concluye recomendando el merito de Maurelle en esta comision, en que no hà disfrutado aun las gracias que son regulares en tales viages, a fin de que V.M. se digne dispensarle sus piedades.*

...

Nº 1341.

*El Virrey de N.E. Con copia de Carta del Governador de las Yslas Marianas dà cuenta del particular servicio que hizo al arrivo alli de la Fragata **Princesa** que hà regresado al Departamento de San Blas.*

*Excmo. Sor.*

*Mui Señor mio.*

*Yà en este Correo tengo recomendado à V.E. el merito que hà contrahido el Alfez de Navio Don. Francisco Antonio Maurelle en haber conducido à este Reyno los Pliegos del Real Servicio que me dirigio el Governador de la Plaza de Manila, relativos à el Estado de defensa que tenian aquellas Yslas, y de que la Nacion britanica no hà executado imbasion alguna contra ellas; y ahora lo practico à favor del Governador de las de Marianas Don Felipe de Cerain, porque se ha hecho acreedor à ello, respecto à haber subministrado, quando arrivò este Buque à aquellas Yslas que fuè el 31 de Mayo último quantos viveres y aguada necesitò su Comandante para racionar la tripulacion abundantemente el tiempo de cinco meses, sin costo el mas minimo à la Real Hacienda segun patentiza la Copia adjunta de su Carta que acompaño à S.M. el distinguido servicio de este buen Vasallo como me hà pedido.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Mexico [26] de Octubre de 1781.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*B.L.M. de V.E.*

*Su mas atento y obligado servidor*

*Martin de Mayorga.*

*[A] Excmo. Señor Don Josè de Galvez.*

## Translation.

Nº 1309 [summarized]

Mexico, 19 October 1781.

The Viceroy: Forwarding a letter from Navy Lieutenant Francisco Antonio Maurelle, written aboard the frigate **Princesa**, at anchor in the port of San Blas, on 30 September 1781, in which he reports his arrival at that Department, in command of said frigate returning from Manila. That he let him know about the voyage that he undertook by a new route by order of the Governor of the Philippines for the purpose of

carrying the mail addressed to that government, by other sailing directions that he discovered, which took 13 months.

That he remitted the logbooks, charts and plans that he made and the handicraft and weapons of the Indians of the islands that he discovered along the new route and the news of the state of defence of Manila. The Viceroy forwards a copy of the letter in question from said Maurelle, and offers to send by the next mail the logbooks, charts and plans, because they are voluminous and time [to copy them] is short, and they could not be made ready. He also offers to remit the handicraft and weapons of those Indians.<sup>1</sup>

He concludes by praising the merit of Maurelle in this commission, in which he has not yet received the favors that are normally given for such voyages, so that H.M. may deign to grant him said reward.

...

N° 1341.

The Viceroy of New Spain, enclosing copy of a letter from the Governor of the Mariana Islands, reports the singular service done by him upon the arrival there of the frigate **Princesa** that has returned to the Department of San Blas.

Your Excellency.

My dear Sir:

In this mail despatch, I have praised to Y.E. the merit earned by Navy Lieutenant Francisco Antonio Maurelle in having carried to this Kingdom the mail of the Royal service that the Governor of the Garrison of Manila, regarding the state of defence of those Islands, and the news that the British nation had not carried out any invasion against them. I now do so in favor of the Governor of the Mariana Islands, Don Felipe de Ceraín, because he has made himself deserving of it, by supplying this ship when she arrived at those Islands, on 31 May last, with as many food supplies and water that her Commander needed to ration the crew abundantly over five months, at no cost whatever to the Royal Treasury, as per the attached copy of his letter that I remit to H.M. so that he may reward the distinguished service of this good vassal, as he has requested me to do.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, [26] October 1781.

Your Excellency.

The most attentive and obliged servant of Y.E. who kisses your hand,

Martin de Mayorga.

[To] His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: I do not know what happened to the artifacts from the Polynesian Islands of Tonga (i.e. the Vavau Group) visited by Maurelle, but some may be kept in the Army Museum in Madrid, if not in the Museum of Anthropology there.

---

## Documents 1781C

---

### Two English ships a few days apart

#### C1. The Vansittart, Captain Robert Young

*Source: Log 46E, India Office, London.*

#### Extract from the logbook kept by W. Agnew.

...

Courses NW by N, etc., Winds NE, fair, etc.

Thursday 11th January 1781

Fresh breezes and pleasant weather. At 1/2 past 2 a.m. saw the Land bearing WNW. At sunrise the extreme of the Land, (which I take to be the Islands of Palieu) from the masthead from NW by W to West, distant about 12 leagues.

At Noon the extremes of the Islands of Palieu from West to SW1/2S which appears to be one Island, and a small Island, W3/4N dist. about 7 leagues.

By my observation the small island bearing W by N. Lies in 7°50' North latitude.

Latt. Obs. 7°46' North, Lat. by Acct. 7°43' North.

Courses N by W, etc., Winds NE by E, cloudy, etc.

Friday ye 12th January

At 2 p.m. saw more very low islands from the Masthead bearing NNW[.] at the same time saw breakers bearing NW distant from the islands about 3 or 4 leagues, nearly the same distance from the breakers, the same time the small island (SW before[.] at noon W 3/4N) bore W by S1/2S, the Latitude of ye islands 8°5' North.

At sunset the extremes of the Land from SW by W to SW by W1/4W, from W by S1/2S to S to the Northernmost extreme it seems to join dist. off shore 7 or 8 leagues.

AT sunrise the extremes of a chain of islands from N by W to W by N dist. 8 or 10 leagues.

At noon the extremes of the islands from NNW to the low flat island sen from the masthead WSW distant from the nearest 6 leagues.

Latt. obs. 6°59' N. indiff. observation.

Courses SW1/2S, etc., Winds East, cloudy, etc.

Saturday 13 January

A fresh breeze and cloudy weather. A long swell from the Northward.

At 2 p.m., saw two proas to windward, which stood in to the Land. At 4 p.m., the southernmost island in sight bore from N by W to N1/4E distant 3 or 4 leagues. Saw breakers off the northernmost end.

At sunset the extremes of the southernmost island bore NE to NE by E1/2E dist. 3 or 4 leagues.

A.M. look of the service of the stream cable and coiled it down the fore hold. Ditto, unbent the small bower cable.

Latt. obs. 7°54' North.

...

Wednesday 17th January 1781

... P.M. Alexander Smith died of the Flux. A.M. committed the corpse to the deep...

Latt. obs. 10°25' North.

...

Saturday 27th January 1781

... In handing the main tops, William Turner, Seaman, fell from of the yardarm over board and was drowned...

No observtion.

Sunday 28th January

... At 7 a.m. Peter Stigland, Seaman, died of some inward obstructions...

No observation.

...

[The ship headed NW, coming into sight of Samar Island on the 3rd of February. Meanwhile people kept dying off.]

...

Sunday 4th February 1781

... At 1 p.m., Christian Ferguson, Seaman, died of the flux. at 6 committed ye corpse to the deep[.] at 10 ditto, Peter Moon, Seaman, died of the flux, we have now above 20 down, and have not had less than 12 or 13 since we left the Cape of Good Hope.

No observation.

[Another man died on 10 February. Two days later, the men were placed on short rations: 3 pounds of bread per week per man. Fortunately, they saw Formosa (Taiwan) on the 18th, and reached the mouth of the Canton River on the 25th.]

## C2. The Earl of Mansfield, Captain William Fraser

*Source: Log. 530B, India Office, London.*



## Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Fraser.

...

### Ship Earl of Mansfield from England towards China.

...

[On 11 January 1781, the ship was following the coast of New Guinea eastward. On the 14th, the ship was approx. in position 2°50 N & 134° E.]

...

Monday the 15th of January 1781

... A great many birds about the ship and prodigious shoals of fish, particularly small fry near us, tho we can catch neither the one nor the other.

At 21h9'24" the Chronometer 134°5'15"

[By account] From yesterday 133°53'0"

Lat. obs. 2°29 to 2°53 N., Long. in. 134°12 to 135°9 E.

...

Sunday the 21st day of January 1781

Light airs of wind & calm, with fair weather mostly, and a light swell from the NNW.

The currents set so variously, and so rapidly amongst these islands, that it is impossible to navigate with any certainty, or indeed, to determine exactly what route to take. I mean to pass between the cluster of islands laid down betwee 6° & 8° of Latitude & those from 9° to 11°, without wishing to see any of them,—

A prodigious number of sharks about the ship for several days, this morning the Officer of the watch counted 38 at one view.

At 20h56'12" the Chron. 136°49'30"

From yesterday 135°59'00"

Lat. obs. 5°12' to 5°.31' N.

...

Courses NW by N, etc., Winds SE by E, etc.

Thursday the 25th day of January 1781

Moderate wind, settled weather, with a most unaccountable, troublesome swell from the Northward & NE. We looked exceedingly well out during the night, as we are running the gauntlet, thro' a number of islands laid down by Herbert. We kept to the Westward during the night to avoid before daylight some islands seen by the **Warwick** from 8°24' to 8°44'.<sup>1</sup> In the morning, saw not the least appearance, of our being nigh any land; on the contrary, the birds are not so numerous, as they were.

At 20h53'48" the Chron. made 135°2'15"

From yesterday Log 135°27.

Lat. obs. 8°47' to 8°56'.

...

---

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1761B.

---

## Document 1782A

---

### The ship **Lord North** via **Tobi Island**

*Sources: James Horsburgh. India Directory (London, 1836); Log 494D, India Office.*

#### Horsburgh's notes about **Lord North**, alias **Tobi**, Island

LORD NORTH'S ISLAND, is in lat. 3°2'45" N., lon. 131°20' E., by mean of six ships' lunar observations, but Captain Seton [see below] made it 13-3/4 miles West from Point Pigot [in New Guinea] by chronometer, which would place it in lon. 131°4'15" E.: until it was seen by the ship **Lord North**, July 14th, 1782 [see below], it seems not to have been known, but it was afterward seen by the **Raymond**, **Asia**, and [Duke of] **Montrose**, January 1st, 1789; by Captain Seton of the **Helen**, in April, 1794, and it has since been seen by several other ships. It is small, low, and woody, about 1 or 1-1/2 mile in extent ESE and WNW, and seems to have a reef projecting from the East end, but is otherwise apparently safe to approach, and may be seen 4 or 4-1/2 leagues from the deck of a large ship: there is a remarkable tree on the centre of the island, which is first discernible, and makes like a sail. This small island is inhabited, and they have canoes carrying six or eight men, which will sometimes come off to ships passing near.

The **Helen**, chronometer made it bear W 15° N distant 13 leagues from the southern extremity of Helen's Shoal, and it appears to bear about West from the North end of that shoal. This ship's longitude of the island, 131°4'15" E, is probably nearest the truth; the **Dorsetshire**, in 1812, made it in lat. 3°2' N, lon. 131°10' E by lunar observations.

#### Extract from the logbook kept by Captain William Hambly

...

#### Ship **Lord North** from **Soolo** towards **England**

...

Saturday the 13 day of July 1782

Light airs & calms. The current still continues to the northward being 16 miles to the norward of accounts.

Lat. Obs. 3°43' N.

Sunday the 14 day of July 1782

A light breeze, the former part the weather unsettled with heavy rains[,] the latter part fair.

At daylight saw a small low island bearing S53°W dist. 5 or 6 leagues. At Noon it bore N68°W 7 or 8 leagues.

I cannot find any notice taken of this island on any chart or journal I have: it is low & woody; at the SE end of it is a remarkable clump of trees, which appear like a sail & was the only part visible at noon. It does not appear more than a mile in extent & by our observation its Lat. is 3°2' N. & 2°0' E. of the N. end of the Morintay by our reckoning, altho I believe we are to the eastward of account & of course the island must lay farther East, about 2°50' E. of ye N. end of Morintay.

Lat. Obs. 2°55' N.

Monday the 15 day of July 1782

The major part moderate winds & cloudy weather.

At 3 p.m. three Proas came and they had each 8 men, their bodies were painted, their language quite unintelligible, to any on board, they brought a few cocoa nutts which they gladly exchanged for any trifle.

Kept a good lookout all night.

Lat. Obs. 2°10' N. 16 miles to ye northward of account.

...

---

## Documents 1782B

---

### The return voyage of the San José in 1782

#### B1. Letter from the Royal officials in Acapulco, dated 1 November 1781

*Source: AGN Fil. 17, fol. 32-32v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

112.

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Pasamos á manos de V.E. la Memoria y Relacion adjuntas que nos ha entregado el Capitan de Fragata Don Bruno de Heceta, Comandante de la nombrada **San Joseph** que está surta en este Puerto, á fin de que se sirva V.E. mandar que el Factor de esas Caxas nos remita las medicinas y utensilios que expresan dichos documentos para el regreso del expresado buque.*

*Dios Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 1 de Noviembre de 1781.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Estevan de la Carrera Francisco de Cossio.*

[A] *Exmo. Sor. Don Martin de Mayorga.*

#### Translation.

112.

Your Excellency.

We transmit to Y.E. the enclosed lists submitted to us by Navy Commander Bruno de Heceta, the commander of the frigate named **San José** that is anchored in this port, so that Y.E. may be pleased to order the Factor of that Treasury to remit to us the medicines and equipment that appear on said documents for the return voyage of said ship.

May Our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 1 November 1781.

Estevan de la Carrera Francisco de Cossio

[To] His Excellency Martín de Mayorga.

## B2. List of drugs for the galleon San José

Source: AGN Fil. 17, fol. 33-34v.

Note: For some strange reason, the author of this list did not follow the list already prepared by the royal officials at Manila on 21 May 1781 (see fol. 139-140v in same file).

### Original text in Spanish.

**Memoria de las Medicinas que se Necesitan para el regreso de la Fragata San Josef à las Yslas Philipinas al Comando del Capitan de Fragata Don Bruno Hertzeta son los siguientes.**

	<i>Libras Onzas</i>
	<i>Rayzes</i>
<i>De Calaguala</i> .....	2
<i>De Gensiana</i> .....	6
<i>De Althea</i> .....	2
	<i>Flores</i>
<i>De Manzanilla</i> .....	2
<i>De Rosa seca</i> .....	1
	<i>Extractos</i>
<i>De Azibar</i> .....	6
<i>De Saturno</i> .....	6
	<i>Arinas</i>
<i>De Rosulitiva</i> .....	3
	<i>Electuarios y Confecciones</i>
<i>De Diacordio Frascatorio</i> .....	1
<i>De Theriacha Magna</i> .....	1
<i>De Jazintos</i> .....	6
<i>De Alhermes</i> .....	6
	<i>Balsamos</i>
<i>De Arceo</i> .....	3
<i>De Catholico</i> .....	2
<i>De Copaiba</i> .....	6
<i>De Calabaza</i> .....	1
<i>De Perubiano Negro</i> .....	1
	<i>Injundias(?)</i>
<i>De Gallinas</i> .....	1
<i>De Puerco</i> .....	2
	<i>Azeites</i>
<i>De Manzanilla</i> .....	5
<i>De Lombrizes</i> .....	5
<i>De Rosado</i> .....	5
	<i>Pildoras</i>
<i>De Catolicas</i> .....	6

<i>De Mercuriales</i> .....	6
<i>Azeytes por Expression</i>	
<i>De Almendras Dulzes</i> .....	4
<i>De Anis</i> .....	2
<i>De Aluzema</i> .....	2
<i>Aguas</i>	
<i>De Canela</i> .....	2
<i>De Colirio Oftalmico de Michael</i> ...	2
<i>De la Reina de Ungria</i> .....	2
<i>De Rosada</i> .....	3
<i>De Aguardie[n]te</i> .....	80
<i>De Vino de Xeres</i> .....	12
<i>Elixires y Tinturas</i>	
<i>De Propietatis Paracelci</i> .....	4
<i>De Laudano Liquido</i> .....	3
<i>De Castorio</i> .....	3
<i>Emplastos</i>	
<i>De Ranas [con] quadruplicado Mercurio</i>	5
<i>De Thecomaca</i> .....	1
<i>De Diaquilon Gomado</i> .....	5
<i>De Estomaticon usual</i> .....	1
<i>Semillas</i>	
<i>De las quatro Frigidias</i> .....	4
<i>De Linazas</i> .....	1
<i>De Alosnas</i> .....	1
<i>De Aluzema</i> .....	4
<i>De Zebada</i> .....	4
<i>Sales</i>	
<i>De Armoniaco</i> .....	4
<i>De Prunela</i> .....	4
<i>Gomas</i>	
<i>De Alcamphor</i> .....	6
<i>De Sangre de Drago</i> .....	4
<i>De Therebentina</i> .....	3
<i>Piedras</i>	
<i>De Alumbre crudo</i> .....	6
<i>De Lyni</i> .....	2
<i>De Infernal</i> .....	1
<i>Polvos</i>	
<i>De Alcaparrosa</i> .....	6
<i>De Bolo Armenico</i> .....	6
<i>De Madre de Perlas</i> .....	6

<i>De Coral Rubro</i> .....	8
<i>De Cuerno de Ciervo</i> .....	8
<i>De Ypecacuana</i> .....	1
<i>De Xalapa</i> .....	2
<i>De Antimonio Diaphoretico</i> .....	2
<i>De Ynsencio</i> .....	4
<i>De Mercurio dulce</i> .....	2
<i>Spiritus</i>	
<i>De Cloctearia</i> .....	1
<i>De Cuerno de Ciervo</i> .....	1
<i>De Nitro dulce</i> .....	4
<i>De Carminativos de Silvio</i> ...	8
<i>Senos</i>	
<i>De Orozus</i> .....	1
<i>Ungentos</i>	
<i>De Basilicon</i> .....	4
<i>De Mercurio Simple</i> .....	1
<i>De Populeon</i> .....	1
<i>Xaraves</i>	
<i>De Ajenjos simple</i> .....	5
<i>De Althea</i> .....	12
<i>De Culantrillo</i> .....	5
<i>De Chicorias</i> .....	10
<i>De Corteza de Cidra Spirituosa</i> .....	12
<i>De Limon</i> .....	10
<i>De Orosus</i> .....	4
<i>De Miel Rosado</i> .....	5
<i>De Oximiel simple</i> .....	5
<i>De Rosa Seca</i> .....	6
<i>Varios simples</i>	
<i>De Manteca de Cacao</i> .....	1
<i>De Cantaridas</i> .....	6
<i>De Mana Electo</i> .....	2
<i>De Manteca de Azaro</i> .....	6
<i>Yerbas</i>	
<i>De Salvia</i> .....	2
<i>De Lanten</i> .....	2
<i>De Malvas</i> .....	8
<i>De Romero</i> .....	6
<i>Utenzillios</i>	
<i>Un Almirez de Cobre con su mano de peso de 7 à 8 libras.</i>	
<i>Ventozas de Vidrio, una dozena.</i>	

*Un Pistero de Cobre ó Estaño de mas de un quartillo para los nessesitados.*

*Dos metros de Ylo torzido.*

*Dos metros de Seda floxa.*

*Cien Baras de manta Elefante ó Bramante.*

*Cinquenta varas de cinta Blanca.*

*Seis cucharas de Cobre para los nessesitados.*

*Cien Alfileres.*

*Un pesador chico con el peso correspondiente de una onza hasta un gramo Botánico.*

*A Bordo de la fragata **San Jossef**, y Noviembre 5 de 1781.*

*Roque Agustino de los Reyes.*

*Vista Hezeta.*

### Translation.

List of the medicines that are required for the return voyage of the frigate **San José** to the Philippine Islands under the command of Navy Commander **Bruno Heceta**, as follows:

	Lbs	Ozs
	Roots	
Of "Calaguala" .....	2	
Of "Gensiana" [Ginseng?] .....	6	
Of marshmallow .....	2	
	Flowers	
Of manzanilla .....	2	
Of dried roses .....	1	
	Extracts	
Of "Azibar" .....	6	
Of Saturn .....	6	
	Flours	
Of "Rosulitiva" .....	3	
	Electuaries y Confections	
Of "Diascordio Frascatorio" .....	1	
Of "Theriacha magna" .....	1	
Of "Jacintos" .....	6	
Of "Alhermes" .....	6	
	Balms	
Of "Arceo" .....	3	
Of "Catholico" .....	2	
Of "Copaiba" .....	6	
Of calabash .....	1	
Of black "Peruvian" .....	1	



	Concentrates(?)
Of chicken .....	1
Of pigs .....	2
	Oils
Of manzanilla .....	5
Of worms .....	5
Of roses .....	5
	Pills
Of Catolico .....	6
Of Mercurial .....	6
	Oils through expression
Of sweet almonds .....	4
Of anise .....	2
Of "aluzema" .....	2
	Waters
Of cinnamon .....	2
Michael's ophtalmic "colirio" .....	2
Of the Queen of Hungary .....	2
Rose water .....	3
Of brandy .....	80
Of sherry wine .....	12
	Elixirs and Tinctures
Of Paracelsus .....	4
Of liquid laudanum .....	3
Of castor oil .....	3
	Plasters
Of frogs, with quadruple mercury .....	5
Of "Thecomaca" .....	1
Of gummed tape [i.e. band-aids] .....	5
Of regular "estomaticon" .....	1
	Seeds
Of the four "frigidas" .....	4
Of flax .....	1
Of wormwood .....	1
Of "aluzema" .....	4
Of barley .....	4
	Salts
Of ammoniac .....	4
Of "Prunela" .....	4
	Gums
Of camphor .....	6
Of the dragon-tree .....	4

Of turpentine .....	3
	Stones
Of raw alum .....	6
Of “Lyni” .....	2
Of Infernal .....	1
	Powders
Of capers .....	6
Of “Bolo Armenico” .....	6
Of mother-of-pearl .....	6
Of red coral .....	8
Of deer horn .....	8
Of “ipecacuana” <sup>1</sup> .....	1
Of Jalapa .....	2
Of diaphoretic antimony .....	2
Of “Insencio” .....	4
Of sweet mercury .....	2
	Spirits
Of “Cloctearia” .....	1
Of deer horn .....	1
Of sweet nitre .....	4
Of Silvio’s carminatives .....	8
	Hearts
Of licorice .....	1
	Ointments
Of Basilicon .....	4
Of mercury, simple .....	1
Of Populeon .....	1
	Syrups
Of wormwood [or mug-wort], simple	5
Of marshmallow .....	12
Of maiden’s hair .....	5
Of chicory .....	10
Of the bark of the “cidra spirituosa”	12
Of the lemon-tree .....	10
Of Orosus .....	4
Of pink honey .....	5
Of ozimel, simple .....	5
Of dried rose-color .....	6

---

1 Ed. note: A rubiaceae plant from South America.

## Various simples

Of cacao butter .....	1
Of Spanish flies .....	6
Of “mana electo” <sup>1</sup> .....	2
Of wild-ginger butter .....	6

## Herbs

Of sage .....	2
Of “lantén” .....	2
Of mallows .....	8
Of rosemary .....	6

## Accessories

- 1 brass mortar with its pestle weighing from 7 to 8 pounds.
  - 1 dozen cupping-glasses.
  - 1 copper or pewter urinal of 1-pint capacity for the needy.
  - 2 meters of twisted thread.
  - 2 meters of loose silk.
  - 100 yards of Elephant cloth or linen.
  - 50 yards of white ribbon.
  - 6 copper spoons for the needy.
  - 100 pins.
  - 1 small balance with corresponding set of weights, from 1 oz. to 1 botanical gram.
- Aboard the frigate **San José**, 5 November 1781.  
 Roque Agustino de los Reyes.  
 Approved. Heceta.

**B3. Ship supplies required**

*Source: AGN Fil. 17, fol. 35-35v.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Relacion de los utencilios, efectos, y operarios que necesita este Buque, para disponerse à su regreso, à mas de los viveres.*

*Maestre de Viveres*

*Tres Calderos de Cobre para cocinar al Equipaje, cuyas concavidades tengan el ambito de recibir de onze, à doze arrovas de agua.*

*Una olla de Cobre de cinco à seis arrovas.*

*Dos cucharas del mismo metal que cojan como quatro libras de agua.*

*Un Peso de Cruz que alcance à veinte, y cinco libras, con sus pesas correspondientes desde media onza.*

---

1 Ed. note: Tart made of blanched almonds and other ingredients. A purgative.

*Condestable**Quinientas Piedras de Chispa los dos tercios de Fusil, y las restantes de Pistola.**Maestro Galafate**Diez Quintales de Sebo para dár Pendoles.**Maestro Armero**Ciento, y cinquenta hojas de Lata.**Estos renglones se consideran indispensables para acudir à los reparos que al presente manifiesta esta Fragata: Si despues de verificada la descarga se aclararen otros se acudirà subsecisamente.**Abordo de la Fragata **San Jose** 8 de Noviembre de 1781.**Bruno de Hezeta.***Translation.**

List of the tools, equipment, and supplies that this ship requires in order to make its return voyage, in addition to the food supplies.

Master of the rations.

3 copper kettles to cook for the crew, whose capacities must contain from 11 to 12 arrobas of water.

1 copper pot, from 5 to 6 arrobas.

2 ladles of the same metal, to contain about 4 pounds of water.

1 Roman scales, to weigh up to 25 pounds, with its corresponding set of weights from 1/2 oz.

Master gunner.

50 flint-stones, 2/3 of which for rifles, and the rest for pistols.

Master caulker.

10 quintals of tallow, to heel the ship.

Master gunsmith.

150 sheets of tin.

The above articles are considered indispensable to attend to the repairs that this frigate presently requires. If, after she has been unloaded, other needs become clear, another request will follow.

Aboard the frigate **San José**, 8 November 1781.

Bruno de Heceta.

**B4. Despatch of the San José**

*Source: AGN Fil. 17, fol. 206-207v.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Antes de ayer à las 8 de la noche quedó enteramente despachada la Fragata de S.M. nombrada **San Joseph** del Mando de su Comandante Don Bruno de Heceta y en es-*

*tado de salir para su destino: ayer á las 4 de la tarde se ha levado volviendo á dar fondo despues á la boca del Puerto, por tener en contra la marea; y hoy á las 4 de la mañana se hizo nuevamente á la vela: Por la Noticia que acompaña vendrá V.E. en conocimiento de la carga que se ha registrado en este buque así del Rey como de Particulares.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 4 de Febrero de 1782.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Rafael Vasco Estevan de la Carrera Juan Gayarre*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Don Martín de Mayorga*

***Nota de los caudales del REY como de Particulares que lleva registrados la Fragata San Joseph que salió de este Puerto hoy dia de la fecha.***

<i>Real Situado de Filipinas .....</i>	<i>456,769p 5.9</i>
<i>Reintegro de la Buena cuenta, suplida por las Caxas de Manila á los individuos de esta Nao .....</i>	<i>12,276p 6.0</i>
<i>Estipendios Eclesiasticos .....</i>	<i>22,234p 0.9</i>
<i>Devengado y año adelantado de la Tripulacion y Guarnicion de la Nao .....</i>	<i>39,815p 1.4</i>
<i>Remision del Sor. Mangino al Sor. Gobernador de Manila .....</i>	<i>1,500p 0.0</i>
<i>Bienes de difuntos .....</i>	<i>4,264p 7.10</i>
<i>Sinodos y Limosnas .....</i>	<i>18,500p 0.0</i>
<i>Permiso del año de 79 á 80 .....</i>	<i>398,328p 5.0</i>
<i>Permiso de 80 á 81 .....</i>	<i>180,566p 1.0</i>
<i>Ydem, del de 81 á 82 .....</i>	<i>293,639p 1.4</i>
<i>Aumento concedido por S.E. á dichos permisos por via de sobrante de sus ventas .....</i>	<i>333,585p 1.0</i>
<i>Embarcado en frutos y efectos .....</i>	<i>84,981p 1.11</i>
	<i>-----</i>
	<i>1,846,460p 7.11</i>
	<i>-----</i>

*Suma el dinero y valor de los frutos y efectos registrados, un millón ochocientos quarenta y seis mil quatrocientos sesenta pesos, siete tomines y once granos.*

*Acapulco 4 de febrero de 1782.*

*Vasco Carrera Gayarre*

**Translation.**

Your Excellency.

The day before yesterday at 8 p.m. His Majesty's frigate named **San José** remained completely ready to sail, under the command of Don Bruno de Heceta. Yesterday at 4 p.m., she set sail but returned to anchor at the mouth of the port because the tide was contrary. Today at 4 a.m. she set sail once again. Through the note below, Y.E. will be

informed of the cargo that was registered aboard this ship, belonging to the king as well as to individuals.

May our Lord save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 4 February 1782.

Your Excellency.

Rafael Vasco Estevan de la Carrera Juan Gayarre

[To] His Excellency Martín de Mayorga.

**Note of the funds belonging to the king and to individuals that were registered aboard the frigate San José that left this port today.**

Royal subsidy of the Philippines .....	456,769p 5.9
Reimbursement of the moneys, supplied by the Treasury of Manila, to the individuals of this galleon .....	12,276p 6.0
Ecclesiastical stipends .....	22,234p 0.9
Salaries and wages, earned and one year in advance, to the crew and garrison of the galleon .....	39,815p 1.4
Remittance by Don Mangino to the Governor of Manila .....	1,500p 0.0
Property of the deceased .....	4,264p 7.10
Religious subsidies and alms .....	18,500p 0.0
Permits from 1779 to 1780 .....	398,328p 5.0
Permits from 1780 to 1781 .....	180,566p 1.0
Idem, from 1781 to 1782 .....	293,639p 1.4
Increase granted by H.M. to said permits, as extra sales .....	333,585p 1.0
Value of the products and effects taken on board .....	84,981p 1.11
	-----
	1,846,460p 7.11
	-----

Sum of money and value of the products and effects registered: one million eight hundred and forty six thousand four hundred and sixty pesos, seven tomins, and eleven grains.

Acapulco, 4 February 1782.

Vasco Carrera Gayarre

---

## Palau Part 10—Document 1783C

---

### A letter to Madan Blanchard, by E. M. Forster

*Source: Edward Morgan Forster. A Letter to Madan Blanchard (London, Hogarth, 1931).*

#### A fantasy letter about Palau by a modern dreamer

*Note by the author: My correspondent is not imaginary. See An Account of the Pelew Islands, by George Keate. See also India Office, Marine Records, 570a and 570c, where his name is spelt Blanshard. See furthermore Rupack Street, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.*

The London Library,  
St. James' Square,  
London.

April, 1931.

My dear Madan,

Captain Wilson keeps telling me about you, and I feel I should like to write you a line, I shall send it by air mail to Paris, but from Paris to Genoa in a pre-war express. At Genoa the confusion will begin. Owing to the infancy of Mussolini the steam packet will not start on time, and will frequently put in for repairs. So slow is the progress that the Suez Canal may close before it can be opened, and my letter be constrained to cross Egypt by the overland route. Suez is full of white sails. One of them, tacking southward, will make India at last, another bring tidings of Napoleonic wars on a following breeze. Smaller boats, duskier crews. Brighter dawns? Quieter nights anyhow. The world is unwinding. What of Macao, where no news follows at all? What of the final transshipment? The last little vessel scarcely moves as she touches the Pelews, the waves scarcely break, just one tiny ripple survives to float my envelope into your hand. As the tide turns, I reach you. You open my letter a hundred and fifty years before it is written, and you read the words My dear Madan.

Before I forget, there are messages. Don't lose the compass you asked for. Maintain the pinnace and her tackle in proper repair. Help the natives to work any iron they recover from the wreck, and look after the arms and ammunition for them. Wages are still due to you, 23 pounds 8 shillings and 3 pence—do you want them? Above all Captain Wilson asks me to “request Blanchard he will never go naked, like the natives, as

by preserving the form of dress his countrymen have appeared in, he will always support a superiority of character; that he may be better enabled to follow this advice, he was furnished with all the clothes we could spare, and directed, when these were worn out, to make himself trowsers with a mat." He hopes that all this has been done, and that you have not forgotten your Sundays. You may follow Pelew customs in other ways. He sees no objection to two wivees, since Abba Thulle offered them, indeed a refusal might well cause offence, but Sunday stands apart. Knot a string to remind yourself of it, or count coral insects, or something. Prince Lee Boo saw the importance of Sunday as soon as he landed in England, and has indeed gone so far as to be buried in Rotherhithe Church. How about baptizing your Cockilla and Cockathey? —though this is my suggestion, not the Captain's. He says that I am not to plague you with niceties, especially as you can't read, and indeed wants me to draw a picture of a church and a pair of trousers, and leave it at that. But I'm writing, because there's just a chance that, on the turn of the tide, the answer to my question may float back to me.

I want to know why you stopped behind when the others went.

At the present moment I'm stuffed in between books, and old ladies with worried faces are making notes in long arm-chairs, so I feel it natural enough you should stop. The ends of the earth, the depths of the sea, the darkness of time, you have chosen all three. But when you chose them you were stuffed in somewhere or other yourself, latitude 6°25' N., longitude 126° E., date November 12th, 1783, so what were your grounds for deciding? Did it start as a joke? Your mates never took you seriously, and Wilson talks of your dry sende of humour. You helped them to the very last to build the sloop, you even came aboard as she was moving to show where a sail had been stowed, then you took leave without the least regret, "as if they were only sailing from London to Gravesend, and were to return by the next tide." They couldn't believe their eyes when you went and sat down with the savages and the canoes, it seemed like a dream. Even Prince Lee Boo was amazed. He pointed to you as the canoes fell astern, and then he pointed to himself and said, "I go with his people, he stop with mine. But I go with wise English, he stop with the savage Pelew. I go to visit King George and God, he only visit King Abba Thulle my father. Oh mystery! How curious!" Captain Wilson then invited him to dine, after which he started being sick.

That ramshackle craft got safely to China, looking more like a packing-case than a sloop, with every sort of rag flapping, and the black and white magic stuff still showing round the stern. The John Company officials at Canton were not too pleased with the vision. They had sent out the **Antelope**, you see, one of their best vessels, and this was what came back, and they questioned Wilson pretty straightly over what had happened. I suspect—owing to my knowledge of history—that the **Antelope** had been despatched to annex the Pelew Islands for Great Britain, instead of which the Pelews have annexed the **Antelope**, and she now forms part of the coral reef at Oroora. Wilson had to explain this away as well as he could, also the disappearance of the stores, the death of Quarter Master Godfrey Minks (drowned through swimming ashore with two suits of clothes on), the mortality among the Chinese crew (occurring no one remembered



when) and the absence of two dogs and yourself. On the other hand, he could point to Prince Lee Boo, and this certainly calmed the officials. Lee Boo was a hostage, though the word was never used, he ensured the good behaviour of his father. The Company's plan was to educate him in England, and send him back to rule the islands for us; he was to take with him horses, dogs, cows, pigs, goats, seeds, clothes, rum, and all that makes life bearable; he was to oust Qui Bill from the succession, conquer the ARTingalls with musket-fire, and reign over corpses and coconuts in a gold-laced suit. The small-pox had something to say to all that, and there will be no more talk of annexation yet awhile. You may rest in peace, my dear Madan, if rest is what you want, and your king Abba Thulle has saved his kingdom at the moment he lost his son. Such an amiable youth, and so intelligent. First he was puzzled by houses, then he called everything a house; at Portsmouth he was "put into a little house which was run away with by horses, most agreeable, the trees and fields went the other way," and so reached London, which was "all fine country, fine house upon house up to sky," and skipped about half the night in a four-poster bed, peeping between the curtains, and crying, "in England a house for everything. How wise!" He must have been charming. But I am more intrigued by you, about whom I know nothing except that you preferred the ends of the earth, the depths of the sea. Answer this letter if you can—there are various methods—and let me know why you went native, and how you are.

I enclose the Prince's picture as it may amuse you—you will hardly recognise who it is.<sup>1</sup> I meant to break his death to you gradually, but the news is already out, besides, I don't see why you should mind. You saw him going on board man-naked, with masses of wild fruit in his arms. Well, in a week they taught him to wear clothes like these, in a fortnight he wouldn't take even a waistcoat off except in the dark, and a year later you might have seen him in Mrs. Wilson's dining-room at Rotherhithe, offering her, with exquisite grace, three small cherries in a spoon. He had offered them in his hand at first, whereat the old lady had smiled slightly—you too may not know, but cherries are never handed in the hand. Observing her smile, he resorted to a spoon, and "a blush actually forced itself through his dusky complexion." Nothing was too refined for him, or too moral; he embraced civilisation with the grace of a courtier and the restraint of a curate. He admired all Englishmen. He adored all Englishwomen; he called the old ones "mother"—the young ones—we never shall know. I wish he hadn't died—he must have been a dear. He seems to have loved his country. He was always talking about it, and collecting rubbish to sow there when he got back. His chief treasure was two little barrels of blue glass on stands, which an official gave him in Canton. His chief pleasure: driving in St. James' Park, close to where I am writing to you now. The Wilsons would not take him about much, for fear of infection. He went to see Lunardi go up in a balloon, but failed to mistake the balloon for a house, so was bored. Most days he was at school—an Academy for young gentlemen close by, and many a merry tale did he bring back, but never an unkind prank. The Wilsons were devoted to him—he and

---

1 Ed. note: The book shows a copy of Prince Lee Boo's portrait, from Keate's book.

young Harry used to practise javelin-throwing for hours in the attic—and there is no doubt that he came to his end among friends. You can tell this or not tell it to Abba Thulle as you like. Probably you had better not tell it, for the noblest of savages is apt to be deranged by the death of a son, and whatever else this letter does I do not want it to do you harm.

*“Though the good Captain and his household strove  
Each other to excel in deeds of love,  
Will this, when told thy father (noble chief!),  
Stop the strong current of resistless grief?  
Has not imagination, in alarms,  
Portray’d his son return’d with arts and arms,  
To bless his kingdom with a lasting race  
Of warriors all, and all in love with peace?  
Shall he, regardless of each social tie,  
Calmly resign Lee Boo without a sigh?  
And will unmoved thy generous uncles stand  
To hear thou diest’t regretted in our land?  
Ah no!...”*

This is from an anonymous poem which someone sent Wilson after the funeral. I, too, feel “Ah no!” If the generous uncles realise that we have, with the best intentions, committed murder, they will not be unmoved, and when they see you alone among them, and you’re just his age—well perhaps they’ll make you their king instead, but I wouldn’t risk it. I would watch Abba Thulle tying a knot in a string at every full moon until his son comes back with the wise English, and I would say nothing.

What about your own relatives? I don’t even know whether you’re English or French. I find you signed on to the **Antelope** at Falmouth, but that means anything, and the books in the library here make their usual imbecile noises when I mention your name. Here are *Metamorphoses, mœurs et instincts des insectes*, by Émile Blanchard. Would this attract you as a connection? Or Samuel Laman Blanchard’s *Collected Poems*. May I send them you? Or a letter from Pierre Blanchard, *Sur les questions qui divisent l’Église gallicane*. Or Edward Blanchard’s *Descriptive Guide to the Great Western Railway*. Or Frank Nelson Blanchard’s *A revision of the king snakes: genus Lampropeltis*. This is what is termed research. The Madan offer even wider scope to the earnest student, but I shall not pursue it beyond *Thelyphthora, a Treatise on Female Ruin*. This helpful work was composed by one Martin Madan, only three years before the **Antelope** struck, and him, if anyone, I assign to you as uncle. I haven’t any news about your mates either—they scattered and got other jobs—Nick Tyacke, Little Will Cobbledick, and all. Young Mr. Devis stopped in India, to paint portraits there, the rest of the party proceeding to England as aforesaid, via St. Helena. The two arrow wounds he got on your expedition still hurt him in the jaw. Do you remember when

Mr. Devis drew Abba Thulle's wives, and they were so frightened—Ludee in particular, that very pretty one? Are your Cockilla and Cockathey very pretty too? I suggested to Wilson that they might be, which would explain your vagaries, and he answered yes, they very well might be, but no one knew, since they had not arrived from the interior by the time the sloop sailed. He also said that you were known to have formed "no special attachments on the island"—it seems rather to have been a general feeling, something connected with the Artingall wars. It was in a canoe among savages and Englishmen mixed, coming back from the second war, that you said "I mean to live here for ever." Wilson was irritated, for he had noticed nothing remarkable about you; you were like any other seaman at 2 pounds a month, good tempered, inoffensive, quiet, enjoyed fighting—the usual thing: he took it for insolence when you stuck to it, and perhaps still isn't quite sure. "Did you ever want to stop on there yourself, sir?" I asked him. He sighed, "Ah well, ah well," and looked at his wrist. The bone with which Abba Thulle invested him still encircles his wrist, he won't have it removed, and polishes it every evening to keep his luck, as he was told. "This denotes that I am a Rupack, or noble, of the first rank," he continued, smiling, "and it was conferred on me by the natives in front of one of their public assembly halls or 'Pyes.' Dr. Keate says the bone belongs to a whale, but in my judgment it is a merman's, for they are not uncommon in the China seas." I questioned him more on the Pyes, and he said, "Ah well, the Pyes, most remarkable, most." I like to hear him sigh "Ah well." It runs under so much of his talk. He will never forget the three months he spent on the island, or the Apples of Paradise they brought him the morning he sailed, or the canoes escorting him over the reef while they cried, "Come again to us, good Englishman, come!" The English will not come again—at least I hope not. Your island has swung away from ours into what we choose to call darkness, and into what I can't help calling life.

Look at Lee Boo! Think how it ended, in spite of all the care they took. Mr. Sharpe (your late surgeon) never let him out of his sight, and as soon as the first trace of infection appeared they sent for Doctor Carmichael Smith too. Doctor Smith examined him, and told the Wilsons at once that he must die. A few days later he knew it himself. He was walking across the room, saw himself in the glass, and was disgusted—shook his head, and said that his father and mother, thousands of miles away, were grieving. To Mr. Sharpe he said: "Good friend, when you go back to Pelew tell Abba Thulle that Lee Boo take much drink to make small-pox go away, but he die; Captain Wilson, Mother Wilson, very kind—all English very good men—much sorry he could not speak to the King the number of fine things the English had got—he do all they tell him, but he die." The little barrels of blue glass were to be given to the king. As long as Doctor Smith was with him, he complained of his symptoms in case he could be cured, but at other times he thought only of his friends. To add to their misery, old Mrs. Wilson lay ill in the next room, and he kept calling out to her "Lee Boo do well, mother," to comfort her, or tried to visit her, and had to be stopped. Hot baths, blistered back and legs—the boy endured it all, sensible, unselfish, ultra-civilised to the last. What he really thought, no one knew or has dared to guess. He managed to pass away without dis-

trussing the Christians or disappointing the philosophers, and he has a tablet in Rotherhithe churchyard consequently. John Company paid for it, and for the funeral, too, though the Wilsons would gladly have settled it all themselves. All Rotherhithe attended—the two little painted figures up on the alms houses couldn't ever have looked down on so vast a concourse—officials from London, all the young people from the Academy, although it was their Christmas holiday. The stone was put up after a year, which gives enough time for all flesh to decay.

To the Memory  
of Prince Lee Boo,  
A native of the PELEW, or PALOS Islands:  
and Son to ABBA THULLE, Rupack or King  
of the Island COOROORAA;  
who departed this Life on the 27th of December,  
1784  
aged 20 years;  
This stone is inscribed  
by the Honourable United EAST INDIA COMPANY,  
as a testimony of Esteem for the humane and  
kind Treatment afforded by HIS FATHER to the  
Crew of their Ship the ANTELOPE,  
Captain WILSON, which was  
wrecked off that Island in  
the Night of the 9th of August, 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop!—let NATURE claim a Tear  
—A Prince of *Mine*, LEE BOO, lies bury'd here.

I almost shed a tear, but not quite; he was rather too harmless a blackamoor—such a puppet, he always did as he was bid, and people like that don't seem quite real. The people who touch my imagination are obstinate suddenly—they do break step, and I always hope they'll get by without the sergeant punishing them. It was so like poor Lee Boo that he loved above all things to see the Guards drilling in the Park. They are drilling there still, so are the ladies in the long chairs in this library, so are the books in the shelves. If it isn't one set of rules it's another, even for heroism. I ought to feel free myself, as I've health, strength, and am middle-aged, yet I can't keep my hat on in a church, for instance, even if no one's looking, and if I'm fighting never manage to hit below the belt. While not getting fussed over this, I can't but remember the people who managed better, and it's in order to meet them in the flesh that I study history. Here and there, as I rake between the importancies, I come across them—the people who carried whimsicality into action, the salt of my earth. Not the professional whimsies—their drill's drearier than anyone's—but the solid fellows who suddenly jib. The queer thing is we

all admire them—even when we're hard-bitten disciplinarians like old Wilson. They've got hold of something which we know is there, but have never dared to grasp in our hands. A sort of stinging nettle. I went down to the tomb the other day, and thought "No, he isn't quite good enough, he was stung when he wasn't looking, which happens to anyone." I took down a lot of notes about Rotherhithe church, the neighbourhood, Shad Thames, etc., thinking they would interest you, but if they interested you, you'd have come back to them, so I tore the notes up and wandered about feeling rather tired and out of place, then I got across the river to Stepney, and through in at Aldgate and out at Newgate, back to this part, where I mostly am.

Well, that concludes my news, and now it's your turn. I will enclose you one more poem, and then wish you good luck:

*"O'er the mighty Pacific whose soft swelling wave  
A thousand bright regions eternally lave,  
'Mid rocks red with coral and shellfish abounding,  
The note of the parrot and pigeon resounding:  
Crowned with groves of banana and taper bamboo  
Rise the gay sunny shores of the Isles of Pelew."*

This is how a Miss Heisch, afterwards a Mrs. Hookey, imagines your present home. I laughed the first time I read her poem, but the second time I found myself sighing "Ah well!" Write to me if you possibly can—I suppose on the bark of some tree. Lower it one evening as the tide turns, and watch it drift out through the coral reefs. The monsoons will hurry it westward, and the spray begin whispering "Progress" against it. Swifter boats, paler crews, and an intelligent interest among savants as it is raised aboard in a dredge off, let us say, Réunion. "C'est bien une lettre?" Pourquoi pas? It is addressed? Apparently! Then forward it onward to England. The waves are rising, the world's winding up, but King George is still on his throne, so's God. Boom! Before the last echo of 1815 dies away, 1914 strikes, and here we are. Your letter now takes to the air. Heavily surcharged, liable to customs duty, enterable under income tax, subject to quarantine, notifiable, censorable, confiscatable, it crashes through the library window, and explodes in my hand. None of the old ladies notice it—they are still researching. I wait until the envelope of smoke has vanished, I find my right spectacles, and I decipher a hundred and fifty years after it was written, the single word: "aaa."

What can "aaa" mean? Perhaps you have forgotten your English. I will send for a Pelew dictionary. While it is coming I have one more thing to say to you.

Once I used to come across an Irish clergyman—an unusual fellow, I never liked him much, he died before your time. He invented a group of islands to relieve his feelings on, and oddly enough placed some of them south-east of Formosa—that's to say, more or less where you actually are. One of these islands contained very small men, another very large ones, a third was inhabited by horses, and the fourth flew. The clergyman was too bad tempered to take much notice of what he was doing: I mean whether the

men were big or little they were intended to make men of his own size look small, and so with his horses: he didn't care for horses but he hated people, and used horses for saying so. Well, in one of the islands he imagined men living for ever. It sounded like Paradise, but of course there was a catch—I will not tell you what, but it is a terrifying one, and nothing he has ever said to me has upset me more. If he is right on the subject of eternal youth in the Southern seas, don't answer this letter, in fact you won't want to. But if I am right, send the answer that tells everything, the answer I have imagined for you, "aaa" (Pelew for Yes).

Yours ever,

E. M. FORSTER.

*Author's note: My letter was never delivered. An explanation for this can be found in A Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands by the Reverend John Pearce Hockin, of Exeter College, Oxford, M.A. London, printed for Captain Henry Wilson by W. Bulmer and Co., Cleveland Row, 1803.*

---

## Documents 1784A

---

# Notes on some ships that crossed the North Pacific, from 1784 onwards

### A1. Notes on some U.S. ships, by Major Shaw

*Sources: Josiah Quincy (ed.). The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw (Boston, 1847); Tamain & Glubock and also Latourette (see Bibliography).*

*Note: Major Shaw, who had served in the U.S. War of Independence was the first U.S. Consul appointed by the U.S. Congress to serve in China, as of 1786.*

—1784-85: The **Empress of China**, Captain John Green. Major Shaw made his first voyage to China as a supercargo aboard this ship.

—1786-1789: The **Hope**, Captain James Magee. Major Shaw made his second voyage to Canton aboard this ship, which departed New York on 4 February 1786 and returned in July 1789.

—1790-92: The **Massachusetts**, Captain Job Prince, Major Shaw made his third voyage to Canton aboard this ship, which had been launched in September 1789. This ship was sold at Canton to the Danish Company (says Delano), not to the Portuguese Government, as stated erroneously by Major Shaw, who returned in another vessel to the U.S. in 1792.

—1793: Major Shaw made his 4th voyage to China, aboard an unnamed ship, leaving New York in February 1793, and arriving at Canton in November 1793.

According to Major Shaw, other U.S. ships that visited Canton in 1786, and up to January 1787:

- Sloop **Experiment**, Captain Dean, from New York;
- Ship **Canton**, Captain Truxton, from Philadelphia;
- Ship **Hope**, Captain Magee, from New York;
- Ship **Grand Turk**, Captain West, from Salem.

The U.S. ship that visited Canton in December 1787 and January 1788 was:

—The frigate **Alliance**, Captain Thomas Reid, from Philadelphia, which sighted Pohnpei.

The U.S. ships that visited Canton in 1788 and up to January 1789 were:

- The **Asia**, Captain Barry, from Philadelphia;
- The **Canton**, Captain Truxton, from Philadelphia;

- The **Jenny**, Captain Thompson, from New York.
- The ships that were expected at Canton in January 1789 were:
  - The **General Washington**, from Rhode Island;
  - The **Jay**, from New York;
  - The **Hope**, Captain Randall, from New York;
  - The brig **Eleanora**, Captain Metcalf, from New York and the NW Coast.

## A2. India-based ships that visited the North Pacific, by Barry Gough

*Source: B. M. Gough, "India-based Expeditions of Trade and Discovery in the North Pacific in the Late Eighteenth Century," in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 155, No. 2, July 1989, pp. 215-223.*

- The small ship **Experiment**, of about 110 tons, built in India, commanded by Captain Henry or John Guise, formerly RN; it went from Celebes to NW Coast in 1786;
- The **Captain Cook**, formerly the **Betsey**, 350 tons, Captain Henry Laurie, formerly RN; went from Celebes to NW Coast in 1786, in company with the **Experiment**;
- The snow **Sea Otter**, Captain Williams Tipping, formerly the **Fairy of Calcutta**, went from India to NW Coast in 1786; then it went to Macao, arriving there in February 1787 (after another voyage, it returned from Boston in 1792);
- The **Nootka**, Captain John Meares, followed the **Sea Otter** in 1786, but spent the next winter on the NW Coast; this ship was sold in 1788;<sup>1</sup>
- The ship **Argonaut**, built at Calcutta, sailed from Macao/Canton (in 1788?) in company with the sloop **Princess Royal**, Captain James Colnett; these two ships were seized by the Spanish and taken to San Blas;<sup>2</sup>
- The brig **Halcyon**, Captain Charles W. Barkley, probably of Calcutta, in 1792;
- The barque **Phoenix**, Captain Hugh Moore, from Bengal, that made one voyage in 1792 and another in 1794, during which it disappeared;
- The brig **Arthur**, Captain Henry Barber, from Bengal, that went from NSW to the NW Coast in 1794, but was shipwrecked in Oahu in 1796.

## A3. Notes on Spanish ships of the Royal Philippine Company, 1785-1834 period

*Source: María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola. La Real Compañía de Filipinas (1965).*

- The frigate **Nuestra Señora de los Placeres**, Captain Antonio Zavaleta, left Cadiz for Manila in September 1785, via Cape Horn and Lima; it crossed the Pacific in the summer of 1786;

---

1 Ed. note: Meares then purchased two ships, the **Felice Adventurer** and the **Iphigenia Nubiana**, registered them at Macao, and crossed the Pacific with them, by way of Palau in 1788.  
 2 Ed. note: The **Princess Royal** was returned to Macao by Lieut. Manuel Quimper in 1791.



—The frigate **Astrea**, belonging to the Spanish Navy, but despatched by the RPC, Captain Alejandro Malaspina, left Cadiz on 1 September 1786, went via Cape Horn, Lima, and Guam in 1787;

—The frigate **Rey Carlos** left Málaga on 4 January 1787, under the command of Navy Captain Ramón de Ansoátegui, bound to Manila, via Montevideo;

—The frigate **Santa Rufina**, Captain Gabriel de Sorondo, chartered by RPC, left Cadiz on 7 September 1787 for Manila, via Cape Horn and Lima; departed Lima on 29 January 1788;

—The frigate **Nuestra Señora de los Dolores**, left Cadiz on 23 November 1787, under the command of Navy Lieutenant Tello Montilla; went via Montevideo and Cape Horn, and crossed the Pacific in 1788;

—The frigate **Nuestra Señora de los Placeres**, commanded by Navy officer Pedro Pineda, left Spain on 9 September 1788, for Manila via Cape Horn and Lima; left Lima on 10 April 1789 to cross the Pacific;<sup>1</sup>

—The frigate **Rey Carlos**, under the command of Navy officer Agustín de Villavicencio, left Spain on 25 November 1788, by way of Montevideo, Cape Horn, and straight to Manila from there, crossing the Pacific in 1789;<sup>2</sup>

—The frigate **Reina María Luisa**, Captain Ventura Martínez, left in February 1795, via Cape Horn and Lima, anchored at Manila at the end of 1795;<sup>3</sup>

—The frigate **San José, alias Princesa**, left Cadiz in the middle of 1796 [rather 1795], under the command of Captain Fernando Menéndez de Miranda, via Cape Horn, and arrived at Manila on 16 April [1796];

—The frigate **Rey Carlos**, left Cadiz on 16 October 1796, via Cape Horn and Lima; crossed the Pacific in 1797;<sup>4</sup>

—The frigate **San Francisco Xavier, alias El Filipino**, that RPC had bought in Manila, was despatched from there to Lima in early 1789; she used the “austral” route via the South Pacific;

—The schooner **Luconia** left Cavite on 3 February 1802 and arrived at Sonsonate, Guatemala, on 31 May 1802; Pedro Darrigal was supercargo;<sup>5</sup>

—The frigate **Nuestra Señora de la Paz**, left Spain in September 1802, via Cape Horn, reached Manila in 1803; she returned to Cadiz via the Pacific, leaving Manila in August 1804, and making a stopover at Lima;

---

1 Ed. note: This ship was shipwrecked on the coast of Spain in December 1794.

2 Ed. note: That year, the RPC bought the frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, alias **Clive**, in Manila.

3 Ed. note: According to Artiñano, she was built at Ferrol in 1790 and sank in 1815.

4 Ed. note: Reported at Guam by Gov. Muro; name of her captain was Oyarvide. This ship spent the war period that followed (until 1802) in Manila. She then made her last voyage in 1803, back to Europe where she was condemned.

5 Ed. note: No details are given about her return.

—The frigate **San Fernando**, Captain Juan Alias, left Spain for Manila in October 1804, via Cape Horn and Lima, leaving the latter port on 1 June 1805, reaching Palapag (Samar I.) on 1 September; left Manila for Peru, via Cape Bojeador, in August 1806, but was captured by the English **HMS Phaeton**, and taken to Macao; ransom was paid, and she sailed for Lima, by way of San Blas where she arrived on 11 January 1807;<sup>1</sup>

—The schooner **San Rafael, alias La Pala**, left Manila on 21 December 1805, and across the Pacific, to Lima, but was forced by lack of food and water to make a stop at San Blas, where she arrived on 29 April 1806;<sup>2</sup>

—The frigate **Santiago**, was despatched from Manila to Peru in 1813; left Lima on 23 December 1813, under the command of Captain José Tirado; was shipwrecked in Apra Harbor, Guam, in February 1814.<sup>3</sup>

—The frigate **Santiago** [sic]<sup>4</sup> left Manila on 18 January 1815 and arrived at Lima on 16 May 1815; after a side trip to Panama, she left the port of Callao (Lima) on 20 September 1816 and arrived back at Manila on 10 December;

—The frigate **Infante Don Carlos** left Asia<sup>5</sup> on 24 December 1816 and arrived at Callao on 8 July 1817.

- 
- 1 Ed. note: The RPC operations were stopped by the wars of independence in the Spanish colonies, until 1814.
  - 2 Ed. note: The Pala returned to Manila from Lima in 1806.
  - 3 Ed. note: Most of the 500,000 pesos on board was salvaged on the spot. An inquiry into this shipwreck was held at Manila. The author has confused this ship with another named Infante Don Carlos, I think. From 1813 onwards, the RPC ships trading between Spain and the Philippines went “directly” to Manila, presumably via the Indian Ocean.
  - 4 Ed. note: A new ship with an old name, or else the same as the **Infante Don Carlos** bought at Calcutta in 1812, but most probably the San Fernando, alias Príncipe de Asturias, instead.
  - 5 Ed. note: Calcutta, says the author, but I think it must have been Manila, since this 747-ton ship was bought in Calcutta much earlier, in 1812.

---

**Note 1784C**

---

**True Briton, Captain Farrer, gave the name of  
Savage Island to Pulo Ana**

*Source: Log 297K, India Office.*

*Note: This ship came through the Macassar Strait in December 1784.*

**The logbook kept by Captain Henry Farrer**

...

On Wed. 29 Dec. 1784

At 10 a.m., saw an island... Lat. Obs. 4°39' N., Long. in. 130°46' E.

Thursday 30 day of December 1784

At 4 p.m. the island NNW dist. 3 miles. Breakers at each end 1 mile[.] Came off canoes. At sunset ye island WbN1/2N dist. 4 or 5 miles... I gave ye name of Savage to this island; as ye people who came off in canoes immediately answer ye description of those painted savages mentioned (by Dr. Hawkesworth) in Capt. Cook's Voyages.

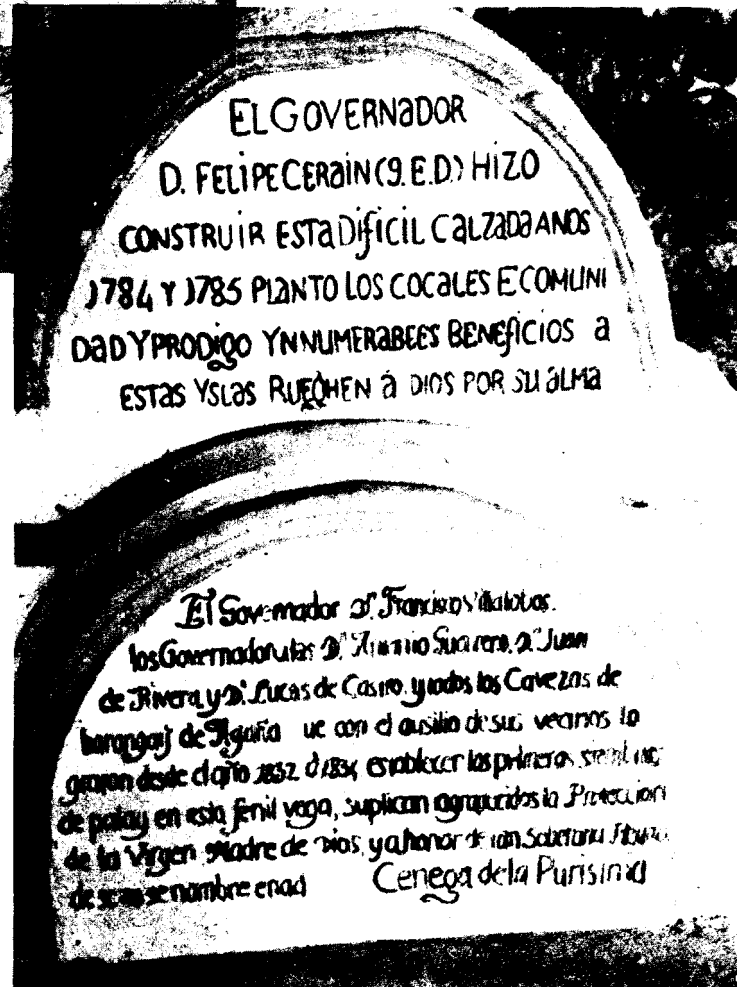
Lat. Obs. 4°45' N, Long. in. 131°1' East.

...

[No other island was seen in Micronesia, as this ship passed west of Palau in 130° E. longitude.]



**Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine.**  
*Photos taken in December 1998.*



---

 Document 1785A
 

---

## Governor Ceraín and Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine in Guam

*Sources: Cox' Island of Guam; National Geographic, July 1938; Guam Recorder, July 1939.*

### Historical notes on the Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine.

The road from Piti to Agat was rebuilt in 1908. The first road had been built under the Spanish regime, during the term of Governor Ceraín. Before that, the overland route had been but a trail. South of Piti began the best rice fields in Guam. Over the Sasa River, the Spanish had been a wooden bridge that lasted until the earthquake of 1902. South of this river was a good stretch of bottom land, until a swamp was reached some 2 miles before the Atantano River. Here the Spanish had built a bridge supported by masonry piers, that lasted until the typhoon of 1900 and the earthquake of 1902.

At the eastern approach of this bridge over the Atantano River stands a small shrine, called Santa Cruz de Mayo, consisting of two stone tablets mounted on a masonry base and surmounted by a cross. Originally they bore the following inscriptions, recording the origin and age of the original road:<sup>1</sup>

***El Gobernador Don Felipe Cerain (Q.E.D.) hizo construir esta dificil calzada años 1784 y 1785. Plantó los cocales de la comunidad y prodigó ynumerales beneficios à estas yslas. Ruegan à Dios por su alma.***

Translation: "Governor Felipe Ceraín (R.I.P.) ordered the construction of this difficult road in the years 1784 and 1785. He planted coconut trees for the community and produced countless benefits for these islands. Pray to God for his soul."

The bottom stone tablet was put up later. It reads:

***El Gobernador Don Francisco Villalobos; Los Gobernadorcillos Don Antonio Guerrero, Don Juan de Rivera, y Don Lucas de Castro, y todas las Cabezas de Barangay de Agaña que con el auxilio de sus vecinos lograron desde el año 1832 à 1834, establecer las primeras siembras de palay en esta fertil vega, suplican agradecidos la proteccion de la Virgen Madre de Dios y a honor de tan soberana Reyna descanse nombre en adelante Ciénaga de la Purísima.***

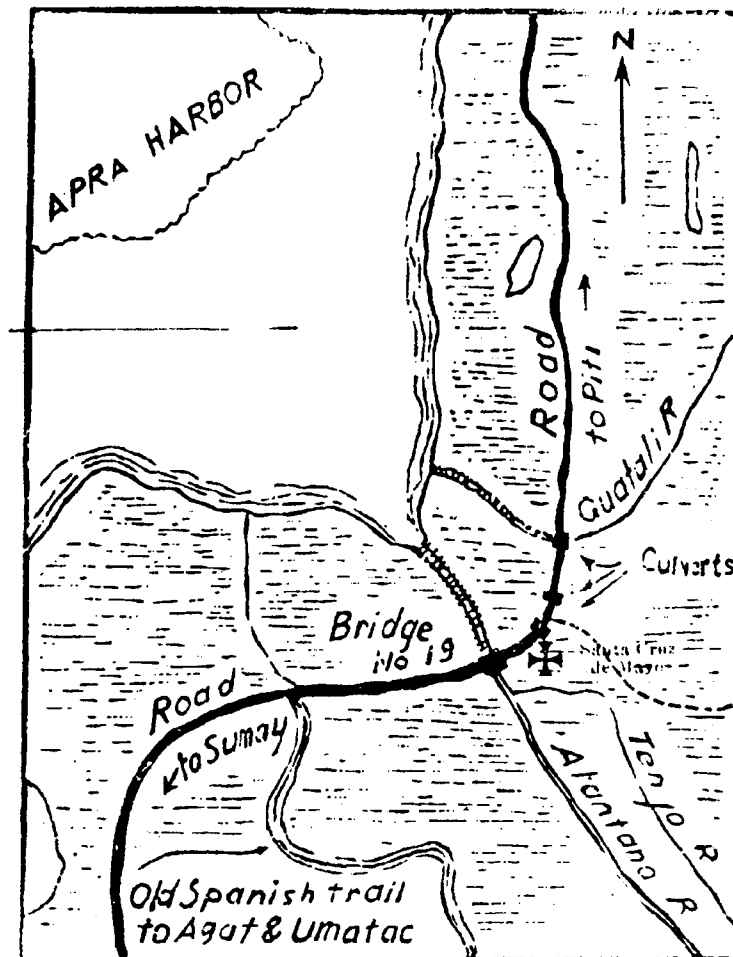
---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Each subsequent renovation introduced some small alterations of the original texts.

Translation: "Governor Francisco Villalobos, Town Mayors Antonio Guerrero, Juan de Rivera and Lucas de Castro, and all the Wardens of Agaña with the help of the residents succeeded in establishing the first rice fields in this fertile plain between 1832 and 1834, defer to the Virgin Mother of God and, in honor of such a sovereign Queen, they wish that it be forever known as the Swamp of the Immaculate Virgin."

The rice field in question was the one built nearby, along the valley of the Atantano River and along the old Spanish road to Agat. The fields were watered by irrigation ditches using water from the river. The road therefore had numerous culverts.

The tablets and the base of the Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine had also suffered damage in the earthquake of 1902, but were soon repaired under the administration of USN Captain Dorn, when the whole Piti-Agat Road was rebuilt, in 1908 and 1909.



**Part of the Piti-Agat Road in 1939. The site of the Santa Cruz de Mayo Shrine is shown by the cross symbol. (From the Guam Recorder, July 1939).**



**Viceroy Matías de Galvez, from 1783 to 1784.**



**Viceroy Bernardo de Galvez, from 1785 to 1786.**



---

## Document 1786A

---

# The famous La Pérouse stopped in the Northern Marianas in 1786

*Source: Jean-François Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde (Paris, 1792), edited by Milet-Mureau; see Bibliography, under 1786, for other editions.*

### Introductory note.

La Pérouse was the French equivalent of Captain James Cook. He was born in 1741 and joined the French Navy when he was only 15 years old. In 1779, when France was at war with England, he participated in the capture of English vessels on the American coast. He was subsequently sent to Hudson Bay, where he captured two forts. After the war, King Louis XVI ordered the preparation of a scientific expedition around the world, and La Pérouse was chosen as its leader. It was the best such expedition up to that time, with scientists of all disciplines on board, with their full equipment, including a well-stocked library.

The expedition left the port of Brest on 1 August 1785 with two ships, the **Boussole** (which means Compass), and the **Astrolabe**. After rounding Cape Horn, they stopped at Easter Island, then Maui in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, before visiting the Northwest Coast of America and California. Then they headed west to go to Macao, discovering Necker Island (part of the Hawaiian chain), and surveying the Northern Marianas along the way. Northeast to Kamchatka, south to Samoa, then to Botany Bay, New South Wales, where the last reports were despatched to France. The next phase of the expedition was disastrous, as the ships simply disappeared.

After the French revolution of 1789, the Constituent Assembly despatched Dentrecaesteaux in September 1791 to look for La Pérouse. He must have passed within sight of the place where the ships had been wrecked, at Vanikoro Island, in today's Vanuatu. However, it was not until 1826 that Peter Dillon, an English captain, found evidence of the shipwrecks. The natives reported that the survivors had built a small boat and sailed away, but their fate remains unknown to this day. Could these white men have tried to reach Guam, or Botany Bay? Perhaps they were the same white men who had made a landfall at Pohnpei a long time ago, according to a story still being told there in the 1840s. If so, they were all killed there, but it is more likely that they were massacred at Vanikoro itself in 1788.



**Count of La Pérouse (1741-1788).**

## A Voyage Round the World, Performed in the Years 1785-1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe

### Original text in French.

#### *Chapitre XIII.*

*Départ de Monterey. — Projet de la route que nous nous proposons de suivre en traversant l'Océan occidental jusqu'à la Chine. — Vaine recherche de l'Île de Nuestra Señora de la Gorda. — Découverte de l'Île Necker. — Rencontre pendant la nuit d'une vigie sur laquelle nous faillîmes de nous perdre. — Description de cette vigie. — Détermination de sa latitude et de sa longitude. — Vaine recherche des Îles de la Mira et des Jardins. — Nous avons connaissance de l'Île de l'Assomption des Mariannes. — Description et véritable position de cette Île en latitude et en longitude; erreur des anciennes Cartes des Mariannes. — Nous déterminons la longitude et la latitude des Îles Bashées. — Nous mouillons dans la rade de Macao.*

#### *1786. Septembre.*

*La partie du grand océan que nous avons à traverser pour nous rendre à Macao, est une mer presque inconnue, sur laquelle nous pouvions espérer de rencontrer quelques îles nouvelles: les Espagnols, qui seuls la fréquentent, n'ont plus, depuis long-temps, cette ardeur des découvertes, que la soif de l'or avait peut-être excitée, mais qui leur faisait braver tous les dangers...*

#### *1786. Novembre.*

*Le système de Halley sur les variations de déclinaison de l'aiguille aimantée aurait perdu toute confiance, même aux yeux de son auteur, si cet astronome, célèbre à tant d'autres titres, était parti de Monterey par 124° de longitude occidentale, et avait traversé le grand océan jusques par les 160° de longitude orientale; car il se serait aperçu que, dans un espace de 76° ou de plus de quinze cents lieues, la déclinaison ne varie que de cinq degrés, et que conséquemment le navigateur n'en peut rien conclure pour déterminer ou rectifier sa longitude.*

*La méthode des distances, jointe sur-tout à celle des horloges marines, laisse si peu à désirer à cet égard, que nous avons atterri sur l'île de l'Assomption des Mariannes avec la plus grande précision, dans la supposition que l'île de Tinian, dont le capitaine Wallis a donné la position d'après ses observations, soit à peu près au Sud de l'Assomption, direction que tous les géographes et tous les voyageurs se sont toujours accordés à donner aux îles Mariannes.*

#### *Décembre. 14.*

*Nous eûmes connaissance de ces îles le 14 décembre, à deux heures après midi. J'avais dirigé ma route dans le dessein de passer entre l'île de la Mira et les îles Déserte et des Jardins; mais leurs noms oiseux occupent sur les cartes des espaces où il n'y eut jamais de terre, et trompent ainsi les navigateurs, qui les rencontreront peut-être un jour à plusieurs degrés au Nord ou au Sud. L'Île de l'Assomption elle-même, qui fait partie d'un groupe d'îles si connues, sur lesquelles nous avons une histoire en plusieurs volumes, est placée sur la carte des Jésuites, copiée par tous les géographes, 30' trop au Nord; sa véritable position est par 19°45' de latitude Nord, et 143°15' de longitude orientale.*

*Comme nous avons relevé du mouillage les Maugs 28° Ouest à environ cinq lieues, nous avons reconnu que les trois rochers de ce nom sont aussi placés 30' trop au Nord, et il est à peu près certain que la même erreur existe pour Uracas, la dernière des îles Mariannes, dont l'archipel ne s'étendrait que jusqu'à 20°20' de latitude Nord. Les Jésuites ont assez bien estimé leurs distances entr'elles, mais ils ont fait à cet égard de très-mauvaises observations astronomiques. Ils n'ont pas jugé plus heureusement de la grandeur de l'Assomption, car il est probable qu'ils n'avaient d'autre méthode que leur estime: ils lui attribuent six lieues de circonférence; les angles que nous avons pris la réduisent à la moitié, et le point le plus élevé est à environ deux cents toises au-dessus du niveau de la mer. L'imagination la plus vive se peindrait difficilement un lieu plus horrible: l'aspect le plus ordinaire, après une aussi longue traversée, nous eût paru ravissant; mais un cône parfait, dont le pourtour, jusques à quarante toises au-dessus du niveau de la mer, était aussi noir que du charbon, ne pouvait qu'affliger notre vue, en trompant nos espérances; car, depuis plusieurs semaines, nous nous entretenions des tortues et des cocos que nous nous flattions de trouver sur une des îles Mariannes.*

*Nous apercevions à la vérité quelques cocotiers, qui occupent à peine la quinzième partie de la circonférence de l'île, sur une profondeur de quarante toises, et qui étaient tapis, en quelque sorte, à l'abri des vents d'Est; c'est le seul endroit où il soit possible aux vaisseaux de mouiller, par un fond de trente brasses, sable noir, qui s'étend à moins d'un quart de lieue: l'**Astrolabe** avait gagné ce mouillage, j'avais aussi laissé tomber l'ancre à une portée de pistolet de cette frégate; mais ayant chassé une demi-encablure, nous perdîmes fond et fûmes obligés de la relever avec cent brasses de câble, et de courir deux bords pour rapprocher la terre. Ce petit malheur m'affligea peu, parce que je voyais que l'île ne méritait pas un long séjour. Mon canot était à terre, commandé par M. Boutin, lieutenant de vaisseau, ainsi que celui de l'**Astrolabe**, dans lequel M. De Langle s'était embarqué lui-même, avec MM. Lamartinière, Vaujuas, Prévost et le père Receveur. J'avais observé, à l'aide de ma lunette, qu'ils avaient eu beaucoup de peine à débarquer; la mer brisait par-tout, et ils avaient profité d'un intervalle en se jetant à l'eau jusques au cou: ma crainte était que le rembarquement ne fût encore plus difficile, la lame pouvant augmenter d'un instant à l'autre; c'était désormais le seul événement qui pût m'y faire mouiller, car nous étions tous aussi pressés d'en partir, que nous avions été ardents à désirer d'y arriver. Heureusement, à deux heures, je vis revenir nos canots, et l'**Astrolabe** mit sous voile. M. Boutin me rapporta que l'île était mille fois plus horrible qu'elle ne le paraissait d'un quart de lieue; la lave qui a coulé a formé des ravins et des précipices, bordés de quelques cocotiers rebougris, très-clairsemés, et entremêlés de lianes et d'un petit nombre de plantes, entre lesquelles il est presque impossible de faire cent toises en une heure. Quinze ou seize personnes furent employées depuis neuf heures du matin jusqu'à midi, pour porter aux deux canots environ cent noix de cocos, qu'elles n'avaient que la peine de ramasser sous les arbres; mais l'extrême difficulté consistait à les porter sur le bord de la mer, quoique la distance fût très-petite. La lave sortie d'un cratère, s'est emparée de tout le pourtour du cône, jusqu'à une lisière d'environ quarante toises vers la mer; le sommet paraît en quelque sorte comme vitrifié, mais d'un*

*verre noir et couleur de suie. Nous n'avons jamais aperçu le haut de ce sommet, il est toujours resté coiffé d'un nuage; mais quoique nous ne l'ayons pas vu fumer, l'odeur de soufre qu'il répandait jusqu'à une demi-lieue en mer, m'a fait soupçonner qu'il n'était pas entièrement éteint, et qu'il était possible que sa dernière éruption ne fût pas ancienne, car il ne paraissait aucune trace de décomposition sur la lave du milieu de la montagne.*

*Tout annonçait qu'aucune créature humaine, aucun quadrupède, n'avait jamais été assez malheureux pour n'avoir que cet asile, sur lequel nous n'aperçûmes que des crabes de la plus grande espèce, qui seraient très-dangereux la nuit si l'on s'abandonnait au sommeil; on en rapporta un à bord; il est vraisemblable que ce crustacé a chassé de l'île les oiseaux de mer, qui pondent toujours à terre, et dont les oeufs auront été dévorés. Nous les vîmes au mouillage que trois ou quatre foux; mais lorsque nous approchâmes des Maugs, nos vaisseaux furent environnés d'une quantité innombrable d'oiseaux. M. De Langle tua sur l'île de l'Assomption un oiseau noir, ressemblant à un merle, qui n'augmenta pas notre collection, parce qu'il tomba dans un précipice. Nos naturalistes y trouvèrent, dans le creux des rochers, de très-belles coquilles. M. De la Martinière fit une ample moisson de plantes, et rapporta à bord trois ou quatre espèces de bananiers, que je n'avais jamais vues dans aucun pays. Nous n'aperçûmes d'autres poissons qu'une carangue rouge, de petits requins, et un serpent de mer qui pouvait avoir trois pieds de longueur sur trois pouces de diamètre. Les cent noix de cocos, et le petit nombre d'objets d'histoire naturelle que nous avons si rapidement dérobés à ce volcan, car c'est le vrai nom de l'île, avaient exposé nos canots et nos équipages à d'assez grands dangers. M. Boutin, obligé de se jeter à la mer pour débarquer et se rembarquer, avait eu plusieurs blessures aux mains, qu'il avait été forcé d'appuyer contre les roches tranchantes dont l'île est bordée; M. De Langle avait aussi couru quelques risques; mais ils sont inséparables de tous les débarquemens dans des îles aussi petites, et sur-tout d'une forme aussi ronde: la mer, qui vient du vent, glisse sur la côte, et forme sur tous les points un ressac qui rend le débarquement très-dangereux.*

*Heureusement nous avons assez d'eau pour nous rendre à la Chine; car il eût été difficile d'en prendre à l'Assomption, si toutefois il y en a sur cette île: nos voyageurs n'en avaient aperçu que dans le creux de quelques rochers, où elle se conservait comme dans un vase, et le plus considérable n'en contenait pas six bouteilles.*

*A trois heures, l'**Astrolabe** ayant mis sous voile, nous continuâmes notre route à l'Ouest-quart-Nord-Ouest, prolongeant, à trois ou quatre lieues, les Maugs qui nous restaient au Nord-Est-quart-Nord. J'aurais bien désiré pouvoir déterminer la position d'Uracas, la plus septentrionale des îles Mariannes; mais il fallait perdre une nuit, et j'étais pressé d'atteindre la Chine, dans la crainte que les vaisseaux d'Europe n'en fussent partis avant notre arrivée: je souhaitais ardemment faire parvenir en France les détails de nos travaux sur la côte de l'Amérique, ainsi que la relation de notre voyage jusqu'à Macao; et pour ne pas perdre un instant, je fis route toutes voiles dehors.*

*Les deux frégates furent environnées pendant la nuit d'une innombrable quantité d'oiseaux, lesquels me parurent être des habitans des Maugs et d'Uracas, qui ne sont*

*que des rochers. Il est évident que ces oiseaux ne s'en éloignent que sous le vent; car nous n'en avons presque point vu dans l'Est des Mariannes, et ils nous ont accompagnés cinquante lieues dans l'Ouest. Le plus grand nombre étaient des espèces de frégates et de foux, avec quelques goëlands, des hirondelles de mer et des paille-en-queue, ou oiseaux du tropique. Les brises furent fortes dans le canal que sépare les Mariannes des Philippines; la mer très-grosse, et les courans nous portèrent constamment au Sud: leur vitesse peut être évaluée à un demi-noeud par heure. La frégate fit un peu d'eau, pour la première fois depuis notre départ de France; mais j'en attribuai la cause à quelques coutures de la flottaison, dont l'étaupe s'était pourrie. Nos calfats qui, pendant cette traversée, reprirent le côté du bâtiment, trouvèrent plusieurs coutures presque entièrement vides; et ils soupçonnaient celles qui étaient auprès de l'eau d'être dans le même état: il ne leur avait pas été possible de les travailler à la mer, mais ce fut leur première occupation à notre arrivée dans la rade de Macao.*

*Le 28, nous eûmes connaissance des îles Bashées,<sup>1</sup> dont l'amiral Byron a donné une détermination en longitude qui n'est point exacte; celle du capitaine Wallis approche plus de la vérité.*

## Translation.

[Vol. 2]

### Chapter XIII.

*Departure from Monterey—Plan of the Track which we proposed to follow in traversing the Western Ocean as far as China—Vain Research of the Island Nostra Senora de la Gorta [sic]—Discovery of Necker's Island—Meet, during the Night, with a sunken Rock, upon which we were in danger of perishing—Description of that sunken Rock—Determination of its Latitude and Longitude—Vain Search after the Islaes de la Mira and des Jardins—We made the Island of Assumption, one of the Mariannes—Description and true Situation of that Island in Latitude and Longitude—Error of the old Charts of the Mariannes—We fix the Longitude and Latitude of the Bashee Islands—We anchor in the Road of Macao*

(September, 1786—January, 1787)

The part of the great ocean which we had to traverse, in order to arrive at Macao, is nearly an unknown sea; the Spaniards, who alone had frequented it, had, during a great length of time, lost that ardour for discoveries, which might perhaps have been excited by the thirst for gold, but which caused them to brave all dangers. To the old enthusiasm, the cold calculation of security has succeeded; their track during their voyage from Acapulco to Manilla, lies within a space of twenty leagues, between the 13th and the 14th degree of latitude; on their return they run nearly in the parallel of 40°, by the aid of westerly winds, which are very frequent in these seas. Certain, from long experience, of never meeting there either sunken rocks or shoals, they can run during the night with as little precaution as in the European seas; their voyages from one port to another are

- 1 Îles Bashées, ou Bachi, ainsi nommées par Guillaume Dampier, du nom d'une liqueur enivrante qu'on y boit abondamment. (N. D. R.) Ed. comment: *Bâsi* is an Ilocano word for rum, made from sugarcane.
- 2 Ed. note: Rather "Doña María la Gorda," according to Espinosa y Tello's Memorias.

much shorter, by being more direct; and the interest of their employers is less exposed to be injured by shipwrecks.

The object of our voyage being new discoveries, and the progress of navigation in seas but little known, we endeavoured to shun frequented tracks, with as much care as the galleons on the contrary take to follow, as it were, the wake of the ship that has preceded them; we were, however, obliged to keep in the zone of the trade winds; without their assistance we had no chance of reaching China in six months, and consequently of pursuing the ultimate design of our voyage.

...  
Halley's system of the variation of the magnetic needle would have been unworthy of confidence, even in the eyes of its author, if this astronomer, celebrated on so many other accounts, had departed from Monterey in  $124^{\circ}$  of west longitude, and had run over the great ocean as far as  $160^{\circ}$  of east longitude; for he would have perceived, that in the space of  $76^{\circ}$ , or more than fifteen hundred leagues, the variation is only five degrees; and that of course the navigator can conclude nothing from it for the determination or correcting of his longitude. The method of lunar observations, more especially when joined to that of the time keepers, leaves so little to be desired in this respect, that we landed upon the island of Assumption, one of the Mariannes, with the greatest exactness; under a supposition, that the Island of Tinian, the situation of which captain Wallis gave from his observations, might be a little to the southward of Assumption, a direction which all navigators and geographers have agreed to give to the Marianne Islands.

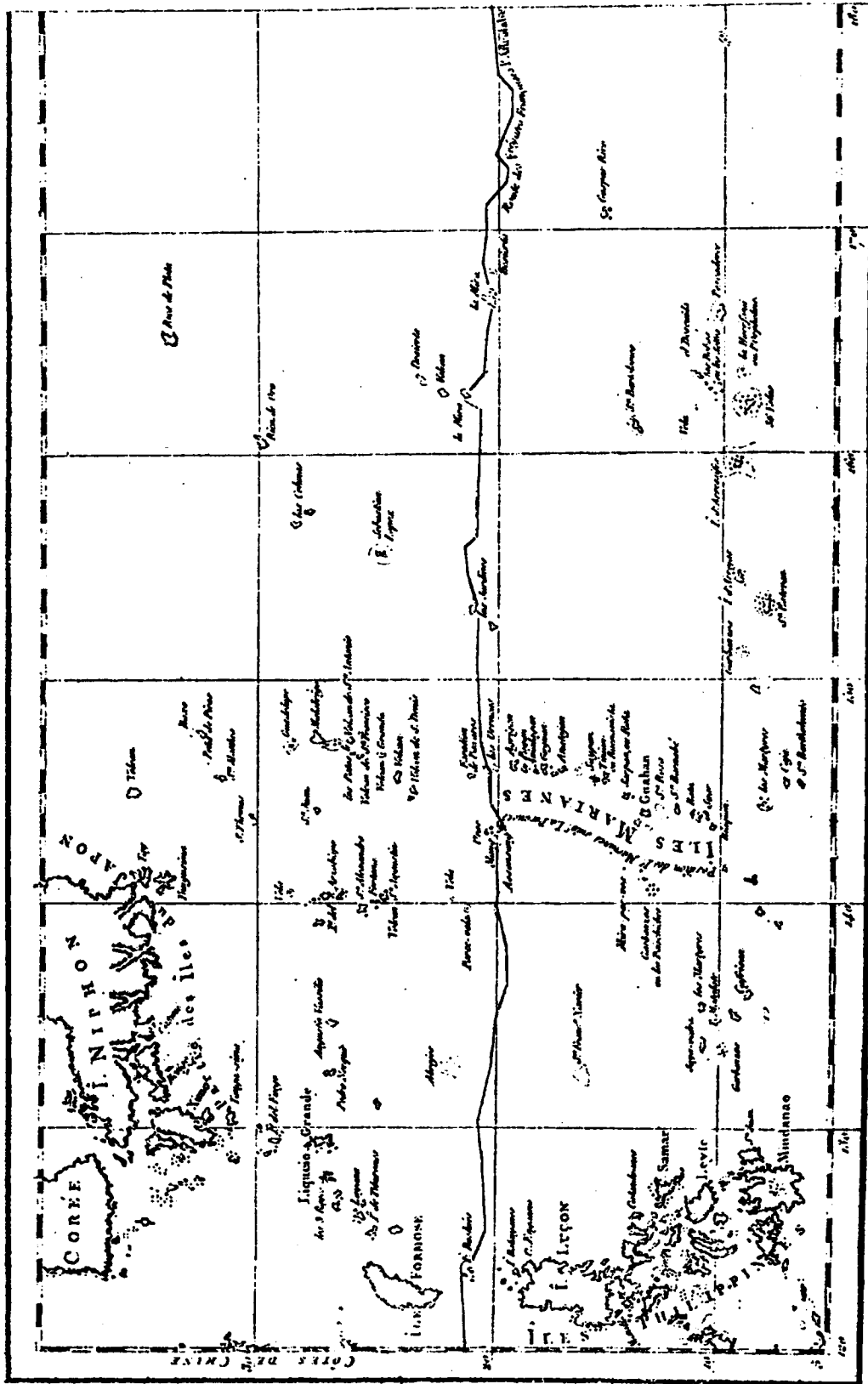
On the 14th of December, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we made these islands. I had directed my course with an intention to pass between Mira Island and Desert and Garden Island; but their idle names occupy spaces on the charts, where no land ever was, and thus deceive navigators, who will one day or other, perhaps, meet with them several degrees to the northward or southward. This same Assumption Island, which forms a part of a group of islands so known, upon which we have a history in several volumes, is laid down upon the Jesuits' chart, copied by all the geographers,  $30'$  too far to the northward; its true position is in  $19^{\circ}45'$  north latitude, and  $143^{\circ}15'$  east longitude.<sup>1</sup>

As from our anchorage we took the bearings of the Mangs,  $28^{\circ}$  to the westward, distant about five leagues, we observed, that the three rocks of this name are also placed  $30'$  too much to the northward: and it is nearly certain, that there exists the same error as to Uracas, the last of the Marianne Islands, the archipelago of which extends only as far as  $20^{\circ}20'$  north latitude.<sup>2</sup> The Jesuits have estimated the distances between them tolerably well; but their astronomical observations are in this respect very bad. They have been equally unfortunate in their judgment as to the size of Assumption; for it is

---

1 Ed. note: Actually, the exact position of the center of Asunción is  $19^{\circ}40'$  N and  $145^{\circ}24'$  E of Greenwich.

2 Ed. note: They extend 12 minutes further north, to  $20^{\circ}32'$  lat. N.



Spanish chart of the North Pacific, used by La Pérouse.



probable, that they had no other means of ascertaining it but by their reckoning. They attribute six leagues of circumference to it: from the angles we took it is reduced one half, and the highest point is about two hundred *toises* above the level of the sea. It would be difficult for the most lively imagination to conceive a more horrible place. The commonest view, after so very long a run, would have appeared delightful to us; but a perfect cone, the surface of which, to forty *toises* above the level of the sea, was as black as coal, while it deceived our hopes, could not but afflict our sight; for during several weeks we had feasted our imagination with the cocoa nuts and turtles, which we flattered ourselves with the hopes of finding in some one of the Marianne Islands.

We perceived, indeed, some cocoa nut trees, which scarcely occupied a fifteenth part of the circumference of the island, in a hollow of forty *toises*, and which were thus sheltered, in some measure, from the east wind; this is the only place where it is possible for ships to come to an anchor, in a bottom of thirty fathoms, black sand, which extends at least a quarter of a league. This anchorage had been gained by the **Astrolabe**; I had also let go an anchor within reach of a pistol-shot of that frigate; but having dragged it half a cable's length, we lost all bottom, and were obliged to weigh it with a hundred fathoms of cable out, and to make two tacks in order to near the land. This trifling misfortune but little afflicted me, because I saw that the island did not deserve a long stay. My boat went on shore, under the command of Mr. Boutin, lieutenant of the ship, as did that of the **Astrolabe**, in which Mr. de Langle himself embarked, with Messrs. de la Martinière, Vaujuas, Prévost, and Father Receveur. I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they found it very difficult to get on shore; the sea broke all around, and they had taken advantage of a smoother interval, and jumped into the sea up to their necks; I was much afraid, that the re-embarking might prove still more difficult, the billows appearing to increase every moment; this was from that time the only event which could induce me to come to an anchor, for we were all as eager to leave it as we had before been ardent in our wishes to arrive at it. Fortunately, at two o'clock, our boats returned, and the **Astrolabe** got under way. Mr. Boutin informed me, that the island was a thousand times more horrible than it appeared at the distance of a quarter of a league; torrents of lava formed ravines and precipices, bordered by some stunted cocoa trees, very thinly sown, together with a few matted creeping plants, through which it is almost impossible to walk a hundred *toises* in an hour. Fifteen or sixteen persons were employed, from nine o'clock in the morning till noon, to carry to the two boats about a hundred cocoa nuts, which they had only the trouble of picking up from under the trees; but the extreme difficulty lay in carrying them to the sea-shore, though the distance was very small. The lava which had flowed from the crater overspreads the whole side of the cone, to within forty *toises* from the sea; the summit seems in some measure to be vitrified, consisting of a dark soot-coloured glass; we did not once get a sight of the summit, as it was always capped by a cloud; but though we had not seen it smoke, the smell of sulphur, which it emitted to the distance of half a league at sea, gave me reason to think, that it was not quite extinct, and that it was probable the last erup-

tion of it was at no great distance of time; for there did not appear any trace of decomposition on the lava in the middle of the mountain.

Every thing announced, that neither human creature nor quadruped had ever been so unfortunate as to have only this place for an asylum, upon which we perceived nothing but some large crabs, which might be very dangerous in the night, if they found any person asleep; they brought one of them on board; it is probable that this crustaceous animal has driven away the sea birds from the island, by devouring their eggs, which they always lay upon the land. We saw at the anchorage only three or four noddies, but when we approached the Mangs, our ships were surrounded by an innumerable quantity of birds. Mr. de Langle, while upon Assumption Island, killed a bird that was black, very much resembling a black bird, which did not however increase our collection, because it fell down a precipice. Our naturalists found very fine shells in the hollows of the rocks. Mr. de la Martinière made an ample collection of plants, and carried on board three or four different species of banana trees, which I had never seen in any other country. We saw no other fishes but the red ray, the small shark, and a sea serpent, which might be three feet in length and three inches in diameter. The hundred cocoa nuts, and the very small number of objects of natural history that we had procured so quickly from this volcano, for this is its true appellation, had exposed our boats and their crews to no inconsiderable dangers. Mr. Boutin, who was obliged to throw himself into the sea, in order to debark and get on board again, had received several wounds in his hands, which he had been obliged to lean upon the sharp-edged rocks, with which the island is bordered. Mr. de Langle had also run several risks, but these are inseparable from all landings on such small islands, and especially of so round a form as this; the sea, coming from the windward, glides along the coast, and makes a surf upon all the points, which renders the landing very dangerous.

Fortunately, we had a sufficiency of water to serve us till we reached China, for it would be difficult to take in any of it at Assumption, if there had been any upon this island; our sailors saw none except in the hollows of the rocks, where it was preserved as in a vessel, and the most considerable of them did not contain six bottles.

The **Astrolabe** having gotten under way at three o'clock, we continued our course to the west-north-west, running at three or four leagues distance from the Mangs, which bore north-east by north of us. I could have much wished to be able to determine the situation of Uracas, the northernmost of the Marianne Islands; but it would have cost a night, and I was eager to reach China, fearing that the ships from Europe might have departed before our arrival; I ardently desired to put France in possession of the details of our labours on the American coast, as well as the narrative of our voyage as far as Macao, and that I might not lose a moment, I stood on with every sail out.

During the night the two frigates were surrounded by immense quantities of birds, which seemed to me to be inhabitants of the Mangs and Uracas, that are only rocks. These birds evidently never go far to leeward, for we had scarcely lost sight of the Mariannes in the east, and they had accompanied us fifty leagues to the westward. The greatest number were species of man-of-war birds, and noddies, with some gulls, terns,

and tropic birds. The breezes were strong in the channel which separates the Marianes from the Philippines, the sea was very high, and we were constantly driven to the southward by the currents; they might run about half a knot an hour [sic]. For the first time since our departure from France the **Bousssole** made a little water, but I attributed the cause of it to some seams about the water-line, the oakum of which had decayed. Our caulkers, who, during this voyage, had examined the side of the ship, found several seams almost entirely open, and they suspected those which were near the water to be in the same state; it was not possible for them to work on them at sea, but it became their first employment on our arrival in Macao Road.

On the 28th we made the Bashee Islands,<sup>1</sup> of which admiral Byron has given a determination as to longitude that it not exact: that of captain Wallis is much nearer the truth.

...

---

1 Bashees, or Bachi Islands, so named by William Dampier, fromt he name of an intoxicating liquor very much drunk there.

---

## Document 1786C

---

# Population of the Marianas in 1786

*Source: AGI Fil. 1052.*

## Report of the Provincial of the Recollects, dated 12 May 1796

### Original text in Spanish.

*Año de 1786. Quaderno N° 84.*

*Testimonio del Numero de Religiosos de las quatro Provincias que existen en estas Yslas en administracion de Doctrinas, y Misiones de las Almas a cada una de Ellas.<sup>1</sup>*

...

[The table, which had been written on cheap paper, has broken into pieces and cannot be read accurately, except for what follows:]

*Fray Ramon de Santo Thomas de Aquino, Provincial de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Philipinas de los Descalzos de N.P.S. Augustin informa à V.A. el numero de Tributos, Almas y Religiosos que hay en esta Provincia, Patrias, y Hedades.*

...

*Agaña*

*Merizo*

*Agat*

*Ynarahan*

*Umata*

...

*Certifico Yo el Provincial de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Philipinas como las Almas constantes en este Plan que componen el numero de cinco y catorce mil quinientas y dies y seis entre Ellas veinte mil quatrocientas treinta y nueve tributos enteros son las que estan a mi Cargo y administran los Religiosos de mi obediencia arriba expresado. Y para que conste en donde convenga di esta y lo firme en este de San Nicolas de Manila en doce de Mayo de mil setecientos ochenta y seis años.*

*Fray Ramon de Santo Thomas de Aquino, Provincial de Recoletos.*

---

1 Vino con carta de aquella Real Audiencia de 10 de Junio de 1786.

**Translation.****Year of 1786. Copybook N° 84.**

Record of the number of Religious of the four Provinces that exist in these [Philippine] Islands for the administration of the souls in each of their villages and missions.

It came with a letter from that Royal Audiencia dated 10 June 1786.

...

[The table in question, which had been written on cheap paper, has broken into pieces and cannot be read accurately, except for what follows:]

Fray Ramón de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Provincial of the Province of St. Nicholas of the Philippines of the Discalced Augustinians, reports to Your Highness the number of Tributes, Souls and Religious existing in this Province, their Birthplaces, and Ages.

...

Agaña ...

Merizo ...

Agat ...

Inarahan ...

Umatac ...

...

I, the Provincial of the Province of St. Nicholas of the Philippines, do certify that the number of Souls shown on this Table and totalling 114,516, including 20,439 tributes, are those under my care and the administration of Religious for whom I am responsible. And for whom it may concern, I have given the present and affixed my signature to it in this [college] of San Nicolas in Manila on the 12th of May 1786.

Fray Ramón de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Provincial of the Recollects.

---

## Documents 1786D

---

# Mourelle sent to Manila aboard the *Fidelidad*—Creation of the Royal Philippine Company

*Notes: The schooner Fidelidad was followed soon after by the packet boat San Carlos. A full technical description of the Fidelidad is in AGN Fil. 21, fol. 158-168. There follow lists of the food and medical supplies on board, the armament, tools, etc. The crew of the Fidelidad consisted in 26 persons: 1 commander, 3 officers, 7 gunners, 5 seamen, and 10 ship's boys. At the last minute, a chaplain was recruited in the person of Don Cristoval Díaz. The San Carlos returned to San Blas and later took part in the exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, under the command of Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, in 1789 (see AGN Historia 65, cuaderno 7).*

## D1. Letter from the Viceroy to Mourelle, dated 21 September 1785

*Source: AGN Fil. 21, fol. 185-185v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Además del adjunto Pliego para los Señores Governador é Intendente de Filipinas, se dirigen rotulados á V.m. por el presente extraordinario un Cajon forrado y marcado con la del margen, y un Pliego tambien forrado en lo mismo con cubierta para el Sor. Governador y Capitan General de aquellas Islas, á fin de que á su arribo a Manila lo entregue V.m. todo á los expresados Gefes. El Pliego suelto para el Sor. Vasco, lleva encima de su verdadera cubierta, un lienzo que llena todo uno de sus frentes con sobre-escrito á V.m. En descociendo este se descubrirá su legitima direccion.*

*El Cajon va señalado con la indicada marca sobre el mismo encerado, y ademas de esto lleva doble forro de Petate y Guangoche para libertarlo de las aguas, en que se lee puesta en lienzo la cubierta para V.m. Sirvase abrir esto para que al tiempo de abrirlos no se les quiten los forros que deben conservar; siendo siempre lo mas acertado que esta operacion se haga a bordo despues de dar vela para no aventurar el sigilo con un descuido.*

*Encargo á V.m. de muebo la pronta salida, y pido á Dios lo guarde muchos años.  
Mexico 21 de Septiembre de 1785.*

*[A] Sr. Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle.*

### Translation.

Besides the enclosed mail box addressed to the Governor and Intendant of the Philippines, there are addressed to Your Grace by the present extraordinary despatch one crate wrapped and bearing the mark shown in margin, and inside it one smaller crate, also wrapped, with a cover addressed to the Governor and Captain General of those Islands, so that upon your arrival at Manila, Your Grace may deliver everything to the above-mentioned gentlemen. The separate mail box for Mr. Vasco has on top of its true cover a piece of cloth that covers one of its sides completely which is addressed to Your Grace. By removing this wrapping its legitimate address will be revealed.

The crate goes marked as shown on top of the waxed wrapper itself, in addition to other wrappers, i.e. a mat and a “guangoche” [= oil-cloth?], to protect it from the rains, upon which can be read a piece of cloth with the name of Your Grace. Please open this, so that at the time of opening them, the wrappers must not be removed and must be left intact; it is always advisable to wait until after you have sailed to do this on board, so as not to risk losing secrecy through imprudence.

Once again I urge Your Grace to expedite your departure, and I beg God to save you for many years.

Mexico, 21 September 1785.

[To] Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle.

## D2. First letter to the Governor and Indendant of the Philippines

*Source: AGN Fil. 21, fol. 119-121; partial copy in 116-118v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Mui Señores míos.*

*Con fecha de 23 de Abril proximo pasado, me previene el Exmo. Sor. Don Josef de Galvez de orden de S.M. lo siguiente:*

*“Por la adjunta Real Cedula, de que incluyo á V.E. seis exemplares, se interará del importante establecimiento que acaba de hacer el Rey erigiendo y aprobando una poderosa Compañia para el Comercio de Filipinas y demas partes de la Asia, en que S.M. ha tomado el quantioso interés de un Millon de pesos fuertes ademas del que ya tenía en la antigua Compañia de Caracas. Y supuesto que la nueva de Filipinas ha de recibir en Manila el fondo que el Rey la ha ofrecido, me manda prevenir á V.E. que á este fin despache inmediatamente una de las mejores Fragatas que haya en el Puerto de San Blas con la cantidad de trescientos mil pesos y los Pliegos que van con este para el Governador é Intendente de aquellas Yslas, y que á fin de remitir el duplicado de dichos Pliegos é igual cantidad de trescientos mil pesos dentro de un mes ó dos quando mas de haber expedido la primera Fragata, haga V.E. aprontar otra sin retardacion, y sin publicar por ahora el obgeto de estas expediciones, ni los exemplares adjuntos de la*

*Real Cedula, pues se le embiará por el Correo proximo un competente numero de ellos á efecto de que los mande repartir en esa capital y Reyno, y que persuada V.E. á todos los Cuerpos y particulares que se interesen en la nueva Compañia, imitando el digno exemplo que ha dado S.M. á todos sus vasallos, y conociendo que este establecimiento es de los mas importantes al Comercio y prosperidad de la Nacion, especialmente á la gran parte de ella establecida en nuestras dos Americas. Todo lo que prevengo á V.E. de Real orden para su pronto y efectivo cumplimiento.”*

*Para poner por obra esta soberana resolucion con la prontitud que demandaba, libré inmediatamente mis ordenes al Departamento de San Blas mandando aprontar las dos unicas Fragatas **Santiago** y **Princesa** con que contaba en aquel Puerto, pero esto no tubo efecto, pues la primera necesitaba de una prolixa, larga y costosa Carena y la segunda habia salido como veinte dias antes del recibo de mis ordenes para los Establecimientos de la costa septentrional de Californias.*

*Puesta yá en camino la mayor parte de los caudales remisibles á esas Islas, dada cuenta á la Corte de lo providenciado; y conociendo la urgencia é importancia de esta expedicion, fué preciso substituir en lugar de las dos Fragatas otras dos embarcaciones de menor porte para que hiciesen el viage.*

*Con este objeto me propuso el actual Comandante del Departamento de San Blas, Don Francisco Mourelle, que podrian destinarse, y quedaban efectivamente habilitandose la nueva Goleta **Fidelidad** y el Paquebot **San Carlos**; bien entendido que la Goleta serviria solamente para la navegacion de ida, pues no podia resistir las mares y duros temporales de la vuelta.*

*Estando yá la primera, segun las ultimas noticias quasi lista para hacerse á la vela al mando del mismo Comandante del Departamento Mourelle, doi las ordenes convenientes para su salida con esta fecha, y envio en ella consignados a V.S.S. los primeros trescientos mil pesos fuertes destinados á los objetos que previene la inserta real Orden, y de que hablarán tambien los adjuntos Pliegos que la acompañaron, y se me mandan dirigir á V.S.S. por primera via.*

*Pasado un mes con corta diferencia despacharé el Paquebot **San Carlos** al mando del Alférez de Navio Josef Cañizares, conduciendo los otros trescientos mil pesos y los Duplicados de dichos Pliegos.*

*Como posteriormente al recibo de la citada Real Orden me ha llegado un Cajon destinado á esas Islas, con direccion á V.S.S. que contiene trescientos y sesenta exemplares de la Real Cedula de Ereccion de la Nueva Comp<sup>a</sup> de Filipinas, dos de ellos forrados en Tafilete; he tenido por mas conveniente no arriesgarlos todos de una vez sino dividir los por mitad, y enviarlos en las dos Embarcaciones que deben salir de San Blas.*

*Por consiguiente la Goleta **Felicidad** [sic] lleva ahora un cajoncito bien acondicionado, marcado con la del margen en que van ciento y ochenta exemplares, incluso los dos de Tafilete. Los demas iran en la misma conformidad por el Paquebot **San Carlos**.*

*De este modo queda evaquada en todas sus partes la orden de S.M. de que va hecha mencion. Sirvanse V.S.S. darme aviso del recibo de esta y de la llegada de la Embarca-*



*cion que la conduce en la primera oportunidad que se presente para mi gobierno y satisfaccion.*

*Ratifico á V.S.S. mi verdadero afecto y ruego al Sor. guarde a V.S.S. muchos años. Mexico 21 de Septiembre de 1785.*

*[A los] Señores Gobernador é Intendente de Filipinas.*

### **Translation.**

Gentlemen:

In a letter dated 23 April last His Excellency Don José de Galvez forwarded to me the following order of H.M. thus:

“Through the attached Royal decree, of which I enclose six copies, you will learn of the important decision that the King has just made to create and approve a powerful Company for the trade of the Philippines and other parts of Asia, and in which H.M. himself has taken a large interest worth one million pesos, in addition to the shares that he already held in the old Company of Caracas. And in the supposition that the new Philippine Company must receive in Manila the funds that the King has offered, he has ordered me to advise Y.E. to immediately despatch one of the best frigates that can be found in the port of San Blas with the sum of 300,000 pesos and the mails that go with the present for the Governor and Intendant of those Islands. And, in order to remit the duplicate copies of said mails and an equal sum of 300,000 pesos within one month, or two at most, of the first frigate having sailed, Y.E. is to make another ready without delay, and is not to publicize for now either the purpose of these expeditions, or any of the enclosed copies of the Royal decree. Indeed, a suitable number of copies will be sent by the next mail, so that you may distribute them in that capital and the kingdom. Y.E. will then be able to persuade all of the corporations and individuals to buy shares in the new Company, thus imitating the worthy example given by H.M. to all his vassals, recognizing that this organization is one of the most important ones for the commerce and prosperity of the Nation, specially that of most of it that is established in our two Americas. About all of which I let Y.E. know, by order of the King, for its prompt and effective execution.”

In order to obey this sovereign decision as promptly as possible, I immediately issued orders to the Department of San Blas to make ready the only two frigates **Santiago** and **Princesa** that the Department had on hand, but this did not take place, because the former needed a long and costly carenage and the latter had left about 20 days before my orders were received for the settlements along the north coast of the Californias.

By this time most of the funds to be remitted to those Islands were already on the way, the Court had been advised of the measures that had been taken. Recognizing the urgency and importance of this expedition, it became necessary to substitute two other, smaller, vessels to replace the two frigates, to make the voyage.

With this in mind, the present Commander of the Department of San Blas, Don Francisco Mourelle, recommended to me that the new schooner **Fidelidad** and the packet boat **San Carlos**, which were in the meantime being made ready, be employed, with the understanding that the schooner be used only for the voyage westward, because it could not face the seas and rough storms during the return voyage.

Since the first vessel is now almost ready to sail, according to the latest news, under the command of the Commander of the Department in person, I am giving the appropriate orders for her departure on this date, and am sending aboard her consigned to Your Lordships the first 300,000 pesos destined to the purposes mentioned in the Royal order, attached, and also in the enclosed mails that accompanied it, and which I was ordered to send to Your Lordships by the first despatch.

Within one month more or less I will despatch the packet boat **San Carlos** under the command of Sub-Lieutenant José Cañizares, carrying the other 300,000 pesos and the duplicate copies of said mails.

Given that I received a crate addressed to those Islands, after I had received the above-mentioned Royal order, addressed to Your Lordships and containing 360 copies of the Royal decree creating the New Philippine Company, two of which being bound in Morocco-leather, I have thought it prudent not to risk them all at one time, so I divided them in two and am sending them aboard the two vessels that must depart from San Blas.

Consequently, the schooner **Felicidad** [sic] will now carry one small crate that is very well wrapped, marked with the symbol in margin,<sup>1</sup> which contains 180 copies, including the two that are bound in leather. The rest will go the same way aboard the packet boat **San Carlos**.

In this manner, the order of H.M. that I have mentioned will have been taken care of. Your Lordships will please acknowledge the receipt of this despatch and news of the arrival of the vessel that carries it at the first opportunity that may present itself, for my guidance and satisfaction.

I confirm my true affection for Your Lordships and beg the Lord to save Your Lordships for many years.

Mexico, 21 September 1785.

[To the] Gentlemen Governor and Intendant of the Philippines.

---

1 . Ed. note: In the margin appears a shipmark reading: "REY/R.C.D.F." RCDF, of course, means Real Compañía de Filipinas.

### D3. Second letter from the Viceroy to the Governor and Intendant of the Philippines

*Source: AGN Fil. 21, fol. 123-124v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Mui Señores míos.*

*Segun digo á V.S.S. con esta fecha en carta separada, parece no debe volver á este Reyno la Goleta **Felicidad** [sic] por ser pequeño Buque para resistir los mares y duros temporales que regularmente se experimentan de venida. Siendo esto asi seria una temeridad intentar hacer el retorno en ella, con conocido y evidente riego.*

*Supuesto, pues, que se quede ahí, puede tomarse uno de dos arbitrios para subsanar la perdida de esta Embarcacion que acaba de echarse al agua y va ahora á hacer el primer viage. Seria el primero y mas oportuno el que se permutase ahí con otro Bagel del Rey capaz de hacer el viage de vuelta con seguridad, y que fuese util en el Departamento de San Blas, sobre cuyo punto podra informar con conocimiento el Alferes de Navio Don Francisco Mourelle que va mandando la expresada Goleta, y el segundo tratar de la venta de esta del modo mas ventajoso y comodo á la Real Hacienda. Sobre este particular lleva orden de conferenciar y acordar con V.S.S. lo mas conveniente el citado Mourelle.*

*En caso de que haya oportunidad de verificarse lo primero se servirán V.S.S. avisarme de la demasía de precio del Buque que se subrogue en lugar de la Goleta para enviar su importe de mas con los situados de esas Islas en la primera Nao que salga de Acapulco despues de recibir la noticia; y si solo se tratase de su venta por no haver proporcion de cambio, puede enterarse su valor en esa Tesoreria para evitar los riegos del mar, descontandose aqui la cantidad a que ascendiese de los primeros situados que se remitan, sabida que sea su constancia.*

*Ruego á V.S.S. que con su acostumbrado notorio zelo y amor al Real servicio, providencien en esta parte aquello que consideren pueda ser mas ventajoso, y util á los Reales intereses.*

*Dios guarde á V.S.S. muchos años.*

*Mexico 21 de Setiembre de 1785.*

*[A los] Señores Governador é Intendente de las Islas Filipinas.*

#### Translation.

Gentlemen:

As I was saying to Your Lordships in a separate letter of same date, it appears that the schooner **Felicidad** [sic] must not return to this Kingdom, because she is too small a ship to face the seas and rough storms that are usually encountered coming back. It would indeed be foolish to attempt to return with her, considering the well-known and obvious risk.

Well then, supposing that she will remain there, one of two alternatives can be taken in order to exculpate the loss of this vessel that has just been launched and will now make her first voyage. The first and more suitable alternative would be for her to be exchanged overthere for another vessel belonging to the King, able to make the return voyage safely, and one that would be useful in the Department of San Blas. Regarding said point, Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Mourelle, who now goes in command of said schooner, will be able to provide information. The second alternative would involve the sale of the vessel in the most advantageous and convenient manner to the Royal treasury. Regarding this alternative, said Mourelle has received a specific order to discuss and agree with Your Lordships on the most convenient manner to do this.

In the first case, Your Lordships will please advise me of the excess in the price of the ship chosen to replace the schooner, so that I may send the amount with the subsidies of those Islands by the first galleon to leave Acapulco after I receive the information. If, however, she were to be sold, because of the lack of a replacement, her value might be deposited in that Treasury in order to avoid risking it at sea; it would then be discounted from the first subsidies to be remitted, once the details are known.

I beg Your Lordships to apply your customary zeal and love for the Royal service in selecting overthere the course of action that is most advantageous and useful to the Royal interests.

May God save Your Lordships for many years.

Mexico, 21 September 1785.

[To the] Gentlemen Governor and Intendant of the Philippine Islands.

### Editor's notes.

On 22 September 1785, the new Commander of San Blas, Francisco Trillo y Bermudez, advised the Viceroy that the schooner was ready to sail, as soon as the food supplies were on board, and that the packet boat was being made ready. On 9 October, Mourelle sent a letter to the Viceroy in which he took the opportunity to recount his previous exploits in Pacific waters, as of 1780 (see fol. 132-134v). On 9 October, the Commander of San Blas advised the Viceroy that the schooner **Fidelidad** had sailed for the Philippines that day at noon (fol. 153).

Similarly, the packet boat **San Carlos** was despatched from San Blas. On 19 November, the Viceroy wrote to Cañizares to tell him about his mission. On 29 November, the Commander of San Blas reported that the packet boat had departed that port on the 27th, at 8 p.m. An inventory of the packet boat is given in fol. 207- 233v. There were 62 persons on board this ship.

---

## Documents 1787A

---

# A chart of the Caroline Islands, by Tamol Luito

*Sources: BL Add. ms. 17,625. fol. 92-95v, entitled: "Noticias de algunas islas de las Marianas." Quoted by Espinosa y Tello, in his Memorias, p. 16; cited by B&R 53: 363.*

## A1. Chart drawn by Lieutenant-Colonel Arlegu  in 1787

*Note: The above Ms. 17,625 is accompanied by a map (probably a tracing) of Palaos or Carolinas, made by Lieutenant-Colonel Jos  Arlegu  y Leoz, Governor of the Marianas, from a description given by a native pilot.*

### Captions in Spanish.

*Mapa de las Islas Carolinas,   Palaos formada por el Theniente Coronel Don Jos  Arlegu  y Leoz, Gobernador de estas Marianas, segun la Ruda explicacion que ha echo Tamur (Capitan) Umal Luito natural de la nombrada Lamursec, que con dos bancas y 13 hombres lleg  a Orote en el Partido de Agat de esta [isla] de Guajan en seis d as de navegacion el 26 de Mayo de 1787. Con prevencion que no van se alados los rumbos a que demoran por no haberlos podido explicar el Tamur.*

*Relacion de las islas en que h  estado dicho Tamur Umal Luito, y se hallan habitadas, y el numero de Personas poco mas   menos que hay en ellas*

*Olie: 1000 avitantes poco mas   menos*

*Ifaliuc: 1000 yd.*

*F rauilap: 100*

*Lamursec: 1400*

*Fayao: no esta avitada*

*Satauan: 400*

*Piguela: no esta avitada*

*Pig: yd.*

*Soue: 500*

*Poloac: 600*

*Ponlap: 100*

*Oloul: 200*

*Ohala: Comparada con Guajan, graduan en tres sus avitantes mil hombres sin poder fijar el de mugeres, y Ni os por ser muchos.*



## Translation.

Chart of the Caroline or Palao Islands, drawn by Lieutenant-Colonel José Arlegui y Leoz, Governor of these Mariana Islands, according to the crude explanation given by Tamur (Captain)<sup>1</sup> Umal Luito, a native of an island named Lamursec, who with two canoes and 13 men arrived at Orote in the district of Agat of this Island of Guajan after six days of navigation, on 26 May 1787.

N.B. the relative directions are not shown, because the Tamur was not able to indicate the sailing directions along which they lie.

List of the islands visited by said Tamur Umal Luito, and that are inhabited, and the approximate number of people living there.

—Olie [= Woleai]:	1,000 inhabitants approximately.
—Ifaliuc [= Ifaluk]:	1,000 " "
—Farauilap [= Faraulep]:	1,400 " "
—Lamursec [= Lamotrek]:	1,400 " "
—Fayao [= Gaferut]:	it is uninhabited. <sup>2</sup>
—Satauan [= Satawal]:	400
—Piguella [= West Fayoy]:	it is uninhabited. <sup>3</sup>
—Pig [= Pikelot]:	same. <sup>4</sup>
—Soue [misprint for Soug = Pulusuk]:	500
—Poloac [= Puluwat]:	600
—Ponlap [= Pulap]:	100
—Oloul [= Ulul, in Namonuito]:	200
—Ohala [= Chuuk, as represented by Ulalu]: <sup>5</sup>	Comparable to Guam [in size], its inhabitants are estimated at 3,000 men, without being able to fix the [number] of women and children, as there are [too] many.

## Editorial note.

The other Caroline Islands known to Luito, but not visited by him, are, in the western Carolines: Palao, Nguluc, Yap, Mugmuge [i.e. Mogmog], Falalep, Fais; and in the eastern Carolines: Luosap [Losap], Lamuluc [Namoluk], Etal, Orusolue [Oroluk], Ingerig [Ngatik], Falopi [Pohnpei], and Carao [Kosrae].

It is interesting to compare the names given by other Carolinians to Fr. Miedes 123 years before (see Doc. 1664D); the recognizable ones are spelled nearly the same way (with the exception that Ifaluk was then called the "Big Island," or Piguilap). From west to east, they were: Palu, Gugolug, Yape, Lamol-ulutu [i.e. Ulithi which includes

1 Ed. note: Or Tamol, now spelled tamwool, or sómwool.

2 Ed. note: See the article by Reisenberg in *Micronesia*, July 1975; this island is wrongly labelled on modern charts.

3 Ed. note: Ditto.

4 Ed. note: Ditto.

5 Ed. note: This Central Caroline expression for Chuuk appears thus as late as 1827, when it was reported as "Olla" by Floyd, a sailor who had been a beachcomber for a while there.

both Mogmog and Falalep], Fais, Felalis [in Woleai], Piguelape [i.e. Ifaluk], Faraulep, Lamosaq [Lamotrek], Faugeo [Fayo], Sotoal [Satawal], Pigilo [Pigelot], Sauere [Pulusuk], Logiseng [Puluwat], Polet [Pulap], Oloul [Ulul], Tol [Chuuk], Pisemol [part of Losap], Namonus [Namoluk], Etal, Ngerriq [Ngatik], Falupeí [Pohnpei], and Carrau [Kosrae].

## A2. Record of proceedings upon the arrival at Guam of two Carolinian canoes

*Source: AHN Ultramar Filipinas 5856, Doc. N° 118, part 6.*

*Note: This official copy of the proceedings was sent from Manila to Madrid in 1885, during the Ittis Affair.*

### Original text in Spanish.

**Año de 1787 á 789.**—*Oficio del Gobierno de Marianas, acompañando las diligencias practicadas con motivo de haver llegado en aquellas Islas varios individuos, procedentes de la Isla nombrada Lamursec, remite la Mapa formada de las Carolinas ó Palaos.*

*Año de 1787.*

*Diligencias practicadas con motivo de la venida a estas Islas Marianas de dos bancas con trece hombres de una de las Carolinas nombrada Lamursec.*

*por*

*El Teniente Coronel Don José Arleguí y Leoz, Justicia Mayor, Teniente de Gobernador, y Capitan General de ellas.*

— 0 —

*Señor Gobernador,*

*Muy Señor mío: Doy parte a V. Señoría q. entraron en Orote dos dichas bancas de Carolinas con treze hombres y los tengo presos, espero orden de Usía,*

*Agat y Mayo 27 de 1787. Nuestro Señor Guarde a V<sup>a</sup>.S. muchos años.*

*B.L.M. de V.S. Su Attento y Seguro servidor.*

*Leopardo Arceo.*

***Auto para que se indague el motivo de la venida a estas Islas Marianas de dos bancas de las nombradas Carolinas.***

*En la Villa de Umata á veinte y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos ochenta, y siete: El Señor D. Josef Arlegui y Leoz, Teniente Coronel Graduado, Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon, que guarnece la Plaza de Manila, Justicia Mayor, Teniente de Gobernador, y Capitan General de estas Islas Marianas: En vista del aviso que ha recibido el día de ayer de Don Leopardo Arceo[,] Alcalde del Pueblo de Agat, de haver entrado en Orote dos bancas de las Islas nombradas Carolinas, ó Palaos con trece hombres, y aver providenciado se transfieran a dha Villa, dixo:*

*Que respecto aver una novedad extraña; pues los avitantes de estas Islas, solo se acuerdan que el año de cinquenta, y seis, poco mas ó menos, llegó desgarrada una*



*banca con siete hombres quasi mortales por la falta de comida; y que estos al parecer bienes sin dha necesidad segun la disposicion, y robustez que manifiestan, y repuesto que tra{h}en, debia de mandar, y mandó, que para adquirir alguna noticia sean examinados aunque sin la formula del Juramento, por medio de Rodrigo, y Matías, el primero procedente de dha banca desgarrada, y el segundo de otra que arribó a las Filipinas por los años de cinquenta y seis ó cinquenta y siete, tambien desgarrada, tambien Carolinos, que serviran de interpretes, sobre el país, ó isla, de donde son, quien manda en ella, que grandor tiene; quantos seran sus avitantes, como se llaman a sus inmediatas, que fin tra{h}en, como se llaman ellos, quantos días de navegación han echado, à que rumbo se halla: Si [h]ay puerto, barra ó rada: Si ay guerra entre ellos en la misma isla, o con las otras inmediatas, y por esa razon se vienen huyendo; y en fin todo lo que se pueda adquirir, y examinar de su rudeza, y aun de la de los mismos interpretes, que por la falta de uso han olvidado su nativo idioma, haciendo una recopilación de lo referido, y demas especies, que en el acto, ó actos de examen se adquieran, por si este principio tubiese en lo sucesivo algun fin útil al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor, en entender su Santo Evangelio, y aumento de los dominios de nuestro Rey, y Señor Don Carlos Tercero (que Dios guarde). Asi mismo mandó dho Señor Governador sean tratados con la mayor dulzura, y suavidad, dandoles superabundantemente lo necesario para su alimento, y la suficiente libertad para su recreo, sin aparatos de escoltas, ni guardias, sino dhos interpretes que los guie con la prevencion de que los observen, y [h]ablen de nuestra Santa Religion, y suave Gobierno, y a la Guardia que este a la mira de contener alguna ruda acción que quieran intentar. Y ultimamente para que este expediente quede instruido desde su origen, el presente secretario pondra por principio dha carta; y testimonio de las ordenes que se despacharon al mismo Alcalde Arceo, y a D. José Fernández de Cardenas, Comandante de la Infanteria del Presidio en consecuencia de ella.*

*Y por este su Auto asi lo proveyó, mandó, y firmó dho Señor de que doy fee.*

*Joseph Arleguí y Leóz*

*Manuel Garrido*

*Secretario de esta Governación y Guerra.*

***Testimonio de las Ordenes despachadas con dho motivo.***

*Señor Don Jose Fernandez de Cardenas.—*

*El Alcalde de Agat me ha dado aviso aver llegado a Orote dos bancas de Carolinas con trece hombres, y para tomar algun conocimiento del motivo porque han aportado allí, enviará Vm. prontamente à Rodrigo, y Matías, Carolinos, con la orden de que se presenten a dho Alcalde quien tendra la mía de lo que debe executar: Bueno será que le[s] facilite algun garayde [sic] para que hagan su viage mas prontamente.*

*Dios guarde a Vm. muchos años.*

*Umata veinte y siete de Mayo de mil sietecientos ochenta, y siete.*

*Jose Arlegui y Leoz.*

[A] *Señor Don Leopardo Arceo.*

*Enterado de lo que me expresa Vm, en fecha de [h]oy de [h]aver llegado dos bancas de Carolinas con trece hombres, y que los tiene presos; le prevengo les trate con la mayor suavidad, y les de la asistencia de comida, y bebida suficiente, de modo que no estrañen, ni recelen, que su aresto les cause perjuicio, sino que es una prudente seguridad de Vm. hasta darme aviso, y que espera mis ordenes: Lo que les dará Vm. a entender en el modo posible, y en interin que llegan a ese pueblo Rodrigo, y Matías, Carolinos. A cuyo efecto despachará Vm. incontinenti la adjunta al Comandante a quien prevengo se los embie, y luego que lleguen les hara decir que no recelen, que les venga ningun perjuicio, que antes se les dará quanto necesiten para su subsistencia; pero deseando yo conocerlos los conducirá Vm. en el bote que despacho con el Ayudante D. Jose Roman Dueñas, y la escolta que me parece suficiente, tomando la precaucion de dejar recogidas las armas que trajesen, y aseguradas las bancas.*

*Dios guarde a Vm. muchos años.*

*Umata veinte y siete de Mayo de mil sietecientos ochenta y siete.*

*Jose Arlegui y Leoz*

*Concuerta con las dos ordenes originales que se despacharon al Comandante D. Jose Fernandez de Cardenas y a D. Leopardo Arceo en fecha de veinte y siete del corriente, y en cumplimiento de lo que se previene en el Auto en el dia de oy que da principio a este expediente pusé el presente de que doy fee.*

*Lo firmo en testimonio de verdad.*

*Manuel Garrido,*

*Secretario de esta Governación y Guerra.*

***Declaración recibida por medio de interpretes a los dos capitanes ó cavos de dhas bancas.***

*En la referida Villa a treinta de dho mes, y año: El expresado Señor Governador mandó comparecer ante sí à Rodrigo, y Matías llamados para interpretes de los Carolinos, y a los dos patrones, o capitanes de las bancas de ellos, y habiendo sido larga-, y prolijamente preguntados al tenor del Auto proveido el dia de ayer, resultó que dho Rodrigo no les entiende su idioma, y aunque dho Matías comprende algo no lo necesario al deber de ... el prolijo examen prevenido, por haversele olvidado con la falta de uso. Pero sin embargo interrogados con mucha pausa, y tiempo se ha podido sacar en claro lo siguiente:*

*Que son naturales de la isla nombrada Lamursec: Que dista tres dias de navegacion de esta de Guajan, y segun las señas que dan demora al Sur: Que mandan en ella quatro principales con nombre de **tamur** entre los quales es uno el capitan de una de las bancas nombrado Tamur Umal Luito, y sus marineros Salul, Peligud, Tolap, Farsam, y Maguilan: Los de la segunda [banca] Tamur (Capitan) Luguan, Regilifel, Maraliol, Afurul, Atoleem, Camai, y Aulopet: Que hai barra para entrar, pero no se pudo indagar a que parte demora: Que no ay guerra entre ellos ni la tienen con las islas inmediatas: Que salieron destinadamente para venir à Guajan por verla, y al Tamur de ella (que*

*es el Gobernador): Y que se quieren volver para tra{h}er a los otros Tamures: Que la isla es pequeña: Que los avitantes son bastantes aunque no pudieron explicar su numero: Que ay otras islas inmediatas; y habiendole preguntado si sabia sus nombres no solo los dijo, sino que fué haciendo una descripcion de su situacion pues aunque no avia estado en todas, tenía noticia. La qual en el modo que la explicó con unos granos de maiz, y cédulas que se pusieron con sus nombres en forma de mapa mandó el presente Señor Gobernador se acumule: Preguntados si avian visto antes a hombres semejantes a los Españoles, ó tenían noticia que hubiesen estado por sus islas.—Dijeron (**taya**) que quiere decir que no. Se les pregunto por su religion, si adoraban al Sol, Luna, Estrellas, ó a algun viviente.—Dijeron que (**taya**) no: Que quantas mujeres tienen cada uno, dijeron que una. Preguntados que especie de animales ay, y frutos; dijeron que solo algunos pajaros, cocos, rimas, y algunas raíces que es con lo que se mantienen. Se les preguntó acerca de su industria, respecto a la total desnudez en que vienen; dijeron que no tienen otra que hacer las mujeres aquellas bandas, ó taparabos que tra{h}en hechas con la corteza de un arbol que llaman **ilifa**, y habiendosele mostrado el que aqui, y en Filipinas llaman **balibago**, dijeron ser el mismo. Y en este Estado mandó dho Señor Gobernador suspender esta Diligencia con protesta de continuarla si con la repetición de exámenes, y trato diario con los referidos isleños se puede aclarar algo mas sobre el intento de indagar algunas otras noticias que merezcan ponerlas en memoria, y lo firmó dho Señor de que doy fee.*

*Arlegui.*

*Manuel Garrido,*

*Secretrio de esta Governación y Guerra.*

***Explicación de varios nombres castellanos, en el idioma de la isla de Lamursec.***

*En la referida Villa en varios dias del mes de Junio del citado año dicho Señor Gobernador habiendo hecho comparecer a los citados interpretes, a los capitanes de las dhas bancas, y a un de los mismos marineros para preguntarles sobre su modo de vivir, y otras curiosidades nada se pudo adelantar. Pero por señas, y demostraciones se indagaron algunas palabras de nombres propios, y son en el modo siguiente.*

***Explicación de varios nombres castellanos, en la lengua de los naturales de la isla dicha Lamursec, una de las Carolinas, ó Palaos.***

<b><i>Varios nombres en Castellano</i></b>	<b><i>En el idioma de la isla de Lamursec</i></b>
<i>El hombre</i>	<i>Mal</i>
<i>El mozo</i>	<i>Saramal</i>
<i>El muchacho</i>	<i>Saráguit</i>
<i>La mujer</i>	<i>Faifil</i>
<i>La doncella</i>	<i>Farafilfil</i>
<i>La muchacha</i>	<i>Sariguit</i>

<i>La caveza</i>	<i>Malec</i>
<i>El pelo</i>	<i>Laneremuy</i>
<i>La frente</i>	<i>No oy</i>
<i>Las cejas</i>	<i>Tati</i>
<i>Los ojos</i>	<i>Vetai</i>
<i>Las narices</i>	<i>Poti</i>
<i>Las orejas</i>	<i>Taligui</i>
<i>Los abujeros que traen en ellas</i>	<i>Poyañg taligui</i>
<i>La boca</i>	<i>Colog</i>
<i>Los dientes</i>	<i>Ñgiy</i>
<i>La lengua</i>	<i>Nevai</i>
<i>Los labios</i>	<i>Tulivay</i>
<i>La barba</i>	<i>Atey</i>
<i>El carrillo</i>	<i>Tepay</i>
<i>El pesqueso</i>	<i>Oguey</i>
<i>El pecho</i>	<i>Obuoy</i>
<i>La barriga</i>	<i>Sacay</i>
<i>El ombligo</i>	<i>Pusey</i>
<i>El [h]ombro</i>	<i>Efaray</i>
<i>El brazo derecho</i>	<i>Pay, copai</i>
<i>Brazo izquierdo</i>	<i>Pay mongi</i>
<i>El codo</i>	<i>Apit</i>
<i>La muñeca</i>	<i>Cumuri</i>
<i>La mano</i>	<i>Paramdement</i>
<i>Dedo pulgar</i>	<i>Atelipay</i>
<i>Las uñas</i>	<i>Cuyi</i>
<i>El muslo</i>	<i>Ofoy</i>
<i>La rodilla</i>	<i>Pugoy</i>
<i>La pierna</i>	<i>Peray</i>
<i>El pie</i>	<i>Pacaparra perrey</i>
<i>La planta del pie</i>	<i>Fala fala perrey</i>
<i>Partes genitales</i>	<i>Ay lay</i>
<i>La espalda</i>	<i>Tagurey</i>
<i>Las nalgas</i>	<i>Safilafi</i>
<i>Via posterior</i>	<i>Pulouc</i>
<i>Las venas</i>	<i>Oalipii</i>
<i>Agua de beber</i>	<i>Curuo</i>
<i>La mar</i>	<i>Taad</i>
<i>El Sol</i>	<i>Alo</i>
<i>Fuego</i>	<i>Yaf</i>
<i>Cielo</i>	<i>Lang</i>
<i>Las nubes</i>	<i>Ya an</i>

<i>La tierra</i>	<i>Burol</i>
<i>Las yervas</i>	<i>Faliulo</i>
<i>Las piedras</i>	<i>Furug</i>
<i>Comer</i>	<i>Mou</i>
<i>Ceniza</i>	<i>Fala</i>
<i>Palo</i>	<i>Quilipa</i>
<i>Quemarse</i>	<i>Yefuers</i>
<i>El arbol de coco</i>	<i>Liuc</i>
<i>El coco</i>	<i>Roo</i>
<i>Cascara de coco</i>	<i>Tagac</i>
<i>Baston</i>	<i>Sogoi</i>
<i>Cuestas, o monte</i>	<i>Naang</i>
<i>Tabla</i>	<i>Faap</i>
<b><i>Balibago</i></b>	<i>Ilifa<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>De dia</i>	<i>Erral</i>
<i>De noche</i>	<i>Bon</i>
<i>La naranja, ó caxel<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Gorgor</i>
<i>La gallina</i>	<i>Maluc</i>
<i>No [h]ay</i>	<i>Taya</i>
<i>La banca</i>	<i>Guaha</i>
<i>Tiene</i>	<i>Tola</i>

***Para contar***

<i>Uno</i>	<i>Yott</i>
<i>Dos</i>	<i>Ruec</i>
<i>Tres</i>	<i>Eli</i>
<i>Quatro</i>	<i>Fan</i>
<i>Cinco</i>	<i>Lima</i>
<i>Seis</i>	<i>Gol</i>
<i>Siete</i>	<i>Fis</i>
<i>Ocho</i>	<i>Guali</i>
<i>Nueve</i>	<i>Tiva</i>
<i>Diez</i>	<i>Seic</i>
<i>Once</i>	<i>Yota</i>
<i>Veinte</i>	<i>Ruic</i>
<i>Treinta</i>	<i>Senic</i>
<i>Quarenta</i>	<i>Faic</i>
<i>Cinquenta</i>	<i>Limic</i>
<i>Sesenta</i>	<i>Goloec</i>

---

1 Con su corteza tejen los taparrabos que tra{h}en.

2 Ed. note: A Filipino word: "kahél" is a kind of orange.

<i>Setenta</i>	<i>Fisic</i>
<i>Ochenta</i>	<i>Gualic</i>
<i>Noventa</i>	<i>Tiguic</i>
<i>Ciento</i>	<i>Sebuc</i>
<i>Doscientos</i>	<i>Reupud</i>
<i>Trescientos</i>	<i>Selepud</i>
<i>Quatrocientos</i>	<i>Fapud</i>
<i>Quinientos</i>	<i>Limapud</i>
<i>Seiscientos</i>	<i>Polapud</i>
<i>Setecientos</i>	<i>Ficipud</i>
<i>Ochocientos</i>	<i>Gualipud</i>
<i>Nuevecientos</i>	<i>Tibapud</i>
<i>Mil</i>	<i>Sangres</i>
<i>Dos mil</i>	<i>Ruangres</i>

*Y en este Estado mandó dho Señor Gobernador suspender esta Diligencia por no poder indagar otra cosa y la firmó de que doy fee.*

*Arlegui.*

*Manuel Garrido,*

*Secretario de esta Governación y Guerra.*

*S. Ignacio de Agaña 5 de Julio de 1787.*

***Decreto para que el Secretario ponga constancia de las particularidades que ha observado entre dhos isleños, y modo en que se les ha tratado.***

*Por quanto el Secretario de esta Governación y Guerra ha presenciado desde la llegada de los Carolinos lo que ha pasado, y ejecutado con ellos, pondra constancia en forma que haga fee de lo que ha observado en Umata, y venida a esta Ciudad, hasta su salida para Agat, encaminandose a su país. Igualmente del modo en que se les ha tratado, y auxilios que se les ha facilitado; a fin que todo obre a efecto de instruir este Expediente para subcesiva noticia.*

*Arlegui.*

*Manuel Garrido,*

*Secretario de esta Governación y Guerra.*

### *Constancia*

*Yo el Capitan D. Manuel Garrido, Secretario de la Governacion y Guerra de estas Islas Marianas: hago constar que el dia veinte y siete de Mayo se condujeron desde el Pueblo de Agat, a la Villa de Umata los trece Indios Carolinos en el bote de este Real Presidio a cargo del Ayudante D. José Roman Dueñas: Fueron recibidos por el Señor Gobernador, R.R. P.P. Ministros[,] Oficiales del Presidio, y demas gente que se hallava en aquella Villa (con motivo de la espera del Navio **San Andres** de regreso de Aca-pulco) con el maior regocijo, y agrado: seles señaló para su alojamiento la pieza que sirve de Quartel en la misma Casa Real se les dio de comer, y beber superabundantemente,*

*causandoles admiracion la Carne cocida, y morisqueta, repugnando esta pareciendoles, que eran gusanos, y desengañados, en vista de que la comían todos, les empesó a gustar, pero a lo que mas se inclinavan era al Pescado crudo, expecialmente ostiones grandes, rimas, y cocos que es su comer ordinario. Todo les causava mucha novedad: La Casa Real, sus muebles, la Iglesia, el santo sacrificio de la Misa, y mas que nada los Caballos, y Bueyes, Manejo [sic= Monstraron?] algunas avilidades en ordenados bayles a mucho compaz, y fuertes gritos, pero despues mudanzas, y ligerezas. Seles cubrió su desnudès, por el Señor Gobernador, con Camisas, Calzones, Paños, y Rosarios. A los quatro dias pasaron los Marineros por tierra hasta Agat a conducir las dos Bancas à dicha Villa, y a la entrada en la Ensenada ó Puerto manifestaron su inteligencia, y ligereza en los varios bordos que tubieron que dar por el viento contrario. Las Bancas son muy semejantes a las que se usan en estas Yslas Marianas, à diferencia de que el Casco ès de una pieza, pero ajustadas con mas firmeza, inteligencia, aseo que las nuestras, y dieron à entender que para hacer una se tardavan un año à fuersa de quemar, y con el corto auxilio de un pedazo de concha, en forma de Azuela ó Acha. Permanecieron en dicha Villa hasta el dies, y nueve del pasado Junio por haver regresado el Señor Gobernador en ese dia a esta Capital, respecto a que el dies, y siete se vio pasar el **San Andres**, sin dar fondo, ni esperar à adquirir sus noticias: seguieron las Aguas del Bote con mucha presicion. A lo que han manifestado mas inclinacion ès al fierro, pues qualquier pedaso lo guardavan con mucho cuydado, y no dejaron de recojer alguno en las varias Casas en que los llamavan para ver sus avilidades, y el Señor Governador les dio Achas, y Fuciños. Permanecieron en esta Ciudad hasta el veinte, y nueve de dicho Junio, y salieron para Agat à esperar tiempo favorable para regresar a su Ysla de Lamursec, y el quatro del corriente Mes de Julio siguieron su viaje, y se hà savido de Umata haverlos visto pasar por frente de Merizo. El Tamur Umal Luito principal, y todos los demas manifestaron mucho agradecimiento por el buen p[hole] y agasajo con que seles hà tratado, y ofrecio volber con los demas principales de su Ysla; y en cumplimiento del Decreto que antecede pongo la presente.*

*San Ygnacio de Agaña cinco de Julio de mil setecientos ochenta, y siete.*

*Lo firmo en Testimonio de Verdad.*

*Manuel Garrido*

*El Secretario de Governacion y Guerra.*

*S. Ygnacio de Agaña 5 de Julio de 1787.*

*.Acumulese à estas Diligencias la Carta del Alcalde de Agat D. Leopardo Arceo en que dà aviso, que el dia de ayer salieron para su Ysla las dos Bancas de los Carolinos provistos de varios comestibles.*

*Arleguí.*

*Señor Gobernador*

*Muy Señor mio[:.] Doi parte a V.S. [que] esta mañana salieron los Carolinos[.] les di bastimento coco rimas Sandias y dos tinajas de Agua.*

*Nuestro Señor Guarde a V.S. muchos años.  
Agat y Julio 4 de 1787.  
B.I.m. de V.S su attento y seguro servidor  
Leopardo Arceo*

*Nota: Queda acumulada la Carta que previene el Decreto antecedente. Y para que conste lo anoto, y de ello doy fee.  
Garrido.*

*Otra. Se acumula à este Expediente el Mapa que por disposicion del Señor Governador se formó, y previene la Diligencia de Examen, y para que conste lo anoto, y de ello doy fee.  
Garrido.  
San Ygnacio de Agaña 6 de Julio de 1787.*

*Decreto de remision de estas Diligencias al Superior Gobierno de Filipinas, sacando Testimonio para el Archivo.*

*Remitase este expediente original con oficio en primera ocasion oportuna al Superior Gobierno de las Yslas Filipinas, para informarle de la venida à estas de las dos Bancas referidas, sacando el presente secretario Tesminomio literal para que quede la devida constancia en el Archivo de su Cargo.*

*Arleguí  
Manuel Garrido,  
Secretario de Governacion y Guerra.*

*Nota. Se sacó el Testimonio literal que previene el Decreto que antecede para Archivarlo entre los Papeles de mi Cargo.  
Agaña seis de Julio de mil setecientos ochenta, y siete.  
Garrido.*

### **Translation.**

**Year of 1787-1789.**—Official report from the Government of the Marianas, enclosing a record of proceedings on the occasion of the arrival at those Islands of various individuals who came from the Island named Lamursec; it was remitted with the sketch map of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands.

Year of 1787

Proceedings into the arrival at these Mariana Islands of two canoes with 13 men from one of the Carolines named Lamursec:

by

Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, Magistrate, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain General of them.

— 0 —



[To] His Lordship the Governor:

My dear Sir: I report to Your Lordship that two so-called Carolinian canoes have arrived at Orote with 13 men, and I hold them prisoners, awaiting an order from Your Lordship.

Agat, 27 May 1787. May Our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

Your sincere servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,  
Leopardo Arceo.

**Writ ordering the investigation of the reason for the arrival at these Mariana Islands of two canoes from said Caroline Islands.**

In the town of Umata, on 28 May 1787, His Lordship Don José Arleguí y Leóz, Lieutenant-Colonel substantive, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, that is the garrison of Manila City, Magistrate, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain General of these Mariana Islands: In view of the message received yesterday from Don Leopardo Arceo, Mayor of the Town of Agat, reporting the arrival at Orote of two canoes from the Islands named Carolines, or Palaos, with 13 men on board, and his having already ordered their transfer to this Town, Declared:

That since this is an extraordinary news, as indeed the inhabitants of these Islands only remember that in the year 1756, more or less, one canoe had drifted in with seven men, almost dead for lack of food, whereas these men seem healthy, with no problems, judging from their looks and obvious vigor, and the food supplies which they carry, he had to order, and he did order, that they be interrogated in order to get some information, though without a formal oath (through Rodrigo and Mathias, who will act as interpreters; the former came with said canoe that drifted in earlier, and the latter arrived at the Philippines aboard another canoe that drifted there around 1756 or 1757), regarding the country, or island, where they are from, who is the head of it, what size it is, how many inhabitants it would have, what are the names of the neighboring ones, why did they come, what are their names, how long did their voyage last, which heading did they follow; if there is any port, bar or harbor; if there is war among them, in the same island or with neighboring islands; and whether or not it is the reason why they fled; and finally any other information that can be collected, in spite of their roughness, and even from the interpreters themselves, who for lack of use have forgotten their native tongue. The above information is to be compiled, and any other data that might be gathered during the investigation, and afterwards, in case this beginning should become useful to any future endeavor in the service of God Our Lord to extend our Holy Gospel, and to increase the dominions of our King, and Lord, Charles III (whom may God save). In addition, His Lordship the Governor ordered that they be treated with the greatest of kindness, and be given food in superabundance and sufficient freedom for their recreation, without any need for an escort, or guard, except that said interpreters are to guide them, and keep them under observation, and speak to them of our Holy Religion, and in case they attempt any coarse action, the guards are to be ready to contain it. And finally, for this file to be complete, the present secretary is to

place said letter at the beginning of the record, as well as the orders that were despatched to Mayor Arceo himself, and consequently to Don José Fernández de Cárdenas, Commander of the Infantry of the Garrison.

And by this writ said Gentleman so provided, ordered, and he signed, for which I vouch.

José Arleguí y Leóz

Manuel Garrido,

Secretary of this Government for Administration and War.

**Transcript of the orders issued for said reason.**

Don José Fernández de Cárdenas, Sir:

The Mayor of Agat had reported to me that two Carolinian canoes have arrived at Orote with 13 men, and in order to find out why they have made port there, Your Grace is to quickly despatch Rodrigo and Mathias, Carolinians, with the order that they are to report to said Mayor, who will have received his orders from me. It would be well if you can provide them with some *galaide* [small Chamorro canoe], to make them go faster.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

Umata 27 May 1787.

José Arleguí y Leóz.

[To] Don Leopardo Arceo.

I have received the letter from Your Grace of this date, informing me that two Carolinian canoes have arrived with 13 men, and that you are holding them prisoners. I warn you to treat them with great kindness, and to assist them with food, and sufficient drink, so that they will not resent their arrest, nor fear some prejudice, except that a prudent security is to be kept by Your Grace, until you report to me, and await my orders; that is what Your Grace is to try and make them understand, as best as you can, until the Carolinians Rodrigo and Mathias get there. To this effect, Your Grace is to despatch the enclosed letter immediately to the Commander, whom I order to send them to you, and as soon as they get there, they are to be told that they have nothing to fear, that no harm will be done to them; rather, that they will be given as much food as they need for their subsistence; however, I wish to meet them. Hence Your Grace will bring them over in the boat that I despatch with Adjutant José Román Dueñas, and the escort seems sufficient to me, if you take the precaution to collect the weapons that they might have brought along, and make their canoes secure.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

Umata, 27 May 1787.

José Arleguí y Leoz.

This is an exact transcript of the two orders that were despatched to the Commander, Don José Fernández de Cárdenas, and to Don Leopardo Arceo, dated 27th of the

present month, and in compliance with the writ of this date, to have them placed at the beginning of this case file, I do so by the present, in faith whereof

I affix my own signature.

Manuel Garrido,

Secretary of this Government for Administration and War.

**Declaration of the two captains or chiefs of said canoes, received through interpreters.**

In the above-mentioned Town, on the 30th of said month, and year: Said Lordship the Governor ordered to appear before him: Rodrigo and Mathias, called to act as interpreters of the Carolinians, and the two bosses, or captains of their canoes, and after they had been interrogated at great length and very slowly, regarding the contents of the writ of yesterday's date, there resulted that Rodrigo does not understand their language, and although said Mathias understands a little, it is not enough for carrying out the interview as planned, as he had forgotten how to speak it. However, they were questioned very slowly, and patiently, and the following information was obtained:

They are natives of the island called Lamursec; which is distant three days by canoe from Guajan, and according to the signs made by them, it lies southward. Four chiefs are rulers there, with the title of *tamur*, one of whom is one of the captains of the two canoes, and his name is Tamur Umal Luito; the names of his sailors are: Salul, Peligud, Tolap, Farsam, and Maguilan. The names of the others aboard the second canoe are: Tamur (Captain) Luguan, Regilifel, Maraliol, Afurul, Atolem, Camai, and Aulopet. There is a bar to cross to their arrival there, but it was not possible to get sailing directions to it. There is no war going on among themselves nor with any neighboring island. They left specifically to come to Guajan to see it, and to see the Tamur of it (that is, the Governor); and they wish to go back in order to bring the other Tamurs over. Their island is small. The number of inhabitants is enough, although they cannot explain exactly how many. There are other islands nearby. After they were asked if they knew their names, they not only gave them, but gave an description of their position; in fact, although he had not visited them all, he had notice of them. A chart of them was made, after the manner he used to explain their layout, using a few grains of corn. Labels were placed near each of them to record their names, and His Lordship the Governor ordered that the map be compiled for the record. They were asked if they had seen men similar to the Spanish before, or had knowledge of their having visited their islands before.—They said *taya* which means no.<sup>1</sup> They were asked about their religion, if they worship the Sun, Moon, the stars, or some living being.—They said *taya*, that is, no; how many wives each one of them had, they said one. When asked what kinds of animals there were, and fruits, they said that there were only a few birds, coconuts, breadfruits, and some roots that are used as their staple food. They were asked

---

1 Ed. note: Actually, this word is now spelled *taay* and, according to a modern Carolinian-English dictionary (PALI), it means: "I don't, not so."

about their industry, given their total nakedness when they came; they said that they do not have any other than the strips that their women make, which they had brought along, and they are loin-cloths made with the bark of a tree that they call *ilifa*, and when they were shown the tree which is called *Balibago* here, and in the Philippines, they said that it was the same.<sup>1</sup> And at this point His Lordship the Governor ordered a suspension of this proceeding, but he said that the investigations would be continued later, after daily contacts with said islanders had taken place, that might serve to clear up somewhat the notices thus far gathered, and be worthy of being recorded, and said Lordship signed, for which I vouch.

Arleguí

Manuel Garrido,

Secretary of this Government for Administration and War.

**A short vocabulary containing various Spanish words, and equivalent words in the language of Lamursec Island.**

In the above-mentioned Town, on various dates of the month of June of said year, said Governor had the above-mentioned interpreters and said captains of said canoes appear before him, as well as one of the sailors themselves, to question them regarding their manner of living, and other curious things, but nothing could be gotten; however, through sign language, and demonstrations, there were collected a few proper nouns, and they are as follows:

**List of various Spanish words and equivalent words in the language of the natives of said Lamursec Island, one of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands.**

<b>Various words in Spanish</b>	<b>In the language of Lamursec Island</b>	<b>[Modern spelling]<sup>2</sup></b>
Man	Mal	Máál
Young man, lad	Saramal	Garáára
Boy	Saráguit	
Woman	Faifil	
Young woman, maiden	Farafilfil	
Girl	Sariguit	Sáreweisch
Head	Malec	Magúr, móghur, úli-
Hair	Laneremuy	
Forehead	No oy	Mwóóong
Eyebrows	Tati	Faat, fati
Eyes	Vetai	Habweil
Nose	Poti	Bwoot

1 Ed. note: Now spelled "ghúlúfě" in the modern dictionary. It is indeed the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

2 Ed. note: Only if recognizable in a modern dictionary.

Ears	Taligui	Heling, sáling
Holes in their ears	Poyañg taligui	
Mouth	Colog	
Teeth	Ñgiy	Ngii
Tongue	Nevai	
Lips	Tulivay	Tuumw, túlaaw
Beard	Atey	Alús
Cheek	Tepay	
Neck	Oguy	Uúw, lugun(?)
Chest, breast	Obuoy	Oubw
Belly	Sacay	
Navel	Pusey	Bwuugh
Shoulder	Efaray	Aifar
Right arm	Pay, copai	Paay máál
Left arm	Pay mongi	Paay gheré
Elbow	Apit	(Pilipilit) paay
Wrist	Cumuri	Ghumwusch
Hand	Paramdement	Paay ...
Thumb	Atelipay	Ayúttúlap
Fingernails	Cuyi	Kkúl
Thigh	Ofoy	
Knee	Pugoy	Bwughúwal
Leg	Peray	Perhe, pesche
Foot	Pacaparra perrey	" "
Sole of the foot	Fala fala perrey	Faal aibwiibw
Genital parts, penis	Ay lay	Gháyi, mwáálil
Back	Tagurey	Hagúr, saghúr
Buttocks	Safilafi	Fáályáp
Anus	Pulouc	
Veins	Oalipii	
Water to drink	Curuo	
Sea	Taad	Aáát
Sun	Alo	Alo
Fire	Yaf	Agúúf
Sky	Lang	Lááng
Clouds	Ya an	Maalúúláng
Land, earth	Burol	
Grasses	Faliulo	Fítíl, faluw [=land]
Stones	Furug	Faay
To eat	Mou	Mwoot
Ash(es)	Fala	Falang
Stick	Quilipa	

To burn oneself	Yefuers	
Coconut tree	Liuc	Lúú
Coconut	Roo	"
Coconut shell	Tagac	Saagh
Staff, cane	Sogoi	Sógh(u)
Slopes, or hill	Naang	Ingiing
Table	Faap	Fááng, peraf [=platform]
<b>Balibago</b>	<i>Ilifa</i> <sup>1</sup>	Ghúlúfé
Daytime	Erral	Leeráál
Night-time	Bòn	Bwoong
Orange, ó caxel <sup>2</sup>	Gorgor	Gurugur
Chicken	Maluc	Malúgh
There is not any	Taya	Tááy
Canoe	Guaha	Waa
There is	Tola	

**Numbers**

		[Modern]
One	Yott	Eet
Two	Ruec	Rúúw
Three	Eli	Eel
Four	Fan	Fáág
Five	Lima	Lima
Six	Golo	Ool
Seven	Fis	Fiis
Eight	Guali	Waal
Nine	Tiva	Tiwa
Ten	Seic	Seigh
Eleven	Yota	[Seigh me eew]
Twenty	Ruic	Ruweigh
Thirty	Senic	Eliigh
Forty	Faic	Fááigh
Fifty	Limic	Limeigh
Sixty	Goloec	Oleigh
Seventy	Fisic	Fisiigh
Eighty	Gualic	Waliigh
Ninety	Tiguic	Tiweigh
One hundred	Sebuc	Ebwúghúw
Two hundred	Reupud	Ruwabwúghúw
Three hundred	Selepud	Elébwúghúw

1 And its bark, used to weave loin-cloths with.

2 Ed. note: A Filipino word: *kahél* is a kind of orange.

Four hundred	Fapud	Faabwúghúw
Five hundred	Limapud	Limabwúghúw
Six hundred	Polapud	Olobwúghúw
Seven hundred	Ficipud	Fisabwúghúw
Eight hundred	Gualipud	Walabwúghúw
Nine hundred	Tibapud	Tiwabwúghúw
One thousand	Sangres	Sangaras
Two thousand	Ruangres	Ruwangaras

And at this point His Lordship the Governor ordered the proceedings suspended, since there was no other information to be obtained, and he signed, for which I vouch.  
Arleguí.

Manuel Garrido,  
Secretary of this Government for Administration and War.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 5 July 1787.

**Decree to have the Secretary add a record of the specific things that were observed among said islanders, and the manner in which they were treated.**

Whereas the Secretary of this Government for Administration and War has witnessed what has taken place since the arrival of the Carolinians, and dealt with them, he will place on record any worthwhile incidents that have taken place in Umata, and about their coming to this City, until their departure for Agat, to make their way back to their country. Also, the manner in which they were treated, and the assistance given them, in order to make this file even more complete for any future use.

Arleguí:  
Manuel Garrido,  
Secretary of this Government for Administration and War.

## Evidence

I, Captain Manuel Garrido, Secretary for Administration and War in these Mariana Islands, make it known that on the 27th day of May, the thirteen Carolinian Indians were taken from the Town of Agat to the Town of Umatac aboard the boat belonging to this Royal garrison, under the command of Adjutant José Román Dueñas. They were received by His Lordship the Governor, the Reverend Father Ministers, the Officers of the Garrison, and other people who were then in that Town (for the purpose of awaiting the galleon **San Andrés** returning from Acapulco) with the best of welcome, and pleasure. For their lodging, they were assigned the room that is used as the soldiers' dormitory in the Royal House itself, they were given something to eat and drink in very great abundance, and they were amazed to see the cooked meat, and cooked rice. The latter they seemed to reject, thinking they were worms, but once they were undeceived, and they saw everyone else eating it, they began to enjoy it, but the food they liked best was raw fish, specially the large oysters, breadfruit, and coconut which are their ordinary food. They showed amazement at seeing everything: the Royal House, its furniture, the church, the holy office of the Mass, and above all else, the horses and the bulls.

They showed(?) some skills in well-ordered dances that began with a strong beat, and stronger shouts, but afterwards changed to figures, with faster rhythm. They were given clothes by His Lordship the Governor to cover their nakedness: shirts, pants, kerchiefs, and rosaries. Within four days, the sailors went overland to Agat to bring the two canoes to said Town, and at the entrance of the bay or port, they showed their knowledge, and the lightness of their canoes, when they made various tacks to overcome the contrary wind. The canoes are very similar to those used in these Mariana Islands, except that the hull is made up of one piece of wood, but they are finished with more solidity, craftsmanship, and polish than ours, and they gave us to understand that, in order to build one, they require one year, because they must use fire to make the tree hollow, using only a piece of shell in the shape of an adze or hatchet. They remained in said Town until the 19th of last June, since His Lordship the Governor had returned to this Capital on that day. Indeed, on the 17th, the galleon **San Andrés** was seen sailing by, without anchoring; she did not even wait long enough to receive the news. They [i.e. the Carolinians] followed behind the Boat with much precision. They showed the greatest curiosity for iron; in fact, they kept any small piece with great care, and they certainly collected not a few pieces in the various houses into which they were invited to show their skills. His Lordship the Governor gave them some axes, and "fusifios."<sup>1</sup> They remained in this City until the 29th of said June, then they left for Agat, there to wait for weather favorable for their return to the Island of Lamursec. On the 4th of the current month of July, they began their return voyage, and it has been learned from Umatac that they were seen passing by Merizo. Tamur Umal Luito, their chief, and all of the other men showed much gratitude for the good [hole in ms.] and welcome with which they were treated, and he promised to return with the other chiefs of his island.

And in compliance with the above Decree, I place this on the record.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 5 July 1787.

In faith whereof, I sign

Manuel Garrido,

Secretary for Administration and War.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 5 July 1787.

Please add to these Proceedings the letter from the Mayor of Agat, Don Leopardo Arceo, by which he advises that yesterday the two Carolinian canoes left for their Island, supplied with various food articles.

Arleguí.

[To] His Lordship the Governor.

My dear Sir: I report to Y.L. that the Carolinians left this morning. I gave them supplies of coconuts, watermelons and two jars of water.

---

1 Ed. note: A Chamorro word for a type of weeder, a tool consisting of a curved iron blade tied to a wooden pole.



May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

Agat, 4 July 1787.

The most affectionate and faithful servant of Y.L. who kisses your hand,  
Leopardo Arceo.

Note. The letter referred to in the previous Decree has been added to the record. And in faith whereof I so annotate this fact, and I sign.

Garrido.

Another.—I also add to this File the Chart that has been drawn by order of His Lordship the Governor, and is mentioned in the Proceeding of Examination, and in faith whereof, I so annotate this fact, and I sign.

Garrido.<sup>1</sup>

San Ignacio de Agaña, 6 July 1787.

Decree of remittal of this Record of Proceedings to the Superior Government of the Philippines, with a copy to be made for the Archive.

The present Secretary is to have the original copy of this file sent at the first opportunity to the Superior Government of the Philippine Islands, to report the visit of the two above-mentioned canoes to these islands, and he is to make a literal transcript to act as a proper record in the Archive under his care.

Arleguí.

Manuel Garrido,  
Secretary for Administration and War.

Note.—A literal transcript has been made, as ordered in the above Decree, to keep in the archives among the documents under my care.

Agaña, 6 July 1787.

Garrido.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The original map in question, in AHN, is totally broken up into pieces, due to the cheap Chinese paper used, in this document. Fortunately, there exists a copy in BL London, from which the present reproduction was made by all previous publishers.

### A3. Additional correspondence regarding this visit—July and August 1787

*Source: Also AHN Ultramar 5856, doc. 118.*

#### Original texts in Spanish.

*Sobre el asunto de esta Carta se hace mencion en la contextacion, que con fecha de 20 de Junio de 91 se dió à otra Carta del mismo Governador de 20 de Agosto de 89.*

*Nº 3.*

*M. Y. S.*

[Summary:]

*El Governador de Marianas da cuenta con diligencia de haver llegado dos Bancas con trece Hombres de la Ysla nombrada Lamursec, una de las Carolinas ó Palaos cuyo objeto declararon no ser otro que ver a dicho Governador quien los trató con la mayor dulzura, facilitandoles quanto necesitaron para su manutencion, y buelta.*

*En dichas Diligencias incluye un Mapa que formó por la descripcion que hizo el principal.*

*Con este motivo expresa las varias expediciones, que se han hecho en este siglo desde Filipinas, y Marianas al descubrimiento, y reduccion de dichas Yslas aunque todas infructuosas.*

*Mui Señor mio: El 27 de Mayo tube aviso del Alcalde de Agat, que la noche antes avían entrado en Orote dos Bancas de las Yslas Carolinas ó Palaos con 13 Hombres. Los hice conducir a la Villa de Umata donde me hallava a la espera de la Nao **San Andres**, los examinè por medio de otros dos Carolinos que años pasados llegaron desgariados, y aunque algo los entendían no lo nesesario. Hà resultado que son naturales de la nombrada Lamursec: Que traHEN seis dias de Navagacion, y que expresamente salieron para venir à Guajan à ver al Tamur: Asi llaman al Governador.*

*Son bastante Corpulentos robustos de aspecto vivo, y al parecer recatados: vienen enteramente desnudos exeptuando la cintura, que con una expecie de Faja la rodean y los Cuerpos pintados con varias figuras. Yó los he hecho bestir, y tratar con la mayor dulzura, y Cariño dandoles todo lo necesario para su manutencion, y algunas otras cosas de regalo por si este principio de agrado, puede en lo subcesivo facilitar alguna comunicacion que conduzga à la extencion de nuestra santa religion, y aumento de los Dominios de Nuestro Rey, y Señor.*

*Remito à V.S. las Diligencias Originales actuadas, yncluso en ellas un Mapa que hè formado por la descripcion que hà hecho el principal llamado Tamur (Capitan) Umal Luito de las dichas Carolinas, ó Palaos, por medio de unos granos de Mais de que con Cedula se señalaron los Nombres; pero no HÀN podido explicar los rumbos a que demoran.*

*Les persuadí a que se quedasen, pero dijeron querían bolver à su Tierra para traer à los otros Tamures; y verificaron su salida el quatro de Julio. De todo lo qual me hà*

*parecido informar à V.S. con la posible extencion por ser una novedad extraña, pues aqui solo se acuerdan de aver benido otros siete Hombres el año de sinquenta y seis, à cinquenta y siete, en una Banca desgarrada, pero estos estaban fuertes, y buenos con abundancia de Cocos, y Rimas que ès su comida ordinaria.*

*Con este motivo no me parece fuera de proposito expresar las repetidas aunque mal logradas expediciones que se han echo para la reduccion de dichas Yslas Carolinas ó Palaos.*

*A consecuencia de Real Cedula de mil setecientos cinco se hicieron desde las Yslas Filipinas varias expediciones al descubrimiento, y reduccion de ellas en los años de ocho, nueve, diez, y once, pero todas con desgraciado suceso de naufragios, y otros infortunios, y aunque el año de diez desembarcaron en una dos Misioneros de la extinguida Compañia con otras varias personas, no habiendose podido mantener el Paquebot en que fueron por malos tiempos se largó, y quedaron desamparados, y se supo despues por medio de unos desgarrados que los havian muerto à Palos.*

*Por los años de veinte, y cinco, treinta y una, y treinta y tres se repetieron los esfuerzos desde Marianas por las vibas solicitudes del Padre Juan Antonio Cantova, en cumplimiento de otra Real Cedula de mil setecientos quince pero en ninguna de las tres tentativas se logró mejor suceso. En la primera se desgarraron para las Filipinas sin poder ver las que buscavan: En la segunda tomaron tierra en la Ysla nombrada Falalep, y habiendo quedado dicho Padre con catorce Hombres entre soldados, y Criados salio su Compañero el Padre Walter en el mismo Barco, para volverse a estas Marianas, y las corrientes, y tiempos contrarios le llevaron à Filipinas de donde volvio para seguir los descubrimientos, y habiendo emprendido el tercer viage, y llegado à las inmediaciones de dicha Ysla de Falalep, no vieron rastro de las señas que acordaron, por lo que se sospechó havian sido todos vigtimas [sic] de los gentiles: Lo que verificaron por uno que pudieron cojer Abordo que les hiso relacion del modo en que mataron a dicho Padre Cantova, y sus compañeros de Escolta.*

*En este Archivo hay razón de dichas tres ultimas salidas pero nada del buen o mal exito, pero todo esto con otras particularidades las trae el Padre Murillo en su Historia de Filipinas.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.*

*San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas 8 de Julio de 1787.*

*M. Y.S.*

*B..m. de V.S. su mas rendido servidor,*

*Joseph Arleguí y Leóz.*

*Al Y.S. D. José Basco, y Bargas, Governador y Capitan General de Filipinas.*

### Translation.

Regarding the matter of this letter, mention was made of it in the answer dated 20 June 1791, to another letter from the same Governor dated 20 August 1789.

N° 3.

Most Illustrious Sir:

[Summary:] The Governor of the Marianas reports, enclosing a record of proceedings, that two canoes with 13 men have arrived from the Island named Lamursec, one of the Carolines or Palaos, for the only purpose, they said, of visiting said Governor, who treated them with the highest kindness, and provided them with everything they needed for their stay, and return voyage.

In said Proceedings there is a Chart that he drew, from the information given by the chief.

He takes this opportunity to mention the various expeditions that have been made in this century from the Philippines, and Marianas, to explore, and reduce said Islands, although they have all been unsuccessful.

My dear Sir: On the 27th of May, I received a message from the Mayor of Agat, saying that on the previous evening two canoes from the Caroline or Palaos islands had come into Orote with 13 men on board. I had them taken to the Town of Umatac where I was then waiting for the galleon **San Andrés**. I examined them through two other Carolinians who had drifted here in previous years, and although they did not understand much, it was enough. It turned out that they were natives of the Island named Lamursec; that they took six days to get here, and that they had come to Guajan only to see the Tamur (so they call the Governor).

They are rather corpulent, robust, lively in appearance, and apparently on their guard. They come entirely naked, except for the waist, which is wrapped in a sort of sash. Their bodies are tattooed with various figures. I ordered that clothes be given them, and that they be treated with the greatest kindness, and affection, by giving them everything they needed for their stay, and some other things as gifts, in case they should be pleased enough to return, and continue some communication that might lead to the extension of our holy religion, and an increase in the Dominions of our King, and Lord.

I remit to Y.L. the original copy of the Record of Proceedings, including among them one Chart that I have drawn according to the description made by the chief named Tamur (i.e. Captain) Umal Luito of said Caroline or Palaos, Islands, by means of some grains of corn, and some labels to record their names; however, he was unable to explain the relative courses between them.

I tried to persuade them to stay, but they said that they had to return to their country to bring back the other Tamurs; and they indeed left on the 4th of July. I thought that it would be a good idea to report all of the above to Y.L. in all possible details, since it was a strange novelty; indeed, the people here only remember 7 other men who drifted here, between 1756 and 1757, in one canoe, but our latest visitors were strong and well, and carried an abundance of coconuts and breadfruit, which are their ordinary food.

I take this opportunity to recall the numerous, though unsuccessful, expeditions that were made for the reduction of said Caroline or Palaos Islands.

As a consequence of the Royal Decree of 1705, various expeditions were made from the Philippine Islands to explore, and reduce, them in the years of 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, but all met with an unfortunate end, such as shipwrecks, and other mishaps, and although in that of 1710 two Missionaries of the abolished Society did land on one island with various other persons, their packet boat was unable to overcome the bad weather and left, and they were marooned there, and it was learned afterwards, through some drifters, that they had been beaten to death with sticks.

In the years of 1725, 1731, and 1733, efforts were renewed from the Marianas, as a result of the activity of Father Juan Antonio Cantova, in compliance of another Royal decree of 1715, but none of the three attempts was more successful. The first attempt resulted in their drifting to the Philippines without sighting any of the islands they were seeking. In the second attempt they landed on the Island named Falalep and, said Father having stayed behind with 14 men, including soldiers and servants, his companion, Father Walter, left with the same ship, to return to these Marianas, but the contrary currents and winds carried them to the Philippines, whence it came back, to pursue the explorations of said Island of Falalep, but they could not find any remains or signs left of them. That is why they suspected that they had all been killed by the heathen. This they were able to confirm, by capturing one native on board the ship, who made a narrative of the manner used in the killing of said Father Cantova, and the men in his company.

In this Archive there are documents about the last three expeditions but nothing said about the good or bad outcome; however, all of the above story, plus other details, are given by Father Murillo in his History of the Philippines.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 8 July 1787.

Most Illustrious Sir.

The most obliging servant of Y.L. who kisses your hand,

José ]Arleguí y Leóz.

To His Lordship Don José Basco y Bargas, Governor and Captain General of the Philippines.

---

## Documents 1787B

---

# Letter of appointment of Governor Arleguí y Leóz

*Source: AGI Fil. 345, libro 15, fol. 234-237, pp. 517-523.*

*Notes: It is worth noting that the modern titles for military ranks are appearing for the first time here, notably that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Also the text of the letter of appointment has been standardized.*

### B1. Title of Governor, dated San Ildefonso 21 July 1787

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Titulo de Governador de las Islas Marianas para el teniente coronel Don Josef Arlegui y Leoz Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon en las Islas Filipinas.— Fecho por triplicado. V.M. lo mando. Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*Don Carlos por la Gracia de Dios, &a.*

*Por quanto en atencion al merito y servicios de vos el teniente coronel Don Josef Arlegui y Leoz Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon en las Islas Filipinas: he venido por mi Real Decreto de 7 de Junio de este año en conferiros como por el presente mi Real titulo os confiero el Gobierno de las Islas Marianas. Por tanto mando al Governador de Filipinas, y al Presidente y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de ellas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila que tomen y recivan de vos el nominado Don Josef Arlegui y Leoz el Juramento acostumbrado si ya no lo huvieris hecho con la solemnidad que en tal caso se requiere y debeis hacer de que bien y fielmente servireis el mencionado Gobierno, y que habiendole executado y puestose testimonio de ello à espaldas de este titulo os pongan en posesion de èl y que os entreguen los Despachos è Instrucciones que se huvieren dado à vuestros antecesores, dando la residencia en la referida mi Real Audiencia de Filipinas. Y asimismo ordeno al enunciado Presidente y Oidores de ella y à los demas Jueces y Ministros de los Tribunales de aquellas Islas y à los vecinos y moradores de la Juridiccion del enunciado Gobierno de las Islas Marianas que os hayan y tengan por tal Governador de ellas; y os guarden, y hagan guardar todas las honras, gracias, mercedes, inmunidades, prerrogativas, exempciones y preeminencias que os tocan, sin limitacion alguna. Y tambien mando que se os asista con ciento y diez pesos de sueldo al mes, que es el que está asignado à este empleo pagandoseos de los efectos de mi Real Hacienda y à los tiempos y plazos á que se satisfacieren los sueldos de la*

*gente de Guerra del Presidio de las nominadas Islas Marianas desde el dia en que tomareis posesion en adelante por todo el tiempo que sirviereis el expresado Gobierno; que en virtud de este titulo ó su traslado signado de Escrivano publico y vuestras cartas de pago sera bien dado todo lo que por esta razon se os satisfaciere sin otro recado alguno y declaro que por esta merced y por el sueldo que aveis de gozar no dabeis cantidad alguna al derecho de la Media Annata respecto de que tengo declarados por de Guerra viva los empleos militares de los Presidios de mis Reynos de las Indias, y no causarla los que me sirven en ellos.*

*Y de este mi Real titulo se tomará la razon en las Contadurias generales, de Valores, Distribuciones de mi Real Hacienda y de mi Consejo de las Indias dentro de dos meses de su data, y no executandolo asi quedará nula esta gracia, y tambien se tomará por los Oficiales Reales de la referida Ciudad de Manila.*

*Dado en San Ildefonso à 21 de Julio de 1787.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Yo Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco, Secretario del Rey nuestro Señor lo hize escribir por su mandado.*

### **Translation.**

Title of Governor of the Mariana Islands for Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon in the Philippine Islands.— Done in triplicate. As ordered by Y.M.. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

Charles by the grace of God, etc.

Lieutenant-Colonel Don José Arleguí y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon in the Philippine Islands: In view of thine merit and services rendered, I have decided by my Royal decree of 7 June last, to grant thee the post of official Governor of the Mariana Islands. Consequently, I order the Governor of the Philippines, and the President and Members of my Royal Audiencia there, which resides in the City of Manila, to take and receive from thee, the above-mentioned José Arleguí y Leoz, the customary oath, if they have not already done so, with the solemnity that is required in such cases, thou swearing to serve well and faithfully in the above-said governorship. Once this will have been done, and a testimony thereof placed on the reverse side of this letter of appointment, they must also deliver to thee the despatches and instructions that might have been given to your predecessors, subject to a management audit by the above-mentioned my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands.

In addition, I order the above-mentioned President and Members of it, and the other Judges and Ministers of the Tribunals of those Islands, and the residents of the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government of the Mariana Islands, to observe and make others observe all of the honors, favors, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions,

and pre-eminences belonging to thee, without any restriction whatever. And I also order them to assist thee with one hundred and ten pesos of salary per month, which is the one assigned to this position,<sup>1</sup> paying it to you out of the moneys in my Royal treasury, and at the same times and frequencies as for the salaries of the military men of the garrison of the above-mentioned Mariana Islands, from the day in which thou shall take possession of it forward, for the whole time period in which thou shall serve in the above-mentioned post of Governor; and by virtue of this letter of appointment, or a copy of it certified by a notary public, plus your pay record card, should be considered ample and sufficient authorization to collect same, without any other proof being required; and I declare that for this favor and for the salary that thou shall enjoy, thou shall not have to pay any sum in excise tax, or so-called *Media Annata*, because I have declared the military positions in the garrisons of my Kingdoms of the Indies as situated in war zones, and it does not apply to those who serve there.

And the Accountants General in the pay sections of my Royal treasuries are to take note of the present my Royal letter of appointment, within two months of its date, as otherwise that favor will become null and void, and also the accountants of the above-mentioned City of Manila.

Made at San Ildefonso, 21 July 1787.

I the King.

I, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco, Secretary of the King our Lord, had the present written, by his order.

## **B2. Letter from the King to the Audiencia of Manila, dated San Ildefonso 21 July 1787**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*A la Audiencia de Manila ordenandola no embie Jueces de Comision al Gobierno de las Islas Marianas y que las causas que se ofrecieren las remita à aquel Governador.—V.M. lo mando. Fho. por duplicado. Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*El Rey.*

*Presidente y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Filipinas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila. Por mi Real Titulo de fecha de este dia he hecho merced al Teniente Coronel Don Josef Arlegui y Leoz Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon del Gobierno de las Islas Marianas; y porque se suelen embiar por esa Audiencia Jueces de Comision por causas leves y con salarios excesivos en que los vecinos de aquella Jurisdiccion reciben agravios, os ordeno, y mando, que de aqui en adelante no proveais Jueces de Comision para la Jurisdiccion del expresado Gobierno, sino que las causas que se ofrecieren las remitais à aquel Governador, excepto en los casos inescusables y pre-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: It is worth noting that this salary has remained unchanged for one century, ever since Master-of-Camp Saravia was appointed first official Governor.



*cisos, y en estos será à costa de los que la pidieren, con apercivimiento que de lo contrario se proveerá de remedio.*

*Fecha en San Ildefonso à 21 de Julio de 1787.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

### **Translation.**

To the Audiencia of Manila, ordering them not to send Judge Commissioners to the Government of the Marianas and that legal cases that might occur be remitted to that Governor.—As Y.M. has ordered.—Made in triplicate. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

The King.

President and Members of my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands that resides in the City of Manila.

By my Royal letter of appointment of this date, I have favored Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, with the governorship of the Mariana Islands; and because the practice of that Audiencia has been to send Judge Commissioners to hear light cases and with excessive salaries by which the residents of that jurisdiction suffer damages, I order you, from now on, not to provide Judge Commissioners for the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government; instead, the cases that might occur are to be remitted to that Governor, except in indispensable and necessary cases, and in such cases the [court] costs will be paid by the plaintiffs, with the proviso that otherwise the amount will be part of the sentence.

Made at San Ildefonso, 21 July 1787.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,  
Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

## **B3. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Ildefonso 21 July 1787**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Al Gobernador de Filipinas ordenandole haga dar posesion del Gobierno de las Islas Marianas al teniente coronel Don Josef Arlegui y Leoz Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon.—V.M. lo mandó. Fecho por triplicado. Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*El Rey.*

*Gobernador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por mi Real Titulo de fecha de este dia he hecho merced al teniente coronel Don Josef de Arlegui y Leoz Comandante de Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon en esas mis-*

*mas Islas del Gobierno de las Marianas en la forma que por el citado titulo lo entenderéis y porque mi voluntad es que no se ponga embarazo al entero y puntual cumplimiento de esta merced ni se delate la posesion con ningun pretexto ni motivo segun y por las razones que se expresan en el mencionado titulo, he querido participaroslo para que lo observeis precisamente como os lo mando, y me deis quenta de averlo executado para hallarme enterado de ello.*

*Fecha en San Ildefonso à 21 de Julio de 1787.*

*Yo el Rey.*

*Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor,  
Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

### **Translation.**

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to arrange for the governorship of the Mariana Islands to be given to Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon.—As Y.M. has ordered. Made in triplicate. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

The King.

[To the] Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, residing in the City of Manila.

By this my Royal letter of appointment of this date, I have favored Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon in those same Islands, with the governorship of the Mariana Islands, in the form that you will see in said letter of appointment. And since it is my will that there be no hindrance to the complete and ready compliance with this favor, there shall be no delay or pretext, nor excuse, in so doing, for the reasons expressed in said document, I have decided to let you know of it, so that you observe it precisely (as I order you to do now) and you are to report to me on action taken, so that I may be kept fully informed.

Made at San Ildefonso, 21 July 1787.

I the King.

By order of the King our Lord,  
Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

---

## Notes 1787C

---

# The ship **Warren Hastings**, Captain **John P. Larkins**

### C1. The previous 1785-86 voyage to China

*Source: Log 9C, India Office, London.*

#### Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Larkins.

...  
 [The passage used on the outbound voyage was the China Sea. On 7 August 1785, this ship met the **Royal Charlotte**, Captain Watson from Bombay bound to China, a country trader. The ship left China on 5 January 1786 and returned by way of the China Sea also.]

### C2. Note about the 1787 voyage

*Source: Log 9D, India Office, London.*

#### Extract from the logbook kept by F. William Leigh, Chief Mate

...  
 [In December 1787, this ship came through the Moluccas and the SW corner of Micronesia on the way to China.]

Sunday December 23rd 1787

Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. Kept a good lookout in the night. The first island we saw I take to be the Island of [Pulo] Ana Long. 131°10' E. of Greenwich 50 miles to the Eastward of what I made last voyage, Distance from Kerkalong 4°23' E.—The second island [I] make it lay in Lat 4°20' N Long 131°35 E. of Greenwich [= Meriere] and Distant from Kerkalong 48' E.

...  
 Saturday December 29th 1787

... At daylight saw a small island bearing N distant 4 miles. Three others from the mast head bearing NNW, N by W & N by E. Hauled off NW. A canoe standing after us, lay too for her, came very near alongside, hailed them to come on board. Finding

them scared of coming alongside, and the breeze freshening, made sail. There was 12 men in the boat, much painted about their bodies, a great quantity of hair on their heads, the features of the face quite Malay.

Lat. Obs. 0°27' N

[At noon] Lat. 0°20' N Long. by reckoning, 133°46' E. by obs., 136°36' E by Watch.<sup>1</sup>

[Two days later, the ship had already reached a Lat. of 10° N. without seeing any more island. The return voyage took place through the China Sea.]

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Possibly the Aju Islands.

---

 Documents 1787D
 

---

## The Spanish ships of 1787

### D1. The ship *Rey Carlos*, Captain Ansoátegui, of the Royal Philippine Company

*Sources: AGI Fil. 987; MN 584, fol. 1-10.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Correspondencia seguida por Don Alexandro Malaspina con los Directores de la Compañia de Filipinas.*

...

*Propuesta echa por la Junta de Directores al Señor Ministro de Yndias en 15 de Mayo.*

*El Capitan de fragata Don Alexandro de Malaspina, Cavallero del Orden de S. Juan, solicita sele dé el mando de uno de los Buques de la Compania, que en este año vaian a Philipinas, dejando a su eficacia e inteligencia, correr con el armamento, arreglo de tripulacion, sueldos, Rancho y todos los demas objetos de esta Expedicion, asi de Yda, como de venida, asegurando que la Compañia, encontrara, unos ahorros, y ventajas considerables, sobre las Expediciones que acava de hacer, y un Sistema científico, y arreglado para las sucesivas.*

*La Direccion de la Compañia ... es del Dictamen que sele dè dicho Mando, con entera facultad de arreglar, y dirigir la Expedicion a su modo...*

...

[Letter to Malaspina]

*Muy Señor Nuestro.*

*La Junta de Gobierno, y Direccion de esta Real Compañia de Philipinas ha nombrado a V.S. por Comandante de nuestra fragata **Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion**, alias el **Rey Carlos** de Porte de 600 Toneladas Españolas, forrada en cobre que se acava de construir en el Puerto de Pasage y deve trasladarse a Cadiz en el proximo Mes de Junio para que tocando en Malaga, y recorriendo en ambas partes Carga de cuenta de la Compañia, salga este año en el tiempo que se señale, para Manila con Scala en Montevideo, donde dejando los efectos que alli se destinen, recibir quinientos mil Pesos .\$. que le subministrará el Rey, y seguira à Philipinas para regresar à Cadiz con Cargamento de la Compañia en su Stacion oportuna.*

*Haviendo dado parte a los Señores Ministros de Yndias, y Marina de este Nombroamiento le han aprobado, y para darles cuenta de oficio esperamos la Contestacion de V.S.*

*Por un efecto de la confianza que tenemos en la acreditada conducta, e inteligencia de V.S., sele concede este mando con las facultades mas amplias de correr exclusivamente con el armamento, y todos los demas objetos de la Expedicion, asi de Yda como de venida, arreglandola, y distinguiendola V.S. a su modo, y entendiendose en derechura con esta Direccion, a quien estará subordinado, y en el Asia a la de Manila.*

*De esta confianza, y del conocido Talento, y experiencia de V.S., solicita Juntamente la Compañia sacar un Partido ventajoso a sus Yntereses en todas las partes que corresponden al arreglo Economia, utilidad, y feliz Exito de dicha Empresa en sus objetos maritimo y Comerciante para cuio efecto dispondra V.S. el Plan que tenga por conveniente, y nos lo comunicará.*

*Como aun no se halla en ese Puerto el referido Buque el **Rey Carlos**, y hasta que V.S. lo reciva dá algun tiempo para avisarle todo lo demas que se nos ofrezca sobre esta Expedicion, nos limitamos por ahora a lo expuesto esperando tambien el contesto de V.S. sobre lo principal que deve preceder, y es la aceptacion de dicho Encargo, y lo que fuese servido.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.S. muchos años.*

*Madrid 30 de Maio de 86.*

*B.L.M. de V.S. sus humildes servidores.*

*Por la Real Compañia de Philipinas sus Directores:*

*Vicente Rodriguez de Rivas*

*Manuel Franco de Soarezti*

*Gaspar Leal*

*Señor Don Alejandro Malaspina.*

## **Translation.**

### **Correspondence between Alexandro Malaspina and the Directors of the Company of the Philippines.**

...

#### **Proposal made by the Court of Directors to the Minister of the Indies on 15 May.**

Navy Commander Alexandro Malaspina, Knight of the Order of St. John, requests that he be given the command of one of the Company's ships that will go to the Philippines this year, and that we should trust to his efficiency and intelligence the business of outfitting her, arranging for a crew, the salaries, the food supplies and all of the other objects of this Expedition, in both directions. He assures the Company that he will make some savings, and considerable advantages, as compared with the Expeditions that he has just made, and that he will develop a scientific system to guide future expeditions.

The Directors of the Company ... have decided to give him the command in question, with full authority to arrange and direct the Expedition as he wishes...

...

[Letter to Malaspina]

Our dear Sir:

The Court of Directors of this Royal Company of the Philippines has appointed Y.L. Commander of our frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, alias **Rey Carlos**, of 600 Spanish tons, copper-clad, whose construction has just been completed in the Port of Pasage and must be taken to Cadiz next June, so that by touching at Malaga, and collecting in both places a cargo on the account of the Company, she may leave this year, at a time to be determined, for Manila, making a stopover in Montevideo, where, after leaving the merchandise shipped to that port, would receive 500,000 pesos to be provided by the King, before continuing her voyage to the Philippines, to return to Cadiz with a load to be provided by the Company in due course.

Having reported this appointment to the Minister of the Indies, and Minister of the Navy, they have approved it. Therefore, we only await an answer from Y.L. before advising them formally.

As a result of the trust that we have in the proven conduct and intelligence of Y.L., we grant this command to you with the greater responsibilities of looking after the outfitting, and all of the other objects of the Expedition, in both directions, by arranging and distinguishing it as you please, by dealing with this Directorate directly, as you will be responsible to it, except that in Asia, you will report to our Manila office.

From this trust, and from the known talent and experience of Y.L., the Company as a whole expects that you will effect great savings in all of the aspects of the economic arrangement, profit, and success of said enterprise in its maritime and commercial objects. To this effect, Y.L. is to elaborate the Plan that you believe appropriate, and communicate it to us.

Since the above-mentioned ship, the **Rey Carlos**, is not yet in that port, and until Y.L. take over her command, there will be enough time for us to advise you of anything that might offer regarding this Expedition. For now, we limit ourselves to what is said herein, and we remain in wait of the answer of Y.L. about the main point, your acceptance of said Command, and anything else that may be of your pleasure.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

Madrid, 30 May 1786.

The humble servants of Y.L. who kiss your hand,

Vicente Rodriguez de Rivas

Manuel Franco de Soarezti

Gaspar Leal

[To] His Lordship Alexandro Malaspina.

...

[However, Malaspina, and his Mate, Lieutenant Luis de la Concha, were re-assigned to the **Astrea**, a navy ship on loan to the RPC (see Doc. 1787E).]

...

## D2. The galleon *San Andrés*, Lieutenant-Commander Pedro Basco

### Introduction.

Sources: AGI Fil. 953 (formerly 108-4-3/6); AGN Fil. 15; MN 584.

Note: AGI Fil. 953 only contains information about the 1786-87 voyage from Manila to Acapulco. It is a 3-inch bound file, good for information on Manila traders in 1786.

AGN Fil. 15, fol. 198 is a list of the cargo aboard the *San Andrés* upon arrival at Acapulco, along with their corresponding shipping marks. There was a total of 1,351 bundles, 653 crates, 40 half-crates, and 31 “Jáen toscos,”<sup>1</sup> amounting to 2,135 pieces, or entries on the manifest. There were other private goods on board, and “25 crates and 2 bundles destined for the College of San Juan de Letrán in the Mariana Islands, marked Az and to be delivered to its Father Rector upon the return voyage.” The above report was signed by Manuel Gonzalez de Rivero in January 1787.

This galleon had sailed from Manila Bay on 14 July 1786 and followed the ‘new’ route north of Luzon. The following is a report on her eastward voyage.

### Letter from the officials of Acapulco to Audiencia of New Spain, dated Acapulco 22 January 1787

AGN Fil. 15, fol. 200-201.

#### Original text in Spanish.

Nº 16. Castellano y Oficiales Reales de Acapulco. Participan el arribo del Navio de Filipinas.

M.P.S. [=Muy Poderoso Señor]

Ayer entro en esta Bahía la Fragata de S.M. *San Andrés* procedente de Filipinas del Cargo de su Comandante Don Pedro Vasco, a cuyo bordo nos transferimos inmediatamente con el resguardo acostumbrado para hacerle su visita de Entrados.

De esta ha resultado haver salido de Cavite puerto principal de la Ysla de Luzon el 14 de Julio, y llegado a Aparri el 23 de donde salió el 25 por la tarde: Que en la misma noche tuvo un tiempo que le obligo á desarbolar del palo mayor y de mesana: Que avisó las costas de N.E. el 27 de Diciembre, y llegó á San Blas el 28, no habiendo tocado en Monterrey por los malos tiempos que experimentó: Que salió de San Blas para este puerto el día 1º del corriente. El Maestre que lo és Don Manuel Gonzalez de Rivero dixo no traer mas carga que la del Rexistro que exhibió, y no venir nada por alto ni de contravando, ni menos haver descargado cosa alguna; y habiendo entregado los libros de sobordo, y las llaves de la bodega, se pusieron estas en poder del Guarda mayor, recomendandole no se execute extraccion alguna sin correspondiente orden de este Ministerio.

---

1 Ed. note: Or maybe “jæz toscos”; probably some odd-shaped bundles bound with leather straps.



*Haviendo quedado enfermo en San Blas el Contador Don Manuel Padilla, que pasará á este Puerto luego que su salud se lo permita, hace de Contador el Oficial de detalles, Don Eugenio de Viera, el qual exhibió las Listas de tripulacion y Guarnicion, y haviendose pasado revista, resultó haver desembarcado 40 hombres por enfermos en San Blas, y tenido 36 muertos en la navegacion, y que trae de pasajeros los Yndividuos que constan de las listas que incluimos á V. A. haviendo desembarcado en San Blas el Contador Real que fué de Manila, y ahora provisto de Guanajuato, Don Juan Antonio del Corral con su Muger, tres hijos, y tres Criados, que desde alli se debian dirigir á su destino, igualmente que el Pasajero Don José Velarde, que se puso en camino desde alli para Mexico con licencia del Comandante.*

*La carga se compone de 2.042 piezas, segun verá V.A. por el adjunto Libro de sobordo, uno de los dos que llevamos dicho haver recogido y va rubricado de nuestra mano conforme á lo que en el Artículo 13 del Reglamento y 18 de las Adicciones se nos ordena, cuyo valor asciende á 735.215 pesos y 6 granos de capital en Manila, segun la demostracion general que nos remiten aquellos Oficiales de que dirigiremos á V.A. copia fiel en el correo proximo, sin comprehension de algunos pequeños regalos, que nunca han merecido consideracion, pero de que se cobrará el correspondiente Derecho contentandonos por ahora pasar á V.A. con respecto á lo urgente del tiempo solo un resumen de las piezas de comercio que comprehenden el mismo Libro con los nombres de sus Dueños.*

*Con este motivo despachamos á V.A. el Extraordinario que es costumbre, y reiterandole nuestra obediencia, y respeto, suplicamos á Vuestro Señor guarde su vida muchos años.*

*Acapulco 22 de enero de 1787.*

*M.P.S.*

*Rafael Vasco Juan Gayarre Juan José de Torres*

*[A los] Señores Presidente Regente y Oidores de la Audiencia Governadora de N.E.*

#### **Translation.**

Nº 16. The Warden and royal officials of Acapulco report the arrival of the Philippine galleon.

My dear Sir:

Yesterday H.M.'s frigate **San Andrés** came into this bay proceeding from the Philippines under the command of Pedro Vasco. We immediately went on board her with the usual escort of guards to carry out the customs inspection.

We found out that she had left Cavite, the main port of the Island of Luzon, on 14 July, and arrived at Aparri on 23rd, whence she left on the 25th in the afternoon, but that same night she encountered a storm that forced them to cut down the main mast and the mizzen mast. They sighted the coast of New Spain on 27 December, and arrived at San Blas on the 28th. They did not touch at Monterrey on account of the bad weather along the way. They left San Blas for this port on the 1st instant. The Master, who is Manuel Gonzalez de Rivero, said that there was no freight other than what was

listed on the manifest which he exhibited, and that there was nothing over that, no contraband goods, and much less anything that would have been unloaded along the way. He then handed over the manifest and the keys to the hold which were handed over to the guard officer, with a recommendation that he was not to let anything be taken out without the corresponding order from this Ministry.

Since the Accountant, Manuel Padilla, has remained sick in San Blas (he will come to this port when his health will let him) the routine officer, Eugenio de Viera, is acting in his place. Said Viera exhibited the lists of the crew and the garrison. Having reviewed same, it turned out that 40 men had disembarked and remained at San Blas because of sickness, and that 36 had died during the voyage. As for the passengers, their names appear on the list that we enclose for Your Highness. One of them, Don Juan Antonio del Corral, the former Royal Accountant at Manila, who has been transferred to Guanajuato, disembarked at San Blas, along with his wife, three children, and three servants, and were to make their way overland to Guanajuato. Similarly, the passenger Don José Velarde was travelling from there to Mexico with the permission of the commander.

The cargo consists of 2,042 pieces, as Your Highness will see from the manifest, attached, one of two copies which, as we have said, we collected and to which we added our signatures, in accordance with Article 13 of the Regulation and 18 of the Additions. Its value amounts to 735,215 pesos and 6 grains of capital in Manila, according to the general statement that those officials remitted to us, a certified copy of which we will remitten to Your Highness by the next mail. Not included in this value are some small gifts that are never of any consideration, but upon which will be charged the corresponding duty. For now, because of urgency, we content ourselves with forwarding to Your Highness a summary list of the pieces, or trade goods, that are listed in said manifest, along with the names of their owners.

For this purpose, we are despatching to Your Highness the usual express courier, and use the opportunity to reiterate our obedience, and respect, begging Our Lord to save your life for many years.

Acapulco, 22 January 1787.

Your Highness.

Rafael Basco Juan Gayarre Juan José de Torres

[To the] Gentlemen President Regent and Members of the Governing Audiencia of New Spain.

### **D3. The frigate San Felipe, Captain Francisco Mourelle**

*Sources: MN 584, fol. 75; AGN...*

#### **Letter from Malaspina to the Minister of the Navy**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Excelentísimo Señor:*

*No ocultaré a V.E. que movido de un sincero agradecimiento, de un verdadero Amor a el Cuerpo, y de un constante deseo de distinguirme, tengo alguna Complacencia en comunicarle las Noticias del feliz Viage de la **Astrea**, que ha fondeado en Cavite en 14 de Mayo...*

...  
*Se esperan con Anxia la Nao de Acapulco el **San Andres** mandada por el Theniente de Fragata Don Pedro Vasco; y el Navio **San Felipe**, igualmente del Rey, que esta al cargo del Piloto Graduado Don Francisco Mourelle; con Carga de la Compañia salio de Canton ha veinte y cinco dias: Hará la vela a principios de Julio la Nao **San Josef** a el Cargo del Alférez de Navio Don Francisco Basco: y por el mismo tiempo esperamos, que llegue con felicidad el **Rey Carlos** de la Real Compañia.*

...  
*Dios guarde la importante Vida de V.E. por muchos años.  
 Manila à 17 de Julio de 1787.  
 Excelentísimo Señor Bailio Don Antonio Valdés.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

I will not hide to Y.E., moved as I am by a sincere gratitude, a true love for the Corps, and a constant desire to distinguish myself, the pleasure that I have in communicating to you the news of the successful voyage of the **Astrea** that anchored at Cavite on the 14th of May...

...  
 News are anxiously awaited of the Acapulco galleon, the **San Andrés**, commanded by Lieutenant Pedro Basco; and of the ship **San Felipe**, also belonging to the King, that is commanded by the Certified Pilot, Don Francisco Mourelle, with cargo belonging to the Company; he left Canton 25 days ago. The galleon **San José** commanded by Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Basco will sail at the beginning of July; and at about the same time we expect the successful arrival of the RPC ship **Rey Carlos**.

...  
 May God save the important life of Y.E. for many years.  
 Manila, 17 July 1787.  
 [To] His Excellency Bailiff Don Antonio Valdés.

## **D4. The galleon San José, Navy Lieutenant Francisco Basco, eastward in 1787**

*Sources: AGI Fil. 338, libro 21, fol. 98v-99v, pp. 288-290; MN 584; AGN Fil. 19-45.*

*Note: This Basco was probably a relative of the Governor General of the Philippines, Brigadier José Basco, whose term of office terminated that year.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Carta. Al Gobernador de Filipinas avisandole el recivo de su carta en que dió quenta con testimonio de las providencias que avia dado para el apresto y salida de la Fragata **San Josef** con el permiso ordinario de aquel comercio y de aver permitido, sin exemplar que viajase à Acapulco por el estrecho de San Bernardino en virtud de los clamores del Consulado.—Firmada del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*En carta de 30 de Junio del año proximo pasado, dió V.S. quenta con testimonio de las providencias que avia dado para que la Fragata **San Josef** se aprestase en la forma ordinaria y conveniente para hacer viage al Puerto de Acapulco con los Pliegos del Real servicio y carga anual de ese Comercio al mando del Alferez de Navio de la Real Armada Don Francisco Josef Basco y Rocha; haciendo su derrota por el embocadero de San Bernardino no obstante lo dispuesto por S.M. para que fuesen las Naos por el cabo de Bojeador, cuya Real determinazion avia sido inconcusamente observada durante su Gobierno sin averse experimentado otra desgracia que la perdida del Navio **San Pedro** que probablemente avia sido, ocasionada de incendio en la Mar segun los fragmentos que se encontraron, y noticias que tuvieron; expresando V.S. que el comercio de esas Islas avia atribuido dha desgracia à la variacion del antiguo rumbo, sin acordarse de las muchas perdidas y arriadas que avia tenido en seguirle; por lo que avia insistido con mayor viveza à causa tambien del uracán que sufrió à la vista de Aparri Provincia de Cagayan el Navio **San Andres** el año anterior el mismo dia que se levó de aquella Rada para el Golfo, y que aunque despues de cesado el tiempo se avia visto el Bagel y tenido posteriores noticias de que iba velegrado haciendo rumbo para el Golfo, como no tenían las de su recalada à esas Islas, avian crecido mas sus temores, en cuya consideracion y siendo un asunto en que se veriaban crecidos intereses se avia visto V.S. despues de aver oido al Comandante del Arsenal de Cavite y al Ministro Asesor del Gobierno precisado à atender, à los clamores del comercio que le hizo presente el Tribunal de ese Consulado accediendo sin exemplar à la solicitud de remitir dha Nao por el estrecho de San Bernardino:*

*Y habiendose visto en el Consejo con lo que en su inteligencia expuso mi Fiscal, ha acordado dé à V.S. aviso como lo executo del recivo de la citada carta y testimonio y que queda enterado de su contexto.*

*Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.*

*Madrid 21 de Mayo de 1788.*

*Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

### Translation.

Letter to the Governor of the Philippines, acknowledging the receipt of his letter in which he reported, along with a record of proceedings, the measures that he had taken to have the frigate **San José** made ready and leave with the usual cargo permitted to that trade, and that he had given his permission for her to travel to Acapulco by way

of the Strait of San Bernardino, in view of the reclamations made by the trade council.—Signed by the Secretary, Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

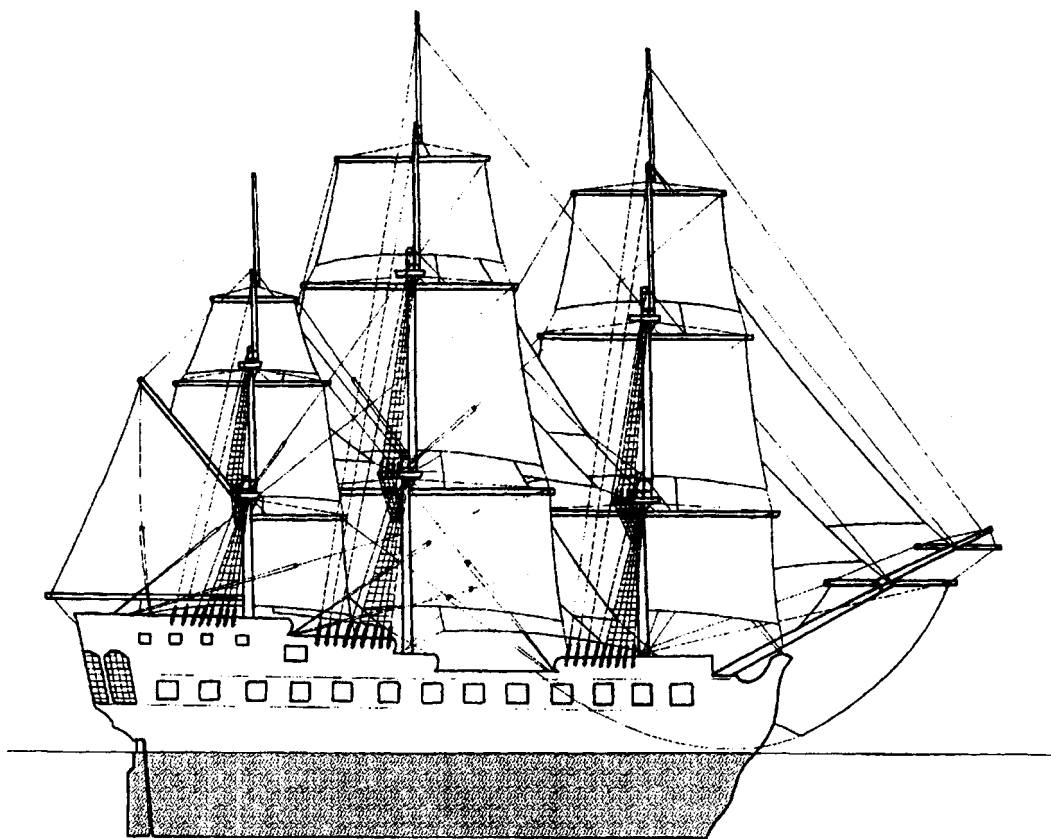
In your letter dated 30 June of last year, Your Lordship reported, along with a record of proceedings, the measures that you had taken for the frigate **San José** to be made ready in the usual manner, enough to make the voyage to the Port of Acapulco with the Royal mail and the yearly cargo of that trade, under the command of Navy Lieutenant Francisco José Basco y Rocha; the voyage was to be made by way of the Strait of San Bernardino, notwithstanding the order of H.M. for the galleons to use the route of Cape Bojeador—an order that had been undeniably obeyed during your term of office, with no misfortune other than the loss of the galleon **San Pedro** [in 1782] which was probably caused by fire at sea, according to the flotsam that was found, and the news that had been received. Your Lordship stated that the traders of those Islands had attributed said misfortune to the change from the old route, forgetting as they were that it had caused many losses and returns in distress; that is why they had insisted upon it very earnestly, also because of the hurricane that had hit the galleon **San Andrés** in sight of Aparri, Province of Cagayan, the year before that, on the same day that she had left that harbor headed for the great ocean, and that although the vessel was seen again once the storm was over, and that some news were received later on that she had been making efforts in the direction of said ocean, since they had not heard that she had put back to those Islands, their fears had increased some more. In consideration of which, and also because this matter involved some large interests, Your Lordship, after consulting the Commander of the Shipyard of Cavite and the Minister Counselor of the Government, had been forced to agree with the reclamations of the traders that had been presented by the Tribunal of the Trading Council, and you granted, on an exceptional basis, their request for said galleon to use the Strait of San Bernardino.

And this matter having been seen by the Council, along with the opinion of my Fiscal, I have decided to let Your Lordship know of the receipt of the above-mentioned letter and record of proceedings, and that their contents have been noted.

May God save Your Lordship for many years.

Madrid, 21 May 1788.

Antonio Ventura de Taranco.



**The RPC ship *Astrea* that visited Guam in 1787. Her sails were modified and she carried only 22 guns and a crew of only 115 men during this voyage. There were also about 27 passengers, 15 of them military men posted to Manila. The second officer was Lieut. Luís de la Concha, the third officer Sub-Lieutenant Francisco Xavier de Viana. The chaplain who was on board during the crossing of the Pacific was Fr. Manuel Coz.**

---

## Documents 1787E

---

### The RPC ship *Astrea* visited Guam in 1787

*Sources: MN mss. 12,229, 584; AGI Fil. MP n° 130; archives of Viso del Marquez (Ciudad Real, Spain), mss. RPC, 1786-1830; Provincial archives of the Scolopi Fathers in Florence, Italy; published as an article by Darío Manfredi in the Revista de Historia Naval, 1987.*

*Notes: The full story of this voyage around the world was published, in Italian, by Manfredi, in a book entitled: "Il viaggio attorno al Mondo di Malaspina con la Fregata di S.M.C. Astrea, 1786-1788 (La Spezia, 1988). The Spanish frigate Astrea, commanded by Alejandro Malaspina, Spanish Navy, went from Cadiz to Manila via Lima and Guam. It was usual for the RPC to be assisted by officers of the Spanish Royal Navy for voyages made in the Pacific; in this case, the ship itself was also chartered from the navy. This was Malaspina's first visit to Guam. He was to return in command of a scientific expedition in 1792. It is to be noted that there also existed a U.S. ship named Astrea at that time, which even brought the famous navigator Bowditch to Manila in 1797; the two ships are not to be confused.*

#### E1. The narrative of Captain Alexandro Malaspina

*Source: MN 584, fol. 74-74v.*

##### Original text in Spanish.

[Letter to RPC Directors, dated Cavite 15 May 1787.]

*Muy Señores míos,*

*La fragata Astrea, fletada por S.M. á la Real Compañía de Filipinas, y puesta à mi cargo, perdió de vista la Isla de San Lorenzo en el puerto del Callao el día 1° de marzo á las 4 de la tarde; navegó unas setecientas leguas por paralelos de once, y doce grados Sur y luego, con rumbos del NO, se dirigió á la línea, que cortó el día 22 del mismo mes en longitud de 118° al occidente del observatorio de Cadiz, considerando (segun la carta de Cook) la mas setentrional de las Marquesas de Mendoza al S 57° O., 340 leguas, y las islas del Gallego al E. 460 leguas.*

*Desde este punto se hicieron rumbos del NO y NNO hasta el día 1° de abril que encontrada la derrota de la nao de Acapulco por latitud de 12° y 1/2 N arribó al O y corrió aquel paralelo hasta dar vista el día 26 del mismo mes á la isla de Guajan, fondeando en la misma tarde en la bahía de Humatac.*

*Fue precisa esta corta arribada para desarraigat una epidemia de tercianas, que seguía desde los primeros días de la salida de Lima, y para adquirir, si era posible, un practico del Estrecho de San Bernardino, acia donde se habia determinado la derrota sucesiva. Y no fué inutil aunque el primer objeto solo se lograra en parte, y se frustrara*

*el segundo, porque al mismo tiempo se levantó geoméricamente el plano de la bahia, se determinó su latitud con buenas alturas meridianas de sol y su longitud con sesenta series de distancias, arreglando á demas la marcha del relox marino que se habia alterado algun tanto desde el arreglo de Lima.*

*En la tarde del día 30 se perdió de vista el fondeadero y se emprendió derrota para el Cabo de Espiritu Santo. Avistado este en la noche del 6 de mayo, se intentó entrar en el estrecho en la tarde del 7, pero, rechazada por la fuerza de la marea contraria, le fue preciso fondear al NE de la Punta de Vire, en 45 brazas cascajo y piedra. Pasó la noche en esta posicion y, al amanecer, cortado el cable sobre una turbonada y perdida por consiguiente el ancla. Dió la vela y fondeo al mediodia del ocho en Balicuatro. Desde este parage (recibido un practico yndio de Bulazan y las sabias instrucciones con que VV.SS. le habian prevenido de antemano) se dirigió en la mañana del 9, al paso de Capul, que hizo con la mayor felicidad, consiguiendo despues vientos favorables que le han conducido á la boca de Mariveles.*

*Acompaño á VV.SS. un planito, en que está trazada la misma derrota y anotadas las noticias esenciales acaecidas en ella; y espero se sirvan comunicarla á la Direccion de la Real Compañia en Madrid, omitiendo yo en este supuesto el remitirlas por mi parte.*

*No quedan ya mas que cuatro enfermos de tercianas. Toda la demas gente goza perfecta salud y no hemos tenido perdida alguna en la navegacion.*

*Fragata Astrea, á 15 de Mayo de 1787.*

*B.L.M. de VV.SS. su mas atento y seguro servidor.*

*Alejandro Malaspina.*

*[A los] SS. directores de la Real Compañia de Filipinas en Manila.*

## **Translation.**

[Letter to RPC Directors, dated Cavite 15 May 1787.]

Gentlemen:

The frigate **Astrea**, chartered by the Royal Philippine Company from H.M., and placed under my command, lost sight of the Island of San Lorenzo in the port of Calao on 1 March at 4 p.m. We sailed about 700 leagues between the 11th and 12th parallels South and then, following a course northwest, we crossed the equator on the 22nd of said month at a longitude of 118° west of the observatory of Cadiz,<sup>1</sup> when the northernmost of the Marquesas of Mendoza were considered 340 leagues to the S 57°W (according to the chart by Cook) and the Gallego Islands 460 leagues to the East.

---

1 Ed. note: Located about 6°11' West of Greenwich.



From this point various headings were followed to NW and NNW until 1 April when the route of the Acapulco galleon was encountered, in Latitude 12°30' N, when we veered due West and ran along that parallel until sighting the Island of Guajan on the 26th of said month, where we anchored in the bay of Humatac that same afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

This short stopover became necessary to extirpate an epidemic of fever that we had on board since the first days after we left Lima, and also to acquire, if possible, a coastal pilot for the Strait of San Bernardino, toward which the next run was to be made.<sup>2</sup> And it was not altogether useless, although the first objective was only partly accomplished, and the second objective was completely frustrated;<sup>3</sup> indeed, the time was placed to good use by making a chart of the bay, and its latitude was determined with good observations of the sun at noon, and its longitude was determined by 60 series of lunar distances. In addition, the marine clock, whose timing had become somewhat faulty since the last time it had been set at Lima, was re-adjusted.<sup>4</sup>

In the afternoon of the 30th, we lost sight of the anchorage and we headed for Cape Espiritu Santo, which was sighted on the evening of the 6th of May. We tried to enter the strait in the afternoon of the 7th, but were thrown back out by the strong contrary tide, and we had to anchor NE of Vire Point, in 45 fathoms, bottom of rubble and stone. We spent the night there and, at daybreak, the cable was cut during a squall and consequently we lost the anchor. We sailed off and, at noon on the 8th, came to an anchor at Balicutro. From this neighborhood onwards, we had a coastal pilot (an Indian from Bulazan), and the wise instructions that Your Graces has sent through him. On the morning of the 9th, we headed for the Capul Island Passage, which we went through safely, and then we got favorable winds that brought us to the channel of Mariveles.

Enclosed please find a small chart upon which has been sketched the track itself, and some essential notices of the events that took place along it. I hope that you will be pleased to forward same to the Directors of the Royal Company in Madrid, since I have decided not to do so directly myself.

Only four men remain affected by fever. Everyone else enjoys a perfect health and we have suffered no loss during our voyage.

From aboard the frigate *Astrea*, 15 May 1787.

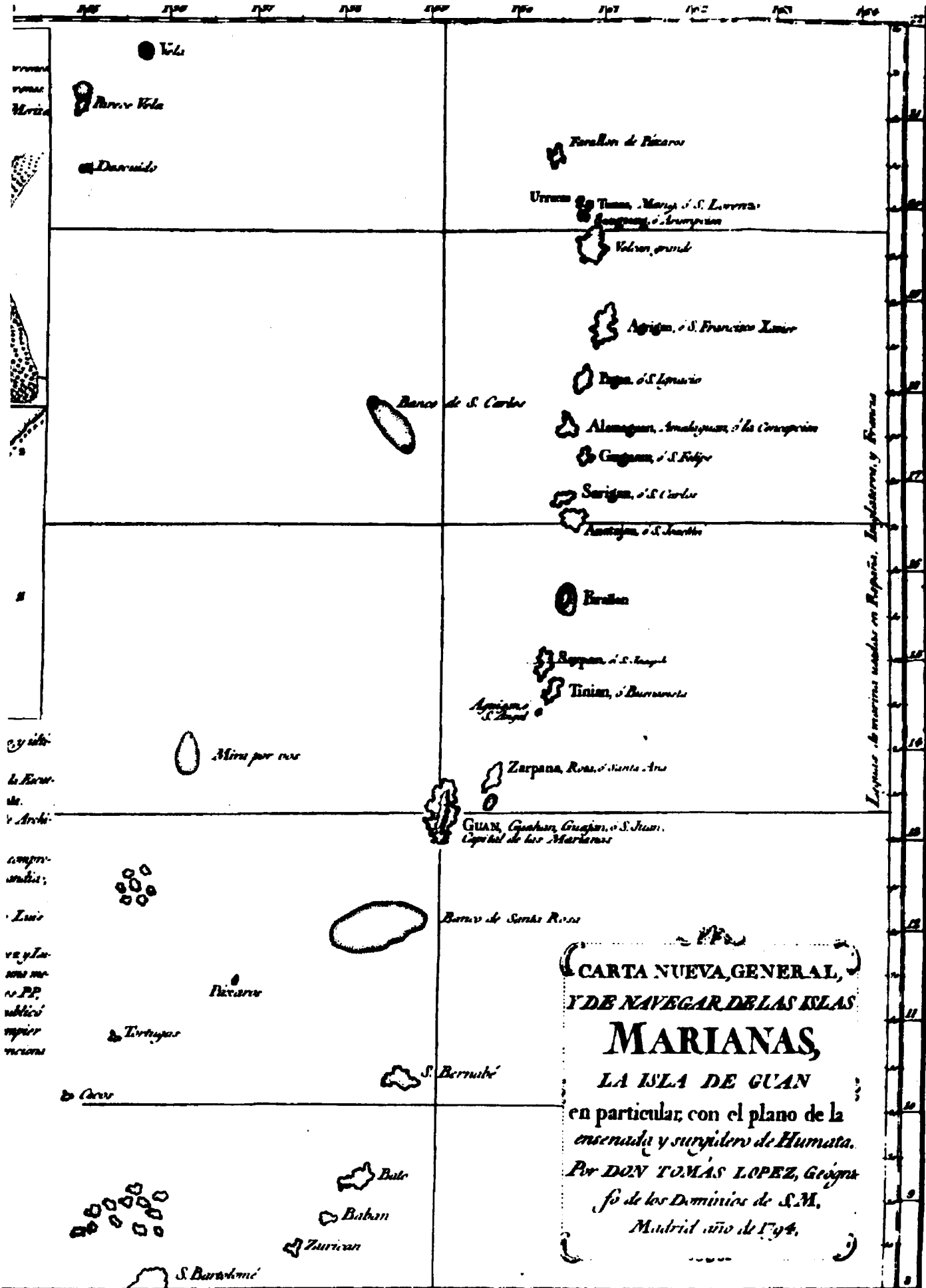
Sincerely yours,

Alexandro Malaspina.

[To the] Gentlemen Directors of the Royal Philippine Company at Manila.

- 
- 1 Ed. note: Manfredi mentions that Malaspina was using the sailing directions of Cabrera y Bueno for the galleon route. Also available on board were the English Voyages of Anson, Byron, Wallis, and Cook.
  - 2 Ed. note: He did not get any, as there were no Manila pilots living at Guam at that time. Malaspina had gotten this idea from Crozet's Voyage, a book which he also had on board.
  - 3 Ed. note: However, as it turned out, the Company had arranged for a Filipino pilot to meet them in the channel (see below).
  - 4 Ed. note: It was made by Arnold, bore N° 71, and was also used by Malaspina in his next expedition.





### Inscriptions in Spanish on previous 2 pages:

Title in bottom right corner:

*Carta nueva, general, y de navegar, de las Islas MARIANAS, la Isla de Guan en particular, con el plano de la ensenada y surgidero de Humata. Por Don Tomás Lopez, Geógrafo de los Dominios de S.M. Madrid año de 1794.*

New, general, and navigation chart of the MARIANA Islands, specially of the Island of Guam, with the plan of the cove and anchorage of Umatac. By Tomás Lopez, Royal Geographer, Madrid, 1794. (See also Doc. 1793F).

In top left corner:

*Plano de la ensenada y surgidero DE HUMATA. situada en la parte S.O. de la Isla de Guan, capital de las Islas Marianas, en la latitud 13° N y en la longitud 159° E de Tenerife. Levantado en Abril de 1787 por el Comandante de Pilotos de la Fragata Astrea, fletada por la real Compañía de Filipinas, haciendo viage al Puerto de Manila desde la Bahía de Cadiz, con escala en Lima.*

Plan of the cove and anchorage of Humata situated in the SW part of the Island of Guam, capital of the Mariana Islands, in 13° Lat. N. and 159° Long. E. of Tenerife. Sketched in April 1787 by the Chief Pilot of the frigate Astrea, chartered by the Royal Philippine Company, in her voyage from the bay of Cadiz to the port of Manila, with a stopover at Lima.

Legend of said sketch:

*NOTA. Los numeros de la sonda son brazas de 6 pies Ingleses, arregladas á media marea. Los calidades son como sigue: ACL, arena coral, AG arena gruesa, AGN arena gruesa negra, APC arena, piedra, y cascajo, AF arena fina, C cascajo, P piedra, PCL piedra coral, PC piedra cascajo.*

NOTE. Soundings are in fathoms of 6 English feet, adjusted for half tide. The bottom characteristics are as follows: ACL, coral sand, AG thick sand, AGN thick black sand, APC sand, stone and rubble, AF fine sand, C rubble, P stone.

A. *Rio Salupa* = Salupa River.

B. *Convento* = Convent.

C. *Palacio* = Palace.

D. *Castillo y punta Manban* = Fort and Manban Point.

E. *Majalbac*.

F. *Punta de Alcaparrones* = Point Capers.

G. *Islas de Alcaparrones* = Caper Islands.

H. *Islas de Cocos* = Cocos Island[s].

I. *Merizo*.

*Escala de dos millas maritimas* = Scale of 2 nautical miles.

[Note the caption on the interior scale up the right-hand side of this chart, which reveals a beginning of standardization among European nations:]

*Leguas de marina unidas en España, Inglaterra, y Francia.* = Nautical leagues, common to Spain, England, and France.

(Chart explanations, cont'd)

Center left:

*Plano de la ensenada y surgidero DE HUMATA, en punto mayor:* = Plan of the cove and anchorage of UMATAC in larger scale.

Bottom left:

*ISLA DE GUAN Capital de las Islas Marianas, conforme á las cartas españoles, y á la del P. Gobien.* = ISLAND OF GUAM, capital of the Mariana Islands, according to Spanish charts, and that of Fr. Le Gobien [rather Fr. Lopez, of 1671].

The accompanying text:

*Llamáronse estas Islas de los Ladrones, de las Velas, Archipelago de San Lazaro, y últimamente Marianas.*

*El Excelentísimo Sr. D. Antonio Valdés y Bazan [rather Tamón], con su natural patriotismo facilitó de la Escuela de Pilotos de Cadiz una carta de estas Islas y el plano del surgidero de Humata.*

*D. Sebastian Fernandez Canal subministró una carta y advertencias sobre este Archipelago.*

*Registróse la carta corográfica del Archipelago de Filipinas, que tambien comprehende estas Islas, delineada por D. Francisco Diaz Romero y D. Antonio de Ghandia [rather Echandia], año de 1727, grabada por D. Juan Palomino.*

*Habló de estas Islas y estuvo en ellas á predicar el año de 1608 [rather 1668] el V.P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, como lo trae el P. Murillo en su historia de Filipinas.*

*Formaron mapas de estas Islas en 1693 [rather 1671] los PP. de la Compañía Alonso Lopez y Luis Morales: este último comunicó á la Academia real de las ciencias de Paris una memoria sobre este asunto. El mismo año el P. Gouye, refiriéndose á los anteriores PP, habla en sus observaciones físicas de estas Islas. El P. Gobien año de 1701 publicó la historia de las Islas Marianas, en 12º edicion de Paris. El Capitan Dampier visitó estas Islas t.1.c.10.p.307 en su viage alrededor del mundo. Carriero menciona estas Islas t.5.p.295 y 296, y otros á mas de estos.*

These Islands were called Ladrones, De las Velas, Archipelago of San Lázaro, and finally Marianas.

His Excellency Don Antonio Valdés Tamón, moved by his patriotic nature, provided the School for Pilots at Cadiz with a chart of these Islands and the plan of the cove of Umatac.

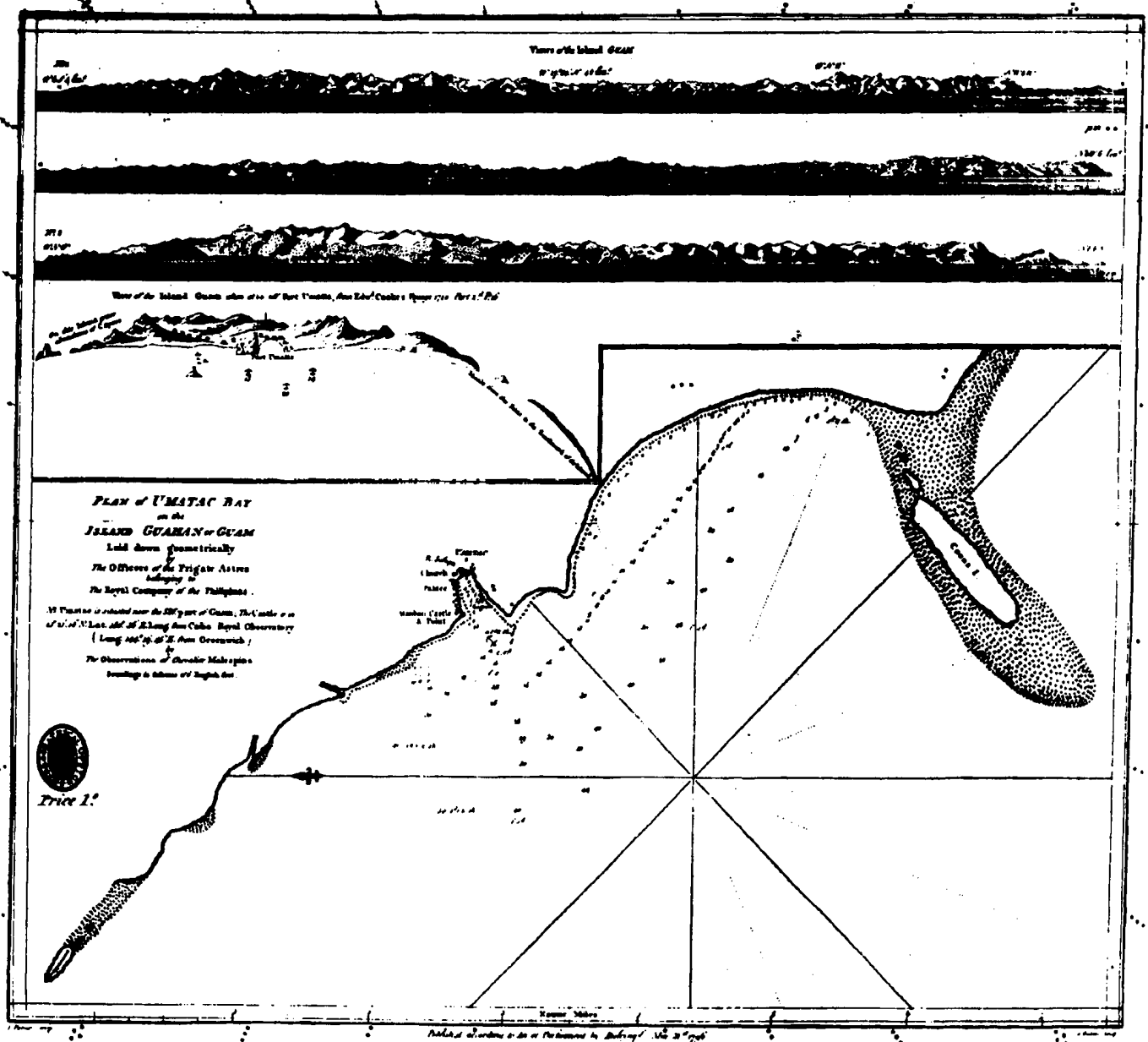
Don Sebastian Fernandez Canal provided a chart and notices regarding this archipelago.

Reference was made to the corographical chart of the Archipelago of the Philippines, which also included these Islands, made by Don Francisco Díaz Romero and Don Antonio de Echandia, in the year 1727, and engraved by Don Juan Palomino. [Ed. note: Both Díaz Romero and Echandia were deputies for the Phil. colony at the Spanish court as of 1723 (ref. B&R 44:286).]

Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores spoke about these Islands and was there preaching in the year 1668, as reported by Fr. Murillo [Velarde] in his History of the Philippines.

The Jesuit Fathers Alonso Lopez and Luis Morales made maps of these islands in 1671. In 1693, the latter sent a memoir to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris on this subject. That same year, Fr. Gouye referred to the above-mentioned Fathers in his physical observations regarding these Islands. Fr. Le Gobien published the History of the Mariana Islands in 1701, in 12°, Paris edition. Captain Dampier visited these Islands (ref. his Voyage, tome 1, chap. 10, p. 307). [Gemelli-] Carreri mentions these Islands (ref. tome 5, pp. 295-296). And so many other authors.

[Ed. notes: Many islands shown southwest of Guam never existed. They are carried over from old charts, the most modern reference being S. Barnabé (Yap, 1686). The "Banco de Santa Rosa" was also discovered in 1686 by the galleon Santa Rosa. As for the "Banco de S. Carlos", west of Alamagan, it corresponds to Zealandia Bank and was discovered by the galleon San Carlos in 1769. There is still some confusion between Farallon de Pájaros, and Urracas at the northern end of the Marianas; this confusion was evident in Fr. Tornos' narrative of 1770. These northern Marianas are positioned at least 1° too far south. In the NW corner are recorded three islands, which are one and the same, Parece Vela, which was discovered by Fr. Urdaneta in 1565; the Japanese now call it Okino-Tori.



**Plan of Umatac, published by Dalrymple in 1796.** The sounding chart is from the voyage of the *Astrea* and is properly credited to Malaspina. The inset (above) shows views taken from Edward Cooke's Voyage of 1710; note that Facpi Point was then also referred to as Capers' Point (*Punta de Alcaparrones* in Spanish). The small caption reads: "Umatac is situated near the S. W. part of Guam. The Fort is in 13°21'18" Lat. 150°36' E. Long. from Cadiz' Royal Observatory (Long. 144°19'45" E. from Greenwich) by the observations of Chevalier Malespina. Soundings in fathoms of 6 English feet." The note at the bottom of the chart reads: "Published according to Act of Parliament by Dalrymple May 31st 1796." It shold for 1 shilling at the Hydrophical Office. The watering place is the Salupa River. The site of the future Fort Dolores is called Majalbac on the Spanish version of this chart.

## E2. The logbook of Manuel Agote, RPC representative

*Source: Archives of the Scolopi Fathers, fol. 11, 14-15.*

### Original text in Spanish.

***Trozos del extracto del Diario del viaje ... desde el puerto de Lima a Manila.***

...

*Día 22 al 23 de Abril, lunes.*

*Por fin nuestro Comandante ha abandonado el pensamiento de pasar por entre Sarpana y Tinian, ó Buena-Vista, y por consiguiente preferido el de Guajan, y fondear en la ensenada de Umata que está al S.O. de esta isla, y al N. de la isleta de Cocos, a muy corta distancia para despues hacer derrota al el Estrecho, y paso de San Bernardino, en lugar del que se habia pensado aora pocos dias por entre los Cabos Bojeador y las islas Babuyanes. Los motivos que le han obligado a esta cambiada derrota al Comandante, se verán en las siguientes reflexiones que me las comunico:*

*“Determinada ya la arribada, etc.”*

...

*Día 25 al 26 de April, jueves.*

*A las 10 demorando lo mas SO del arrecife que despide la isla de Cocos, situado en el extremo S.O. de Guan [sic] al NNO 3° N distancia de 1 a 1-1/2 millas, orzamos al NNO 5° O con la mura a estribor: a esta hora se descubrió al NNE el castillo de la villa de Umata con bandera larga, le correspondimos con la nuestra, asegurandola con un cañonazo.*

*A las 11 biramos por avante en vuelta del ESE, de cuya bordada fuimos inmediatos al arrecife que hay entre la isla de Cocos y la Punta de SO de Guan, en donde rebiramos al NNO a la 12-1/2 del día: de esta vuelta seguimos hasta la una que estando proximos a la Punta, e islote de Alcaparrones volvimos a birar en la vuelta de ESE a cuyo rumbo demorraba el Castillo; y a la 1-1/2 habiendonos aproximado a él, como a la distancia de dos cables, dejamos caer el ancla en 10 brazas de agua fondo arena gruesa.*

*Se tomaron varias series de distancia en el fondeadero de Umatac, isla de Guan, capital de las Marianas, para calcularlas despues de haber llegado a Manila. El paso del Estrecho de San Bernardino se verificó del 7 al 8 de Mayo y en el mismo día sucedió el terrible accidente de incendiarse un barril de aguardiente, que hubiera abrasado la fragata, a no haberse empleado el mayor zelo, prontitud y vigilancia, que consiguieron apartar el peligro apagando el fuego enteramente al cabo de cuatro horas. Ultimamente fondearon en el puerto de Cavite, a las 8-1/2 de la mañana del 14 del mismo mes, cuyo pueblo pertenece a Manila, Capital de las islas Filipinas.*



**Translation.****Part of an extract from the Logbook of the voyage ... from the port of Lima to Manila.**

...

From 22 to 23 April, Monday.

Finally, our Commander has abandoned the idea of going between Rota and Tinián, or Buenavista, and has therefore preferred to go to the Island of Guajan, and anchor in the bay of Umatac which is in the S.W. part of this island, and north of the islet of Cocos, a short distance from it, and then to head for the Strait of San Bernardino, instead of what his plan was, up to a few days ago, to sail by the Babuyan Islands and around Cape Bojeador. The reasons that have forced the Commander to change the planned route will be seen in the following reflections that he communicated to me:

“Now that a stopover has been decided, etc.”

[There follow 2 pages of marine observations and details of the planned route, by Malaspina.]

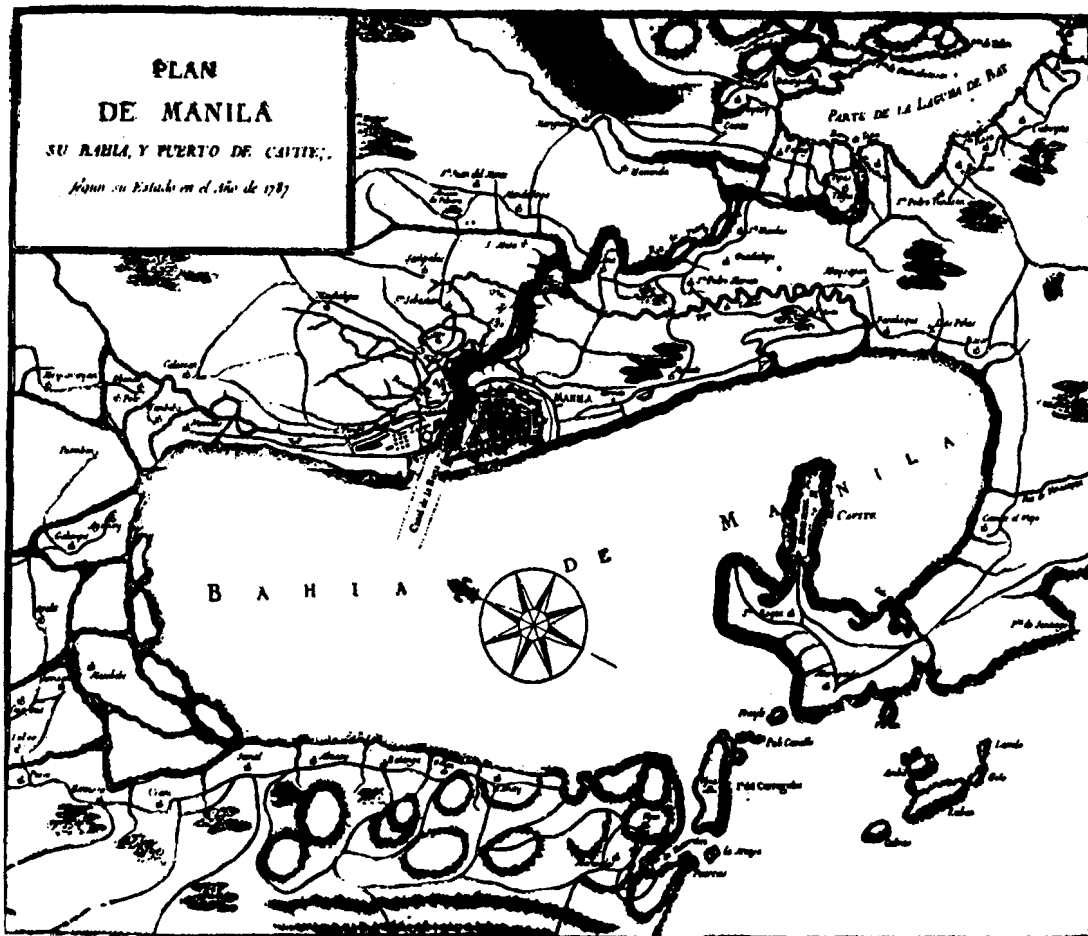
...

From 25 to 26 of April, Thursday.

At about 10 a.m., the southwest extremity of the reef that juts from Cocos Island (that is located at the SW corner of Guan) bore NNW 3° N distant 1 to 1-1/2 miles. We tacked to starboard, heading NNW 5° W, at which time we sighted to NNE the fort of the town of Umatac, flying a large flag, to which we corresponded by hoisting ours, and firing one gun, for good measure.

At about 11, we veered to ESE, and on this tack we came close to the reef that exists between Cocos Island and the SW point of Guan, where we veered back to NNW until 12:30. We followed this tack until 1 p.m., when we were close to the rock island and Point Capers, where we veered on more to SSE, in the direction of the fort, and at 1:30, being close to it, a distance of about 2 cable lengths from it, we let go the anchor in 10 fathoms, bottom of thick sand.

Various series of lunar distances were taken in the anchorage of Umatac, Island of Guan, capital of the Marianas; they were to be calculated later on, after our arrival at Manila. The passage through the Strait of San Bernardino took place from the 7th to the 8th of May and, on the same day, there occurred a terrible accident: a barrel of brandy caught fire. The whole frigate would have gone up in smoke, had not the greatest zeal, speed and vigilance been applied. The danger was finally removed, when the fire was extinguished completely at the end of four hours. Finally, we anchored in the port of Cavite, at 8:30 in the morning of the 14th of the same month. Said town belongs to Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands.



**Manila Bay, showing Manila and Cavite in 1787.**

---

 Document 1787F
 

---

## Captain Dentrecaesteaux crossed the Carolines with the ships *Résolution* and *Subtile*

### Historical notes on Dentrecaesteaux.

Antoine-Raymond-Joseph Bruni d'Entrecasteaux was born at Aix. He was named to command all French naval forces in the Indian Ocean in 1785. It was upon a cruise to China that he decided to sail east of the Philippines, crossing Micronesia when going from the Moluccas to Canton. He became Governor of Mauritius and Réunion Islands after this voyage.

His map shows that the ships encountered two groups of islands: the first one at approximately 7°20' lat. N. & 139°30' (E. of Greenwich, because a chart of Cook's Voyage, by Dalrymple, was being used); and the second one at about 9°20' N. & 140°30' E. They were possibly **Sorol** and **Ulithi** respectively (see next 2 pages).

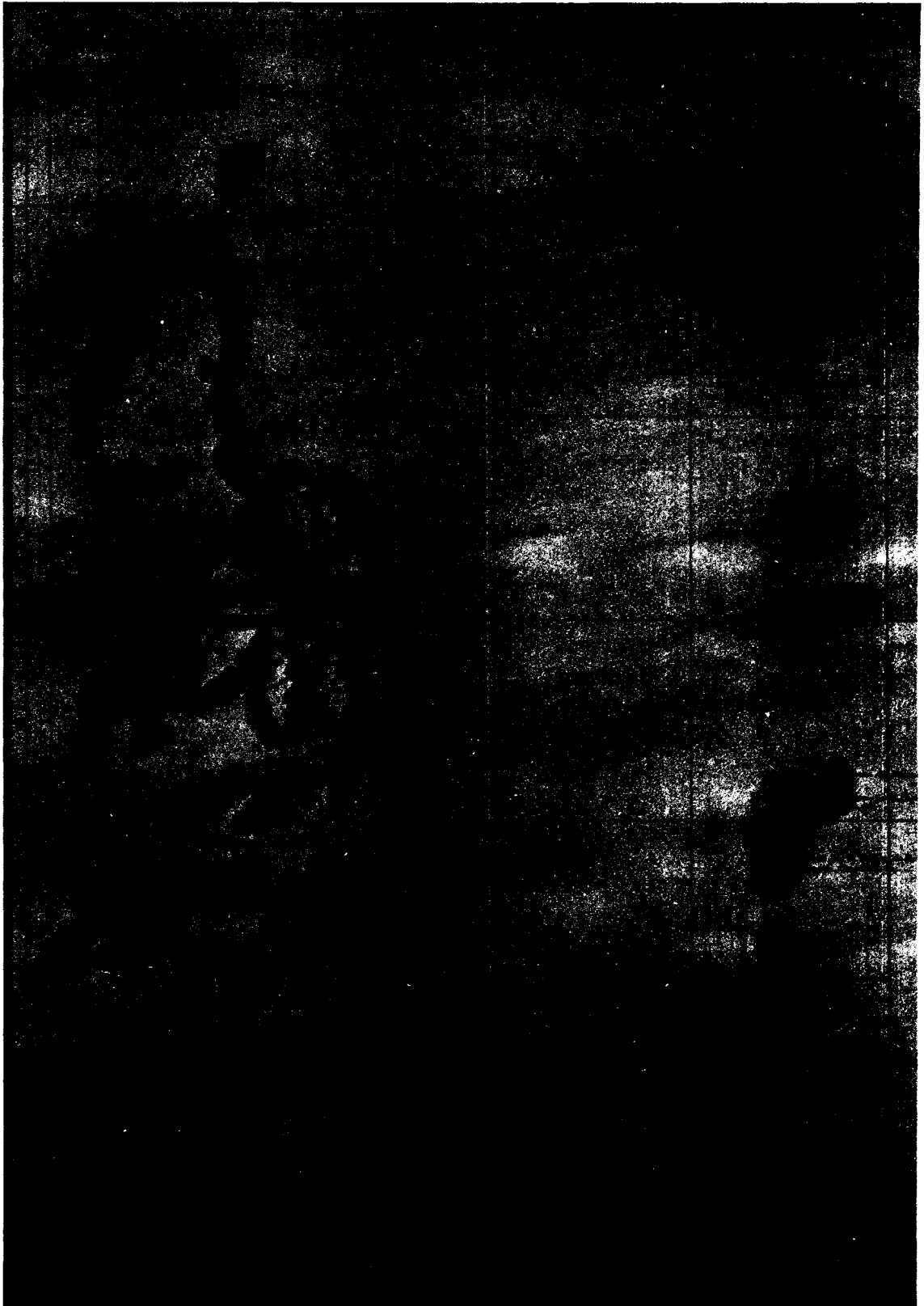


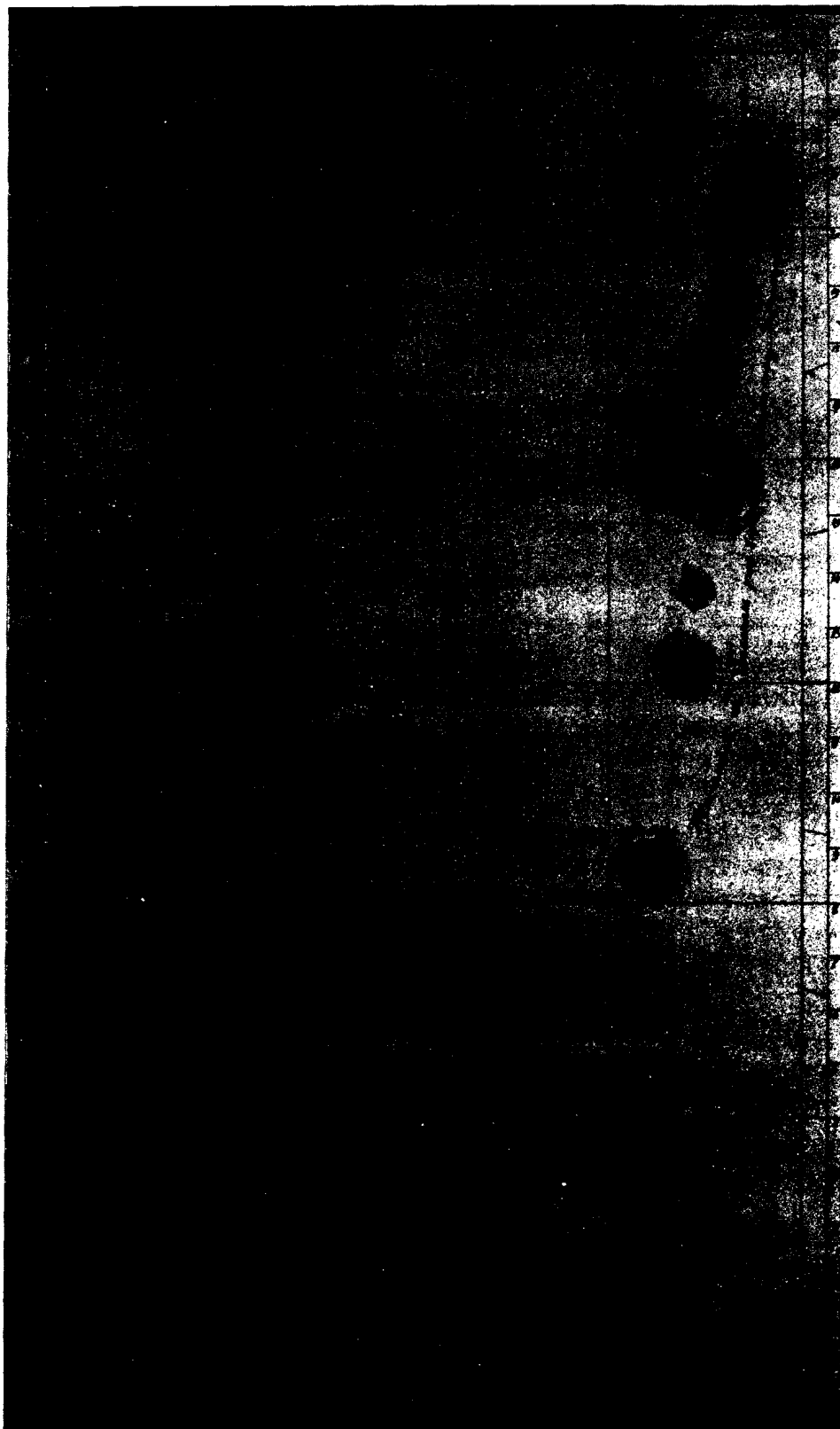
**Bruni D'Entrecasteaux.** (From Charton's *Voyageurs modernes*).

The narrative of Huon de Kermadec, formerly Ms. 63 in the Archives of the Port of Brest, France, has been lost, or stolen. It was entitled: *Journal de voyage du chevalier Jean-Michel Huon de Kermadec, major de vaisseau sur la Résolution, partie en 1785 pour les mers de Chine sous le commandement du chevalier Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.*

There is also a letter from Dentrecaesteaux to Marshall de Castries, dated Macao 8 February 1787, said to be found in Paris in the Archives des affaires étrangères: *Asie, Indes orientales, Chine, Cochinchine, 1787-1791*, vol. 19-5, folio 13 (cited by Hulot in his biography of Dentrecaesteaux).

(Next 2 pages:) **Manuscript chart of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition of 1786-87.** (From BNP).





---

## Documents 1787G

---

# The ships *Queen Charlotte*, Captain Dixon, and *King George*, Captain Portlock

## G1. The logbook kept by Captain George Dixon

*George Dixon [& Nathaniel Portlock]. A Voyage Round the World, but More Particularly to the North-west Coast of America... 1785-1788... (London, Stockdale/Goulding, 1789), pages 282-285.*

...  
1787. October.

From this to the 8th of October we had little variety. The weather was intensely hot, the thermometer being from 88 to 91 degrees [Fahrenheit]. We had frequent heavy squalls, particularly in the night-time, attended with lightning. Our latitude at noon on the 8th, was 13 deg. 24 min. North; and the longitude 187 deg. 37 min. West [of Greenwich]. At nine o'clock in the evening we had a very hard squall, attended with heavy rain, which obliged us to clue all up and run right before it; but towards eleven o'clock the weather moderated. As this part of the ocean seemed particularly subject to squalls, especially in the night-time, we every day at sunset had the precaution to reef our topsails and make every thing snug, so that we might be ready for these sudden gusts, and run no danger of carrying any thing away.

In the night of the 12th, we had two very severe squalls, but fortunately they did us no damage. They were attended with much thunder, lightning, and violent rain.

...  
From the 12th to the 20th, we had a steady Easterly breeze and cloudy weather. The nights were frequently squally, but not so violent as before. Our latitude at noon on the 20th, was 41 [rather 14] deg. 1 min. North, and the longitude 210 deg. 24 min. West.<sup>1</sup> The variation of the compass about 7 deg. Easterly.

At noon, on the 21st, our latitude was 14 deg. 11 min. and the longitude 212 deg. 16 min. We lay to during the night, with the ship's head to the Northward, as we expected to fall in with some of the Ladrone Islands; and it was necessary to take every precaution in our power to avoid danger.

At day-light in the morning of the 22d, we bore up and made sail, steering West by North. We still had a constant steady Easterly breeze, with fine settled weather. At half

---

1 Ed. note: This corresponds to  $360^\circ - 210^\circ 24' = 149^\circ 36'$  East of Greenwich.

past ten o'clock we saw land, bearing North 58 deg. West. During the forenoon we had great quantities of small bonetta [i.e. bonito] about the ship, and our people caught several with hook and line. There were vast numbers of ganetts flying near the land, and indeed they were the only birds we saw. These birds feed on the small bonetta, as we frequently saw them dart into the water with astonishing rapidity, and they generally devoured their prey on the surface before they took wing again. At noon we saw two islands, one bearing North, 55 deg. West; the other North, 80 deg. West, about four leagues distant. Our latitude was 14 deg. 46 Min. North.

On coming near the land, we saw three islands which we took to be **Tinian, Agui-gan, and Saypan**, according to the description of them by Anson. At four o'clock the East end of Tinian bore North 30 deg. East, distant four leagues; the peak of Saypan, North North East; and the West end of Aguigan, North West by North, about four miles distant.

At the West end of Aguigan is a very small island, or rather a large rock, not more than a cable's length from it.

According to our observations, Tinian is situated in 15 deg. North latitude; and 214 deg. 30 min. West longitude.

These islands are remarkably free from rocks or shoals, so that vessels may safely run by them in the night-time with moderate weather. Tinian is far the longest, and trends nearly from South- East to North-West. Saypan seems the next in point of extent, but lying the farthest from our course, I can give thee very little idea of it. Agui-gan does not appear to be more than six miles long and is very narrow. They are all tolerably level except the peak on Saypan before mentioned.

The author of Anson's Voyage round the World gives a most enchanting description of Tinian, not only from its beautiful appearance, but from the plenty and variety of refreshments it affords. 'Tis possible that this account may be exaggerated, as those navigators were in the greatest distress for want of refreshments, and falling in with an island where all their necessities were plentifully supplied, the place would appear to them little less than a terrestrial paradise. However, be this as it may, we, thank God, had no occasion to touch here, having upwards of thirty live hogs on board, and all our people in big health and spirits, with every prospect of a speedy passage to China.

At six in the afternoon, the center of Aguigan bore North, 83 deg. East, about five leagues distant; and the weather being fine, we stood on during the night, steering West and by North.

...

(Facing page:) **View of the south side of Saipan Island in 1787.** It is Naftan Point. Naftan, or Nafutan, means “grave” in the Chamorro language.

## G2. The logbook kept by Captain Nathaniel Portlock

*Source: As in G1 above, pages 315-317.*

### Chap. XIV.

...  
Taking our departure from the island of Tahoorā, it lying in the latitude of 21°43' North, and longitude 160°24' West of Greenwich, variation about 9° East. From this time to the 4th of November nothing particular occurred.

November. Sunday 4.

A fresh gale from the North East, with hazy weather, steering West North West half West, five knots per hour.<sup>1</sup> At five in the evening I got a set of azimuths, which gave the variation 7°54' East; at eight hauled in the lower steering-sails. At this time, according to the situation given Tinian by captain Cook, East point latitude nearest 14°55' North, and longitude 213°45' West of Greenwich, I judged it to bear North 84° West, and distant eighty-four miles; and as we had a fine brisk gale from the North East, with clear weather, I determined to run on all night, hoping to get a sight of the island about daylight, which is between five and six. At midnight a fine steady six and a half knot gale from the North East. At two in the morning a seven knot gale, hauled in the topmast steering-sails. Just at daylight, which was about half past five, saw the islands of **Saypan and Tinian**, the North point of Saypan bearing West North West, distant about seven or eight leagues, and the East point of Tinian bearing South West half West, distant eleven or twelve leagues, the North point of Tinian shut in with the South point of Saypan. At this time our latitude, by account, was 15°16' North, and longitude, from observations brought forward, 213°16'30" West. The East end of Tinian, according to captain Cook's chart, should then have bore 55°00' West, and as near as I could guess distant about thirty-three miles; therefore I shall conclude, that the situation given those islands by captain Cook is very nearly the truth. We continued to stand on to the West North West half West, with a fresh gale from the North East by North until six, when we altered the course to West, and set steering-sails. We stood in West until seven o'clock, then steered South West by West and south West by South, ranging along the East side of Saypan, at the distance of about two leagues and a half.

---

1 Ed. note: There was no need to say “per hour” as knots mean “nautical miles per hour.”





R. Bayly engr.

View of part of the South Side of the Island **SAPAN**, one of the **Satanian** Isles.  
On which, they were by J. Shookale & J. Spindling.

At half past eight, the passage between Saypan and Tinian open, steered for it, and about nine **passed close to the South end of Saypan;**<sup>1</sup> immediately to the Westward of which point is a good bay,<sup>2</sup> with perfect smooth water and a fine sandy beach, on which there was scarce any surf. I did not stand into the bay, therefore cannot speak as to the soundings; but I dare say the anchorage may be very good. A little to the Westward of this bay is another, which looks well for anchorage.<sup>3</sup> In passing through this passage, which trends about West by North and East by South, distance from one island to the other between two and three leagues, we observed no foul grounds lying off from either island, until we got nearly through; then discerned a reef lying from the South West point of Saypan, North West, distant about half a mile. Indeed, all the West side of Saypan appears to be bounded by a reef running nearly the same distance from the shore; and from the said South West point is a small island, bearing North half West, distant three or four leagues;<sup>4</sup> from which island there is a reef running off in the direction of about South West, to the distance of a league and a half; and there is also a reef running off from this small island that seems to join to Saypan.

We observed a number of white animals grazing on the plains of Tinian, which we suppose to be the white cattle that Lord Anson says the island of Tinian so much abounds with. We could not, although within half a mile of Saypan, observe an animal of any kind. Both islands appear beyond description beautiful, abounding in immense quantities of cocoa-nut and other trees. We could not pass so near these beautiful islands without wishing very much to partake of the refreshments they could so amply furnish us with, particularly the fresh beef and acid fruits, articles to which we have been strangers for upwards of two years: but as through the blessing of God we were all in perfect health, and not being in need of any refreshments, and having a fine steady brisk gale, I thought it most advisable to push on for China; therefore, after getting through the passage, stood away to the West North West, with a brisk gale at North East by North. And to the honour of the **King George's** ship's company be it ever remembered, that on this so tempting an occasion (as indeed on all others), not a murmur was heard, nor a discontented face seen. From this time to the 15th November nothing occurred in particular to excite the reader's attention.

...

---

1 Ed. note: He refers to Naftan Point (see illustration).

2 Ed. note: He refers to Obyan Bay.

3 Ed. note: Agingan Bay, the site of the 1638 Concepción shipwreck, is not a good place for anchoring either.

4 Ed. note: Its name is Mañagaha Island.



**John Nicol, mariner, at age 67.**

### **G3. The narrative of John Nicol, steward**

*Source: John Nicol. The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner (Edinburgh & London, 1822).*

#### **Service of John Nicol.**

<i><b>Ships' Names.</b></i>	<i><b>Where.</b></i>	<i><b>Period.</b></i>
Protheus and Surprise,	American War, West Indies, Seven Years War,	1776-83.
Leviathan, Greenlander,	Greenland,	1784
Cotton Planter,	West Indies,	1784-85.
<b>King George,</b>	<b>South Seas &amp; China,</b>	<b>1785-88.</b>
<b>Lady Juliana,</b>	<b>N.S.W. &amp; China,</b>	<b>1789-91.</b>
Amelia,	South Sea,	1791-92.
Nottingham,	China,	1793-94.
Edgar, Goliah,	French War, Egypt,	
Ramalies, & Ajax,	Mediterranean, 7-Years,	1794-1801.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Voyage of Discovery—Anecdote—Falkland Islands—Cape Horn—Owhyee—Atooi—Onehow—Manners of the Natives.*

Upon our arrival in London, I learned that my old officer, Lieutenant Portlock, now captain, was going out in the **King George**, as commander, in company with the **Queen Charlotte**, Captain Dixon, upon a voyage of discovery and trade round the world. This was the very cruise I had long wished for; at once I made myself clean, and waited upon Captain Portlock. He was happy to see me, as I was an excellent brewer of spruce-beer, and the very man he wished, but knew not where to have sent for me. I was at once engaged, on the most liberal terms, as cooper, and went away rejoicing in my good fortune. We had a charter from the South Sea Company, and one from the India House, as it was to be a trading voyage for furs, as well as discovery. This was in the year 1785.

With a joyful heart I entered on this voyage; but, through an unforeseen accident, I had more to do than I engaged for. Our steward went on shore for a few necessary articles just before we sailed. He was a foolish lad, got tipsy, and the money sold him; having spent it, he was ashamed to come on board again. The wind was fair, and I engaged to fill his place rather than delay the voyage one day, so eager was I upon it.

The first land we made was Santa Cruz, in the island of Tenerife, where we staid ten days, getting fruit and provisions; then made the island of St Jago [Cape Verde Is.], it belongs to the Portuguese, where we watered and took in fresh provisions.

...

It was with a sensation of regret I bade a final adieu to the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] Islands. Even now I would prefer them to any country I ever was in. The people so kind and obliging, the climate so fine, and provisions so abundant, all render it a most endearing place. Owhyee is the only place I was not ashore in. Captain Portlock never went himself, and would not allow his crew to go. The murder of Cook made him timorous of trusting too much to the islanders. At Atooi and Onehow we went on shore, one watch one day, the other the next.

After taking on board as much provisions as we could stow, we sailed for China. At the Ladrões, or Mariana Islands, a number of pilots came on board.<sup>1</sup> The captain agreed with one. The bargain was made in the following manner: He showed the captain the number of dollars he wished by the number of cass [sic], a small brass coin, the captain taking from the number what he thought too much, the pilot adding when he thought it too little. He was to pilot the **King George** to the Island of Macao. From thence we sailed up the Bocca Tigris to Wampoa, where we sold our cargo of skins. We were engaged to take home a cargo of tea for the East India Company.

...

---

1 Ed. note: An obvious confusion resulted in the publisher's mind, as he jumped ahead in the narrative to the other Ladrões Islands, the ones off the coast of China.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Author engaged as Steward on a Convict Ship—Anecdotes of Female Convicts—Sails for New South Wales—Attaches himself to Sarah Whitelam—Singular Punishment—Crossing the Line—Miscellaneous Occurrences—Port Jackson—St. Helena.*

...

A letter I received from Captain Portlock upset my wandering propensities with as great vigour as ever.

The letter requested me to come to London without delay, as there were two ships lying in the river bound for New South Wales, the **Guardian**, and the **Lady Juliana**, in either of which I might have a berth... The **Lady Juliana** was to take out female convicts...

I was appointed steward of the **Lady Juliana**, commanded by Captain Aitken, who was an excellent humane man, and did all in his power to make the convicts as comfortable as their circumstances would allow...

We lay six months in the river before we sailed; during which time, all the jails in England were emptied to complete the cargo of the **Lady Juliana**. When we sailed, there were on board 245 female convicts. There were not a great many very bad characters; the greater number were for petty crimes, and a great proportion for only being disorderly, that is, street-walkers; the colony at the time being in great want of women.

...

I made up my mind to come to England in the **Lady Juliana**, and get a berth out the first opportunity...

## CHAPTER X.

*Author engaged on Board a South Sea Whaler—Miscellaneous Occurrences—Grief at the Conduct of Sarah—Seals-Fishing—Sea Lions—Unexpected meets a Countryman at Payta—Transactions there.*

...

There was a vessel called the **Amelia**, Captain Shields, fitting out as a South Sea Whaler. She belonged to Squire Enderborough [rather Enderby], Paul's Wharf, London. I got myself engaged as cooper of her...

In two months after my leaving the **Lady Juliana** I was again at sea in hopes of reaching Port Jackson by some means or other..

...

[However, the whaling did not go beyond the coast of South America.]

...

I immediately returned to London, where, to my disappointment, I found there was not a berth to be got in any of the Indiamen who were for Bombay direct. They were all full. I then, as my next best, went to be engaged [in 1793] as cooper on board the **Nottingham** for China direct...

[However, there is no mention of the route followed to China.]

---

## Documents 1787H

---

# The logbooks of the Glatton, and Woodcot, EIC ships

## K1. The log of the Glatton, kept by Captain Charles Drummond

*Source: Log 172J, India Office.*

*Note: This ship left the East India docks in Deptford (London) on 9 December 1786, visited Madras before heading to China, in company with the ship Woodcot.*

### Ship Glatton from Madras towards China.

...

Friday the 9th day of Nov. 1787

... At 1/2 past 1 a.m. saw a number of lights & soon after saw an island bearing ENE[.] finding the ship driving towards it, tacked. At sunrise it bore N dist. 9 miles (it is a small round woody island). At 10 a.m. saw another island from the mast head bearing ESE. At noon, it bore E23°S & the other N28°W dist. from the last 4 leagues.

Lat. obs. 4°24' N. Longitude at noon per Chron. 131°59' East.

Saturday the 10th day of Nov. 1787

... At 6 p.m. the westernmost of the 2 islands bore SWbW1/4W dist. 5 leagues. A.M. washed the gun decks. A sail in sight at noon to the northward.

Lat. obs. 4°54' N., Long at noon per Chron. 132°28' East.

Sunday the 11th day of November 1787

... At noon the strange sail astern about 5 miles. The **Woodcot** in company.

Lat. obs. 4°45' N.

Monday the 12th of Nov. 1787

... At 6 p.. spoke the stranger. She proves to be the **Louisa**, Captain Ross from Bombay bound to China. Bent the best bower cable & got the anchor clear.

Lat. obs. 5°15' N.

...

Wednesday the 14th of Nov. 1787

... The **Louisa** hull down to the NE. Lat. obs. 6°56' N. At noon, Longitude per Chron. 135°15' East of Greenwich.

Thursday the 15th day of Nov. 1787

... **Woodcot** in company. The **Louisa** not in sight...

Lat. obs. 7°32' N., Long. at noon per Chron. 135°47' East of Greenwich.

...

Sunday the 18th day of Nov. 1787

... At sunset the **Woodcot** not in sight. When she was last seen, was on our weather board with all sails set[;] therefore conclude she wished to part company.

Lat. as per indifferent observation 10°44' N.

[On the 20th they were hit by a typhoon. The next days, they repaired the damages. The ship reached the Bashi Is. on 2 Dec. 1787, and the coast of China on the 6th. The **Glatton** was back in England in Nov. 1788.]

## K2. The log of the **Woodcot**, kept by Captain Ninian Lewis

*Source: Log 445A, India Office.*

### Ship **Woodcot** from Madras towards China.

...

Friday the 9th of November 1787

Light breezes with unsettled weather throughout. At 1/2 past 1 a.m. saw two lights bearing EbS, shortly after saw an island in the same direction. Hauled our course to ye Northward, shortened sail. At 4 the island bore SE1/2S dist. about 4 miles. At daylight falling little wind, found ourselves drove very near the island by the current, hoisted out the cutter & jolly boat & towed the ship's head to ye Eastward. Sounded but got no ground [at] 80 fathoms.

At 8 a.m. the body of the island WbN1/2N dist. 5 miles. At noon the island bore NW3/4W dist. 3 or 4 leagues, another small island in sight from the mizzen top SE. In company with the **Glatton**.

Lat. obs. 4°34' N., Long. in. 130°33'

Saturday the 10th day of Nov. 1787

The first & middle parts moderate breezes & rain at times, the latter light air & calm. At 6 p.m. the Northernmost of the Meriere Islands bore WSW dist. about 5 leagues[,] the weather too thick to see the southernmost.

At 9 a.m. saw a sail in the SW quarter standing to the NE. A.M. washed the gun deck. In company with the **Glatton**.

Lat. obs. 4°56' N., Long. in. 130°46'

Sunday the 11th of November 1787

... At noon the strange ship WSW dist. about 3 miles.

Lat. obs. 4°46' N., Long. in. 131°1'

Monday the 12th day of Nov. 1787

... At 6 p.m. spoke the **Louisa** from Bombay bound to China. In company with the **Glatton & Louisa** Country Ship.

Lat. obs. 5°15' N., Long. in. 131°37'

...

Thursday the 15th day of Nov. 1787

... The **Glatton** in company, the **Louisa** out of sight.

Lat. obs. 7°37' N., Long. in. 132°46'

...

[She was separated from the **Glatton** on 18 November because of a rigging problem, but was also hit by the same typhoon on 20 November. Did not sight Palau either.]



---

## Document 1787I

---

# Population of the Marianas in 1786-1787—Census taken by Governor Arleguí

*Source: AHN Ultramar 5853, exp. 1; plus a copy in Part 7, pp. 1206-07.*

*Note: Part of a file containing a study on the Marianas done in 1828 (see Doc. 1828AD).*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Muy Señor mio:*

*Remito à V.S. Copia del Estado que hè formado, de resultas de la Visita, y Numeracion que acabo de executar de los Avitantes de estàs Yslas Marianas, con deseo de que se halle V.S. instruido de los que efetivamente existen; cuyo expediente Original dirijo en esta ocasion, al Superior Gobierno, en cumplimiento de las Ordenes comunicadas por èl.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.*

*Villa de Umata Jurisdiccion de las Yslas Marianas 7 de Mayo de 1787.*

*B.I.m. de V.S. su mas attento servidor,*

*Joseph Arleguí y Leòz.*

*[Al] Señor D. Ciriaco Gonzales Carvajal.*

### Translation.

My dear Sir:

I remit to Your Lordship a copy of the summary table that I have made, as a result of the visit and census that I have just taken of the inhabitants of these Mariana Islands, so that Your Lordship will be informed of the actual numbers that do exist. I am sending the original copy of this summary report to the Superior Government at the same time, to comply with the orders that came from it.

May Our Lord save Your Lordship for many years.

Town of Umata, jurisdiction of the Mariana Islands, 7 May 1787.

Your sincere servant who kisses the hand of Your Lordship,

Joseph Arleguí y Leòz.

[To] Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal.

Estado que manifiesta las Poblaciones, Casas, y Habitantes que se hallan Consistentes en las Islas Marianas segun la última Recensada por el Teniente Coronel Don Jose Arlegui, y Leor Teniente de Governador, y Capitan General de ella en el Mes de Abril de mil Setecientos ochenta y siete con expresion de la q se executo en el suommo anterior, y el aumento odiminucion que ha havido.

Islas habitadas	N <sup>o</sup> 1. <sup>o</sup> Poblaciones.	Casas.	Oficiales, y Soldados, y clero Jm <sup>o</sup> .	Habitantes Españoles y Mezizos.		Philipinos, y sus De- sendientes.		Indios Naturales.		Total de es- ta Numer. de 1787.	Total de la anterior. de 1786.	Aumento.	Diminu- cion.
				Hombres.	Mujeres.	Hombres.	Mujeres.	Hombres.	Mujeres.				
Guajan.	Ciudad de S. Igna- cio de Agaña y Barrio de Agaña	256	156	448	460	280	363			1707	1703	4	
	Pueblo de Anigua	39						81	79	160	157	3	
	Pueblo de Asan	12						30	19	49	46	3	
	Pueblo de Tipungan	11						25	29	54	53	1	
	Pueblo de Apurguan	10						20	18	38	37	1	
	Pueblo de Mongmong	15						28	28	56	56		
	Pueblo de Sinahaña	34						82	70	152	144	8	
	Pueblo de Sago	27						76	81	157	160		3
	Pueblo de Agat	37						95	95	190	181	9	
	Villa de Imata	41						83	84	167	157	10	
	Pueblo de Cacerizo	47						104	76	180	166	14	
Pueblo de Unarajan	31						70	68	138	161		23	
Rota	Poblaciones de Rota	70						109	199	296	290	16	
	Totales	600	356	208	260	280	260	802	757	3003	2959	44	

Este Estado se hizo en la Ciudad de Manila a los Diez y Nueve dias del mes de Mayo de mil Setecientos ochenta y siete años. Yo el Capitan General Don Joseph Arlegui y Leor Teniente de Governador, y Capitan General de ella. Yo el Capitan Don Joseph de S. Juan. Yo el Capitan Don Joseph de S. Juan. Yo el Capitan Don Joseph de S. Juan.

Settlements	Houses	Spaniards & Half-breeds	Filipinos & descendents	Native Indians (Chamorros)	Total 1787	Total 1786	Change +/-
Agaña—Military: 156 (including guests)							
Agaña—Civilians: >	256	448 Male, 460 Fem.	280 Male, 363 Fem.	0	1,707	1,703	+ 4
(incl. Barrio Sta. Cruz)							
Town of Anigua	39			81 Male, 79 Female	160	157	+ 3
Town of Asan	12			30 Male, 19 Female	49	46	+ 3
Town of Tipungan	11			25 Male, 29 Female	54	53	+ 1
Town of Apurguan	10			20 Male, 18 Female	38	37	+ 1
Town of Mongmong	15			28 Male, 28 Female	56	56	---
Town of Sinahaña	34			82 Male, 70 Female	152	144	+ 8
Town of Pago	27			76 Male, 81 Female	157	160	- 3
Town of Agat	37			95 Male, 95 Female	190	181	+ 9
Town of Umata	41			83 Male, 84 Female	167	159	+ 10
Town of Merizo	42			104 Male, 76 Female	180	166	+ 14
Town of Ynarahan	31			70 Male, 68 Female	138	161	- 23
Rota Island settlements	70			108 Male, 188 Fem.	296	280	+ 16
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>630</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>643</b>	<b>1,637</b>	<b>3,344</b>	<b>3,301</b>	<b>+ 43</b>
Percentages 5% military		27%	19%	49%	100%		

### **Explanation of the census table.**

The title reads: Table that shows the settlements, houses, and inhabitants who are found to live in the Mariana Islands, according to the census taken by Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leòz, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain General of it [sic] during the month of April 1787, plus a comparison with the numbers of the previous year, to show an increase or a decrease.

[Table (see previous page)]

The note at the bottom reads: As shown in this summary table, the total number of Spaniards, Half-breeds, Filipinos, and Native Indians of both sexes who inhabit these Mariana Islands is 3,344. There has been an increase of 43 since last year's census. Town of Umata, jurisdiction of the above-mentioned Islands, 3 May 1787. Joseph Arleguí y Leòz.

Ed. comments: **The Chamorro population became a minority in the Mariana Islands at about 1785.** In 1786, there was an important number of persons who left Inarahan to move to Merizo and Umatac, where the Recollect missionary lived. Assuming that all military men and their guests were male (a fair assumption), the split between male and female was roughly 50-50 in 1787.

---

**Note 1787J**

---

**Bio-sketch of Antonio Valdés****Biographical note on Antonio Valdés y Bazán, Secretary of the Despatch Office of the Council of the Indies, 1787-1790**

Antonio Valdés was born in Burgos in 1744. He graduated from the school for sea cadets in Cadiz at 13 years of age. In 1762 he became prisoner of the English at Havana. Later on, he fought numerous engagements against the pirates of the Barbary Coast. He reached the rank of Brigadier when he was 37 years old, in 1781. That is when King Charles III placed him in charge of a gun factory. Two years later, he became Inspector General of the Navy. After a stint with the Council of the Indies, during which time he dealt with the preparations of the Malaspina Expedition (see under 1792), he was promoted to Lieutenant-General, then in 1792 to Captain-General of the whole Spanish Navy. He retired in 1795, and was named State Counsellor, but the French invasion intervened and he did not carry out this new role until 1813. He died at Madrid three years later, in 1816. He earned many medals during his lifetime, including that of the Golden Fleece.

**Note.** See Doc. 1843B for a list of official papers, dating from 1787 to 1843, that were in the Agaña archives at that time.



**Archbishop Viceroy Nuñez de Haro, 1787.**

---

## Notes 1788B

---

# The Lady Penrhyn, Captain Sever, via Tinian and Saipan

### Introductory notes.

This ship was part of the First Fleet that took convicts from Portsmouth to New South Wales. The return voyage was via Tahiti and Canton, where the ship arrived on 19 October 1788.

There exist three primary accounts of this voyage: the logbook of Captain Sever (but the only part extant is the latter part of the voyage, from Whampoa to England); the journal of Lieutenant Watts; and that of the surgeon, Arthur Bowes Smyth, which has been published (see Bibliography, under 1788).

The six transports that had carried the first convicts were:

—**Lady Penrhyn**, Capt. Sever, 330 tons, returned to England via Saipan & Tinian, and Macao;

—**Alexander**, Capt. Sinclair (with Lieut. Shortland on board), 453 tons, returned via Palau Is., to Batavia (see HM15);

—**Friendship**, Capt. Walton, 228 tons, visited Palau, in company with Alexander;

—**Scarborough**, Capt. Marshall, 418 tons, returned via Gilbert, Marshall & Mariana Is.;

—**Charlotte**, Capt. Gilbert, 346 tons, returned via Gilbert, Marshall & Mariana Is., in company with Scarborough;

—**Prince of Wales**, 334 tons, which did not cross Micronesia.

---

## Document 1788C

---

# The Lady Penrhyn—Journal of Lieutenant Watts

*Source: Journal of Lieutenant John Watts, RN, supercargo. It is one of the log abstracts published in the book published by Arthur Phillip: The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay (London, 1789), pp. xli, 222-248.*

*Note: The ship left New South Wales on 5 May 1788, heading eastward as far as Huahine in the Society Islands. The heading was then changed to N.W., and a new island was soon discovered and named Penrhyn Island, after the ship; it was Tongareva in the Northern Cook Is. No land was sighted while the ship crossed the eastern boundary of Micronesia.*

## Lieutenant Watt's Narrative of the Return of the Lady Penrhyn Transport

### CHAP. XX.

May 5. 1788.

The **Lady Penrhyn**, Capt. Sever, left Port Jackson on the 5th of May, 1788. In the evening of the 7th, imagining they saw a fire on shore, they sounded, but found no bottom with ninety fathoms of line.

...

August, 1788.

Friday 8.

At day-light in the Morning of the 8th, they saw a low flat island, bearing from east to north-east seven or eight miles distant; it appeared to be well clothed with trees, but the weather at that time being squally allowed them a very imperfect view. Captain Sever named it Penrhyn's Island; it is situated in 9°10' south latitude, and 202°15' east longitude.

Wednesday 20.

In the afternoon of the 20th, the Captain and some others imagining they saw land, and the sun setting in a fog-bank, which prevented them ascertaining the reality, they shortened sail, and lay by for the night; but at five o'clock the next morning no land being in sight, they made sail and stood to the north-west by west, with a fine breeze at north-east.



Saturday 23.

In the evening of the 23d, being near the situation of an island and reef, as laid down in Lord Anson's chart, they brought to for the night.<sup>1</sup>

Friday 24.

A number of ganets and other birds were flying about the next day, but no land appeared in sight: their latitude at noon was 9°30' north, and 179°18' east longitude.<sup>2</sup>

September, 1788.

Monday 15.

Nothing occurred worthy of note till the 15th of September, when about noon they saw the island of Saypan, bearing west half north, twelve leagues distant.

Tuesday 17 [rather 16].

The next day at noon the south end of Tinian was about four leagues distant: in the afternoon the small boat was hoisted out, and Mr. Anstis went in her to sound a small bay round the south point of Saypan;<sup>3</sup> he returned at seven o'clock, having found from ten to twenty fathoms water about a mile off shore, but the ground hard.

[On Wednesday 17, they obviously remained in the channel between Saipan and Tinian.]

Thursday 18.

The next morning, Mr. Anstis went on shore in the small boat to endeavour to procure a bullock, great numbers of which were seen grazing on the island Tinian. At six in the afternoon, they stood round the south point of Tinian, but finding they could not fetch into the road, they brought to for the night. In the evening, Mr. Anstis returned with the best part of a young bullock.

Friday 19.

The next morning at day-light, they made sail and stood in for the road, and at nine o'clock came to anchor in eighteen fathoms, over a bottom of coral, about a mile and an half distant from shore. Soon after they anchored, a party were sent on shore to hunt.

Thursday 25.

From this to the 25th, they had light winds varying from south to east, with frequent showers over the land, and the flies so very troublesome that they found Captain Byron's account of them perfectly just. On coming to an anchor, they observed a buoy a little to the southward, with a ship buoy to it, they swept for the anchor, weighed it, and found it belonged to the **Charlotte** (Gilbert, master) one of the ships from Port Jackson bound to China; there were two-thirds of a cable to it. The party on shore also found some spars, apparently erected for a tent, and three water casks, one of which was full: it is most likely the **Charlotte** was blown out of the road, and could not regain her station again.

---

1 Ed. note: This chart had been copied from Spanish charts carried by the galleon Covadonga in 1743.

2 Ed. note: The ship was then to the east of the Marshalls.

3 Ed. note: Probably Laulau Bay.

Observing that their anchor was foul, on the 25th they hove it up to clear, and let it go again; presently afterwards, finding the ship adrift, they sounded, and had twenty-five fathoms, but as she was at the edge of the bank, they hove the anchor up, and made a stretch to the southward, but did not again fetch the bay till the evening of the 26th.

The two following days they had dark heavy weather with very hard squalls, and almost continual rain, the wind from north-east to south-east.

Monday 29.

At day-light in the morning of the 29th, the wind veered round to the south south-west, and soon afterwards, a very severe squall, attended with heavy rain, set the ship adrift, and the tide making strong to the north-west with a large hollow sea, they veered the reef very fast; however, the squall something abating, and fortunately backing round to the south south-east, they got their anchor up (which they otherwise would not have been able to have effected) and bore away to the north north-west. At noon the body of Tinian bore east half south, about four leagues distant.

During their stay at Tinian, filling water took up the whole of their time, the well not affording more than three tons a day, sometimes only two tons: the water was rather brackish, but otherwise not ill tasted. They found the fowls and hogs very shy, and the cattle had quite deserted the south part of the island, owing, as was imagined, to the alarm the **Charlotte's** people had occasioned among them.

They obtained two bulls, eight hogs, and about a dozen fowls; they also got bread-fruit, but it was at some distance up the country, and the generality of it not ripe: there was abundance of guavas but they were not in season; limes and sour oranges were also very plentiful. Cocoa-nut trees were in abundance, but those within a moderate distance from the beach were cut down, so that the distance they had to go for any was attended with too much fatigue to compensate for the advantages which could be derived from them, as they experienced from two or three attempts of the kind: the season in general seemed very backward. In addition to the animals of this place, they found wild cats. The country had exactly the same appearance as when Captains Byron and Wallis visited it, but many of the pyramidal pillars had fallen down and were much decayed. The mean state of the thermometer during their stay, was 87° [F].

In their passage from hence to China, no material circumstance occurred, and on the 19th of October they anchored in Macao Roads.

---

 Document 1788E
 

---

## Discovery of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands—Account of Captain Marshall

*Source: Log extracts edited by Arthur Phillip in his Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay (London, 1789), pp. xlvi-li, 249-266.*

*Note: The identities of the Gilbert Islands discovered by Gilbert and Marshall have been studied by Harry E. Maude, and published as an article entitled: "Post-Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific" in JPS 70 (1961): 76-80.*

### CHAPTER XXI.

*The Scarborough leaves Port Jackson—Touches at Lord Howe Island—Joins the Charlotte—Falls in with a large Shoal—Discover a number of Islands—Short account of the Inhabitants—Canoes described—Ornaments—Discover Lord Mulgrave's Islands—Arrival at Tinian—Sick people sent on shore—Departure from Tinian—Arrival in Macao Roads.*

May, 1788.

Tuesday 6.

The **Scarborough** transport, Captain Marshall, left Port Jackson on the 6th of May 1788, and proceeded towards China, being engaged to take in a cargo of teas at Canton for the East India Company. For several days they had very unsettled weather, with frequent squalls and heavy rain. In the afternoon of the 16th, they saw Lord Howe's Island, bearing east by south seven leagues distant; and the next day at noon, they found the **Supply** brig, the **Lady Penrhyn**, and the **Charlotte**, standing off and on under the Island. By two o'clock the **Scarborough** was close in with the land, but the weather not permitting them to go on shore, the night was spent in standing off and on. Early the next morning, Captain Marshall sent his boat with the chief mate and six men on shore at Lord Howe's Island, in expectation of procuring some turtle, as the **Supply**, Lieutenant Ball, had caught a large quantity at this island in February: however, they were not able, after the most diligent search, to meet with any turtle; but this excursion was not altogether a fruitless one, for they brought off a quantity of fine birds, sufficient to serve the ship's crew three days; many of them were very fat, somewhat resembling a Guinea hen, and proved excellent food. Having procured such refreshments as the island afforded, they made sail at four o'clock, with the **Charlotte** in company, and stood to the eastward, with a moderate breeze at south-west.

Thursday 22.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d, they saw Norfolk Island, bearing east by south twelve leagues distant. At two o'clock, they were within one mile of the land, and

had soundings in sixteen fathoms water over a hard bottom: the **Charlotte** being a considerable distance a-stern, Captain Marshall lay to for her to come up, and when she joined the **Scarborough** he stood under an easy sail to the distance of six leagues westward of the island, and carried soundings from sixteen to twenty-five fathoms, the ground various; in some places being soft, in other parts a corally bottom, and sometimes coarse white sand, intermixed with broken shells.

Monday 26.

After leaving Norfolk Island they stretched to the northward and eastward, and at one o'clock on the twenty-sixth they saw a small island bearing north north-east eight or nine leagues distant; when about four miles from the island, they sounded with fifty fathoms of line, but got no bottom. Towards evening, Captain Marshall was close in with the island, and being desirous to examine it, he plied occasionally during the night.

Tuesday 27.

At day-light the next morning, he was close to the land, and found it to be a barren rock, not more than half a mile over in the broadest part; it is very high, and was entirely covered with birds of various kinds, but there was no possibility of landing on account of a frightful surf that entirely surrounded it. This rock was seen first by Captain Gilbert, of the **Charlotte**, in the forenoon of the 26th, and named by him, **Matthew's Island**; it is situated in 22°22' south latitude, and 170°41' longitude, east of Greenwich.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 30.

On the 30th, in 17°13' south latitude, and 172°43' east longitude, they passed several large trees, and a number of cocoa-nuts floating in the water, but no land was to be seen.

June, 1788. Wednesday 4.

Nothing occurred worthy of note till the 4th of June, when the water appearing coloured, they sounded and struck the ground in fifteen fathoms water, although no land was to be seen: a man was then sent to the mast-head, who could plainly discern that the shoal ran to the westward, on which Captain Marshall altered his course and stretched to the eastward, carrying soundings from fifteen to thirty fathoms water, over a rocky bottom, and in many places they could see the ground very distinctly. After running to the eastward, about eight miles, they found no bottom with seventy fathoms of line, which occasioned the Captain to tack and stand to the southward. Vast numbers of birds of different kinds were flying to the westward of the shoal, so that there probably is an island near that situation. The east part of this shoal is situated in 173°12' east longitude, and the south part of it in 15°50' south latitude, but how far it extends to the westward and northward is very uncertain, though doubtless to a considerable distance, as the water had a white appearance from the mast head as far as the eye could reach. Being now entirely free from the shoal, they stood to the northward, with a light easterly breeze, and moderate weather.

---

1 Ed. note: According to Andrew Sharp, this is the modern Matthew Island, a barren island to the south of the New Hebrides (Vanuatu).

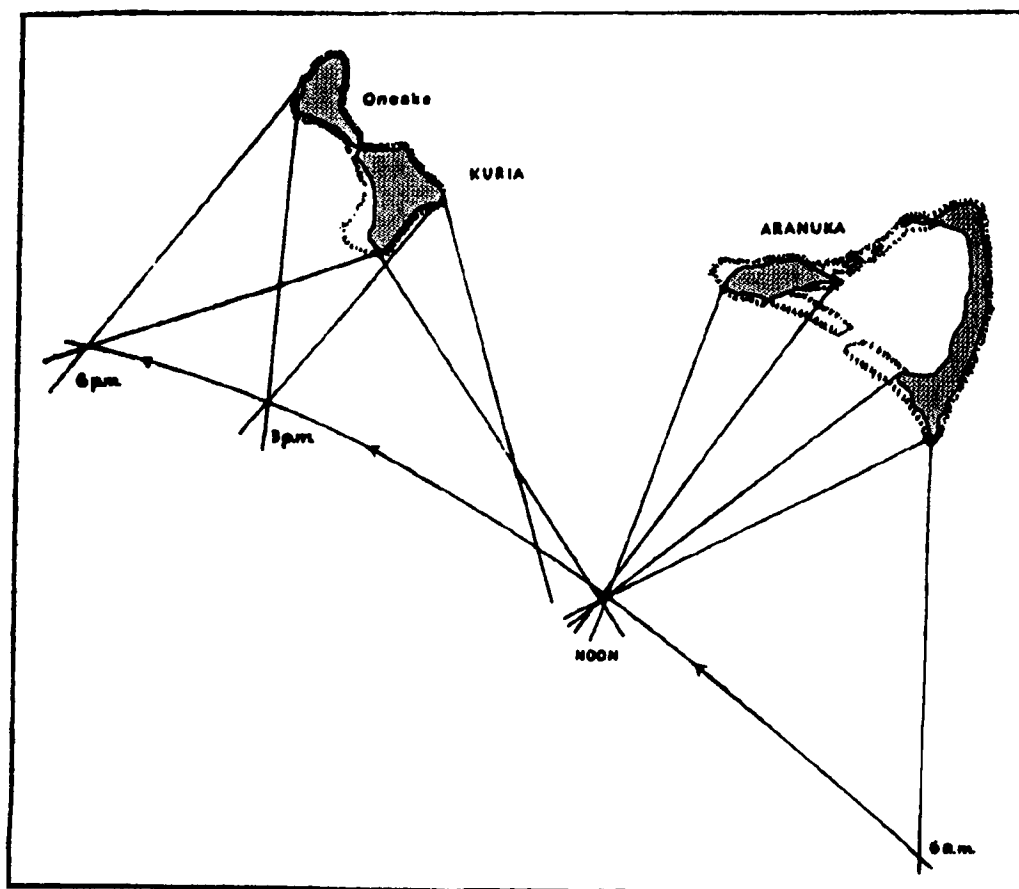
Monday 9.

On the 9th, in  $7^{\circ}59'$  south latitude, the wind shifted to the westward and continued in the western board till the 13th when it again changed to the eastward.

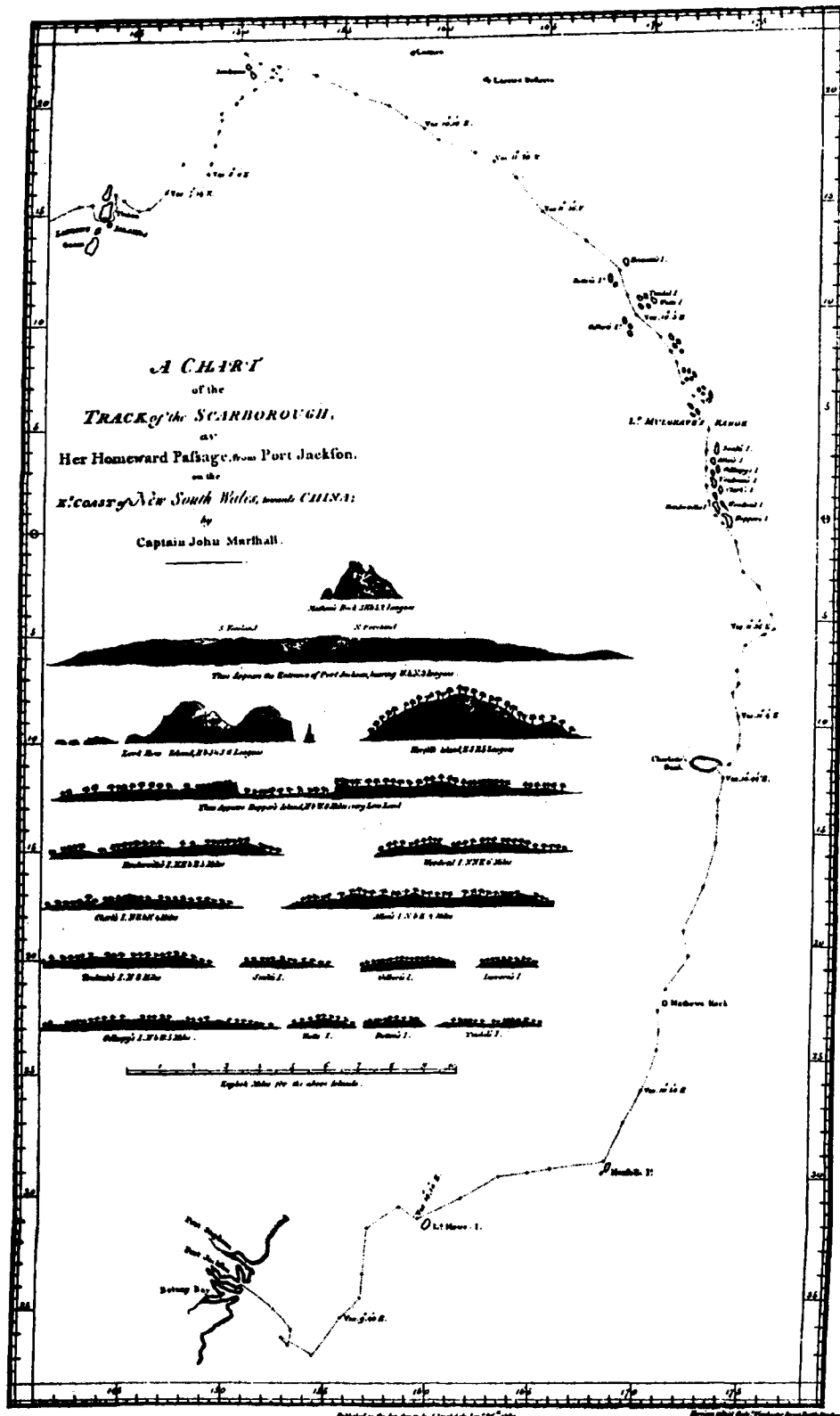
[Gilbert Islands]

Wednesday 18.

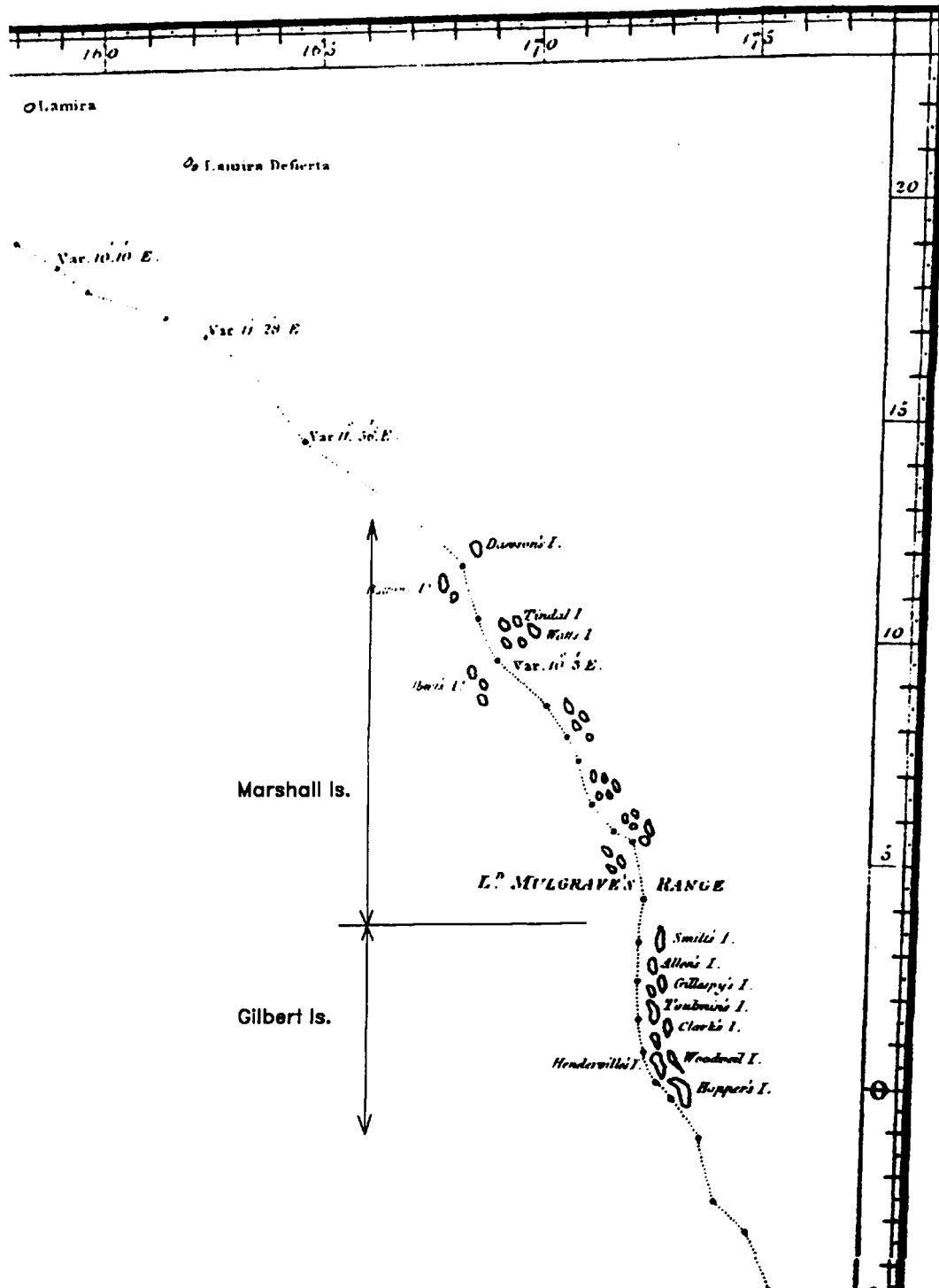
At six o'clock of the 18th they saw an island right a-head, bearing north half west eight or nine miles distant: they sounded when about six miles from the land, but got no bottom with sixty fathoms of line; at this time Captain Marshall perceived several canoes with their sails set, and two or three men in each canoe, coming towards the ship, but they presently put back again and made for the shore. This island is very low and level, and extends north-east, and south-west, terminating at each end in a low, flat point, with an appearance of a large bay in the middle; the Captain named it **Hopper's Island**; it is situated in  $00^{\circ}03'$  south latitude, and  $173^{\circ}43'$  longitude east from Greenwich.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Sharp identifies it as Abemama, but Maude says it was the east part of Aranuka.



Track of the Scarborough & Charlotte in 1788.



**First chart of the Gilbert & Marshall Is., discovered 1788. Detail of the chart on previous page. The note at the bottom of this chart reads: "Published as the Act [of Parliament] directs by J. Stockdale Sep. 26th 1789." It was engraved by Harrison & Reid of Worchester Street in London.**

At seven o'clock they saw another island smaller than the former, lying about six miles to the south-west of Hopper's Island, and nearly the same in appearance; this was named **Henderville's Island**.<sup>1</sup>

Towards noon, another island made its appearance, which Captain Marshall named **Woodle's Island**, situated three miles to the northwest of Henderville's Island.<sup>2</sup> Five large canoes with sails set put off from Woodle's Island, and came towards the ship, but when about four miles distant, they turned back and stood for the shore. The wind blowing off the land prevented them from getting in with the shore, so as to enable them to give a particular description of these islands; they seemed to abound with cocoa-nut, and a variety of other trees. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the **Scarborough** being within three miles of Henderville's Island, they sounded with sixty fathoms of line, but got no ground. Several large fires were lighted up on the shore, and the natives assembled in vast numbers on the beach, many of them pointing at the ship with looks of wonder and surprise; presently afterwards, nineteen canoes, with five or six men in each, came off from the shore and made towards the ship, on which Captain Marshall lay to, in hopes they would come alongside; several of them came within a quarter of a mile of the ship, and then taking down their sails, they stopt to gaze at the vessel, but nothing would induce them to come alongside; however, as more canoes were seen coming from the island, Captain Marshall determined to lay to till they all returned on shore, as there was a probability of his procuring some refreshments from them: two of the last canoes made for the ship without the least hesitation; on this, the captain ordered his people out of sight that the natives might not be intimidated. When the canoes were close to the ship, the Indians began to talk, and made signs for them to bring the ship nearer the island.

After talking with the natives some time, the Captain shewed them a few small nails, a quart bottle, and a looking-glass, all of which they seemed very desirous to obtain; however, they could not be prevailed on to bring their canoes alongside, but three of them jumped out and swam to the ship; a rope was given them to take hold of, but they could not be persuaded to come on board. On receiving their little presents they laughed very heartily, and by way of exchange gave the Captain some beads and teeth of beasts or animals, which they wore about their necks as ornaments: this circumstance serves to show that they have some idea of barter.

After making signs a second time for them to bring the ship nearer the island, they took their leave, and presently afterwards all the canoes returning towards the shore, Captain Marshall made sail and stood to the northward. The situation of these islands has already been mentioned, they lie in nearly a north-west and south-east direction: Hopper's Island appears to be about ten leagues in length, Henderville's Island six leagues, and Woodle's Island the same.

---

1 Ed. note: Sharp identifies it as Aranuka, but Maude says it was the west part of Aranuka.

2 Ed. note: Both Sharp and Maude identify it as Kuria.



It is to be lamented that Captain Marshall had not an opportunity of surveying these islands more minutely, as there is scarcely a doubt of their affording a variety of refreshments; for though nothing of the kind was seen in the canoes, yet the natives were plump and fleshy, and seemed to live at their ease: there is also an appearance of a most excellent harbour at Hopper's Island.

The inhabitants seem to be a fine set of people; they are of a copper colour, stout and well made; their hair is long and black, with black eyes and eyebrows, and they seem to have very fine teeth. The only ornaments seen amongst them were necklaces made of beads intermixed with teeth, and many of them had their faces painted white.

### [Gilbertese canoes]

If we may judge of these people from the construction of their canoes, they certainly possess a considerable share of contrivance and ingenuity: many of them are large enough to contain sixteen or twenty people; they are narrow, and built to sail very fast, yet there is not the least danger of their oversetting, as they are steadied with an outrigger resembling a ladder on the weather side, to one end of which a log of wood is fastened, cut sharp at each end in the form of a boat; this not only serves to keep the canoe upright, but likewise holds her to windward. At the other end of the outrigger, a stout rope is fixed, which leads up to the mast head and serves as a shroud; and when the wind blows fresh, two or more men, according to the size of the canoe, go out upon the ladder to keep her upright.

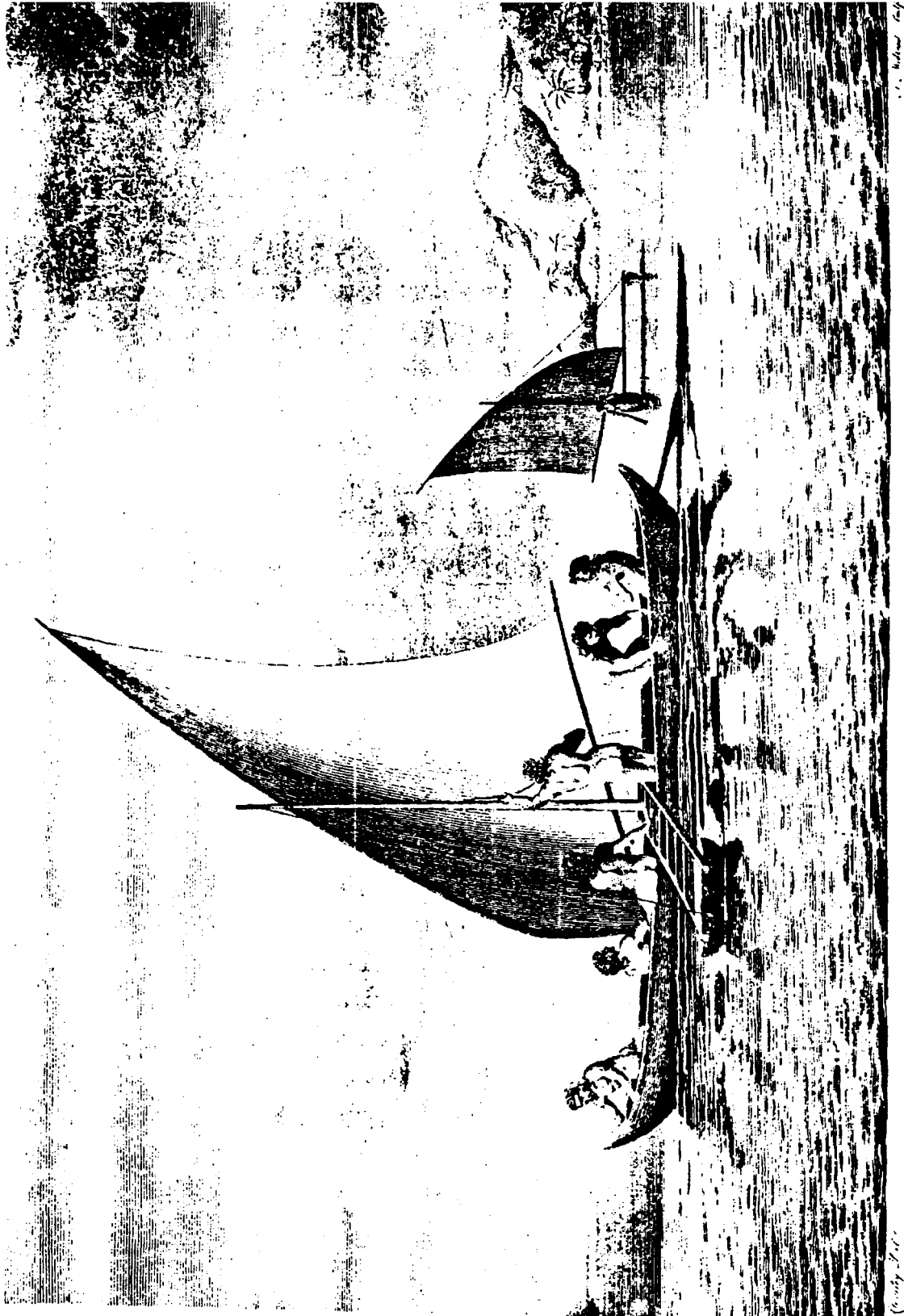
Though these canoes always sail on the same side, yet they are so contrived as to sail one way as well as the other, and the Indians manage them with such dexterity that they put about much sooner than our boats. Every canoe has a sail, which in general is very large; they appear to be made of raw-silk, neatly sewed together, and are cut in the form of our shoulder of mutton sail, with a yard at the fore-leach, and another at the foot, so that when they want to put their canoe about, they only have to shift their tack and bring it to leeward of the mast: in short, from what little Captain Marshall saw of these people, they appeared to be lively, ingenious and expert.

Friday 20.

After quitting these new discovered Islands, Captain Marshall stood to the northward, with a light breeze at east north-east, and at five o'clock in the morning of the 20th, they saw an island bearing east north-east, eight miles distant; it appeared very low, and almost level with the water, so that when only four miles distant they could perceive nothing but trees.<sup>1</sup> When Captain Marshall got close in with the land, he found it to be a chain of islands, extending from south-east to north-west for the distance of more than thirty leagues. Having a favourable breeze, they run along the islands about three miles from shore, and several canoes with sails set, came after the ship, but none

---

1 Ed. note: Maude says that Maiana was probably missed entirely during the night of the 19th. He also says that all the islets discovered on 20 June belonged to the north part of Tarawa, and to Abaiang.



(Facing page: **A Canoe and Natives of Mulgrave's Range, i.e. Mili Atoll, Marshall Islands.** *Sketched by R. Clevely and engraved by S. Medland. The mast appears to be stepped at the wrong place in these two views.*

of them would come near her. Great numbers of the natives presently assembled on the beach, in order to gratify their curiosity in looking at the ship; this induced Captain Marshall to lay to in expectation of the natives coming alongside, but not one of them ventured near the ship: at one time he had an intention of sending his boat on shore in order to procure some refreshments, as many of his crew were laid up with the scurvy; however, he prudently declined taking this step, as it certainly would have been hazarding too much to have sent a few men amongst an ignorant multitude, with whose temper and disposition they were perfectly unacquainted.

The centre of these islands is situated in 1°50' north latitude, 173°00' east longitude.<sup>1</sup> They are very low, and yet it is rather remarkable, that on sounding, when not more than a mile from the land, there was no bottom found with eighty fathoms of line. Within the islands there appeared to be some fine harbours, and they probably afford a variety of refreshments. The natives seemed to be nearly black, and their canoes were constructed much in the same manner as those already described.

Sunday 22.

There being no prospect of procuring any refreshments from these people, Captain Marshall made sail, and at noon on the 22d they saw land in the direction of north by east, eight miles distant;<sup>2</sup> it appeared very low, flat, and full of trees. By four o'clock, they were close in with the southermost land, and saw a great number of canoes sailing close to the shore, some of which came towards the ship, and two of them very near, but nothing would entice them to come alongside. The people appeared much the same as those at Henderville's Island, and their canoes were of a similar construction; one of them had a kind of vane at the mast head, which appeared to be made of the same materials as their sail.<sup>3</sup> There appears to be good anchorage between these islands, and the water very smooth, and they seem to abound with cocoa-nut and cabbage trees. By the time they were abreast of Scarborough Island, it grew so dark that they could not see the land; luckily, however, the Indians lighted two very large fires which enabled them to get entirely clear of all the islands.

Monday 23.

At six o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d, more land made its appearance, bearing north to north-west, four leagues distant, but night coming on, they tacked and stood to the southward.

---

1 Ed. note: This position corresponds to Abaiang.

2 Ed. note: This was Butaritari, which Quirós had first discovered in 1606.

3 Ed. note: This was possibly the symbol of their clan, or village (see Grimble's work on Canoes of the Gilberts).

**[Marshall Islands]**

Tuesday 24.

By two o'clock the next day, they were within two miles of the land, and found it to be a chain of islands, extending from east to nearly west for more than twenty-five leagues; and they perceived a reef from the easternmost point of land, which ran at least three leagues into the sea.<sup>1</sup> The shore on the north-west side of these islands is bold and steep; the **Scarborough** coasted along within a mile of the land, and frequently sounded with an hundred fathoms of line, but could get no bottom; at the same time they saw the water break near the shore, and a vast number of the natives were collected on the beach. About three o'clock, a small canoe with two men in her came off from the shore, on which Captain Marshall hove to, in order to give them an opportunity of coming up with the ship, but when they were about one hundred yards from the vessel, they put back again as fast as possible, seemingly very much frightened: these men had skins wrapped round their waists, and their hair was ornamented with shells and beads. After they left the ship, Captain Marshall made sail, being desirous to make the westward part of the islands if possible before the night came on; but in this he was disappointed, as the wind grew light and baffling. Several large canoes now put off from the shore with eight or ten men in each; it already has been observed that the **Charlotte**, Captain Gilbert, was in company with the **Scarborough**; at this time she was some distance a-stern, and the canoes all went alongside her; several of them went on board the **Charlotte**, and ran fore and aft, stealing every thing that lay in their way; one of them in particular, got hold of the pump-break, and attempted to jump over-board with it, but was stopped by one of the sailors. They appeared to be very civilized [sic], and all of them had coverings round the waist: their ornaments were necklaces made of beads, to which a cross [sic] was suspended, in the same manner as those worn by the Spaniards.<sup>2</sup>

Captain Marshall distinguished these islands by the name of **Lord Mulgrave's Islands**, in honour of the Right Honourable Lord Mulgrave. The southernmost of them is situated in 5°58' north latitude, and 172°3' east longitude, and the northernmost in 6°29' north latitude, and 171°10' east longitude.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday 25.

At noon on the 25th, they got round the westernmost island, and thought themselves entirely clear of them all, as the day was very fair, and no land could be seen from the mast-head; at the same time they had a long swell: on this, Captain Marshall stood on under an easy sail during the night, but was very much surprised at daylight the next morning,

---

1 Ed. note: They were approaching Mili, in the Marshall Is.

2 Ed. note: A real puzzle, as 182 years had passed since the discovery of Butaritari by Quirós in 1606, and more than 200 years since some Spanish ships were lost near the Marshalls.

3 Ed. note: The exact position of Alu in the NW corner of Mili is 6°12' N and 171°43' E.

Thursday 26.

to see land on the weather quarter, and a large island on the lee quarter, between which they must have passed in the night, and certainly very near that on their lee, though they sounded every half hour, but never struck the ground.<sup>1</sup> Lord Mulgrave's Islands abound with cocoa-nut-trees, and they could perceive remnants of oranges and various other sorts of fruit, although the natives offered nothing of the sort to barter. These islanders had not any offensive weapons whatever, so that they probably are on very friendly terms with each other. With a light easterly breeze, they kept their course to the northward,

Friday 27.

At noon on the 27th, in 7°25' north latitude, and 171°10' east longitude, they saw land bearing from north by east to north north-west. Having now a fresh breeze, Captain Marshall run in with the land, and found it to be a cluster of small islands lying east and west of each other, but no appearance was seen of their being inhabited.<sup>2</sup>

Saturday 28.

At noon on the 28th, more islands were seen, bearing from north to north-west by west, three or four leagues distant, their latitude at that time was 8°02' north, and 170°57' east longitude.<sup>3</sup> The weather being very hazy, with constant rain, they wore, and stood from the land; however, the afternoon proving tolerably clear, they again stood toward it, and by four o'clock were close in with the westernmost island.<sup>4</sup> Two large canoes were lying on a sandy beach, but they did not perceive any inhabitants. At five o'clock they saw several more islands, bearing north north-east, five or six leagues distant. During the night, Captain Marshall stood under an easy sail.

Sunday 29.

At day-light the next morning land was seen a-head bearing north by east six leagues, and some land bearing east seventeen leagues distant.<sup>5</sup> These islands, like all they had yet seen, were very low, and entirely covered with lofty trees; on sounding, they got no ground with an hundred fathoms of line. Their latitude at noon was 8°59' north, and 170°24' east longitude.<sup>6</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: The ships passed between Arno and Majuro atolls.

2 Ed. note: The track goes by Aur, and it could not be any other, but the latitude given is 1 degree too low.

3 Ed. note: Again, the latitude reading is low, for Maloelap.

4 Ed. note: Kaven I. in the NW corner of Maloelap atoll.

5 Ed. note: These were Wotje, and Erikub, respectively.

6 Ed. note: The longitude readings continue to be accurate, but the latitude is still 1° too low.

At five in the afternoon, more islands were seen, bearing north, five leagues distant, but night coming on they wore and stood to the southward.<sup>1</sup>

Monday 30.

In the forenoon of the 30th, they ran between two islands, about five leagues distant from each other, and surrounded by a number of breakers:<sup>2</sup> by eleven o'clock they were entirely clear of all the land. Their observation at noon gave 9°34' north latitude, and the longitude was 169°22' east.<sup>3</sup>

The last islands were supposed by Captain Marshall to be those which Lord Anson discovered [sic], and named **Barbadoes Islands**.<sup>4</sup>

July, Thursday 31.

Having now a clear navigation, they prosecuted their voyage without meeting with any thing worthy of notice till the 31st of July, when at six o'clock in the morning they saw the island of **Saypan** being west by south six leagues distant. Having light baffling winds, they did not get in with the land till the approach of evening, so that the night was spent in standing off and on.

August, Friday 1.

At day-light the next morning, Captain Marshall sent his boat on shore, with the chief mate and four seamen, to procure some refreshments, and look for anchorage. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the boats returned loaded with cocoa-nuts and cabbage, both, as the men reported, from the same tree, but they could find no place for a vessel to anchor in, the water being very deep close to the land, with a rocky bottom, and so heavy a surf that the boat did not land without great difficulty. Not meeting with a harbour at Saypan, the Captain determined to make the best of his way to Tinian, where he might come to anchor and get his sick people on shore, having no less than fifteen men laid up with the scurvy, and the rest of his crew were so weak that they could scarcely work the ship: the wind, however, was so variable, that they did not reach the south-west side of that island till afternoon on the 4th, when they anchored in twenty-two fathoms water, and soon afterwards the **Charlotte** came to anchor a small distance from the **Scarborough**.

Tuesday 5.

Early the next morning, Captain Marshall sent his sick people on shore, with a tent, and a sufficient quantity of provisions to serve them five days. After landing the sick, and erecting their tent, the boats crew walked about the island, and saw a great number of cattle, hogs, and fowls, but they only caught a calf, one hog, and a fowl or two, and loaded the boat with cocoa-nuts, oranges, and limes.

---

1 Ed. note: Likiep.

2 Ed. note: Utirik and Taka, which are 5 minutes apart.

3 Ed. note: The latitude given here is inexplicably about 2° too low.

4 Ed. note: Anson's chart was a copy of an old Spanish chart. However, the northern Marshalls were indeed referred to as the Barbudos, or Islands of Bearded Men, by their discoverers, the Spanish.

## Wednesday 6.

On the 6th, the chief mate was sent on shore to look for fresh water; he soon found out the well, mentioned in Lord Anson's Voyage, but it was quite dry, and there was not any fresh water to be met with within two miles of the landing place. The boat returned at noon, loaded with fruit of different sorts. Toward evening the wind came round to south south-west blowing very strong, which sent a heavy sea rolling into the bay, and occasioned the **Scarborough** to pitch very much. The wind still blowing strongly into the bay,

## Thursday 7.

Captain Marshall sent his boat on shore on the 7th, to bring off the sick people, which they accomplished with much danger and difficulty; in the mean time, every thing was got ready for sea, the Captain being determined to get away the moment the wind shifted to south or south by east, so that they could clear the west part of the island. During the night, they had so heavy a gale at south-west that they expected every minute to be driven on shore.

## Friday 8.

Fortunately, however, at day-break, the wind shifted to south south-east, on which they immediately cut the cable and ran clear of the land: Captain Gilbert cut both his cables and followed the **Scarborough**. Scarce had they cleared the land before the wind again shifted to south-south-west, and blew a complete hurricane, so that had the vessels then been at anchor, they must inevitably have been driven on shore. Though Captain Marshall's people were on land so short a time, they found amazing benefit from it, their strength gradually returned, and soon afterwards they were perfectly restored to health.

No particular occurrence happened during their passage from Tinian to China; they saw the Lema Islands in the afternoon of the 7th of September, and came to anchor in Macao Roads the following afternoon.

### Route of the Scarborough, Captain Marshall, from Port Jackson, New South Wales, to China.

Time.	Lat.	Long. E.	Winds, Weather, and Remarks.
June 14	4°36'S	175°51'	E.S.E. Light airs and pleasant weather.
June 15	3°19'S	175°23'	E.b.N. Moderate winds and cloudy, with frequent squalls.
June 16	2°30'S	174°40'	N.E. Ditto and clear. Variation 11°52' East.
June 17	1°2'S	174°12'	Easterly. Ditto, ditto.
June 18	0°05'N	173°43'	Variable. Ditto, ditto. At six, A.M. Saw Hopper's Island N. 1/2W. eight miles. Sounded and got no ground. At seven, A.M. saw Henderville's Island bearing six miles to the S.W. of Hopper's Island. At one, P.M. saw Woodle's Island 3 miles N.W. of Henderville's Island. Several canoes coming towards the ship.
June 19	00°30'	173°03'	N.N.E. Light airs and pleasant weather. At three, P.M. Henderville's Island three miles distant. Sounded in 60 fathoms, no ground. Hove to main top-sail to the mast. A number of canoes in sight. At six, P.M. made sail.
June 20	1°48'	173°03'	Easterly. Light airs and pleasant weather. At five, A.M. saw land, bearing E.N.E. eight miles. Found it to be a chain of islands, extending S.E. and N.W. 30 leagues. Sounded one mile from the land in 80 fathoms, got no ground.
June 21	2°46'	173°03'	Easterly. Moderate and cloudy, with rain. At noon, saw land, bearing N.b.E. five leagues.
June 22	4°14'	172°38'	E.N.E. Ditto and pleasant weather. At four, P.M. close in with the land. A number of canoes in sight. Sounded with 60 fathoms, no ground. The land formed six islands, extending from N.b.W. to S.b.E. 14 leagues. They were named Allen's Island, Gillespy's Island, Touching's Island, Clarke's Island, Smith's Island, and Scarborough Island. Variation 1°22' E.
June 23	5°30'	172°22'	E.b.N. Moderate and cloudy, with intervening squalls and rain. A current setting to the Northward.
June 24	5°52'	171°50'	N.E.b.E. Ditto. Ditto, with much rain. At six, P.M. Saw land, bearing from N. to N.W. four leagues. Wore and stood to the Southward. Sounded 100 fathoms, noo ground.
June 25	6°29'	171°28'	East. Light breezes and cloudy. At two, P.M. within two miles of the Easternmost land. Found it to be a chain of islands extending from E. to the Westward 25 [sic] leagues. Sounded with 100 fathoms, no ground. Several canoes in sight. At noon, rounded the Westernmost point of Lord Mulgrave's range.



...

Time.	Lat. N.	Long. E.	Winds, Weather, and Remarks.
July 15	22°24'	150°51'	S.b.W Moderate, and cloudy.
July 16	21°59'	151°42'	S.S.W. Ditto, Ditto, with lightning.
July 17	21°44'	152°04'	Variable. Light winds, and cloudy.
July 18	21°35'	151°49'	S. Light airs, inclining to calm.
July 19	20°57'	150°45'	S.E. Moderate and fair weather.
July 20	20°21'	150°05'	E.S.E. Light airs and pleasant weather. Variation 7°38' E.
July 21	20°16'	149°52'	Calm. Clear weather.
July 22	19°43'	149°16'	Variable. Light airs, and clear.
July 23	19°25'	149°16'	Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.
July 24	18°56'	149°15'	S.W. Light winds, and cloudy.
July 25	18°08'	149°00'	W.S.W. Moderate, and clear.
July 26	17°16'	148°55'	W. A gentle breeze, and cloudy.
July 27	16°58'	148°51'	Ditto. Moderate, and ditto. A great number of birds about the ship. Variation 8°00' E.
July 28	16°34'	147°23'	S.E.b.S. Fresh breeze, and ditto.
July 29	16°02'	146°32'	Variable. Light ditto, and pleasant weather.
July 30	15°23'	145°42'	E.N.E. Ditto, and cloudy. Saw several ganets about the ship.
July 31	15°12'	145°15'	Southerly. Ditto, and pleasant. At 6 A.M. saw the Island of Saipan, bearing W.b.S. 6 leagues.
Aug. 1-8			At anchor at Tinian, procuring refreshments.
Aug. 9	15°29'	144°24'	S.W. Strong gales, and squally, with much rain.
Aug. 10	15°39'	143°18'	Variable. Moderate and cloudy. Squalls at intervals.

...

---

**Document 1788F**

---

**Discovery of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands—Account of Captain Gilbert**

*Source: Captain Thomas Gilbert. Voyage from New South Wales to Canton (London, 1789).*

*Note: The daily accounts run according to ship time, from noon to noon.*

**Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the Year 1788, with Views of the Islands Discovered, by Thomas Gilbert, Esq., Commander of the Charlotte**

...

1788. June.

Saturday, 14th.

Light airs and clear for the first part; A.M. light breezes with rain, and after that fair; wind E.N.E. Latitude observed 4°43' S. longitude by lunar observation 175°55' E.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 15th.

First and middle parts light breezes and squally, with rain; afterwards clear, wind from E. to E.by N. Latitude observed 3°28' S. Longitude by lunar observation 175°45' E.

Monday, 16th.

Cloudy, with squalls and rain, wind N.E. At eleven P.M. a sudden squall, attended with lightning and rain, split the fore-top-mast studding-sail to pieces. Latitude observed 2°38' S.; by double altitude 2°39'. Longitude by lunar observation 175°40' E.

Tuesday, 17th

First part moderate and cloudy; about four P.M. squally, with rain, afterwards moderate and clear, with some flying showers, wind E. Saw several gannets, and other indications of land. Kept a good look-out. Latitude observed 1°13' S. Longitude by lunar observation 175°54' E.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Captain Gilbert's longitudes are from 1° to 2° too far East.

**[Gilbert Islands]**

Wednesday, 18th.

Wind and weather variable; at times moderate and squally, with rain, wind from E. by N. to N.E. by N. At one A.M. it being squally, with heavy rain, shortened sail. The watch on deck agreed with me that we smelt land. At six in the morning the **Scarborough** made the signal for seeing land. We at the same time saw it, bearing N. 1/2 W. At half past six made the signal for seeing land bearing N.N.W.; and again at eight, for seeing it N.W. by N. Sounded with forty fathoms; no ground. At ten were close up with three low islands,<sup>1</sup> that appeared to be woody. The cocoa-nut and palm trees were very conspicuous. At noon the southernmost of the three islands bore from N. 54 E. to N. 65 E. four or five leagues distant. The middle one from N. 21 E. to N. 38 E. distant three or four leagues. The northernmost, from N. 16 W. to N. 34 W. distant eight or nine miles. Being then abreast of the middle island, which appeared to be about four or five miles long, I could plainly perceive a pretty large village. Several of the huts were lofty, and apparently well thatched. I saw many canoes or proas on the beach, and could observe that a considerable number were making towards the ship. The three islands extend, as far as I can judge, about fifteen or sixteen miles. They seem to be narrow, and all of them have fine white sandy beaches. I make the latitude of the middlemost of them to be 00°02' N. Longitude by lunar observation 175°54' E.

Thursday, 19th.

First part light breezes and clear, afterwards moderate and hazy, wind N. to N.E. At three P.M. the westernmost of the three islands bore from N. 1/4 W. to N.E. by N. the north end of the third island N.N.W. two or three miles distant. This island is rather longer than the first and second, and has a reef from the north end stretching N.W. about three quarters of a mile. I counted thirty proas making towards the ship; and could plainly see many more of the natives launching in a great hurry off the beach. At four the headmost proa, that seemed to conduct the whole, tacked in a very expeditious manner, by shifting its lateen sail (by which means the head became the stern), and went off at a great rate. She had got within half a mile of the **Scarborough**, when Captain Marshall fired a shot at her, to my great regret and vexation, as I thought it commencing hostilities with them too soon, even if they had been hostilely inclined; and would effectually prevent our having any intercourse with them. In order to dispel their apprehensions, and invite a nearer approach, I displayed a white flag; on which two of the proas, one much larger than the other, bore down; but the rest kept aloof. At five one of them reached the **Scarborough**, and soon after came along-side of us. They viewed with great attention the sides of the ship, which I had caused to be painted red, some of the voyages I had perused pointing out that colour as the most pleasing to the natives of these climates; but all I could do would not prevail upon them to come on board. Having expressed by signs that they should be late before they reached the shore, they went off. There were seven men in the large boat, and three in the smaller. They

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The two halves of Aranuka, plus Kuria.

appeared facetious, were in height about five feet then inches, remarkably well made, had fine long hair, and were of a bright copper colour. Their boat was neatly made, with a well-constructed out-rigger, similar to those of the Ladrone Islands; and their sail seemed to be composed of matting made of the husks of the cocoa-nut. At six I sent the jolly boat on board the **Scarborough**. The westernmost island then bore from N. 40 E. to N. 73 E. the body of it N. 56 E. distant twelve or thirteen miles. Sounded; no ground 160 fathoms. Latitude observed 00°31' N. Longitude by lunar observation 175°14' E.

Friday, 20th.

First part light breezes and hazy; middle part squally, with rain, wind variable from N.E. to E.; towards the latter part moderate and clear, wind E. At midnight shortened sail, and at day-break discovered land; made signal to the **Scarborough**, and hauled up for it. Repeated the signal for seeing more land at different times; viz. at five discovered an island bearing E. 1/2 N.; at half past five saw another bearing N.E. by E.; three quarters past five perceived a third bearing N.N.E.; and at eight a fourth, which was a fine large island, bearing N.E. seven or eight leagues distant.<sup>1</sup> At ten the island marked **A**, in **Plate No. 2**, bore E.S.E. seven or eight leagues distant; that marked **B** bore E.S.E. Being abreast of the second island, we saw many proas making towards the ship. At eleven, thirteen were in sight. At that time the north end of **C** bore E. by N. distant four or five leagues. I now brought to for some of the nearest proas, and displayed a white flag, endeavouring, by every method I could think of, to invite them on board; but without effect. Several large proas came within hail of the ship, and then tacked. Their boats were of the same size and construction as those we passed on the nineteenth instant. At noon the middle of the island **C** bore N. 40 E. distant twelve or thirteen miles; and the fourth island bore from N. 10 E. to N. 84 E. distant nine or ten miles. Being now abreast of this island, the extremity ending in a beautiful blump of trees, I hauled up to look at the bay. It appeared to be safe and commodious, sheltered by a long reef running parallel with the island, with two large inlets into the bay [i.e. lagoon]. The reef is about three quarters of a mile from the beach, and has several small islands which appear like flower-pots. From the north end of this pleasant island runs a small reef, and five small woody island, two of which seemed to be high and woody. Probably the five are in one; but they appeared, in the situation we were, to be in as many hummocks. To them I gave the name of Marlar's Islands. I brought to off the north end of the large island. Soon after, I saw upwards of a hundred of the natives assembled on the point, but whether to greet, or to obstruct our landing, I shall not pretend to say: notwithstanding they appeared so friendly, I did not judge it prudent to put their intentions to the test; for, though the necessity of procuring refreshments prompted us to take every eligible step for that purpose, the number and situation of out crews did not warrant us to run any risk of being cut off by the natives, whose ap-

---

1 Ed. note: No number appears on Plate 2, but it is clear that A = Gilbert, B = Marshall, C = Knox I. (all in the north part of Tarawa).

parent friendship is not always to be depended upon. The prosecution of our voyage, and not making discoveries, being the object which alone ought to engage our attention, every appearance of temerity was to be avoided. Latitude observed 1°42' N. Longitude by lunar observation 175°01' E.

Saturday, June 21st.

First part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S.E.; middle part light airs and hazy, wind E.N.E.; and latter part moderate and clear, wind the same. At two P.M. the third island bore from N.W. 1/2 W. to E. distant five or six miles. At three brought to, and sent the jolly boat to the **Scarborough**. At a quarter past four in boat, and made sail. The southernmost island of the chain, I left first for Captain Marshall to name, which he thought proper to name Gilbert's Island; the middle, I named Marshall's Island; and the northermost, Knox's Island; [see Plate 2.]<sup>1</sup> To the large island with the cluster, I gave the name of Mathews's Island,<sup>2</sup> in honour of the owner of the **Charlotte**; [see Plate 1.] The bay, I called Charlotte's Bay; the south point, which terminates the beautiful cluster of islands, I have named Charlotte's Point; and the north point of the island, which forms the bay, Point William. It is something singular that I could get no sounding with one hundred and twenty fathoms line, although at times I was within half a mile of the shore. At seven in the morning, being moderate and fair, the **Scarborough** sent her boat on board: and at half past eleven she made the signal for seeing land; which we likewise saw, bearing N.N.E. Latitude observed 2°42' N. Longitude by lunar observation 174°26' E.

Sunday, 22d.

First part moderate and clear, wind N.E. by E.; middle and latter parts fresh breezes and clear, wind N.E. At two P.M. being abreast of an island, of a very pleasing appearance, bore up, and made the signal to speak the **Scarborough**. At four the body of the island bore N.N.E. 1/4 E. distant six or seven miles. Being now abreast of a low woody island, I brought to for some proas that were standing towards us, but could not prevail on them to come on board. The first proa that bore down to us had a white vane at the mast head; and the second a small clump resembling a bird's nest. The crews of the different proas appeared to be tall, stout, and well made. All of them had long black hair, were of a bright copper colour, and clothed about the middle. The proas were of the same construction as those already mentioned. In the evening, as I ran along the shore, I saw several large fires; most likely they were signals for their boats that were out reconnoitering us. The water was very smooth, and no ground one hundred and fifty fathoms. At five the small island bore N. by W. four or five leagues distant; the main island from N.E. 1/4 E. to E. 1/2 N. four or five miles distant. At ten, the north-west point of the small island bore E. four or five miles distant. At ten A.M. hove to, sent the jolly boat on board the **Scarborough**, and then made sail. Sounded, no ground one hundred and sixty fathoms. Latitude observed 4°09' N. Longitude 174°00' E.

1 Ed. note: All part of Tarawa.

2 Ed. note: Abaiang.

Land seen on the 23 of,  
[MHI]

Land at Nauru 20th 1 - Long 17th

[N. Tarawa]  
[B] Mardubi, N  
Pop. 1,500

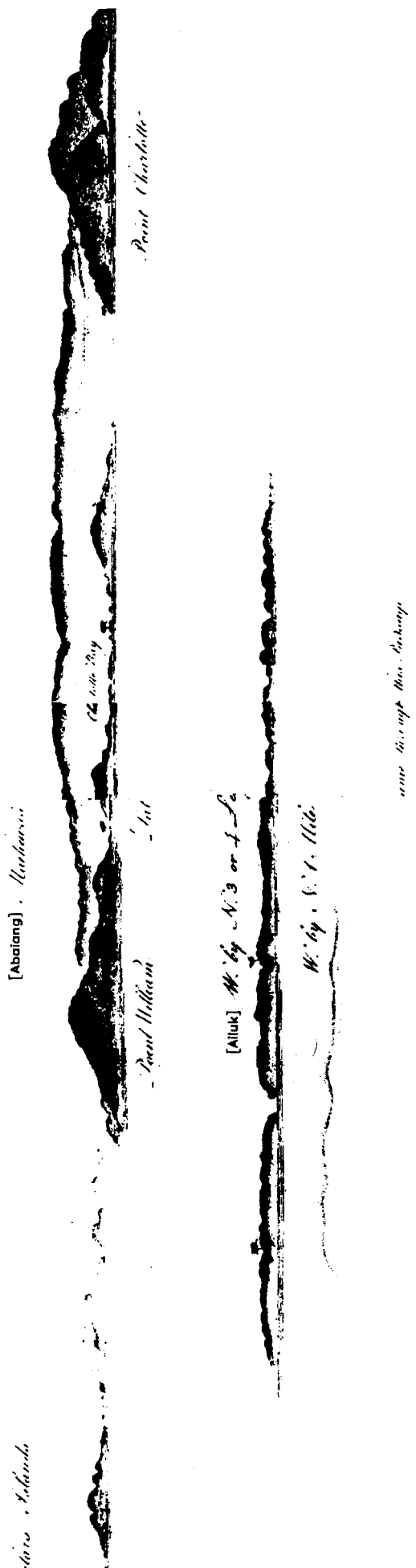
[A] Gulleriki Island  
Pop. 1,000

[C] Muro Island  
Pop. 2,000

Land at Nauru 17th 1 - 17th 17th

### Mili and Tarawa atolls.

**Abaiang & Ailuk atolls.**



*same description as above*

Monday, 23d.

First part moderate and cloudy, wind E.N.E.; middle part light squalls, with lightning and rain, wind the same; latter part light breezes and hazy, wind N.E. At three P.M. hoisted in the jolly boat. About noon saw a gannet. Kept a good look-out. Latitude observed 5°22' N. Longitude by lunar observation 173°43' E.

[**Marshall Islands**]

Tuesday, 24th.

The first part hazy weather, wind N.E.; middle part heavy rain, wind E.; latter part squally with heavy rain, wind N.E. Sounded, no ground forty fathoms. At two P.M. a sudden squall, with rain, split the spanker; at six squally, and very dark and cloudy; in top-gallant sails and shortened sail. At half past seven observing the **Scarborough** to wear suddenly, I instantly put the helm a-weather, and hauled off, although the look-out man at the mast-head could see nothing. Sounded, fifty fathoms, no ground. At half past nine boe up, and spoke the **Scarborough**. Captain Marshall informed me that he saw land bearing from N. to E. Concluding this to be the case, I proposed to stand off and on till day-break; to which he assented. During the night very heavy rain, with such vivid flashes of lightning, all round the compass, as were never seen by the oldest seaman on board the ship; it was really awful. At half past seven A.M. made the signal for seeing land bearing N.W. by N. about four leagues distant [See **Plate 2.**]; we then stood in for it, and ran down pretty close. Some boats appearing, I displayed a white flag, and made such signs as I thought would invite them on board. At ten a sudden squall split the fore-top-gallant sail, and middle stay-sail. Till noon frequent squalls, with heavy rain, which obliged us to shorten sail occasionally. Found the jib boom sprung. Latitude observed 5°48' N. Longitude by lunar observation 172°55' E.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday, 25th.

The first part moderate breezes, with dark cloudy weather, wind variable from N.E. to S.S.E. At two P.M. the extremes of the land bore from W. by N. to E. by S. off shore about seven or eight miles. At five one of the proas, with about twenty-five persons in it, came close to the ship, and the men seemed inclined to venture on board. As I wished to establish a friendly intercourse with them, I immediately brought to, and, by such signs as we thought most intelligible to them, endeavoured to prevail on them to leave their boat. Our endeavours were not ineffectual; they soon after hauled down their sail, and paddled pretty near. Among the people in the proa was an old man of an exceeding venerable appearance, with a remarkable long white beard, who, when they had got within hearing, chanted a song, in a tune, which, though consisting of little variation, was not altogether inharmonious. The whole of those in the boat joined him, making at the same time strange gestures. The old man then began a long oration, the tendency of which, as well as the song previously chanted, seemed to be to assure us of their friendship, and to procure a favourable reception from us. As no part of our conduct appeared to contradict this expectation, they put out their paddles, and moved slowly

---

1 Ed. note: The ships were near Knox atoll in the SE corner of Mili Atoll.



towards the ship. When they had approached near enough, I caused a few trifles to be thrown to them, with which they seemed to be much pleased. In order to accelerate their coming on board, I veered a board with a line to them, on which were fastened some spike nails. These they seized, with every appearance of that wonderful attachment the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Sea are known to have for iron implements of this nature. I then went over the taffrail, and sat in the stern ladder. They seemed much pleased with the confidence I placed in them, and immediately paddling up, came on board. As a token of their friendship, they presented me with a piece of matting very neatly made, together with a few other things, such as shells, &c. and we were now upon the most social terms with each other, when an accident happened that was the occasion of their leaving us abruptly. In gibbing the spanker, six or seven of them, who were sitting on the spanker-guy, which lay along the taffrail, were thrown overboard. Such an accident, I own, was enough to make them doubt our intentions, and it had that effect; for no sooner did those who were on the quarter-deck perceive the situation of their companions, than they immediately leaped into the water, and getting into their boats, hoisted their sail, and went off with all speed. They, however, soon joined us again, accompanied by two other large proas. As there was some reason to suppose, from their precipitate departure, that they might be offended at what had happened, I was prepared to receive them in a hostile manner, should it be necessary. But, as I took care they should not see in us any disposition to a breach of that amity which had so lately taken place between us, they endeavoured to convince us of their returning confidence, by holding up some fruit, as if they wished us to accept of it. Perceiving this, I brought to, and went over the side of the ship, in order to renew the communication with them; upon which they hauled down their sail, and, taking the painters of the boats in their hands, swam with them to the ship, and having made them fast, came once more on board. They now presented me with another piece of matting, and some fruit of a species I was unacquainted with; and in return I gave them some fish-hooks, nails, &c. which they seemed to think a sufficient compensation. As it now began to grow dark, and their stay on board would not only have been inconvenient, but might have proved dangerous, their number being increased to upwards of thirty, I hastened their departure, and got them into their boats. As they were going off I caught one of them taking away the head pump handle. The man, on being detected, appeared quite unconcerned, and seemed to think it no crime to carry off whatever he could find: an idea that seems to prevail throughout all the newly-discovered islands in this quarter of the globe. These people were of the same complexion as those before described, and, like them, were covered only about the middle. They were remarkably well made, and I found them not only of a social disposition, but, as far as I could judge from their behaviour, disposed to be friendly. By the signs they made I could really perceive that they wished me to go on shore; and they further gave me to understand that they would leave hostages for my safety; but as I did not think it prudent to run any risk of that kind, I declined the offer, and proceeded on my voyage. At six P.M. the northernmost extremity of the second island bore N.W. by W. distant seven or eight miles. During the night it was

squally, with heavy rain; and not thinking it prudent to run all night, I spoke the **Scarborough**, and brought to. At half past three A.M. bore up to join the **Scarborough**; at half past four again brought to; and at half past five bore up and made sail. At daylight saw the land bearing from N. by E. to N.E. by E. off shore about nine or ten miles. Still squally with rain. At ten the north-west end of the third island bore S.E. distant five or six leagues. The heavy squalls, with rain, continued, which obliged us to short-sail occasionally; and the weather was still dark and cloudy. No observation. Latitude by account 6°10' N. Longitude by lunar observation 172°35' E.

Thursday, 26th.

At one P.M. squally, with rain, wind E.N.E.; at midnight shortened sail; at two split the jib. Continual rain till near midnight, then fair and more moderate, wind the same. At day-break we discovered low land, bearing from N.E. to S.E. off shore about two or three leagues, and made the signal to the **Scarborough**. This land consisted of islands, which I named Daniel's, Pedder's, and Arrowsmith's Islands;<sup>1</sup> between the two latter we were drifted by the current in the night, and which I named Fordyce's Passage. [See **Plate, No. 3.**] At a quarter past five A.M. the low land bore from S. by W. to S.W. by W. distant three or four leagues. At eight the extremes of the land bore from E.N.E. to S.E. by S.; the weather calm and cloudy. At noon the land bore from E. by N. to S.S.W. off shore four or five leagues. Sounded 150 fathoms, no ground. This day we caught three sharks, and got them on board, in order to procure oil for the lamp from their livers. Latitude observed 7°19' N. Longitude by lunar observation 172°30' E.

Friday, 27th.

First part thick hazy weather, and calm, with a swell from the north-east; middle part light airs, inclinable to calm, wind N.E. by E.; afterwards fresh breezes and thick haze, with rain, wind E.N.E. At a quarter past eleven A.M. we saw land bearing north, seven or eight miles distant. Made the signal to the **Scarborough**. At three quarters past eleven we saw more land, bearing N.N.W. nine or ten miles distant. No observation. Latitude by account 7°57' N. Longitude by lunar observation 172°05' E.

Saturday, 28th.

First part fresh breezes and lazy, with rain, wind E. by N.; middle part light breezes and hazy, wind E.N.E.; latter part moderate and fair, wind N.E. At four P.M. the extremes of the land bore from N. to E.S.E. This land is a cluster of islands of a very pleasing appearance. I ran down among them within two or three miles, and as I proceeded could perceive some proas on the different beaches, but I could see no inhabitants. I gave them the name of Ibbetsonn's Islands.<sup>2</sup> [See **Plate, No. 3.**] Our people counted upwards of twenty of them; but I do not think that there are so many. I could only discern twelve or thirteen, with a good glass, from the main-top-gallant yard.<sup>3</sup> At four P.M. the northernmost island in sight bore N. by W. distant three or four leagues; the

---

1 Ed. note: The first two correspond to Arno, and the third to Majuro.

2 Ed. note: Aur Atoll.

3 Ed. note: Some of his men had good eyesight indeed, as they were right.

second or middle island N.E. distant four or five leagues; and the middle of the third or southernmost island E.N.E. distant five or six leagues. At six P.M. the northernmost island in sight bore N.E. by N. four or five leagues distant. At seven spoke the **Scarborough**, when I proposed to Captain Marshall to stand on under an easy sail during the night; to which he assented. At a quarter past four A.M. made sail, and at five discovered land bearing from N.N.E. to E.N.E. off shore two or three leagues; upon which I made the signal to the **Scarborough**. At noon the northernmost island in sight bore E. by S. 1/4 S. distant six or seven leagues. I counted about fifteen of these islands, and they extend nearly as many leagues. These I named Calvert's Islands, and the extremities of which I called Point Camden and Point King. [See **Plate, No. 3.**] Sounded, no ground 160 fathoms. Latitude observed 8°58' N. Longitude by lunar observation 171°41' E.<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, 29th.

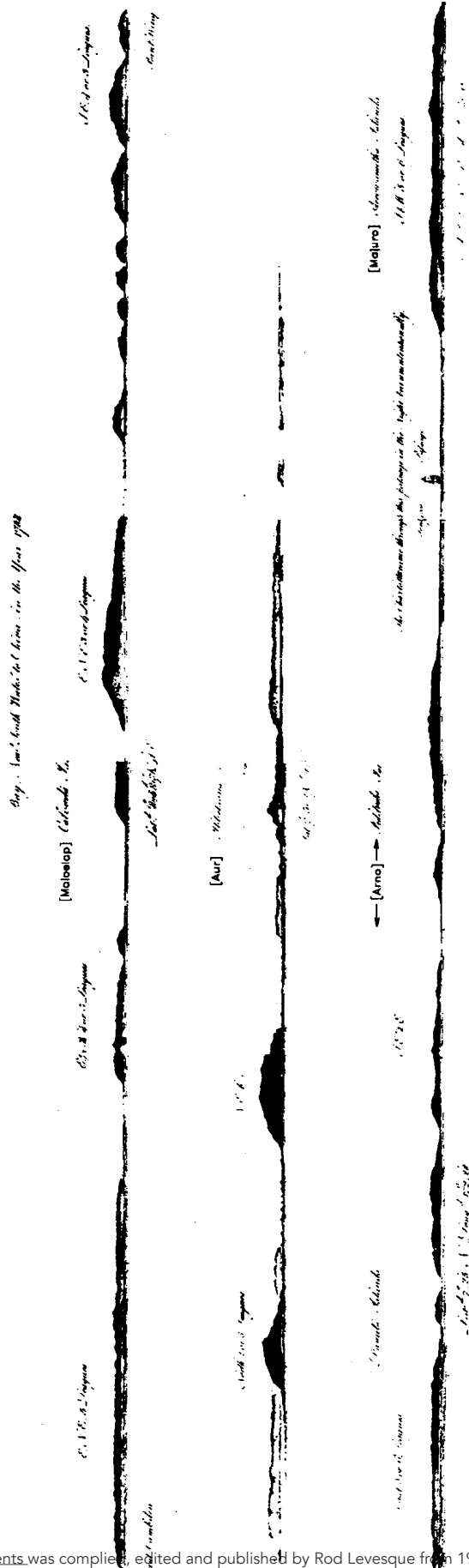
First part fresh breezes and cloudy, afterwards hazy; at noon fresh breezes and clear, wind N.E. At five P.M. we discovered land bearing from W. to N. five or six leagues distant. At six wore ship, and stood off. Spoke the **Scarborough**. The northernmost of these islands at dark bore N.N.W. three or four leagues distant. At two A.M. made the signal, and wore ship. At daylight saw the land bearing from N.E. to W. off shore three or four leagues;<sup>2</sup> made the signal to the **Scarborough**, and made sail. At eight we saw a small island and reef, bearing N.N.W. distant one mile; and another island S. by E. distant five or six leagues. At half past eight we were abreast of a cluster of islands on each side. From the extent of these islands, and the tremendous reef running from them, I was doubtful of finding a passage. Our situation, however, from the strength of the wind and current, admitting of no retraction, I pushed on with a press of sail, in order, should we be able to effect a passage, to make our way through as soon as possible, for fear of calms. We could get no soundings, although I ran along the reef within half a mile of it. I saw a few inhabitants, and one large proa, which pushed hard to get up with us, but without effect; for, as there was no time for loitering, I did not bring to. From the southernmost of these islands, till noon, I ran by the log upwards of fourteen leagues, and did not see the extent of the reef till two o'clock. At half past two (thank GOD) we happily cleared all. I have named these islands Chatham's Islands. [See **Plate, No. 4.**] They lie in the lat. of 9°25' N. long. 171°11' E. At noon the north end of the reef bore E.N.E. distant five or six miles. Lat. observed 9°29' N. Long. by lunar observation 171°11' E.

Monday, 30th.

First part fresh breezes and clear, wind N.E. by E.; middle part moderate and cloudy, wind N.E.; latter part fresh breezes and clear weather, wind the same. At three P.M. discovered an island bearing N.N.W. distant four or five leagues; and at half past three

- 
- 1 Ed. note: The northernmost islet of Maloelap is Kaven, which lies exactly at 8°54' N and 170°55' E. By this time, Gilbert's longitude was 1° too far East.
- 2 Ed. note: The ship was on the east side of Erikub, south of Wotje which they were about to discover, and go around its west side.

Marshall Is.



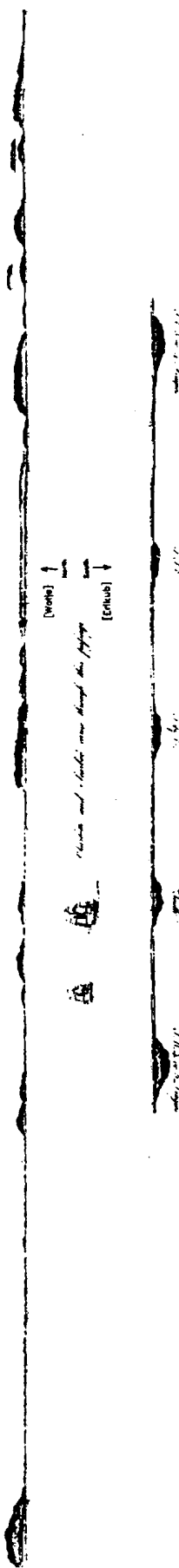
*Filipthans Islands.*

Drawn by the Hydrographer of the Expedition on the basis of the observations of the Malaspina Expedition, in the year 1791.

Scale of 1:100,000

Scale of 1:100,000

Scale of 1:100,000



[Note] ↓  
[Entrance] ↓

**Marshall Is.**

saw a cluster of islands bearing from S.S.W. to W. distant about five leagues, which I suppose to be those named by different navigators the Piscadore Islands.<sup>1</sup> At three quarters past three saw a sand-spit, dry about half a mile, bearing W. by N. distant one mile. [See **Plate 1.**] Hauled up in order to clear it. At six we discovered a small island bearing N.E. by N. distant four or five leagues. The northernmost extreme of the cluster of islands bore W. by N. four leagues distant; and at sun-set the middle of the cluster bore W.S.W. At eight we shortened sail, and spoke the **Scarborough**; when I proposed to wear at ten, and stand to the eastward; to which Captain Marshall assented. At day-break, out all reefs, and made sail. Ever since we first fell in with these islands, we have been in continual danger; and our situation admitted of no remedy whatever. Anchors were not of the least service, as we could get no soundings, even within half a mile of the shore, though we never omitted to sound constantly throughout the twenty-four hours; and in bearing up for one cluster, we fell in with another. We, however, at length happily made our way through them; but without being able, from different circumstances, to procure at any one of them the refreshments we stood in need of. From the number of the islands we have lately fallen in with, it is not improbable that there are many others lying nearly in the same degrees of latitude and longitude, and perhaps extending to the east and north-east: and as there is a prospect of an intercourse being in time established between New South Wales and China, some of them possibly may prove to have safe and convenient harbours, and to abound with such necessaries as shall render the passage much more ageeable than we found it. Latitude observed 10°39' N. Longitude by lunar observation 170°58' E.

Tuesday, July 1st.

Fresh breezes and clear weather, wind N.E. by E. during the day. At eight P.M. in top-gallant sails, and shortened sail, in order to speak with the **Scarborough**. At daylight we made sail. Latitude observed 11°41' N. Longitude by lunar observation 170°21' E.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday, 2d.

At one P.M. fresh breezes and cloudy; at two a light squall with some rain; at four moderate and clear, wind N.E. which continued during the remainder of the day. At eight P.M. we spoke the **Scarborough**, and at day-break made sail. At half past eight A.M. made the signal to the **Scarborough** to set up the rigging. We accordingly shortened sail, and shifted the top-sails; stayed the lower masts, and set up the rigging. At noon the **Scarborough** sent her boat on board. Latitude observed 13°21' N. Longitude by lunar observation 167°26' E.

Thursday, 3d.

At one P.M. fresh breezes and cloudy, wind N. by E. Stayed the top-masts and top-gallant masts, and set the rigging up. At four we saw some tropic birds and sheer waters. At eight A.M. removed the shifting ballast aft. We now found that the ship sailed

---

1 Ed. note: Only because of fanciful names on charts. This was Ailuk.

2 Ed. note: There is no mention of Taka-Utirik, or Bikar here.

infinitely better since I let the masts in the partners aft. Latitude observed 14°54' N. Longitude by lunar observation 165°50' E.

Friday, 4th.

Moderate breezes, and fine, clear, pleasant weather, wind N.E. At four in the afternoon we again saw some sheer waters. Latitude observed 16°12' N. Longitude by lunar observation 164°46' E.

Saturday, 5th.

First part light breezes and clear; middle part hazy; latter part moderate and cloudy; wind N.E. Nothing particular happened during the course of this day. Latitude observed 17°07' N. Longitude by lunar observation 163°51' E.

Sunday 6th.

First part light breezes and hazy, with a smooth sea; wind N.E. Latitude observed 17°36' N. Longitude by lunar observation 162°57' E.

Monday, 7th.

First part moderate breezes, with light squalls, and cloudy; middle part moderate and cloudy; latter part moderate and fair; wind E.N.E. during the day. At two sounded, no ground sixty fathoms. At five we spoke the **Scarborough**; when Captain Marshall informed me that ten of his men were down with the scurvy. Having been so long without procuring any refreshments from on shore, that disorder, so fatal to seamen, now began to grow alarming in both ships. Latitude observed 18°16' N. Longitude by lunar observation 161°47' E.

Tuesday, 8th.

First part light airs and cloudy, with showers of rain, wind E.S.E.; middle part the same, with small rain, wind variable; latter part calm and cloudy, wind S.E. In the forenoon we saw several tropic birds and sheer waters. At noon sounded, no ground 160 fathoms. Latitude observed 18°52' N. Longitude by lunar observation 161°07' E.

Wednesday, 9th.

First part light airs and clear, wind E.S.E.; at six P.M. light squalls with rain, wind variable; during the night light breezes and clear, wind E.S.E. succeeded by squalls with heavy rain; latter part hazy, and very unsettled weather, wind variable. Latitude observed 19°28' N. Longitude by lunar observation 160°11' E.

Thursday, 10th.

First part light airs, and dark cloudy weather, wind variable; middle part moderate and cloudy, wind E.; latter part dark unsettled weather, wind the same. At eight P.M. we spoke the **Scarborough**, and informed Captain Marshall that the longitude by lunar observation the preceding noon was 159°10' E. At seven A.M. variation per azimuth 9°30' E. No observation. Latitude by account 22°2' N. Longitude by lunar observation 159°38' E.

Friday, 11th.

First part breezes and cloudy; afterwards moderate and clear; wind during the day variable. At ten P.M. the **Scarborough** spoke us. In the forenoon we saw several tropic birds and sheer waters. This day the carpenter became indisposed, and his illness in-

creased the sick list to nine out of twenty-eight; a number that, considering the distance we were at from any place where there was a probability of procuring necessaries for their relief, as well as for preventing a further addition to the list, carried no little degree of alarm with it. Latitude observed 20°42' N. Longitude by lunar observation 158°16' E.

Saturday, 12th.

First part moderate breezes and hazy, wind N.E.; middle part cloudy unsettled weather with squalls, wind variable; latter part thick, hazy, and squally, with rain, wind E.S.E. The scurvy now began to make rapid strides, and the number of sick on board was this day increased to ten, with a prospect of several more being soon down, the symptoms gaining ground upon them, notwithstanding we had plenty of good beer of our own brewing, wine, and other antiscorbutics. Latitude by account 21°35' N. Longitude by lunar observation 156°45' E.

Sunday, 13th.

First part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S.E.; middle part squally and cloudy; latter part heavy squalls, with rain, wind the same. At seven P.M. we spoke the **Scarborough**. At five A.M. shifted the main-top-gallant mast. At eight we saw a gannet, and kept a good look-out. Latitude observed 22°23' N. Longitude by lunar observation 152°51' E.

Monday, 14th.

First part heavy squalls, with rain, wind S.S.E.; middle part fresh breezes and cloudy, wind variable; latter part squally, with heavy rain, wind S. by W. At three P.M. we saw a gannet, and at seven A.M. several more were in sight. When I spoke the **Scarborough**, the preceding day, I proposed to Captain Marshall to wear immediately, in order to get to the southward as soon as possible; being convinced that the south-west monsoon had reached us, and that it would be necessary for securing our passage to China to round the Bashee Islands as close as we might have it in our power to do. Here it must be very apparent to every nautical man, that from the latitude we were then in, and the south-west monsoon blowing, we should not be able to fetch the Island of Formosa; and getting to leeward of it would effectually prevent our reaching China till the north-east monsoon should set in; and, from the sickly state of the crew, I was apprehensive we should be equally retarded on the coast of Japan, where the current is rapid and uncertain. From the little plan I had laid down for the government of our voyage, previous to our sailing, it will appear that I never intended to have gone so far to the northward. There, however, was no alternative, but that of returning again to the southward, while we had it in our power to do so, by being well to the eastward, and consequently not too much influenced by the monsoon. We accordingly wore and stood to the southward. No observation. Latitude by account 22°35' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°48' E.



Tuesday, 15th.

First part moderate breezes and cloudy, with rain, wind S.S.W.; middle part heavy squalls, with rain, wind S.; latter part dark and gloomy, with flying showers, wind the same. At four P.M. we had a large swell from the S.W. and a vast number and variety of birds were about the ship. This day I conceived myself not far from the islands called the Gardens, laid down in several charts nearly in this latitude.<sup>1</sup> No observation. Latitude by account 22°30' N. Longitude by lunar observation 151°44' E.

Wednesday, 16th.

First part moderate breezes, with thick gloomy weather, and light showers at times, wind S. by W.; middle part squally, with rain, and much lighting from the south, wind S.S.W.; latter part cloudy, wind the same. At five P.M. we had a heavy swell from the S.S.W. and a great number of birds were still round the ship. At ten A.M. sent the jolly boat on board the **Scarborough**, which returned at noon. No observation. Latitude by account 22°05' N. Longitude by lunar observation 152°56' E.

Thursday, 17th.

First part light breezes and cloudy, unsettled weather, with heavy rains, wind S.W.; middle part light airs and hazy, with rain, wind variable; latter part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S. At four P.M. wore ship; and likewise at half past seven, when in top-sails. At three A.M. wore ship to the westward, and at four to the eastward; at seven we were taken aback; and at half past seven again wore ship. Latitude observed 21°53' N. Longitude by lunar observation 152°28' E.

Friday, 18th.

First part light breezes and cloudy, wind S.; middle part moderate and clear, wind S.S.E.; latter part hazy, wind S. by E. At one P.M. we wore ship, and also at half past twelve A.M. At four the **Scarborough** spoke us. At seven variation per azimuth 8°10' E. At half past seven Captain Marshall sent his boat, to inform me that his brother was taken dangerously ill, and requested that I would come on board. I went immediately, carrying with me such medicines and other things as, from the account given me, I thought he stood in need of; but, to my great concern, before I could reach the ship, he expired. Though neither Captain Marshall nor myself had a surgeon on board, yet having a good medicine chest, with directions, together with Buchan's Domestic Medicine,<sup>2</sup> I did tolerably well, and I flatter myself prevented the scurvy from proving so fatal as it otherwise might have done. Mr. Marshall's case was, however, very obstinate; he had languished for some time under that disorder; and, as we were not able to make any land, where the sole effectual remedy against it could only have been obtained, from the benefit of the air on shore, and from the use of fruits and vegetables,

1 Ed. note: Los Jardines were originally one atoll of the Marshalls discovered by Villalobos, severely misplaced on some old charts, copied by Anson, etc. However, the presence of birds indicated that they were indeed close to an island; in fact, they were downwind from **Marcus Island**, situated at 23° N & 154° E.

2 Ed. note: William Buchan. Domestic Medicine, or A treatise of the prevention and cure of diseases (many editions).

it had now arrived to such a height as to deprive him of life; and that, at last, in a manner somewhat sudden. Latitude observed 21°44' N. Longitude by lunar observation 152°17' E.

Saturday, 19th.

First part light breezes and cloudy, wind S.S.E.; middle part moderate and clear, wind S.E.; latter part the same, wind S.E. by S. In the afternoon a great many birds, of various sorts, were about the ship. The number of sick on board still amounted to ten. Latitude observed 21°07' N. Longitude by lunar observation 151°27' E.

Sunday, 20th.

Light airs and clear throughout the day, wind from S.E. to S.S.E. At seven A.M. the **Scarborough** spoke us. Latitude observed 20°38' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°51' E.

Monday, 21st.

First part light airs and clear, wind S.; middle part clear and calm; latter part light airs and cloudy, wind W. At one P.M. sent the jolly boat on board the **Scarborough**. The sick list this day decreased to nine. Latitude observed 20°24' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°45' E.

Tuesday, 22d.

First part light airs and cloudy, with rain, wind W.; middle part variable; latter part moderate and fair, wind N. At ten A.M. several birds were round the ship. The state of the sick as yesterday. Latitude observed 19°44' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°26' E.

Wednesday, 23d.

First part light breezes and clear, wind N.N.E.; middle part light airs, inclinable to calm; latter part calm; at noon hot and sultry, wind S.S.W. The wales and bottom of the ship being now become exceedingly foul, we got the boat out and scrubbed the starboard side. The state of the sick as before. Latitude observed 19°28' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°12' E.

Thursday, 24th.

First part light airs and cloudy, wind S.W.; middle part inclinable to calm; latter part moderate and cloudy, wind S.W. by S. At two P.M. sent the boat on board the **Scarborough**. This afternoon scrubbed the larboard side of the ship. From one to four her head was all round the compass. Many birds were this day about the ship. The state of the sick as before. Latitude observed 19°01' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°00' E.

Friday, 25th.

First part light breezes and hazy, wind S.W.; middle part lightning in the S.W. quarter, wind the same; latter part dark, gloomy weather, with squalls, wind W.; and at noon N.W. by W. In the afternoon many birds were about the ship; and the next morning a great number were still observable. The state of the sick as before. Latitude observed 18°05' N. Longitude by lunar observation 150°00' E.

Saturday, 26th.

First part dark, gloomy weather, wind W.; middle part thick, hazy, and unsettled, wind S.S.W.; latter part moderate and hazy, with rain, wind variable. A great number of birds around the ship during the whole day. At six P.M. lightning in the south-west quarter. The state of the sick as before. No observation. Latitude by account 17°22' N. Longitude by lunar observation 149°47' E.

Sunday, 27th.

First part calm, with heavy rain; middle part moderate and cloudy, wind S. by W.; latter part fresh breezes and cloudy, wind S. A great number of birds, of various kinds, about the ship. The state of the sick as before. Latitude observed 16°57' N. Longitude by lunar observation 149°47' E.

Monday, 28th.

First part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S. by E.; middle part cloudy, with squalls, wind the same; latter part moderate and fair, wind still S. by E. At three P.M. the **Scarborough** spoke us. At two A.M. a sudden squall, with rain, split the fore-top=gallant sail. At eleven the **Scarborough** again spoke us, when Captain Marshall acquainted me that he had lost another of his ship's company by the scurvy. Our list of sick was this day increased to ten. Latitude observed 16°35' N.; longitude by lunar observation 148°27' E.

Tuesday, 29th.

First part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S. by E.; middle part the same, wind S.E.; latter part moderate and fair, wind E. Nothing material occurred through this day. The state of the sick remained as before. Latitude observed 16°04' N. Longitude by lunar observation 145°47' E.

Wednesday, 30th.

Light airs and clear during the whole day, wind from E.N.E. to S.E. In the afternoon we saw several gannets. The sick list was now increased to twelve. Latitude observed 15°26' N. Longitude by lunar observation 146°47' E.

[**Mariana Islands**]

Thursday, 31st.

Light airs and clear, wind from S.E. to S.S.W. At two P.M. we saw several gannets. At midnight shortened sail. At day-break made sail. At four A.M. I spoke the **Scarborough**, and informed Captain Marshall that the island of Tinian, according to Commodore Wallis's account, bore from us S. 61° W. distant 20 leagues. And here I must pay the tribute due to the nautical knowledge of this good officer, by observing, that wherever his track and mine coincided, I not only found his Voyages useful, but remarkably correct. At six A.M. saw land bearing W. 1/2 S. nine or ten leagues distant. At noon the southernmost extreme of the land bore W.S.W. 1/2 W.; the northernmost W.; the body of the islands W. by S. distant seven or eight leagues. The state of the sick as before. Latitude observed 15°14' N. Longitude by lunar observation 146°22' E.

Friday, August 1st.

First part light breezes and hazy, wind S. by W.; middle part light airs, inclinable to calm, wind S.S.W.; latter part light breezes, with flying showers of rain, wind S.W. by S. At four P.M. the extreme of the land, which I took to be the island of **Saypan**, bore from S.W. by S. to W. 1/2 S. distant three or four leagues. At seven the southernmost point bore S.W. 1/2 W.; the northernmost ditto W. 1/2 S. At eight A.M. the extremes of the land bore from N.W. by W. to S.W. The state of the ship's company rendered the sight of land most grateful to our eyes; and excited the warmest hopes that we should be able to procure the refreshments we so much stood in need of. The scurvy had now arrived to such a height among the crew that eleven were unable to move; and the remaining apart were so exceedingly feeble, from the effects of it, as scarcely to be able to navigate the ship: so that our situation was become extremely critical, which induced me to make the best of my way to the island of **Tinian**; and this I signified to Captain Marshall. No observation.

Saturday, 2d.

First part light airs and cloudy, with rain, wind S.S.E.; middle and latter parts the same, wind variable, from S.S.W. to W. by S. At three P.M. we bore down and spoke the **Scarborough**, and at five her boat came on board. At seven the extremes of the land bore from N.E. to S.W. 1/2 W. distant two or three leagues. Latitude observed 15°5' N.

Sunday, 3d.

First part light breezes, with showers of rain, wind S.W. by S.; middle part light airs and hazy, wind S.S.W.; latter part the same, wind S.W. At one in the afternoon tacked, and, being near the island of Saypan, sent the jolly boat on shore, in order to procure refreshments for the sick, which returned at six, when we again made sail. At seven the extremes of the land bore from S.W. by W. to N.W. by N. off shore four miles. At eight A.M. the southernmost point of Tinian bore W.S.W. 1/2 S. distant four or five leagues. Latitude observed 14°57' N.

Monday, 4th.

First part light airs and clear, wind S.W. by S.; middle part light airs, hazy, and squally with rain, wind S. by W.; latter part cloudy, with rain, wind the same. At four P.M. the southernmost point of Tinian bore W. by S. At eight Tinian bore W. 1/2 S. distant four leagues. At daylight the south point of Tinian bore W.N.W. distant five or six miles; and at nine it bore E. two miles distant. I now sent the jolly boat to sound the bay, and to come to a grappling, when a convenient birth was found for the ship to lie. In order to do this, I directed the mate to bring the same bearings on which Commodore Wallis had taken, when he anchored his Majesty's ship the **Dolphin**; and, to facilitate the business, I copied the bearings from the Commodore's Voyage, which I had by me, and delivered them to the mate. I further directed him to hoist an union jack, if the ground was good. The boat returned at noon, having found a convenient birth, and left a buoy there, as a mark for the ship's anchorage. At noon the south point bore S. by E. distant a mile and a half. Standing into the bay of Tinian.

Tuesday, 5th.

First part light airs and fair, wind W.; middle part moderate breezes, wind S. by W.; latter part moderate, with rain, wind S.S.W. At one P.M. we were taken aback. At two came to, with the best bower, in twenty-five fathoms, hard sand, with coral rocks; the South Point bearing S.E. by S.; Cocoa-Nut Point N.N.W.; the North Point N.W.; about a mile and half from the shore, and one mile from the reef, nearly in the spot where Captain Wallis lay, in his Majesty's ship the **Dolphin**. At three I sent the jolly boat on shore; and at six she returned, with oranges, cocoa-nuts, some cabbages, &c. &c. and also a wild hog. Encouraged by this supply, at four A.M. I sent the yawl on shore, in order to procure more refreshments; and at eight A.M. I sent twelve of the sick on shore, that they might receive the benefit of the land air as early as possible. And, as we found the well, mentioned in Anson's Voyages, to be dry, and no water to be met with, that we could discover, within three miles of the landing-places, I likewise sent some casks on shore, together with one of the lower studding-sails, in order to catch water from the rain that fell. During the remaining part of the day the boats were employed in bringing aboard fruit, &c. &c. for sea-stores.

Wednesday, 6th.

First part fresh breezes, with rain, wind S.W.; middle and latter parts the same, wind S. The sick not being in a state to come off, at three P.M. I ordered their bedding to be sent on shore, together with a sail and some tarpaulins, for the purpose of making them a tent for the night. About nine in the morning a small party, consisting of those whose health would bear the fatigue, made an excursion into the country, to kill cattle, hogs, fowls, &c.

Thursday, 7th.

First part fresh gales, with a heavy swell from the westward, wind W.S.W.; middle part squally, with rain, wind S.W.; latter part the same, wind S.S.W. and variable. At one P.M. finding the best bower to come home at times, let go the small bower, bent the sheet cable, and got the anchor over the side. The boat employed in bringing on board fruit, &c. &c. At five the hunters returned, with two wild hogs and a small pig. At midnight, in sounding, lost a deep-sea lead, the line being cut by the coral rocks. At five A.M. hove up the small bower, and found one of the bends cut off; upon which we proceeded immediately to secure the clinch. At nine a squall coming on, we again let go the small bower, and veered away on both cables a long scope. Hoisted in the yawl. Down top-gallant yards. Our situation being now neither pleasant nor safe, I sent ashore for all the sick. In the mean time we employed ourselves in getting ready for sea, in case the wind should admit of laying out of the bay, so as to clear the north point of the breakers.

Friday, 8th. Heavy squalls, with rain, during the whole day, wind variable from S. to W.S.W. A very heavy sea rolling in from the westward, at one P.M. we got, with great difficulty, all the sick on board, which afforded some abatement to the anxiety of my mind on their account. We lost to-day another deep-sea lead, cut, as before, by the coral rocks. At day-break we found ourselves within two cable's lengths of the reef, and

a very heavy sea still rolling in from the westward; at the same time the ship's company were so **extremely weak** and feeble, as not to be able to purchase either of the anchors. Indeed there appeared to be no possibility of heaving, from the heavy pitching of the ship; so that the people could not stand to the bars of the windlass: and the weather growing, *if possible*, worse, I determined, rather than run the risk of riding it out, to *cut* for sea. The danger was now so imminent, that it became absolutely necessary I should carry this determination into execution without further delay. I accordingly got a spring on the starboard cable, to cast the ship, and at half past six A.M. cut both cables at the windlass, and stood out of the bay. At three-quarters past six, a very heavy squall, with rain, split the jib, and main top-mast stay-sail. Had the ship remained a quarter of an hour longer in the bay, I am fully persuaded, and my officers and the whole ship's company are of the same opinion, that she must inevitably have driven ashore upon the reef. We, however, by half past seven, cleared the north point of the breakers. Close reefed the top-sails, and struck the top-gallant masts. At eight handed the top-sails. Split the fore and main courses; brought a new fore-sail to the yard immediately. At ten the body of Tinian bore E. by N. distant six or seven leagues. The island of **Aguijjan** bore S.E. by E. distant eight or nine leagues; and **Saypan** N.E. 1/2 N. distant ten or eleven leagues. Thus did I find myself obliged to forego all the benefits I hoped to have received from touching at this island. The **Scarborough**, whose situation was nearly similar to ours, cut out at the same time. The latitude of the body of the island of Tinian I make to be 15°00' N. and its longitude 146° E.<sup>1</sup>

In Anson's Voyage, Tinian is described as being nearly a terrestrial paradise. The air is said to be uncommonly healthy, and the soil dry and fertile; the land to rise in gentle slopes, from the beach to the middle of the island, often interrupted by vallies of an easy descent, many of which wind irregularly through the country, and the whole beautifully diversified by woods and lawns: the woods consisting of tall and well-spread trees, free from underwood or bushes, and most of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit; the lawns extensive, and composed of fine turf, covered with trefoil and various kinds of flowers; altogether affording the most enchanting prospects. Nor are the allurements of Tinian, in the account there given, confined to the beautiful appearance of the country. It was at that time so well stocked with cattle, that it was not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, all of them milk white, and so far from being wild, that they were shot, or run down, with ease. The island abounded likewise with wild hogs, poultry, and all kinds of tropical fruits and vegetables. It had, besides, a great number of springs and wells of good water; so that it was one of the most delightful and commodious places a ship could touch at. Such is the island of Tinian described in Anson's Voyage to be in September 1742.

When visited by Commodore Byron, in July 1765, the state of it appears to have been very different. Instead of the beautiful lawns and meadows before described, a party that were sent out to kill cattle found the trees so thick, and the ground so over-

---

1 Ed. note: By now, his longitude is half a degree too far East.

grown with underwood, that they could scarcely see three yards before them. And after having, with incredible labour and difficulty, penetrated through this brake, to their great surprise and disappointment, they found the lands entirely overgrown with a stubborn kind of a reed or brush, in many places as high as their heads, which greatly impeded their progress. During their excursion, they were covered with flies from head to foot. The cattle which are before described to have been so numerous and tame, were now so shy that the hunters could scarcely get a shot at them; and none were to be met with within three or four miles of the landing-place. As to the climate, Mr. Byron gives it as his opinion that it is one of the most unhealthy spots in the world; at least, he says, it was so during the season he was there, the rain being violent and incessant, and the heat so excessive as to threaten them with suffocation. They further found it to swarm with centipedes and scorpions, and likewise with a large black ant, scarcely inferior to either in the malignity of its bite; besides which, there were many other venomous insects. The water of the well from which the **Centurion** had been supplied, was the worst they had met with during their whole voyage, it being not only brackish, but full of worms.

According to the account given of it by Captain Wallis, who was there in September 1767, the weather was then so very sultry and hot, that their flesh meat would scarcely keep a day. He tells us that not a single cocoa-nut was to be procured withing three miles of the landing-place; and that the people he sent out to kill cattle, not only endured incredible fatigue, from being frequently obliged to go ten or twelve miles, through one continued thicket, but found the cattle so scarce, and so wild, as to occasion them very great trouble in the pursuit.

From the observations I was able to make, during my short stay at this island, the description given by Captain Wallis seems to correspond the nearest with the present state of it. The ground was much overgrown with underwood, and the cattle did not appear to be by far so plenty as described in Anson's Voyage, nor so easily gotten at. I have already said that the well, at which Lord Anson watered, was dry; and as for the numerous springs there spoken of, few of them fell in my way. The nearest water to the landing-place lay too far off for me to receive any benefit from it, in the present debilitated state of the ship's company. Among the trees I observed great numbers of the cotton-tree, in full bloom; and fell in with a village, the huts of which appeared to have been for some time deserted. However, the little time I was there, I got great abundance of cocoa-nuts, cabbages, bread-fruit, wild hogs, fowls, &c. &c. I saw several large herds of white cattle, but was not able to manage any of them, except a few of their calves. Knowing the badness of the road in which the ship lay, and the critical situation I was in, from the sickly state of my people, I had not time to make those observations I otherwise might have done, as such different accounts had been given of this island.

Saturday, 9th.

First part fresh gales and squally, wind S.S.W.; middle part fresh gales and cloudy, wind S.; latter part squally, with rain, wind the same. At one P.M. the **Scarborough**, which had fortunately got out of the bay at the same time we did, was in company. At

two we had very hard squalls, which carried away the fore-tack and sheet, and split the new fore-sail and main-sail, and blew away the fore-top-mast stay-sail. At six a heavy swell from the wesward. At eight A.M. the **Scarborough** making the signal to speak to us, we bore down, and received her boat on board, when the chief mate informed me that Captain Marshall was dangerously ill. The many difficulties that had attended the voyage, particularly the disappointment we had just experienced, when we thought the recovery of our men was on the point of being effectee; together with the gloomy prospect that still presented itself, from the sickly state of the ships' companies, was more than his spirits were able to bear up against, though a good and active seaman, and his health became affected by it. Having myself thirteen unable to do any duty, and the remaining part being exceedingly weak and feeble, from the fatigue during the late gale, I came to the resolution of making the best of my way to Macao; more especially as the illness of the crew effectually deprived me of the power of putting back, in order to recover the cables and anchors, which had unavoidably been cut and left in Tinian Bay. The state of the water on board proved an additional obstruction to doing this; as it now ran so short as not to admit of the least delay in the prosecution of our voyage. Had I been obliged to leave the sick behind, of which, at one time, I was very apprehensive, the bringing them away would have been an object that required every exertion; but the welfare of the whole ship's company was not to be put in competition with the loss of two cables and anchors. No observation. Latitude by account 15°25' N. Longitude by lunar observation 144°36' E.

Sunday, 10th.

First part fresh gales and cloudy, wind S.S.W.; middle part moderate breezes and cloudy, wind S.; latter part moderate and fair, wind the same. At four P.M. a heavy swell from the southward, which continued during the night. All the sick that had been landed at Tinian, notwithstanding the time they were on shore was so short, and the refreshments we were able to procure there, so few, had recoverd surprisingly of the scurvy; but were still very weak and emaciated. The sick list continued at thirteen. Latitude 15°45' N. Longitude by lunar observation 143°29' E.

...



---

## Document 1788G

---

### **Ships that visited New South Wales, 1788-1800**

*Source: David Collins. An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (2 vols., London, Cadell, 1798 & 1802).*

*Notes: All dates are English dates (Old Style). The author was born in 1756 and died in 1810. See also EIC ships, 1791-1806 in Doc. 1791H.*

### **Notes made from Colonel Collins' books. Comments by R.L.**

[Vol. 1]

#### **1788.**

The transports chartered in England to carry convicts to Botany Bay were the: **Alexander, Scarborough, Charlotte, Lady Penrhyn, Friendship, and Prince of Wales.** The store ships were: **Fishburn, Golden Grove, Borrowdale.** Captain Arthur Phillip, in command of **HMS Sirius**, was to become the Governor of the new colony, although another navy man, Captain John Hunter, was appointed Post Captain. A navy store ship, **HMS Supply**, a brig actually, was commanded by Lieut. Henry Ball. All of these ships sailed from England in March 1787, and arrived at Botany Bay in January 1788.

Three transports sailed to China at the beginning of May, and the other transports in July 1788.

The store ships **Fishbourne** and **Golden Grove** sailed for England in November 1788.

#### **1789.**

**HMS Sirius** made one voyage to the Cape of Good Hope in early 1789. She was shipwrecked at Norfolk Island in April 1790.

#### **1790.**

**HMS Supply**, Lieut. Ball, was sent to Batavia for supplies. She sailed on 17 April 1790.

The transport **Lady Juliana**, unnamed captain [i.e. Aitken], arrived from England in June 1790 with more convicts.

**HMS Guardian**, Lieut. Edward Riou, was wrecked on the way over.

The store ship **Justinian**, Capt. Maitland, arrived June 1790.

The transport **Surprise**, Capt. Nicholas Anstis, arrived June 1790.

The transport **Neptune**, Capt. Donald Trail, sailed for China in August 1790.

The transport **Scarborough** sailed for Canton in August 1790.

The Dutch snow **Waaksamheyd**, chartered by Lieut. Ball, to carry supplies from Batavia to NSW arrived on 17 December 1790, and sailed for England, with Captain Hunter on board, on 28 March 1790 (see Doc. 1791C).

### 1791.

The **Mary Ann** arrived from England in July 1791 (later to whaling).

The **Matilda**, Capt. Weatherhead, arrived from England on 1 August 1791 (later to whaling).

The **Atlantic** arrived from England on 20 August 1791 (later to India).

The **Salamander** arrived from England on 27 August 1791 (later to whaling).

The **William & Ann** arrived from England on 28 August 1791 (to whaling).

**HMS Gorgon**, 44 guns, Capt. John Parker, arrived from England on 21 September 1791.

The **Active** arrived from England on 26 September 1791 (later to Bombay).

The **Queen** arrived from Ireland on 26 September 1791; sailed for India on 6 January 1792.

The **Albemarle**, arrived from England on 13 October 1791 (later to Bombay).

The **Britannia**, Capt. Melville, arrived from England on 14 October 1791 (later to whaling).

The **Admiral Barrington** arrived from England on 16 October 1791; sailed for India on 6 January 1792; was lost at the Falklands in 1792.

### 1792.

The Spanish ships **Descubierta** and **Atrevida** arrived from Manila on 12 March 1792.

The **Pitt**, Capt. Edward Manning, arrived from England on 14 February 1792; sailed for India in April 1792.

The **Atlantic** returned from India on 20 June 1792.

The **Britannia**, Capt. William Raven, arrived from England in July 1792; sailed for the Cape on 24 October 1792.

The transport **Kitty** arrived on 18 November 1792; to England in 1793.

The East Indiaman **Royal Admiral**, Capt. Essex Henry Bond, arrived from England on 7 October 1792; sailed for Canton on 13 November 1792 (see Doc. 1793B).

The brigantine **Philadelphia**, Capt. Thomas Patrickson, arrived from Philadelphia on 4 November 1792, on a speculative commercial voyage, bringing beef, wine, rum, gin, tobacco, tar, etc.

The U.S. ship **Hope**, Capt. Benjamin Page, arrived from Rhode Island in December 1792; sailed for Canton on 10 January 1793, visiting Tinian in February 1793.<sup>1</sup>

The whaler **Chesterfield**, Capt. Alt, arrived in December 1792.

### 1793.

The transport **Bellona**, 454 tons, Capt. Matthew Boyd, arrived from England in January 1793.

The **Shah Hormuzear**, 400 tons, Capt. Matthew Wright Bampton, arrived from Calcutta in 1793.

The store ship **Daedalus** arrived on 20 April 1793; sailed for NW coast of America in July 1793, with Lieut. Hanson on board.

The **Britannia**, Capt. Raven, arrived back from Brazil and the Cape in June 1793; sailed for India on 8 September 1793, discovering the Mortlocks along the way (see Doc. 1793B).

The whaler **Matilda** was wrecked on a reef in 22° lat. S, but the crew reached Tahiti.

The **Boddingtons**, Capt. Robert Chalmers, arrived from Ireland on 7 August 1793; sailed for India on 13 October 1793.

The **Sugar Cane**, Capt. T. Musgrave, arrived from England on 17 September 1793; sailed for India, discovering Pingelap along the way (see Doc. 1793E).

The U.S. snow **Fairy**, Capt. Rogers, arrived from Boston on 29 October 1793; headed for NW Coast, and then China.

### 1794.

The whaler **William**, Capt. William Folger, arrived from England in March 1794; sailed for Peru (for whaling) in May 1794.

The **Arthur** arrived from India in April 1794; headed for NW Coast.

The **Daedalus** arrived from NW Coast in April 1794; sailed for England in December 1794.

The **Indispensable** arrived from England on 24 May 1794; sailed for India on 8 July.

The **Britannia**, Capt. Raven, and the **Speedy**, Capt. Melville, arrived from England in June 1794; sailed for the Cape on 1 September 1794.

---

1 That ship was only two months in her voyage from hence [Sydney] to Canton, and Mr. Page did not see any land until he made the Island of Tinian. This place he now [i.e. 1794] represented as well calculated to furnish a freight of cattle for this colony.

The U.S. ship **Hope** arrived on 5 July 1794 (captain's name not given);<sup>1</sup> sailed for Canton at the end of July 1794.

The **Fanny**, Capt. Thomas Edgar Dell, arrived from India on 9 July 1794; sailed for NZ to cut spars on 29 September 1794.

The **Halcyon**, Capt. Benjamin Page, arrived from Rhode Island on 14 June 1794.

The **Resolution** and **Salamander** arrived from England on 10 and 11 September 1794; off to whaling on 11 September.

The U.S. brig **Mercury**, Capt. William Barnet, arrived from U.S.A. on 17 October 1794; sailed for NW Coast on 7 December 1794.

The **Surprise**, Capt. Campbell, arrived from England on 25 October 1794; sailed for India on 17 December 1794.

The **Experiment** arrived from India on 24 December 1794; sailed for India on 23 March 1795.

## 1795.

The **Britannia**, Capt. Raven, arrived from the Cape on 4 March 1795; sailed for India, via Batavia, on 18 June 1795.

The **Fanny** arrived from NZ and left for Norfolk on 21 June 1795.

The **Endeavour**, Capt. Bampton, arrived from India on 31 May 1795; later so leaky she was scuttled in NZ, her replacement being named **Providence**.

The **Providence**, 28 guns, Capt. Broughton, arrived from England on 26 August 1795; sailed for NW Coast on 13 October 1795.

**HMS Supply**, Lieut. William Kent, arrived on 7 September 1795, in company with **HMS Reliance**; both sailed for the Cape, and England, on 29 September 1796.

The **Young William**, Capt. Mortlock, arrived from England on 4 October 1795; sailed for Canton on 29 October 1795, via the Mortlocks (see Doc. 1795C).

The **Sovereign** arrived from England via Brazil on 5 November 1795; sailed for India on 27 December 1795.

## 1796.

The brig **Arthur**, Capt. Barker, arrived from India on 1 January 1796.

The **Ceres**, Capt. Hedley, arrived from England on 23 January 1796, by way of Amsterdam Island where it picked up Mr. Péron who had been marooned there (see Otter below); sailed for Canton at beginning of March 1796.

The snow **Experiment**, Capt. Edward McClellan, arrived from India in January 1796; sailed for India in May 1796.

The U.S. ship **Otter**, Capt. Ebenezer Dorr, arrived from Boston on 24 January 1796; sailed for NW Coast on 18 February 1796, with Mr. Péron (see Doc. 1797E).

---

1 Ed. note: His name was M. Page, not Benjamin Page, who had built his own ship for a second voyage; see Halcyon below.

The U.S. ship **Abigail**, Capt. Christopher Thornton, arrived in February 1796; sailed for NW Coast on 10 March 1796, discovering Eauripik along the way (see Doc. 1796B).

The **Marquis Cornwallis**, Capt. Michael Hogan, arrived from Ireland on 11 February 1796; sailed for India in May 1796.

The U.S. snow **Susan**, Capt. Trotter, arrived on 18 April 1796; sailed for Canton on 8 August 1796.

The **Indispensable**, Capt. Wilkinson, arrived from England on the last day of April 1796; sailed for Canton on 21 September 1796.

The U.S. ship **Grand Turk** arrived from Boston on 23 August 1796, captain's name not given, but supercargo was Mr. McGee; sailed for Canton on 21 September 1796.

The **Britannia**, Capt. Raven, arrived from India on 11 May 1796; sailed for England, with the author, Lt.-Col. Collins in September 1796.

-- 0 --

[Vol. 2]

### 1796 (cont'd).

The **Prince of Wales** arrived from England in November 1796; sailed for China on 23 November 1796.

The **Sylph** arrived from England in November 1796; sailed for China on 6 December 1796.

### 1797.

The U.S. snow **Mercury** arrived from Manila on 11 January 1797; sailed for NW Coast in mid-May.

**HMS Supply**, Lieut. William Kent, arrived from the Cape on 16 May 1797; condemned in 1797.

The **Sydney Cove**, Capt. Hamilton, arrived from India in mid-May but was wrecked south of Sydney.

The **Britannia** arrived from Ireland with convicts on 27 May 1797 (Capt. Raven having stayed behind in England); sailed in August for whaling and back to England.

The **Ganges**, Capt. Patrickson, formerly of the *Philadelphia*, arrived from Ireland on 2 June 1797; sailed in August, perhaps to whaling.

**HMS Reliance**, Lieut. Shortland and/or Lieut. Flanders, arrived from the Cape on 26 June 1797.

The brig **Deptford**, arrived from India on 20 September 1797; sailed for India in October 1797.

**1798.**

The brig **Nautilus**, Capt. Bishop, arrived from Tahiti on 14 May 1798, with both Captain and ship in very bad shape; sailed for Tasmania and sealing; back on 25 December.<sup>1</sup>

The **Barwell** arrived from England on 18 May 1798.

The snow **Hunter** arrived from India on 10 June 1798.

The whaler **Cornwall** arrived on 1 July 1798; to whaling.

The whaler **Eliza** arrived on 1 July 1798; to whaling, returned in December 1798.

The whaler **Sally** arrived on 1 July 1798; to whaling.

The U.S. schooner **Argo**, arrived from Mauritius in July 1798; sailed for China on 7 October 1798.

The whaler **Britannia**, Capt. Turnbull, arrived from England on 18 July 1798; to whaling, returned on 29 December 1798; off to whaling again, returned 9 March 1799; back to whaling; sailed back to England on 2 December 1799.

The whalers **Pomona** and **Diana** arrived from England on 20 August 1798; to whaling.

The **Barnwell**, Capt. Cameron sailed for China on 17 September 1798; sailed for China (ref. Norie chart).

The snow **Hunter**, Capt. Fearn, arrived on 20 September 1798; sailed for NZ to cut spars, then to India, discovering Nauru along the way (see Doc. 1798D).

The **Semiramis** arrived from Rhode Island on 1 October 1798; sailed for China on 7 October 1798.

The U.S. ship **Ann and Hope**, arrived on 20 October 1798; sailed for China (see Doc. 1798G).

The **Marquis Cornwallis** arrived from the Cape on 27 October 1798; sailed for India on 3 December 1798.

The whaler **Indispensable**, Capt. Wilkinson, arrived on 27 October 1798; immediately to whaling, returned on 29 December 1798.

**1799.**

The English whaler **Rebecca** arrived from the Cape at the beginning of March 1799.

**HMS Buffalo**, Capt. William Raven, arrived from England on 3 May 1799. Raven sailed back to England; Capt. William Kent and the former crew of the condemned **Supply** took over the ship, whose figurehead was a kangaroo; sailed for the Cape on 15 September 1799.

The whalers **Diana** and **Eliza** arrived from a cruise on 2 June 1799; off again, and back in October 1799.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: She sailed for China in 1799 and discovered Tabiteuea, Nonouti and Abemama along the way (see Doc. 1799E).

The new whaler **Albion** arrived from England on 29 June 1799.<sup>1</sup>

The transport **Hillsborough** arrived from England on 26 July 1799.

The U.S. ship **Resource** arrived from Rhode Island on 6 September 1799, with Mr. Magee, the former supercargo of the Grand Turk on board; sailed for China on the 14th (see Doc. 1799F).

The **Nautilus** returned from China on 24 April 1799 with the bark **Hunter**, a re-named Spanish prize captured off Peru by two English whalers, now owned by Mr. Hingston, which sailed for India.

The whaler **Walker** arrived from England in 1799; back from whaling in January 1800; off again in March 1800.

The **Plumier** [sic], another Spanish prize captured by 3 whalers on the coast of Peru, arrived on 2 December 1799.<sup>2</sup>

The schooner **Martha** arrived from Bass Strait with seal skins and oil on 14 December 1799.

## 1800.

The East India Packet **Swallow** arrived from England on 3 January 1800; sailed for China on the 21st, via Micronesia (see Doc. 1800B). The transport **Minerva** arrived from Ireland on 11 January 1800.

The Danish snow **Fhynne** arrived from India on 11 January 1800.

The whaler **Betsey** arrived from America on 13 February 1800; the next day, a Spanish brig (unnamed) which she had captured also arrived.

The bark **Hunter** arrived back from India on 13 January 1800; sailed for India on 14 March 1800.

The transport **Friendship** arrived from Ireland on 16 February 1800; sailed for India in early May.

**HMS Reliance**, much worn out, sailed on her last voyage to England on 3 March 1800.

The schooner **Martha** arrived with seal skins and oil on 6 March 1800.

The **Speedy** arrived from England on 16 March 1800.

**HMS Buffalo** arrived from the Cape on 16 March 1800; sailed for England on 28 September 1800.

The U.S. ship **Belle Sauvage** arrived from Rhode Island in early June 1800; sailed for China on the 15th.

The whaler **Albion** came to refresh in August 1800.

The U.S. ship **John Jay** arrived from Rhode Island 21 Sept. 1800; sailed for China.

---

1 Built at Deptford in 1798 by Barnard and Roberts, was 86 feet in length, max. breadth 27'6", depth 12', 362 tons burthen.

2 Ed. note: This was the Peruvian ship **La Paloma**, which means Dove. Captain William Reid, took her to Guam, where she arrived in January 1802—only to be condemned as a prize (see Doc. 1802A for the story).

---

## Document 1789A

---

# Visit to Tinian of the brig Mercury, Captain Cox

*Source: Lieutenant George Mortimer, of the Marines. Observations and Remarks Made During a Voyage to the islands of Teneriffe, Amsterdam, Maria's Islands near Van Diemen's Land; Otaheite, Sandwich Islands; Owhyhee, the Fox Islands on the North West Coast of America, Tinian, and from thence to Canton, on the brig Mercury, commanded by John Henry Cox (London, 1791).*

*Note: Captain Cox changed the name of his ship from Mercury to **Gustavus III** when entering the Pacific and flew the Swedish flag upon reaching the NW Coast, whose possession was under dispute.*

### The journal of Lieutenant Mortimer

1789. November 28.

On the night of the 28th, we once more crossed the Tropic of Cancer, in 169° of East longitude. The thermometer on the following noon stood at 79° [F].

December 12.

About seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th of December, we saw the Island of Saypan; and at half past nine, the Islands of Tinian and Aguigan. At half past two in the afternoon, we came to an anchor on the South West side of the Island of Tinian, with the small bower, in ten fathoms, rocky bottom; having first taken the precaution to secure our cable, by worming and rounding it for several fathoms. A fine breeze setting off the land, saluted us with the most fragrant and delightful odours; and we were soon gratified with the sight of some beautiful white cattle, feeding and frisking about among the trees; which added greatly to the charming appearance of this Island. The boats were now hoisted out, and the captain with a party of us went on shore, where we expected to procure some fresh beef; but were disappointed, as the cattle retired among the woods the instant they saw us; and it would have been in vain to have pursued them, for the underwood was nearly impenetrable: we therefore returned on board again, after having loaded the boat with wood, and gathered a quantity of fine limes.

December 13.

Next morning we went on shore again, and landed further to the northward than we had done on the preceding day. Here we found several huts erected by the Spaniards, who come here annually from their settlement at Guam to procure beef for the garrison of that Island. The Spaniards, or some other people, must have quitted Tinian but a very short time before our arrival, as they had left a wild hog in a sty, that had died



but lately, and a fine dog, which we caught, and carried on board with us. We were directed by a beaten path, about forty yards in length from the huts, to the Well mentioned by Lord Anson and Commodore Byron; and though the water it contains is not the best in the world, it by no means deserves the reproaches bestowed upon it by the Commodore, since we neither found it brackish nor full of worms, as he asserts it to have been. And here I cannot help observing, that this gentleman seems to have taken as much pains to depreciate this Island, as Lord Anson had been too lavish in his encomiums on it; for whatever may have been the state of Tinian when his Lordship was there, future visitors may look about in vain for those delightful lawns, painted in such glowing colours by the author of his Voyage.

Our people being set to work to cut wood for fuel, and other purposes, I set out from the huts where they were stationed, in company with our third mate and one of the seamen, in pursuit of game. We at first followed the traces of a path; but it soon failing us, we were obliged to force our way through the thickets, in hopes, as we got into the interior part of the country, we should get clear of the trees and underwood; which we did, after having proceeded a considerable distance with great labour and fatigue; but we were still so much incommoded by a kind of weed that grew as high as our breasts, by the heat, and by an intolerable number of flies, that I quitted my companions, who wished to penetrate a little farther into the country, and made the best of my way back to the wooding party at the huts; where I did not arrive till late in the afternoon, being nearly exhausted with the fatigue of pushing through the bushes, and climbing trees, to see that I was going in a proper direction, which was a very necessary precaution, as I was at one time totally lost for upwards of two hours. I met with a great many wild hogs; and I had nearly stumbled upon an animal which, upon being roused, darted through the thicket with such velocity, that I could not distinguish what it was; but suppose it to have been one of the guanicoes described by Lord Anson, and which are said to abound in the neighbouring Island of Saypan and Aguigan. Saw also some fowls in my ramble, and shot a pig. Our third mate, who returned about half an hour after me, reported, that soon after I had separated from him, he fell in with a herd of cattle, and shot one of them, a fine young bull; but having only one man with him, and it being a considerable distance from the beach, he was obliged to leave the carcase in the charge of his companion, who consented to remain with it all night; being apprehensive they might not have found the place again, had they both returned together.

December 14.

Next morning, a party was sent to procure some part of the animal, but, upon their arrival, the greatest part of it was found to be tainted and entirely spoiled; however, some pieces were cut from the parts that were the least affected and brought on board, which furnished us with an excellent dish of soup, and some steaks, the meat being very tender and fine grained. Wild hogs and poultry are in great abundance at Tinian; and though the latter are shy and difficult to come at, on account of the underwood, it is pleasing to hear them crowing and cackling in every direction; so that it is difficult to divest one's self of the idea of being in the vicinity of some country village, or large

farm-yard. Tinian produces plenty of limes, lemons, guavas, some cocoa-nuts, custard apples, and indifferent oranges, with a variety of beautiful trees; among which was the bramin and bread-fruit trees, but the latter had no fruit upon them, and the cotton shrub. In our different excursions on shore, we met with the remains of several of those curious edifices described by Lord Anson, and supposed to have been erected by the original inhabitants of the Island. These buildings are of a most singular structure, and consist in their present state of two ranges of columns, either of stone or composition, and of a pyramidal form, having large semi-globes placed on their tops, with the surfaces upwards.

If these structures are really of stone, which I imagine them to be, it is astonishing how a rude and uncivilized people, unacquainted with any of the arts necessary for the purpose, and without proper tools, could have formed and erected them. We measured one of the pillars, and its semi-globe, or capital, the dimensions of which were as follow:

- Perpendicular height of the pyramid, 14 feet exactly;
- Breadth at the base, 5 feet 4 inches;
- Diameter of the semi-globe, 5 feet 10 inches.

Having got on board a sufficient stock of wood, and filled our empty water-casks, we got under weigh in the evening, and stood to the westward. The thermometer, while we lay in the Road of Tinian, kept, with little variation, at 83°; but the heat was considerably more intense on shore.

December 24.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 24th, we saw the Islands of Bottol, or Tobacosima; and at noon, Formosa bearing West...

...

## Comments on the above narrative

*Source: Scherzer's Narrative of the Novara Expedition, of 1858, quoting Captain Marchand.*

## Additions to the Narrative—Fourth addition.

### For the Island of Tinian.

In the Narrative of Marchand's Voyage [ed. by Fleurieu], I have presented two very different pictures of the Island of Tinian: that with Richard Walter, Chaplain to Commodore Anson, has drawn us of the state of the island in 1742; and that of the state in which it has appeared in later times: in 1765, to Commodore Byron; in 1767, to Captain Wallis; in 1787, to Captain Portlock; in 1788, to Captain Gilbert and to Captain Sever, separately. I ought likewise to have mentioned the description given of it by Lieutenant George Mortimer, of the Marines, a passenger on board the brig **Mercury**, commanded by Captain Henry Cox, who touched at Tinian on the 12th of December 1789, and came to an anchor in that very road, off the south-west point of the island,

where all the navigators of his nation who preceded him, had also anchored. [After copying the above extract verbatim, this author goes on to say:]

Commodore Byron was at Tinian in the month of August, and Captain Cox, in the month of December, the difference of the seasons might probably occasion a difference in the state of a well: Captain Gilbert, in the month of August 1788, found it dry.

It is difficult to pronounce between two voyagers, who both declare, *I saw it*; we must, however, remark, that all the navigators who have touched at Tinian since Byron described to us its present state, have confirmed what he has said of it.

The manner in which seamen view objects depends a little on the situation in which they find themselves when they land in a country: we are less difficult in proportion as we have more wants; the land has so many charms, when, for a length of time, we have been condemned to see nothing but sky and water!

It has been seen that Anson's historian was of opinion that the pillars and massive semi-globes by which they are surmounted, were formed of sand and stone cemented together, and covered with plaster: Mortimer thought them of stone or composition. Byron who caused the Island of Saypan to be visited, in 1765, tells us, that there were seen on it "many of those pyramidal pillars which are to be found at Tinian, and which are particularly described in the account of Lord Anson's Voyage;" but he does not say whether he himself saw any of them at Tinian: in voyages more recent than that of Byron, no mention is made of the monuments of the latter island; and this silence had led me to conclude that time had destroyed them. But it is seen, by the detail into which Mortimer has entered, that they were still standing at the end of December 1789; and forty-seven years which had elapsed between Anson's voyage and that of Cox, appeared not to have affected them, which may be considered as surprising in works exposed to the injuries of the air, to heavy rains, and to excessive heats: it must be imagined that their construction was solid, and that excellent materials were employed in it; for it is well known that, when Anson saw them for the first time, the Spaniards already regarded them as monuments of great antiquity [sic].

Paris, 25 Floreal, year VII of the French Era. (14th May 1799.)

---

## Document 1789B

---

# The fictitious second visit of the French Viscount Pagès

*Source: Pagès, Pierre-Marie-François, Vicomte de. Nouveau voyage autour du monde, en Asie, en Amérique et en Afrique, en 1788, 1789 et 1790, par la voie de l'Orient (Paris, Jansen, 1797), tome ii, pp. 33, 45-54.*

*Note: It appears that this is a bogus narrative, and that Pagès did not visit a second time, as his information is false, or copied from old references, such as Father Le Gobien's History. See Doc. 1768C for his true voyage.*

## Original text in French

### *Tome Second. Chapitre XIII.*

*Des îles Philippines, des îles Marianes, de la Nouvelle-Guinée et de la Nouvelle-Hollande.*

*Les îles Philippines, découvertes par Magellan, furent ainsi nommées en l'honneur de Philippe second, lorsque les Espagnols en firent la conquête. Une des plus considérables de ces îles, et la première qu'on trouve en venant des Molucques, est celle de Mindanao. Nous abordâmes à sa capitale qui lui a donné son nom, ou qui a reçu le sien; cette ville n'est qu'à deux lieues de la mer, sur une rivière dont nous gagnâmes l'embouchure. Les Espagnols ne sont pas souverains de cette île; elle est gouvernée par un prince mahométan qui n'ose les attaquer ouvertement, parce que leur puissance à Manilla s'étend sur la plupart des autres îles.*

...

*Nous attendions depuis quelque tems avec impatience une occasion de nous embarquer pour les îles Marianes, que nous voulions voir avant d'entreprendre le voyage dans le royaume de Siam. Enfin, nous trouvâmes un navire qui devoit faire voile vers ces îles, et nous nous y embarquâmes. Une heureuse navigation nous fit aborder à Guahan, la plus grande et la plus méridionale de ces îles qui sont éloignées d'environ quatre cents lieues des Philippines.*

*Les îles Marianes forment toutes ensemble une chaîne qui s'étend du midi au nord sur une ligne droite, et occupe environ cent cinquante lieues de mer. Magellan les découvrit le premier, en 1521. On les appela **Îles des Larrons**, parce que les Espagnols, y mettant pied à terre dans leurs fréquens voyages de Manille au Mexique, et de la Nou-*

*velle Espagne aux Philippines, les habitans leur voloient tout ce qu'ils pouvoient attraper, et s'enfuyoient ensuite dans les bois: on les nomma **Iles des voiles**, à cause de la multitude des bâtimens qui venoient à voiles déployées au-devant des navires de l'Europe; elles ont gardé ce nom jusqu'à la régence de Marie-Anne d'Autriche, femme de Philippe IV roi d'Espagne, et mère de Charles, aussi roi d'Espagne. Cette couronne avoit pris possession de ces îles quarante-quatre ans après leur découverte; mais comme ce gouvernement étoit occupé des Philippines à cause de leurs richesses, les îles Marianes furent, en quelque façon, oubliées. Enfin, la reine régente y envoya des troupes et des missionnaires; elles prirent alors le nom de leur souveraine.*

*Tous les bâtimens sont construits de terre [sic] à Guahan, parce que le pays ne fournit point de pierres. Les maisons ne sont que des cabanes, comme à peu près chez tous les Indiens, couvertes de feuilles et de bois de palmier; elles sont, en général, composées de quatre pièces séparés par des cloisons de feuilles entrelacées: chaque pièce a son usage particulier: on couche dans la première, on mange dans la seconde, celle qui suit sert à garder les fruits et les autres provisions, la quatrième est pour le travail. Les Espagnols tirent peu de profit de la possession de ces îles; mais c'est un entrepôt commode pour les navires qui vont de la Nouvelle Espagne à Manille: après un voyage de plusieurs mois dans la mer du Sud, sans découvrir aucune terre, ils y trouvent de quoi se rafraîchir. L'île de Guahan, qui a quarante lieues de tour, est agréable et fertile: ses ports sont commodes. Celui d'Agadna est le meilleur de tous, et la ville qui y est située est la capitale de l'île. Les anciens habitans y vivoient dans une parfaite liberté, et dans une profonde sécurité; séparés de toutes les nations par les vastes mers qui les environnent; ils se regardoient comme les seuls habitans du monde, et ne croyoient pas qu'il existât une autre terre que la leur. On ignore de quel pays ils tirent leur origine, et dans quel tems ils ont commencé à peupler ces îles: leur langue a beaucoup de rapport avec celle que l'on parle dans certaines parties des Philippines; peut être en sont-ils une colonie. D'un autre côté, leurs inclinations qui ressemblent beaucoup assez à celle des Japonois, et les idées de leur noblesse, qui n'est pas moins hautaine qu'au Japon, font juger qu'ils peuvent être venus de ce pays, dont ils ne sont pas absolument bien éloignés: ils admettoient une autre vie où ils supposoient des plaisirs et des peines. Leur paradis étoit un jardin délicieux, rempli de cocotiers, de cannes à sucre, et d'autres fruits d'une qualité exquise. La manière dont ces peuples témoignent leur douleur aux cérémonies funèbres ne peut guère s'exprimer. Rien n'est plus triste que leurs enterremens; ils sont accompagnés de chants plaintifs, de sanglots, de cris perçans: ils se privent pendant plusiers jours de toute nourriture; cette abstinence se termine par un repas lugubre qui se fait autour du tombeau: on le charge de fleurs, de branches de palmier, de coquillages, etc. Si le mort est un chef de peuple, ou une femme de distinction, l'expression de douleur n'a plus de bornes. Le deuil est une véritable fureur; on arrache les arbres, on brûle les édifices, on brise les bateaux, on déchire les voiles, et leurs lambeaux s'attachent au devant des maisons. Nous avons remarqué que les habitans des îles Marianes ont presque tous la taille haute, le corps gros et réplet, et tant de force dans les membres qu'ils enlèvent des fardeaux qui pèsent plus de cinq cents livres; ils sont si habiles nageurs, et si excellens plon-*

geurs qu'ils attrapent les poissons et les dévancent même. Les Européens qui dans leurs prisons fastueuses appelées villes, énervent toutes leurs forces physiques, ne concevront jamais à quel point l'homme peut, par sa vigueur naturelle, son agilité à la course, ses dispositions à la nage, être, au physique comme au moral, digne du titre qu'il prend de roi des animaux. La pêche étant une des grandes occupations des Marianois, ils s'y exercent dès leur enfance. Leurs canots sont adroitement construits, et d'une telle légèreté qu'ils peuvent faire douze milles par heure: ils sont composés de deux troncs d'arbres cousus et joints ensemble avec de la canne des Indes; leur longueur est de quinze à dix-huit pieds, et leur largeur de trois à quatre: comme ils pourroient chavirer facilement, on y joint de solides pièces de bois qui les tiennent en équilibre. Dans le milieu est un plancher qui s'avance des deux côtés sur l'eau, et qui est la place des passagers. Ces bâtimens sont ordinairement conduits par trois hommes, dont l'un est sans cesse occupé à vider l'eau qui entre également par les bords et par les fentes: les deux autres se tiennent aux deux extrémités pour gouverner le bateau. La voile est de nattes; elle occupe toute la longueur du canot: pour revenir d'un lieu à l'autre, ils ne font que la changer, sans retourner le bâtiment: alors la proue devient la poupe. C'est dans ces frères machines qu'ils font quelquefois un trajet de quatre cents lieues pour se rendre aux Philippines. Quoique ces peuples n'aient aucune connoissance des sciences ni des beaux arts, ils ne laissent pas d'avoir leurs histoires, et même des poésies dont ils se font honneur. Il est vrai que ces histoires ne sont qu'un tissu de fables, et que leurs poésies sont très-médiocres; mais leur langue est abondante, énergique et ne manque pas de douceur. Un de ses agrémens est de transposer les mots, et quelquefois les syllabes, d'où il résulte des équivoques et des allusions qu'ils aiment fort. Cette nation regarde tous les autres peuples dont on lui parle avec mépris et avec pitié; elle est sur-tout fort entêtée du préjugé de la noblesse qui est ici distinguée en trois états: les nobles, l'état mitoyen et le peuple: les premiers sont d'une fierté, nous avons failli dire d'une insolence, dont il n'y a pas d'exemple, même en Europe où l'on est cependant aussi ridicule sur ce point qu'il semble possible de l'être. Les nobles, à qui les Marianois donnent le titre de **chamorris**, se traitent entre eux avec des égards infinis; ils ne se rencontrent jamais sans se faire des complimens dans les termes les plus respectueux: **Permettez**, disent-ils, **que je vous baise les pieds**. Il seroit difficile de trouver un peuple plus inconstant dans ses goûts, plus passionné pour le plaisir; il est d'ailleurs naturellement gai, railleur et bouffon.

Il y a, parmi les Marianes, une île entièrement déserte, quoique très-fertile; c'est l'île de Tinian que les Espagnols, à cause de la beauté de ses paysages, ont appelé Buena-Vista; elle est dans le voisinage de celle de Guahan: on y trouve d'excellens pâturages, et nous y mangeâmes des fruits d'un goût exquis. Nous y vîmes des milliers de boeufs paître ensemble dans les vastes prairies qui sont sur le rivage de la mer. Une maladie épidémique en fit désertir les habitans qui se réfugièrent à Guahan. Les autres îles Marianes sont toutes fort peuplées: on compte plus de quarante mille habitans dans la seule île de Saypan, autant dans celle de Guahan, etc. Quoique ces îles soient situées sous la zone torride, les chaleurs n'y sont point excessives; le climat y est tempéré, l'air pur et le ciel serein. Les productions naturelles de ces îles sont à peu près les mêmes qu'aux

*Philippines; mais un fruit merveilleux, et qui est particulier aux Marianes, est une espèce de pomme grosse comme la tête, appelée le **fruit à pain**, parce qu'il tient lieu de pain aux insulaires et qu'il est très-nourrissant: l'arbre qui le produit a la tête large et touffue, et les feuilles noirâtres. Le fruit est rond et revêtu d'une forte écorce hérissée de pointes: sa chair est aussi blanche et aussi tendre que la mie du meilleur pain: on la mange bouillie ou cuite au four, et dans cet état elle se conserve cinq à six mois; mais lorsqu'elle est fraîche, elle ne peut être gardée plus de vingt-quatre heures sans se sécher et acquérir un mauvais goût. Nous pensons que cet arbre réussiroit en Europe.*

*N'y ayant plus rien d'intéressant à voir aux Marianes, nous nous embarquâmes sur un vaisseau dont la destination étoit pour le royaume du Siam, un des pays qui devoit le plus nous intéresser sous différens rapports dans notre voyage aux Indes orientales; mais à peine eûmes-nous navigué trois jours qu'un coup de vent terrible nous porta sur la côte de la Nouvelle-Guinée: la tempête que nous essayâmes fut un des plus grands dangers que nous eussions encore couru.*

...

## Translation.

### Vol. II. Chapter XIII.

*Regarding the Philippine Islands, the Mariana Islands, New Guinea, and New Holland.*

The Philippine Islands, discovered by Magellan, were so named in honor of Philip II, when the Spanish made their conquest. One of the largest of these islands, is the first to be encountered when one comes from the Moluccas; it is Mindanao. We touched at its capital, which has given the island its name, or vice versa. This town is located but two leagues from the sea, upon a river whose mouth we reached. The Spanish are not masters of this island; it is ruled by a Moro prince who does not dare attack them openly, because their power extends from Manila over most of the other islands.

...

We had been waiting impatiently for some time for an opportunity to sail for the Mariana Islands, that we wanted to see before undertaking the voyage to Siam. Finally, we found a ship that was making ready to sail to those islands, and we went on board her. A successful voyage brought us to Guahan, the largest et southernmost of those islands, located about 400 leagues from the Philippines.

The Mariana Islands taken together form a chain of island stretching from south to north in a straight line, over 150 leagues of ocean. Magellan first discovered them in 1521. They were then named **Islands of Ladrões, or Thieves** because the natives would steal everything they could grab from the Spanish, when the latter stepped ashore there in their numerous voyages from Manila to Mexico, and from New Spain to the Philippines; the natives would then flee into the bush. They were named **Islands of Velas, or Sails** because of the multitude of boats that would come alongside Europeans ships with their sail out. They have kept this name until Mariana of Austria be-

came Queen Regent. She was the wife of Philip IV, King of Spain, and the mother of Charles, also King of Spain. This Crown had taken possession of those Islands 44 years after their discovery, but since this government was busy with the richer Philippines, the Marianas were somehow forgotten. Finally, the Queen Regent sent soldiers and missionaries there. The Islands were then renamed after this sovereign.

All of the buildings in Guahan are built of earth [sic], because the country doen not have any stones. The houses are but huts, as everywhere else where there are Indians, covered with leaves and palm wood. They are generally divided into four separate rooms by partitions of interwoven leaves. Each room has its own purpose: the first room is the bedroom, the second is the dining room, the third is used to store fruits and other food supplies, the fourth is a work area. The Spanish profit very little from the possession of these Islands, but they are a convenient storage place for the ships that go from New Spain to Manila; after a voyage of many months in the South Sea, without sighting any land, they find there some refreshments. The Island of Guahan, which is 40 leagues in circumference, is pleasant and fertile; its ports are convenient. That of Agaña is the best port of all, and the town located there is the capital of the Island. The ancient natives used to live there in perfect freedom, and in perfect safety; indeed, separated as they were from all other nations by vast oceans, they thought of themselves as the only inhabitants of the world, and did not believe in the existence of any other land besides theirs. No-one knows where they had come from, and during what period they began to populate these islands. Their language has much in common with that used in certain parts of the Philippines; it may be that they were a colony of it. On the other hand, their dispositions resemble somewhat that of the Japanese, and their ideas regarding their nobles, who are not less haughty than in Japan, make one believe that they might have come from that country, from which they are not too distant. They recognize the existence of an afterlife, where they supposed there were pleasures and sufferings. Their paradise was a delicious garden, full of coconut trees, sugarcane, and other fruits of an exquisite quality. The custom of these people, displayed during their funeral ceremonies, cannot be imagined. Nothing is sadder than their burials; they are accompanied by plaintive songs, tears, screamings. They forego any food for a few days; this abstinence ends with a dismal meal around the tomb. The tomb is loaded with flowers, palm branches, shells, etc. If the deceased is a chief among the people, or a woman of rank, the expression of sorrow is limitless. Mourning is shown by a true frenzy: trees are uprooted, buildings burned, boats broken, sails torn and their fragments hung before the houses. We have noticed that most of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands are tall, big and fat, and have such strong limbs that they pick up loads that weigh over 500 pounds. They are such skilful swimmers, and such excellent divers, that they catch fish with their hands and even swim faster than the fish. The Europeans, who waste away their physical strength in their showy prisons, which they call cities, will never realize to what degree man can, by his natural vigor, his agility in running, and his love of swimming, be, physically as well as morally, be worthy of being called the king of beasts. Fishing being one of the great occupations of the Mariano people, they spend



their time doing so since childhood. Their canoes are skifffully built, and so light that they can run 12 miles an hour. They are made of two tree trunks sewn and joined together with Indian cane. Their length is from 15 to 18 feet, and their width from 3 to 4 feet. As they could easily capsize, some solid pieces of wood are joined to it, to keep them in balance. In the center is a floor that extends over the water on both sides, and that is the place for the passengers. These boats are usually managed by three men, one of whom is continuously kept busy bailing out the water that comes in over the sides and through the cracks. The two other men stay one at each end to steer the boat. The sail is made of mats; it occupies the whole length of the canoe. To return from somewhere, they simply shift the sail, with no need to turn the boat; the prow then becomes the poop. It was in such frail machines that they sometimes sail to the Philippines, a distance of 400 leagues. Although these people have no knowledge of the sciences or the arts, they do, however, have a history of their own, and even some poetry, of which they are proud. It is true that such stories are but a web of fables, and that their poems are very mediocre, but their language has an abundance of words, and some eloquence. One of their fun activities consist in interchanging words, and sometimes syllables, to create altered or double meanings, which they relish. This nation looks upon all of the other peoples they hear about with disdain and with pity. It is specially stubborn when it comes to the subject of nobility, which is here divided into three classes: the nobles, the middle class, and the people. The nobles have no equal when it comes to haughtiness, better said insolence, not even in Europe, though Europeans are as ridiculous on this point as one can be. The nobles, named **Chamorris** by the Mariana people, treat one another with infinite regards. They do not meet without greeting each other with compliments, using the most respectful phrases, such as: **Permit me to kiss your feet**. It would be difficult to find another group that is more inconstant in their tastes, more passionate in their pleasures; they are naturally gay, jokers and buffoons.

Among the Mariana Islands, there is one that is completely uninhabited, though very fertile. Its name is Tinian. The Spanish have named it Buenavista because of the beauty of its landscapes. It is situated in the vicinity of Guahan. One can find there excellent grazing land, and it was there that we ate the most exquisite fruits. We saw many thousands of cows grazing together in vast pasturelands that are along the seashore. An epidemic disease made its inhabitants flee and seek refuge in Guahan. The other Mariana islands are all very populated; there are over 40,000 [sic] inhabitants in Saipan Island alone, as many in the Island of Guam, etc. Although these islands are situated within the torrid zone, the heat is not excessive; the climate is temperate, the air is pure and the sky serene. The natural products of these islands are about the same as those of the Philippines, but such a marvellous fruit, special to the Marianas, is a sort of big apple, the size of a head, called **bread-fruit**, because it is a substitute for bread for the islanders and is very nutritious. The tree that produces it is bulky and leafy; the leaves are rather black. The fruit is round and covered by a thick bark, rough to the touch. Its flesh is as white and as tender as the white part of the best bread. It is eaten boiled or roasted, but in this state it is preserved for 5 to 6 months; however, when it is fresh, it

cannot be kept for more than 24 hours without drying up and acquiring a bad taste. We think that this tree could grow in Europe.

Having nothing more of interest to see in the Marianas, we boarded a ship bound to the Kingdom of Siam, one of the countries that we were to find most interesting, from many points of view, during our voyage through the East Indies. However, we had hardly sailed for three days when a terrible wind storm carried us to the coast of New Guinea. The storm that we experienced was one of the greatest dangers that we lived through up to that time.

...

---

## Document 1789C

---

# Diary of José Gomez, Mexico City, 1789-1794

*Sources: BNMex Mss. 1687-1691; published as José Gómez, *Diario curioso y cuaderno de las cosas memorables en México durante el gobierno de Revillagigedo, 1789-1794* (Mexico, UNAM, 1896).*

## Extracts from the diary of José Gómez, mostly about convicts

*Notes: José Gómez Moreno was a soldier living in Mexico City, where he held the post of Corporal of the halberdiers, or special guard of the viceroy, after 1770. He was born in Granada, Spain, in 1732, arrived at Mexico in 1755, and died in Mexico City on 10 February 1800.*

### Original text in Spanish.

...

#### **Octubre de 1789.**

*El día ... de octubre de 1789, en la Villa de Guadalupe, entregó el bastón [de mando] el señor don Manuel Antonio Flores a el señor virrey nuevo, conde de Revillagigedo.*

...

#### **Año de 1790.**

...

*El día 9 de enero de 1790 en México, entró el correo de España y no trajo cosa particular, y ese mismo día 9 entraron los cajones de las cartas de Manila de la nao que había llegado.*

...

*El día 24 de febrero de 1790 en México, salió la primera parti[d]a o cuerda [de presidiarios] para Manila.*

...

*[En el mismo día 1º de marzo de 1790] en México, salió la segunda cuerda de [presidiarios] de China.*

*El día 3 de marzo de 1790 en México, salió la tercera cuerda de los [presidiarios] de China, que salieron en todas el número de 310 [hombres].*

*El día 6 de marzo de 1790, salió de México la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...

*El día ... de abril de 1790 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*



**Rulers of New Spain, 1787-94 period. King Charles IV (left).**



**Viceroy Flores (bottom left) & Revillagigedo (bottom right)**



...  
*El día 14 de junio de 1790 en México, salió la cuerda de las tres cárceles, y en esta cuerda salieron 32 mujeres mecas como los presidiarios, [cosa] que nunca se había visto, y fue siendo virrey el señor conde de Revillagigedo.*

...  
*El día ... de agosto de 1790 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles, y salieron como 200 hombres.*

...  
*[En el mismo día] 7 de octubre de 1790 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles, y fue siendo virrey el señor conde de Revillagigedo...*

...  
*El día 25 de noviembre de 1790 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles...*

**Año de 1791.**

*El día 3 de enero de 1791 en México, salió la tropa que iba para San Blas con sus mujeres y los presidiarios que iban para Manila, y fue siendo virrey el señor conde de Revillagigedo.*

...  
*El día 1º de febrero de 1791 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*Este mismo día [4 de marzo de 1791] salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*El día 7 de abril de 1791 en México, salió la cuerda de las tres cárceles en que salieron 170 hombres.*

...  
*El día 17 de agosto de 1791 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*El día 17 de septiembre de 1791 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*El día 17 de diciembre de 1791 en México, salió la primera cuerda [de presidiarios] para Acapulco [y de allí] para Manila.*

*El día 21 de diciembre de 1791 en México... y este día salió la segunda cuerda [de presidiarios] para Manila...*

*El día 22 de diciembre de 1791 en México... Este día salió la cuerda [de presidiarios] para Veracruz, que eran de las tres cárceles, siendo virrey el señor conde de Revillagigedo, en día jueves.*

**Año de 1792.**

*El día 8 de enero de 1792 en México, salió la tercera cuerda [de la leva] para Acapulco, y de allí para Manila.*

...

*El día 18 de enero de 1792 en México, entró la cuerda [de presidiarios] de Puebla para Manila.*

...

*El día 26 de enero de 1792 en México, salió la cuarta cuerda [de presidiarios] para Acapulco, y de allí para Manila.*

..

*El día 16 de marzo de 1792 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles, y fue siendo virrey el señor conde de Revillagigedo.*

...

*El día 15 de junio de 1792 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles, y en ésta fue Manuel Moreno, hermano de don José Moreno, alabardero. [Este Manuel] había sido soldado dragón del regimiento de España, [y fue sentenciado] por faltas que hizo en el cuartel.*

...

*El día 17 de julio de 92 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles para Veracruz y para la Flori[d]ja...*

...

*El día 15 de septiembre de 1792 en México, salió la cuerda [de presidiarios] de las tres cárceles.*

...

*El día 6 de noviembre de 1792 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...

*El día 20 de diciembre de 1792 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...

**Año de 1793.**

...

*El día 4 de febrero de 1793 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...

*El día ... de enero del año de 1793, en París, fue degollado en la plaza pública por mano de verdugo el rey Luis XVI, con la mayor infamia que se ha visto, por orden de la asamblea.*

...

*El día 23 de mayo de 1793, salió de México la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles.*

...

*El día 17 de agosto de 1793 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles y en ésta salió "El Zamorano," célebre toreador.*

...  
*El día 1º de octubre de 1793 en México, salió la cuerda de los presidiarios de las tres cárceles para Veracruz.*

...  
*El día 20 de noviembre de 1793 en México, salió la cuerda [de presidiarios] de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*El día 5 de diciembre de 1793, salió de México la primera cuerda de presidiarios para Manila.*

...  
**Año de 1794.**  
*El día 31 de enero de 1794 en México, salió la cuerda de presidiarios de las tres cárceles para Veracruz.*

...  
*El día 21 de junio de 1794 en México, salió la cuerda [de presidiarios] de las tres cárceles.*

...  
*El día 11 de julio de 1794, en el pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, entregó el señor conde de Revillagigedo el bastón [de mando a su sucesor] el marqués de Branciforte.*

## **Translation.**

...  
**October 1789.**  
On the ... of October 1789, in the Town of Guadalupe, His Lordship Don Manuel Antonio Flores handed over his cane to His Lordship the new Viceroy, Count of Revillagigedo.

...  
**Year of 1790.**  
...  
On the 9th of January 1790, in Mexico City, the mail from Spain came in but brought nothing particular. On the same date, however, there came in the mail crates from Manila, from the galleon that had just arrived.<sup>1</sup>

...  
On the 24th of February 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the first party or rope gang [of convicts] for Manila.

---

1 Ed. note: This was the galleon **San Andrés**.

...

[On the same date, 1 March] in Mexico City, there departed the second rope gang for China [sic].<sup>1</sup>

On the 3rd of March 1790, there departed the third rope gang for China, which makes a total for all three of 310 [men].

On the 6th of March 1790, the rope gang of convicts from the three jails departed Mexico City.

...

On the ... of April 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails.

...

On the 14th of June 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang from the three jails, and in this gang there were 32 "meca" women,<sup>2</sup> as convicts, something that had never been seen, and this happened when His Lordship Count of Revillagigedo was viceroy.

...

On the ... of August 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails, and all in all there were about 200 men.

...

[On the same day,] 7th of October 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails, and this too place when the Count of Revillagigedo was viceroy.

...

On the 25th of November 1790, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails...

#### **Year of 1791.**

On the 3rd of January 1791, in Mexico City, there departed the troop that was going to San Blas, along with their wives, and the convicts going to Manila, and this happened when the Count of Revillagigedo was viceroy.<sup>3</sup>

...

On the 1st of February 1791, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails...

...

On the same date [4 March 1791], there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails...

...

---

1 Ed. note: That is, for Manila. It was the custom in Mexico to call "China galleon" what was in fact the Manila galleon, because it brought Chinese merchandise.

2 Ed. note: The word "meca" could refer to Indian women. Convicts were also shipped to Spanish colonies in the West Indies.

3 Ed. note: To San Blas, instead of Acapulco, because that was the point of departure of two chartered vessels, the San José y las Animas, and the schooner Valdés.



On the 7th of April, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang from the three jails in which there were 170 men.

...  
On the 17th of August 1791, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails...

...  
On the 17th of September 1791, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails...

...  
On the 17th of December 1791, in Mexico City, there departed the first rope gang for Acapulco [bound] to Manila.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st of December 1791, in Mexico City... and on this date there departed the second rope gang for Manila...

On the 22nd of December 1791, in Mexico City... On this date there departed the rope gang [of convicts] for Veracruz, who came from the three jails, and this happened when His Lordship the Count of Revillagigedo was viceroy.

**Year of 1792.**

On the 8th of January 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the third rope gang for Acapulco, bound to Manila.

...  
On the 18th of January 1792, in Mexico City, there came in the rope gang [of convicts] from Puebla [bound] to Manila.

...  
On the 26th of January 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the fourth rope gang for Acapulco, bound to Manila.

...  
On the 16th of March 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails, and this happened when the Count of Revillagigedo was viceroy.

...  
On the 15th of June 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails, and among them was Manuel Moreno, the brother of Don José Moreno, halberdier. [This Manuel] had been a soldier in the regiment of Spanish dragoons, [and he was sentenced] because of mistakes he made inside the barracks.

...  
On the 17th of July 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails for Veracruz, bound to Florida.

...  
On the 15th of September 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang from the three jails...

---

1 Ed. note: To board the galleon San Andrés at the beginning of 1792.

...  
On the 6th of November 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails.

...  
On the 20th of December 1792, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails.

...  
**Year of 1793.**

...  
On the 4th of February 1793, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails.

...  
On the ... of January 1793, in Paris, King Louis XVI was guillotined in the public square at the hand of an executioner—the greatest infamy that had ever been seen—by order of the Assembly.

...  
On the 23rd of May 1793, there departed from Mexico City the rope gang of convicts from the three jails.

...  
On the 17th of August 1793, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails and among them was “El Zamorano,” the famous bull-fighter.

...  
On the 1st of October 1793, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails for Veracruz.

...  
On the 20th of November 1793, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang from the three jails.

...  
On the 5th of December 1793, there departed from Mexico City the first rope gang of convicts for Manila.<sup>1</sup>

...  
**Year of 1794.**

On the 31st of January 1794, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang of convicts from the three jails for Veracruz.

...  
On the 21st of June 1794, in Mexico City, there departed the rope gang from the three jails.

...

---

1 Ed. note: To board the galleon San Andrés that was expected, but there is no confirmation that she did arrive.

On the 11th of July 1794, in the town of Our Lady of Guadalupe, His Lordship the Count of Revillagigedo turned over the cane [to his successor] the Marquis of Branciforte.

...



**Viceroy Branciforte, 1794-98.**

---

**Document 1789D**

---

**Visit of 25 Carolinians to Guam in July 1789**

*Source: AHN Ultramar 5856, doc. 118 (cont'd).*

**Letter of Governor Arleguí dated Agaña 20 August 1789****Original text in Spanish.**

*Nº 13.*

[Summary]

*El Governador de Marianas dà cuenta à V.S. de aver llegado à ellas quatro Bancas con 25 Hombres de la nombrada Lamursec una de las Carolinas, siendo parte de los mismos que vinieron el año de 87: Que fueron tratados con igual agasajo que entonces, y se ofrecieron acompañar las Bancas del Presidio à Tinian, aunque no se verificó por vientos contrarios. Procuró se quedasen algunos, pero no lo consiguió, sin embargo del modelo que tenían à la vista de dos Paysanos suios, que el año de 87 se encontraron desgarrados en Tinian, y yà catequizados, se bautizaron con el posible aparato, siendo Padrono del uno, y su Muger del otro. Ofrecieron bolver, y traer Muchachos y Muchachas, y Bancas para el Presidio, en reconocimiento de la buena acogida, y Fierro que seles regaló que estiman en mucho.*

*M. Y. S.*

*Muy Señor mio: En Oficio de 8 de Julio de 1787, Nº 3, informè à V.S. de la llegada à estas Yslas de dos Bancas con trece Hombres procedentes de la nombrada Lamursec una de las Carolinas, ó Palaos, la humanidad y agasajo con que los trate para captarles la voluntad &c.*

*El 6 de Julio del corriente entraron en Umata quatro de dichas Bancas con veinte y cinco Hombres de la citada Ysla, parte de los anteriores, y el Principal Tamur Luitó el mismo que vino la primera ocasion; y para mejor conocimiento de V.S. acompaña la Lista de sus Nombres. Fueron conducidos à esta Capital, y tratados con igual dulzura y agasajo: En reconocimiento se ofrecieron hir à Tinian, en conserva con las Bancas del Presidio à la conduccion de Carne y Pescado, para manutencion de esta Guarnicion, quedando aqui los tres Principales, para que no tubiese desconfianza; bien que no verificaron el viage, porque se bolvieron desde Rota, pretextando tiempos contrarios: Se*

*mantubieron hasta el 22 que salieron, y haciendo escala en Agat, y Merizo, emprendieron la buelta para su Ysla el 1° del corriente Agosto.*

*Hice los mayores esfuerzos para que se quedasen algunos, con el fin de que se instruyan en la Lengua del Pais, y Castellano, para que nos podamos entender mejor y ver si se catequizan; pero no se pudo conseguir, sin embargo de tener por modelo dos Paysanos suyos que el año de 87 fueron recogidos en la Ysla de Zeypan, donde se encontraron desgarrados, y conducidos aqui permanecen en Casa catequizados yà, habiendoseles suministrado el Santo Bautismo con el posible aparato, y regocijo publico siendo Yó Padrino de uno, y mi Muger del otro; dando ellos al parecer las mayores muestras de deseo para recibirle.*

*Ofrecieron bolver el proximo año en mas numero y traer Muchachos y Muchachas, y aun algunas Bancas de regalo, en recompensa de la buena acogida, y Fierro que seles dió, que estiman con exceso, de modo que no se puede descuidar con ellos porque robàn quanto seles proporcionan.*

*De todo lo qual informo à V.S. para su inteligencial*

*Dios guarde à V.S. muchos años.*

*San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas 20 de Agosto de 1789.*

*M. Y.S.*

*B.l.m. de V.S. su mas rendido servidor,*

*Joseph Arleguí y Leóz*

*M. Y.S.*

*Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

***Lista de veinte y cinco Hombres, que en quatro Bancas procedente de la Ysla nombrada Lamursec, una de las Carolinas, ó Palaos entraron el 6 de Julio de 89 en estas Marianas.***

*1° Banca.*

*Tamúr Luito*

*Epeligúr*

*Puersrigalaraú*

*Oraysam*

*Mesaliun*

*2ª Yd.*

*Tamúr Urraluar*

*Rageliur*

*Atihisao*

*Palioisam*

*Huclial*

*3ª Yd.*

*Tamúr Muypec*

*Foui-iluc*

*Peguèl*

*Tauari*  
*Mañgar*  
*Curs*  
*Tarai*  
*Quiyaqui*

4° Yd.

*Tamúr Tolap*  
*Metepual*  
*Taolap*  
*Ulupuat*  
*Camay*  
*Maniur*  
*Puylam.*

*San Ygnacio de Agaña Capital de las Yslas Marianas 20 de Agosto de 1789.*  
*Joseph Arleguí, y Leóz.*

### Translation.

Nº 13.

[Summary]

The Governor of the Mariana Islands reports to Y.L. the arrival there of four canoes carrying 25 men from one of the Caroline Islands named Lamursec, part of which were those that visited there in 1787. That they were treated with the same welcome as before, and they offered themselves to accompany the Garrison's canoes to Tinian, although this did not happen because of contrary winds. He tried to convince some to stay, but did not achieve it, in spite of the example that they have at hand, that offered by two of their countrymen who in 1787 were found to have drifted to Tinian,<sup>1</sup> and are now Christian; they were baptized with all possible ceremony, one of them having the Governor as a god-father, and the other his wife. They promised to return, and bring boys and girls, and canoes for the garrison, in gratitude for the good welcome, and the iron that they were given, which they esteem very much.

Most Illustrious Sir.

My dear Sir: In my letter dated 8 July 1787, Nº 3,<sup>2</sup> I informed Y.L. about the arrival at these Islands of two canoes with 13 men proceeding from the Island named Lamursec, one of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands, their courtesy and welcome with which they were treated, in order to get their goodwill, etc.

On 6 July of the current year, there came into Umatac four of said canoes with 25 men from said Island, some of whom had come before, including the Chief, Tamur [Umal] Luito, the same man who had come on the previous occasion. For the greater

1 Ed. note: Rather Saipan (see below).

2 Ed. note: See Doc. 1787A3.

intelligence of Y.L., I enclose the List of their names. They were conducted to this Capital and treated with equal sweetness and welcome. In gratitude, they offered themselves to go to Tinian, in company with the canoes of the Garrison, to fetch the meat and fish for the maintenance of this garrison. The three leading men remained here, to ensure the security of all. However, this voyage was not completed, because they returned from Rota, using the pretext of contrary winds. They remained until the 22nd when they departed and, after stopovers at Agat, and Merizo, they began their return voyage for their Island on the 1st of the present month of August.

I did my best to convince a few to remain here, for the purpose of their learning the local language, and Spanish, so that we could understand one another better and to see if they would accept our religion, but this did not happen, in spite of the fact that they had the example of two countrymen of their who, in 1787, were picked up at the Island of Saipan, where they had drifted, and conducted here; they remain in my House and are already Christian. In fact, they were administered holy Baptism with all possible ceremony, and public rejoicing. I acted as the god-father of one of them, and my wife was god-mother to the other, as they had given the greatest signs of wanting to receive baptism.

They promised to return next year in larger number and to bring boys and girls, and even some canoes as gifts, in gratitude for our good welcome, and the iron that they were given, which they esteem above all else, to such an extent that one cannot relax with them, because they steal as much iron as they can get their hands on.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 20 August 1789.

Most Illustrious Sir.

The most obliging servant of Y.L. who kisses your hand,

José Arleguí y Leóz.

[To] His Excellency the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

**List of the 25 men who arrived in 4 canoes at these Marianas from the Island named Lamursec, one of the Caroline, or Palaos, Islands, on 6 July 1789.**

1st canoe.

Tamúr Luito  
Epeligúr  
Puersrigalaraú  
Oraysam  
Mesaliun

2nd canoe.

Tamúr Urraluar  
Rageliur  
Atihisao  
Palioisam  
Huclial

3rd canoe.

Tamúr Muypec

Foui-iluc

Peguèl

Tauari

Mañgar

Curs

Tarai

Quiyaqui

4th canoe.

Tamúr Tolap

Metepual

Taolap

Ulupuat

Camay

Maniur

Puylam.

San Ignacio of Agaña, Capital of the Mariana Islands, 20 August 1789.

José Arleguí y Leóz.



---

## Documents 1790A

---

### The despatch of the galleon *San Andrés* in 1790

*Source: AGN AHH 803.*

*Note: This galleon had come from Manila in 1789, under the command of Navy Lieutenant Joaquin Berenger de Marquina, by way of the Northern Marianas. The Farallon de Pájaros was situated by him at 22°30' N and 152°35' E of Cadiz.*

#### A1. Letter from the Viceroy to the Royal officials, dated Mexico 1 March 1790

##### Original text in Spanish.

*Contestado n° 308.*

*No es mi animo que el retorno del Navio **San Andres** se detenga en Acapulco un dia mas del 15 del corriente prefinido, y esto mismo desea su Comandante Don Josef Bermudez de Castro.*

*Ignoro las disposiciones de V.Ms. para la direccion de caudales del Situado que ha de llevar à Filipinas, y en que estado se halla el acopio y remesa de los 600 quintales de cobre destinados à Lastre de aquel Buque para fundicion de Artilleria que falta en aquel Fuerte: sobre cuyos dos puntos, prevengo a V.Ms. me informen al instante, para mi constancia.*

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico 1° de Marzo de 1790.*

*El Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

*A los Ministros de Real Hazienda de estas Cajas.*

##### Translation.

**Response n° 308.**

It is not my intention to have the galleon **San Andrés** detained at Acapulco one day beyond the 15th of this month, and her commander, Don José Bermudez de Castro, is of the same opinion.

I do not know what arrangements Your Graces have made for the transport of the subsidy moneys that must be carried to the Philippines, and for the purchase and despatch of the 600 quintals of copper, which is meant for use as ballast of that ship and

to be melted down to make cannon for the fort overthere; I wish to advise Your Graces to inform me immediately regarding the above two points, for my intelligence.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 1 March 1790.

The Count of Revilla Gigedo.

To the Ministers of the Royal Treasury of this City.

## A2. Food supplies loaded aboard the San Andrés

### Original text in Spanish.

***Memoria de los efectos que ban para Manila de cuenta de Real A[lmacen] y su distribucion.***

*Para los Utencilios de Manila.*

*Dos calderas de cobre (para la cosina del equipage), estañados con tapas y peso de 228 lb.*

*Viveres para el tornabiage de Nabio.*

*Seis barriles de bino blanco.*

*Docientas quarenta cajetas en tres cajones à ochenta por cajon.*

*Seis tercios de chile seco tres pasilla, y tres del ancho con 37 @ 08 bruto, y neto 35 @ 22.*

*Quince barriles de binagre de Castilla.*

*Diez y nueve cargas de lentejas.*

*Diez y nueve dhas de frijol.*

*Diez y nueve dhas de [h]abas.*

*Para la carena, y apresto de dho nabio.*

*Dos cajones de clabos de [a]barrote de à 6 @ que [h]acen 3 " quintales.*

*Veinte quintales seis lbs de hierro platina.*

*Un quintal de clavos de 5 pulgadas en un cajon.*

*Para la provicion de Reales Almacenes.*

*Cinquenta candados con sus armellas correspondientes.*

*Doze piedras de buelta ó mollejon.*

*Dos mil pliegos de papel de marca mayor.*

*Un mil dhos de marca menor.*

*Mil plumas de Castilla.*

### Translation.

**List of the effects destined to Manila on the account of the Royal Warehouse and their distribution.**

For the utensils of Manila.

—2 copper cauldrons (for the crew's galley), tinned, with lids, weighing 228 pounds.

Food supplies for the return voyage of the ship.

—6 barrels of white wine;

- 240 [bars] of caramelized milk, in 3 crates at 80 units each;<sup>1</sup>
- 6 half-loads of dried chili peppers, 3 of them short-type and 3 long-type, gross weight 37 arrobas and 8 [pounds], net weight 35 arrobas and 22 [pounds];
- 15 barrels of vinager from Spain;
- 19 loads of lentils;
- 19 loads of [red] beans;
- 19 loads of [brown] beans;

For carening said galleon, and making her ready.

- 2 crates of hardware nails of 6 arrobas each, which makes 3 quintals;<sup>2</sup>
- 20 quintals and 6 pounds of sheet iron;
- 1 quintal of 5-inch nails in 1 crate.

For the supply of the Royal Warehouses.

- 50 padlocks with their corresponding hasps;
- 12 grindstones;
- 2,000 sheets of paper, of superior quality;
- 1,000 quills from Spain.

### A3. Additional food supplies

#### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Razon de los generos que faltan que havilitar para el tornaviaje del Navio San Andres*

*Para 290 plazas de su tripulacion en 6 meses y otras 290 de reclutas en el propio tiempo y con respecto à lo que para menor pidieron los Ministros de Acapulco para los 290 de tripulacion para solo 4 meses.*

<i>Vino blanco</i> .....	<i>4 Barriles</i>
<i>Dulce</i> .....	<i>160 libras</i>
<i>Carne de puerco ó jamon</i> ...	<i>550 arrobas</i>
<i>Chile seco</i> ... ..	<i>4 tercios</i>
<i>Vinagre de Castilla</i> .....	<i>10 Barriles</i>
<i>Viscocho fino</i> .....	<i>54 @</i>
<i>Idem ordinario</i> .....	<i>3,160 @</i>
<i>Lentejas</i> .....	<i>19 cargas</i>
<i>Frijol</i> .....	<i>19 cargas</i>
<i>Abas</i> .....	<i>19 cargas.</i>

#### **Nota:**

*Que aunque por el Art. 1º del Libro 10 quanto de las Ordenanzas de Marina se señala rasion de Penado, manteca y sal, del tono se ha concedido nada para los dos meses*

- 
- 1 Ed. note: Mexican “cajeta” is the equivalent of English taffy, or toffy, but can be softer, as it is made from milk.
  - 2 Ed. note: That is, 300 pounds of nails.

*mas que faltan de rasion à las 290 Plazas de tripulacion ni a las otras tantas que se con-  
cidan iran de reclutas, respecto à que los Ministros de Acapulco ninguno de estos ren-  
glones pidieron en las dos relaciones que pasaron al Exmo. Sor. Virrey con fha de 5 del  
presente.*

*Tesoreria General &*

### **Translation.**

#### **List of the missing goods to be obtained for the return voyage of the galleon San Andrés.**

For a crew of 290 positions, for 6 months, and 290 other positions of recruits for the same period, over and above the lesser amounts [previously] solicited by the Ministers of Acapulco for 290 crewmen for only 4 months:

- White wine ..... 4 barrels;
- Sweets ..... 100 pounds;
- Pork or ham ..... 550 arrobas;
- Dried chili pepper ... 4 half-loads;
- Vinager from Spain .. 10 barrels;
- Fine biscuit ..... 54 arrobas;
- Ordinary biscuit ..... 3,160 arrobas;
- Lentils ..... 19 loads;
- [Red] beans ..... 19 loads;
- [Brown] beans ..... 19 loads.

#### **Note.**

Although Article 1, Book 10, of the Naval Ordinances provides grease and salt for rations of conscripts, nothing of the kind has been granted for the two additional months of missing supplies for 290 crew positions, and none for the same number of recruits either, because the Ministers of Acapulco had not requested any of these items in neither of the two requests that they presented to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 5th of this month.

General Office of the Treasury, etc.

---

## Document 1790B

---

### Recollect missionaries who arrived in 1790

*Source: AGN AHH 1225, Reales ordenes de 1789, n° 5.*

*Note: At least one missionary from this band remained in the Marianas in 1790: Fr. Domingo Medina, alias de Santo Tomás de Aquino.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Con fha de 29 de Enero ultimo me comunica el Exmo. Señor Don Antonio Valdes la siguiente Real orden:*

*“Exmo. Señor Don Antonio Porlier me ha pasado el oficio siguiente con fha de 18 de Diziembre ultimo:*

*“A solicitud de Fr. Juan Duarez [sic] Comisario de las Misiones de Franciscos Descalzos de Filipinas, en representacion que ha dado al Rey haciendo presente la urgente necesidad en que se halla de enviar a su Mision veinte Religiosos que se le han ofrecido con tal de que se les conduzca por Mexico, y que en su defecto sabe de cierto que se le han de retratar, se hà servido S.M. conceder al nominado Padre Duarez su Real permiso para que en aquel tiempo embarque por Veracruz los citados veinte Religiosos: y de su Real Orden lo participo à V.E. para que por el Ministerio de su cargo se sirva dar las correspondientes à su cumplimiento.*

*Le traslado à V.E. de orden del Rey para su inteligencia y cumplimiento.”*

*Y la inserto à V.Ms. para su inteligencia.*

*Dios guarde à V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico 20 de Mayo de 1789.*

*Flores.*

*[A los] Señores Ministros de Real Hacienda de estas Caxas.*

*Antonio Bonilla.*

#### Translation.

His Excellency Don Antonio Valdés, in a communication dated 29 January last, has forwarded to me the following Royal order:

“Your Excellency: Don Antonio Porlier has forwarded to me the following message dated 18 December last:

“At the request of Fr. Juan Duarez [sic],<sup>1</sup> Commissioner of the Missions of the Dis-calzed Franciscans in the Philippines, made in a petition to the King, in which he pointed out the urgent need to send the 20 Religious who have been earmarked for his Mission band by way of Mexico, as otherwise he knows for certain that the offer of them will be withdrawn from him, H.M. has been pleased to grant to the above-named Father Duarez his royal permission for said 20 Religious to embark for Veracruz at that time.

“I take this opportunity to forward this royal order to Y.E. so that the Ministry for which you are responsible may issue the corresponding orders leading to its compliance.

“I forward same to Y.E. by order of the King for your information and compliance.”

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Mexico, 20 March 1789.

Flores.

[To] The Gentlemen Ministers of the Royal Treasury in this city.

Antonio Bonilla.

---

1 Ed. note: This may be a misprint for Suárez.

---

## Documents 1791C

---

# The return voyage of the *Waakzamheydt*, Captain Smith, via Sorol and Yap

### Introduction.

According to Collins' Account of the English Colony, the Dutch snow *Waakzamheydt*, which means Vigilance, had been chartered in Batavia to take supplies to the New South Wales colony. The Governor chartered her for a voyage to England, at the rate of one pound sterling per ton per month, and this contract was signed by her Captain, Detmer Smith, on behalf of her owners. During the first leg of her return voyage to Batavia, the snow sailed by Sorol and Yap Islands in the Carolines.

On board her were a number of Royal Navy officers and the former crew of *HMS Sirius* which had been wrecked at Norfolk Island.

“On Monday the 28th the *Waaksamheyd* [sic] transport sailed for England, having on board Captain [John] Hunter, with the officers and crew of His Majesty's late ship *Sirius*. By Captain Hunter's departure, which was regretted by every one who shared the pleasure of his society, the administration of the country would now devolve upon the lieutenant-governor, in case of the death or absence of the governor; a dormant commission having been signed by His Majesty investing Captain Hunter with the chief situation in the colony in the event of either of the above circumstances taking place.”

### C1. The journal of Captain John Hunter, R.N., then a passenger

*Source: Captain John Hunter, R.N. An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson (London, 1793).*

*Note: The 1968 edition published by Angus and Robertson in Australia and edited by John Bach is an enlarged text, with foreign material added to the original text reproduced below.*

...

### Chapter VII.

*Captain Hunter leaves Port Jackson in the Waaksamheyd transport.—In danger amongst some islands.—Stewart's islands discovered.—Discover a cluster of islands.—Name them Lord Howe's groupe.—The natives described.—Anchor at the Duke of York's Island.—Attempt to procure water.—Are attacked by the natives.—A few shots fired.—The natives dispersed.—A reconciliation effected.—Natives described.—Weapons.—Ornaments, &c.—Produce and soil.—Leave the Duke of York's Island.—Natives from the Admiralty Islands visit the ship.—Their canoes described.—Anchor at Hum-*



**Captain John Hunter, R.N.**



*mock Island.—Refreshments procured.—Visited by the Raja.—A quarrel ensues.—Several of the natives killed.—Articles of barter in request.—Canoes described.—Leave Hummock Island.—Anchor at Batavia.*

On the 27th of March, 1791, we left Sydney-cove, in the **Waaksamheyd** transport, and sailed down the harbour, accompanied by the governor, and most of the civil and military officers in the settlement.

...  
Having now got to the westward of the Admiralty Islands, I considered myself clear of St. George's Channel; and I agree perfectly with Captain Carteret, in thinking it a very safe, and (to ships bound northward, which want water), a very convenient navigation.

On the 11th of July, necessity obliged us to reduce the allowance of water; the whole allowance now to each man for all purposes, cooking, drinking, &c. was two purser's quarts for twenty-four hours, and the weather was exceedingly sultry, which made it the more distressing. On the 13th, I found it necessary, from the very unfavourable prospect before us, to call together my own officers, and the master of the ship, and to consult upon the most eligible plan to be pursued, for enabling us to reach some port or settlement, where it might be possible to obtain some supply of provisions and water, for the relief of one hundred and twenty-one men, the number now on board this small vessel. The general opinion was, that it would be highly imprudent in the present reduced state of our provisions and water, to persevere any longer in an attempt to reach the strait of Macassar, in the face of fresh westerly winds and a strong easterly current; particularly, in a vessel so very ill constructed for working to windward; and what rendered it still more necessary to give up such an attempt in our situation was, that the master of the ship (who had been a number of years in the Dutch service among the Molucca Islands) assured me, in the presence of some of the officers, that he did not know of any one place in our route, short of Batavia, where any supply for our numbers could be had: accordingly, we bore away to the northward.

On the 9th of August, we made an island, which Captain Carteret saw from his anchorage on the south coast of Mindanao, and called Hummock Island...

...

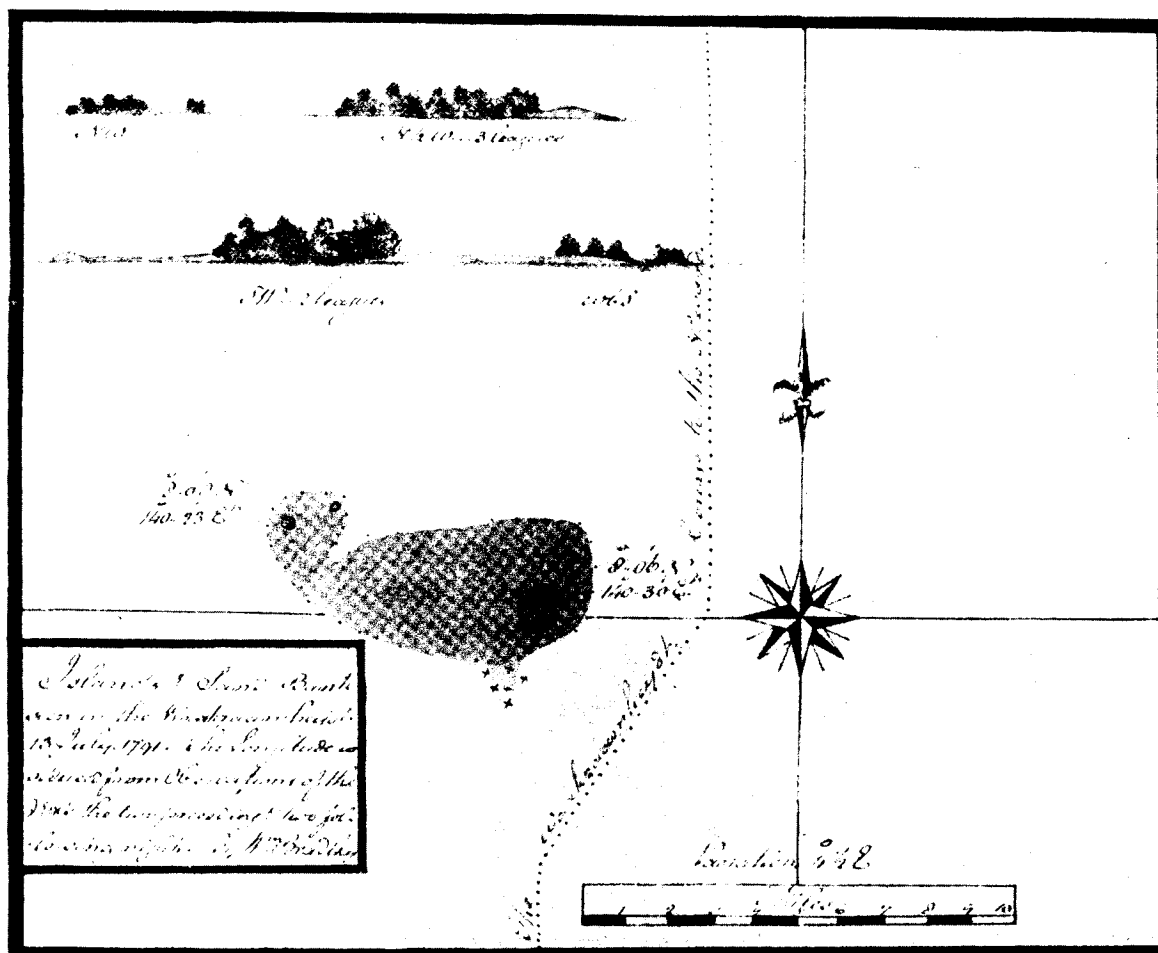
[Therefore, no details are given about the crossing through Micronesia.]

...

## **C2. The journal of Lieutenant Bradley aboard the Waakzamheydt**

*Sources: Ms. in the Public Library of NSW, Sydney, pages 269-271; published as: Lieutenant William Bradley, R.N. A Voyage to New South Wales (Sydney, 1969).*

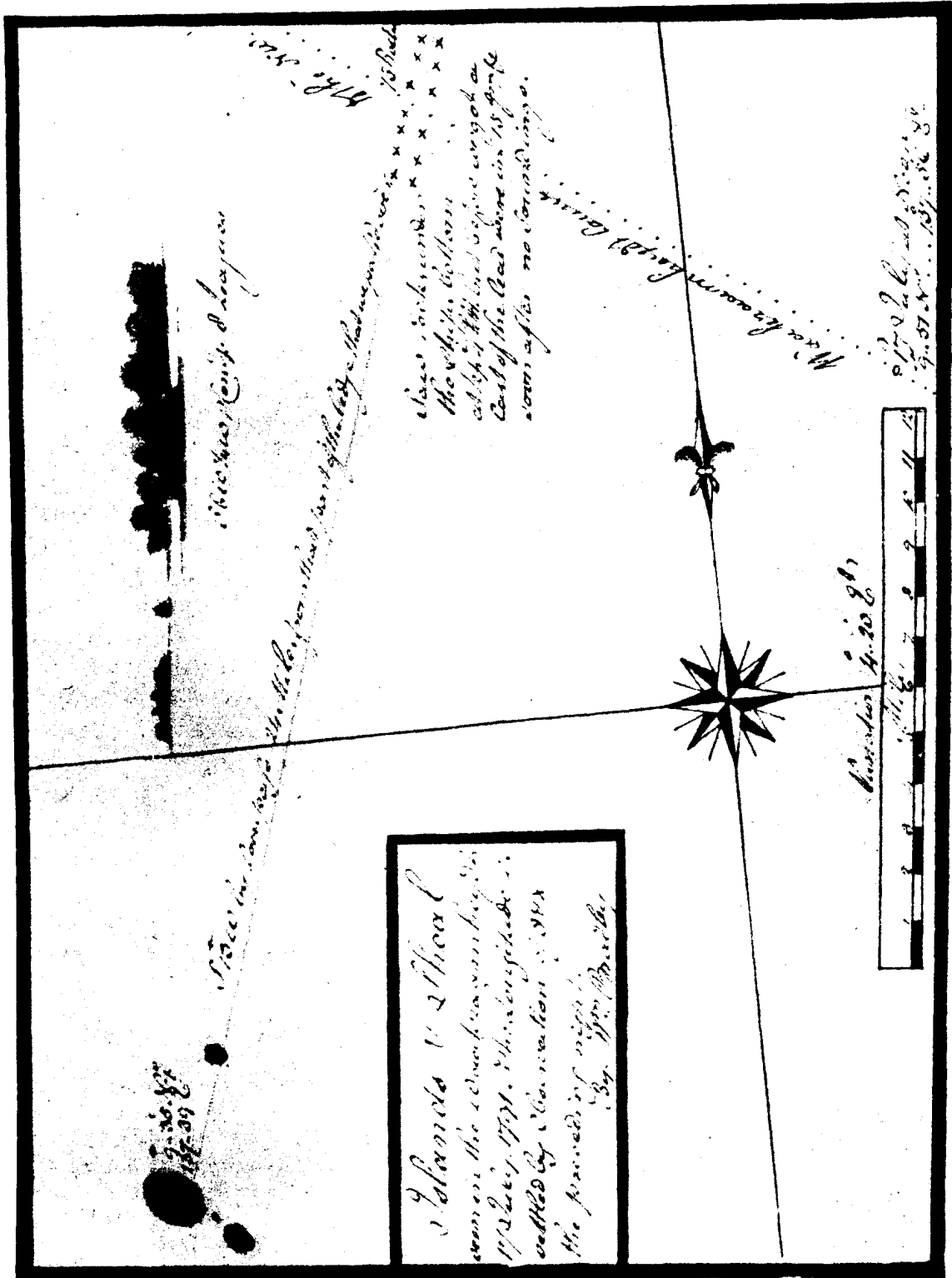
### **The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786-1792.**



**Sorol atoll viewed from the deck of the Waakzamheydt. Drawn by Lieut. Bradley, R.N. on 13 July 1791.**

...  
**July 1791.**  
 [13 July]

... Consultation to determine what was best to be done. It was the general opinion that it was absolutely necessary that we should make the best of our way to Macao in China circumstanced as we were with respect to provisions which was now become very short, the Wind being at SW we bore away on the 13th & steer'd to the Northward; AM at 9 saw Land. it appear'd to be an Island bearing NbW soon after, we saw 2 other Islands to the NWbN; As we approach'd the first, we found that they were all three connected by a reef & dry sand bank extending 7 miles in nearly a WNW direction & and 3 miles in breadth the Eastward of these woody patches which at first appeared to be separate Islands is about a mile in length & lies in 8°06' N. 140°30' E. deduced from Lunar Observations taken two days before & 2 days after: The two westernmost patches are very small & close together & lie in 8°09' N. 140°23' E. It breaks very heavy upon the Sand all round, except just to the Eastward of the two woody patches on the North side of the Sand, where there appears to be a small opening. We passed [to] the



Yap  
 was in the ...  
 1791  
 the ...

Yap Island and Hunter Bank, seen on 17 July 1791.

Eastward of this Island at about 3 miles distant. Saw several of the Natives come out of the wood to the beach but did not see any of their Canoes or Habitations, we had an amazing number of birds & fish about the Ship & many Bonettas were caught.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday 14th. The Wind hauling round to the East & Northward we could not pass to the Eastward of a group of the New Carolines which were near, we therefore run close along to the Southward of them, but it being thick rainy weather we did not see any of them till the 18th when we discovered land & which proved to be the West[ern]most of the Caroline Islands. At Noon they were seen to be 3 Islands & a rock above water. The North part of the middle Island which is the largest & had some high land upon it lies in 9°35' N. 137°39' E. by Obs[ervation] of the Moon & Sun, at 10 the following evening,<sup>2</sup> they are well cover'd with Trees of which we had but an imperfect sight as we passed at 19 miles distance from the nearest.

#### [Discovery of Hunter Bank]

At 1/2 past 4 when the largest Island bore S13°W per Compass 24 Miles, we came suddenly over a ledge of rocks, saw the bottom very plain & had 15 fathoms but I think we were in less water before the lead was hove, this ledge appear'd to extend to a considerable distance both to the N. & S. in a NbE & SbW direction, we stood on our course NWbW & in about 10 Minutes had no soundings, I suppose it to be 2 or 3 Cables length in breadth & every appearance of deep water round it, there was a considerable swell & had it communicated with the Islands in sight, I think we should have seen breakers between us & the shore, of which there was no appearance all round:<sup>3</sup>

These Islands are called Ladda in the old Charts & are to the SW of the groups called the New Carolines.

It was now judged more eligible to alter our route & instead of going to Macao, to go for the Port of Manilla; we accordingly shaped a Course for Cape Espiritu Santo, the entrance of the Channel leading to it; the wind favoured us 'till Sunday the 24th in Lat. 11°37' N. 131°27' E. when it came to the Northward & then round to the Westward with squally weather.

[However, strong gales forced them to abandon their new plan, and head for Mindanao instead. They sailed by the Sarangani and Sanguis Islands, and the Macassar Passage, on their new route to Batavia.]

- 
- 1 Ed. note: The position of Sorol Island proper is 8°07'30" N. and 140°24'30" E, so that there is no doubt about its identification.
  - 2 Ed. note: The exact position of the center of Yap is 9°33' N and 138°07' E. On his sketch of Yap, Lieut. Bradley says that the lunar observation in question had taken place the preceding evening.
  - 3 Ed. note: Bryan's Place Names, under Car. 41A places Hunter Bank at 9°57' N and 138°16' E. and 20 miles N. of Yap (N13°E according to Bradley); it is about 1 mile in extent, with a least depth of 12 fathoms. I should add that this bank is probably at the origin of the Yapese legend of a sunken island called Sepin, north of Yap and west of Ulithi. It is no wonder that this name is now applied to it, as a fishing ground, by the Yapese, according to Nakayama & Ramp's *Micronesian Navigation, Island Empires and Traditional Concepts of Ownership of the Sea* (Saipan, 1974). Hunter Bank is to Yap what Santa Rosa Bank is to Guam.

### C3. Another account by Daniel Southwell

*Source: BL Add. ms. 16,381, fol. 107-108v.*

*Note: This document is one among many letters from D. Southwell regarding New South Wales. This particular letter is addressed to Rev. Butler, Cheyne's Walk, Chelsea, near London.*

...  
 On the 6th of June crossed the Equator, and proceeded as far as Lat. 3°30' N; we were by the most unwelcome influences, of an unaccountably adverse current, hampered between that & Lat. 6°33' N, and for 26 days we remained nearly in the same Longitude! viz. 140°00' E. Tho' at the same time constantly going more, or less to the Westward, by the Log account. And here the excellence of the Lunar observations, showed itself very conspicuously, for had we all beene stranger to this invaluable problem, it is inconceivable the confusion that must have been occasioned in the Reckoning, by a circumstance of which we could have had no cognizance. The sum of this delay amounted to 218 or 220 leagues!

This, and other untoward incidents, occasioned a Consultation between G.F.H.<sup>1</sup> and the principal officers, the consequence of which was an immediate reduction of the allowance to one half, and a resolution [on] July 12th to bear up for China, which was immediately done, E. Smith having previously received an official Letter for the purpose. We shortly made 2 or 3 small Islands being perhaps the SE islands of the New Carolines by half [i.e. means] of glasses, we saw several natives on the beach.

On the 18th ditto we found ourselves suddenly in shoal water, we however cleared the danger; at this time several Islands were in sight, lying on the neighbourhood of the new Carolines & Paleu [sic] Islands, being thus far by perverse South-westers, & indifferent weather as there was no such thing as turning to windward, China was now given up, & it was presently understood (for G.S. it seems did not choose to give direct and open intimation on any head) Manilla was to be attempted, as being much the nighest Port: after a tedious and fruitless Tryal, contrary winds & a perverse Southward current, obliged us to relinquish this also: it pleased Him (S.) next to steer for Mindanao, in hopes to get water & a little Rice just to enable us to hold out; our affairs now carried a serious appearance, and disappointment was not a little agravated, by seeing ourselves so completely at the disposal of a Man, who far from aiming an Expedition, agreeably to our impatient wishes, too evidently found an interest in protracting the Voyage; thus making our Sufferings, administer to his unworthy motives.

However, on the 6th of August we made the above-mentioned large Island which had not the Currents favored us more than the wind, we should most likely have been forced also to abandon.

...  
 Your very affectionate Nephew,  
**Daniel Southwell**

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Perhaps J.F.H., for Captain John Hunter.

(Facing page:) **Yap and Sorol Islands, as published by Dalrymple in 1794.**  
*Based on information supplied to him by Captain Hunter. Apparently, Sorol was then named Philip Islands, after the Governor of New South Wales.*

Waaksaamheydt, Batavia  
September 28thh 1791.<sup>1</sup>

#### C4. The diary of Jacob Nagle

*Source: John Dann (ed.). The Nagle Journal (NY, 1988).*

*Note: There is only one paragraph relating to their crossing Micronesia.*

...

We then stood on our course, finding the winds continued from the westward, and we getting into an easterly current, we found we were drifting to the E... 700 miles in 26 days...

Capt. Hunter advised him [the Dutch captain] to run across the Line into North Latitude. He did so as far as 13° N. Lat. We then got out of the easterly current, but still having westerly winds, we were now much afraid of starving, no islands to the eastward of us, and contrary winds from the west.

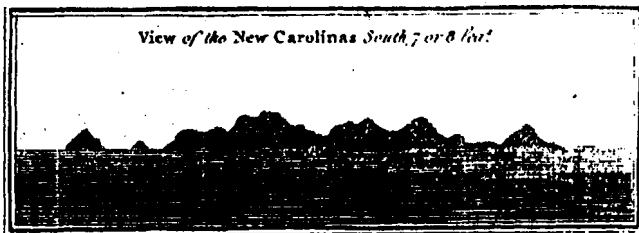
We then bore up for Manila, but in a short time the wind shifted and headed us again. We then attempted to run for China, but we had not stood on for China 12 hours when the wind headed us again. It appeared wonderful, whatever course we attempted to make a port, the wind would head us. We then fell in with a heavy gale from the westward.

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: In a similar letter to his mother, he does not even mention the islands seen in Micronesia.

View of the New Carolinas South 7 or 8 leagues



Sketch of Part  
of the  
NEW CAROLINAS ISLANDS.

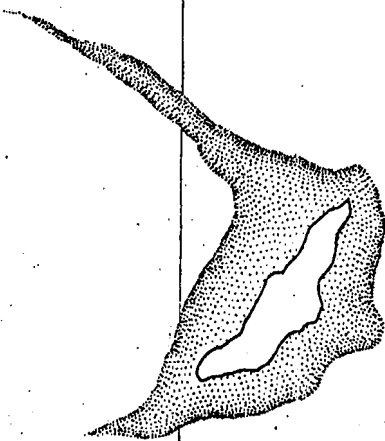
Seen 27<sup>th</sup> July 1791 in the Waezambeydt,  
by  
Capt. John Hunter.  
Lat. 9.53<sup>N</sup>. Long 137.30<sup>E</sup>. Variation 1.30<sup>E</sup>.  
± denotes no ground.

Point over this ledge rocky. Saw the Bottom  
at 4 1/2 Fathoms

Ship's Track

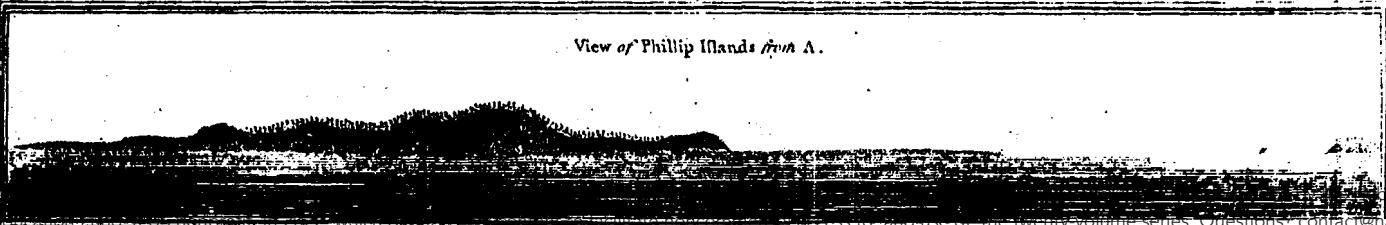
SKETCH of PHILLIP ISLANDS.

Seen 14<sup>th</sup> July 1791 in the Waezambeydt,  
by  
Capt. John Hunter.  
Lat. 8.6<sup>N</sup>. Long 140.5<sup>E</sup>. Variation 5.0<sup>E</sup>.



Ship's Track

View of Phillip Islands from A.



---

## Document 1791D

---

### Captain Colnett's visit to Micronesia, via Maug

*Primary sources: 1) Frederick William Howay (ed.). The Journal of Captain James Colnetta aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791 (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1940); 2) AGN Historia 65, cuaderno 4.*

*Secondary source: Ralph S. Kuykendall's article entitled: "James Colnett and the 'Princess Royal'" (Oregon Historical Society Quarterly 25:1 (March 1924): 36-52.*

#### Introductory notes.

The English snow **Argonaut**, Captain James Colnett, in company with a 50-ton sloop named **Princess Royal**, Captain Thomas Hudson, had left China to go to the Northwest Coast of America. Both were captured there by Spanish ships at Nootka Sound in July 1789, and taken to San Blas, New Spain, where they arrived in August. Following lengthy court actions in London and Madrid, the ships were released. Meanwhile, the **Princess Royal**, under Spanish colors, had returned to the NW Coast. In October 1790, the **Argonaut** returned to Nootka Sound; Captain Hudson and the former crew of the **Princess Royal** were on board her, but Captain Hudson drowned before they reached there, along with his mate and five of his seamen. Captain Colnett arrived at Nootka Sound in January 1791, where he learned that the **Princess Royal** had already gone back to San Blas, where she arrived in November 1790. Upon getting there, she was immediately ordered to be taken to her owners at Macao. Her Spanish captain, Second-Lieutenant Manuel Quimper of the Spanish Navy, sailed via Hawaii, Guam, and Manila. The two ships met by chance at Hawaii on April Fool's Day 1791. They once again separated, Quimper arriving at Macao only in August 1791. When the factors of the Royal Philippine Company offered to return the **Princess Royal** to the East India Company, they refused to accept her. The Spanish apparently sold her at auction. As for Quimper and crew, they are said to have returned to New Spain aboard the galleon **San José y las Ánimas** in 1792, arriving back at San Blas on 6 November (see Doc. 1791E for the main story).

In AGN Historia 65, cuaderno 4, fol. 16, there is an inventory of the contents of the **Argonaut**, dated Nootka 13 July 1789. In the same file, cuaderno 7, near the end of the volume, there is another list of property on board, along with their costs, by Captain Colnett himself, made in San Blas in September 1789; the total value of such goods was declared to be 5,196 pounds sterling. There is another list of contents, dated San Blas



26 September 1789, in AGN Historia 66, fol. 55-59, and a repetition of the list of goods in the latter volume, fol. 153-154v.

## Extract from the logbook of Captain Colnett, aboard the South Sea Co. ship Argonaut

...  
The N.E. Monsoon was far advanc'd, it would have been difficult, if practicable with so dull a sailer as she was<sup>1</sup> to have beat against the S.W. Monsoon to China, which if not accomplish'd I should have been obliged to have gone thru' the South of Manilla and run great risk of being stopt. Another reason, if when I arrived in China as I was certain I should do long before her, as she was to touch at Guam one of the Marian Isles, it was an easy matter for my owners there, or those concern'd for them, to send me to Cruise for her off Manilla, where there was not the smallest probability of my missing her.

Among the Number of Charts I collected among the Spaniards, I have one in Manuscript of a Ship that was order'd from Manilla to make a Passage round the North end of Formosa [sic],<sup>2</sup> and on her Passage to Acapulco in the Latitude of 30° discovered a Large Isle said to be twice as big as Owhyhee. They Place this Isle in the Longitude of the Sandwich Isles; but I think was that the Situation, it would have been seen by some of the Vessels returning to the Coast of America after wintering at the Sandwich Isles. I rather think it is farther to the Westward. The Spaniards did not Land on this Isle being prevented by the Natives.<sup>3</sup>

### CHAPTER X

#### From Sandwich Islands to the Mariana Isles

Leaving Oneehow,<sup>4</sup> had moderate Breezes, winds mostly from E. to E.S.E. with Showers of rain at times. As the Sun had advanc'd far to the Northward, I thought I should have a greater chance of a Fresh breeze by keeping in Latitude 22°, than by running far to the Southward which determin'd me on that route.

The 20th [April 1791] our Latitude was 22°01' and Longitude 167° [W]; saw many birds. The wind now kept hauling hourly to the Southward.

---

1 Ed. note: He refers to the Princess Royal, Capt. Quimper.

2 Ed. note: Certainly an error, for north of Luzon.

3 Ed. note: I have not found any Spanish chart showing an inhabited island at 30°, except on the coast of California. My opinion as to the large spot on the chart that Colnett was looking at, was probably the Milwaukee Bank, at 32° lat. N. to the NW of Hawaii, which, it is true, was first recorded as an island, by mistake.

4 Ed. note: Colnett left Niihau on April 18, 1791. During the passage to the Marianas the crew were employed in making rope yarn and in opening the casks of sea-otter skins and airing and drying them.

On the 22nd, 23d, and 24th Longitude from 171° to 174°; the wind was from N.E. to W. with light Rain, heavy squalls, and very unsettled weather. Near the Situation I met with the same kind of weather although at a different season, and Captain Cook in his Voyage had the same weather at this season. The winds continued from S.S.E. to E.S.E., at times lightning and Rain, till

the 24th, our Latitude 22°05', Longitude 179°36' per Account and Variation 12°00' [E]. The wind now inclin'd to the N.E. Quarter, but blew generally from E. by N.; at times would vary to the Southward as S.E. which brought on Cloudy weather with squalls of wind and rain.

The 9th [May] at 4 P.M. Latitude Corrected from Noon 21°19' Longitude 207°22', saw great number of Birds; weather Changeable, and Squally which indicated our being in the Vicinity of Land. The Spaniards lay down the Jardines near this Situation.<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th, at 4 P.M. Longitude by Observation was 210°56' and at Noon our Latitude 20°46'.

### [Maug Islands]

At 3 P.M., May 11th, Saw the Northmost Isles of the Marian's Called by the Spaniards the Bird Isles, a name apropos, as the numbers we saw were innumerable. It Bore W. by S., 3 or 4 Leagues and by my Account lies in Latitude 20°41' and Longitude Correct Per Observation 214°15'. It's of moderate height, making as several Isles, but all barren and inhospitable; the largest tabling, the others high and Rocky, forming the appearance of ruined Buildings and nearly surround the Table Isle; from the Eastward round to the Southward to W. and also encompassed with breakers, which may extend two or 3 Miles from the Shore or more. The Largest of those rocks or Isles, I do not think more than 6 or 7 Leagues round.<sup>2</sup>

From those Isles, I had once determin'd, having reason to Expect the S.W. Monsoon was set in on the Coast of China, to make Cape Engano the N.E. Cape on the Isle of Luconia, but on overhauling the Voyages of the early Navigators in those seas, it would have been unsafe at this season, as the Tuffoons from the N.E. might be expected; I should then be caught on a Lee shore. For this reason I alter'd my route for the Basher Isles. Lord Anson having made his Passage from thence with his Valuable Prize, at this Season of the Year, I had every reason to believe I could make those Isles, and gave me great hopes I should find no difficulty in making the same Passage being in a Much better going Vessel.

---

1 Ed. note: His longitude is equivalent to 152°38' E. Marcus Island was relatively nearby, at 24° N and 154° E.

2 Ed. note: Colnett was surely at Maug, whose exact position is about 22°01' N and 145°13' E. What was called Bird Island by the Spaniards was another single island to the NW, Farallon de Pájaros, or Urracas.

---

## Documents 1791E

---

# The story of the Princess Royal, a captured English sloop

*Sources: 1) Main sources: AGN Fil. 24, and Historia 65, cuaderno 4; MN 633, doc. 7, that contains Second-Lieutenant Quimper's diary of his 1791 voyage; Mauuel Quimper Benitez del Pino's book: Islas de Sandwich (Madrid, 1822); 2) Secondary source: Kuykendall's article quoted in Doc. 1791D.*

### Introductory notes.

This ship was captured by the Spanish at Nootka and brought to San Blas in 1789. A copy of the permit issued in London in 1785 to the owners of the Princess Royal is to be found in AGN Historia 65, cuaderno 746-755v. A list of her contents, dated San Blas 26 September 1792 [sic] is in AGN Historia 66, fol. 60-64v.

According to Kuykendall, the Princess Royal sailed from San Blas on 14 February 1791. The instructions given to Quimper had to do with three objectives: 1) the delivery of the sloop to her owners or agents at Macao; 2) an exploration of the Sandwich Islands; and 3) the delivery to the Governor of the Philippines of 3,356 otter skins which had been collected for the benefit of the royal treasury. In Hawaii, he was to look for evidence of a Spanish ship that might have been shipwrecked there in 1783 or 1784; this must have been a reference to the galleon **San Pedro, alias Caviteño** that disappeared east of Luzon in 1782.

The sloop sighted the Island of Hawaii on 20 March, and anchored in a bay on the west side of the island three days later. On the 30th, Quimper sailed for Maui but the winds forced him to return to Hawaii, where he met with the **Argonaut**, Captain Colnett, on 1 April. There followed some altercation that could have degenerated into a fight, but the dispute was settled by Colnett backing off from his demand of having both sloop and cargo turned over to him on the spot. Incidentally, a Spanish sailor jumped ship here; his name was Mariano Marin, who was destined to live a long life in Hawaii as the first "Paniolo" known under the name Manini.

On 6 April, Quimper sailed for the islands further up the chain, visiting Maui, Mokolai, Oahu, Kawaii, and finally Niihau, where he again met with Colnett, who told Quimper that he had bought a mast from the natives there on his previous voyage. During the afternoon of the next day, Colnett sailed for the Mariana Islands, but Quimper sailed for Manila one day after. After an investigation, he had been unable to find any

physical proof of any shipwreck. His track took him through the Northern Marianas (but he says not one word about them) and towards Cape Engaño in the Philippines.

## E1. Order from the Viceroy, dated Mexico 15 December 1790

*Source: AGN AHH 803.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Filipinas.*

*Tengo mandado se conduzcan al Puerto de San Blas con destino à navegar para Cavite en la Balandra **Princesa Real** veinte y un hombres que el Señor Subinspector me ha manifestado poderse aplicar a los fixos de Filipinas.*

*Se encargará de escoltarlos desde esta Capital hasta San Blas el Capitan Don Antonio Hernandez con la tropa que le acompaña para completo de aquella Compañia fixa: y correrà con el vestuario de los reos el Sargento mayor de la Plaza à quien hè cometido su pronta havilitacion.*

*Para que se logre sin atraso prevengo à V.Ms. faciliten al Sargento mayor la cantidad precisa en la conformidad que se executó con los reclutas transportados en la Nao de Acapulco; y al oficial conductor los socorros y demas abonos que estubieren en estilo corriente para la manutencion de los reos. Todo lo qual prevengo a V.Ms. para su cumplimiento.*

*Dios guarde a V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Mexico 15 de Diciembre de 1790.*

*El Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

*[A los] Señores Ministros de estas Caxas.*

### Translation.

Philippines.

I have ordered 21 men [i.e. convicts], whom the Sub-Inspector assures can join the standing companies in the Philippines, to be taken to the Port of San Blas with the intention of sailing to Cavite aboard the sloop **Princess Royal**.

Captain Antonio Hernandez will be in charge of escorting them from this Capital as far as San Blas, and his troop will complement that standing Company. I have entrusted the Sergeant-Major of this Post with the responsibility to quickly find clothes for the convicts.

In order for this to happen without delay, I let Your Graces know that the Sergeant-Major should be assisted promptly with the necessary sum of money, in accordance with same arrangement that was used for the recruits who were transported aboard the galleon by way of Acapulco. The officer in charge of this transport should also be given the succors and other allowances that are commonly used in the transport of convicts. This constitutes an order for Your Graces to carry out.

May God save Your Graces for many years.  
 Mexico, 15 December 1790.  
 The Count of Revillagigedo.  
 [To] Their Lordships the Ministers of this Treasury.

## E2. Quimper's return to Mexico—Information from Malaspina.

*Source: MN 575 bis, doc. 12, fol. 139.*

The frigate **San José y las Ánimas** coming from Manila arrived at San Blas on 6 November 1792.

The commander of this ship, Second-Lieutenant Manuel Quimper, had left Cavite on 20 May in company with the schooner **Valdés** commanded by Second-Lieutenant Cosme Bertodano. He made his way through the Strait of San Bernardino. On the 29th, when he was in sight of Marinduque, he met with the galleon **San Andrés** that was returning from Acapulco.

On 12 July, he experienced a strong storm that separated him from the schooner...

This ship's main purpose was to be of service in the Department of San Blas... In San Blas, she can be equally useless for voyages to the higher latitudes that required more suitable vessels... and she will always remain defective, as happened with other Philippine ships.

...

The crew that she carries is the same that Quimper took along last year [1791] aboard the sloop **Princess Royal**, which was not delivered to her English owners at Canton, because they refused to receive her. The factors of the [Royal Philippine] Company think they can sell her at auction, and turn over the proceeds.

The schooner **Valdés** has not yet arrived...<sup>1</sup>

## E3. Letter from Governor General Berenguer to Viceroy Revillagigedo—Artifacts from Hawaii

*Source: AGN Fil. 24, fol. 240.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*N. 13*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Haviendo puesto en mi poder el Teniente de Fragata de la Real Armada Don Manuel Quimper, el Diario, Plano, Extracto de navegacion, un Alfiletero con 36 granos de Perlas, y dos Caxones con Vestuario, y demas producciones que há podido adquirir*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: I have found no further information about the Valdés, except that she had been built at San Blas in 1790, at the order of the then-Minister of the Navy, Antonio Valdés.

*de los naturales de las Yslas de San Duic [=Sandwich], cuio reconocimiento acaba de practicar con la Valandra Ynglesa **Princesa Real** de orden de V.E. Queda todo colocado en los dos referidos Caxones, á presencia del citado Quimper; y entregados estos al Comandante de la Nao, para que á su arrivo á Acapulco los ponga en poder de aquel Castellano, á fin de que disponga este su pronta remesa á V.E., cuyo recivo se servirá comunicarme.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 16 de Julio de 1791.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Felix Berenguer de Marquina*

*[A] Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

### **Translation.**

Nº 13.

Your Excellency,

The Royal Navy Second-Lieutenant Manuel Quimper has given me the journal, chart, navigational logbook, one necklace with 36 pearls, and two crates containing clothes and other products that he had been able to acquire from the natives of the San Duic [i.e. Sandwich] Islands, whose survey he has just completed with the English sloop **Princess Royal** by order of Y.E. All of these things have been placed inside the two crates in question, in the presence of the above-named Quimper, and have been turned over to the commander of the galleon, for him to give to the Warden upon his arrival at Acapulco, and the latter must in turn send them to Y.E., whose receipt you will please remit to me.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 16 July 1791.

Your Excellency.

Felix Berenguer de Marquina

[To] Count of Revillagigedo.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Viceroy acknowledged the receipt of same in a letter dated 13 December 1791. However, the file in question is silent as to disposition of the Hawaiian artifacts. It is probable that they were sent to Madrid.

---

## Documents 1791F

---

# The round-the-world voyage of Captain Marchand, aboard a “solid” ship

### Bio-sketch of Captain Marchand.

Étienne Marchand was born in the Island of Granada in 1755 when this island was a French possession. He was already a seasoned captain when he set out from Toulon as captain of the **Solide**, in June 1790 for a voyage around the world. His objective was to get furs on the NW Coast of America and sell them in China. However, when he reached Macao, there was a new prohibition against trading furs.

Regarding the crossing of the Pacific, Marchand left the American coast on 8 September 1791, stopped in Hawaii just long enough to pick up some food supplies, and made his way westward, sailing at latitudes oscillating between 12° and 14° until he reached the Northern Marianas.

Marchand was back in France in 1792. He died the following year, which might explain why he did not publish his journal himself; the original manuscript remains in the Archives of the City of Marseilles.

### F1. The narrative of Captain Marchand

*Sources: Capitaine Étienne Marchand. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1798-1800); translated as A Voyage Round the World (London, 1801); and other editions (see Bibliography).*

*Note: Edited by C. P. Claret Fleurieu. This narrative includes in Vol. 3 the list of positions, or track of the Solide, by Captain Prosper Chanal.*

[Vol. 1]

#### Introduction.

...

Captain Marchand, on his arrival in the harbour of Marseilles, to which his ship belonged, communicated the information that he had procured, to the house of Baux, who, proud of opening to their countrymen a new channel to the extension of trade and navigation, hesitated not to run the risks of a first attempt, and thought themselves paid beforehand, by the honour of being useful to their country, for the losses which they might experience in a first trial. But an expedition of a new kind, a voyage round the world, a navigation which, from the series of combined operations, would occupy three

or four years, required great preparations, the employment of several manufactories for procuring the arms and the various utensils which merchants have not in store, and which are necessary for barter in the fur-trade, lastly, the construction of a ship capable of resisting for a long time the heavy seas which wash the North-west coast of America. The house of Baux gave immediate orders for the fabrication of all the articles of foreseen necessity or utility, and for the construction of a ship of 300 tons burden: in order to insure the preservation of the vessel in crossing the seas in warm latitudes, they caused her to be sheathed with copper and copper-fastened, and fitted her, in all points, in the manner that appeared to Captain Marchand the most suitable for those parts in which he was to navigate, and the ports where he might have occasion to stay. The ship was, besides, supplied with effects, merchandise, and provisions of all kinds, with which it was thought useful to provide her, as well for her defence in case of attack, and repairs in case of accident, as for facilitating the operations of trade, and for preserving the health of the crew in the course of a long and laborious navigation. As early as the month of June of the year 1790, every thing was prepared for the equipment of the ship; but the dispute which arose, at that period, between Spain and England concerning the property of Nootka Sound, and the war which threatened both Europe and America, made it necessary to suspend the expedition. Fortunately, this political storm was not of long duration; and the project of the voyage was resumed with fresh ardour, as soon as peace between the sovereigns of Europe had restored calm to the two Worlds, and freedom to commerce.

Captain Marchand engaged to second him in his undertaking, Captains Pierre Masse and Prosper Chanal. The number of his officers was ten, including two surgeons and three volunteers, and his crew was composed of thirty-nine persons: the total number of individuals employed in the expedition, reckoning the Captain, amounted to fifty:

Officers.

Captain and Commander	Étienne Marchand
Second Captains	Pierre Masse
	Prosper Chanal
Lieutenants	Louis Marchand <sup>1</sup>
	Louis Infernet
	Hyacinthe Murat
Surgeons	Claude Roblet
	Pierre Regner
Volunteers	Étienne Cailhe
	Augustin Décany
	Amédée Chanal

Ship's company.

Boatswain	Jean Icard
3 petty officers	

---

1 Ed. note: Brother of the Captain Étienne Marchand.



2 carpenters  
 2 caulkers  
 2 coopers  
 1 armourer  
 1 steward with 2 cooks and 1 baker  
 2 furriers  
 22 sailors and ship's boys.

The ship mounted four 4-pounders, two olb. howitzers, and four swivels, and was furnished with small arms and ammunition, in a quantity proportionate to the number of men and the artillery which she carried.

The delay which circumstances, foreign to the expedition, had occasioned in the outfit, allowed not that the **Solide** (this is the name which the ship had received) should be in a condition to undertake her voyage before the 12th of December. The summer of the austral hemisphere was far advanced, and no hopes were entertained of her reaching Cape Horn before the winter had begun in the Antarctic Seas...

[Vol. 2]

## CHAPTER VII.

...

1791. October.

The run across the Great Ocean with regular and steady winds, presents only a monotonous series of remarks relative to the velocity and the direction of the currents, and their influence on the ship's course: I have thought it my duty to throw them into the Notes; and I invite the nautical reader to consult them there.

Captain Marchand's intention had at first been to steer between the twentieth and twenty-first parallel north, and to follow this direction as far as China. This track, little frequented, and which afforded the hope of some discovery, is, undoubtedly the most direct, and may, at the first glance, appear the shortest; but he was justly apprehensive, (and the calms which he had recently met with strengthened this apprehension) of finding only faint and variable breezes, if he persisted in keeping on the border of the trade-winds; he therefore determined to penetrate farther into the region which they occupy, and he kept between the thirteenth and fourteenth degree of north latitude, crowding sail, till, on the 2nd of November, he had reached the longitude of 148°14' east from the meridian of Paris. He then stood again a little to the northward, and go nearly into the latitude of 15°, which is the parallel of Tinian, one of the islands that compose the Mary-Anne Archipelago, which he purposed to make, in order to cross it between this island and that of Saypan.

This longitude of 148°14' on the 2nd, was the mean result of four sets of distances from the moon to the sun, observed at half past two o'clock in the afternoon, by Captain Marchand and Captain Chanal, and reduced to noon.

In allowing for the ship's progress by account towards the west, in the interval from the 2nd to the 3d, it was computed that at noon of the latter day, she had reached the

longitude of  $146^{\circ}7'$  east from Paris, at the same time that she was in  $15^{\circ}6'$  north latitude.

The observations of Captain Wallis on board the **Dolphin**, in 1767, place the Island of Tinian, in  $143^{\circ}35'45''$ ; thus, at noon, the **Solide** must have been at no more than  $2^{\circ}31'15''$  to the eastward of this island; and at sun-set, Captain Marchand reckoned that he was only at the distance of 36 leagues from it.

He regulated his sail so as to discover the island the next morning, and sufficiently early for him to hope to cross the archipelago during the day: but all night there was tempestuous weather, with rain and squalls.

It was not till three o'clock in the afternoon that he got sight of the island; and, in estimating his distance from it by the eye, he judged it perfectly conformable to the result of the observations which had been made on the preceding days.

At three-quarters past five, the mean result of two sets of distances of the sun and moon, combined with that of four other sets observed on the 2nd, gave  $143^{\circ}38'$  for the east longitude of the ship, which places the eastern extremity of Tinian according to the bearing that was taken of it at the same instant and its estimated distance, in  $143^{\circ}33'$ : it has been seen that the observations of Wallis placed it in  $143^{\circ}35'45''$ : thus the observations made on board the **Dolphin** and those made on board the **Solide** agree in their results, and the agreement may be considered as the proof of a sufficient accuracy in this determination.

Captain Thomas Gilbert places Tinian in  $146^{\circ}$  east from Greenwich, or  $143^{\circ}39'45''$  east from Paris; but he does not mention on what observations he has founded the position which he assigns to it: Dixon gives it only  $143^{\circ}19'$ .

As for the latitude of Tinian, Captain Marchand was not enabled to observe it immediately; but Gilbert has concluded from his observations, that the middle of the island is situated in  $15^{\circ}$ . Captain Wallis fixed the point of the road where he was at anchor, and which is less northerly than the middle of the island, at  $14^{\circ}55'$ , and the watering-place which is not far distant from the south-west point, at  $14^{\circ}59'$ . Dixon places the island, in general, in  $15^{\circ}$ . All these positions agree with each other.

This is not the case with the latitude which Commodore Anson had assigned to this island: he places it in  $15^{\circ}8'$ : but although, at the period when the observation was made, Hadley's quadrant had for ten years been in use in the English navy, and although it was undoubtedly employed on board Anson's ship, I do not think that any regard ought to be paid to this determination; and the middle of the island may be fixed in  $15^{\circ}$  north. This difference between the latitudes determined by Anson, and those observed by recent navigators, is again to be found nearly the same in regard to Saypan. The Commodore's journal places this island, without any other indication than its name, in  $15^{\circ}22'$ : we are justified in believing that this latitude applies to the Peak, the most remarkable part of the island; and, in this case, it would differ by 9 minutes from that given by the observations made on board the **Solide**, according to which this mountain must be situated in  $15^{\circ}13'$ : but if the former determination was applied to the north-

ern point of Saypan, it differed only by 2 or 3 minutes from the result of the later observations, which, as will be seen, place this point in 15°19' or 20'.

At six o'clock in the evening, the **Solide** was at the opening of the passage, through which a ship may cross this archipelago between this island and that of Tinian; but it would not have been prudent to enter it at the moment when the day was on the point of closing, and Captain Marchand determined to stand to the offing during the night. He had reason to congratulate himself on the resolution that he had taken; for he met with frequent puffs of wind, and some very hard squalls, which might have occasioned him embarrassment and uneasiness, had the ship been engaged among lands, and there obliged to alter her course according to the changes of the wind.

On the 5th, at the first dawn of day, he again stood in for the land.

At three quarters past six, the passage between the islands bore west-south-west 6° west, distant about six leagues: and although Captain Marchand carried a press of sail, the ship drifted to the northward so considerably, that he had no hopes of being able to clear the passage with the wind which blew from the south-south-east and south by east. At half past seven o'clock, he bore up north-west by west in order to pass to the northward of Saypan. He ranged along the north-east coast of this island at the distance of about two leagues. At three quarters past eight, its north-east point, which is the most northern extremity,<sup>1</sup> bore west 2° south, distant two leagues: no land was perceived to the northward. Before ten o'clock, was discovered, on the west coast of the island, an islet which bore south-west 6° west from the north point of Saypan.<sup>2</sup> At noon, this point bore south-east by south 1° south, and at a distance of about four leagues; the west extremity of the island, south by east 1° or 2° south.

The latitude observed at the same instant was 15°30': and thence the northern point of Saypan was found to be in 15°19' or 20'.<sup>3</sup> The peak of this island is situated, nearly, in latitude 15°13', and in about 143°30' east longitude [E of Paris].<sup>4</sup>

In comparing the latitude observed at noon, with that which resulted from the dead reckoning during the preceding twenty-four hours, it was discovered, that, in this interval of time, the currents had carried the ship 17 minutes, or five leagues and two thirds, to the northward.

Ships which cross the Archipelago of the Mary-Anne Islands are accustomed to pass between Saypan and Tinian, or to the southward of the latter island.<sup>5</sup> these two passages are the most frequented, because they are the best known. Circumstances, as has been seen, forced the **Solide** to pass to the northward of Saypan; and Captain Chanal thinks, from the remarks which he was enabled to make, that, in all cases, this last-men-

---

1 Ed. note: He refers to Marpi Point.

2 Ed. note: This islet is named Mañagaha.

3 Ed. note: Its exact latitude is 15°17'.

4 Ed. note: Exact position of Mount Tagpochau is 15°11' N & 14145°45' E of Greenwich.

5 Ed. note: In fact, all known previous voyages passed south of Tinian.

tioned passage would deserve to be preferred to the other two, when it is not intended to touch at Tinian. He saw no island, no shoal, to the northward of the northern part of Saypan: the charts, indeed, indicate, under the name of Farallon, a ledge or shoal, situated in the latitude of 16°, under the very meridian of the island: but it is there placed at the distance of twelve leagues from its northern point.<sup>1</sup> Off the north-east coast, and the north point, are a few breakers; but they shew themselves, and do not extend a mile into the offing. A ship may double the island to the northward, and range along its coast with safety, leaving, between the land and her, a distance of one or two leagues.

The Island of Saypan, uninhabited like that of Tinian, seems not, as far as a judgment can be formed from coasting its north side, to afford the same refreshments to ships that should touch there: only, among the trees with which the north-east coast is covered, are distinguished a great quantity of cocoa-palms.

Commodore Anson, who has given us a view of the north-west coast of the island, says that it presents not a less agreeable aspect than that of Tinian.

In 1765, Commodore Byron caused the Island of Saypan to be visited; and this is the only description of any length that we have of it: the nation which possesses it, without occupying it, is not in the habit of describing its possessions. According to him, Saypan is considerably larger than Tinian, and, in his opinion, has a much pleasanter appearance. But this sentiment is peculiar to Byron; and voyagers, in general, agree in giving Tinian the preference to Saypan, both in regard to extent and beauty: the Spaniards have denominated it Buena-Vista by way of excellence. The **Tamar** (the ship which Byron sent to examine the Island of Saypan, while he himself lay at Tinian), anchored, he says, "to leeward of it, in about ten fathoms water, with much the same kind of ground (hard sand and coral rock) as he had in the road of Tinian. Her people landed upon a fine sandy beach which is six or seven miles long, and walked up into the woods, where they saw many trees which were very fit for topmasts. They saw no fowls, nor any tracks of cattle; but of hogs and guanacoës there was plenty."<sup>2</sup> They found no fresh water near the beach, but saw a large pond inland, which they did not examine. They saw large heaps of pearl oyster-shells thrown up together, and other signs of people having been there not long before: possibly the Spaniards," adds he, "may go thither at some seasons of the year, and carry on a pearl-fishery: they also saw many of those square pyramidal pillars which are to be found at Tinian, and which are particularly described in the account of Lord Anson's voyage."

Captain Portlock, who has given us a view of Saypan, says that, although he coasted it within the distance of half a mile, he could not observe on it an animal of any kind.

---

1 Ed. note: Approximately correct, as the distance from Marpi Point on Saipan to the south end of Farallon de Medinilla is actually 47 minutes, or 47 miles.

2 Ed. note: Here Fleurieu, the editor of Marchant's Voyage, launches into a description of Peruvian llamas and their cousins the guanacos, but it is besides the point, as Byron had used this word gingerly, to mean some kind of hoofed creature, perhaps deer. There are no Spanish reports about imports of camel-like animals from South America.

After having crossed the archipelago of the Mary-Anne Islands, Captain Marchand steered between west-north-west and west by north, in order to make the south point of the Island of Formosa.

The observation for the longitude made on the 16th of November in the morning, placed the ship, at noon on that day, in 122°6' east from Paris; and her observed latitude was 21°34' north. This position afforded Captain Marchand the hope that, on the following day, he would get sight of the land. It appeared, in fact, the next morning at half past seven o'clock, and he distinguished the Islands of Botel Tabago Xima, situated at the distance of about five leagues from the south point of Formosa, and on the same parallel.

...

## F2. Logbook of Captain Étienne Marchand

### Translation of a note by Robert Juteau.

*Source: Short article entitled: "Journal de bord du Capitaine Étienne Marchand Commandant le "Solide" trois-mâts marseillais qui fit le premier [sic] tour du monde commercial français de 1790 à 1792," in Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques n° 135 (Juin 1961).*

Logbook purchased in 1843 by the City of Marseilles, and which has remained unpublished [sic].

While researching some documents to make a conference on the topic of "the first French circumnavigation with a commercial purpose" accomplished by the three-masted ship **Solide**, commanded by E. Marchand, I have been led to read the four volumes published by de Fleurieu on this subject in 1798.<sup>1</sup>

This author narrates the remarkable deeds of commercial vessels from Marseilles, without having been able to get his hands on the logbook of Capitaine Marchand. Indeed, Marchand had left Marseilles immediately at the beginning of 1793 aboard the **Sans Souci**, after he had entrusted his logbook to his sister who resided at Ciotat. He died in May 1793, at Bourbon.<sup>2</sup>

At the death of this sister, his brother Louis, who had made the voyage aboard the **Solide** as Third Lieutenant, offered [for sale] the manuscript logbook of this voyage around the world to Napoleon, then to Louis XVIII, without success. Louis died, then his daughter offered the logbook of her uncle to Louis Philippe. She received an identical answer to the previous ones: "the narrative of this voyage could only be a repeat."

1 Ed. note: Marchand's voyage was not, of course, the first French circumnavigation with a commercial purpose. That honor must be reserved for Captain Dufresne des Saudrais (see Doc. 1708H), although Captain de Boisloré claimed to have been first, circa 1703.

2 Ed. note: Marchand did not die, according to the notes I have received from a modern researcher, Mrs. Volkhardt (ref. Private correspondence, 1995). The town of Ciotat is next to Marseilles. Bourbon is the former name of Réunion Island in the Indian Ocean.

Finally, the city of Marseilles bought this precious manuscript on 26 June 1834, for 2,500 francs.

It is in perfect condition.

Marchand had certainly “received a better education than those of his profession,” says Guérin in his *Maritime History of France* (Paris, 1863), because the narrative is attractive. Marchand’s sketches are as good as those by Loti, as proven by his views of islands, objects, and maps included at the end of Vol. 2.

Marchand was the first to show her tricolored flag in that part of the Pacific;<sup>1</sup> he was the first [sic] Frenchman to describe the Marquesas. He discovered the Northwest Group. He was the first French captain of long-distance vessels to have gone around the world with his officers and crewmen.

The existence of this important document is known only to a few local historians; well, I think so.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Et Marchand". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent flourish at the end of the word "Marchand".

**Signature of Captain  
Étienne Marchand.**

### **Editorial note.**

The author of this article, Robert Juteau, goes on to reproduce the part of the logbook dealing with the discovery of the Marquesas Islands.

My correspondent, Mrs. Volkhardt, having sent me photocopies of the four pages from this logbook that mentioned Saipan and Tinian, and covering the period from 1 to 5 October 1791, I can say the following: 1) Fleurieu had had access to it when he wrote the narration of this voyage, and did not rely only upon the logbook of Captain Chanal (an impression that Juteau has helped propagate among French historians); 2) Fleurieu heavily edited Marchand’s logbook, and added a large amount of extraneous material on his own, specially the long review of the history of the Marianas, which he borrowed from tertiary Spanish sources, and others, thus repeating much wrong information, which I have not bothered to reproduce above.

For the most part, therefore, Marchand’s original logbook is a typical one, mostly recording data on winds, ship courses, and other nautical remarks, with noon-time observations, plus the temperatures in Réaumur degrees. Without the embellishments provided by his editor, Fleurieu, Marchand’s *Voyage* may never have been published, albeit in heavily-edited form.

---

1 Ed. note: Not true, of course.

---

## Documents 1791G

---

# The galleon San Andrés upon arrival at Acapulco in 1791

## G1. Description of the galleon San Andrés

*Source: AGN Fil. 24, fol. 351.*

### Comments.

According to the summary report dated aboard this galleon on 11 November 1791 (see illustration), this ship had 372 individuals on board upon leaving the Philippines. She carried 7 anchors, 50 guns, 50 rifles and 50 pistols. Her dimensions were 59 cubits length of keel, “eslora”, i.e. overall length, of 70 cubits, width of 19 cubits, depth of hold 9 cubits and 10 points.

## G2. No exiles to be landed at Guam

### Letter from General Berenguer to Viceroy Revillagigedo, dated Acapulco 11 December 1791

*Source: AGN Fil. 24, fol. 245-245v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Uno de los Articulos de la Instruccion que recibi de la Capitanía General de Filipinas, me previene lo siguiente:*

*“Por Real Cedula de 30 de Mayo de 1686, está prevenido no se remitan desterrados à las Yslas Marianas, y que en caso de que por olvido, ò ignorancia de aquella Real determinacion, se verifique, el Governador, que ès, ò fuere de dichas Yslas, no los reciva; sino que los buelva con la misma guardia, y custodia. Lo tendrá V.M. así entendido para no admitir en el Buque de su mando Reos que tengan semeiante destino, pues en ese caso deverà V.M. hacer presente este Capitulo de Ynstruccion. Tambien tiene S.M. dispuesto por Real orden de 5 de Mayo de 1784, que se suspenda por el Virrey de Nueva España el annual envio que hacia à estas Yslas; la Sala del Crimen, y Judicatoria de la Acordada de Mexico, de los Reos de vida relaxada, y enormes delitos, que sen-*





*tencia à pena de Presidio; lo que tambien advierto à V.m., para que ninguno de esta clase admita a su Bordo.”*

*Y pareciendome regular poner en noticia de V.E. las advertencias que me hace aquel gobierno, apoyadas con las citadas Reales disposiciones, asi lo executo, tanto para mi desempeño como para las preventivas providencias de V.E. sobre el asunto.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Acapulco 11 de Diziembre de 1791.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*Joachin Berenguer de Marquina.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Conde de Revillagigedo.*

### **Translation.**

Your Excellency.

One of the Article of the Instruction that I received from the Captaincy General of the Philippines reads as follows:

“By Royal decree dated 30 May 1686, it is prohibited to send exiles to the Mariana Islands, and in case that Royal decision be either forgotten or ignored, the present or eventual Governor of said Islands is to reject them, and he is to return them with the same security arrangements. Your Grace is to keep this in mind and refuse to admit aboard your ship any Criminals who might be destined to said place; indeed, Your Grace should in such a case present this Article of the Instruction. In addition, H.M. has stipulated, in a Royal decree dated 5 May 1784, that the annual despatch to these Islands by the criminal courts of Mexico be suspended of Criminals convicted for lax conduct and huge crimes, whom they had sentenced to service in garrisons. I warn Your Grace about this also, so that you must not admit any of this category of persons aboard your ship.”

And, since I think I should bring up the above warnings to the attention of that government, supported as they are by Royal dispositions, I do so now, not only to comply with my duty, but also to ask for preventative measures from Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Acapulco, 11 December 1791.

Your Excellency.

Joaquin Berenguer de Marquina.

[To] His Escellency Count of Revillagigedo.

## **G3. Reaction of Viceroy Revillagigedo, dated Mexico 22 December 1791.**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Mexico 22 de Diciembre de 1791.*

*Al Sor. Fiscal de lo Civil de preferencia, con el oficio del Sor. Governador de Filipinas y copia de Real orden de que se refiere para que pida lo que estime conforme en*

*este asunto, y en el envio de los dos reos remitidos por el Sor. Virrey del Peru en la clase de Presidarios á Filipinas cuyas condenas se acompañaran por separado.*

(Signed)

### **Translation.**

Mexico, 22 December 1791.

To the Attorney, preferably for Civil matters, along with the letter from the Governor of the Philippines and a copy of the Royal order referred to above, for him to recommend what to do best in this matter, specifically in the case of the two criminals sent by the Viceroy of Peru, in the category of garrison soldiers to the Philippines, whose dossiers are enclosed, under separate cover.

(Signed)<sup>1</sup>

## **G4. Another letter from General Berenguer to the Viceroy, dated Acapulco 8 February 1792.**

*Source: AGN Fil. 28, fol. 301-301v.*

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Exmo. Señor*

*Por el Gobierno de Manila see previene en mis Ynstrucciones toque presisamente en Marianas a mi regreso á Manila, y que haga la maior diligencia a fin de evitar una invernada fuera de los Estrechos solicitando y procurando para lograrlo salir de aquí lo mas pronto que sea posible.*

*La Fragata **San Andres** es buque de poco aguante, de mui poca vela de bolina, y no del mejor gobierno, y por consiguiente sino se llega á Yslas antes de la estacion de las collas ô vendabales me expongo mas que en un buque no solo a no poder verificar la expresada arribada sino aun a las consecuencias que pueden sobre venir en un empeño con una embarcacion de las expresadas circunstancias.*

*A mi arribo á este Puerto ádelantó V.E. mis deseos, previniendome en oficio de 4 de que deveria verificar mi salida antes de ... de Febrero, tiempo el mas oportuno para desempeño de mis encargos y assi tengo pr... la Fragata **San Andres**, y agua[rda]ndo solo solitacion de vevires [sic], y registro para llevar [a de-] vido efecto las superiores ordenes de V.E.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Fragata **San Andres** en Acapulco 8 de Febrero de 1792.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*Joaquin Berenguer de Marquina.*

*[Al] Exmo. Señor Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: As a result, one convict was transported to Spain via Veracruz, and the other was kept in prison at Acapulco.

**Translation.**

Your Excellency.

I have been instructed by the government of Manila to touch at the Marianas during my return voyage to Manila, and I am to make the best efforts to avoid a wintering outside of the Straits. Consequently, I beg to be allowed to depart from here as soon as possible.

The frigate **San Andrés** is a ship that had little resistance to heavy seas and strong winds, one that cannot sail close to the wind, and not one that is easy to steer either. Consequently, if I do not reach the Islands before the season of the monsoon blasts, I expose myself, more than with any other ship, to seek the above-mentioned shelter in distress, and also to consequences that might occur during maneuvers with a vessel of the above-said characteristics.

Upon my arrival at this port, Y.E. anticipated my desires in a letter dated 4th instant, and said that I had to effect my departure before ... February, the most timely date for me to carry out my obligations and so, I have the frigate **San Andrés** [ready], and only await delivery of the food supplies, and the manifest to fulfil the superior orders of Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Frigate **San Andrés** in Acapulco, 8 February 1792.

Your Excellency.

Joaquin Berenguer de Marquina

[To] His Excellency Count of Revillagigedo.

---

## Document 1791H

---

### Some EIC ships mentioned by Horsburgh, 1791-1806

*Source: James Horsburgh. India Directory. Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies (4th ed., London, 1836).*

*Notes: All of these East India Company ships, whose logbooks were reviewed by their hydrographer Horsburgh, were either outward-bound from England or homeward-bound in the year shown. STM refers to my book entitled: Ships Through Micronesia.*

Ship name	Outward-bound To Pacific	Homeward From Pacific	STM ref. <sup>1</sup>
Bridgewater		1791	STM 1789, 1803
Essex		"	
Bellmont		"	
Kent	1791	1792	
Dublin	"		
Earl Talbot		"	
Rockingham	1792		
Ganges	"		
Lord Macartney	"		
Europe	"		STM 1796
Middlesex	"		
Sir Edward Hughes	"		
Earl Weycombe	"		
Duke of Buccleugh	"		
General Goddard	"		
Valentine	"		
Melville Castle	"	1793	
Duke of Montrose	"		
Lascelles	"	"	
Sullivan	"		
Rose	"		
Busbridge	"		
Thetis	"	"	
Hindustan	"		
Swallow	"		

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Many more ships could have transited through Micronesia on the homeward journey than the small number shown here. I have made some additions.

Ship name	Outward-bound	Homeward	STM ref.
Bellmont		"	
Earl Talbot		"	
Swallow		"	
Royal Charlotte	1793		STM 1797
Triton	"		
Woodcot	"		
Exeter	"	1794	STM 1793 & 1801
Earl Fitzwilliam	"		
Woodford		"	
Sir Edward Hughes		"	
Northumberland		"	
Nancy	1794	1795	
Walpole	"	"	STM 1794
Duke of Buccleugh	"	"	STM 1794, 1797
Dart	"		
Helen	"		STM 1794
Young William		"	STM 1795
Warren Hastings		"	STM 1797
Cirencester		"	
Lord Hawkesbury		"	
Swallow	1795		
Arniston	"		
True Briton		1796	
Canton		"	
Cirencester		"	
Earl Fitzwilliam		"	
Georgina	1796		
Canton	"		
Carnatic	"	1797	STM 1794, 1797
Bellona	"		
Queen	"	"	
Thames		"	STM 1797
Swallow		"	
Malabar		"	
Sir Edward Hughes	1797	1798	
Rose	"	"	
Ceres	"		STM 1796 & 1797
Henry Dundas	"		STM 1793
Tellicherry		"	
Osterly		"	
Marquis of Lansdowne		"	
Admiral Gardner		"	
Queen		"	
Hawke		"	
Bombay Castle	1798		STM 1801
Earl Howe	"		
Walpole	"		STM 1794
Contractor	"		STM 1789
Georgina	"		
Cuffnells	"		

Ship name	Outward-bound	Homewar	STM ref.
Sarah Christiana	"	1799	
Woodford		"	
Bridgewater		"	
Tellicherry		"	
Taunton Castle	1799	1800	STM 1804
Glatton	"	"	STM 1800
Sir Edward Hughes	"	"	
Sir Stephen Lushington	"		
Lord Hawkesbury	"		
Swallow	"	"	STM 1800, 1801, 1802
Earl Spencer		"	
Hugh Inglis		"	
Rockingham		"	
Manship		"	
Woodford		"	
Earl Howe		"	
Arniston	1800		
Lord Nelson	"	1801	
Georgina	"		
Prince William Henry	"		STM 1796
Minorca		"	STM 1802
Anna		"	
Hugh Inglis		"	
Travers		"	
Abergavenny		"	
Rose	1801		STM 1797
Lord Duncan	"	1802	STM 1803
Princess Charlotte	"	"	
Elizabeth	"	"	
Princess Mary	"	"	
Fame		"	
Sir W. Bensley		"	
Lord Eldon		"	
Minerva		"	STM 1800
Travers		"	
Royal Admiral		"	
Earl Mornington		"	
Abergavenny		"	
Coromandel		"	STM 1802
Arniston	1802		STM 1804, 1806
Marquis of Ely	"		STM 1806
Canton	"	1803	
Cirencester	"	"	
L. J. Dundas	"		
David Scott	"		
Marquis Wellesly	"	"	
Lord Nelson	"	"	
Earl St. Vincent	"	"	
Anna	"		
Cuffnells	"	"	STM 1804

Ship name	Outward-bound	Homeward	STN ref.
Britannia	"		
Tellicherry	"		
Herculean	"		
Skelton Castle	"		
Ganges	"		STM 1802
Canada	"		STM 1802
Woodford		"	
Essex		"	
Princess Mary		"	
Lady Jane Dundas		"	
Tellicherry		"	
Fame		"	
Sir W. Bensley		"	
Dover Castle		"	STM 1802
Travers		"	
Minerva		"	
Experiment		"	
Royal George	1803		
City of London	"		
Carmarthen	"		
Walpole	"		
Experiment	"		
Huddart	"		
Warren Hastings	"		
Earl Howe	"	1804	
Lord Castlereagh	"		
Ceylon	"		
Preston	"	"	
Warley	"		
Alfred	"		
Ganges	"		
Coutts	"		STM 1801
Abergavenny	"	"	
Union	"		
Ocean	"		
Northampton	"		
Ann	"	"	
General Stuart	"		
Georgina	"		
Lord Duncan	"		
Britannia	"		
Asia		"	STM 1804
Bengal		"	
Lady Duncan		"	
Juddart		"	
Waller Brig		"	
Charlton		"	
Sir William Pulteny		"	
General Stuart		"	
Princess Mary		"	

Ship name	Outward-bound	Homeward	STM ref.
Windham	1804		
Sir Edward Hughes	"		
David Scott	"		
Lord Nelson	"		
L. J. Dundas	"		
Fame	"		
Ocean	"	"	STM 1804
Experiment	"	"	STM 1804
Arniston	"	1805	
Lord Eldon	"		
Monarch	"		
Northampton	"	"	
Walpole	"	1806	
Charlton	"		
Coutts	"		
Diana	"		
Europe	"		
Mangles	"	"	STM 1806
Anna	"	"	STM 1806



---

## Documents 1792A

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—Introductory chapter

*Sources: See bibliography, under 1792: Emma Bona; Ricardo Cerezo Martínez; Laurio Destefani & D. Cutter; María Dolores Higuera Rodríguez; Mercedes Palau de Iglesias; Fermín del Pino Díaz; Héctor R. Ratto; Carmen Sotos Serrano; José Espinosa y Tello; Virginia González; etc.*

### Brief summary of the expedition.

In July 1789, while a revolution was going on in France, a Spanish naval officer was about to duplicate the great accomplishments of Bougainville and La Pérouse in the Great Ocean. The officer in question was Commander Alejandro Malaspina. He submitted his plans to Charles IV, king of Spain, through the Minister of the Navy. The king quickly agreed and ordered the preparation of a true scientific expedition. Two ships, each of 350-ton capacity, carrying 18 guns and just over 100 men, were built for this purpose, and baptized with the name of “Santa Justa” and “Santa Rufina,” but history knows them better as: the corvette **Descubierta** (meaning Discovery) commanded by Commander Alejandro Malaspina, chief of the expedition; and the **Atrevida** (meaning Daring) commanded by Commander José Bustamante y Guerra. The expedition lasted from July 1789 to September 1794.

Soon after the corvettes reached Guam on 12 February 1792, the naturalists spread out to collect plants and observe the animals, with some geology and anthropology thrown in. It was the first time that such a systematic study of any part of Micronesia had been done. Thaddeus Haenke headed for Agaña and the northern part of the islands, whereas his colleague, Louis Née went inland from Umatac. The navy officers who acted as astronomers set up a temporary observatory at Umatac, to fix its position very accurately and re-adjust their chronometers.

After leaving Guam, the two ships went to Manila, then down to Australia and Polynesia, before returning to Lima, and eventually Spain. The first documents about this expedition were not, however, published until 1885, due to some political wrangle at the Spanish court.

The officers and scientists of the expedition who were with the expedition at departure from Acapulco for Manila were as follows:



**The corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida at Palapag, Samar I. Part of a painting by Fernando Brambila (Unknown location, but a copy exists in the Museo de América in Madrid, Col. Bauzá, Tome I-5, Inv. n° 2.295).**

**Descubierta**

1. Alexandro Malaspina\*
2. José Espinosa\*
3. Manuel Novales
4. Francisco Viana\*
5. Martin Olavide
6. Fabio Aliponzoni\*
7. Rafael de Arias
8. José de Mesa
9. Francisco de Flores
10. Felipe Bauzá\*
11. Juan Maqueda
12. Jerónimo Delgado
13. Joaquin Hurtado
14. Antonio Pineda\*
15. Tadeo Haenke\*
16. Juan Ravenet\*
17. Fernando Quintano [sick, left behind at Acapulco]

**Atrevida**

- A. José Bustamante\*<sup>1</sup>
- B. Antonio Tova\*
- C. Juan María de la Concha
- D. José Robredo
- E. Ciriaco Cevallos
- F. Arcadio Pineda\*
- G. Jacobo Murfi [sic]
- H. Manuel Ezquerria
- I. Francisco Añino
- J. Pedro Gonzalez
- K. José María Sanchez
- L. Juan Inciarte\*
- M. Louis Née
- N. Fernando Brambila\*

**Biographical notes:**

1. Commander Alejandro Malaspina, Spanish Navy, left many documents regarding his expedition (see Doc. 1792B)

2. José Espinosa y Tello de Portugal left a narrative (see Doc. 1792G).

3. Lieutenant Manuel Novales e Iruegas was born near Tudela, year unknown. He arrived at the naval school at Cadiz in 1776. His early career was spent fighting the English. He had reached the rank of Lieutenant when he joined the Malaspina Expedition and was placed in charge of food supplies aboard the flagship. His personal assessment written by Malaspina in 1794 describes him as a tough and impertinent officer, with little ability. In 1800 he was escorting a convoy of 13 ships to America when they were attacked by English ships. Novales was wounded and made prisoner. He later continued serving aboard various “quicksilver” voyages to New Spain. This man reached the rank of Captain in 1809. He died in 1816 after 40 years in the Spanish Navy.

4. Second-Lieutenant Francisco Viana y Alzaibar left a journal (see Doc. 1792D).

5. Martín de Olavide y Andrade was born in Mérida, Venezuela. In 1784, he was a cadet officer at Cartagena. That is when he was selected for a course in mathematics, until 1789, when he was Midshipman and was assigned to the Malaspina Expedition. However, when the corvettes reached the Philippines, he was sent home to carry the mail and watch over a shipment of collections made since Acapulco. He tried to return

---

<sup>1</sup> Those whose works appear in this volume are marked with an asterisk. The notes below give the bio-sketches of some of them, bearing same number, or letter; the information comes mostly from the Bazan archives of the Navy for personnel records, located at Viso del Marqués.

home by way of New Spain but his ship turned back, and it was not until April 1794 that he left Cavite again. Meanwhile, he had been promoted to Second-Lieutenant in 1793. When he arrived at Acapulco very sick, and did not reach Spain until March 1796. He was immediately put in command of the ship **Rey Carlos**. He was made prisoner by the English in 1805 and taken to Portsmouth. In 1797, we find him in charge of another ship crossing the Pacific. Later on, actually in 1808, he was back in Spain and fighting the French invasion. During his later service, he visited America a few times. He died in 1825 at Cadiz. His last promotion had been to the rank of Commander.

6. Cadet officer Fabio Aliponzoni y Catáneo acted as courier for the expedition once it arrived at Manila (see Doc. 1792K).

7. Rafael (Rodríguez) de Arias was an accountant.

9. Francisco Manuel Flores Moreno was a surgeon. Born in a noble family in Seville on 23 January 1761, he went to the College of Medicine and Surgery of Cadiz in 1777. After his graduation, he was named Vice-Recotr of this college, at the tender age of 20. He joined the Navy as a surgeon, and was recognized with the rank of Professor First-Class in 1783. The following year, the king sent him to Paris to specialize in botany—a fit assignment for someone whose last name was Flores. He stayed there for three years, until he was recalled and assigned to the Malaspina Expedition, as a surgeon. Upon his return to Spain, he collaborated with his colleague, Pedro María Gonzalez, to produce a book about the diseases of seamen. Entitled: “*Tratado de las enfermedades de la gente de mar, en que se exponen sus causas y modo de precaverlas,*” it was published (under his colleague’s name) by the Royal Press in 1801.

Officially, Flores did not obtain the degree of Bachelor of Medicine until 1795, and his M.D. until 1797, while he was again acting as teacher in his alma mater, teaching not only medicine, but also botany, as of 1801. In 1804, he was sent to Ayamonte to fight an outbreak of yellow fever. In 1805, he was treating those wounded in the Battle of Trafalgar. His naval service at this time was unpaid for, that of a volunteer reservist. He was eventually rewarded by the king with an appointment, and the corresponding salary, as his personal physician. He received many decorations in his lifetime, including the Legion of Honor from France.

10. Second-Lieutenant Felipe Bauzá y Cañas held the official position of artist (see Doc. 1792J).

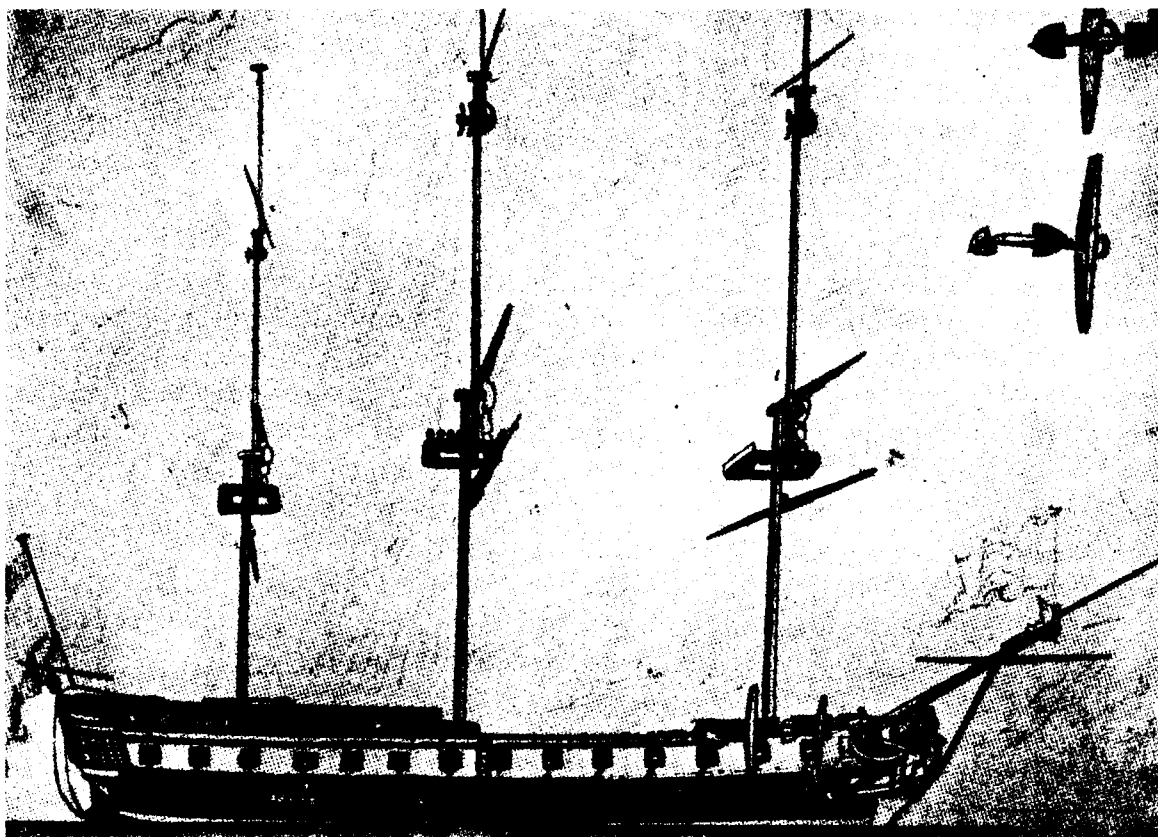
11. Juan Maqueda was Pilot second-class of the Spanish Navy.

14. Antonio Pineda was a First-Lieutenant in the Spanish Guards, responsible for natural history. He left some documents (see Doc. 1792H).

15. Thaddaeus Haenke was a Czech naturalist who left some documents (see Doc. 1792F).

16. Juan Ravenet was an Italian painter (see Doc. 1792L).

17. Lieutenant Fernando Quintano de la Plata y Silva remained behind at Acapulco because he was sick. He soon recuperated, however, and rejoined the expedition at Manila, crossing the Pacific aboard the Manila galleon **San Andrés**. He was born in Fuente de la Maestre, Extremadura, in 1767. He was 17 when he was accepted as a cadet



The corvette *Atrevida*, by Felipe Bauzá. (From the Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome II-3, Inv. nº 2.374).

officer. Between 1779 and 1784, he was cruising along the shores of Spain and Portugal. We find him in charge of a gun-boat during the blockade of Gibraltar. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1781 and continued fighting. When the Malaspina Expedition reached Acapulco, Quintano was very sick (he had not recovered when the corvettes departed) but he later rejoined it at Manila. His conduct during the long cruise was declared exemplary and he was promoted to Commander in April 1795. In March 1796, we find him back in the Pacific, inspecting Taongi Atoll (see Doc. 1796H). Between 1800 and 1802, he was Port Captain of Majorca. He died at Cartagena in 1804 during an epidemic.

A. Commander José Joaquín Bustamante y Guerra left a narrative (see Doc. 1792C for his bio-sketch).

B. Lieutenant-Commander Antonio Tova left a journal (see Doc. 1792E).

C. Lieutenant Juan (Gutierrez) de la Concha was in charge of astronomy. He is not the same man as the Luis de la Concha who commanded the galleon **Magallanes** in 1795 (see my STM).

D. Lieutenant José Robredo y Lea was born at Cadiz, where he joined the naval school in 1774. His first assignment was aboard the ship **San José** in 1776, aboard which he served for the next four years. He later fought in many battles against the English navy. His promotions occurred as follows: to Midshipman in 1777, Second-Lieutenant in 1782, and Lieutenant in 1784. Once the Malaspina Expedition was over, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander. He was a full Commander when he died at Cavite in the Philippines during the winter of 1800.

E. Lieutenant-Commander Ciriaco Cevallos was born in Quijano, province of Santander, either in 1767 or 1768. After completing the 7-month cadet officers' course in 1779, he studied mathematics for about 7 years during which time he also participated in various voyages. Midshipman by June 1780, he was promoted to Second-Lieutenant in 1784 and Lieutenant in 1787. In September 1787, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander and ordered to go to New Spain (along with Espinosa) to join the Malaspina Expedition. He arrived at Acapulco at the beginning of 1791. After the expedition returned home, he was promoted to Commander, in March 1795, and eventually became Captain in 1803, at the time he was posted to Veracruz, where he was busy doing hydrographic studies in the Gulf of Mexico. By 1808, he was accused of participating in the revolution of Mexico, and mobs burned his house at Veracruz. He fled to the U.S. where he apparently died, around 1816, in New Orleans.

F. Lieutenant Arcadio Pineda y Ramírez del Pulgar, brother of Antonio Pineda, wrote a narrative (see Doc. 1792I).

G. Ensign/Midshipman Jacobo Murfi, rather Murphy, did not leave a clear record. He seems to have been later posted to Manila, as we find him in charge of the **San Carlos** in 1810.

H. Ensign/Midshipman Manuel Ezquerro acted as accountant.

I. Francisco (de Paula) Añino was the chaplain.

J. Ensign/Midshipman Pedro María Gonzalez was a professor of medicine in the Royal College of Cadiz when he joined the Malaspina Expedition, as a surgeon aboard the **Atrevida**. He also got involved in botany and zoology, with a special interest in birds, and taxidermy. He took credit for the publication of a treatise on the diseases of seamen (see note 9 above), as he had written most of it. He is also known as the Spanish translator of a French treatise on the use of sulphates and sulphides in medicine, in 1828. The manner and time of his death are not recorded.

K & L. Sánchez and Inciarte were pilots, says Malaspina in Doc. 1792B1.

M. Louis Née was in charge of natural history and his specialty was botany, specifically medicinal plants. He was born in France but had become naturalized in Spain. Around 1788 he was working at the Piora Garden that belonged to the Royal Pharmacy of Madrid and contained mostly oriental plants. In documents written by himself, he says that he had also been a professor of botany, and that he had collected a total of 15,900 plants during the Malaspina Expedition. He also claimed that most of them had previously been unknown to Europeans.

N. Fernando Brambila was an Italian painter (see Doc. 1792L).

---

## Documents 1792B

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The narratives of Malaspina himself

### **Bio-sketch of Alejandro Malaspina.**

Born in Parma, Italy, in 1754, he was the son of the Marquis of Mulazzo. He studied in either Rome or Palermo, Sicily, and later on in Malta. Upon graduation, he went to Spain where he was admitted by the naval school of Cadiz in November 1774. His first posting as an Ensign was Cartagena, now Columbia. He held many other posts and received many promotions, before he attained the rank of Commander, and submitted his plan for a scientific expedition. In particular, he was in command of the ship **Astrea** belonging to the Royal Philippine Company, when he visited Micronesia for the first time in 1787 (see Doc. 1787E).

Upon his return to Madrid in 1794, he became embroiled in a political fight, was even accused of insubordination, sentenced to 10 years in prison, in 1796. Finally, after his friend, Count Melzi, became vice-president of Italy, he was released from prison, and retired to the place of his birth, where he died in April 1810.

### **B1. Extract from the published journal of the voyage**

*Source: Pedro de Novo y Colson (ed.). Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo (Madrid, Abienzo, 1885).*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

##### *LIBRO TERCERO*

*Continuación del viaje de las corbetas á las Islas Marianas y navegación de la **Atrevida** al puerto de Macao.—Etc.*

##### *CAPITULO PRIMERO*

*Navegación desde Acapulco á las Islas Marianas, escala, reconocimientos y observaciones en la de Guaham. Travesía siguiendo á las Islas Filipinas.—Acaecimientos en los puertos de Palapa y Sorsogón, primera escala en Manila y tareas de la **Descubierta** en la misma bahía y sobre las costas de la provincia de Pangasinan.*

*Cuanto más la ciencia de la navegación ha hecho fácil á los europeos el atravesar los mares más dilatados y tempestuosos, en igual razón han crecido los riesgos, á los cuales*



**Commander Alejandro Malaspina.** *(Frontispiece of the 1885 edition of his journal, edited by Novo y Colson).*





**Portrait of Commander Malaspina in formal uniform. (*From the Museo Naval, Madrid.*)**

*han debido arrostrar visitando los países inmensos que yacen bajo de la Zona Tórrida; y bebiendo con el afán de su descubrimiento, posesión ó conquista aquellas miasmas pútridas que tan directamente conspiran á su propia destrucción, más bien que á su mayor felicidad. Si formásemos un paralelo de los sacrificios innumerables de gente que las posesiones ultramarinas han costado á la Europa con los beneficios sociales, que el comercio y la navegación le han producido, bien sea relativamente á la suavidad de las costumbres, ó á la multiplicación de nuestra especie, seguramente se disparían con la mayor rapidez una porción grande de las ventajas ponderadas del descubrimiento de la América; y cesarían los proyectos abultados sobre la extensión ilimitada del dominio y la rivalidad poco reflexiva de las naciones.*

*Estas á lo menos debían ser nuestras reflexiones al tiempo de dar la vela del puerto de Acapulco, enferma una mitad de las dotaciones de entrambas corbetas, y desmayados y pálidos los demás, que dos meses antes no manifestaban sino el semblante de la robustez y de la alegría. En la navegación siguiente hacia las Islas Marianas nuestros objetos esenciales debieron por la misma razón dirigirse más bien al restablecimiento y conservación de las tripulaciones que á la idea de nuevos descubrimientos. Ni á la verdad serían éstos más que imaginarios, cuando la derrota constante de las Naos por el espacio de dos siglos, había hecho aquella navegación la más fácil trillada y segura que hubiese en parte alguna del globo, cuando en el año anterior el Teniente de fragata D. Manuel Quimper con un buque del Departamento de San Blas había visitado de nuevo las Islas de Sandwich, y cuando el desgraciado Conde de la Péyrouse corriendo un mismo paralelo habíase convencido de nuevo que aquel Archipiélago era el que en 1555 descubrió Juan de Gaitán, navegante español, y denominó en sus diferentes Islas de Monge, Ulua, etc.*

*1792. Enero.*

*Abandonadas pues las costas, y dirigidos los bordos de tal manera, mientras continuaban los vientos variables, que con poca pérdida en la latitud adquiriésemos constantemente las posibles ventajas al Oeste, pudimos finalmente á los diez y seis días de navegación, alcanzar las brisas entabladas por longitud de 20° al Oeste de Acapulco; latitud 12°41' y variación magnética 6 á 7° Nordeste. Un número inmenso de voladores, que habíamos visto poco antes, nos le indicaban con bastante probabilidad. Acreditaron luego su permanencia todos los enfermos, que confortados casi instantáneamente con un aire más puro y activo, manifestaron en la mañana siguiente una mejoría y alivio considerables; confirmaban también los eudiómetros esa mayor salubridad del aire atmosférico, y al paso que las distancias lunares observadas frecuentemente nos indicaban los pequeños errores de los relojes marinos, crecían nuestras esperanzas de ver casi con emulación acortados los términos de una tan larga travesía, y desterradas las enfermedades epidémicas que tan de cerca nos amenazaban.*

*Febrero.*

*El tiempo, el sosiego, la habilidad de entrambos Cirujanos, y sobre todo, el régimen de dieta á que pudieron sugetarse los enfermos más graves encerrados en la camarita alta igualmente limpia y ventilada, triunfaron, finalmente de la perversidad del mal:*

*así, cuando en la tarde del 11 de Febrero se avistaron los altos de las Islas de Seypan y Tinian, ya casi no había enfermo alguno de cuya vida pudiésemos recelar, y por consiguiente, nuestras tareas no procederían en adelante con lentitud y desmayo.*

*A las cinco de la tarde termináanse bien y podían marcarse los extremos de Tinian del Sur 71° Oeste al Norte 84° Oeste de la aguja. Se emprendieron despues las operaciones acostumbradas para las bases, horarios y marcaciones. Al anochecer se veían también distintamente los canales que forman con la de Tinian las Islas de Seypan y Aquiguan [sic]. Esta última es medianamete alta y tendida, y suele pasarse el canal indicado para dirigirse al fondeadero de aquella, como lo ejecutaron los Comandantes ingleses Anson, Biron y Wallis.*

*En la noche siguiente el viento fué fresco, los horizontes se conservaron nublados y nuestra navegación tuvo por objeto el dejar al Norte la Isla de Rota para atracar despues los extremos de la de Guahan. Sólo en estas dos islas subsisten algunos restos de la población antigua del Archipiélago. La residencia del Gobernador es en San Ignacio de Agaña, pueblo principal de la segunda.*

*Logróse el todo conforme lo deseábamos: se disiparon las sospechas de la existencia de un bajo en aquellas inmediaciones que señalaban algunas cartas españolas, equivo-cándole seguramente con un isotillo no distante del extremo Sudueste de Rota; atracóse despues el extremo Norte de Guahan, tierra alta, bastamente pedregosa y acantilada al mar; finalmente, largas las insignias, empezamos á costear de cerca la parte occidental, en donde se hallan los dos fondeaderos de San Luis y de Umatac. Presentan estas costas un semblante realmente agradable desde el uno al otro extremo, ó bien se considere la frondosidad y la suave elevación de sus colinas alomadas ó la mar constantemente llana, y los muchos riachuelos que le tributan sus aguas cristalinas: hacia las once y media ya nos fué fácil distinguir los edificios de la capital Agaña, y al medio día marear su torre al Sur 6° Oeste y la Punta Orote al Sur 41° Oeste de la aguja. Esta punta es la que ciñe el pequeño puerto de San Luis, único abrigo de los vendabales y cuyo reconocimiento debíamos por la misma razón mirar como interesante. Dirigimos pues nuestras proas hacia él, sin que pudiese servirnos del menor auxilio una embarcación pequeña de naturales, que vino á bordo, para saber en toda su extensión la verdadera dirección de las restingas; y esta falta de noticias pudo arrastrarnos las consecuencias más funestas, porque nos hallamos repentinamente sobre la misma restinga con cuatro brazos escasas de agua.*

*Vencióse fácilmente con el timón el riesgo indicado, y pudieron las corbetas dar fondo poco despues en paraje medianamente seguro; pero como nos manifestase el escandallo las calidades pedrogosas del mismo fondo, y todos los objetos en torno, además del reconocimiento que hizo en un bote el Teniente de navío D. Francisco Viana confirmasen ya nuestras sospechas de ser aquel fondeadero poco ó nada oportuno para nuestro intento, no bien con las primeras claras del día siguiente vimos declararse el terral, cuando dimos nuevamente la vela, no sin riesgo de perder alguna amarra, y fuimos á la rada no distante de Umatac, en donde quedaron ambas corbetas inmediatamente amarradas una media milla al Este del castillito que le defiende.*

*Como en la noche anterior hubiésemos ya avisado al señor Gobernador al tiempo de remitirle las cartas cuáles eran los objetos principales de la escala de las corbetas en aquella rada, nos alcanzaron poco después de haber dado fondo cartas sumamente atentas de aquel Oficial, en las cuales nos avisaba que no tardaría sino pocas horas en llegar á la rada, en donde le sería más fácil ocurrir con oportunas órdenes y avisos á todo cuanto pudiese contribuir á la prosperidad de la comisión. En efecto, á las nueve de la noche estuvo en la villa acompañado de algunos Padres Recoletos de las misiones contiguas, pero nos habíamos retirado anteriormente á bordo después de un paseo tan agradable como útil en aquellas inmediaciones.*

14.

*Esta activa intermediación del Comandante de la isla no podía menos de producirnos las mayores utilidades, Desde la mañanita siguiente, unos 14 individuos de la **Descubierta** y seis de la **Atrevida**, parte gravemente enfermos y parte convalecientes, quedaron alojados con mucha comodidad en el cuerpo de guardia de la misma casa del Gobernador: los Sres. Cevallos y Bausá que necesitaban también para restablecerse de alguna quietud y reposo, lograron un alojamiento cómodo en la casa inmediata de la Misión; en la misma pudo conseguirse un paraje oportuno para armar ambos péndulos, compuesto y simple, y custodiar los demás instrumentos; el cuarto de círculo abrigado del observatorio portátil, se colocó á muy poca distancia, y así desde el mismo día se emprendieron las tareas astronómicas con la constancia y actividad acostumbradas.*

*No anduvieron tampoco omisos los encargados de la Historia Natural; dirigiéndose D. Tadeo Haenke hacia Agaña y los extremos septentrionales de la isla; D. Luis Née hacia los montes de la Vigia no distantes de la rada, y ocupándose Don Antonio Pineda con particularidad de la litología y zoología de aquellos contornos, que parecían bien importantes y curiosos.*

*La epidemia recibida en Acapulco, y cuyos rezagos eran por la mayor parte los enfermos que ahora intentábamos restablecer, ayudada en mucha parte de los desórdenes inevitables del navegante opuesto al régimen, á las privaciones y á la dieta, había echado en el día tales raíces, que en balde pudiera intentarse restablecer á bordo los que ya repetidas veces habían sido perseguidos de las tercianas. La debilidad era tal en un marinero de la **Descubierta**, que á veces no prometía veinticuatro horas de vida: otro del mismo buque y uno de la **Atrevida** habían degenerado en disenterías mortales; de este mismo achaque la **Atrevida** había perdido en la travesía un marinero, y para que hasta la variedad conspirase á hacer más nociva la epidemia, se agregaban á los anteriores otro soldado y un marinero de la **Descubierta**, el primero con un afecto cólico ya muy arraigado, y el segundo con un vicio temible de escorbuto que podía muy bien caracterizarse de segundo grado. Debíamos lisonjearnos que los aires, la quietud de la tierra, unos alimentos sanos, y particularmente el ejercicio cotidiano, contribuirían luego á su total restablecimiento. Así no se omitió cuidado por nuestra parte ni por la del Gobernador sobre el bienestar y mejor asistencia de esos infelices.*

*La aguada fué en aquel día la principal ocupación de entrambas lanchas: la poca distancia de las corbetas, la comodidad y abundancia del riachuelo que nos la suministraba, y la actividad de la marinería, hicieron que pudiesen repetirse los viajes y que para la noche tuviésemos reemplazada casi una mitad de la que nos faltaba, proponiéndonos también éste como el objeto principal de las tareas del día siguiente.*

16.

*Entretanto, se aproximaba el novilunio: los vientos se habían declarado del Norte y Nornordeste frescos, con lluvias, ráfagas fuertes y mucha mar, y el ancla de la **Descubierta** se hallaba casualmente sobre piedra: no pareció, pues, prudente el diferir más allá del siguiente día el llevarla, examinar el cable, y darla fondo en arena, tanto más, que los botes enviados á sondar, indicaban que el buen fondo apenas distaba un tercio de cable. Por la mañanita del 16, dada por consiguiente una espía á la **Atrevida**, hicimos que la lancha tendiese sobre ella otra ancla y levase por el orinque la que queríamos apartar de las piedras. Reconocimos en aquella ocasión, que va estaba falto un cordón del cable, bien que á poca distancia de la entalingadura: enmendamos también el anclote del Oeste, y ya nos considerabamos tranquilos para los restantes días que habiésemos de permanecer en el fondeadero.*

*Puede por consiguiente imaginarse, cuál debió ser nuestra desazón, al momento que el escandallo nos avisó que á pesar de las faenas ejecutadas el ancla estaba nuevamente en piedra, y que el único fruto habia sido hasta entonces el de tener ambas amarras en diez ó doce brazas de mayor fondo del que teníamos antes; fué preciso emprender nuevas faenas para la mañanita siguiente [del 17.], las cuales se hacían ya más complicadas por el viento fresco del Norte, la mar gruesa de la misma parte, una lluvia continua, la necesidad de atender al mismo tiempo á un fondo con exceso acantilado, y el recelo de no molestar la **Atrevida**, que parecía bien amarrada.*

*Todo quedó concluido á las tres de la tarde, bien que inutilizada un ancla habiéndose partido por la cruz entre las piedras. Pero nos estaba aún reservada una serie no mediana de fatigas. El viento bien fresco y arrafagado del Norueste que soplabá desde el amanecer [del 18.], hizo que hacia las ocho empezáramos á garrar sobre el ancla y últimamente sobre esta y el anclote: nos hallábamós ya en 42 brazas y demasiado atracados á la costa del Sur, de suerte que parecía por todas razones imprudente el dejar caer segunda ancla; fué por consiguiente preciso el determinarse á dar la vela soltado con buena boya el calabrote para recobrar después el cable que á la sazón teníamos enteramente fuera. Por fortuna nos había alcanzado poco antes la lancha, que alijamos luego; siguieronle despues en la falúa del Gobernador los pocos Oficiales que á la sazón se hallaban en tierra ocupados en el observatorio ó para la Historia Natural. Pudimos por consiguiente emprender con aliento nuestra faena de meter el cable, ya tomada sobre el velacho arriado, los foques y la mesana, la mura estribor que á la sazón nos convenía.*

*El viento recio, las turbonadas, el velamen que teníamos envergado, la misma dificultad de gobernar bien sea por el ancla ó por las embarcaciones menores que teníamos en el agua, hicieron que hasta las siete de la noche no se consiguiese echar el ancla*

arriba; enbergáronse después otras velas y á las ocho podimos ceñir sobre las cuatro principales al cuarto cuadrante.

19.

*La mar era aun gruesa y el viento fresco; pero éste ya del Esnordeste con carices hermosos, los cuales nos facilitaron en la mañanita siguiente la vista de toda la isla aunque no distásemos menos de siete leguas de su extremo del Sur que marcamos al Essueste.*

*Enterados así algún tanto de la variedad de la brisa en las diferentes horas del día y de la noche, pudimos disponer los bordos con mayor acierto, aprovechando todo el día y parte de la noche siguiente en navegar con la mura estribor, y revirando luego desde las once de la noche al segundo cuadrante.*

20.

*Logramos de este modo amanecer el 20 á unas nueve leguas de la Punta de Orote que marcábamos al Sueste, y como al mismo tiempo abonanzando el mar, la brisa soprase fresquita y algo más inclinada al Norte, fueron nuestros progresos hacia el puerto tan rápidos y directos, que para las diez apenas distábamos unas dos leguas de la punta; alcanzábamos á las once la vista del fondeadero y de la **Atrevida**, y para el mismo día rendido ya el primer bordo sobre las rompientes de la Isla de Cocos, ceñíamos con todo aparejo, mura estribor, no distando sino tres á cuatro millas del Castillo de Humata: latitud observada 13°15'30". Continuaron los bordos hasta las cuatro de la tarde, y entonces sondadas 14 brazas arena, quedó la corbeta fondeada próximamente en el mismo paraje desde donde había empezado á garrar en la mañana del 18. La lancha de la **Atrevida** que había logrado coger con rastra nuestro anclote, nos le trajo y tendió inmediatamente al Noroeste; echamos luego las embarcaciones menores al agua y se permitió en la restante tarde y en toda la noche siguiente un completo descanso á la tropa y marinería.*

*No había sido poca en los pasados días la actividad de D. José Bustamante, del Gobernador D. José Aslegui [sic] y de todos los demás individuos ocupados en los diferentes objetos de la comisión: los enfermos manifestaban por la mayor parte una mejoría considerable: los Sres. Pineda y Haenke, esplayada su acostumbrada actividad en los contornos de Agaña, acababan de llegar á Umatac: D. Felipe Bausá había emprendido sus operaciones geodésicas; había pasado al puerto de San Luis el Piloto Inciarte; habían llegado los abundantes refrescos mandados acopiar por el Gobernador; y en el Observatorio, los Sres. Concha y Cevallos, conseguido el examen de la marcha del [cronómetro n°] 105, y la observación de la inmersión del segundo satélite [de Júpiter] en la noche del 18, habían dispuesto los péndulos para las experiencias de la gravedad, sintiendo sí, que una nube intempestiva, les hubiese imposibilitado observar en la siguiente noche del 19 la inmersión del primer satélite.*

21.

*Ya estando las cosas en una disposición tan favorable, y estrechando mucho por otra parte el plazo de la estación buena para la continuación de nuestras tareas, pareció la más prudente abandonar cuanto antes aquella rada, y con el mismo intento, en*

*la mañana siguiente del 21 se procuró completar la aguada; se dió con las alturas correspondientes nueva época para el examen de la marcha de los cronómetros; se emprendieron las comparaciones del péndulo simple con el tiempo medio, y el Sr. Gobernador remitió á bordo los refrescos y víveres acopiados. Destinóse al mismo tiempo al Piloto Sánchez con un teodolito á la costa opuesta para ligar con buenas marcaciones los extremos de nuestros reconocimientos á la vela; un soldado cazador inquirió para D. Antonio Pineda todas las especies de aves que pudiese alcanzar; y D. Juan Ravenet representó con la mayor propiedad dos naturales de la isla de uno y otro sexo y un natural de las Carolinas.*

22.

*Con las alturas correspondientes del 22 ya los relojes de ambas corbetas pudieron considerarse sujetos á un examen seguro. En la misma tarde por consiguiente se embarcaron los instrumentos y los enfermos; de éstos sólo tres de la **Descubierta** y uno de la **Atrevida** debían quedarse para incorporársenos después con la Nao; y hechos por otra parte en aquel día y en el siguiente considerables acopios de leña por medio de un trabajo asídúo de la tropa y marinería, ya en la tarde del 23 pudimos considerarnos enteramente prontos para dar la vela.*

*Las comparaciones de los cronómetros con el tiempo medio, nos habían indicado como sospechábamos, una aceleración de 5" [i.e. segundos] apróximamente en el #71 y en el #105 y el atraso de 1" en el #72; y atento á lo que habíamos advertido en el mar, este segundo movimiento parecía más bien el que habían llevado aquellas máquinas que no el determinado en Acapulco: así fué lo más oportuno adoptarle para la deducción de la longitud por los cronómetros y para la ecuación total de las variaciones. Era indiferente el suponer al 105 el movimiento determinado en Acapulco, pues las ecuaciones corregirían sus trastornos, y corregidos éstos sería luego fácil aplicar también la corrección correspondiente al 351, que había sido en el viaje diariamente comparado al 105. Estos fueron los resultados que tuvimos referidos al medio día del 15.*

	<i>Núm. 71.</i>	<i>Núm. 72.</i>	<i>Núm. 105.</i>	<i>Núm. 351.</i>
<i>Diferencia occidental de Acapulco</i>	7h40'54"39"	7h42'13"50"	7h43'50"00"	7h40'31"17"
<i>Ecuaciones correspondientes</i>	54'21"	24"50"	2'1"00"	1'17"43"
<i>Longitud igualada</i>	7h41'49"00"	7h41'49"00"	7h41'49"00"	7h41'49"00"
<i>La longitud Occidental de Cádiz de</i> .....				209°17'30"
<i>La observación del segundo satélite en la noche del 18. (según las tablas)</i> .....				209°21'55"
<i>La distancia de la Luna á Aldebaran y Régulus observadas en la noche del 3 y del 4 y traídas con el cronómetro 72</i> .....				209°26'30"
<i>La longitud determinada en la fragata Astrea por 44 séries de distancias</i> .....				209°3'30"
<i>La del Commadore Wallis en Tinian traída con nuestros cronómetros</i> .....				209°9'45"
<i>Los límites de la longitud menor por el primer satélite, pues que se veía á las 2h7' con toda claridad y á las 2h9'50" disipada la nube ya había sucedido la inmersión</i> .....				209°18'00"
<i>Latitud del Observatorio por astros al Sur y al Norte</i> .....				13°17'42"
<i>Variación magnética, por el teodolito en tierra, NE</i> .....				3°15'
<i>Idem, por las agujas de Gilbert y Martínez á bordo</i> .....				2°45'

*Se adoptó la longitud determinada por los relojes marinos y para las leves dudas que pudiesen ofrecerse sobre su exactitud, pareció preferente el dejar su decisión á los mismos relojes que ligasen este punto con los demás que habíamos de encontrar hasta Manila, y cuyo longitud ya bien determinada por los Sres. Le Gentil y Dagelet pudiera confirmarse ahora con nuestras observaciones.*

24.

*Al amanecer del 24 estuvimos efectivamente á la vela, emprendimos luego derrota directa hacia el Cabo de Espiritu Santo en la Isla de Samar, y fueron las brisas en aquella travesía tan constantes y favorables, que para el día 4 de Marzo ya estábamos delante del mismo Cabo.*

...

## Translation.

### BOOK III.

*Continuation of the voyage of the corvettes to the the Mariana Islands and side-trip of the Atrevida to the port of Macao.—Etc.*

### CHAPTER I.

*Navigation from Acapulco to the Mariana Islands, stopover, surveys and observations in the island of Guam. Crossing next to the Philippine Islands.—Incidents in the ports of Palapag and Sorsogón, first stopover at Manila and tasks of the Descubierta in the same bay and along the coasts of the province of Pangasinan.*



The more nautical science has made it easy for Europeans to cross vast stretches of stormy ocean, the more so have the risks they must face increased by visiting the immense regions that lie below the Torrid Zone. They are forever eager to make new discoveries, to create possessions or to conquer those fever-plagued spots that lead directly to their own destruction, rather than to their greater happiness. If we were to compare the numberless sacrifices in men that overseas possessions have cost Europe with the social benefits derived from trade and navigation, either through a relative gentility of customs, or through the multiplication of our species, surely most of the advantages expected from the discovery of America would dissipate rapidly and induce a stop to the massive projects regarding the limitless expansion in power and the thoughtless rivalry among nations.

Such should have been our thoughts as we prepared to sail from the port of Acapulco, with half of the crews of both corvettes sick, and the other half pale and weak, the same men who had shown only strength and happiness two months before. By the same token, during the next crossing to the Mariana Islands, our primary concern had to be the restoration and preservation of the crews rather than the idea of new discoveries. Such discoveries would have been imaginary ones, anyway, in view of the two centuries during which galleons had covered the space continuously, and rendered that navigation safer than in any other part of the globe, by virtue of having criss-crossed it so many times; also given the fact that the year before, Lieutenant Manuel Quimper had visited the Sandwich Islands again with a ship from the Department of San Blas, and given the fact that the unlucky Count of La Pérouse had run along the same parallel and ascertained that the archipelago in question was the same one discovered in 1555 by Juan Gaytan, the Spanish navigator, and called by their individual names of Monge, Ulua, etc.<sup>1</sup>

1792. January.

Once we had separated from the coast and made various tacks in such a way as to made westing without losing much latitude, as the winds remained variable, after 16 days of sailing we finally reached the zone of the constant tradewinds at a longitude of 20° west of Acapulco, latitude 12°41' and a magnetic variation of 6 to 7° Northeast. A huge number of birds, that we had sighted some time earlier, were giving us enough proof of this.<sup>2</sup> Its constancy was later credited for an improvement in all of the sick on board; indeed, they were comforted almost immediately by air that was purer and more active. In fact, the very next day, they began to experience improvement and consider-

- 1 Ed. note: Juan Gaytan did no such thing. This erroneous report originated with a tertiary source, Gian Baptista Ramusio, in his collection of voyages published in Venice in 1550. This led to some imaginary islands on some fanciful charts. In fact, Gaytan was a member of the Villalobos expedition that visited the northern Marshalls, not Hawaii. Besides, it could not have been in 1555, after Ramusio published his Vol. 1 (see discussion in HM1: 607 et seq.).
- 2 Ed. note: Birds are usually mentioned as proof of the presence of land in the vicinity, not of constant winds.

able relief. This was confirmed also by the eudiometers<sup>1</sup> that indicated a greater healthiness in the atmospheric air. Little by little the lunar distances that were observed frequently told us that our marine chronometers had small errors; little by little also our hopes increased of seeing an end to such a long crossing, and an end to the epidemic illnesses that threatened us so closely.

February.

The weather, the quiet, the skill of both surgeons, and above all, the food diet that those more seriously sick had been subjected to, inside the upper small cabin, cleaner and more ventilated, finally triumphed over the perversity of the disease; so, when in the afternoon of the 11th of February the heights of the Islands of Saipan and Tinian appeared, there was no longer anyone sick enough to give us concern about his recovery, and therefore from then on our tasks would no longer be carried out in a slow and faltering manner.

At 5 p.m. the extremities of the islands were well defined and could be well marked; those of Tinian bore S 71° W and N 84° W, uncorrected magnetic bearings. The customary operations were then begun for the bases, timings and markings. By nightfall, the channels between Tinian and Saipan and with Aguijan could be clearly seen. The latter island is of average height and length, and the above-mentioned channel is usually the one used to get to the anchorage, as was done by the English commanders Anson, Byron and Wallis.

During the next night, the wind was fresh, the horizons remained cloudy and our navigation was designed in such a way that we would leave the Island of Rota to the north, in order to meet with the extremities of the Island of Guam. What remains of the old population of the archipelago can be found only in these two islands. The residence of the Governor is at St. Ignatius of Agaña, the capital on the latter island.

Everything went as planned. The doubts that existed as to the existence of a shoal, as indicated on some Spanish charts, in that neighborhood were dissipated; this was no doubt a mistake made with an islet located not far from the Southwest of Rota.<sup>2</sup> Afterward we came alongside the North end of Guam, a high land, rather rocky, with cliffs by the sea. Finally, with banners flying we began coasting close to its western shore, where the two anchorages of San Luis and Umatac are located. These coasts offer a really pleasant sight from one end to the other, whether one considers the luxuriant vegetation and the gently-sloping hills, or the sea always flat, and the many streams that carry its clear waters. By 11:30, it was already easy for us to distinguish the buildings of Agaña, the capital, and by noon, we could see its bell tower bearing S 6° W, and Orote Point to the S 41° W of the compass. This point is the one that borders the small port of San Luis, the only one that offers shelter from the monsoon winds and whose

---

1 Ed. note: Literally meaning "good-weather instruments." Probably meaning the dry- and wet-bulb thermometers and barometer, indicating temperature, relative humidity, and air pressure.

2 Ed. note: This may be a note added by Malaspina's editor. There is no such islet SW of Rota, unless he meant to say that the Taipingot Peninsula had been mistaken as a separate islet, as Pigafetta did in 1521.

surveying we had to consider, for the same reason, an interesting thing to do. We therefore steered toward it, with no help from a small native craft that came alongside, in finding out the whole extent and true direction of the barrier reef; this lack of notice could have brought upon us the most unlucky consequences, because we found ourselves accidentally on top of that same barrier reef with hardly 4 fathoms of water.

The said danger was averted easily by an order to the helmsman, and the corvettes were able to come to an anchor a short time later at a spot that was more or less safe; however, as the sounding line was telling us that the bottom was rocky and all the nearby sites as well, according to a survey carried out with the boat by Lieutenant-Commander Francisco Viana. Our suspicions were confirmed; this anchorage was of so little or no use for our purpose, that the next morning, when the wind blowing from the land declared itself, we set sail again, not without running the risk of losing some mooring cable, and moved to the nearby road of Umatac. where both corvettes were immediately moored half a mile to the east of the small fort that defends it.

As we had already advised the Governor the evening before, at the time of remitting the mail to him, as to the main purpose of our stopover of the corvettes at that road, soon after having anchored we received extremely polite letters from said officer, in which he let us know that he would not be long in coming over, just a few hours after we arrived at the road, where it would be easier for him to help us by giving timely orders and any information required, that might lead to the success of our commission. In fact, at 9 in the evening, he was in town, accompanied by some Recollect Fathers from the nearby mission stations, but we had already retired on board, after having taken a stroll, pleasant as well as useful, in that neighborhood.

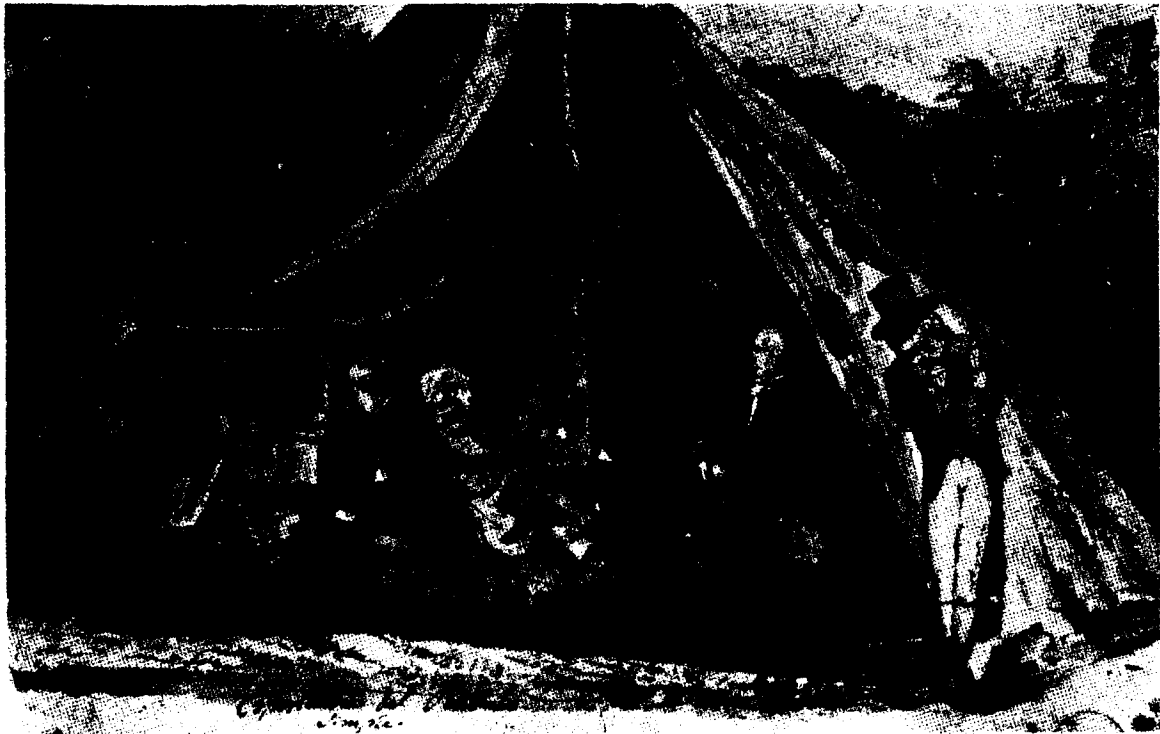
14.

This immediate reaction on the part of the Commander of the island could not but be useful to us. Very early the next morning, some 14 individuals from the **Descubierta** and 6 from the **Atrevida**, partly seriously ill and partly convalescing, had found very comfortable lodgings in the guardhouse located inside the very house of the Governor. Messieurs Cevallos and Bauzá who also needed some quiet and rest in order to cure themselves, managed to find comfortable quarters in the house next door belonging to the Mission. In another part of the same house a suitable place was found to set up both pendulums, the compound and the simple ones, and to hold the other instruments securely. The quarter circle was sheltered inside the portable observatory which was set up a short distance away. So, from the very first day the astronomical tasks were undertaken with the usual constancy and activity.

Those in charge of natural history did not remain idle either. Mr. Tadeo Haenke headed for Agaña and the northern parts of the island. Mr. Luis Née headed for the look-out mountains not far from the anchorage.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Antonio Pineda got busy with

---

1 Ed. note: It was also confirmed by Antonio Pineda that the summits of Mount Sasalaguan (which means Hell) and perhaps the other peaks in its vicinity (SE of Umatac and NE of Merizo) were used as look-out posts, to watch for the arrival of the yearly galleon from Acapulco, and maintain fires at night beginning about the last week of May every year.



**Gravity experiments at Port Egmont, as sketched by Ravenet.**

his specialty, the lithology and zoology of those areas which seems to him more important or curious.

The epidemic contracted at Acapulco, whose left-overs were for the most part the sick people whom we were trying to cure now, helped in a large part to create the inevitable disorders in the navigator opposed to the regimentation, to the privations, and the diet at sea, had so far become so rooted that it became useless to try and cure on board those who had been afflicted with fevers many times before. The weakness of a sailor from the **Descubierta** was such that at times it looked as if he did not have 24 hours to live. Another sailor from the same ship and one from the **Atrevida** had degenerated into mortal dysenteries. The **Atrevida** had already lost one sailor to the same illness during the crossing. Even some change could make the epidemic more harmful; in fact, in addition to the above cases, there were two others pending: a soldier and a sailor from the **Descubierta**, the former suffering from colics—a tough case—and the latter from a reticent case of scurvy, that could be classified as second degree. We had to congratulate ourselves that the good air and quiet ashore, some healthy food, and above all daily exercise, would then contribute to their total recovery. So, not one measure on our part and that of the Governor was omitted that might lead to the welfare and greater succor offered to such unlucky men.

Taking on water was the main occupation of the two launches on that first day. The short distance to the corvettes, the ease and abundance of the water in the stream that supplied it to us, and the activity of the crews led to many trips; by the evening they had

replaced almost half of what we needed, and this occupation was also the main objective of the next day.

16.

In the meantime, the new Moon was coming; the winds had shifted to North and Northeast, fresh, with rains, strong gusts, and a rough sea. The anchor of the **Descubierta** accidentally dragged onto a rocky ground; in fact, it was not considered prudent to postpone to the next day the examination of its cable, and to anchor again over a sandy bottom, specially since the boats sent to survey the bottom revealed that a good bottom lied hardly a third of a cable away. In the early morning of the next day, the **Atrevida** was warped, and the launch helped her put out another anchor and to raise by the buoy rope the anchor that we wished to move off the rocks. We discovered during this operation that one strand of the cable had failed, though at a short distance from the clinch. We also improved the position of the kedge anchor to the west, and then we considered ourselves safe for the remaining days of our stay in the anchorage.

One can therefore imagine our surprise when the sounding line told us that, in spite of the operations carried out, the anchor was once again on a rocky ground, and that the only result had been to have both anchors in 10-12 fathoms deeper than before. It became necessary the next day [17th] to begin our operations once again, but they were now made more complicated by a fresh wind from the North, a heavy sea from the same quarter, a continuous rain, plus the need to take care of a bottom that was on an excessive slope, and the danger of disturbing the **Atrevida** that seemed to be well moored.

Everything was completed at 3 p.m., although one anchor had been made useless because one of its arms had been broken off. However, our troubles were not yet over. The very brisk wind and gusts from the Northwest that blew in since the morning [of the 18th] caused the anchor to begin dragging at about 8 a.m. and finally the kedge anchor also; we found ourselves already in 42 fathoms and too close to the shore to the south of us, so that it appeared completely unreasonable to let go another anchor. It was therefore necessary to decide to set sail, after letting go the stream-cable tied to a good buoy in order to be able to recover it later on, as it was then fully out. Luckily the launch had reached us a short time earlier; we then lightened it. The few officers who had then been ashore, working at the observatory or busy with natural history, soon come over aboard the Governor's tender. We were able to calmly undertake to retrieve our cable, raise the fore-topsail, the jib and the mizzen, and then tack to starboard which was then the thing to do.

The brisk wind, the squalls, the sails that were out, the difficulty of steering itself, on account of the anchor or the minor craft that were in the water, made it such that it was not until 7 p.m. that we managed to weigh the anchor. The other sails were then raised and at 8 p.m. we were able to tack with the four main sails toward the fourth quadrant.

19.

The sea was still heavy and the wind brisk, but it had shifted to ENE with a beautiful sky that allowed us the next morning to get a full view the island, though we were at least 7 leagues away, its southern end bearing ESE.

Since we had learned about the variety of the breeze at different times of the day, we were able to take advantage of this to tack more properly; so, we tacked to starboard the whole day and part of the following evening, and then tacked back from 11 p.m. toward the second quadrant.

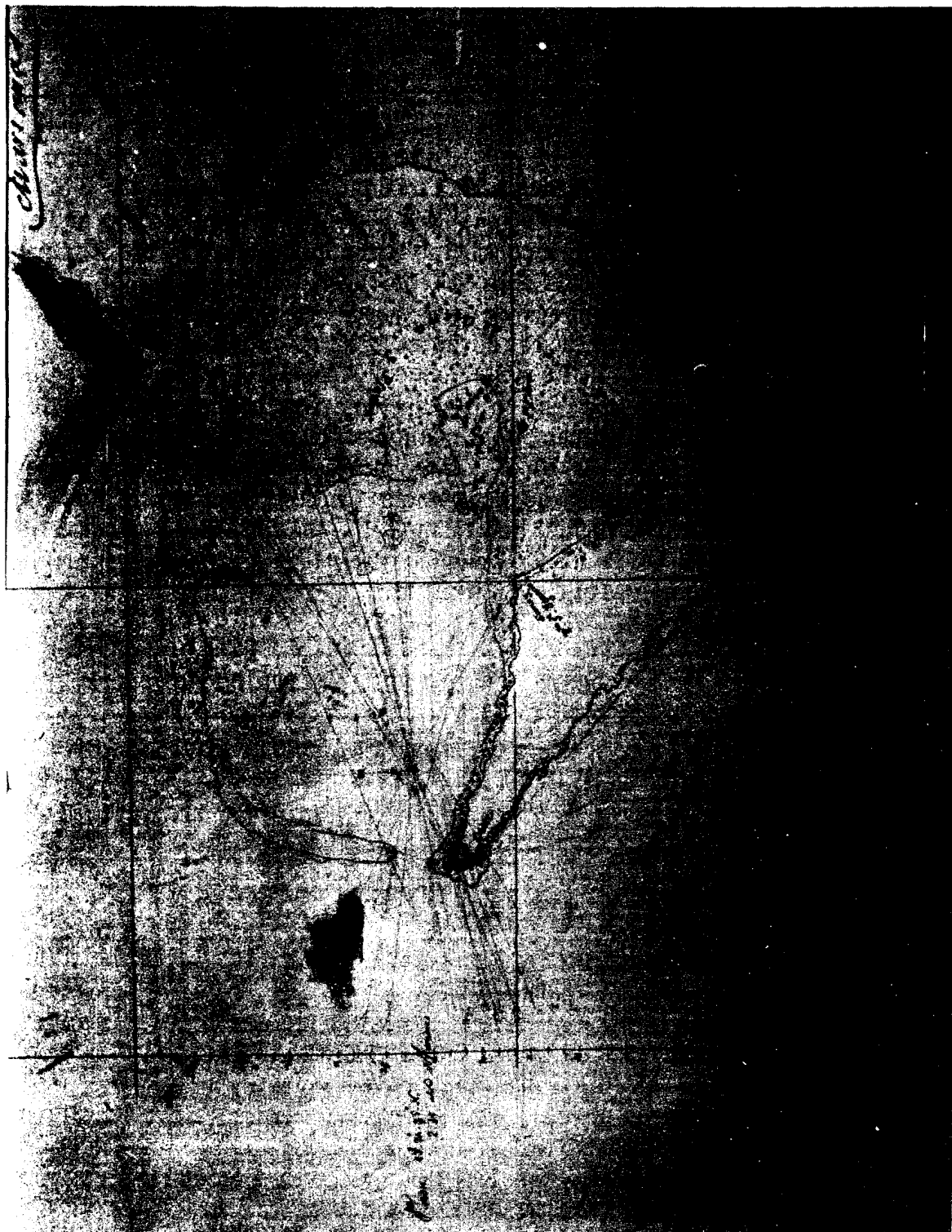
20.

In this way, at daybreak of the 20th we were at 9 leagues from Orote Point that bore SE, and since at that time the sea was regular and the breeze was blowing somewhat fresh and a little from the North, our progress in the direction of the port was so rapid and straight that by 10 o'clock we were hardly 2 leagues from the point. At 11 we got a glimpse of the **Atrevida** in the anchorage, and on the same day we ended the first tack near the breakers of the island of Cocos, tacking with full rigging to starboard; we were then no farther than 3 to 4 miles from the fort of Umatac, whose observed latitude is 13°15'30". We continued tacking until 4 p.m., at which time we sounded and found 14 fathoms, sand; the corvette remained anchored approximately in the same spot as when she began to drag her anchor in the morning of the 18th. The launch of the **Atrevida** that had managed to retrieve our kedge anchor by dragging for it, brought it to us and it was immediately laid to NW. We then put out the small boats and permission was given to the soldiers and sailors for the rest of the afternoon and the whole night that followed.

Over the past few days Don José de Bustamante, the Governor, Don José Arleguí, and of all the other individuals occupied with the different objectives of the commission had not been inactive. The sick showed for the most part a considerable improvement. Messieurs Pineda and Haenke, who had expended their usual activity in the vicinity of Agaña, had just arrived back at Umatac. Don Felipe Bauzá had carried out his geodesic operations. Inciarte, the pilot, had visited the port of San Luis. The abundant refreshments sent by the Governor had arrived. In the observatory, Messieurs Concha and Cevallos had complete the examination of Chronometer n° 105, and the observed the immersion of the second satellite [of Jupiter] during the night of the 18th; they had also set up the pendulums for the experiences with gravity, but they deplored the fact that an untimely cloud had prevented them from observing the immersion of the first satellite during the night of the 19th.

21.

Things were already favorably arranged on the one hand, and on the other hand the deadline of the good season for continuing our tasks was getting near. It seemed more prudent to leave this road as soon as possible, and with the same intention, in the morning of the next day, the 21st, we tried to complete the watering, corresponding observations were made to complete the examination of the chronometers, the comparisons of the simple pendulum with the average time were undertaken, and the Governor sent on board the refreshments and food supplies that he had collected. At the same time Pilot Sánchez was despatched with the theodolite to the opposite coast to take good bearings of the ends of the island, in order to link them with our sightings of them while sailing. One sailor hunter went out to get all the species of birds that he could find for



**Survey of Apra Harbor, Guam, by Pilot Juan Inciarte. (*Ms. map in the Museo Naval, Madrid.*)**

Don Antonio Pineda. Don Juan Ravenet made proper sketches of two natives of the island, one of each sex, and of one native of the Carolines.

22.

Once the corresponding observations of the 22nd had been made, the running of the chronometers could then be considered well examined. That very afternoon, therefore, the instruments were taken on board and the sick too; only three sick men from the **Descubierta** and one from the **Atrevida** had to stay here and would later rejoin us aboard the galleon. The rest of this day and part of the next saw the soldiers and sailors work assiduously at taking on a considerable amount of wood. In the afternoon of the 23rd, we were able to consider ourselves completely ready to set sail.

The comparisons of the chronometers with the average time confirmed what we had suspected, that #71 and #105 had an advance of 5 seconds approximately, and that #72 had a delay of 1 second; and given that this second movement appeared better than the one that those instruments had shown at Acapulco, it was therefore better to adopt it for the deduction of the longitude by the method of the chronometers, and for the total equation of the variations. It was indifferent to ascribe to #105 the movement determined at Acapulco, since the equations would correct its disturbances, and once these were corrected it would then be easy to apply also the corresponding correction to #351, which had been continuously compared with #105 during the voyage. What follows are the results obtained at noon of the 15th.

	Nº 71.	Nº 72.	Nº 105.	Nº 351.
Difference west of Acapulco	7:40:54:39	7:42:13:50	7:43:50:00	7:40:31:17
Corresponding equations	54'21"	24"50"	2'1"00"	1'17"43"
Adjusted longitude	7:41:49:00	7:41:49:00	7:41:49:00	7:41:49:00
Longitude west of Cadiz .....				209°17'30"
Observation of the second satellite during the night of the 18th (according to the tables) .....				209°21'55"
Distance observed between the Moon and Aldebaran and Regulus during the night of the 3rd and 4th, carried over with Chron. 72 .....				209°26'30"
Longitude determined aboard the frigate <b>Astrea</b> through 44 series of distances .....				209°3'30"
That of Commodore Wallis at Tinian, carried over with our Chronometers .....				209°9'45"
Limits of the lesser longitude by the first satellite, since it was seen very clearly at 2:07 and at 2:09:50 once the cloud had dispersed and the immersion was over .....				209°18'00"
Latitude of the Observatory from southern and northern stars .....				13°17'42"
Magnetic variation, using the theodolite ashore, NE .....				3°15'
Idem, using the compasses of Gilbert and of Martínez on board .....				2°45'



The longitude determined by the marine chronometers was adopted and for the slight doubts that might have existed as to their exactitude, it appeared preferable to let this decision to the chronometers themselves, as this point would be linked with others that we had to meet with between here and Manila, and whose longitude had already been well determined by Messieurs Le Gentil and Dagelet, and that could then be confirmed by our observations.<sup>1</sup>

24.

At daybreak on the 24th, we were in fact already at sea. We then headed directly toward Cape Espiritu Santo in the Island of Samar. The breezes were so constant and favorable during this crossing that on the 4th of March, we were already before said Cape.

2  
...

## B2. Manuscript journals

*Source: All mss. are in the Museo Naval in Madrid: MN 311; MN 423; MN 429, fol. 13v-14, 21, 26+; and MN 621.*

*Note: The texts of all of these mss. are too similar to the published account above, and to each other, to be published separately.*

## B3. Letter to the Governor of the Marianas, dated 22 February 1792

*Source: MN 427, fol. 186.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Próximo a dar la vela desde esta rada, no puedo a menos de dar a V.S. las mas encarecidas gracias, por la actividad, y atenciones, con que desde el primer momento de su llegada han sido favorecidas las Corvetas **Descubierta**, y **Atrevida** de la Marina Real: No dexaré de manifestar los buenos efectos de este celo de V.S. así a el Exmo. Sr. Ministro de Marina, como a el Sr. Capitan General de Filippinas; pero, este paso, aunque sea un tributo de mi parte a la verdad, y a el agradecimiento, poco, ó nada pudiera servir para una persona ya bien conocida por sus meritos pasados, y por sus talentos militares: Así, sean mas bien un tributo a la eficacia, y actividad de V.S. los deseos unanimes de entrambos armamentos para su prosperidad, y bien estar. Los enfermos restablecidos, las tripulaciones, vueltas a su antiguo vigor, la oficialidad agasajada, las embarcaciones bien provistas de refrescos, y los naturalistas ya bien enterados de los*

- 
- 1 Ed. note: A reference to a Mr. Le Gentil de la Galaisière, then working at the Academy of Sciences in Paris, who had visited the Philippines in 1766-67 to observe the transit of Venus, and published his Voyage at Paris in 1781.
  - 2 Ed. note: The sick crewmen who had been left at Guam boarded the galleon San Andrés about 4 months later. Lieutenant-Commander Juan Quintano, who had since recovered his health at Acapulco, was also on board her.

*productos principales de esta Isla. Todos nos recordará a cada paso el buen acogimiento de Guahan; y animará los estímulos de nuestro agradecimiento.*

*Tenga V.S. a bien manifestarlo así a los RR. Pres. Agostinos de estas Misiones, a quienes hemos debido igualmente muchas atenciones, y sacrificios, y recomendando encarecidamente los quatro enfermos, que me vió precisados a dexar aquí, y cuyos alcances acompaño; pido a V.S. se sirva, ó remitirlos con la proxima Nao a Manila, si se [h]allasen en estado de navegar, o avisar a la Real Contaduria de Manila, las bajas, que huviesen experimentado.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde la vida de V.S. por muchos años.*

*Corbeta **Descubierta** en la Rada de Umatac à 22 de Febrero 1792.*

[Al] *Sr. Don Josef Aslegui, Coronel de los Reales Exercitos, y Governador de las Islas Marianas.*

### **Translation.**

Being ready to set sail from this road, I cannot but give the most earnest thanks to Your Lordship, for the activity and attentions that you have shown toward the Royal navy corvettes **Descubierta** and **Atrevida** from the first moment of their arrival. I will not forget to mention the good effects of the zeal of Y.L., not only to His Excellency the Minister of the Navy, but also to His Lordship the Captain General of the Philippines; however, this step, though it be a testimonial to the truth, and to gratitude on my part, might be of little, or no use, to a person who is already well known for his past merits, and for his military talents. So, this tribute to the efficiency and activity of Y.L. may well serve to represent the unanimous wishes of both our crews for your prosperity and well-being. The sick have recuperated, the crews have returned to their former vigor, the officers made welcome, the ships well provided with refreshments, and the naturalists have already been made well aware of the main products of this island. We will all remember often the good treatment of Guam, and this thought will revive our gratitude.

Will Your Lordship please extend our thanks to the Rev. Augustinian Fathers of these Missions, who have shown us many attentions as well, and sacrifices, and we earnestly recommend to them the care of our four sick companions that we are forced to leave behind, and whose particulars are attached. I beg Your Lordship to please send them by the next galleon to Manila, if they be in condition to sail, or otherwise, advise the Royal Accountant in Manila of any death that might ensue.

May our Lord save the life of Your Lordship for many years.

From the corvette **Descubierta** in the road of Umatac, 22 February 1792.

[To] His Lordship, Don José Arleguá, Colonel of the Royal Armies, and Governor of the Mariana Islands.

## B4. Letter to Antonio Valdés, dated Cavite 15 May 1792

*Source: MN 1407, fol. 39.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Exmo. Señor.*

*El regreso de dos buques de San Blas á su departamento me suministra una ocasión favorable para pasar á noticia de V.E. el extracto de lo acaecido á las corvetas **Descubierta** y **Atrevida** de la Marina Real, desde que abandonaron las costas de Nueva España en 20 de diziembre ltimo.*

*La travesía hasta las islas Marianas no fue muy feliz asi por las bonansas que nos acompañavan constantes, como por la dificultad de desterrar de entreambos buques las calenturqas epidemicas recibidas en Acapulco, de las quales adolecian á veces hasta treinta individuos de cada corveta: La **Atrevida** perdió en esta ocasión un marinero, fue precisa toda la cuidadosa habilidad de entrambos cirujanos, para que no se malograsen otros muchos individuos de uno y otro buque.*

*Para el 12 de febrero sin embargo, yá estamos a la vista de las islas de Seypan, y Tí-nian; y á el dia siguiente reconocida tambien la de Rota, haviamos conseguido fondear en Guahan, viendonos si precisados á preferir la rada de Umata á el puertecito de Apra, en el que haviamos corrido no poco riesgo de tocar en algunas restingas anegadas y de perder las anclas; no bastó esta precaución para evitar á la **Descubierta** esta ultima perdida en la misma rada de Umata[.] devió mantenerse á la vela hasta el 20 para bolver á el fondeadero del qual se havia sotaventado; y la sola casualidad de haverse desembarcado de antemano todos los instrumentos, y de no haverse desamarrado la **Atrevida** pudo subministrarnos el tiempo necesario, para que los naturalistas, los oficiales astrónomos, y los encargados de la [h]idrografia llevasen á feliz termino, sus miles pesquizas.*

*Fué muy corta nuestra travesia á las Filipinas; y el dia 4 de marzo, yá nos hallamos fondeados en el puerto de Palapa de la isla de Samar...*

*Finalmente logramos fondear delante de esta ciudad en la tarde del 26 con el fin de entregar la correspondencia de oficio, y del publico, recibir algunos víveres[,] desembarcar los enfermos, y renplazarlos y ultimamente subdividir los destinos para que aprovechasen los restos de la estacion favorable.*

...

*Nuestro Señor guarde la importante vida de V.E. por muchos años.  
Corveta **Descubierta** en el puerto de Cavite á 15 de mayo de 1792.—*

*Exmo. Señor.—*

*Alexandro Malaspina.—*

*[A] Señor Bailio Don Antonio Valdés.*

## Translation.

Your Excellency:

The return of two ships from San Blas to their Department<sup>1</sup> provides me with an opportunity to bring to the attention of Y.E. an extract of what happened aboard the corvettes **Descubierta** and **Atrevida** belonging to the royal navy, since they left the coasts of New Spain on the 20th of December last.

The crossing as far as the Mariana Islands was not good, on account not only of the variable wind that accompanied us always, but also the difficulty for both ships to get rid of the epidemic fevers that they had received at Acapulco. Sometimes as many as 30 individuals were suffering from it aboard each corvette, and the **Atrevida** lost one sailor. The careful efforts of both surgeons were necessary at all times, to prevent these individuals in either ship from getting worse.

Nevertheless, by the 12th of February, we were already in sight of the islands of Saipan and Tinian, and the next day the Island of Rota was also sighted and we managed to anchor in Guahan. However, it became necessary for us to prefer the harbor of Umatac over the small port of Apra, where we had run no small risk of grounding upon a submerged reef barrier and of losing our anchors. Still, this precaution was not sufficient for the **Descubierta** to slip her anchor in the harbor of Umatac itself; she had to maintain herself in the offing until the 20th before she could return to the anchorage. It was only because all the instruments had been previously unloaded and because the **Atrevida** had remained anchored that the naturalists, the astronomer officers, and those in charge of hydrography were able to carry out their thousand small tasks successfully in the meantime.

Our crossing to the Philippines was very short, and on the 4th of March we were already anchored in the port of Palapag in the Island of Samar...

Finally we managed to anchor before this city in the afternoon of the 26th for the purpose of delivering the official and public mails, receive some food supplies, unload the sick, and replace them, and finally distribute the tasks so that the rest of the favorable season could be taken advantage of.

...

May our Lord save the important life of Y.E. for many years.

From the corvette **Descubierta** in the port of Cavite, 15 May 1792.

Your Excellency.

Alexandro Malaspina.

[To] His Lordship Bailiff<sup>2</sup> Antonio Valdés.

---

1 Ed. note: The San José y las Ánimas, and the Valdés.

2 Ed. note: Bailiff, or Bailli de Malte, was the title worn by the representative of the Knights of Malta at royal courts.

## B5. Synthesis of Malaspina's political comments on the Philippines and Marianas

*Sources: Original in MN 311, fol. 34-78; copy made by Viana in MN 621, doc. n°4, fol. 170-231; copy in BL Add. mss. 17,624, fol. 25-63v; cited in B&R 53: 371.*

*Notes: This paper is preceded in the same manuscript book by an economic and political analysis, under the following headings: 1) General description of the islands; 2) Causes of the under-development; 3) Civil and political administration; 4) Government of the provinces; 5) Religious administration; 6) Land, sea and industrial products; 7) Internal and external trade; 8) Solutions of the under-development. In the present paper, Malaspina shows himself to be politically astute, a quality that was to lead to his demise upon his return to Spain.*

### Original text in Spanish.

#### ***Reflexiones Políticas sobre las Yslas Filipinas y Marianas.***

*Las descripciones anteriores de las Yslas Filipinas bien sea relativamente à su posición y circunstancias hidrográficas, ò à la calidad de sus habitantes y fertilidad extremada del suelo deben haber justificado yà en el concepto del Politico Nacional no solo las ideas primitivas del Cardenal Alberoni, y los razonamientos sucesivos de D. Ricardo Ward relativamente à su conservacion y fomentos, si tambien las posteriores eficaces disposiciones à su favor en los ultimos años del Reynado del Señor Carlos III. concediendolas con igual grado de proteccion activa è incesante, el difunto Señor Marques de la Sonora, quien a veces las apellidaba las niñas de sus ojos, y los actuales Ministros los Señores D. Antonio Valdés, y Marques de Baja Mar.*

...

*La perdida de dos Naos, la una en el Puerto de Agat [sic] en las Yslas Marianas, y la otra en la misma Bahía de Manila, la arribada de una tercera à Cavite, fueron otros tantos quebrantos del Comercio dificiles de repararse instantaneamente, y que no dieron lugar à otros ensayos industriales de parte de la Colonia, sino à las primeras semillas del beneficio del Añil y del fierro, y una navegacion algo mas extendida à las Costas de China y Coromandel.*

...

*Yo no pudiera decidir por quanto haya procurado investigarlo en las historias y en diferentes conversaciones con hombres sensatos, quales motivos hayan sentado en la Colonia la preocupacion que el natural no puede ser soldado: Yndistintamente se confunden su indiferente inercia y pusilanimidad, con un caracter doble, altanero y traidor: Se citan à su favor y para su acusacion los hechos de la ultima invasion de los Yngleses, se legan finalmente sus continuos choques gloriosos y sangrientos contra los Piratas, y al mismo tiempo se da por perdida toda embarcacion que los tiene à bordo, y se prefiere para la custodia de Cavite una Compañia de Cipoú [i.e. Sepoys] ò Malavares, quando à la vista de los dueños del Bengala parece tan fiero y tan activo un Filipino como aquellos son mansos y obedecientes.*

...

[This paper has 80 notes attached, the last of which mentions the Marianas thus:]

*“Entre las muchas cosas que han dexado de tocarse con la extension debida, ... se ha omitido, bien que por ser demasiado palpable, el abandono à lo menos militar del nuevo establecimiento de las Batanes, y la reforma del Presidio de Marianas; enviando à Guham algun barco menor de Filipinas, y permitiendo que fuese escala libre para todas las naciones.*

## **Translation.**

### **Political comments regarding the Philippine and Mariana Islands.**

The previous descriptions of the Philippine Islands, whether regarding their position and hydrographical circumstances, or the character of their inhabitants and the extreme fertility of the soil must have justified already the concept of the National Political, not just the original ideas of Cardinal Alberoni, and the successive reasonings of Richard Ward, with respect to their preservation and development, but also the later efficient measures taken in their favor in the last few years of the reign of Charles III. The late Marquis of Sonora, who sometimes used to refer to them “the daughters of his eyes”, granted them an equal degree of active and unceasing protection, and so too the present gentlemen Ministers, Don Antonio Valdés, and the Marquis of Bajamar.

...

[He goes on to state the worries of the residents who expect nothing but ruin, and the complaints they make, no matter what measures the King takes regarding them. The general cause for this state of affairs is the application of the national laws, little understood or applicable in the colonies, and this result in political inaction, and little desire for any reform. A political reform is needed.]

[There follows a historical background, beginning with Magellan. He attributes to Father Sanchez (Jesuit Visitor, Spain 1587) the fact that the Philippines were not abandoned, when America was foremost in the mind of Europeans; the idea was that the Philippines were necessary for the conservation of the Moluccas.]

[The galleon trade provided excessive profits to the residents of Manila; no wonder they controlled it quite tightly, and operated quite independently from the rest of the Spanish world, at least in the 17th century. Naturally, at the beginning of the 18th century, the traders of Spain wanted access to the Asian trade as well. The galleon trade had limits imposed upon it. However, it became admitted that the colony could not subsist without the galleon trade nor a constant infusion of funds. This state of affairs continued until the English invasion of 1762, because, in spite of a minor emigration of colonists from New Spain, the Spanish element left unguarded and unprotected most of the Philippines except the capital. Life in Manila was one of indolence; the local commerce was in the hands of foreigners, notably Chinese and Armenian, who would act as middlemen even in the galleon trade. The climate was blamed for this indolence, the only activities were to seek pleasure, relaxation, etc. The outcome was neglect of agriculture and industry, and imposition of necessary tasks on the natives. Resistance to change on the part of the government became impossible.]

[The English invasion was the shock that the government needed to begin reform, given that Filipinos had remained faithful to the Crown, and the realization that they could be defended successfully, by sending ships by way of the Cape of Good Hope, among other possibilities. In the decade of the 1770s, Felipe Tompson discovered a new route to Acapulco and private commerce was begun. During the 7-year government of Governor Anda, an arsenal was built in Cavite, and direct communications with Spain established. However, petty fights between the religious orders and others interested in commerce continued to bother the court at Madrid.

The loss of two galleons, one in the port of Agat [rather Apra] in the Mariana Islands, and the other in the very Bay of Manila, the return in distress of a third one to Cavite, were as many losses for the traders that are difficult to erase instantly, and they prevented the Colony from pursuing other industrial enterprises, except for the first attempts at processing indigo and iron, and an extension of trading voyages to the coasts of China and Coromandel.

[There began some progress as a result of the measures taken by José de Galvez, Minister of the Indies, more free trade all over the Spanish colonies, etc. The trading houses of Spain, notably Uztariz of Madrid, and San Gines of Cadiz, were allowed to establish direct trading routes with Manila by the Cape of Good Hope. A new war with England attracted more funds and personnel to the Philippines from Acapulco and San Blas. Forts were repaired, and so on. Unfortunately, the galleon **San Pedro** was lost at about this time. However, the disruption of the trading links with Madras and Bengal gave rise to a local cotton industry. Local government revenue increases and some benefits were seen in the Provinces.]

[Prosperity did not prevent discord among the residents, a multiplicity of organizations such as boards and tribunals, etc. which impeded real progress, and saw the rise of local politics.]

...  
[The founding of the Royal Philippine Company in 1785 was the result of political changes at Madrid, but at the same time, the lack of comprehension of the Asian trade and of the galleon trade carried the seeds of future disasters; the calculations on investments, risk assessment, and the like, were not done seriously enough. Other bad decisions were made in the selection of administrators, the payments of salaries, the lack of study of the competition offered in Asia by traders of other nationalities, etc. Finally, not enough efforts had been made in Spain to introduce the taste for imports from Asia.]

[The remaining pages have to do with proposals for improvement. The arguments given were no doubt politically sensitive, because of they implied criticism of the government then in power, and many of their colonial policies. One of the then-controversial opinions of Malaspina was that the abolition of the galleon trade and of the subsidy received from New Spain would not affect the Philippines in anything, provided his recommendations were put into effect.]

[Nevertheless, Malaspina recommends that the galleon trade be reformed, not abolished, and he proposes a detailed plan. The establishment of proper banking institutions posed a problem in an international capital such as Manila. Other proposals have to do with the reform of the education system, that of public health, taxes, and other aspects of public administration. He cites many cases of abuse of civil rights by soldiers. He supports the proposal of José Armenteros for the introduction of Chinese immigrants into the Philippines, and a reduction in the number of provinces. One important point made is that the army should not act as a police force, mainly used to the disadvantage of the local population.]

I have not been able to decide (no matter how I tried to investigate the matter in written histories and in various conversations that I had with sensible men), why is it that people in the Colony hold the opinion that one cannot make soldiers out of the natives. They indistinctly cite their indifferent inactivity and lack of courage with a deceitful, haughty and treacherous character; however, they also cite in their favor, and for their accusation, the deeds of the last invasion of the English: they are praised for the many glorious and bloody clashes they had with the pirates, and at the same time some say that any ship with them on board is pretty well lost already. For the protection of Cavite, a Company of Sepoys or Mababars is preferred, whereas the very owners of Bengal [i.e. the English] had to deal with such wild and active Filipinos, while they consider the former as docile and obedient.

...  
[His question was: how can native soldiers be useful in wartime and then unemployable during peacetime? He then ascribes this disparaging idea to the "social insubordination of the Religious," who were more feared by the government than rebellious natives. However, he recommends the formation of three separate armies, one composed of Europeans, another of Mexicans, and finally one of native Filipinos. Naval forces are also discussed in detail, as well as defence of the whole territory. Another controversial opinion among the citizens of Manila was that "the galleon **Magallanes** built in 1787, is equally useless for the trade as well as for the Navy." He goes on to suggest the establishment of a fleet of the Royal (Spanish) Navy in the Philippines on a permanent basis, as well as means of communication between it and those of Acapulco, with stopovers being made in the pleasant Sandwich Islands...]

...  
[This paper has 80 notes attached, the last of which mentions the Marianas thus:]  
"Among the many things that have been omitted, or that were not discussed in detail, although they deserve equal treatment, are: the abandonment, at least from the military point of view, of the new establishment of the Batan Islands; and the reform of the Garrison of the Marianas, by sending to Guham some smaller ship from the Philippines, and allowing all nations free access to it as a port of call.



---

**Document 1792C**

---

## **The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Commander Bustamante in charge of the Atrevida**

*Source: Ms. journal, n° 13, in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Madrid.*

*Note: It was partly published in the Anuario de la Dirección Hidrográfica for 1868, as: "Relación de las navegaciones que ejecutó separadamente la Corbeta de S.M. la 'Atrevida' ..." (Madrid, 1868), specifically pp. 277-279. However, the voyage from Acapulco to Manila is not reproduced, only the parts when this ship was separated from the flagship.*

### **Bio-sketch of José Joaquín Bustamante y Guerra.**

Bustamante was born in Ontaneda, in the valley of Toranzo (Santander), in April 1758. A full naval career ensued, which was to lead him to his final appointment as Captain General of Guatemala.

He was hardly 15 years old when he became cadet officer. Between 1773 and 1783, he served aboard 9 different ships, including the frigate **Santa Rosa**. In particular, in 1777 he had been sailing from Manila back to Spain when his ship was captured by the English; he was made prisoner of war, but was liberated in time to participate in the 1782 blockade of Gibraltar. He became Commander in 1784. His main interest during the Malaspina expedition was cartography and astronomy.

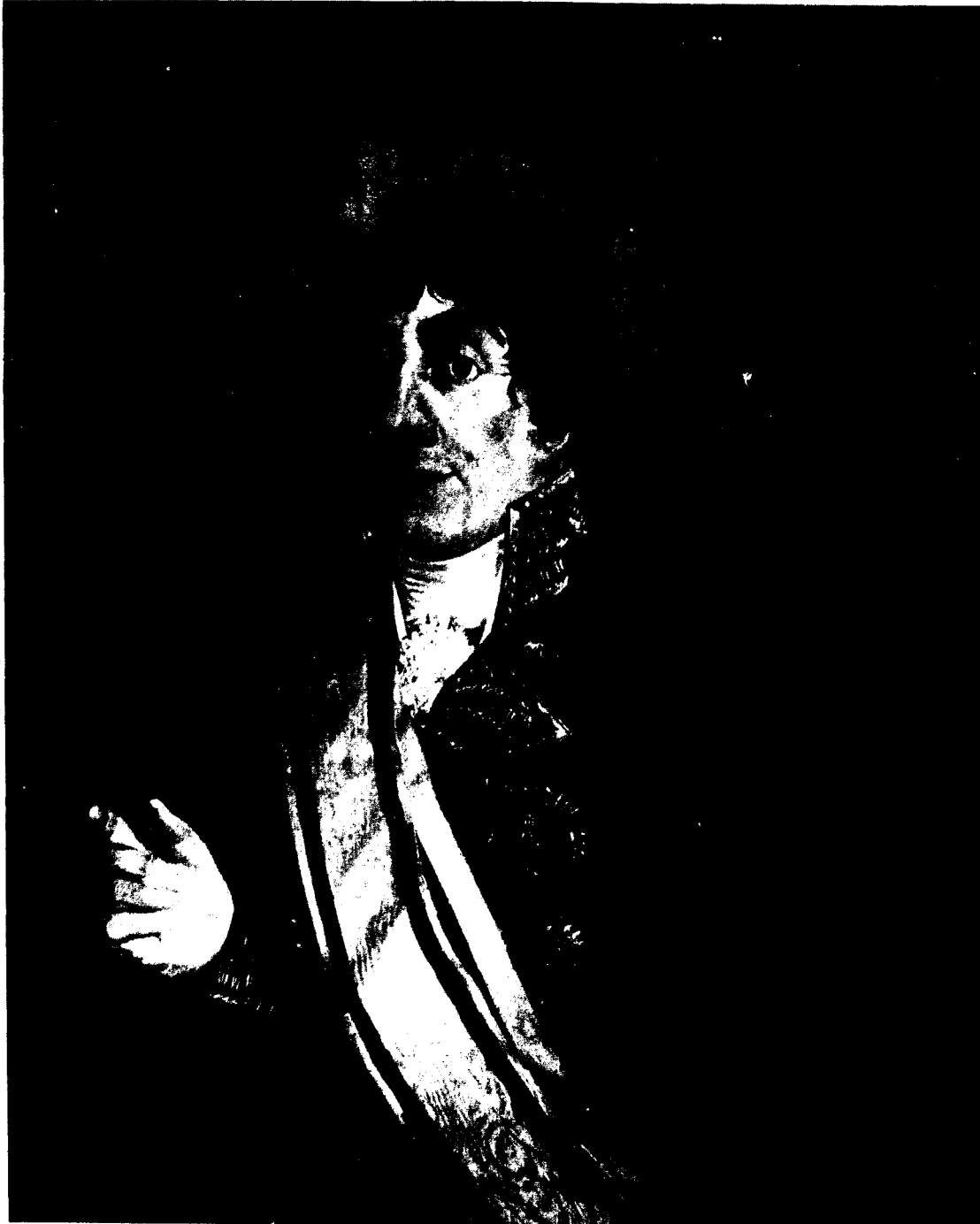
In 1795, after a promotion to Brigadier, he was named Governor of Montevideo, a post he held until 1804. Finally, he reached Guatemala in 1811 and was governor there for seven years; he was then a Squadron Leader (equivalent to Major-General). Upon his return to Spain, he filled high positions in the Navy, including that of interim Director. He held the top rank of Lieutenant-General when he died at Madrid on 1 May 1825, at the age of 67.

### **Extract from the journal of Commander Bustamante**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Tercera estada de la Atrevida, y ocurrencias hasta la reunion à la Descubierta.*

...



**Commander José Bustamante, commanding the corvette *Atrevida*. (From MN Photo A-1475).**

*Con la llegada de la **Descubierta** el 19 [de octubre de 1791], cesaron ya mis cuidados sobre las combinaciones ó preparativos para en caso de tenerse rastro de la fragata el **Sacramento**., pues enterado de todo lo ocurrido D. Alexandro Malaspina, tampoco halló por conveniente tomar medida alguna ínterin ignorásemos su paradero.*

*20. Por fortuna el día siguiente confirmándose mis conjeturas se disiparon nuestros recelos sobre la seguridad de la Tripulacion, con la agradable noticia de que ésta, desamparando el buque, cogieron la lancha las orillas del rio Papagallo 18 leguas á el E. de este puerto, logrando salvar sus vidas y 20,000 pesos de plata acuñada que formaban la parte más rica de su cargamento. El Capitan por una buena precaucion de arriar un ancla con 130 brazas del mejor cable, logró salvar tambien el buque, fondeando éste despues en las playas inmediatas á donde habia atracado la lancha.*

...

### **Translation.**

**Third stop made by the *Atrevida*, and occurrences until she rejoins the *Descubierta*.**

With the arrival of the **Descubierta** on the 19th [of October 1791], the worries I had concerning the combinations or preparatives being made in case the frigate **Sacramento** did not appear ceased; in fact, once Don Alexandro Malaspina had been informed of everything, he too thought that it was unnecessary to take any measure, while we still ignored her whereabouts.

20. Fortunately, the next day, my conjectures were confirmed and our fears regarding the safety of the crew were dissipated with the agreeable news that the crew had abandoned ship, and with the launch reached the shores of the Papagayo River 18 leagues to the E of this port, thus saving their lives and 20,000 pesos of newly-minted silver that had formed the richest part of her cargo. The Captain, who had taken the good precaution of throwing an anchor overboard with 130 fathoms of his best cable, thus managed to save the ship as well; afterwards she was found anchored near the same beaches where the launch had come ashore.

...



**DIARIO**

DEL

**VIAGE EXPLORADOR**

DE LAS

**CORBETAS ESPAÑOLAS**

**“DESCUBIERTA” Y “ATREVIDA,”**

EN LOS AÑOS DE 1789 Á 1794,

LLEVADO POR EL TENIENTE DE NAVIO D. FRANCISCO JAVIER DE VIANA,  
Y OFRECIDO PARA SU PUBLICACION, EN SU ORIGINAL INÉDITO, POR  
EL Sr. D. FRANCISCO JAVIER DE VIANA, Y DEMAS HIJOS DEL AUTOR.

—————

**CERRITO DE LA VICTORIA,**

**IMPRESA DEL EJÉRCITO.**

**1849.**

Title page of the 1849 edition of Lieut. Viana's journal.

---

## Document 1792D

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Lieutenant Viana

*Source: Francisco Xavier de Viana. Diario del Teniente de Navio D. Francisco Xavier de Viana (Madrid, Imprenta del Ejército, 1849); also published as Diario de Viaje (Montevideo, 1958).*

### **Bio-sketch of Lieutenant Viana.**

Viana was born in Montevideo on 3 December 1764. His father, who was a Brigadier General in the Spanish Army, sent him to Spain when he was only 10 years old to join the Spanish Navy. He had reached the rank of Lieutenant when Malaspina selected him to become member of his expedition, after which he returned to Rio de la Plata in command of the corvette **Atrevida**, in 1796. In 1801, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Commander and posted to Montevideo. By 1811, he had joined the independence movement against Spain, and he became Chief of Staff of the Army the following year. In 1813, he was appointed Governor of the city of Córdoba, Uruguay. In 1814, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel and appointed Minister of War and the Navy. In 1814 he became Brigadier General and continued as Minister under the revolution of 1815, when a military tribunal sentenced him to the loss of his job; when released, he emigrated to Rio de Janeiro, and returned only when Portugal took control of Uruguay. He died at his place of birth on 5 March 1820.

Lieutenant Viana was aboard the corvette **Descubierta**.

### **Original text in Spanish**

**Diario del viage explorador de las corbetas españolas Descubierta y Atrevida, en los años de 1789 á 1794, llevado por el Teniente de Navio D. Francisco Javier de Viana, y ofrecido para su publicacion, en su original inédito, por el Sr. D. Francisco Javier de Viana, y demas hijos del autor.**

#### ***Salida del Puerto de Acapulco para las Islas Marianas.***

*Diciembre 20—1791.—Listas de un todo las corbetas, dados los últimos adioses á nuestros compañeros, y entrada la brisa á las 10 de la mañana, dimos la vela seguidos*

de la **Atrevida**: rebasada la punta del Grifo, y afirmado el viento por el O. ceñimos mura á estribor con cuya proa pudimos al medio día estar ya libres de puntas.

Enero 7—1792.—Los vientos flojos y variables favorecieron bien poco nuestra derrota en los primeros días; pero entablada el 7 de enero, procuramos conservar el paralelo de 13 grados en el que constraído ya el 10 de febrero 111° al occidente de Acapulco inclinamos nuestro rumbo al N. paraa entrar en latitud de 15°, con el fin de hacer la recalada a la parte más septentrional de la isla de Tinian.

Día 11 [de febrero].—Situados al mediodía en latitud de 14°54'10" y en longitud de 207°5'20" confiábamos dar vista a la tierra en las primeras horas de la tarde; en efecto a las dos y media se dejó ver la isla Seipan, como a doce leguas de distancia, y colocados a las cuatro ventajosamente dimos principio a nuestras tareas, midiendo bases y observando longitudes con oportunidad; a la sazón se terminaban bien los extremos de aquella y algo confusos los de Tinian; en esta posición se marcó la medianía de Seipan al N. 75° O., la cual vista a la distancia de diez a doce leguas se presentaba baja; su punta septentrional es tajada y bastante alta, su extremo meridional es un trozo de tierra baja, y en su tercio se eleva y forma un montenito como una mesa, terminando después en un monte de regular altura, descendiendo luego suavemente por ambos lados, estando una y otra acera interrumpida de varias colinas o pequeños montecillos; resultó su posición en latitud de 15°10' y en longitud de 207°37'00".

La de Tinian se deja ver bajo el aspecto de tres pequeñas islas; la mas meridional representa un montecito de mediana altura que ocupa casi la mitad de la isla y la septentrional dos pequeñas lomas que suavemente disminuyen hasta las orillas del mar; quedó establecida en latitud de 15°00' y su extremo oriental en longitud de 207°29'.

El viento se mantuvo en la noche bastante fresco por el N.E. con el cual y las cuatro principales seguimos el rumbo del S. con el fin de amanecer a la vista de la isla Rota, que marcamos al salir el sol notable en su centro un monte bien alto; su punta septentrional se extendía bastante hacia la mar formándola un trozo de tierra baja, y la meridional algo mas alta y menos prolongada; su situación es en latitud de 14°8'00" y en longitud 208°16'.

Día 12.—Favorecía el viento de tal modo nuestros pasos, que muy luego se dejó ver el frontón septentrional de la isla de Guajan, cuya extensión de seis millas y en la dirección del E.S.E. al O.N.O. es de mediana altura, cubierto de arboleda hasta la orilla pendiente y baja hacia la mar; después nos acercamos a su punta N.O. y costeamos de cerca la parte occidental de la isla. El tercero por este lado baja a formar colinas agradables y vestidas de arboledas con playas en la orilla, después se dejó ver la población de Agaña, situada muy inmediatamente a la mar, a cuya vista desplegamos nuestras insignias.

A la una hallándonos bien inmediatos y por el través de la ciudad vimos se dirigía hacia nosotros un parao a la vela; en consecuencia pairamos mura a estribor; a poco rato llegó a bordo con un oficial de la plaza, quien de orden del Gobernador suplicaba el objeto de nuestra comisión; y satisfecho regresó a su destino. Nosotros mareamos dirigiendo nuestro rumbo al puerto de San Luis, al cual sólo nos guiaba un plano de la colección de Dalrymple levantado el año de 1773 por Antonio Rodriguez, piloto es-

*pañol; muy breve conocimos su mal arrumbamiento, conduciéndonos por medio del placer, que termina en el extremo del O. entrada septentrional del surgidero sobre cuatro brazas fondo coral y piedra; por consiguientne ceñimos el viento, el que habiéndose quedado calmoso y después de dos pequeños repiquetes dejamos caer el ancla a las cinco de la tarde ya dentro del puerto en 27 brazas cascajo, a media milla de la punta Orote, meridional del fondeadero; y situada en latitud de 13°24'20" y en longitud de 209°19'31".*

*Este puerto, rodeado en gran parte de rompientes y bajos, el fondo casi todo de piedra y madrepora, presenta un aspecto nada agradable al cuidadoso navegante. La canal se halla en su medianía, el mayor ancho es de dos cables. el fondo de 30 a 15 brazas cascajo, si se exceptúa la rabiza del placer, que por 3 y 6 brazas se extiende a media milla de la rompiente; circunstancias todas que dictaron la preferencia a la rada de Humata; así a las nueve de la mañana del 13, dimos la vela seguidos de la corbeta **Atrevida**, y después de varios bordos y con el auxilio del viento entablado a la sazón por el E.N.E. pudimos alcanzar el fondeadero a las tres de la tarde, quedando amarrados con dos anclas, la del ayuste afuera, y en la dirrección de N.E. a S.O. El asta de la bandera al S. 33° E., distancia de ésta de dos a tres cables.<sup>1</sup>*

*El surgidero de Humata es una ensenada cuyo mayor fondo es de dos a dos y medio cables; está situada en latitud de 13°17'40" y en longitud de 209°17'31" y en la medianía del trozo de costa comprendido entre las puntas de Alcaparrones y del Merizo, que corren con la boca de aquella; la primera al N. 25° O. y la segunda al S. 15° E.; le sirve de algun abrigo para los vientos del S.E. la isla de Cocos, cuyo extremo saliente demora al S. 5° O. El mejor fondeadero es sobre 10 brazas arena gruesa, demorando la fortaleza al N. 50° E. distancia de tres a cuatro cables del castillo. La situación local de este lugar y la dirección de la costa manifiesta bien que sólo es adaptable este amarradero en la mozón del N.E. y muy expuesto en la de S.O.; empieza ésta en los meses de mayo y junio, y aquella en los de setiembre y octubre, pero en las islas de los Ladrones o Marianas, no recalán las coyas o vendavales hasta junio o julio, únicos meses temibles en este archipiélago a causa de los huracanes.*

### ***Salida de Humata para el puerto de Palapa.***

*Febrero 24—1792.—Concluidos nuestros trabajos y cerrada la cuenta de los relojes marinos, nos dispusimos a dar la vela, cuyas maniobras emprendimos en las primeras horas de la mañana, y ya a las ocho seguidos de la corbeta **Atrevida** nos pusimos en derrotoa gobernando al O. favorecidos de la brisa a la sazón fresca. Al mediodía apenas distinguíamos la isla de Guajan, que marcamos al S. 81° E. distancia de ocho a diez leguas.*

*Favoreció nuestra derrota la brisa fresquita del E. al E.S.E. bajo un tiempo hermoso y despejado, el cual fue sustituido con algunos chubasquillos y el viento variable del*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The 1958 edition has given this direction as S 83° E., but the typeface used in the first edition does not make this clear. S 83° E is correct, according to other accounts.

*S.E. al N.E.; nuestro rumbo fue constantemente al O. 5° S., y al O. 1/4 S.O. procurando así conservar el paralelo de 13 grados.*

*Al mediodía nos hallábamos en latitud de 12°52'41" y en longitud de 229°43'10". Nuestro andar de cuatro a cinco millas nos obligó a pasar un corto tiempo de la noche al paio con el objeto de amanecer a la vista del cabo de Espiritu Santo, el que marcamos efectivamente al S. 73° O.; y el extremo meridional de la isla Samar, al S. 28° O. es de una altura regular, su mayor elevación es hacia el mismo cabo, que es bajo y formado de un declive muy suave; desde dicha altura va igualmente descendiendo hasta encontrar el extremo meridional, el cual por las quebradas y lomas que forman los montes, se presenta a primera vista ya a alguna distancia, bajo el aspecto de una isla.*

*Marzo 3—1792.—Situados á las 7 de la mañana como á dos leguas al E. del cabo del Espiritu Santo, orzamos al O. 1/4 N.O. en demanda de lo mas saliente al N. de ellas: a la sazón se dejaron ver las islas que forman el puerto de Palapa, todas de terreno baja y por partes anegadizo; las que proyectan con la costa firme ofrecen alguna consudion para la entrada en el surgidero, lo cual puede evitarse con la precaucion de costearla muy de cerca: á las 10 pasamos á dos millas de la isla Batac, y aunque repitiesemos muchas veces las sondas, no hallamos fondo con noventa brazas de sondaleza.*

*Pero antes de las 12 distinguiendose ya la boca del puerto largamos nuestras insignias, y con proa al S.O. 1/4 S. nos dirigimos al fondeadero con solo las gavias y juanetes, con cuyo aparejo nos hallamos muy breve en el transito que forman los dos arrecifes saalientes de las islas Batag y Cahayaga: en su medianía sondamos 25 y 20 brazas arena: estos arrecifes del todo descubiertos forman la entrada, que es de fácil acceso, á que contribuyen dos islotillos que se hallan sobre la rompiente del O.; el mayor ancho del canal es de media milla proximamente.*

*La corriente que á la sazón se dirijia con velocidad para el O. hacia preciso nos acercásemos mas bien a los arrecifes del E., y aunque el viento nos fuese las mas veces escaso, contribuyó no obstante para conservarnos en la mediania del canal, en el cual disminuyendo el fondo paulatinamente y hallandonos en nueve y media brazas lama negra, é inmediatos á un bajo que teniamos por la proa, dejamos caer el ancla amarandonos despues en la dirección de la corriente, la una al N.O. y la otra al S.E., en cuya posicion demoraba lo mas saliente de los arrecifes de la entrada al N. 8° O. y N. 19° O., y lo mas meridional de la isla Cahayaga al N. 52° O. y la de Calapan al S.O. distancia de tres á cuatro millas.*

## Translation

**Journal of the voyage of exploration of the Spanish frigates Descubierta and Atrevida in the years 1789 to 1794, written by Navy Lieutenant Francisco Xavier de Viana, said unpublished manuscript being offered for publication by Francisco Xavier de Viana and the others sons of the author.**



### Departure from the port of Acapulco for the Mariana Islands.

20 December 1791.—With the frigates being completely ready to sail, we bid our last farewells to our companions. When the breeze began to blow at 10 a.m., we sailed off, followed by the *Atrevida*. After we had passed the point called Grifo, and found out a steady westerly wind beyond, we tacked to starboard and this heading enabled us to get clear of all the headlands.

7 January 1792.—The winds being slack and variable did not favor our voyage too much during the first few days out, but when the tradewind became established on 7 January [1792], we tried to stay on the 13° parallel, and did so until 10 February when we found ourselves at 111° west of Acapulco and we turned northward to get to the latitude of 15°, with the intention of making a landfall on the north side of the Island of Tinian.

On the 11th [of February].—At noon today we were in 14°54'10" lat. and 207°5'20" long. and were confident to see the land in the early hours of the afternoon. Indeed, at 2 p.m. the Island of Saipan came into view, distant about 12 leagues. By 4 p.m., we were well positioned to begin our tasks, setting up bases and observing longitudes whenever we could. At that time the extremities of this island appeared clearly, but those of Tinian were somewhat confused. At that position, the center of Saipan bore N 75° W, and the island, seen from a distance of from 10 to 12 leagues appeared low. Its north point is cut sharp and rather high, and its south end is a piece of low-lying land; one-third of the way it rises and forms a small mountain like a *mesa*, and then it looks like a mountain of a regular size, then comes down gently on both sides, with both of those spurs shaped at some intervals with hills or small mounts. Its position turned out to be 15°10' latitude and 207°37'00" longitude.

The Island of Tinian first appears as three small islands, the southernmost of which is a small mountain of average size that occupies almost half of the island, and the northern half is two small flat hills that come down to the edges of the sea. Its latitude was established at 15°00' and its easternmost tip has a longitude of 207°29'.

During the night the wind remained rather fresh from N.E. We used it, with the four main sails set, to make our way southward, our intention being to be in sight of Rota Island by daybreak. That is when it bore S 20° E, distant from 6 to 7 leagues. A rather high mountain was plain to see in the center of it; its northern point was extending rather a long way toward the sea, forming a piece of low-lying land, but the southern tip was rather high and not so elongated. Its position is 14°8'00" latitude and 208°16' longitude.

On the 12th.—The wind was so favorable to our passage that very soon we saw the northern shore of the Island of Guajan, which extends 6 miles from ESE to WNW and is of average height, covered with trees to the edge of the cliffs and down to the water's edge. Afterwards, we went close to its NW point and we coasted along the western side of the island. The terrain on this side comes down to form pleasant hills covered with trees and with beaches along the shore. Afterwards, the settlement of Agaña came into view, and we displayed our flags. At 1 p.m. we found ourselves very close and abreast

of the city. We saw a canoe heading towards us with its sail up. Accordingly we hove to, to starboard and, within a short time it came alongside with an officer of the garrison who, on orders from the Governor, begged us to state the objective of our visit; being satisfied, he went back. We sailed off, heading for the port of San Luis. To guide us, we only had a chart from the collection by Dalrymple, drawn in 1773 by Antonio Rodriguez, a Spanish pilot. Very soon we recognized that it was badly lined up, leading us to the center of the reef, at the western end of which is the northern entrance into the anchorage, where the bottom is 4 fathoms, bottom of coral and stone. Consequently, we tacked, but the wind, having slackened and afterwards provided us with two short gusts, we let go the anchor at 5 p.m. inside the port in 27 fathoms, rubble bottom, at half a mile from Orote Point, on the south side of the anchorage, and situated in 13°24'20" latitude and 209°19'31" longitude.

This port, surrounded in large part by breakers and shoals, its bottom almost completely covered with stone and coral ledges, offers a not too pleasing sight to the prudent navigator. The channel is located in its center, and is two cable lengths at its widest, the bottom from 30 down to 15 fathoms, rubble, exception being made of the submerged extension of the reef, that projects half a mile from the reef itself, and lies from 3 to 6 fathoms down. All of these characteristics made us decide to move to the harbor at Umatac; so, at 9 on the morning of the 13th, we set sail, followed by the frigate **Atrevida**, and after many tacks and with the help of the wind which held steady from E.N.E., we were able to reach the anchorage at 3 p.m., and remained moored with two anchors, our best bower out and in the direction NE—SW. The flagpole bore S 33° E,<sup>1</sup> distant from it by 2-3 cable lengths.

The anchorage of Umatac is a cove whose greatest depth is from 2 to 2-1/2 cable lengths. It is situated at 13°17'40" latitude and 209°17'31" longitude, and halfway between Capers [i.e. Facpi] Point and Merizo Point, the line between them passing by the mouth of this cove; the former bearing N 25° W and the latter S 15° E. It is somewhat sheltered from the SE winds by the Island of Cocos, whose extremity can be detected to S 5° W. The better anchorage point lies in 10 fathoms, thick sand, where the fortress bears N 50° E at a distance of from 3 to 4 cable lengths from the castle.<sup>2</sup> The local position of this spot and the direction of the coast show very well that this moorage is ideal during the N.E. monsoon season, but very exposed during the SW monsoon season which begins during the months of May and June, until the former begins in the months of September and October; however, in the Ladrones or Mariana Islands, such blasts of winds last until June or July, the only dangerous months in the archipelago, on account of the hurricanes.

---

1 Ed. note: Perhaps S 83° E, as the typeface of the first edition is blurred.

2 Ed. note: Similarly unclear in the original, unless one assumes that the fortress and the castle are one and the same Fort Santo Angel.

### Departure from Umatac for the port of Palapag.

24 February 1792.—Our work being completed and our nautical clocks regulated, we made ready to sail, and the first maneuvers took place during the morning. We were off by 8 a.m., followed by the frigate **Atrevida**, heading due west with a favorable fresh breeze. At noon, we could hardly distinguish the Island of Guajan, which bore S 81° E, distant from 8 to 10 leagues.

Our navigation was favored by a rather fresh breeze from E to ESE under a beautiful and clear sky, which soon gave way to some squalls and variable winds from SE to NE. Our heading remained constant toward W 5° S, and to W 1/4 SW, as we tried to stay on the 13 degree parallel.

At noon we found ourselves in 12°52'41" latitude and 229°43'10" longitude. Our speed from 4 to 5 miles [an hour] forced us to make a short stop during the night with the intention of sighting Cape Espiritu Santo at daybreak; indeed, it then bore S 73° W, the southern extremity of Samar Island bearing S 28° W and appearing as land of a regular height, with its greater elevation being toward the cape itself, which is low-lying and formed by a very gentle slope. From this high point, it also goes down until meeting with the southern extremity, which appears, when first seen from a distance, like an island, because of the ravines and rounded hills that shape the mountains.

3 March 1792.—At about 7 a.m., being located at about two leagues East of Cape Espiritu Santo, we tacked to W 1/4 NW for the northernmost end of it. Eventually we came into sight of the islands that form the port of Palapag. All are low-lying and partly submerged at high tide. Those that project towards the mainland offer a confused appearance when one is trying to find out the entrance to the anchorage, but this confusion can be avoided if one takes the precaution of coasting close to the land. At 10 a.m., although we sounded continuously, we did not find any bottom with a 90-fathom line.

Shortly before noon we distinguished the mouth of the port and we displayed our flags and, with the bow heading to SW 1/4 S we made our way to the anchorage with only the topsails and topgallant sails flying, thanks to which we soon found ourselves in the passage bound by two reefs coming out of Batag and Cahayaga Islands. In the center of it we sounded and found 25 and 20 fathoms, sandy bottom. Said reefs are completely visible and form the entrance which is of easy access, thanks to two islets that are found on top of the western reef. The largest width of this channel is about half a mile.

The current which was then setting rapidly westward forced us to approach the eastern reef and, although the wind was at times slack, it nevertheless contributed to maintain us in the middle of the channel, where the bottom was progressively decreasing. When we found ourselves in 19-1/2 fathoms, black mud, and very close to a shoal that was dead ahead, we let go the anchor and moored afterwards in the direction of the current, with one anchor to NW and the other to SE, in whose position the reefs at the entrance bore N 8° W and N 19° W, and the southernmost point of Cahayaga Island bore N 52° W while that of Calapan Island was to SW distant from 3 to 4 miles.

**LORENZO SANFELIU ORTIZ**

Capitán de Fragata

# 62 MESES A BORDO

**La expedición Malaspina según el diario  
del Teniente de Navío Don Antonio de Tova Arredondo,  
2.º Comandante de la "ATREVIDA" 1789-1794**

**13-14**

BIBLIOTECA DE CAMAROTE  
DE LA  
REVISTA GENERAL DE MARINA

*Title page of Lieutenant Tova's account. It was published during WWII as a booklet in a seaman's library.*

---

## Document 1792E

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The journal of Lieutenant Tova

*Sources: Manuscript in the Municipal Library of Santander; published by Lorenzo Sanfeliú Ortiz (ed.). 62 meses a bordo (Madrid, 1944).*

*Notes: The author was aboard the Atrevida. The editor was Lieutenant-Commander in the Spanish Navy. The title of the book translates as: 62 Months on Board. It was published by the naval magazine called Revista General de Marina. However, the original manuscript is incomplete and the editor himself completed the part about the Pacific, using the accounts of Malaspina and Viana, he says.*

## Extract from the published journal of Lieutenant Antonio de Tova Arredondo

### Original text in Spanish.

**62 meses a bordo.—La expedición Malaspina según el diario del Teniente de Navío Don Antonio de Tova Arredondo, 2º Comandante de la “Atrevida” 1789-1794.**

...

### CAPITULO XXI

#### Acapulco - Humatac (Islas Marianas)

##### Acaecimientos en la derrota

*Sin grandes novedades.—No obstante constar esta derrota de 53 singladuras, por constituir la travesía del Oceano Pacífico, pocos sucesos notables acaecieron en ella. Sin costas que reconocer o situar, limitáronse las maniobras a las necesarias para ganar longitud al Oeste y las observaciones a las ordinarias que la propia navegación requería, sin que temporales ni vientos contrarios fuesen motivos de mayores penalidades o inquietudes.*

*Retorna la salud.—Esta se reducía principalmente a la atención y cuidado de los enfermos, procurándoles alojamiento limpio y ventilado, una quietud adecuada a su estado y la mayor vigilancia respecto al régimen de dietas. Con todas estas prevenciones y, sobre todo, con el cambio de clima, se consiguió el mayor alivio entre los pacientes, y aunque hubo que lamentar el fallecimiento de un marino de la Atrevida, los demás iban mejorando rápidamente; así, cuando el 11 de febrero de 1792, avistaron los altos*

de las islas de Seypan y Tinian, ya no había enfermo de cuidado en ninguno de los barcos.

*Empiezan los reconocimientos y trabajos.*—En la tarde de ese día emprendieron las operaciones de rigor para situar los puntos observados de la costa, medición de bases, observación de horarios, marcaciones, etc. En la noche del siguiente atracaron a la isla de Guahan, dejando al N. la de Rota, comprobando que no existía sobre la primera el bajo anotado por algunas cartas españolas. Con las banderas e insignias al viento costearon la parte occidental de la isla, que es donde se encuentran los fondeaderos de San Luis y Umatac.

*Arribada peligrosa.*—Dispuesto a reconocer el primero de ellos, hacia él se dirigieron las corbetas, que se encontraron en grave peligro, por la existencia de una larga restinga, desconocida por ellos, y no indicada por unos naturales que en una pequeña canoa habían ido al encuentro de las corbetas con la intención de auxiliarlas. Este percance y la comprobación efectuada por el Teniente de Navío Viana de ser su fondo pedregoso, motivaron el rápido abandono de este puerto, para tomar el próximo de Humatac, donde quedaron fondeados y amarrados en ese mismo día.

#### *Estancia en Humatac*

*Primeras disposiciones.*—En la misma noche del día de llegada fueron remitidas al Gobernador de la isla las cartas y documentos de la expedición y a las pocas horas se presentó en el puerto, dispuesto a facilitar con su presencia cuanto precisaran los buques para el mejor desempeño de su comisión.

Se encontraban aún afectados por la epidemia de Acapulco 14 individuos de la **Descubierta** y 6 de la **Atrevida**, que fueron alojados en el mismo cuerpo de guardia de la casa del Gobernador, y los oficiales Cevallos y Bauzá, que también necesitaban quietud y reposo para su total restablecimiento, tuvieron acomodo en la casa inmediata al Establecimiento Misional de los Padres Recoletos. En este mismo edificio fué instalado el observatorio y listas todas estas prevenciones el día 14 pudieron dar comienzo los trabajos astronómicos, excursiones de los naturalistas y faenas de las corbetas.

*Salida imprevista.*—El día 16 se empleó buena parte de él en levar el ancla de la **Descubierta**, que estaba sobre una piedra, y fondearla nuevamente en arena; sin embargo, no tardaron mucho en comprobar que aquellos trabajos habían sido casi inútiles, pues el ancla, aunque en más aguas, continuaba sobre piedra.

Nuevas y laboriosas maniobras fueron ejecutadas al día siguiente para asegurar la embarcación; pero, a pesar de estos trabajos, un viento duro y racheado del N.E., que empezó a soplar en la tarde del 18, hizo garrear nuevamente aquella ancla y puso a la **Descubierta** en grave peligro de ser aconchada sobre la costa, que para librarse de él hubo de dar vela y hacerse a la mar, en la que permaneció, no sin dar vuelta a la isla y estudiar el régimen de sus vientos, hasta el día 20, que, en su mañana, se amarró junto a su compañera.

*Los trabajos.*—Disipadas con la llegada de la **Descubierta** las inquietudes, que su obligada salida había ocasionado a don José Bustamante, pudo éste poner en conocimiento de don Alejandro Malaspina el estado de la dotación y de los trabajos realiza-

*dos hasta entonces. Las observaciones y tareas astronómicas estaban terminadas; las colecciones de plantas y animales, notablemente acrecentadas; con los desvelos de los señores Pineda y Henke, las provisiones de refresco, acopiadas por el Gobernador, dispuestas para embarcar; únicamente faltaba, pues, ultimar estas diligencias para poder hacerse a la mar, lo que convenía efectuar con brevedad para aprovechar lo poco que quedaba de la buena estación. Así, pues, se comopletó la provisión de leña y metidos a bordo víveres e instrumentos zafaron sus amarras y levaron sus anclas el día 23, para arrumbar endemanda de la isla de Samar.*

## Translation.

### CHAPTER XXI

#### Acapulco to Humatac (Mariana Islands)

##### Incidents during the crossing

Nothing extraordinary.—In spite of the fact that this crossing consisted of 53 daily runs, given that it was the crossing of the Pacific Ocean, few noteworthy events took place in it. There were no coasts to reconnoiter or map, so that the maneuvers were limited to necessary ones to gain longitude westward and the observations were the ordinary ones required by the navigation alone, as there were no storms nor contrary winds to contend with, and which would have normally caused some concern.

Health improvement.—The health concerns consisted mainly in care for the sick, by providing them with clean and airy quarters, sufficient peace and quiet and greater vigilance regarding their food. With all of these precautions, but above all, with a change of climate, a marked improvement in the health of the patients was obtained, and although there was the death of one sailor of the **Atrevida** to lament, the health of the others improved rapidly, to such an extent that, when they sighted the Islands of Saipan and Tinian on 11 February, there were no longer anyone sick in bed aboard the ships.

They began the surveys and the tasks.—In the afternoon of that day they began the operations to fix accurately the observed land positions, to measure base lines, observe the timings, sightings, etc. During the following night they came near the Island of Guahan, leaving behind the Island of Rota to the north, having verified that there is no shoal near the former, as indicated on some Spanish charts. With their flags and banners flying, they coasted the west side of the island, along which are to be found the anchorages of San Luís and Umatac.

Dangerous approach.—Having decided to reconnoiter the first anchorage, the frigates headed in its direction when they met with a serious danger, on account of a long barrier reef which they did not know about, and not indicated by the natives in a small canoe who had come up to assist them. This misfortune and the inspection carried out by Lieutenant Viana who found a dangerous rocky bottom, were reason enough for them to decide to immediately quit this port, and try the next one of Humatac, where they anchored and moored on that same [rather next] day.

### Stay at Humatac

First arrangements.—That same evening of the day of arrival they sent to the Governor of the island the letters and documents of the expedition. Within a few hours, he appeared at the port, ready to facilitate by his presence whatever the ships required in order to carry out their commission.

There were still 14 individuals aboard the **Descubierta** affected by the epidemic of Acapulco and 6 aboard the **Atrevida**; they were lodged in the guardhouse of the Governor's house. As for the officers Cevallos and Bauzá, who also needed some rest and quiet to get better, they were accommodated in the house next door to the mission station of the Recollect Fathers. In this same house was set up the observatory. When all of these arrangements had been made, they were able, on the 14th, to begin the astronomical tasks, the excursions of the naturalists, and the tasks of the frigates.

Unplanned departure.—A large part of the 16th was spent in raising the anchor of the **Descubierta** that sat on a rock, and to seek a better anchorage on a sandy bottom; nevertheless, they soon found out that their task had been fruitless, because the anchor, though deeper than before, was still lying on a rock.

Some new and arduous maneuvers were carried out the next day to make the vessel safer, but, in spite of these efforts, a stiff wind arose from the N.E. in the afternoon of the 18th that made that anchor drag again, thus placing the **Descubierta** in danger of being crushed against the coast. To avoid this danger, they had to set sail and go in the offing, where she remained but not without having to go around the whole [sic] island and to study the lay of its winds, until the 20th when, in the morning, she rejoined her companion at anchor.

The scientific tasks.—Once the worries over the **Descubierta** had been dissipated, and its unplanned departure had been a major concern of Don José Bustamante, he was able to brief Don Alejandro Malaspina on the condition of the crew and of the tasks carried out until then. The astronomical observations and tasks had been completed. Thanks to the efforts made by Pineda and Haenke, the refreshments supplied by the Governor were ready to be loaded on board. There remained only the task of reloading the ships before they could sail, something they were interested in doing as soon as possible, in order to take advantage of the little time left in the good season. So, they concentrated on the job of taking on wood and loading the food supplies and the instruments, and then let go their moorings, weighing their anchors on the 23rd, to go in search of the Island of Samar.



---

## Documents 1792F

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The journals of Antonio Pineda

### Bio-sketch of Antonio Pineda.

He was born in 1753, in Guatemala. When he was 10 years, his family moved to Granada, Spain, where his brother Arcadio was born. He first joined the army and rose to the rank of First-Lieutenant of the Guards. He fought at Gibraltar in 1779. His great interest for the natural sciences led him to collaborate with others at the Botanical Garden in Madrid. He also learned chemistry, a science that became useful to him for his field experiments in geology, specifically lithology, as he did in Guam.

When the Malaspina Expedition reached the Philippines, he headed north along the coast of Luzon. He died at Badoc, Ilocos Province, on 6 July 1792, of a stroke. His colleagues raised a commemorative monument to him in the garden of the Royal Philippine Company headquarters at Malate, a suburb of Manila.<sup>1</sup>

### F1. The main journal of Antonio Pineda

*Sources: Original manuscript in Legajo 3, Carpeta 12, Año 1792 in the National Museum of Natural Sciences in Madrid; published by MARC as a booklet entitled: Guam Diary of Naturalist Antonio de Pineda (Guam, 1990).*

*Note: As described in item 619 of the Catalog of Spanish Expeditions and Scientific Voyages of the 18th and 19th Centuries, available at the library of said Museum.*

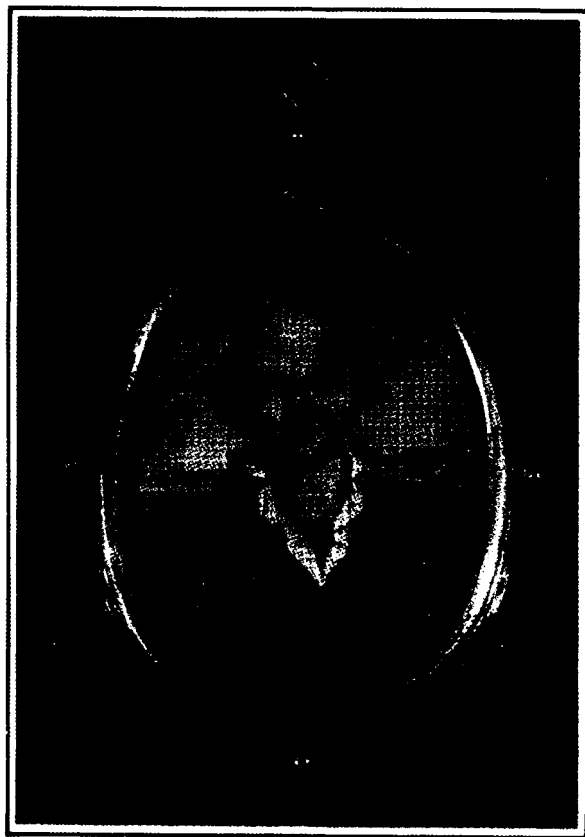
*Ed. note: The ink of the manuscript has faded and become hard to decipher. Despite that, I had made my own transcription before the MARC booklet appeared; I also think that my translation will make a small contribution, since Mr. Mallada had done an excellent job already. His transcription and mine differ only in minor matters.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*[Diario de D. Antonio Pineda]. 22 hojas, cosidas. Borrador que empieza con el diario de 14 de febrero. Describe: Pueblo de Umata, Agaña, naturales de las*

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: According to Ortiz Armengol (in his book on Intramuros de Manila, published at Madrid in 1956), this monument was destroyed during WWII, but the plaque was saved and placed in the Botanical Garden, where the old Chinese Parian used to be located.



**Antonio Pineda (1753-1792)**

***Islas Marianas; animales; descripciones geológicas, etc. Con algún esbozo de dibujos a lápiz y tinta.***

...

***Diario desde el 14 de febrero y hoy que salgo a Agaña.***

*Salimos hora 4y43'.*

*Despues de nuestra llegada al Puerto de Umata que tiene titulo de villa, me dedique a observar quanto se me presentaba para llenar el objeto de mi comision. El puerto de Umata es una rada bastante abierta por el [blank, lado] de la isla de Cocos, isla unida a la tierra por un arrecife, y cubierta de aquellos arboles, por la otra punta de la Heradura, la punta [blank] y en el centro un canal con 4 brazas de fondo en parte y todo lo qual se ve en los planos de Dalrymple y en el del Señor Malaspina. Por este canal se desembarca a un pequeño muelle frente a una batería y en un pedazo de playa limpia y accesible. Desde luego se me presentaron por la vez primera criadera de madrepora que cubren el fondo del oceano por todas las avenidas de esta isla que tanto en el fondeadero de Orote, Umata y segun me informan por todo ella. y asi en los puertos que tiene no son muy seguros los teneros, el escandallo saca ... la madrepora o conchuela aunque en paraje se halla arena.*

*Por lo observado bajo el pequeño castillo de este puerto en la boca en que tiene su asiento y en esos parages de la jornada de este dia, que esta piedra parece el pilotage sobre que se funda en el peñon del castillo, la piedra madrepora se cubre luego de una tierra de textura porfirica de arena piedrosa llena de partes espaticas: Suspecho si esta substancia descompuesta a la larga por las mismas plantas marinas que se le unen, por la accion del acido aereo y otras causas degenera la madrepora en dha tierra y asicomo el animal de oxigen segun las ideas del Illustre Buffon y a la tierra calcarea tambien esta mezclada con las raices que dejan los vegetales en su estado de decomp[osicion] para formar otras tierras mixtas y la analisis espero que nos mostraria que formaba mucha parte de esta brecha porfiriforme o sea asen[tamient]o porfiriforme. pues aun no adquirio la dureza que lo constituye porfiro. La madrepora llena de subs(?) y poros esta aun(?) para la descomposicion la mixsion(?) y otras alteracion[es]. Dicha Roca o piedra del Castillo abunda de **espatis zeolitas convergens** (ó **espatis talibus** todavia no los prove) de espatis geodicis ovals de 3 o 4 cm de diametro mayor de Agatas blancas y calcedonicas, de spatis polihedris cubicis todo en varias grietas que atraviesan la roca en varios sentidos. Sospecho tambien que las mismas conchas dara este origen.*

*Las playas de este parage y otras de la yslla se ven cubiertas en la baja mar de varias submarinas plantas principalmente esponjas en forma de arbol desfohado color morado texido tofo y menos conservada otras amorfas de poros grandes a mares llenas. Observe de paso un polipo blanco pequeño de una pulg[ada] de largo brazos y gusanos filiforma y otros que me asegurare.*

*Se veían pececillos azul turques como en Tobago, y varios cangrejos.*

*Haviendo salido para Agaña a las 2 y 15' a paso de 1130 lo a 1o [sic] por un prudencial concepto dexamos el pueblo y subiendo una cuesta baxamos al sitio llamado Fuja*

*y a un vallecito pequeño frente a la mar agradable por las sembradas de maiz y una calle de cocos de los que planto el Gobernador Zerain.*

**[Preparation of arrowroot]**

*Por el atraveso un arroyo en el qual observamos que preparaban la raiz **gaugau** [sic]. Es una tuberosa del genero y de la forma de la batata de tierra y es curioso el modo con que de una raiz bastante amarga y nada palatable hacen una gratissima [h]arina de la qual fabrican rosquillas y otras cosillas de pasta. Las raices se rasan con un pedazo de madrepora. Las raeduras se ponen en una especie de saco o colatorio y alli le echan agua. La lavan y comprimen en el, y hacen que sufra muchas lavaduras. La depojan de cierto mucilago, hasta que queden sin ningun sabor y por ultimo la ponen a secar y queda reducida arina de que hacen los usos que se da a conocer.*

*Esta operacion se ejecuta en los rios regularmente donde el agua abunda. Ponen el colatorio en cuatro palos y debaxo una artesa para que reciba el agua y las partes fari-naceas. Quedan en el colatorio la cascara y otras partes groseras. La arina y partes finas caen en la artesa, y alli por su gravedad remansa en el fondo. Decantan entonces la agua de la artesa, y mientras sienten sabor amargo repiten la operacion tantas veces como necesitan. Regularmente a las 3 lavaduras se halla en estado. De esta arina hacen el guiso que llaman **atole**. **Amidon**. Rosquillas que con azucar y huevos salen pastosas. Mezclada con carne de coco rayada[,] azucar y miel [hace] unos bollos mui buenos para el chocolate.*

*Subi a una pequeña elevacion y alli observe que estaba en tal punto de la Costa mas o menos en que las Corbetas caían al S. 30 O. de la aguja sin corregir, que en gracia de la facilidad siempre lo uso asi. Y el pueblo aunque no se veía por la direccion que me dio el practico caía al S. 20 E. de manera que la distancia angular entre los 2 dichos objetos era un angulo de unos 50°. Esto se observo a las 23x130 pasos del punto de la Salida.*

*A 28x130 para mas alla (siempre venimos entre bosque excepto algunos pasos claros y descubiertos hasta el arroyo que se dixo), el bosque se espesaba mas y entramos en bosque mas espeso [,] no hay otros caminos que veredas estrechas y las huellas de los Bueyes de Silla y de Caballos. Apenas cabe este con su jinete y pasa por baxo la sombra de los mas preciosos arboles que se conoscan ya del **Rima** o **Artocarpus** [altilis] del [ineatus:] Forster. Ya del **Guayaba** ya de varios [blank] de **Cocos** que de los que llaman limoncitos de China. que segun me dixo Don Tadeo Haenke los ha puesto y quitado de lugar Linneus[.] tambien contrubuyen a estas Selvas arboles del genero **piper**,<sup>1</sup> **Arum** y otros cuyos generos no me ocurren de que tendre noticia por los savios Botanicos que reconocen la Ysla. No pudiendo yo insertar por ahora sino aquellos que por la simple vista me ocurren. Otro arbol que tiene la faz de pino y que parece **Casuarina**.*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Piper foliis cordatis amplioribus. 4 [pulgadas] pollicar[ibus].*

*El rumbo del camino era Oeste Noroeste. de tiempo en tiempo saliamos a la orilla del mar y aqui observaba que una especie de {H}ipomoea convolvolo Conv[olvolvulacæa] **foliis ovatis** 4 pulgadas **pollicaribus apice emarginatis** de grande y hermosa flor morada[.] ocupan los terrenos cercanos a la playa y que echan sus rastreras ramas sobre sus arenas, en la lengua de los Yslenos **Jalayjai** y en la Castellana pie de Cabra. Una de las que contribuyen a aumentar el suelo. Observaba que una especie de stames, mas o menos arraiga sobre las madreporas y es el primer vegetal que contribuye con tierra para suelo de la futura vegetacion y aumentar las formaciones y las islas.*

*La Playa por estos parages se llama **jejiya** sobre una especie de piedra de transicion de brecha porfirica, Compuesta de argila endurecida y partes espaticas, se hacen cristalizaciones de agatas calcedonicas. Y algunas se acercan casi a opalos[,} tienen las colores hermosas. Por este pasage hay muchas piedras de verde de Montaña, y algunas de ellas estan moteadas de verde. Se crían parasitos sobre los peñascos del mar.*

*En la media jornada de esta tarde. Hice otra marcacion sobre el sitio **Faggi** en que estaban las Corbetas S. 8 E.*

*En esta jornada ibamos montando sobre los cerros que hacen entradas al mar and baxando a las playas y los senos que estos forman. Vimos algunos pocos ranchos en parajes baxos despejados de selva pero casi todo silvestre y Maizal en que haoga una calle de Cocos excelente paisaje.*

*Llegamos a media hora despues de anohecido al pequeño pueblo de Agat<sup>1</sup> casi fundado entre los hermosos bosques de **Musas** y **Cocos** y **Rimas** y otros arboles o verdes o agradables. Tiene como 40 casas y como 14(?) las casas algo mejores con un edificio de piedra y madera en que vive el Alcalde de quien recibimos buen hospedage y mucho agasajo.*

*Salimos al otro dia del pueblo de Agat tambien adornado con su alameda de arboles de cocos con que produce un admirable efecto estos arboles tienen la singularidad que sus troncos en los individuos nuevos tienen una figura piriforma, y en los viejos el tronco tiene casi de igual diametro a una considerable altura. No sera fuera de proposito el que se expongan las muchas utilidades que de este arbol se sacan.*

*Su tronco sirve para edificios[.] lo emplean en pilares, su figura cilindrica se presta ventajosamente y para otros varios usos analogos: aunque su madera sea porosa y no capaz de pulimento pero su poco peso la hace mas manejable.*

*Su fruto da en su corteza exterior estopa para cordages y calafateos. Su cascara interna que es dura y consistente sirve para vasos; Su carne se come cruda[.] es gustosa y da materia para varios guisados y usos que se diran. Su agua que todos los cocos quando frescos la tienen se emplea ventajosamente como [h]orchata para refrescar. Su carne pues da manteca, azeite, vino vinagre y materia para muchos excelentes usos. Estos Yndios sacan un azeite que en el color se parece bastante al de almendras dulces; quemado en luces (y aqui se alumbran comunmente con el) exala olor fragrantemente fresco[.] es grato al paladar, pero dicen que se enrrancia facilmente.*

---

1 Cae al ONO respeto de Umatac.

*A medio legua al ESE de Agat dexamos el camino que parecia bastante al de ayer tarde y subimos a un parage despejado y descubierto, ocupado en mucha parte por bancas de tierras ocraceas de colores amarillos, encarnados, verdosos, dispuestas como en brecha, que con el tiempo sera jaspe. Si la humedad que reina en la ysla se retira y da lugar a que la accion del calor disipando las partes aqueas interpuestas permita se acercan las finisimas partes argileceas bolares &c y formen una piedra dura scintillante como observe en nueva España en Atotonilco el Chico y a mi vuelta de Gounaguato [sic = Guanajuato], y en las azufreras de Ucareo en que vi estas substancias en diversos grados de dureza &c. El calor lento y durabilisimo de la naturaleza produce estas y muchas otras mutaciones y las piedras mas duras. Hace con el tiempo lo que el ant(?)<sup>1</sup> [hace] con la violencia de sus movimientos.*

*Sobre estas bancas se ven porciones de mina de hierro en estado de cal negra, fragmento de Yerro etites negro que se reconoce por su forma forzada y convergente &c. Estas bancas se ven cruzadas por varias tierras o filones inclinadas al [h]orizonte de la arcilla untuosa negra que se ve en las cajas de las minas de plata que observe en Chile y Peru y N.E.[.] en Paraguay. Dichas venas forman rendija que penetra bien a dentro de la tierra. Su inclinacion al horizonte es en diversos y aun contrarios sentidos[.]*

*En este parage se presento una de las felices ocasiones de observar a la naturaleza en sus mas secretas y delicadas operaciones.*

*Encuentrase sobre alguna de estas tierras porciones de piedras que a la vista exterior estan corroidas, y tienen la apariencia de madreporas mucho tiempo rodadas o gastadas, o de piedras calizas gastadas ahugeradas [=agujereadas?]: pero si se rompen contienen muchas y elegantes cristalizaciones espaticas a punta de diamantes. Tambien geodas y drusas. Tambien elegantes agatas en forma de cilindros striados por fuera de corteza petrea pero silicea, con strias longitudinales y por dentro cristalizadas. Estos cilindros orropos(?)<sup>2</sup> estan pendientes y paralelos por fuera como emporcados de substancia ocracea. En fin estas cristalizaciones tienen diversas figuras y los cristales la de piramides penta[h]edras dobles o deca[h]edros, otros agrupados y que entre si tapados, y su matriz meridis no manifiestan bien todas las facetas parecen pentadeca[h]edros o de 15 facetas, dos piramides pendiendo a los costados y en medio unidas por un prisma tetra[h]edro[.] Son estos cristales quarzosos no mui duros, y aqui la naturaleza los forma diariamente. Una tierra friable de color de zeniza aspera al tacto, sale de entre las referidas venas y rimas como tiene observado el Capitan Regis[.] (Ysleño curioso que lo ha observado el fenomeno varias vezes[]) asegura que de dichas rimas sale dicha tierra que el llama ceniza y ajugar [sic] por su mera apariencia friabilidad dureza al tacto y aspereza y color lo parecen y que yo vi junto a dichas rimas, uniendose con algun gas que por ellas se exhala forma continuamente cristales que como luego se vera son quarzosos. La naturaleza hace aqui lo que en Berlin executo Achard y que los Academicos franceses no tuvieron o la fortuna o la maña de hacerlo.*

1 Ed. note: Undecipherable: perhaps cint, or cine crossed out = cineza?

2 Ed. note: Mr. Mallada thinks that this word could be "ortogon[ales]."

*Que sea esta tierra la matriz o basa de este cristal no hubo duda por los restos magneticos, 1° los muchos pedazos que de ella recogi tienen esta tierra empezando obscuramente a cristalizar. Se ven cristalitos embueltos en ella. Se ven en pedazos de esta piedra aglutinada medio en estado de piedra, que tienen oquedades dentro y en ella se forman las drusas. Se ven con rimas y con filamentos que ya empiezan a cristalizar. Se ve la piedra dura **Matris cristalli** (que se puede llamar con razon) conservando su color cenizeo ya medio vitrea. Y en fin en todos los diversos estados hasta que a perfecto cristal pasa.*

*No se encuentran estas cristalizaciones adheridas a betas, ni en crestas, ni parasiticas, solo sueltas en montecillos a la inmediacion de las rimas[,] no en otros parages y en donde se halla la referida tierra.*

*Que se crían estas petrificaciones pronto es cierto pues el Capitan Regis encuentra 20 años ha que estuvo muchas mas quedan y yo hallo que a no maner(?) allí frecuentemente las lluvias crecidas las avenidas, las esparcirian y no las abria al cabo de mucho tiempo.*

*Que sea algun gas el cristalizante se deveria suponer pues la analisis los descubre en los fosiles, y con el aire fixo como puede leerse en las memorias [de] Berolin [sic], imitó y con tierra silicea formó cristales cuya operacion artificial aqui parece que la naturaleza la executa. A lo que añade momentos las circunstancias locales de estos cristales junto a estas rimas o pozos donde estos gases criadores tienen salida.*

*Para que algo se rastree de la naturaleza de esta admirable tierra hize estos experimentos. Al soplete se buelbe blanca como nieve. Aumenta algo volumen[,] phosforera hacia sus puntas.*

*Con el Borrás forma una porcelana blanquisima. Con el acido nítrico lo embebe y chupa avidamente [.] Es aspera al tacto friable, y me inclino a que sea especie de tierra zeolitica.*

*Los cristales havidos vulgarmente por diamantes son quarzos[:] se vio su figura[,] centellean al esclavon. Se rompen baxo el martillo[.] Se desquebrajan si hechas asqua[,] se reducen en el agua.*

*Como este terreno esta lleno de cales metalicos, y se ven en el pedazos de mina de yerro y el etites que se dixo[.] Que extraño sera que en la profundidad le haiga [=haya].*

*Salimos de este parage despues de una hora de reconocimiento con la lluvia y otros inconvenientes a las 10 y 3/4 y buscamos el Camino Real.*

*Y a las 2 horas de camino llegamos a la ciudad aviendo pasado por 2 pueblecitos entre **Musas** y Cocos y con sus alamedas de cocales. El terreno tierras bolares rojas en mucha parte. Se atraviesa una larga cienaga donde hay un puente hecho por el Gobernador Zarain [sic] y luego una calzada<sup>1</sup> (El paso) hasta cerca de la ciudad una o 2 le-*

1 [Author's addition:] Esta cienaga esta llena de cañares entre poco mas o menos dentro de las tierras 1 legua, y sobre ella hizo el Gobernador Zarain un camino que costo mucho trabajo y gente. Se compone de puentes de vigas que apoyan sobre mochones de madrepora por espacio de una milla. Este camino abrevia mucho el camino entre el puerto y la capital[:] pues, antes se rodeaba este pantanoso trecho(?).

guas antes de el es terreno llano. Son buenas para el Maiz y arrozales, es lo mas cultivado que vimos[.] Lo demas no era sino maleza y preciosos arboles y arbustos mezclados con muchos malos, **Rimas** & arbustos. El añil o **Yndigofera**, *Burseraceæ* o limoncillos, **Bombaceæ**, **Rosa Sinensis**. En los parages descampados[.] en los bajos carrizales y por todas partes[.] una parte de la familia de los **Glayeul** o juncos y una grama a modo del **gramen crucis**. Los algodones se han hecho ya naturales. Tambien hermoseo la escena una planta del genero **Yxia**.<sup>1</sup>

Las piedras ferruginosas tenidas por hematites parecen examinadas al soplete especies de **Manganesias**[.] su figura masas del tamaño y menores que el puño. Su estructura estriada radios que salen de un punto y emarg..n(?) las estrias finisimas. Color barro aplomado o gris. Al soplete irrefractacios. Con el borras vidrio negro y con el iman la atrahan. Su peso considerable por cuyas características la tengo por manganesia. La oca con que esta embuelta es ferroginosa y en pequeñas oquedades la tierra encarnada lo parece tambien es cosa [atra]jible por el iman. Esta en que hize prueba es la exterior obscura.

La tierra negra con el fuego es de color zeniza y es la que por zeniza tuvo Regis. El calor del sol assi la pone. Me parecio porque el acido carbonico me cristalizaba un pedacillo que al soplete expuse. Parece probable que las particulas que se calcinan con el sol se destacan de la tierra cenizosa negra que perdido su betun se calcina[.] se blanquea y se hace apta para cristalizar con la combinacion del gas.

La naturaleza hace lo que mi pequeño laboratorio y esto es conforme a la verdad y exacto experimento. Estas piedras por fuera ocraceas por dentro se buelven zenizosas y friables, y luego cristalizan.

### [Houses of Agaña]

Las casas de Agaña se componen de 8 pilares que en lengua del pays llaman **arigues**, cuya madera llaman **ifil** o **molave**,<sup>2</sup> a los cuales dan una figura cilindrica. A una vara o 1-1/2 de distancia del suelo, ponen las primeras corraderas y sus llanos y sobre ellas el poco de tablas del mismo arbol. El hueco entre el terreno y este primer piso[.] si está cercado[.] tiene el nombre de bodega y allí ponen animales domesticos, los cerdos, en una especie de jaulas, gallinas, leña y otras cosas voluminosas.

Estas se reducen a una sala a 2 varas de altura[.] sobre el piso ponen sobre las corraderas los horcones que sostienen la cumbra y las llaves o piezas transversales de una a otra corredera a las cuales da forma algo curba para que la casa tenga mas trabazon y se sostenga en los temblores. Se cubre de las palmas de coco, o de las [h]ojas de una especie de *Cyperus*(?) que abunda por toda la isla; sobre la cubierta ponen un tejido del mismo palma a quien llaman **pupung** el qual afirma y sirve de cubierta y cobija a las otras palmas y de gracia a la techumbre.

1 *Yxia foliis lanceolatis (folia limonis referentibus oppositis) supra viridibus duo vel tripollic. Ynflorescentia axillaris fastigiata: floribus albis, frutex.*

2 Se halla tambien en Filipinas.



*Las paredes que por lo dho tendran 2 varas de altura, se forman de la madera que da la palma que llaman **Bonga**, fruto que todos estos naturales mascan como los Indios el **betel** y les pone los labios colorados, y comunica al aliento un grato olor. Tambien forman las paredes con rajas yguales de caña que forman unos tablitos de 4 o 5 pulgadas ancho, y asi son todos los pueblos menos la capital en cuyas casas hay mas solida arquitectura.*

*Las divisiones que hay en ellas se reducen a una sala y 2 quartos a cada extremo de ella, y algun desvancillo que forman con tabla sobre las llaves.*

*En las demas de ellas hay una sala, y 2 retretes uno a cada lado o van un solo retrete donde duermen. Se ven en la sala sobre cordelitos las ropas que aerean porque en las arcas se les humedezcan, y otros muebles. En rara falta una mesa con un gran cajon que debajo toda hay siempre algun banco, algunas esteras donde recojen la [h]arina de **gabgab** de que hablare. Algunas grandes orzas afirmadas con guarnición de cordeles, algunas petaquitas de petate, alguna olla, y otras bagateles todas colgadas en la misma sala, y una fogata que consiste en un gran cajon lleno de tierra que es donde cocinan, son los muebles que componen el menage de estas casas. Por alimentos principales son el atole ó de maiz ó de arroz ó de la arina de **gabgab** que tomen por la mañana, cuesen el mais en agua calido y espongado lo lavan, muelen, y lo masan, la cuesen con agua en un caldero y forman una especie de polea[da] ó gachas; algunos la condimentan con algun poco de leche de cocos. Con esto tienen aunque insipida una comida bastante sana y alimenticia.*

*La comida de medio dia toman en varias raices y frutas ó cultivadas ó silvestres segun las estaciones, las que comen regularmente asadas.*

*La principal la [festación] de la **rima** que dan fruto 2 veces al año que se alcanzan una a otra; la mas temprana empieza en Abril y sigue dando fruto y cesa de darlo en septiembre u octubre. Este mismo es el **artocarpus** ó arbol del pan. El fruto es del diametro 8 a 9 pulgadas y de figura esferoide como los melones quando estan maduros, tienen el color amarilla, la carne por dentro es bastante blanca y estoposa. Su sabor es insipido, la asan y la comen en lugar de pan con sal o vinagre. Muchos españoles la hallan agradable aun con el chocolate, y la experiencia acredita que es alimento sano y alimenticio. Tambien conservan para el invierno la rima seca, recogido el fruto quando empieza a caer del arbol la recogen, la asan bien, la dividen en rajas, le da algun [tiempo] al sol o a los hornos y la guardan: reduce mucho en volumen<sup>1</sup> pero aunque enseca no deja de alimentar y las tiene en invierno con alguna preparacion.*

*El **dugdug** es el fruto de un arbol parecido a la rima, y algun especie de ella, algo mas pequeño. Tiene dentro bastantes huesitos: la preparan y condimentan del mismo modo y le tienen por mas fuerte alimento.*

***Nica**, a quien en Manila llaman **Ubi**. Es raiz de una especie de planta scandente de la figura de batata, su carne blanco consistentne como ella poco mas parecido a la de la Yuca muy mucilaginosa y glutinosa. la comen cocida en agua, tambien la asan en*

---

1 [Author's note:] si le da algo de agua se pierde.

ollos [=hoyos] llenos de piedras calientes, las cubren con tierra y piedras y se asan así perfectamente.

**Dago** es una raíz de 2 y más pies de largo, oblonga, tuberosa como batata, también la preparan para hacer atole o polea[da] o gachas (todo es uno) meneando la carne de esta raíz bien cocida se deshace y se vuelve harina y fácilmente se convierte en poleadas.

**Nica simarrona.**<sup>1</sup> La planta trepadora que da esta raíz, es dulce, y se prepara lo mismo que la **Nica** cultivada.

**Dago simarron** raíz tuberosa fasciculata, compuesta como de 3 grandes lóbulos. Tendrá como 1 pie de diámetro[.] proviene de otra planta trepadora. Su carne es más gustosa que la antecedente. Se prepara como las antecedentes.

La **Xicama** es raíz de una especie de planta trepadora. Sirve para ensaladas, verduras de la olla &c.

La **Piga** es raíz de una especie de Arum [con][h]oja sagitada del tamaño del Comuz(?) de España, pero se parece al Colocasia. En la cara superior tiene un verde subido hermoso un gran nervio en medio y 8 a cada lado y entre ellos varias labores más moradas. Llegan las ojas hasta 3 o 4 pies de largo, de manera que un hombre se cubre de la lluvia, si se lo pone por cobija. La cara inferior de verde más claro y común, los petiolos son como 2 veces las ojas, cilíndricos junto a ellas hacia donde disminuyen y acanalados hacia la base.

La raíz suele ser de un pie de largo y tuberosa oblonga, la mayor parte de ella está fuera de la tierra y parece componerse como de anillos(?)[.] queda poco dentro de la tierra[.] tiene varias barbas.

Preparan esta raíz quitándole con el cuchillo la corteza hasta que no le quede verdín ninguno.<sup>2</sup> Esto hecho la dividen en pequeños pedazos, y los ponen a asar como en la nica se dijo.

Este alimento es de mucha fortaleza. Una pequeña porción como el puño sostiene a un hombre en un día de trabajo. Dicen que no tiene mal gusto. También lo daban a ceder y mezclado con leche de coco y dulce dicen que sabe a queso añejo. Cuando se limpia, el sumillo que a los dedos se pega causa comezón ardiente.

Hay de estas hasta 3 o 4 especies.

El **Sunny** [rather Suni:] Aro con oja acorazonada peltada también de hermoso verde por dentro como el Colocasia. El petiolo cilíndrico, que disminuye hacia la punta de color rojo. La hoja tiene 3 petiolos porenspi(?) rojos y hasta 10 criados[.] llega a 3 o 4 pies de largo la oja. La raíz de un pie de largo dentro de tierra[.] La asan sin necesidad de pelarla. También aprovechan otras 2 especies de arums.

1 [Author's note: **Simarron** quiere decir silvestre. No se hallan en flor y no podemos conocer su género botánico. Nota: no tuve ocasión de ver estas plantas y así me contenté a falta de otra cosa con las adjuntas noticias.

2 [Author's note:] o pellejo o liber sino la carne bien limpia de modo que lo reducen a 2/3 de diámetro.

*El **Babbba** o **BBabba** el sonido no es facil expresarlo con letras. Este Arum tiene la oja como el piga pero el tallo morado y leñoso. Se da en las cienagas. Se prepara como el piga. Su raiz es como la del piga. Su sabor insipido. De un solo pie mas de 30 raizes.<sup>1</sup>*

*Comen tambien **annonas, ates, cajeles, limones, cidras, guayabas**. Una especie de legumbre a modo del frijol que llaman **camachiles**.*

*En sus funciones comen los Marianos la Morisqueta, que es el arroz cocido enagua que es el Pan de Manila, pan insipido pero sano.*

*Beben el arroz muy molido con la carne de coco tambien molida y todo la deslien en agua del mismo coco. Lo que tienen por gran regalo.*

**[Description of the pandanus]**

*Hallase tambien un arbol, cuyo fruto es una gran piña compuesta de frutos agregados pentagonales[...]*

*Este arbol araiga como los mangles sus raices extendiendose al descubierto forman un parasol de cuyo vertice sale el tronco blanco. De sus ramas baxan vastagos [que] se arraigan al suelo.<sup>2</sup> Save como almendra verde. Y lo comen los naturales. Lo comi e hice dicha comparacion.*

*La **Papaya** el fruto es baya verde por fuera por dentro amarilla hueca llena de inumerables simientes amontonadas del color y mayores que cañamones toda hueca por dentro. Su arbol es **Diosco**. El gusto de su pulpa no tiene sabor fino ni desagradable, sus semillas menos y toda la fruta es unilocular y toda ella parece una caja de semillas.*

*El arbol del pan su figura de melon todo cubierto. Su fruto de escamas pentagonales regulares y su color hermoso verde. Abierto por medio tiene la carne blanca y estriada y tiene un nucleo dentro oval[ado] que ocupa toda la parte central alrededor del qual en su superficie en las estrias de la carne blanca hay los conceptaculos en que las semillas alojan. La carne quando el fruto es verde esta fibrosa. Las escamas exteriores degeneran por dentro en estas fibras. El fruto suelta mucho y pegajoso y resinoso mucilago.*

*Los de Agan[a] son de origen chinos[,] los mas en los lugares pequeños se conservan los Naturales. Las mujeres van a misa con un pañuelo en la cabeza[,] moda que introducieron los Jesuitas a partir de generos que la Nao escaseaba Muchas por verguenza no asistan a la misa. Ellos incitaron a los principales a que daran el exemplo.*

*Entre las mujeres Agañenses, hay bien formadas caras pero todas de color aceitunado, todas visten de una propia manera, y de la misma los hombres. El traje ya se describió.*

1 *Nota. Se describen los arums y plantas que podemos tener a la vista. Las demas por relacion.*

2 [Author's reminder note:] Este arbol se encuentra en Linneus en el Genero *Cycas*[.] en el *herbolario de Amboina* tambien. Ojo tomo 4 o 5. [cont'd next page:] Otro arbol parecido al *Cycas* trahe Rump. con el nombre de *Boggea* en el mismo tomo 4° laminas 80 y 75.

*Los calzados consisten en una suela de figura trapecia acomodada al pie la amarran con correa, una como se asa para espuela y otra pasa por el dedo gordo. Las correas son gruesas, y hacen un lazo muy salado(?) [= solido] y repetido.*

[Note in margin:] *Salí a las 8:30, llegué a las 10:07, pero 14. detenciones 10 min., se anduvieron 12,180 pasos.*

*Almorzamos en Pago, pueblo de 30 y pico [casas]. Aquí ví [como] cubren la semilla del tabaco con un texadito [i.e. techito] de palma, y el mayor cuidado es evitar las [h]ormiguillas que comen las [h]ojas.*

*Salimos de Agaña día 19 por la mañana a las 8:30 A.M. Por razon de que era día de fiesta nuestros palanquines y todo el pueblo estaban en la misa quando se me dió una carta en que Don Francisco Bustamante y Guerra me avisaba anticipar mi marcha al día 24 que Malaspina prefijaba, tomamos r[jumbo] al SSE, pasamos el rio de Chaud,<sup>1</sup>*

*Despues de Pago se llega a pasar un rio y se pasa en balsas hechas de bambu, las aguas del mar aprofundan su cauce[.] en este desembocadero los caballos pierden pie. Este rio se llama de [blank]. Este rio esta en la inmediacion del pequeño pueblo que consta de 34 casas. Su situacion[.] iguales a los demas de la isla, el paso nos causó una detencion y a las 12:30 ya seguimos de [blank] el mismo camino que hasta aqui estas radas(?) miran al E.*

*Subimos otro cerro y volvimos a bajar a la orilla del mar y se pasó con banquillas el Rio Ilic, desde este paraje se tiró al E y se subió otra cuesta y se salió 3ª vez a la playa que aqui se llama Dagua y se pasó 3º rio que está en medio de ella a caballo.*

*Despues sigue inmediatamente un pedregal y se pasa un desfiladero de figura de puerta que llaman "Paso de Quiroga" donde en otro tiempo los españoles tuvieron una obstinada resistencia de los Indios por este dificil y preciso parage que esta junto a la playa y flanqueado a la derecha por barrancos de corroidas madreporas y lo demas ocupado de maleza.*

*Junto a esta tierra se vieron los grandes murcielagos de estas islas que volaban de día, se suspenden a los arboles de los pies posteriores y quando vuelan parecen un gran pájaro, un cuervo, u otro pajaro considerable. Su voz imita el vajid de los infantes. Vuelan de día en las ocasiones del carestia como ahora en que los faltan frutas, y les aquexa el hambre. Sin duda que no todos los murcielagos son nocturnos. Se cuelgan de los arboles como va dho y si tocan la tierra ya no vuelan, buscan un arbol para colgarse y tomar vuelo, paren un solo hijuelo/hijo que vuela abrazado con su madre como lo vió Don N. Regis que lo afirma, y los mato asi con la escopeta.*

*Se bajo por la 4ª vez por dificil camino y ultimamente por uno como despeñadero aunque de corto trecho a la playa y se paso en banca el Rio Tarofoto que es mayor de la isla. Su embocadura forma otro seno que mira tambien al E. Tardamos en pasarlo todos 50' y a las 3:21 seguimos nuestro viage. Se subió una cuesta pequeña. Se pasó otro arroyo a caballo, se subió la cuesta mas larga de todo el camino que llaman de*

---

<sup>1</sup> Author's note in margin: llegamos a Pago a las 10:07, despues de 12 mil y pico de pasos, con r[jumbo] al SSE, desde allí se salió de Pago a las 11:10.

*Alonso. Tanto en esta como las demas cuestras y otros parages altos se ven las piedras calcareas provenientes de obliteradas y corroidas madreporas, y muchas bancas de tierra colorada bolares que abundan mucho en la isla. Finalmente llegamos a las sementeras de la Estancia del Rey y a la Estancia de los [blank] y finalmente despues de 1 hora de camino desde el Rio Grande se llega a la Estancia del Rey.*

*Por todo el camino se ve el arbol cuyo fruto se describió y dibujó. La sen(?) de la Cuesta de Alfonso:] hay uno admirable escena de aros[,] arboles federicis olycastur(?) y convol[vullacea] que desde el suelo suben al abrigo de viejos troncos y forman como columnas y producen una admirable escena.*

*Los ya descritos igualmente.*

*Nota. La falta de cultura hace que no se aprovecha el admirable terreno de la fertil isla. Los ganados vacunos cimarrones les mataron a balazos sin que repusieron este recurso con otros ganados domesticos.*

*Las cabezas de ganado mayor son:*

<i>Yeguas .....</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>Caballos .....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Burro .....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Burras .....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Bueyes de silla a que llaman novillos ...</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Bueyes de carga .....</i>	<i>300</i>

*El presente Gobernador introdujó los burros cuyo especie no esta propagada todavia. La de caballos sería mucho mas numerosa si los naturales cuidasen mas de ella pero se les desgracian muchos individuos y assi se aplican mas a la multiplicacion del ganado vacuno. Elijen para bueyes de silla los de raza chinesca, tienen las hastas cortitas, el pelo sea naturaleza o cultura tan fino como los caballos[,] son muy mansos, y sobones: siguen un caballo al paso, aguantan bien las fatigas, los sujetan en lugar de bocado con un anillo de varas flexibles de 2 o 3 pulgadas de diametro que atravasan el septo medio de las narizes. Los castigan poniendolos en cepos de cabeza el cuello entre 2 firmes pilares.*

*Los Naturales de las Islas Marianas sin embargo de la mucha amenidad y saludable temple de su isla padecen no pequeñas incomodidades por algunas enfermedades endemicas a que estan expuestos, siendo la principal la que llaman **bubas** de que raro Indio y hombre de casta escapan. No se comprende y no se tiene aqui la misma idea de la palabra[.] Consiste esta enfermedad en gran num. [de] llagas y muchas con grandes dolores en los movimientos. Se cree proviene de la calidad de los alimentos que usan no de comunicacion con mujeres segun creen sino de vicio de sus humores. hasta los niños experimentan esta enfermedad. Padecen pujos de sangre, catarros, pasmos, calenturas y tabardillos y otros comun.*

*Desde la Hacienda del Rey marqué al N 36° E la Punta de Janum. [In margin: S 76 E] S 67 O+ resulta donde esta la vigia.*

*Se nota que los hay en la isla una gran montaña que puede llamarse la Montaña Madre. Parece correr N. a S, y con paralelas a estas corren otras menores, Estos montes corren hasta el mar y forman con las puntas senos, entre ellos corren varios riachuelos, cuyas bocas forman tan varios senos que el mar aumenta.*

*Noté desde este parage que la parte E de la isla es bastante llana, y los practicos lo afirman que esta parte está llena de maleza de los limoncillos pero que la falta de agua la hace poco habitable.*

*Hacia la parte N parece que los montes se vuelven convergentes volviendose al E. Cada quebrada [sic] de su parte O y montuosa es un arroyo o rio.*

*Agat esta respecto de Umata al ONO ó N 20 O.*

*Nota. quando dexamos la ysla parecia desde el mar su parte O. montuosa, sus cañadas, aunque no se distinguen corren E a O y las cordilleras de sus montes N a S.*

*Su parte llana es a la parte opuesta ya dixé que carece de agua y esta ocupada de maleza. Este zuceso se observo como a 4 leguas de distancia.*

*Pago esta al SSE de Agatña.*

-----

*Lacerta oblonga depresa, nigra, lineis auratis tribus longit. cauda cœrulea ventre albo squameosus pisces referente. Pedibus pentadactylis. Digitis pedum post. longioribus.*

*Long. corp. biuncialis lar. Fanin Lin. Capite deprenasculo oblongo. Corpore obl. lineari.*

*Colavi Loria. Los llaman cuervos. Capite Alis uprop. nectricis. cœruleis.*

*Pecho parte interior de alas y cola blanco zenizo. Tamaño del gorrion canta y erige plumas en copetef[,] anida con hiervecitas, telas de arañas &c Vi algunos[,] ponen huevos blancos.*

-----

*Dorminos en la Estancia del Rey. Allí hay una casa de madera y varios maizales[,] ganados y puercos[.] Ponen a uno de los oficiales de la tropa para que vigile y estos con sus familias forman la poblacion de unas pocas casas y los sembrados padecen una grandissima destruccion por las ratas. y asi forman trampas con tubos de bambu, y una ballesta: con este medio, cogen muchas. Estos voraces animales suben a comerse las mazorcas y nada dejan al labrador. Daba lastima [ver] la destruccion que hacian y la isla se destruye por tan voraces animales, yo creeria que la introduccion de aves de rapiña que en ella faltan traeria un medio para la destruccion de estas exterminadoras ratas que hacen temible la despobla[cion] de tan amena y bella isla.*

*Bajamos desde la estancia del Rey para la playa cosa de una legua, atravesando bancas de tierras bolares rojas que abundan en la parte central de la ysla, con otros indicios de yerro y en partes se ven de ocras de colores amarillos.*

*Salimos cosa de las 5 y pasamos una cascada que hay entre la estancia y la playa. La senda del camino baja por ella, se llega a una hora de camino a un pequeño pueblo y en este arroyo noté al OSO una dehesa que es continuacion de la del Rey que se expande por estas partes, hasta los montes mas elevados; por estos parages hay tierra descubierta y pampa y los mejores parages para ganado. El pasto es una especie de junco*

*de vara de alto [h]ojas cuneiformes asperas cuyos filos cortan la mano, el ganado lo come bien tierno: se cria tambien muchas gramas parecidas al **gramen crucis**, y otras hierbas de pasto, vimos una punta de ganado.*

*A las 6-1/2 pasamos un río por un puente muy endeble de estacas de 1/2 vara de alto. No tiene sino un pretil compuesto de las mismas y tan endeble que apenas sostiene el cuerpo de un hombre. Aqui se repiten los Mangles y Casuarinas comunes a estos parages de la playa.*

*A 2-1/2 horas mas adelante de camino habiendo traído generalmente rumbo NO pasamos por un pequeño pueblo habiendo pasado algunos arroyos intermedios, de manera que por nuestro reconocimiento se ve que está la isla perfectamente regada.*

*Fuimos a vivo paso restituyendonos a nuestro embarcadero llevando el camino por la playa subiendo por lomas y bajando a ensenadas se encuentran a trechos ranchillos de pobre gente y cerdos que es el ganado domestico que mas abunda.*

*A las 9:25 despues de mas de 4 horas bajamos a una rada desde hay un desembarcadero poco importante con un cañon que le guarda.*

*A las 9-1/2 descubrimos desde la playa la **Atrevida** fondeada y observe correr por aqui la curva al NNO con senos se pasa por el pueblo de Merizo y a la legua se halla la villa de Umata. Antes se pasa un pueblo donde hay un arrozal.*

## Translation.

*Note: For those interested in the modern geology of Guam, see the book by John Stark and Joshua I. Tracy, Jr. "Petrology of the Volcanic Rocks of Guam" (Washington, 1963), and their book on the "General Geology of Guam" published the following year.*

[Journal of Antonio Pineda]. 22 sheets, sewn together. Draft copy that begins with the date of 14 February. Describes the town of Umatac, Agaña, the natives of the Mariana Islands, the animals, geological descriptions, etc. With some small sketches in pencil and ink.

...  
[The first and last two pages were originally left blank, but eventually were filled with scriptic notes made while moving, and meant to guide the writing of his journal in the evening.]

### **Journal as of 14 February and today which is when I leave for Agaña.**

We departed at 4:43.

After our arrival at the port of Umatac which enjoys the title of town, I dedicated myself to observe whatever presented itself before me in order to fulfil the objective of the commission. The port of Umatac is an open road, facing [blank, towards] the Island of Cocos, an island that is joined to the land by a reef, and covered with coconut trees. On the other side of the horseshoe-shaped cove, the [blank] Point and in the center a channel with a bottom of 4 fathoms, as can be seen in the charts by Dalrymple, and those by Commander Malaspina. Through this channel, one can disembark at a small pier in front of a battery and on a piece of clean and accessible beach. I, of course, saw my first patch of coral reef that covers the bottom of the ocean everywhere around

this island, including inside the anchorage of Orote, Umatac and according to my informants everywhere else. So, inside the ports the holding grounds are not very good; the sounding line brings up pieces of coral or small shells, although in some places there is sand.

From what I observed at the foot of the small fort of this port, on the lip of which it has its foundation, and in those places visited on that day, it appears that this type of stone forms the basis upon which is seated the crag of the fort; it is coral rock that was covered later on by some soil of a porphyritic texture made up of rocky sand full of sparry material. I suspect that this substance comes from a long decomposition of the very marine plants that were united to it, through the action of acidic air and other causes that degenerate the coral in said soil, the same way that animals do, according to the ideas of the illustrious Buffon; with the calcareous soil, there are also some roots mixed in that come from decomposed vegetation, in order to form other mixed soils. I hope that analysis will show that a large part of this porphyritic breccia is indeed porphyritic; in fact, it has not yet acquired the hardness that makes it porphyry. The coral full of substances and pores is undergoing some decomposition, mixing, and other alterations. Said rock or crag upon which the fort is built abounds with *espatis zeolitas convergens* (or *espatis talibus*, as I have not yet tested it) made up of oval geodetic spars of from 3 to 4 centimeters in their larger diameter, like white and chalcedonic agates, of cubic polyhedric spars, all in various cracks that cross the rock in various directions. I suspect also that the shells themselves would be at the origin of this phenomenon.

The beaches of this neighborhood and other beaches of this island are seen to be covered at low tide with various submarine plants, mainly sponges in the form of a tree without leaves, color purple, texture of pumice, but not so well preserved, with other amorphous with large pores at high tides.

I observed in passing a small white polyp of one inch in length, with filiform arms and worms and others that I will verify.

Some small turquoise-colored fishes could be seen, like those of Tobago, and various crabs.

Having left for Agaña at 2:15, overland(?) due to a lucky thought, we left the town and, climbing a hill, we went down to a site called Fuha and in a small valley opening to the sea, made pleasant by corn fields and a road lined with coconut trees, of those ordered planted by Governor Cerain.

#### [Preparation of arrowroot]

While we crossed a stream, we observed people preparing the root called *gaugau* [sic].<sup>1</sup> It is a tuber of the type and shape of the field potato. It is strange the way they make a very acceptable flour from such a bitter and unpalatable root.<sup>2</sup> They make frit-

1 Ed. note: Rather *gabgab* (see below). It corresponds to *tacca*, i.e. arrowroot.

2 Note in margin: *Salimos de Asan* [possibly Agat] a la 8 y 10'. It appears to be a note made on a blank page ahead of time.



ters with it, and other small pastries. The roots are grated with a piece of coral. The gratings are placed in a sort of bag or colander, and there they throw water upon it. They wash it and press it down, and repeat this process many times. Thus they remove a certain stickiness, until it is rendered tasteless, and finally they let it dry; it is reduced into a flour which has many uses that will be mentioned.

This operation is generally carried out in the rivers where there is plenty of water. They place the colander upon four sticks, and a trough underneath it to receive the water and the starchy parts. There remain inside the colander the peel and other rough parts. The flour and the fine parts fall into the trough, and there by gravity they sink to the bottom. They then pour off the excess water from the trough, and as long as they taste some bitterness, they repeat the operation, as many times as needed. Generally, three soakings are found to be enough. From this flour they make the dish they call *atole*, [and] some starchy fritters by adding some sugar and eggs that come out like a pastry. When mixed with grated coconut sport, sugar and honey, it makes some very good doughnuts for use at chocolate time.

I went up a small rise and there I observed that it was located at such a place along the coast that the corvettes bore more or less to S 30° W, by magnetic compass, uncorrected;<sup>1</sup> I always record my sightings this way, for the sake of ease of use. The town [of Umatac] could not be seen, but according to the direction shown to me by my guide, it bore S 20° E, so that the angular between the two objectives for an angle of some 50°. This observation took place at 23,130 paces from the point of departure.

When we reached 28,130 paces (we always travelled among trees except for some clearings and open areas such as near the above-said stream) the forest became thicker and trees closed in. There are no roads other than narrow trails and paths made by saddle oxen and horses. There is hardly enough room to let such beasts and their riders pass through, in the shade of the most beautiful trees that are known to man, such as the breadfruit tree (the *rima* or *Artocarpus [altilis]*) described by Forster, and the guava tree, or various other trees, like the coconut trees, and also those they call Chinese lemon trees;<sup>2</sup> Mr. Tadeo Haenke tells me that Linnaeus had catalogued them and later removed them. Another contribution is made to these wild woods by the species *Piper*,<sup>3</sup> *Arum* and other whose species I cannot remember just now, but will find out from the learned botanists who are surveying the island. I can only mention for now those that I can recognize in passing. Another tree that has the appearance of a pine tree, appears to be the *Casuarina*.

The direction of the trail was WNW, From time to time we came out onto the sea-shore and here could be seen a species of *Hypomocea convolvulacæa*<sup>4</sup> with a big and beautiful purple flower. They occupy the lands near the beach and extend their creepers

1 Ed. note: In other words, with reference to magnetic North.

2 Ed. note: These tiny fruits are also called "calamansi" in the Philippines.

3 *Piper foliis cordatis amplioribus. 4 [pulgadas] pollicar[ibus].*

4 Ed. note: "Alaihai" in Chamorro. A species of morning glory whose Latin description follows:  
*foliis ovatis 4 pulgadas pollicaribus apice emarginatis.*

upon the sandy areas; in the language of the islanders they are called *jalayjai* and in Spanish "Pie de cabra" [meaning Goat's foot]. It is one that contributes to soil creation. I also saw one species of *stames* that clings more or less to the coral and is the first type of vegetation that contributes some soil, to be used by future vegetation, and thus increases formations and the islands.

The beach in this neighborhood, called *Jejiya*, is on top of a type of transition stone made of porphyritic breccia. It is composed of hardened clay with sparry parts that are crystallizing to become chalcedonic agates. Some are close to being opals; their colors are beautiful. Along this trail there are many stones of mountain green, and some of them are speckled green. Parasites grow upon the rocky outcrops in the sea.

During the second half of this day trip, I took another sighting at a place called Facpi; the covettes bore S 8° E.

During this day trip, we had to climb over the hills that constitute the headlands and to come down to the beaches and the coves in between them. We saw a few farms in low-lying places amid some clearings but almost everywhere it is covered with trees and corn fields where the road, bordered with coconut trees, makes a wonderful landscape.

We arrived half an hour after sundown at the small town of Agat,<sup>1</sup> almost hidden among beautiful groves of banana, coconut and breadfruit trees and other trees either green or good-looking. It has about 40 houses and about 14 of those are better constructed, and one house of stone and wood where the Mayor lives and from whom we received a good lodging and a warm welcome.



The next day we left the town of Agat, that also had an avenue lined with coconut trees which produces a wonderful effect. These trees have the particularity that the trunks of the young individuals are pear shaped, whereas those of the old individuals are almost the same diameter over a considerable distance. It would not be out of place here to expose the many uses to which this tree can be put.

Its trunks are used in construction; they are used as pillars. Their cylindrical figure can be used to advantage and for other analogous uses. Although the wood is porous and cannot be polished, its light weight makes it more manageable.

The exterior shell of its fruit provides coir for rope-making and for caulking. Its inner shell, which is hard and consistent, serves as containers. Its meat can be eaten raw; it is tasty and yields material for various dishes and uses that will be mentioned. Its water, which all the coconuts hold when fresh, is employed advantageously as refreshing fruit drink. Besides, its meat yields butter, oil, vinegar and material for many excellent uses. These Indians make an oil whose color looks rather like oil from sweet almonds; when burned in lamps (the normal use they make of it) it exhales a fresh and fragrant smell. It is appealing to the palate, but they say that it easily becomes rancid.

---

1 It lies WNW of Umatac.

At half a league ESE of Agat we left the road, that looked similar to that of yesterday afternoon, and climbed to a spot that was open and without vegetation. It was occupied for the most part by banks of ocher earth of various colors: yellow, red, and greenish, laid out as in breccia, but destined to become jasper. If the humidity that is prevalent in the island were to disappear and be replaced by the action of heat, the interspersed aqueous parts would allow the very fine clay particles to fuse, etc. and thus form an excellent hard stone, scintillating, like the one observed in New Spain at Atotonilco el Chico, when I returned from Guanajuato, and in the sulphur mines of Ucareo, where I saw these substances in various degrees of hardness, etc.<sup>1</sup> Slow and persistent heat from nature produces these and many other mutations and the hardest stones; in time it becomes what the earth(?) [does] with the violence of its movements.<sup>2</sup>

On top of these banks one can see traces of iron like black chalk, fragmentary black iron aetites<sup>3</sup> that are recognizable by their forced and convergent form, etc. These banks are seen to be crossed by various soils or bands, inclined with respect to the horizon, made up of smooth black clay that are seen in the shafts of the silver mines that I observed in Chile and Peru, in New Spain, and in Paraguay. Such veins form a crack that penetrates very deep into the ground. Its inclination with respect to the horizon runs in various and even opposite directions.

At this spot, there was a one of those rare opportunities to observe nature in one of its most secret and delicate operations.

One can find on top of some of these soils pieces of stones that at first sight appear corroded, and have the appearance of coral stones that have been rolled and eroded over a long period of time, or of pieces of limestone that have been eroded, and pitted; however, when they are broken up, they contain many and elegant sparry crystallizations with tips like diamonds. Also geodes and “drusas”.<sup>4</sup> There are also elegant agates in the shape of cylinders striated on the outside, surface stony but siliceous, with longitudinal grooves and crystallized on the inside. These “orropos”<sup>5</sup> [of] cylinders are pending and parallel on the outside, somewhat stained with ocher substances. Finally, these crystallizations have various shapes and their crystals are like double five-sided pyramids, or decahedrons, others are bunched together and the void filled in; this matrix makes it difficult to appreciate all of the facets but they seem to be penta-decahedral or with 15 facets, two pyramids side by side, united in between by a tetrahedral prism. These crystals are like quartz but not very hard, and here nature forms them every day. A brittle earth, ash-colored and rough to the touch, shows up from between

1 Ed. note: Atotonilco el Chico is located a short distance NNE of Mexico City, in the hills beyond Pachuca. Ucareo is located between Guanajuato and Querétaro.

2 Ed. note: Meaningless sentence that seems incomplete. One word is undecipherable.

3 Ed. note: Thanks to the editor of the MARC version for pointing out that aetites are egletones, i.e. ferric hydroxide.

4 Ed. note: Mr. Mallada wrongly transcribed this word as “anixos.” The Spanish dictionary defines “drusa” as a complex of crystals that cover the surface of a stone, or in some of its cavities.

5 Ed. note: Or “arroyos”, that is, streams, clusters?

the above-mentioned veins and reams, as was observed by Captain Regis<sup>1</sup> (a curious islander who has observed this phenomenon at various times) and who assures me that said earth comes out of said reams, which he calls ash and “ajugar” [sic], on account of its mere appearance, brittleness, hardness to the touch, roughness, and apparent color. I have seen it next to said reams; they have been joined by some gas that was exhaled through them, forming continuous crystals that are quartz-like, as we will see later on. Nature does here what Achard did in Berlin but what the French Academics could not do, or were not lucky enough to get.

There is no doubt that this earth constitutes the matrix or basis upon which this crystal is formed, on account of the residual magnetism; firstly, many specimens of this earth that I have collected were beginning obscurely to crystallize. Small crystals can be seen mixed in with it. In some specimens can be seen an aggregation halfway to becoming stone, inside which are some hollows, inside which some “drusas” are formed. They are seen with reams and with filaments that have already begun to crystallize. The hard stone (which could reasonably be referred to as *Matris cristalli* [=Mother-of-crystal]) is seen that has preserved its ashy and half-vitreous color. And finally it passes through all the various states, all the way to perfect crystals.

These crystallizations are not found adhering to outcrops, nor are they parasitic in nature, but found loose in heaps in the vicinity of these reams, not in other places, only in connection with the above-mentioned soil.

It is true that such petrifications occur rapidly; in fact, Captain Regis finds that there are many more now than 20 years ago. What I think is that if heavy rains continue to occur frequently, they will be dispersed in the runoff and in time they will be seen no more.

As far as the crystallizing agent is concerned, it should be supposed to be some gas; in fact, analysis has revealed it in fossils, and with fixed air, as can be read in the *Memoirs* published by Berolin [sic].<sup>2</sup> He imitated it with siliceous earth and crystals were formed, whose artificial operation it appears that nature here has carried out. There remains to mention the local circumstances in the occurrence of these crystals next to reams or wells, where these creating gases have found a way out.

In order to learn something from nature, from the formation of this wonderful earth, I have carried out the following experiments. When I applied the burner to it, it turned as white as snow. its volume increased somewhat, and its tips became phosphorescent.

With borax, it forms a very white porcelain. It readily absorbs nitric acid. It feels rough and brittle to the touch, and I am inclined to believe that it is a type of zeolitic earth.

The crystals that the common people confuse with diamonds are quartzes; their shape was examined. They generate sparks when struck with a flintstone. They break

---

1 Ed. note: More commonly spelled Rexis (see Doc. 1801C).

2 Ed. note: Thanks to the editor of the MARC version for pointing out that this refers to Baron de Beroldingen, a Swiss mineralogist (1740-1798).

under the hammer. They break apart if they thrown upon hot coals. They are reduced by water.

As the surface is full of metallic chalks, and pieces of iron traces can be seen in it, as well as the aetites that I have mentioned earlier, would it not be surprising if some of it were to be found at some depth?

We left this spot after one hour of study, with rain falling and other discomforts, at 10:45 to be exact, and we looked for the King's road.

And at about 2 p.m., we reached the city, having passed through two small villages with their banana and coconut trees, and their own avenue of coconut trees. The surface is for the most part made up of red volcanic soil. A big marsh was crossed along the way, where there is a bridge built by Governor Cerain and then a causeway.<sup>1</sup> The land that lies [from here] to within 1 to 2 leagues of the city is flat; it is good for growing corn and rice, and it is the most cultivated part that we saw. The rest is but brush and some precious trees and shrubs mixed in with many bad ones: the breadfruit tree and shrubs such as the Indigo plant, or *Indigofera*, *Burseraceæ*, limeberries,<sup>2</sup> *Bombacaceæ*,<sup>3</sup> *Rosa sinensis*.<sup>4</sup> In clearings, in low-lying areas full of reeds and most everywhere there is a plant that belongs to the family of the *Gladiolus*, a rush, and a type of gramineæ that looks like the *gramen crucis*. The cotton plants have now gone native. The scenery is also enhanced by a plant of the *Ixia* type.<sup>5</sup>

The ferruginous stones that were thought to be hematites turned out to be a type of manganese under the torch. They are in the shape of lumps as big as a fist, more or less. Their structure is striated and radiates outward from a central point from which emerge very fine grooves. Their color is that of lead-colored or grey mud. Borax turns them into black glass and they attract a magnet. Their weight is considerable. Based on such characteristics, I think that they are some manganese. The ocher that surrounds them is ferruginous and in small cavities is red earth that also seems to attract a magnet. The one I have tested is the external dark matter.

The black earth turns the color of ash under the torch, and is the one that Regis thought was ash. The heat of the sun is what makes it so. I tested a small piece that I had exposed to the torch with carbonic acid and wondered why it became crystallized.

- 
- 1 Ed. note: Over the Atantano Swamp. The author adds: "This marsh is full of reeds, and extends inland about 1 league. To cross it, Governor Cerain built a road that cost much labor and many people. It is made up of a series of culverts built upon coral abutments over a distance of one mile. This road greatly shortens the distance between the port and the capital; indeed, beforehand the road made a detour around this marshy area."
  - 2 Ed. note: Literally "small lemons," the scientific name is *Triphasia trifolia*.
  - 3 Ed. note: Such as the cotton, or kapok, tree.
  - 4 Ed. note: Literally, the Chinese rose; it is the main type of hibiscus.
  - 5 [Latin description:] *Yxia foliis lanceolatis (folia limonis referentibus oppositis) supra viridibus duo vel tripollic. Inflorescentia axillaris fastigiata: floribus albis, frutex.*

It seems probable that the particles that become calcinated under the sun fall off the black ashy earth that has lost its pitch and calcinates, turns white and becomes susceptible to crystallization with the combination of the gas.

Nature does what my small laboratory does, and this is the truth of an exact experiment. These stones, ocher-like on the outside, metamorphose themselves into brittle ash inside, and then crystallize.

### [Houses of Agaña]

The houses of Agaña consist of 8 pillars which in the local language are called *arigues*, from a tree they call *ifil* or *molave*,<sup>1</sup> to which they give a cylindrical shape. At one yard or 1-1/2 yards from the ground, they place the first runners and their cross-pieces and on top of them a few boards made of the same wood. The empty space between the ground and this first floor, when fenced in, is called by them a warehouse, but they keep there their domestic animals, the pigs in some kind of cages, chickens, firewood, and other bulky things.

They contain only one room that is 2 yards high. Upon the floor they place upon the runners the uprights, to hold the roof, and the keys, or transversal pieces from one runner to another, to which they give a somewhat curved shape in order to reinforce the whole frame and enable it to resist the numerous earthquakes. They are covered with coconut leaves, or with the leaves of a species of *Cyperus*<sup>2</sup> that is common all over the island. On top of the roofing they place mats of the same palm, which they call *pu-pung*, and which hold down the thatch, serve as a blanket over it, and make the whole roof look charming.

The walls, which as I have said, would be about 2 yards in height, are made up of a palm that they call *bonga*<sup>3</sup> whose fruit is chewed by all of these natives, as the Indians chew the *betel*, and it makes their lips red, and gives a pleasant smell to their breath. They also make their walls of equal strips of bamboo, that form little planks 4 to 5 inches in width. So too are the houses in all of the villages, except for the capital where some houses are more solidly built.

The inside divisions are simple: one open room and 2 enclosed rooms at both ends of it, and some small attic that they make by placing some boards upon the overhead beams.

In most of the houses can be found one living room, and 2 bedrooms on each side, or else just one large bedroom where they all sleep. In the living room can be seen hanging on small cords some clothes being aired because they become damp as they are kept inside trunks or other pieces of furniture. A table is rarely missing with a large chest and under the table some bench, a few troughs used to collect the flour from the *gab-gab* that I will soon mention. Some large gallipots bound with cords, a few small palm

1 Also found in the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Rather *Corypha*, the Latin name for a palm tree, probably the nipa, which had not yet been classified independently.

3 Ed. note: That is, the areca palm.

mats, some kettle, and other knick-knacks, all hanging in the same living room, and one fireplace that consists of a large crate full of earth, where they cook: such are the furnishings that compose the accessories of these houses.

Their principal food is the “atole” [i.e. gruel] made with either corn or rice, or the flour of the *gabgab* which they take in the morning. They boil the corn in hot water, and once fluffy they wash it, grind it, pound it, cook it with water in a cauldron and make a sort of porridge with it. Some people add condiments to it, like a little coconut milk. This makes a rather healthy and nourishing dish, although it lacks in taste.

For the midday meal they use various roots and fruits, either cultivated or wild, according to the seasons, and they normally eat those roasted.

The main [season] is that of the *rima* [i.e. breadfruit] tree that yields fruits twice a year, and they complement one another; the early one begins in April and continues to yield fruits until September or October. This tree is the *artocarpus*, or breadfruit tree. Its fruit has a diameter of from 8 to 9 inches and is spheroidal in shape like melons[.] When they are ripe they are yellow, the meat inside is rather white and like tow. Its taste is indipid. They roast it and eat it instead of bread with salt or vinager. Many Spaniards find it agreeable, even with their chocolate drink, and experience has shown this food to be healthy and nourishing. They also preserve dry breadfruit for the winter; for this purpose, they gather the breadfruit when it begins to fall from the tree by itself, they roast it well, cut it into slices, place these for some time in the sun or in ovens, and they store it; it reduces in volume,<sup>1</sup> but although it is dry it is still food and they use it during the winter after some preparation.

The *dugdug* is the fruit of a tree similar to the breadfruit, and simply another species of it, but somewhat smaller. It has quite a few small seeds inside. They prepare it and condiment it in the same manner, and it is a more solid food.

*Nica*, which is called *Ubi* in Manila,<sup>2</sup> is a root of a sort of scandent [i.e. climbing] plant that has the shape of a potato, its meat is white and consistent like it, but it looks more like the yucca [i.e. cassava]. It is very sticky and glutinous. They eat it after boiling it in water. but they also roast it in [underground] ovens full of hot stones, covered with earth and stones, and they are thus perfectly roasted.

*Dago* is a root of 2 or more feet in length,<sup>3</sup> oblong, tuberous like a potato. They prepare it also to make their “atole” [i.e. gruel], or porridge (that is really the same thing)

1 [Author’s note:] If it becomes wet, it is no good.

2 Ed. note: The scientific name of Nica is *Dioscorea esculenta*, its common name in English is the “lesser yam,” according to Pursglove’s Tropical Crops.

3 Ed. note: No wonder it is called the “greater yam” in Pursglove. The scientific name of Dago is *Dioscorea alata*, which means winged Dioscorea.

by stirring the pulp of this tuber until it is well cooked; it breaks apart and becomes flour and can be easily converted into gruels.

*Nica simarrona*.<sup>1</sup> The climbing plant that gives this root is sweet, and is prepared the same way as the cultivated Nica.

*Dago simarron* is a fusiform tuber, composed of about 3 long lobes. Its size is about 1 foot in diameter. It comes from another climbing plant. Its flesh is tastier than the preceding root. It is prepared the same way as the previous roots.

The *Xicama* is a root from a species of climbing plant. It is used in salads, as a vegetable for the kettle, etc.<sup>2</sup>

The *Piga* is a tuber from a species of Arum, with sagittate [i.e. arrow-shaped] leaves of the size of the Comuz(?) of Spain, but it looks like [that of] the *Colocasia*, [i.e. taro]. In its upper side, it has a beautiful green rise, or long nerve, and 8 on each side and between them various purple borders. The leaves can grow to be as much as 3 or 4 feet in length, so that a man can use them as umbrellas, if he places one over himself. The underside is of a lighter shade of green and common; the petioles [i.e. stalks] are about twice as long as the leaves, cylindrical next to them where they diminish [in size] but fluted toward their base. The root is usually one foot long and the tuber oblong, most of it grows above ground and appears composed of growth rings; little remains underground. It has various shoots.

The prepare this root by removing the peel with a knife until everything green has been removed.<sup>3</sup> This done, they divide it into small pieces, which they set asides to be roasted like the above-mentioned *nica*.

This dish is very strong. One small portion the size of a fist can sustain a man for one whole day's work. They say that it does not taste too bad. They also let it wither and

- 
- 1 [Author's note:] Simarron means wild. They were not in bloom, that is why we could not identify its botanical name. Note: I did not have the opportunity to see these plants; so, I have to be content with these notes, for lack of anything else.
  - 2 Ed. note: Filipinos eat it raw with lemon juice, or vinegar. It is round like some white turnips, has the same consistency and tastes like some bland radishes. I think that it originated in Mexico and has spread to the Marianas and the Philippines. Its scientific name is *Pachyrhizus erosus*.
  - 3 [Author's note:] That is, the outer layers such that only the meat remains, in such a way that only 2/3 of its former diameter remains.



[then] mixed with coconut milk and sugar, they say that it tastes like aged cheese. When it is cleaned, the little juice that sticks to the fingers causes a burning sensation.

There are as many as 3 to 4 species of these roots.<sup>1</sup>

The *Suni* is an Arum with a heart-shaped peltate leaf,<sup>2</sup> which is also a beautiful green on the inside like the *Colocasia*. The petiole is cylindrical, diminishing in size toward the point whose color is red. The leaf has 3 petioles porenspi(?),<sup>3</sup> all red and as many as 10 dependents. The leaf can reach 3 to 4 feet in length. The root is one foot long inside the earth. They roast it without the need for peeling it first. They also make use of 2 other species of Arums.

The *Babba* or *Bbabba*, the sound is not easy to express in writing.<sup>4</sup> This arum has a leaf similar to that of the Piga but the stalk is purple and woody. It grows in marshes. It is prepared like the Piga. Its root is like that of the Piga. Its taste is insipid. A lone plant can have as many as 30 roots.<sup>5</sup>

They also eat *annonas*,<sup>6</sup> "atis,"<sup>7</sup> sweet and sour oranges, lemons, and guavas. A species of vegetable that looks like the bean is called *camachiles*.<sup>8</sup>

In their feasts the Marianos eat *Morisqueta*, which is rice cooked in water and is the bread of the Philippines, a bread that is insipid but wholesome.

They drink rice that has been well ground with coconut meat, also ground, and the whole diluted in coconut water; this they think of as a great delicacy.<sup>9</sup>

1 Ed. note: The scientific name of one variety of the Piga is *Colocasia macroriza*.

2 Ed. note: A peltate leaf is one whose stalk is attached under its surface, not at the edge.

3 Ed. note: Word undecipherable. Perhaps it means self-supporting.

4 Ed. note: According to Falanruw of Yap, this Baba' is none other than the giant swamp taro, i.e. *Cyrtosperma chamissonis*. Since it bears the name of Chamisso, it was later collected and studied by him, after the Kotzebue expedition visited Micronesia in 1817.

5 [Author's note:] The arums and plants that we have seen are described; the others were reported to us.

6 Ed. note: Fruits like soursop and custard apple.

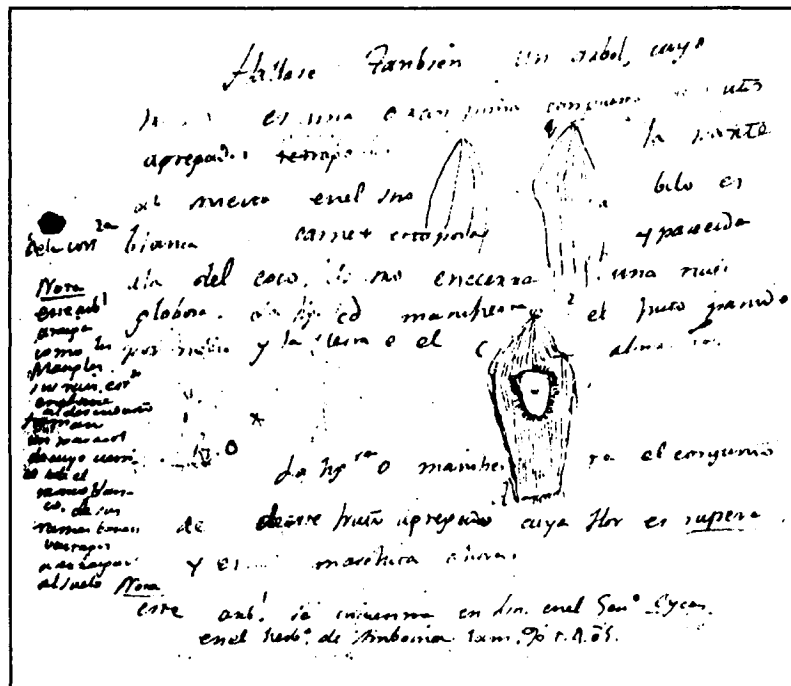
7 Ed. note: The sweetsop, or *Annona squamosa*.

8 Ed. note: That is its common name in Tagalog and Visayan also. Its scientific name is *Pithecellobium dulce*.

9 Ed. note: This was called *Cenia* by the ancient Chamorros (see HM6:76).

[Description of the pandanus]

There is also a tree whose fruit is a large pine-cone composed of many pentagonal fruits together... (see illustration).



Field notes on the pandanus, by Antonio Pineda.

This tree has roots like those of the mangrove that extend like tentacles and form a sunshade from whose top the white trunk emerges. From its branches some shoots come down and become rooted in the soil.<sup>1</sup> It tastes like green almonds. And the natives eat it. I have tasted it and made the above comparison.

The **Papaya**. Its fruit is a green berry on the outside; inside it is yellow, hollow and full of numberless seeds bunched together of the color but bigger than birdseeds, completely hollow on the inside. Its tree is a *Diosco* [sic].<sup>2</sup> The taste of its pulp has no outstanding flavor but not unpleasant either; its seeds even less. The whole fruit is unilocular and the whole thing look like a box full of seeds.<sup>3</sup>

The breadfruit tree has the shape of a melon, completely covered. Its fruit has regular pentagonal scales, and its color is a beautiful green. When opened in the middle, its meat is white and striated and it has a nucleus inside that is oval in shape and occupies the whole central part, around which and upon its surface in the striaes of the white meat there are conceptacles where the seeds are found. The meat of a green fruit is

1 [Author's note:] This tree is found in Linnaeus, listed under the genus *Cycas*, also in the herbarium of Amboyne. N.B. Tome 4 or 5. Rump. has listed a tree similar to the *Cycas* under the name of *Boggea*, in the same Tome 4, plates 80 and 75. Ed. comment: The pandanus has since been classified separately. The above-mentioned herbarium refers to a book: G. E. Rumpf. *Herbarium Amboinense* (8 vol., Amsterdam, 1741-1750).

2 Ed. note: I think this should be translated as Dioecious: with unisexual flowers, the male and the female on different trees. The scientific name of the papaya, or papaw, is *Carica papaya*.

3 Ed. note: There follows one paragraph of Latin abbreviations giving a scientific description of the papaya. It seems that he copied it from some handbook at his disposal, under the reference for "Motacilla", described by Zonn.

fibrous. The outer scales degenerate on their inner sides into these fibers. The fruit usually exudes much mucilage that is sticky and resinous.

The origin of the people of Agaña is Chinese.<sup>1</sup> Those in the small villages are mostly native inhabitants. The women go to mass with a handkerchief on their head, a fashion that the Jesuits have introduced, from a supply of merchandise distributed sparingly by the [Manila] galleon. Many women do not go to mass out of shame [for lack of handkerchiefs]. The Jesuits incited the leading ladies to give the example.

Among the women of Agaña there are some well-shaped faces but all have olive-colored skin. They all dress in the same manner, and the men also. Their clothing has already been described.<sup>2</sup>

Their shoes consist in a sole shaped like a trapezoid, sized to fit the foot. They tie it with straps, one is like a handle to tie around the ankle and the other is to place the big toe in. The straps are coarse, and they make a very solid double knot.

[Note in margin:] I left at 8:30, arrived at 10:07, rests 10 minutes. We covered 12,180 paces.

We departed Agaña on the 19th at 8:30 in the morning. Since it was a holiday, our palanquins [i.e. porters] and the whole town people were at mass, when I was given a letter in which Don Francisco Bustamante y Guerra was advising me to expect my departure for the 24th, a date fixed by Malaspina. We headed SSE, passed the Chaud River.<sup>3</sup>

We had lunch in Pago,<sup>4</sup> a village of 34 or so [houses]. Here I saw how they cover the tobacco seedlings with a small roof of palm, and this special care is to avoid the small ants that eat the leaves.

Beyond Pago, one gets to cross a river aboard rafts made of bamboo; the water from the sea makes its volume more important. In this outlet the horses lose their footing. This river is called [blank]; it is in the immediate vicinity of the small village with the 34 houses. It looks like all the others in the island. The crossing caused us some delay but at 12:30 we were already following the same road as before. These coves face East.

We climbed another hill and went down to the seashore again. We crossed the Ilic River aboard small canoes. From this neighborhood we headed eastward, climbed another hill, came out a third time on a beach, called Dagua. Then we passed a third river which is in the middle of it, on horseback.<sup>5</sup>

Afterwards, there immediately follows a rocky area and one passes through a pass shaped like a gateway, called Quiroga's Pass, where long ago the Spanish met with an

1 Ed. note: He either means Criollo, or Mestizo, those with imported blood, not really Chinese.

2 Ed. note: Not so; Pineda's intention may have been to re-write his notes and describe the natives of Umatac first.

3 Ed. note: Now written Chaot.

4 Author's note in margin:] We arrived at Pago at 10:07, after 12,000 or so paces, sirection SSE. From there we left Pago at 11:10.

5 Ed. note: This river is certainly the same as the Togcha River.

obstinate resistance from the Indians, when advancing through this difficult and necessary place that is next to the beach and flanked on the right by gullies of corroded coral rocks and the rest covered with brush.

Near this place were seen the big bats of these islands that fly by day; they hang from the trees by their hind legs and when they fly they appear as a big bird, a raven, or some other large-size bird. They make a cry like that of a newborn baby. They fly by day during the periods of drought, as now, when fruits are lacking, and they are pressed by hunger. Without a doubt, not all bats are nocturnal animals. They hang from the trees as I have said, but if they touch land they cannot fly off, but must seek a tree to hang from and take flight again. They give birth to only one offspring that flies clinging to its mother, as Captain N. Regis has assured me, because he did shoot them down together with his shotgun.

We went down to the sea a fourth time through a difficult road and finally down a sort of precipice, though a short distance from the beach where one crosses the Tarofof River aboard canoes; this is the largest river of this island. Its mouth forms another cove that also faces East. It took 50 minutes for all of us to cross it, and at 3:21 p.m. we continued our voyage. We went up a small slope, passed another stream on horseback, then climbed the longest slope in the whole island, which they call Alonso's Hill.<sup>1</sup> Along this slope, as along the other hills and high places, can be seen calcareous stones that come from obliterated and corroded coral rocks, and many banks of volcanic red earth which is very common in the island. Finally we arrived at the plantations of the King's Ranch and at the Ranch of the [blank] and finally, after one hour's journey after the Big River [i.e. Talafofo], one reaches the King's Ranch.<sup>2</sup>

All along the road can be seen the tree whose fruit was described and sketched.<sup>3</sup> By the [trail] of the Alonso Hill, there is a wonderful scenery of arums, trees called *federicis olycastur*,<sup>4</sup> and morning glories that rise from the ground up some old tree trunks and form what looks like columns, producing a wonderful scenery. They have already been described.

**Note.** The lack of cultivation results in a waste of the wonderful soil of this fertile island. The domestic cattle have become wild and are killed with bullets, but this resource is not being replaced by other domesticated cattle.

The head count for the larger animals is as follows:

—Mares .....	50
—[Male] horses .....	30
—Male donkey .....	1
—Female donkeys .....	2

1 Ed. note: In Chamorro As Alonso, the name it still bears.

2 Ed. note: This latter plantation must therefore have been located north of Inarajan, perhaps at Malojloj.

3 Ed. note: Obviously the pandanus tree.

4 Ed. note: Called "federico" by Guamanians. Its scientific name is *Cycas circinalis*.

- Saddle oxen, which  
they call bullocks ..... 100  
—Work oxen ..... 300

The present Governor introduced the donkeys whose species has not yet propagated. That of the horses would be much more numerous if the natives would take care of it, but many individuals have been spoiled; so, they prefer to apply themselves to breeding cows. For use as saddle oxen, they choose those from a mixed breed that has short horns; their hair, whether naturally or from breeding, is as fine as that of horses. They are very tame, and lazy. They follow a walking horse. They can endure fatigue very well. They are subjected, not with a bridle, but with a ring of flexible twigs, from 2 to 3 inches in diameter, that crosses the septum between the nostrils. They punish them by placing their heads in stocks, with the neck between two firm pillars.

The natives of the Mariana Islands, in spite of the very comfortable and temperate climate of their islands, suffer no small discomforts on account of some endemic diseases to which they are exposed. The most important disease is one they call *bubas* [i.e. buboes]; it is hard for an Indian or half-breed man to avoid. It is not understood and there is no-one here who has a [correct] idea of this word. This disease consists in a large number of ulcers, many of which cause great pains when the person is moving. It is believed that it comes from the nature of the food that they eat, not from [sexual] contact with women, as they believe, but from defects in their own humors. Even the children are affected by this disease. They [also] suffer from boils, catarrhs, spasms, fevers, and influenzas, and other common illnesses.

From the King's Ranch, I took some sightings: Hanum Point bore N 36° E.<sup>1</sup> The look-out station bore [in margin: S 76° E] S 67° W+<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted that there is a great mountain in the island that could be called the Mother Mountain.<sup>3</sup> It seems to run North—South, with some smaller mountains running parallel to it. These mountains run as far as the sea and their headlands form the coves; between them run various streams, whose mouths form as many coves that the sea enlarges.

I noted from this spot that the [north-] eastern half of the island is rather flat, and my guides assured me that this part is full of brush created by limeberries, but that the lack of water makes it not a good place to live.

Toward the north it appears that the mountains are convergent, and turning eastward. Every ravine on the mountainous western side is a stream or river.

Agat lies to the WNW or N 20° W with respect to Umatac.

- 
- 1 Ed. note: As usual for him, with reference to magnetic north; in fact, Hanum Point lies northeast of Pago and N 45° E true from Inarahan.
  - 2 Ed. note: These readings must have been re-copied and lead to confusion. Mt. Sasalaguan, if that was the peak used as a lookout station for the arrival of the galleons from Acapulco each spring, does lie about S 62° W true from Malojloj.
  - 3 Ed. note: Spaniards were fond of naming principal mountain ranges with this name.

**Note.** When we left the island it appeared from the sea that its [south-] western half is mountainous, its reed marshes, though they cannot be seen, run E—W and the mountain ranges N—S.

Its flat part is on the opposite side, as I have already said, which lacks water and is occupied by brush. This observation took place from a distance of about 4 leagues.

Pago lies SSE of Agatña.

-----

[The next page was used to record two birds, in Latin and in Spanish, as follows:]

**Lacerta...**

*Lacerta oblonga depresa, nigra, lineis auratis tribus longit. cauda cœrulea ventre albo squameosus pisces referente. Pedibus pentadactylis. Digitis pedum post. longioribus.*

*Long. corp. biuncialis lar. Fanin Lin. Capite deprenasculo oblongo. Corpore obl. lineari.*<sup>1</sup>

**Colavi Loria.** They call them *ravens*. *Capite Alis uprop. nectricis. cœruleis.*

The part of the breast under the wings and the tail is ashy white. Its size that of a sparrow. It sings and erects its feathers into a crest. It makes its nest in trees with small grasses and spider webs, etc. I saw a few of them. They lay white eggs.

-----

We slept at the King's Ranch. There is a wooden house there and various corn fields, cows and pigs. One of the officers of the troop is posted here to oversee it and they [officer and soldiers] plus their families form the settlement of a few houses. The plantations suffer from a very great destruction from the rats. Therefore, they make traps with bamboo pipes, and a spring-loaded arrow; by this means they catch many. These voracious animals climb the corn plants and eat the cobs and they leave nothing to the farmer. It was a pitiful sight to behold the destruction that these voracious animals do in the island. I think that the introduction of birds of prey, that do not exist here, would bring one means to destruct these exterminating rats that make one fear for the depopulation of such a charming and beautiful island.

We went from the King's Ranch down to the beach, about one league away, by crossing banks of red volcanic earth that is common in the central part of the island, with other signs of iron and in places other soils can be seen, yellow in color.

We left at about 5 [a.m.] and passed by a waterfall that is located between the ranch and the beach.<sup>2</sup> The trail of the road passes by it on the way down. After one hour, one gets to a small village<sup>3</sup> and in this stream, I noticed to the WSW a grass land that is a continuation of the King's Ranch which extends in that direction, as far as the highest

- 
- 1 Ed. note: Latin phrases meaning more or less: A bird with three longitudinal bars on its back, with 5-toed feet, the rear toes being longer, etc.
  - 2 Ed. note: I think this corresponds to As-Lingot Falls. They were following the Pauliluc River; it seems.
  - 3 Ed. note: That of Inarajan.

mountains. In that area, there are open grass fields and the best fields for cattle [grazing]. The pasture is a type of rushes about one yard in height, with leaves that are cuneiform and rough, whose threads cut the hand; the cattle eats it when it is tender.<sup>1</sup> There also grow many grasses similar to the *gramen crucis*, and other pasture grasses. We saw part of a herd of cattle.

At about 6:30 we crossed over a stream by a very weak bridge made of stakes half-a-yard high. It has only a walkway that consisted only of such stakes and so weak that it could hardly carry the weight of one man [at a time]. Here we again saw the mangrove and Casuarina trees that are common in the vicinity of beaches.

Some 2-1/2 hours further along the road which generally trended NW [rather W], we passed by a small village,<sup>2</sup> having passed a few streams first, so that we can say after our touring the island that it is well perfectly irrigated.

We hastened our gait, to reach our landing place sooner, by taking the road that follows the beach, then climbs over hills, goes down into coves, etc. meeting with some small farms of poor people with a few pigs here and there; pigs are the domestic animals that are most abundant.

At 9:25, i.e. after more than 4 hours on the road, we came down to a harbor where there is a wharf of little importance with one cannon protecting it.<sup>3</sup>

At 9:30, from the beach we spotted the **Atrevida** at anchor, and I observed that the shore line trends NNW here, with coves. One passes by the village of Merizo and one league further arrives at the town of Umatac. But before that we passed a village where there is a rice plantation.<sup>4</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: I think this could correspond to the cogon-type grass.

2 Ed. note: This is a strange mention of a settlement (just a hamlet?) in the area of old Tachoc and/or old Faa.

3 Ed. note: This had to be the old port of Merizo, called Autan in former days.

4 Ed. note: Probably just a hamlet. One suitable site for a rice field place between Merizo and Umatac is Toguan, where there is a river and a bay.

## F2. Pineda's notes on some animals and fishes of Guam

*Source: Another manuscript in Legajo 13, Carpeta 13, in same Museum in Madrid, described as item 620 in their Catalog. Editor's notes: It is not my intention to play the naturalist here, but only to bring the existence of this file to the attention of specialists on the wildlife of the Marianas, by giving one sample. Pineda left these notes unfinished because he died at Manila the following July.*

### Extract from this file—Animals of Guam.

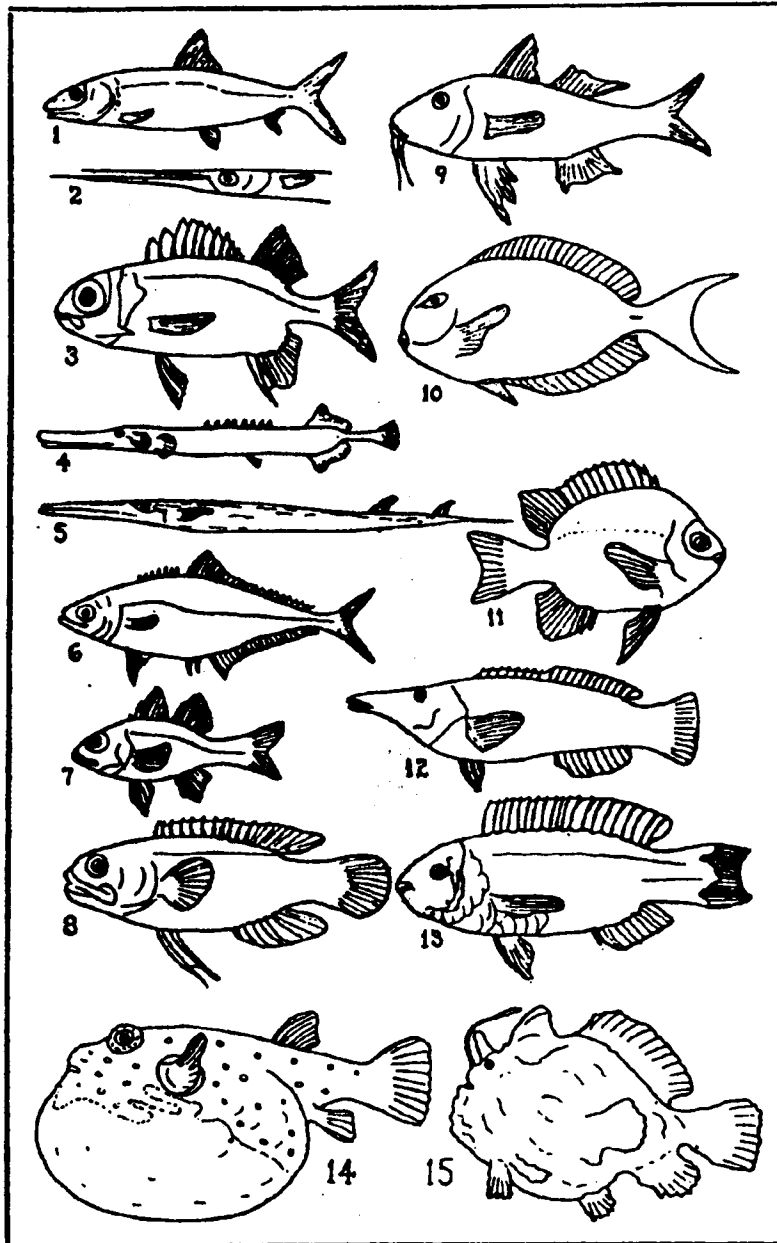
[1792] Description of some quadruped animals, birds and fishes of the Island of Guam, the main one of the Mariana Islands, 53 sheets, sewn together, marked as n° 12. The draft text that also included some anatomical descriptions.

- Buceros* (called *Calabao* in the Philippines);<sup>1</sup>
- Cocum* (called *choncas* by Buffon);
- Gracula Calva*, Linn. (nigra);<sup>2</sup>
- Cuculus niger, cauda cuneiforma alii terruginis(?)*,<sup>3</sup>
- Municapa peripicita ... vulgo Botete*,<sup>4</sup>
- Furdus curræin andabrada*;
- Felii (cingaram)*;
- Perca o Mullion*,<sup>5</sup>
- Lacerta* (called *Amumuxa(?)* in the Philippines);
- Barbudo de Filipinas (Bucus philipinensis)*;
- Oriolus smensis sive Melanocephalus*,<sup>6</sup>
- Charadrius sulius*: Linn.,<sup>7</sup>
- Rallus rosino capite aliguanum longius*,<sup>8</sup>
- Urraca; Muril albula*,<sup>9</sup>
- Chætodon; Scomber*,<sup>10</sup>
- V. atuelaji; Quicha*,<sup>11</sup>
- Vulgo Sac Sac*,<sup>12</sup>

- 
- 1 Ed. note: An obvious reference to the water buffalo.
  - 2 Ed. note: Evidently the black grackle, already described by Linnæus.
  - 3 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: Black cuckoo, with pointed tail, otherwise known as Terruginis(?).
  - 4 Ed. note: The so-called common name Botete, rather Butete, is the Filipino and Chamorro name of a kind of puffer fish.
  - 5 Ed. note: Spanish word for a perch.
  - 6 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: Black-headed oriole.
  - 7 Ed. note: A type of plover already described by Linnæus.
  - 8 Ed. note: Latin phrase description the famous rail of the Marianas.
  - 9 Ed. note: I think that Urraca is the Spanish word for a type of grackle. Urracas Islands, or Farallon de Pájaros, the northernmost of the Marianas was named after this bird in particular.
  - 10 Ed. note: One of the 19 species of butterflyfish listed in Amesbury & Myers' Guide.
  - 11 Ed. note: Now spelled Atulai, or Hatulai (see Chamorro-English Dictionary).
  - 12 Ed. note: Now spelled Saksak. It is the squirrel-fish (ref. Amesbury & Myers' Guide).



Sketched by E. H. Bryan, Jr.



**Sketches of some representative fishes found in Guam:** 1. *Albula* (Albulidae); 2. *Belone* (Belonidae) head only; 3. *Holocentrus* (Holocentridae); 4. *Aulostomus* (Aulostomidae); 5. *Fistularia* (Fistulariidae); 6. *Scomberoides* (Carangidae); 7. *Amia* (Amidae); 8. *Plesiops* (Serranidae); 9. *Pseudupeneus* [N.B. Amesbury & Myers say *Parupeneus*] (Mullidae); 10. *Hepatus* (Hepatidae); 11. *Abudefduf* (Pomacentridae); 12. *Gomphosus* (Tetraodontidae); 15. *Antennarius* (Antennariidae).

## Some sketches of natural history left by the expedition.

*Notes: A general reference on the fishes of Guam is a series of articles by Edwin H. Bryan, Jr. published by the Guam Recorder, beginning in December 1938. A more technical reference is the color booklet by Amesbury & Myers (see Bibliography). Some more information is to be found in Cunningham's Ancient Chamorro Society, pp. 24-25.*

### 676.— Fish of the Marianas, by Anonymous.

*Technical description: 250 x 390 mm. Ink drawing, over light pencil base.*

*Location: Museo Naval, carp. 2-48.*

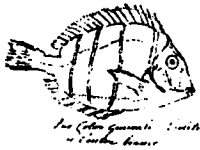
*Ed. Comments: This fish is incomplete, as it is missing some fins. The shape of its tail indicated that it could belong to the Serranidae, or grouper, family, named **Gadao** in Chamorro (see the illustration by Bryan, attached).*



### 677.— Another fish, by Anonymous.

*Technical description: 255 x 390 mm. Ink drawing, over pencil base. Caption, in Italian, reads: "Its color general purple, the belly white." Location: Museo Naval, carp. 2-46.*

*Ed. comments: It appears to be one of the many species of Chaetodonts, or butterflyfishes, common to Guam, named **Ababang** in Chamorro (ref. Amesbury & Myers, pp. 69-77).*



### 678.— Another fish of the Marianas, by Anonymous.

*Technical description: 250 x 390 mm. Ink drawing, over light pencil base. Caption, in Spanish, reads: "Back green, sides blue, belly "Fulvo" [=reddish?]" Location: Museo Naval, carp. 2-47.*

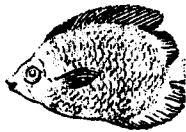
*Ed. comments: This seems to be a goatfish, named **Tiao** in Chamorro when young, and **Salmonete** when an adult (ref. Amesbury & Myers, pp. 64-67).*



### 679.— Fish of the Marianas, by Anonymous.

*Technical description: 250 x 390 mm. Ink drawing, over light pencil base. Location: Museo Naval, carp. 2-45.*

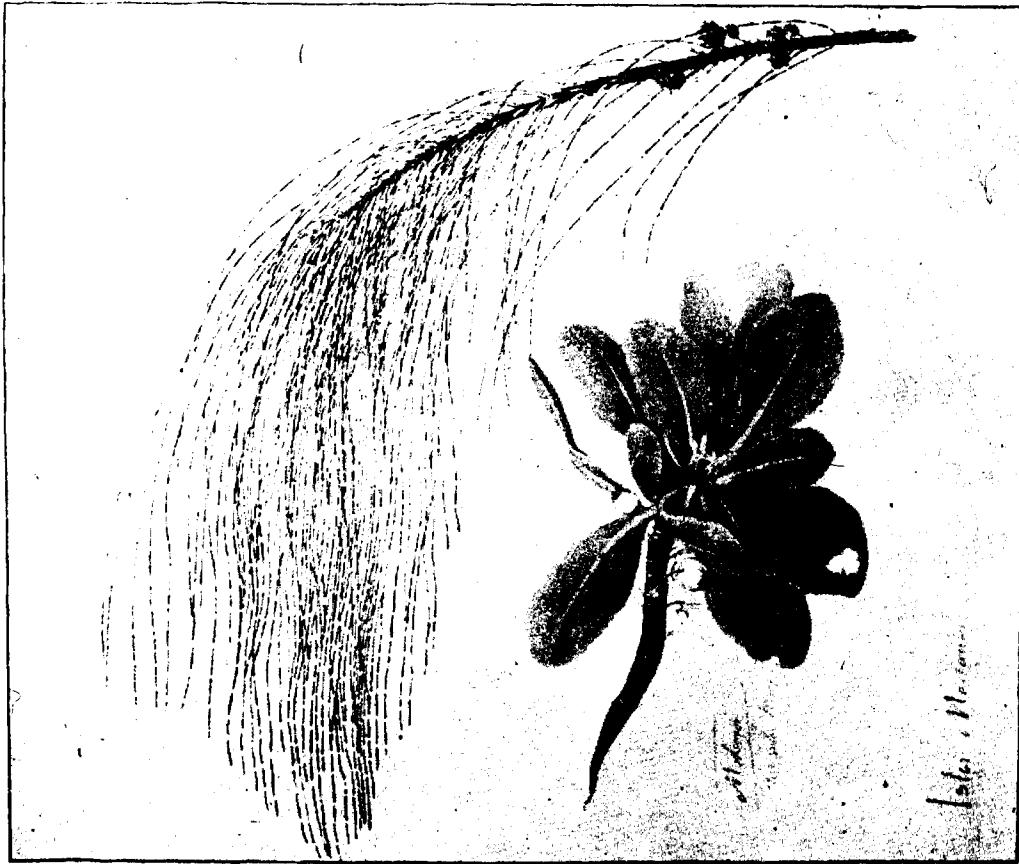
*Ed. comments: It appears to belong to the Pomacentridae, or Damsel fish, family. Named **Fombo** in Chamorro (ref. Amesbury & Myers, pp. 82-89).*



### 680.— Bird, possibly Guam, by Anonymous.

*Technical description: 255 x 390. Pencil sketch, partially made over with ink. Notes, in Italian, can be translated as: "Minio and Sinapro: Head and breast green(?), with some spots on the back, the rest black." Location: Museo Naval, carp. 2-29.*

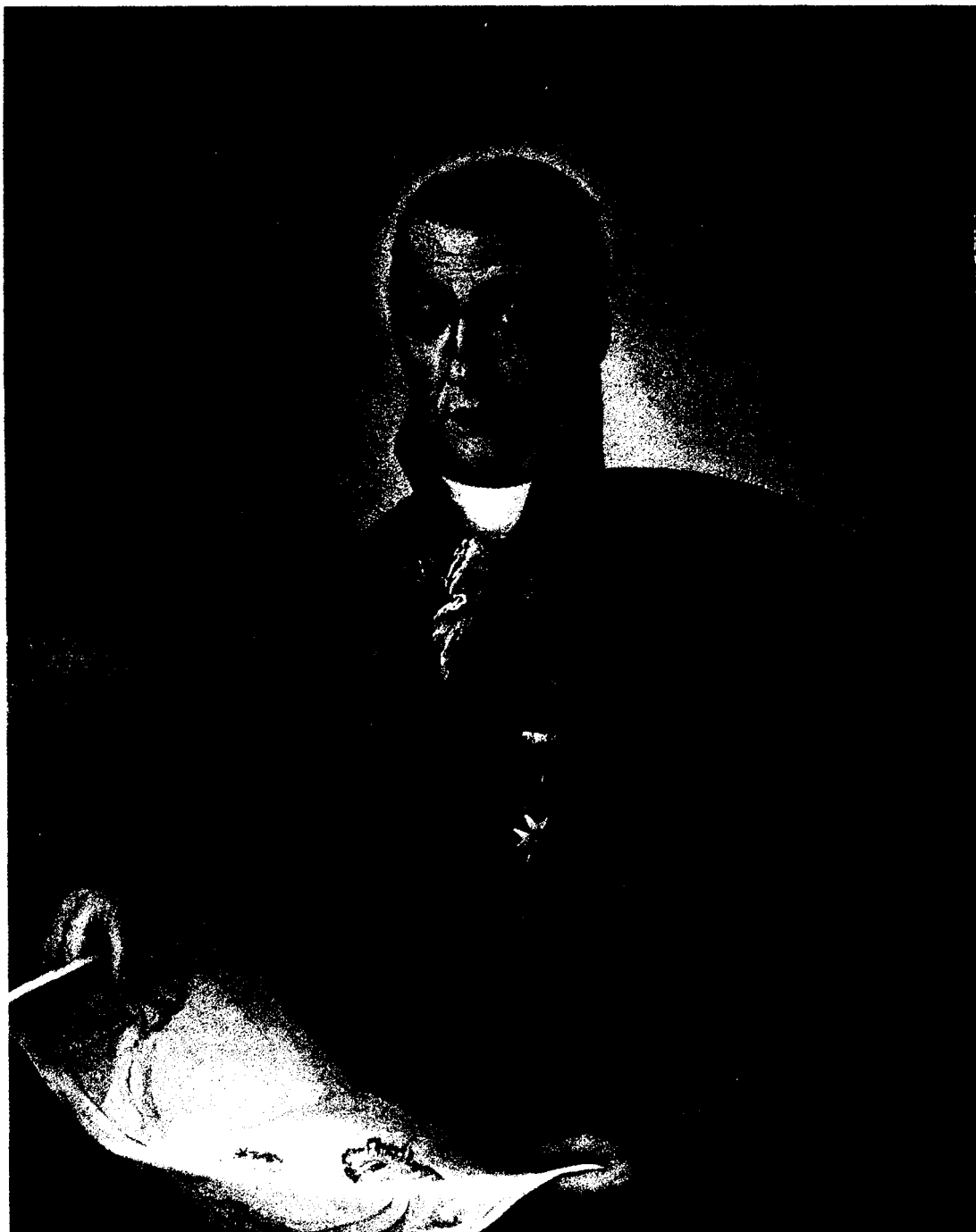




**681.— Plants of the Mariana Islands, probably by Née.**

*Technical description:* 370 x 350 mm. Ink drawing, over light pencil base. Faint note reads: "Mosbo-ron, Si...vola Plumeria," and "Casuarina." Location: Madrid Botanical Garden, 6<sup>a</sup> div. 11, n<sup>o</sup> 194.

*Ed. comments:* On the left is the Ironwood, or Casuarina. The other plant is the Calacuchi of the Filipinos, or "Plumeria acutifolia." It belongs to the Apocinacea family.



**Portrait of Lieutenant José Espinosa y Tello de Portugal. (*Original in the Museo Naval, Madrid.*)**

---

## Document 1792G

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative of Espinosa y Tello

*Sources: MN 95; published in the introduction to Chapter XI of Volume 2 of his Memorias (Madrid, 1809) and supposedly, in translation, (London, 1812).*

*Note: The translation was not found, not even in the British Library.*

### **Bio-sketch of José Espinosa y Tello.**

He was one of the most illustrious Spanish Navy officer of his time. He was born the son of the Count of Águila in Seville in 1763. When 15 years old, he went to Cadiz to join the young naval officers' school. Upon graduation, he took part in various cruises against the English. When peace was restored in 1783, he was posted to the Observatory of Cadiz to learn astronomy. In 1785, then a Lieutenant, he acted as a teacher at the naval school. He was still there, when he was ordered to go to Acapulco and join the Malaspina Expedition.

He remained with the expedition until it reached Peru a second time. Espinosa disembarked suffering from scurvy. Although he later went overland to Montevideo, intending to return home with the expedition, Malaspina refused, perhaps out of jealousy. In fact, soon after returning to Spain aboard another ship, Espinosa became the first Director of the Hydrography Department of the Navy, a job that Malaspina perhaps had coveted. For his excellent services in this post, he was promoted to Captain in 1799, Brigadier in 1802, and Squadron Leader (equivalent to Major-General) in 1805. When the French invaded Spain in 1808, his superiors sent him to London to collect all kinds of hydrographic information. It was there that he wrote his famous "Memorias." When the Spanish Navy was re-created, Espinosa went back to his old job. He reached the top rank of the Navy, that of Lieutenant-General, in 1814. He died in October 1815, after a career of 38 years in the Spanish Navy.

### **His account of the crossing of the Pacific in 1792**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Nos hemos propuesto dar en esta Memoria las principales observaciones que hicimos para la mejora de las cartas hidrográficas de las islas Marianas, de las Filipinas,*

*del Océano pacífico, Nueva Holanda y Nueva Zelanda en la expedición del mando de Don Alexandro Malaspina; y para esto conviene anticipar aquí el extracto de nuestros diarios de dichas campañas, tomando el asunto donde le dexamos en la introducción á la Memoria antecedente.*

*El día 20 de Diciembre de 1791 luego que entró la briza del S.O. nos pusimos á la vela en el puerto de Acapulco, y ciñendo en vuelta del S. nos alejamos de la costa de 10 á 15 leguas: entonces roló el viento al E.; pero tan bonancible que en el resto del mes adelantamos muy poco en nuestra navegación. Con proa al O.S.O. baxamos á ponernos en el paralelo de 13° de latitud Norte; y llegados á él corrimos en vuelta del O. Esta, que es la derrota ordinaria, en la qual no podíamos prometernos hacer descubrimiento alguno, era la mas propia y conforme con el estado de las tripulaciones, las quales habian enfermado en Acapulco á punto de que apenas teníamos gente con que manio-brar. A no ser por esto hubiéramos preferido atravesar el golfo por paralelos mas septentrionales, donde reynan vientos mas frescos, y donde tambien podia presentársenos ocasion de hacer servicios útiles á la geografia, reconociendo y situando el baxo ó placer de Villalobos, la isla de Gaspar Rico y la de San Bartolomé; pero esto no nos fue posible.<sup>1</sup>*

*El primero de Enero de 1792 estábamos por longitud de 12° al O. de Acapulco; y un mes despues, esto es, el primero de Febrero, nos hallábamos por la de 85°, habiéndose atrasado ya la estima 10° respecto á la longitud observada. Este atraso se aumentó hasta ser de 13° á nuestra recalada á Marianas, lo que equivale á habernos llevado las aguas de 14 á 15 millas al dia para Occidente. Inclínamos el rumbo al N., y por latitud de 15° recalamos á Tinian el 11, y al amanecer del dia siguiente descubrimos la isla de Guam al O. 1/4 S.O. Al medio dia navegábamos costean-do su parte occidental á distancia de media legua, y teníamos á la vista el pueblo de Agaña, que está tres al N.E. de la punta del Orote. Esta punta es la meridional del puerto de San Luis de Apra, donde fondeamos aquella tarde; pero siendo el fondo piedra y cascajo, y estando los buques su-mamente expuestos, pasamos la noche con mucho cuidado, y al amanecer dimos la vela para la rada de Umatag, ciñendo el viento fresco del E. en vuelta del S. Presentáronse á la vista sucesivamente las islas Alcaparrones, la de Cocos, y una punta próxima á la ensenada de Umatag: pasamos á milla y media de isla de Cocos para dar resguardo al arrecife que despide; y rebasado este, empezamos á bordear para ganar el fondeadero, donde á la una dexamos caer el ancla al O. del castillo en 14 brazas de agua, demoran-do las islas Alcaparrones al N. 24° O., y la punta S. de isla de Cocos al S. 9° O. corregido.*

*Inmediatamente se solicitó una casa para los enfermos de ambas corbetas; se estableció el observatorio en tierra, y fue nuestro primer cuidado poner por obra las tareas astronómicas, por cuyo medio se logró determinar con toda la exáctitud que puede desearse la posición geográfica de la isla. Hiciéronse asimismo observaciones de vari-*

---

1 La is'la de San Bartolomé has sido despues muy bien reconocida y situada por uno de nuestros compañeros, el Capitan de Fragata Don Fernando Quintano.

*acion é inclinacion de la aguja, y se practicaron varias experiencias con el péndulo invariable. Tuvimos vientos muy duros del N.E., que aunque son de la parte de tierra, llegan con mucha fuerza al fondeadero, y á veces arrojan de él las embarcaciones. Así nos sucedió en la **Descubierta** el día 18, y hasta el 20 no pudimos volver á recobrarle, á pesar de haber hecho los mayores esfuerzos de vela.*

*Nos pusimos en derrota para Filipinas el día 24: reconocimos el 4 de Marzo la costa septentrional de Samar, y dexamos caer el ancla el mismo dia en el puerto de Palapag.*

...

### **Translation.**

It is our intention in this paper to record the main observations that we made for the improvement of the hydrographic charts of the Marianas, the Philippines, the Pacific Ocean, New Holland and New Zealand in the expedition commanded by Don Alexandro Malaspina; and for this purpose, it seems appropriate to present first an extract of our logbooks of said campaigns, picking up the matter where we left it in the introduction of the previous note.

On 20 December 1791, after the breeze from SW came in, we set sail from the port of Acapulco and, tacking to the S, we gained 10 to 15 leagues offshore. Then the wind shifted to E, but it was so fair that during the rest of the month we made very little headway. With our bow pointed to WSW, we decreased our latitude until we reached the 13° parallel, then we ran due W. This route is the ordinary one, and we could not expect to make any discoveries; however, it was the most appropriate one to follow, given the condition of the crews, who had fallen sick in Acapulco, to such an extent that we hardly had enough men for the maneuvers. If this had not been the case, we would have preferred to cross the ocean along more northern parallels where fresher winds prevail, and where we might have also gotten an opportunity to render useful services to geography, by locating and surveying the shoal of Villalobos, the Island of Gaspar Rico and that of San Bartolomé, but this was not possible.<sup>1</sup>

On 1 January 1792 we were in a longitude of 12° W of Acapulco, and one month later, i.e. on 1 February, we were 85° W. By that time, however, our estimated longitude lagged the observed longitude by 13°; this lag had increased to 13° when we reached the Marianas. This means that the currents had carried us westward by 14-15 miles per day. We bent our course northward and, in 15° latitude touched at Tinian on the 11th, and at daybreak of the next day sighted the Island of Guam to the W1/4SW. At noon we were sailing along its western coast at a distance of half a league, and we could see the town of Agaña, which is 3 leagues NE of Orote Point. This point is on the southern side of the port of San Luís of Apra, where we anchored that afternoon; however, since the bottom was stone and rubble, and the ships were extremely exposed, we spent the night with great caution, and at daybreak we sailed off for the bay of Umatag, by

---

1 The Island of San Bartolomé has been afterwards very well located and surveyed by one of our companions, Commander Fernando Quintano. Ed. comment: See Doc. 1796H.

tacking into the fresh easterly wind to head southward. We sighted in turn the Islands of Alcaparrones, Cocos, and a point next to the cove of Umatag. We passed within 1-1/2 miles of Cocos Island, to stay clear of the reef that projects from it, and when past it, we began to tack back and forth to reach the anchorage, where at 1 p.m. we let go the anchor to the west of the fort in 14 fathoms. At this time the Alcaparrones Islands [i.e. Facpi] bore N24°W, and the South point of Cocos Island S9°W, corrected bearing.

A house was immediately requested to lodge the sick of both corvettes. The observatory was established ashore, and our first concern was to begin the astronomical tasks. By this means the geographical position of the Island was determined as accurately as possible. In addition, observations were made to measure the variation and the inclination of the needle, and various experiments were carried out with the invariable pendulum. We experienced very strong winds from NE. Although such winds blow from shore they still reach the anchorage with much force, and at times they push the ships out to sea. This, in fact, happened to the **Descubierta** on the 18th, and she could not get back until the 20th, in spite of the greatest efforts having been made with the sails.

We pursued our voyage towards the Philippines on the 24th. On 4 March we came in sight of the northern coast of Samar, and we let go the anchor that same day in the port of Palapag.

...



---

 Document 1792H
 

---

## The Malaspina Expedition—The works of Thaddaeus Haenke

### Bio-sketch of Thaddaeus Haenke.

Taddaeus Peregrino Haenke was born in Trebitz, a German-speaking part of Bohemia (now Czech Republic), on 5 October 1761. He obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Prague in 1782. After this, he went to Vienna to study mineralogy. His friend, Ignatius Bö, was one of those who recommended him to the Spanish court, for taking part in the Malaspina Expedition. He arrived at Cadiz too late but managed to join the expedition in Chile.

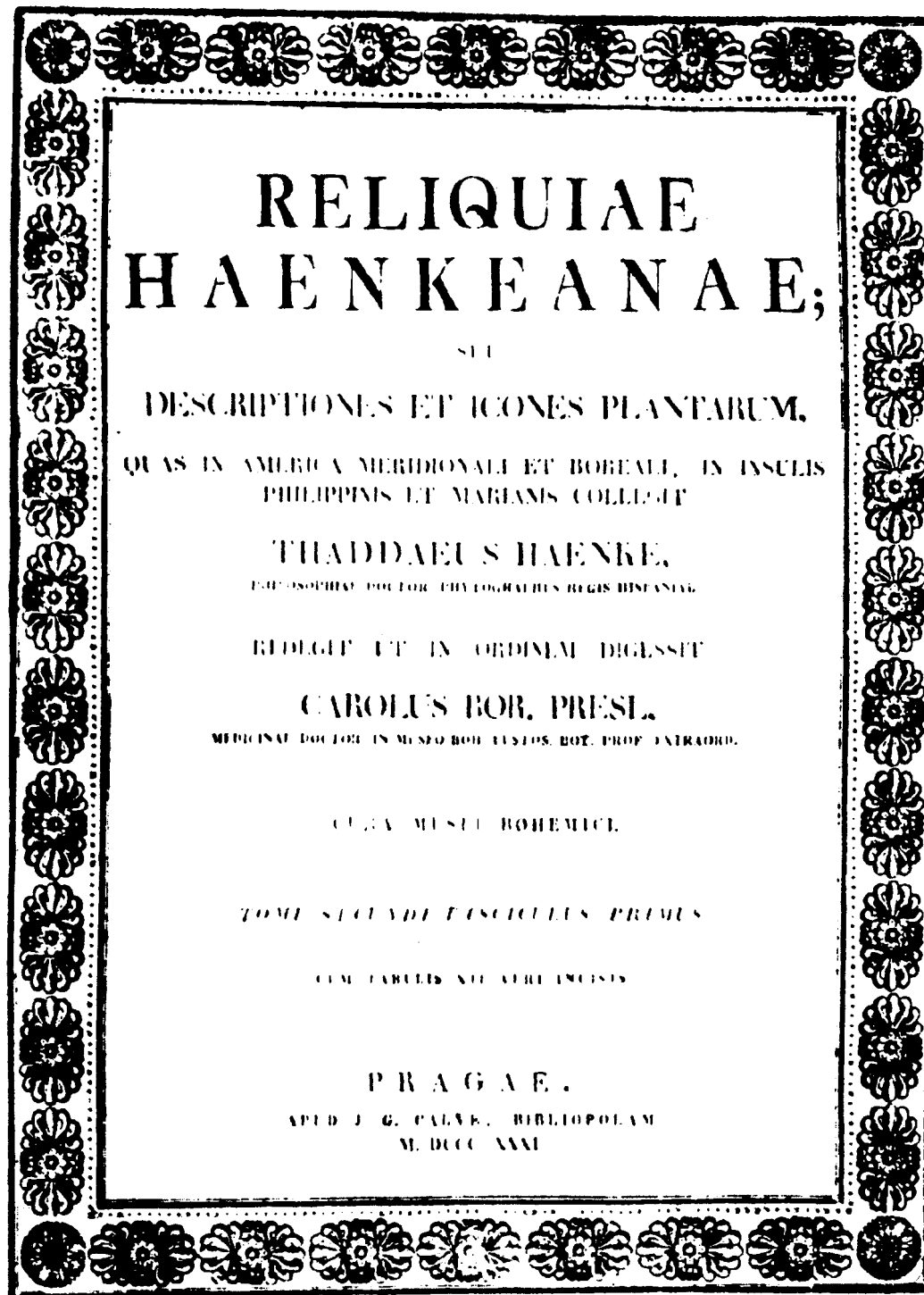
### The notes of the Czech naturalist Thaddaeus Haenke

*Sources:* Tadeo Haenke. *Reliquiæ Haenkeanæ, seu Descriptiones et icones plantarum...* (Prague, 1725-35 or 1830-36); Carlos Henckel. "Las actividades del naturalista Tadeo Haenke" in *Revista Universitaria, Chile*, 1957; M. Schadewaldt. "Thadeus Haenke (1761-1817), médecin et naturaliste" in *Vie et Milieu*, 1963.

*Notes:* This man is sometimes referred to as a German, an Austrian, even a Hungarian, but he was born in Bohemia. No matter how important the work of Haenke was in other countries along the route of the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, this man had little time to collect plants in Guam. In fact, only one drawing was ever published, that of a type of grass new to science in 1792.

(Next page:) **Title page of *Reliquiæ Haenkeanæ***, translation of which is as follows:

"THE HAENKE COLLECTION: Descriptions and sketches of the plants collected in South and North America, in the Philippine and the Mariana Islands by THADDAEUS HAENKE, Ph. D. and phytographer of the King of Spain. Edited and compiled by CAROL BOR. PRESL, M.D. and Extraordinary Professor of Botany at the Bor. Justus Museum, Curator of the Bohemian Museum. Tome II, Book 1. Including 12 tables. PRAGUE, at the bookstore of J. G. Calve, 1831."





**Portraits of Thaddeus Haenke.**

## H1. Extracts from 1828 fascicle

...

*TACCEÆ, J. S. Presl.*

...

*TACCA Pinnatifida. Forst.*

...

*Hab. in insula Guaham Marianarum principe, et in insula Luzon...*

...

*PIPERACEÆ, Kusth.*

*PIPER Potamogetonifolium. Opiz.*

...

*Hab. in insulis Marianis...*

*PIPER Marianum. Opiz.*

*P. ramis teretibus glabris, nodis radicanibus, petiolis glabris, foliis exacte cordatis sinu acuto, acuminatis, quinque-novemnerviis glabris.*

*Hab. in insulis Guaham Marianarum maxima.—Rami striati, geniculato-nodosi. Spaadices desunt.*

*KYLLINGIA, Linn.*

*KYLLINGIA Monocephala. Linn.*

...

*Hab. in insula Mariana Guaham.*

...

*ISOLEPIS Ciliata, Presl.*

*ISOLEPIS Miliacea Presl.*

...

*Hab. in insula Luzon et in insula Guaham...*

*ISOLEPIS Willdenowii. Roeh. Schult.*

...

*Hab. in insula Luzon, et in insulis Marianis.*

...

*FIMBRISTYLIS Juncifolia. Presl.*

...

*FIMBRISTYLIS Affinis. Presl.*

...

*Hab. in insula Guaham Marianarum maxima.*

...

*ELEOCHARIS. Brown.*

...

*ELEOCHARIS Atropurpurea. Presl.*

...

*Hab. in insulis Guaham Marianarum princepe.*

...

*CAREX. Linn.*

...

*CAREX Densiflora. Presl.*

...

*Hab. in insula Guaham Marianarum.*

...

**H2. Extracts from 1830 fascicle**

...

*PASPALINEÆ.*

...

*PASPALUM Kora. Willd.**Hab. in insulis Marianis et Philippinis.*

...

*PASPALUM Cartilagineum. Presl.**Hab. in insula Luzonia ad Sorsogon, in Marianis.*

...

*HAPLACHNE. Presl. Tab. XXXVIII<sup>1</sup>.*

...

*CENTOTHECA. Desvaux.*

...

*CENTOTHECA Lappacea. Desv.**Hab. in insulis Luzon, et in insulis Marianis.*

...

*ERAGROSTIS. Beauv.*

...

*ERAGROSTIS Tenella. Beauv.**Hab. in Marianis insulis et in Luzonia ad portum Sorsogon.*

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: See illustration on next page. Plate 38, drawn by F. X. Fieber and engraved by Jos. Skala.

*Tab. XXXVIII.*



*F. v. Fischer del.*

*For. André sc.*

**Type of grass collected at Guam by Thaddaeus Haenke.**

*ISCHÆMUM. Linn.*

...

*ISCHAEMUM Polystachyum. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*ANDROPOGON. Linn.*

...

*ANDROPOGON Haenkel. Presl.**Hab. in Marianis, in Luzonia.*

...

**H3. Extracts from 1831 fascicle**

...

*COMBRETACEÆ, Brown.*

...

*TERMINALIA Moluccana. Lam.**Habitat in insula Guam Marianarum principe.*

...

*LUMNITZERA. Willd.**Lagunculariæ spec. Gaudichaud.<sup>1</sup>**LUMNITZERA Pedicellata. Presl.**Habitat in insulis Marianis.*

...

**H4. Extracts from the 1835 fascicle<sup>2</sup>**

...

*Præfatio**... Duo Fasciculi nomine "plantarum Marianarum" signati testantur illic loci præsentiam et diligentiam nostri popularis.**POLYPODIACEA. Brown.*

..

*ACROSTICHUM Aureum. Linn.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

1 Ed. note: This Gaudichaud was part of a later French expedition to Guam. He returned to Europe with his collection of plants, before this fascicule was published, of course.

2 Ed. note: Although published last, this fascicule contains Plates I to XII, and, as the preface says (see below) it also contains the descriptions of the plants collected in Guam by all scientists of the expedition.

*POLYPODIUM. Linn.*

...

*POLYPODIUM Phymatostes. Linn.**Hab. in insulis Marianis et in insula [sic] Sorsogon.*

...

*POLYPODIUM Grossum. Langsd.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*NEPHRODIUM. Michx.**NEPHRODIUM Acutum. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*NEPHRODIUM Bidentatum. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*NEPHRODIUM Serratum. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis et in insula [sic] Sorsogon.*

...

*NEPHRODIUM Aristatum. Presl.**Hab. in insula Luzon, Sorsogon et in insulis Marianis.*

...

*NEPHRODIUM ? Lucidulum. Presl.<sup>1</sup>**Hab. in insulis Marianis?*

...

*ASPENIUM. Linn.*

...

*ASPENIUM Pellucidum. Lam.**Hab. in insullis Marianis.*

...

*BLECHNUM. Linn.*

...

*BLECHNUM Pectinatum. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The question mark indicated that Presl was not sure about his identification, which remained preliminary. He was not even sure whether or not the plant in question had been collected in Guam, as its habitat was not clearly specified by Haenke.



*PTERIS. Linn.*

...

*PTERIS Spinencens. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*PTERIS Tripartita. Swartz.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*DAVALLIA. Smith.*

...

*DAVALLIA Retusa. Cav.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*ALSOPHILA. Brown.*

...

*ALSOPHILA Haenkel. Presl.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

...

*OSMUNDACEÆ. Brown.**— LYGODIUM. Swartz.**LYGODIUM Microphyllum. Brown.**Hab. in insulis Marianis.*

---

## Document 1792I

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative of Arcadio Pineda

### Bio-sketch of Arcadio Pineda.

Arcadio Pineda was born in Granada in 1765. He was 14 years old when he graduated as a naval cadet officer and went to fight the English. He became Ensign, or Midshipman, in 1781, Second-Lieutenant in 1784, and Lieutenant in 1789 when he joined the Malaspina Expedition. In October 1791, when the ships were at Acapulco, he received a promotion to Lieutenant-Commander. Upon his return to Spain, he took on the job of arranging and publishing his brother Antonio's notes and other manuscripts, but they were never published, as war intervened and Arcadio went to defend his country. He was not promoted to the rank of Commander until 1805. He received unchallenging assignments after his return to Spain, probably because his personal assessment by Commander Bustamante had been negative. Besides, he was the sickly type. His reputation was not enhanced when he married an actress. He was never a true Navy man, nor even a true scientist, unlike his brother.

### Narrative attributed to Arcadio Pineda

*Source: MN 181, fol. 1, 130-138.*

*Notes: Parts of the original draft copies are in MN 94, n°3 bis, fol. 122-155v. There is a strange diary in Latin for the period 3 January-7 February 1792 in fol. 126v-127v, during a monotonous crossing somewhere east of the Marianas; it only deals with the weather and the birds observed along the way.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Viage en limpio de las Corvetas Descubierta y Atrevida desde su salida de Cadiz en 1789 hasta su regreso á Montevideo en 1794. Está escrito en 151 Pliegos, con sus carpetas desde el N° 1 hasta el 25.*

...

### Capítulo.

*Salida de Acapulco para las Yslas Marianas y Filipinas.*

*Año 1791. Diciembre.*

*20. Entablada la Briza á la 10 de la mañana, y mucho mas felices que en otras ocasiones, tubo esta una direccion y una fuerza tan favorables, que sin necesidad de virar*

*ni una sola vez, estamos à la una sobre la punta exterior del Puerto del Marquès, libres del riesgo de volver à dar fondo. A poco de haver dado la Vela salió á alcanzarnos D. Cayetano Valdès con la noticia de que ivan llegando al Pueblo las Arinas y demas Efectos que se esperavan de Mexico; pero el Comandante no tubo por conveniente aguardar, y repitió el encargo de que las llevase à Manila el Navio **San Andres**.*

...

*Año 1792. Febrero.*

*5. El medio dia del 5 en la latitud de 13° y 37 de longitud, se emprendió derrota ácia las Yslas de Tinian, y Ceypan [sic] por le paralelo de 15° proximamente. Estas Yslas, cuya latitud habia determinado el Comodoro Wallis, en 1767, debian al parecer ser el limite de nuestras tareas actuales en las Marianas, avandonando las otras que están mas septentrionales, cuya posicion podrá deducirse con bastante aproximacion, en comparando su arrumbamiento con la Ceypan.*

*11. Desde el dia anterior, las alteraciones del viento, los chubascos intempestivos, las continuas cerrazones, y la variedad de Aves, que nos ivan rodeando, era un seguro indicio de la proximidad de las Marianas. Teniamos la briza fresca, desde el N al ENE. La latitud del medio dia nos ponía en 14°54' y nos considerabamos en 113°15' al O de Acapulco: por consiguiente adoptando para este Meridiano la de 102°26'15" occidente de Paris; y atendiendo à la determinacion del Capitan Wallis, para extremo S de la Ysla de Tinian de 114°6' de Acapulco, nos faltavan para alcanzarla solos 51' en longitud: à esto se añadia la variacion magnetica de 5°25', una constante arrumazon acia el O, y sobre todo la posicion ventajosa de Ceypan, que siendo mas elevada, aunque mas occidental [rather oriental] que Tinian, debia anticiparnos mucho la vista agradable de la tierra. Divisimos nuestros rumbos directos acia esta última, y à las 2 de la tarde se descubrió al O1/4 NO, como à unas 14 leguas.*

*A las 4 se marcavan bien los extremos entre los 58 y 75° del 4° cuadrante, quando empezavan à verse las Yslas Tinian y Aguiguan en el 3°, acia el qual nos dirijiamos, para determinar sobre bases su distancia con Ceypan, y acercamonos à ellas. Ceypan presentava [à] aquella distancia una tierra vaja, cuyo extremo N, es una punta tajada: al tercio de ella, se forma un montecito como una mesa, y termina en otro monte de mediana altura, que descende por ambos lados, formando el extremo S de la Ysla de tierra baja.*

*A las 5 estaban ya bien patentes los extremos de Tinian: se emprendió el determinar nuestra distancia con ella, y à la misma hora observaron horarios ambas Corvetas, cuyos resultados debian despues referirse al observatorio que se estableciese en Guajan. La Ysla de Tinian de quien hace Anson la pintura mas agradable, y de quien sacó unas vistas muy exactas, se presentava prolongada, N à S proximamente à la distancia de 3 à 4 leguas, su extremo N cortado à pique y amogotado; sigue acia el S llana y pareja, hasta otra pequeña altura; la parte mas elevada en su mediania, forma un cerro terminando su cumbre por un pico poco agudo. El extremo S forma una lenguita llana y pareja, que descende desde el cerro, y parece separada à larga distancia. Luego que estuvimos cerca se advirtieron otras dos pequeñas Ysls prolongadas en la misma direc-*

*cion, y poco distantes de Tinian. Antes de anochecer se distinguian bien los canales de esta Ysla, con las de Ceypan, y Aguiguan demorando esta última al 68° O. Para dirigirse al fondeadero de Tinian, suele pasarse por entre estas dos, à corta distancia de la segunda.*

*En la noche se siguieron rumbos proximos al S con poco aparejo, para cortar el paralelo de Rota, y navegando despues al O pasar por entre esta Ysla, y la de Guajan. El viento fuè fresco del NE al E; los horizontes algo nublados, y con arrumazon, que impedía ver la tierra, à pesar de la claridad, que daba la luna: El Aparejo, y la vigilancia, fueron proporcionados à la situacion en que nos hallabamos:*

*12. A las 4 se hizo rumbo en el 3er cuadrante, y arribando despues al O se vió al aclarar el dia la Ysla de Rota al N37°O distante unas 5 leguas se tomaron horarios en su meridiano, y nos dirijimos al extremo N de Guajan. La Ysla de Rota ès de una altura mediana, y aún que cargada de Celajería se distinguía en su centro un monte alto, y llano que la ocupa casi toda: su punta N se extiende mucho, formando una lengüeta baja y llana; y la del S termina con mas altura, y con menos extension.*

*Las Cartas Españolas señalaban un Yslotillo ó Vaxo entre Rota y Guajan, el qual buscamos con toda prolijidad, pero no viendolé en parte alguna, puede creerse que acaso estaria equivocado con un Yslotillo que se veía muy cerca de la punta SO de Rota, pues no podia ocultarsenos ningun peligro. El viento era à la sazon ENE con una fuerza desigual y algunos cortos chubascos, que volvian á deshacerse ápenas se habian formado. Muy en breve se descubrió la punta N de Guajan, formada por un fronton tendido del ESE al ONO de regular altura, y cubierto de Arboleda hasta la Playa. A las 10 estavamos con el N-S corregido, y empezando las tareas de medias bases, y observar longitudes, costeamos sus orillas à distancia de una legua escasa: presentan estas un semblante muy agradable por la lozana frondosidad que las cubre, y la suave elevacion de sus colinas entre cortadas de infinitos riachuelos que las amenizan sepultando despues sus aguas en un mar, en la actualidad tranquilo. Al pasar por la segunda Encenada se veian distintamente los humildes Edificios, y el Castillo de la Poblacion de Agaña, situada al pie de un cerro en las orillas del mar, distante de nosotros como una legua, aunque no se hallaba fondo, ni aún con la braza.*

*Nuestro Comandante habia preferido el fondeadero de San Luis de Apra, tanto por su inmediacion à la Capital, como por ser el único abrigado à los SO, y que estando acia el medio de la Ysla facilitaba extender las escursiones por todas partes: no teniamos abordo mas noticias de él, que las que se dan, bastante confusas, en el viaje de Mr. Marion de Crozet; y un Plano incerto en la coleccion del Caballero Dalrymple, formado sobre memorias de Don Antonio Rodriguez, Piloto Español, año 1733. A la vista de nuestras vanderas, quando estubimos frente de Agaña, se destacó un Proa à la vela, (pequeño barco de aquellas Yslas, cuya descripcion podrá verse en Marion, ó Anson y que su diferencia principal consiste en tener un costado plano, sostenerse en un valansin, y tener totalmente iguales la popa y la proa) y considerando que podria dirijirnos con mas acierto entre los muchos baxos, y rebentarones que forman el Puerto de Apra lo esperamos pateando(?). Hasta las 2-1/2 no llegó à bordo, tanto por la desconfianza*

*con que se aproximava, recelando que fuésemos Enemigos, como por las maniobras y rumbos a que le obligava su construccion, que no permite virar, ni navegar à popa, sin mucho riesgo. No tenia à su bordo Persona alguna que conociese como practico aquel Puerto: por consiguiente su visita solo fuè util para tranquilizar à los habitantes de la Ysla à quienes nuestro aparecimiento habia alarmado, y suspender los preparativos de defensa que habia dispuesto el Governador.*

*Perdidas las esperanzas de conseguir mas noticias, relativas al fondeadero, y no quedandonos duda por la situacion de las restingas, que era el inmediato à la punta de Orote, navegamos acia él con fuerza de vela, hasta que ya proximos à los rompientes, quedamos con solo las Gavias, para ir examinando mejor el fondo. A las 3-1/2 aunque no avisava el Escandallo, sercioró la vista, de que pasavamos sobre la continuacion de una restinga extendida al SSO cuyas piedras se veían distintamente por ambos costados; descubriendose como à distancia de un cable otras enormes mazas de piedra y coral, y arribando algun tanto para huirlas, cahimos en 30, y 35 brazas de agua sobre cascajo. La **Descubierta** orsó luego para ganar barlovento, y cerca ya de punta de Orote tomó el otro bordo fondeando finalmente en 27 brazas sobre cascajo. Nosotros en quienes por hallarnos mas empeñados con la restinga habia sido mucho mayor la sorpresa, y la arribada; no orsamos despues tan pronto, que al fondear ni quedase nuestra Ancla sobre el veril de la otra restinga, que forma punta de Orote. Luego que se aferró el aparejo, y se hecharon Botes al agua, se tendió una larga Espia al NE para internarnos algo mas por el Canal que hace la entrada del Puerto: pero muy luego advertimos sus nulidades: En quanto se extendia la vista, todo se veía rodeado de restingas, baxos, y rebentazones: sus fondos todos de piedra y Madrepora, á excepcion de una pequeña poza que tiene en medio en que hay Arena, y Cascajo. La Canal que forma su entrada va por medio de él disminuyendo desde 30 à 15 brazas sobre Cascajo, pero tan estrecha que no pasa à veces de dos cables, à no incluirse las rabisas de las restingas en que estubimos, que se estenderán hasta media milla sobre 3 y 6 brazas aunque las tierras que estan al N y E lo abrigan de los vientos de aquella parte, no dexan de sentirse sin embargo á que no levantan mar; es necesario por consiguiente internarse mucho hasta en medio de la poza, que ès el mejor fondeadero, pero su boca ès muy estrecha, y la forman un baxo, y un islotillo.*

*Yà estaba bien desengañado el Comandante de que aquella posicion no nos convenia de ningun modo: no habia ni un Edificio siquiera en sus contornos donde colocar nuestros Enfermos: las orillas erizadas de piedras por todas partes, hacian temible, y à veces imposible la comunicacion con tierra: la aguada estaba distante, y el ponernos en paraje medianamente abrigado, à demas de exponer Anclas, y Cables, nos costaria caminar mas de una legua à la Espia; se determinó por consiguiente trasladarnos el dia siguiente à la rada de Umatac en que habia mas proporciones, aunque algo mas distante de la capital. Toda la tarde se empleo un Bote en sondar, y recorrer las orillas de aquel contorno, y à su buelta confirmó las nulidades que ya advertiamos.*

*13. Al anochecer abonanzó el viento, mejoró el cariz, pero aun se sentia algun marullo. A las 12 volvió à enfrescar, y al amanecer soplava fresquito y de buen semblante*

por el NE. Ynmediatamente se levó el Ancla, y viramos por la Espia, pero el Anclote sobre que estaba largo el fondo, antes de hallarnos à pique, (y) nos iba aconchando sobre la Costa, dimos la vela al instante conduciendole à remolque con mas de 30 brazas de calabrote, y à veces arrastrando por el fondo; pero prontos a picarlo siempre que incomodase al gobierno: asi seguimos hasta estar fuera de puntas que nos atravesamos para recogerlo. La **Descubierta** habia dado la vela à las 9-1/2 un rato antes que nosotros y se veia ya bien lejos, quando concluimos la faena de recoger el Anclote; marea-mos inmediatamente todo aparejo corriendo à lo largo de la costa, rebasada punta de Orote, ceñimos quanto permitia el viento, que era à la sazón del E al ENE en demanda de la punta, é Ysla de Alcaparrones ò Belfalí [sic]: antes de alcanzarla se descubria la Ysla de Cocos, y la punta proxima à la Ensenada de Umatac: el viento havia abonzado mucho al abrigo de la Ysla, y à media dia pasamos à una legua del Castillo, continuando el bordo hasta la Ysla de Cocos; fuè necesario dar otros muchos para acercarnos al Castillo donde debiamos fondear; aprovechando quanto se podia un viento bonancible del 1er cuadrante, pero muy vario en su direccion y fuerza que la hacian alterar las quebradas de los Montañas. A la 1-1/2 logramos estar como à dos Cables al O del Castillo, y una escaseada de viento que impedia internarnos acia la Encenada, hizo que diesemos fondo en 14 brazas sobre Arena gruesa: despues se tendió un Anclote y quedamos amarrados E-O demorando la punta de Alcaparrones al N32°O, lo mas S y E de la Encenada al SSE, y lo mas S y O de la Ysla de Cocos al S vaxo cuyas marcaciones se logra un buen fondeadero. La **Descubierta**, à quien se habian proporcionado bordos menos felices, no alcanzó el fondeadero hasta las tres de la tarde, que dejó caer su ancla à nuestro babor sobre 12 brazas piedra.

La entrada à este fondeadero no tiene otro peligro que un Arrecife en la Ysla de Cocos, y asi luego que se la dé vista debe pasarse como una ó dos millas de su punta S y W, y quando esté rebasada orzar quanto lo permita el viento que està Monzón es regularmente del NE al ENE: los bordos pueden acercarse quanto se quiera la Costa que ès muy limpia, procurando fondear al O del Castillo, que ès el mejor tenedero, y el mas limpio de Piedras. El fondo ès sumamente acantilado[,] los vientos aunque bienen por encima de la tierra, son duros y con grandes fugadas: desde Enero hasta Mayo ò Junio son constantes del NE al ESE; y del S y SO el resto del año, en que no puede fondearse en esta rada: se experimentan grandes aguaceros con especialidad en los novilunios, y plenilunios.

La recalada à la Ysla de Guajan debe hacerse con preferencia à su parte NE, ò à su mediania por la mucha fuerza con que suelen soplar los vientos del NE. Su conocimiento es facil, pues à mas de estar prolongada proximamente del N al S, ès sumamente pareja y llana[,] tiene en su extremo mas S à la Ysla de Cocos y toda ella se cubre de un verdor espeso.

A poco de fondeados llegó aviso del Governador, avisando su proximo venida, (lo era entonces D. José Arlegui y Leoz, Teniente Coronel, y Comandante de Dragones de Luzon), al Pueblo de Umatac, que verificaria aquella misma noche, acompañado de al-

*gunos Religiosos Recoletos de la Mision, para ocurrir con sus providencias à quanto necesitasemos.*

14. *Verificado con actividad lo que habia prometido, quedaron alojados al dia siguiente en el Cuerpo de Guardia de su misma Casa, catorce hombres de la **Descubierta**, y seis de la **Atrevida**, parte actualmente enfermos, y parte convalecientes, recargos de la epidemia de Acapulco, la qual ayudada en mucha parte de los desordenes inevitables del navegante, directamente opuestos al regimen y à las precauciones; habia hechado tan hondas raices, que era ya imposible el restablecer à bordo à los que repetidas veces habian recaido: la debilidad habia conducido casi al extremo à uno de la **Descubierta**, otro del mismo buque, y uno de la **Atrevida** habian desgenerado en disenterias mortales, y para que la variedad hiciese mas nociva la epidemia se agregaban un Soldado, y un Marinero de la **Descubierta**, el primero con afecto colico muy arraigado, y el segundo con un vicio temible de escorbuto que podia considerarse en segundo grado, nos lisonjeavamos, sin embargo, de que los ayres, la quietud de tierra, unos alimentos sanos, y el exercicio cotidiano conseguirian el total restablecimiento. Los Oficiales, Cevallos y Bauzá, que necesitaban tambien restablecerse, lograron un alojamiento cómodo en la Casa inmediata de la Mision. En la misma se encontró parage oportuno para armar los pendulos, y establecer muy cerca el Observatorio. El Sr. Haenke se dirigió inmediatamente acia Agaña, y los parajes septentrionales de la Ysla, Née al Monte de la Vigia, no distante de la Rada, entre tanto que Pineda se ocupaba en la litologia, y Zoologia de los contornos para internarse despues á Agaña.*

*La Aguada fuè la principal ocupacion de los dias siguientes: la poca distancia de las Corvetas a un riachuelo que la subministrava con abundancia, y la actividad de los Marineros, hizo que se reemplazase muy prontamente[,] tambien se recojió alguna Leña, y empezaron à repararse las velas.*

16. *Entre tanto se aproximava el novilunio, los vientos se habian declarado al N y ENE frescos con llubias rafagas fuertes, y mucha mar; y como la **Descubierta**, tenia su Ancla sobre piedra, fuè necesario tratar de levarla, examinar el Cable, y tenderla sobre Arena, pues el buen fondo apenas distaria un tercio de Cable acia la **Atrevida**: Dada una espia a esta Corveta, y tendida sobre ella un ancla, se empezó à levar por su orinque la anterior; reconociendo en esta ocasion faltó ya un Cordon del Cable cerca de la entalingadura: enmendaron tambien su Anclote del O y ya se consideraron tranquilos, mas no fuè asi, el Escandallo avisó muy luego, que el Ancla habia caido nuevamente en piedra, y que el fruto de la faena, solo habia sido, tener ahora ambas amarras en 10, ò 12 brazas de mayor fondo.*

17. *Fuè forzoso que emprendiese nuevas faenas en la mañana siguiente, mucho mas complicadas, porque soplava el viento fresco del N con mar gruesa, y una llubia continua à esto se añadia, que era necesario atender a un mismo tiempo, a un fondo sumamente acantilado, y a no molestar à nuestra Corveta, que estaba bien amarrada. Para las 3 de la tarde se creyó ya concluida toda la faena, tendida sobre espias al E una Ancla en 15 brazas, arena, enmendado un Anclote grande al NO, y distando un Cable*

à estribor de la **Atrevida**, y media milla del Castillo que le demorava al NE1/4E. El ancla que habia tendido el dia anterior la levó partida totalmente por la cruz.

18. Pero le aguardaba aun otra serio mucho mayor de fatigas, un viento fresco y arafagado que soplava desde el amanecer del dia siguiente, hizo que empezase à agarrar sobre su Ancla, y despues sobre el Anclote: se hallaba ya en 42 brazas de fondo, y demaciado atracada à la punta S para dejar caer otra ancla, ni pensar en otra cosa que en dar la vela, arriando con buena Boya el Calabrote, y asegurar de este modo el cobrar su Cable, del qual, à la sazón, tenia fuera, unas 120 brazas: se retiraron à bordo su Lancha, y sus Oficiales, y entre tanto se prescribió à Don José Bustamente; que acortase el plazo à las excursiones de los Señores Pineda, y Haenke; que se embiase por tierra, si no podia ser por mar, à quien reconociese prolixamente las Sondas y Baxos del Puerto de Apra, y que recogiendo últimamente los Enfermos y utencilios de ambas Corbetas se dirigiese al fondeadero de Palapa en la Ysla de Samar hà donde iria la **Descubierta**, si nó facilmente ganar este fondeadero.

Por nuestra parte se trató de abreviar las faenas prescriptas: se avisó à los Naturalistas que regresasen: se levantó el Plano del Puerto: se sondó nuevamente el de San Luis y su posa, y se hizo una escursion à la punta del SE para observar sus arrumbamientos: en el Observatorio se habia examinado la marcha de los Reloxes, y se habia observado la immersion del primer Satelite de Jupiter, por el qual se le asignó la longitud de 115° 27'18" occidental de Acapulco; y por otras observaciones la latitud de 13°18' N. Los Naturalistas tambien habian logrado una abundante cosecha de buenas adquisiciones: Ravenet representó, no solo à los naturales de uno, y otro sexo, sino à otro hombre de las Yslas Carolinas que se hallaba allí accidentalmente, y Brambila à penas restablecido de la epidemia emprendió una buena prespectiva de aquel contorno agradable.

20. En la mañana del 20 en que habia un Orizonte muy despejado y la briza estaba frezca, bolvió à verse la **Descubierta**, que se iba acercando al Puerto, y à las quatro de la tarde dió fondo por nuestra proa, en 14 brazas arena, en el mismo paraje proximamente, donde habia empezado à agarrar, en la mañana del 18 esta Corbeta despues que se vió obligada à dar la vela, habia sufrido repetidas turbonadas, y una llubia que no cesaba, manteniendose sobre los Foces, y el velacho arriado para recojer un Ancla y Botes, en cuyas faenas, en la de evitar el ser aconchado sobre Ysla de Cocos, y en la de reemplazar el velacho que habia rifado, empleó todo el dia: eran ya las 7 de la noche, quando pudo dar las seis principales, navegando al 4° quadrante: à las 4 viró al SE para que se la viese al dia siguiente desde el puerto: amaneció à 7 leguas de la Ysla marcando su punta S al ESE: la briza soplava del ENE con mar guesa, y aprovechandola todo el dia sobre bordos para ganar varlovento, viró despues al Segundo quadrante en la mitad de la noche, amaneciendo este dia distante unas nueve leguas de punta Orote à quien marcaba al SO: La briza se inclinó algo mas al N y sus progresos fueron tan rapidos, que à las 10 à penas distava dos leguas de aquella punta, consiguiendo muy luego alcanzar el fondeadero, como se ha dicho.



21. *En la mañana del 21 se procuró completar la aguada: se emprendieron las comparaciones del Pendulo simple con el tiempo medio, y se tomaron las alturas correspondientes para arreglar la marcha de los relojes. El Gobernador remitió a bordo los refrescos y viveres acopiados que podia dar la Ysla sin faltar a sus empeños con la Nao que luego debía llegar.*

22. *El 22 cerrada ya la marcha de los relojes se embarcaron los Ynstrumentos, y Enfermos, dejando sin embargo, tres de la **Descubierta**. y uno de la **Atrevida**, que no habian logrado restablecerse y debian incorporarsenos con la Nao. Se aprovechó la ocasion de acopiar un gran repuesto de Leña, empleando en este todas las tripulaciones, y ya prontos de un todo, en la tarde del 23 nos quedamos sobre un Ancla.*

23. *En la misma noche se hechó menos a un Soldado Cazador que se habia empleado en este exercio por la historia natural, al principio se creyó que su falta fuese efecto de embriaguez, mas que deseo de quedarse en un Pais que brindaba con tan escasos halagos, se despachó sin embargo un Sargento en su busca, y un aviso al Gobernador; pero no pudo encontrarsele ni en aquel, ni en los Pueblos inmediatos.*

...

### Translation.

**Final draft of the Voyage of the Corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida, from their departure from Cadiz in 1789 until their return to Montevideo in 1794. It consists of 151 folios, with their covers labelled N° 1 to 25.**

...

## Chapter.

Departure from Acapulco for the Mariana and Philippine Islands.

Year of 1791. December.

20th. The breeze began to blow steady at 10 in the morning, much better than on other occasions. Its direction and force were so favorable that there was no need to tack, not even once, to get out. By 1 p.m., we were abreast of the last point of Port Marqués, free from the risk of having to turn back and anchor. A short time after we had set sail, Don Cayetano Valdés came out to the ship with the news that the flour and other effects that were expected from Mexico had arrived, but the Commander decided not to wait, and repeated his instruction that they should be carried to Manila aboard the galleon **San Andrés**.

...

Year of 1792. February.

5th. At noon of the 5th, in Latitude of 13°37' the course was changed towards the Island of Tinian and Saipan that lie on the parallel of 15° approximately. These Islands, whose latitude has been determined by Commodore Wallis in 1767, were to be, it seemed, the limit of our present tasks in the Marianas, the others, more northerly ones, being abandoned, as their positions could be deducted accurately enough, by comparing their bearings with Saipan.

11th. Since yesterday, the changes in the wind, the unexpected squalls, the continuous cloudiness, and the variety of the birds that surrounded us, told us that we were near the Marianas. We had a fresh breeze blowing from N to ENE. The Latitude at noon placed us in  $14^{\circ}54'$  and we considered ourselves in  $113^{\circ}15'$  W of Acapulco. Therefore, if we accept the meridian of Acapulco to be  $102^{\circ}26'15''$  W of Paris, and the determination made by Captain Wallis for the southernmost point of Tinian Island as being  $114^{\circ}6'$  W of Acapulco, then we still had  $51'$  of longitude to go before getting to Tinian. In addition to this, we had a magnetic variation of  $5^{\circ}25'$  [NE], a western horizon always overcast, and above all the advantageous position of Saipan which, because it is higher, though more to the west [rather east] than Tinian, should be sighted first and give us the agreeable view of land. We directed our course directly for Saipan, and at 2 p.m. it appeared, bearing W $1/4$ NW, at a distance of about 14 leagues.

At 4, the ends could be seen clearly. They bore  $58^{\circ}$  and  $75^{\circ}$  of the 4th quadrant. At this time, the Islands of Tinian and Aguiguan began to appear in the 3rd quadrant, towards which we were headed, to determine their relative bearings with Saipan. We got nearer them. At this distance Saipan presented itself as a low-lying land, whose north point is a cliff; one-third of it a low hill in the shape of a plateau, which ends in other hill of average height that comes down on both sides, and forms the south point of the Island, which is low-lying.

At 5, the end points of Tinian were clearly seen. It was decided that our distance from it should be measured, and at the same time both corvettes observed their clocks, so that the results could be calculated once the observatory had been established in Guajan. The Island of Tinian, of which Anson has made a most agreeable description and published very exact sceneries, appeared as if it trended N to S over a distance of about 3 to 4 leagues. Its north point is cut sharp, has hillocks, then is flat and smooth southward, as far as another small elevation. Its highest part is in the center; it forms a hill whose summit ends up in a peak that is not too sharp. The south point forms a small tongue of land, flat and even, that descends from the hill; from a long distance, it appears separated. As we came nearer, two other small islands were seen, that trend in the same direction and at a short distance from Tinian. Before sunset, the channel between this Island and Saipan, and that between Tinian and Aguiguan could be seen clearly. The latter bore  $68^{\circ}$ W. To reach the anchorage of Tinian, it is usual to pass between the latter two, at a short distance from Aguiguan.

During the night, south headings were followed under light sail, to cut the parallel of Rota, and then to said westward to intercept this Island, and that of Guahan. The wind was fresh from NE to E, the horizons somewhat cloudy, with fog that prevented us from seeing any land, in spite of the brightness of the moon. The running rigging, and vigilance, were relative to the situation in which we found ourselves.

12th. At 4, our headings were in the 3rd quadrant, and then due west. At daybreak the Island of Rota was sighted, bearing N $37^{\circ}$ W about 5 leagues. The clocks were read as we passed its meridian, and we headed towards the north point of Guajan. The Island of Rota is average in height, and although the sky was cloudy, a high but flat-

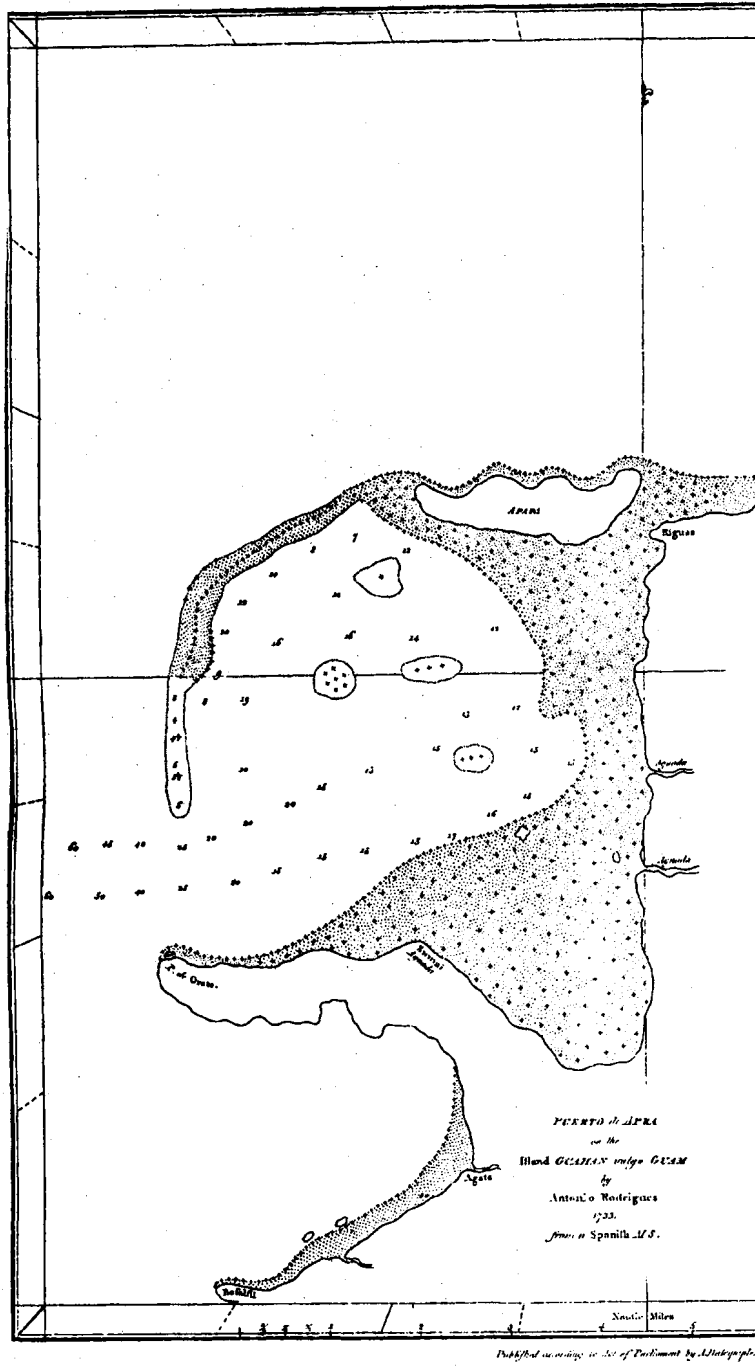
topped mountain could be seen in its center, that occupied it almost completely. Its north point extends outward very much, forming a low, flat, tongue of land. Its south point ends up with a higher but shorter extension.

The Spanish charts display a rock, or shoal, between Rota and Guajan. We looked for it for quite some time, but not finding it anywhere, it could be that it is a mistake, originating with an islet that can be seen very close to the SW point of Rota; indeed, no danger to navigation could have been hidden from us. The wind was then ENE with an unequal force and a few short squalls that lasted but a short time after they had arisen. Very soon the north point of Guajan made its appearance. It appears as a wall of average height trending ESE to WNW, and covered with trees all the way down to the beach. At 10 we were abreast of it, i.e. N-S with it, corrected bearing, and we began the tasks of measuring bases, and observing longitudes. We followed the shores at a distance of almost one league. These shores offer a very pleasant view, on account of the luxuriant vegetation that covers them, and the smooth elevations of its hills, that are cut in places by an infinite number of streams that make them look pleasant and end up by mixing their waters with the sea, that was then placid. As we passed before the second bay, we could distinctly see the humble buildings, and the Fort in the settlement of Agaña, located at the foot of a hill near the seashore, distant from us by about one league, although we could not find bottom, not even with the sounding line.

Our Commander had preferred the anchorage of San Luis of Apra, not only because of its vicinity to the Capital, but also because it offers the only shelter from SW winds; besides, as it is located in the center of the island, it would be easier for us to make excursions in all directions. However, we had no more information about it than the notices, rather confused ones, given in the Voyage of Mr. Marion by Crozet, and a chart published by Dalrymple in his Collection, the one that is based on the survey made by Antonio Rodriguez, a Spanish pilot, in 1733.<sup>1</sup> At the sight of our flags, when we were before Agaña, a sailing canoe was despatched to us (a small canoe of those Islands whose description can be read in Marion, or Anson, and whose main characteristic is that only one of its side is flat, that it rests upon an outrigger, and had its poop and bow totally similar). Considering that it could guide us with more assurance among the many shoals, and breakers that form the Port of Apra, we lied to in order to wait for it. It did not come alongside until 2:30 p.m., not only on account of the fear that it had to get close to us, thinking that we might be pirates, buty also on account of the maneuvers and various tacks that its construction made necessary; indeed, it cannot veer, nor navigate with the wind astern, without much danger. It had no-one on board who was knowledgeable enough to serve as a pilot for that port; therefore their visit was only useful to quiet down the inhabitants of the Island whose alarm had been raised by our appearance, and to put a stop to the defence preparations that the Governor had ordered.

---

1 Ed. note: See the illustration, attached, taken from this rare publication. It should be compared with the original Spanish ms. chart in Doc. 1734F.



Map of Apra Harbor, published by Dalrymple.

We had lost all hopes of getting more information about the anchorage, and since we had no longer any doubt as to the location of the reef barrier that is right next to Orote Point, we sailed towards it with all sails, until we got near the breakers, when we shortened sail, keeping only the topsails, to go on slowing while examining the bottom. At 3:30, although the men with the sounding line had said nothing, we saw that we were passing on top of the continuation of a reef barrier that extended SSW; its stones could be clearly seen on both sides. Then we spotted, at about one cable's length, other huge masses of stone and coral; as we veered a little to avoid them, we fell in 30, and 35 fathoms water, rubble bottom. The **Descubierta** later tacked to get to windward, and once it was near Orote Point, she tacked back, finally anchoring in 27 fathoms, rubble bottom. As for us, whose problems with the reef barrier had jolted our arrival, did not tack so soon after that, and contented ourselves with our anchor resting on the edge of the other barrier, that forms Orote Point. After the rigging had been tightened, and the boats had been placed in the water, a kedge anchor was placed to the NE, to try and warp our way in through the channel that is the entrance of the port; however, later on, we found out that it was no use; in all directions, one could see reefs, shoals, and breakers, bottoms of stone and coral, except one small basin existing in the middle of it, where there is sand, and rubble. The channel forming the entrance goes through the middle of it, diminishing in depth from 30-35 fathoms, rubble bottom, but so narrow that it is sometimes no wider than two cable-lengths, if the ends of the reef barriers where we were are not included; they would extend to half a mile over 3-6 fathoms, although the lands that are to the N and E shelter it from the winds from that quarter, they do not shelter it from surges, and that is why it is necessary to get further inside until one reaches the center of the basin, which is a better anchorage, but its mouth is very narrow because it is formed by a shoal [on one side] and an islet [on the other].

Our Commander was by this time completely undeceived, and convinced that this port was not at all convenient. There was not even one building in its vicinity where we could have placed our sick people. The shoreline was made up of sharp stones everywhere that make fearful, and at times impossible, any communication with the land. The watering place was distant. Besides, to place us in a spot that would be reasonably sheltered, in addition to exposing the anchors and cables, would cost us the labor of warping our way in for over one league. Consequently, it was decided to move the next day to the roads of Umatac where there were more opportunities, though it was distant from the capital. One boat was employed during the whole afternoon taking soundings, and surveying the shorelines of that neighborhood, and upon returning, confirmed the uselessness that we had noticed.

13th. At sunset the wind became moderate, the sky improved, but we could still feel some swell. At midnight, the wind became fresh again, and by daybreak it was still blowing fresh from the NE, looking good. The anchor was immediately weighed and we warped our way around, but the kedge anchor was in deep water. Before we were on top of it, we came too close to the coast, so, we instantly raised the sails, dragging behind more than 30 fathoms of the stream cable, and at times the anchor dragged on

the bottom. We were ready to stop and weigh it if it should bother the maneuvers. Thus, we continued until we were outside the points, then we stalled and picked it up. The **Descubierta** had set sail at 9:30, a short time before us, and was far off, when we concluded our task of picking up the kedge anchor. We immediately raised all sails to run along the coast. Once past Orote Point, we tacked as much as the wind permitted (it was then E and ENE) in the direction of the point, and island, of Alcaparrones, or Befali [sic].<sup>1</sup> Before we reached it we spotted Cocos Island, and the point that is next to the Bay of Umatac. The wind had moderated very much under the shelter of the island, and at noon we passed within one league of the Fort, continuing our tack as far as Cocos Island. It became necessary to make many other tacks, to get close to the Fort where we had to anchor, taking advantage of the wind that was moderate from the 1st quadrant, but very variable in direction and force, due to the gaps between the mountains. At 1:30 we managed to reach a spot within two cable-lengths to the W of the Fort. The wind having died down, we could not get inside the bay and anchored in 14 fathoms, bottom of coarse sand. After a kedge anchor was put out, and we remained moored E-W, the Alcaparrones Point bore N32°W, the SE corner of the bay SSE, and the SW point of Cocos Island, S. A good anchorage is obtained with such bearings. The **Descubierta**, which had not been so lucky with her tacking, did not reach the anchorage until 3 in the afternoon, when she let go her anchor on our larboard side in 12 fathoms, stone bottom.

The entrance to this anchorage does not have any danger other than one reef at Cocos Island, and so, as soon as it is seen, one must pass at about 1 or 2 miles from its SW point, and when beyond it, tack as much as the wind permits (the wind in the monsoon [sic] season blows from NE to ENE). There is no problem in approaching the coast while tacking because it is very clear of dangers. It is best to try and anchor West of the Fort, where the bottom is a better holding ground, and has the least quantity of stones. The bottom is extremely steep, the winds, though they come from over the land, are rough and blow in great gusts. Between January and May or June they are constant from NE to ESE, and from S and SW the rest of the year, in which one cannot anchor in this road. One will experience great showers, specially during the new Moons, and full Moons.

Any stopover at the Island of Guajan must be done preferably at its NE [rather SE] part, or at its center, on account of the force of the wind that usually blow from NE. It is easy to recognize it, because not only does it trend from N to S, but it is extremely even and flat; it has Cocos Island at its S point and the whole of it is covered by a thick greenery.

Shortly after we had anchored, we received a message from the Governor (he was then Don José Arleguí y Leóz, Lieutenant-Colonel and Commander of the Dragoons of Luzon). He was to come soon to the Village of Umatac, he said. In fact, he arrived

---

1 Ed. note: Rather "de Facpi." The misprint comes from the Dalrymple chart, where it is printed Befalfil.

there that same night, accompanied by some Recollect Fathers from the Mission, in order to attend to our needs with his measures.

14th. What the Governor had promised took place: 14 sick men from the **Descubierta** and 6 from the **Atrevida** were lodged the next day in the guard room inside his own House. Part of the sick men were actually sick, the others convalescing, from the epidemic of Acapulco, which in a large measure had been helped by the inevitable disorders of the sailor, directly opposed to discipline and precautions. The illness had become so deeply rooted that it was already impossible to restore on board ship those who had relapsed many times. Weakness had taken one man from the **Descubierta** almost to the point of death. Another from the same ship, and one man from the **Atrevida** had degenerated into deadly dysenteries, and, so that variety might make the epidemic more harmful, there was one soldier and one sailor from the **Descubierta**, the former with a untreatable diarrhea, and the latter with a fearful type of scurvy that might be considered second degree, nevertheless we flattered ourselves that the air, the tranquillity of the land, some healthy food, and daily exercise might cure them fully. The officers, Cevallos and Bauzá, who also needed a cure, found a comfortable lodging in the house next door, that of the Mission. In that same house we found a convenient place to set up the pendulums and, a short distance away, the Observatory. Mr. Haenke headed immediately for Agaña, and the northern neighborhoods of the Island. Née went to Lookout Mountain, not far from the Roads. In the meantime, [Antonio] Pineda got busy with the lithology and zoology of the area, before retiring to Agaña afterwards.

The watering place, the most busy place during the next few days, is a stream located a short distance from the corvettes that provided water with abundance. The activity of the sailors was such that our water supply was restored very quickly. Some wood was also collected, and the work of repairing the sails begun.

16th. In the meantime, the new Moon was approaching, the winds had shifted to the N and ENE fresh with showers, strong gusts, and a heavy sea. As the **Descubierta** had her anchor lying on stone, it was necessary to try and weigh it, examine the cable, and find a sandy bottom for it; indeed, good bottom was only one-third of a cable away towards the **Atrevida**. This corvette was given a warp, and an anchor was placed over it. The other then began to pull on her buoy-rope, although it was noticed on this occasion that a strand of the cable had failed near the clinch. They also improved the position of her kedge anchor to the W and they were already considering themselves without worry, when the sounding lead revealed that the bottom was once more stone, and that the labor put into the task had resulted only in having both anchors lying 10 to 12 fathoms deeper.

17th. It became necessary for them to undertake new tasks in the next morning, much more complicated, because the wind blew fresh from the N, and a steady rain made the situation worse. It was necessary to pay attention at the same time to a steep bottom, and not to bother our corvette that was well moored. By 3 in the afternoon, they thought they had finished the job, having put out kedge anchors to the E, one anchor in 15

fathoms, sand bottom, improved the position of a large kedge anchor to the NW, and stretched a cable to the starboard side of the **Atrevida**, at half a mile from the fort that bore NE1/4E. The anchor that had been laid on the previous day was raised; it was totally broken at the cross-arm.

18th. However, another more serious trial was in store for her. Since daybreak of the next day, a fresh and gusty wind was blowing and, as a result, she began to drag her main anchor, and then her kedge anchor, which was already in 42 fathoms water, and too close to the South point to let go another anchor, and no time to think of anything else besides setting sail, but not before she had tied a good buoy to her stream cable, to make sure that she could recover her cable eventually; in fact, at that time, she had 120 fathoms of line out. Her launch was taken on board, and her officers went aboard also. In the meantime, word was sent to Don José Bustamante to cut short the excursions of Messieurs Pineda and Haenke, who were to come overland if they could not make it by sea. He was to make a detailed survey of the bottoms and shoals in the Port of Apra, then finally pick up the sick and the equipment of both corvettes left ashore, and head for the anchorage of Palapag in the Island of Samar, where the **Descubierta** intended to go first.

As for us, we were supposed to abbreviate the prescribed tasks. The naturalists were advised to return. The port was surveyed, the port of San Luís and its basin were again surveyed, and a trip was made to the SE point to take bearings for geographic reasons. The running of the clocks had been studied inside the observatory. The immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter had been observed; from it was deduced that the longitude at that point was 115°27'18" west of Acapulco, and by other observations the latitude was determined to be 13°18' N. The naturalists had also succeeded in making an abundant harvest of good acquisitions. Ravenet made sketches of the natives, one for each sex, and another one of a Carolinian man who was found there accidentally. Brambila had hardly recovered from the epidemic that he undertook [to paint] a good perspective of that agreeable neighborhood.

20th. In the morning of the 20th, the horizon was very clear and the breeze fresh. The **Descubierta** re-appeared and was seen to head for the port. At 4 in the afternoon, she anchored by our bow in 14 fathoms, sand bottom, in the same general area from which she had begun to drag. In the morning of the 18th, after this corvette had been forced to sail off, she had suffered repeated squalls, and unceasing rains. She maintained herself with her jibs, with the fore-topsail slackened, to recover an anchor and the boats. The whole day was spent in these tasks, and in trying to avoid being wrecked on Cocos Island, and in replacing the fore-topsail that had become torn. It was then 7 p.m., when she managed to have all six main sails out, sailing towards the 4th quadrant. At 4 a.m., she veered to SE so as to be seen from the port the next day. At daybreak she was 7 leagues from the island, its S point bearing ESE; the breeze was blowing from ENE with a heavy sea. She took advantage of the whole day to tack back and forth to make headway to windward. In the middle of the night, she veered towards the 2nd quadrant, and at daybreak of the next day she was distant about 9 leagues from Orote Point,

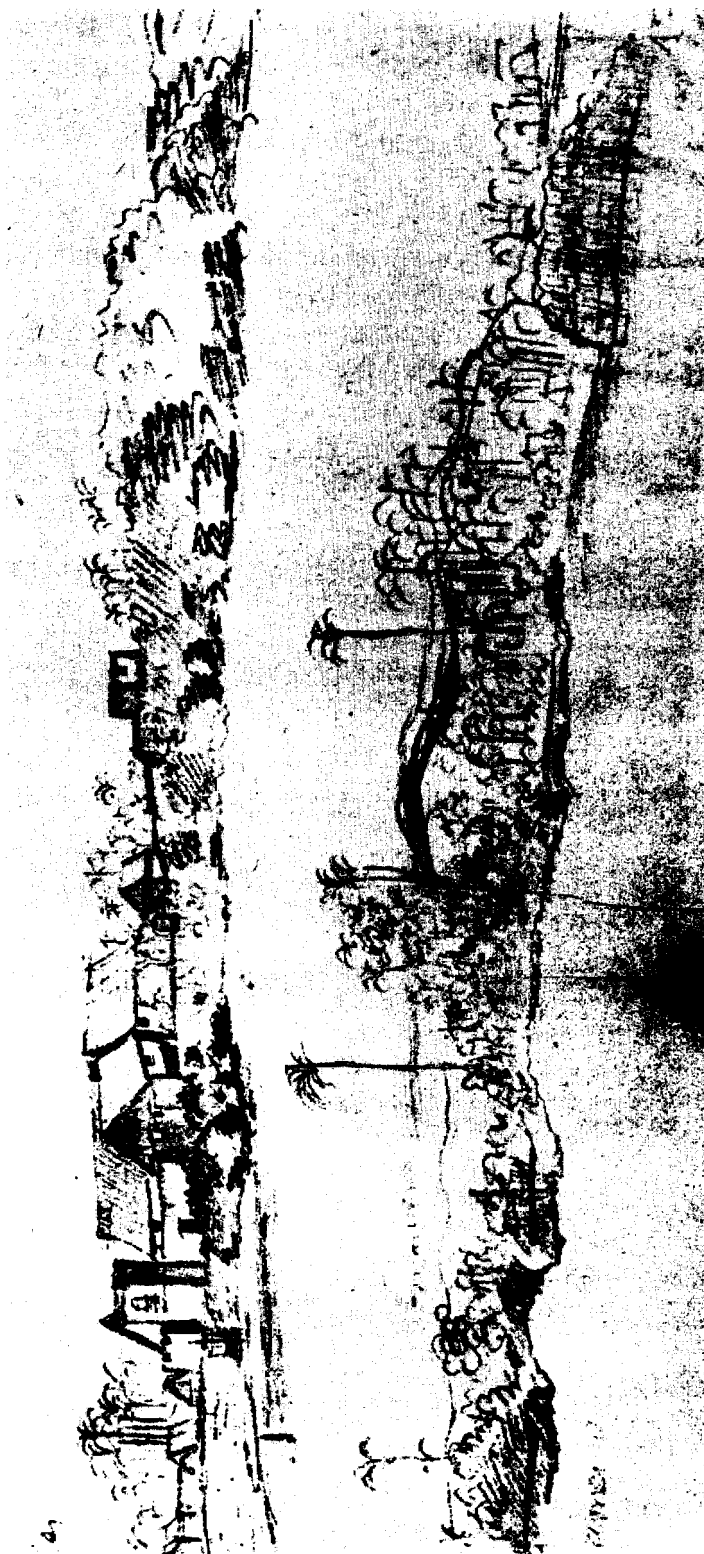


then bearing SW. The breeze shifted somewhat towards N and her progress became so rapid that by 10 she was no more than two leagues from said point, and soon she managed to reach the anchorage once more, as was said.

21st. In the morning of the 21st, the rest of the water was taken on board. The last comparisons with the simple pendulum were undertaken with the average time, and the corresponding elevations were taken to regulate the march of the clocks. The Governor sent on board some refreshments and the food supplies that the Island could offer, considering that the galleon that was coming had to be supplied as well.

22nd. On the 22nd, the march of the clocks had already been regulated. The instruments were taken on board, as well as the sick, except for three men from the **Descubierta** and one from the **Atrevida**, who were not yet cured and were to rejoin us by means of the galleon. The opportunity was taken to make a goodly supply of firewood, by employing both crews in this task. By the afternoon of the 23rd, we were now completely ready, and swinging on one anchor.

23rd. That same evening, it was noticed that a soldier, who had been sent to hunt animals for the naturalists, was missing. At first, it was thought that it was on account of drunkenness, more so than the wish to remain in a country that had so few attractions. Nevertheless, a Sergeant was sent to look for him, and the Governor was advised, but he could not be found, neither in this nor in the nearby villages.



**View of a native village, by Felipe Bauzá. Not Umatac, but perhaps Agat. (MN carp. 2-16).**

---

## Document 1792J

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The narrative attributed to Felipe Bauzá

### Bio-sketch of Felipe Bauzá y Cañas

Second-Lieutenant Felipe Bauzá y Cañas held the official position of artist. He was born in Palma de Mallorca in February 1767. He joined the Royal School for Navigators at Cartagena in 1779. By 1782 he was pilot third-class, second-class by 1786, at which time his talents for mathematics and drawing were evident. He was employed in a team working on coastal maps of Spain, a position he held when he was selected to join the Malaspina expedition, as a midshipman. When the ships left Acapulco, Bauzá was still sick with a fever that he had contracted there. He had just received a promotion to Second-Lieutenant. His main contribution with the expedition continued to be cartography. By the time the expedition reached Spain, he was a full Lieutenant. Both he and his senior, Espinosa y Tello, became interested in the creation of a Directorate for Hydrography, becoming its second and first directors respectively. Some of their paperwork remains in the archives of the Naval Museum at Madrid. Later on, Bauzá became a politician, then a revolutionary. He was sentenced to death, although he escaped by fleeing to England, where he resumed his profession as a geographer and cartographer. He died in London in 1834.

### The text supposedly written by Felipe Bauzá

*Source: MN 479, fol. 91-93v.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Salida de Acapulco.*

*Día 20 de Diciembre de 1791. Concluida la aguada, y 4 meses de víveres completados de la [Santa] Gertrudis, y Nao San Andrés, igualmente que alguna gente, voluntaria de uno, y otro buque involuntariamente a guardar la [h]arinas, y demas víveres, que nos conducían de Mexico, y con pliegos para Marianas, y Filipinas, dimos la vela con 30 hombres enfermos a bordo, y 29 en la Atrevida entre ellos algunos convalecientes.*

*A las 12, estábamos entre puntas y a poco rato metimos las embarcaciones menores dentro quedandonos quasi en calma...*

...  
 Día 20 [enero]. Los [vientos] flojos, nos situavan a medio día en 54°53' al O. de Acapulco, y nuestros rumbos se dirijían a mantenernos proximamente por el paralelo de 13° y ya nos consideravamos por el meridiano de la Is. de Sandwich, y no dexamos de experimentar algunos chubascos, y vientos mas frescos.

Día 26. Encontramos en esta travesia una multitud de voladores, y en los dias anteriores unos pajaros blancos parecidos a los ravihorcados, y dos fragatas, y en este dia, y en Latitud de 12°38'38" y Longitud 70°20'50" al O. de Acapulco pasó por nuestro costado un tronco de madera con pajaros encima.

Día 28. Aprovechamos de la buenas circunstancias del tiempo para tomar varias series de distancias lunares que dieron el resultado siguiente ... [blank line]

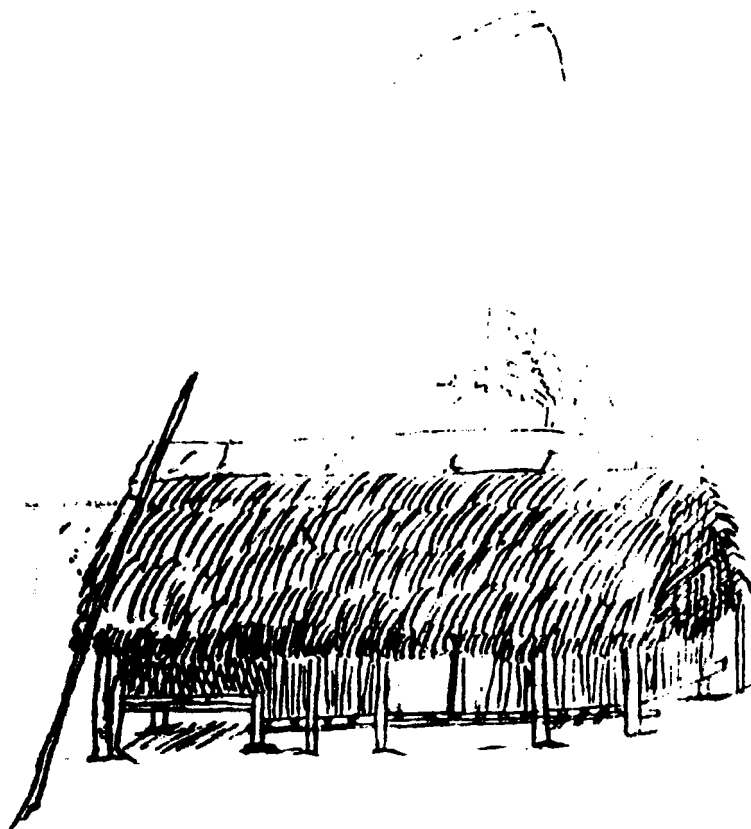
Día 2 de Febrero.—Hasta aora se ha conservado una mar honda del N, y NO, la brisa estaba fresca, y el cielo claro, y de hermoso aspecto, y con una mar gruesa llana ligeramente. Navegando con todo aparejo, se han visto varios pajaros ravihorcados negros, y algunos blancos.

Día 5. Pusimos la proa al N. a fin de cojer al paralelo de los 16° y acabar a lo mas N de la I. Tinian.

Día 11. Este dia obs. 113° de Longitud y 14°54'13" de Latitud la misma en que Wallis, y Anson señalan el fondeadero de Tinian, los pilotos indicaban a medio día una distancia [blank] leguas de las islas. En efecto, a las 2-1/2 de la tarde, avistamos la isla de Seypan, distinguiendose solo su mayor elevación, a una distancia de 12 leguas en que nos hallavamos de ella, un andar de 8 nudos nos favorecía para qual a las 4 pudiésemos sacar una bista, y correr bases para su colocación, determinandose bien los extremos de esta isla, y algo confusos los de Tinian; en esta situación Seypan qual se marcó al N. 76 O. de la Aguja, se presentava a la vista una tierra baja, en la parte N se [ve] un cerro de mediana altura. Su punta N parece tajada, y como al 3° formada un montecito en forma de mesa; su extremo S presentava tierra baxa; mas cerca se conocia bien, que el monte elevado, está en la mediania de la isla, y que para uno, y otro lado es tierra baja interrumpida de varias colinas, mas, ó menos, altas, y sus extremos u orillas bajas.

A las 5-1/2 Tinian nos demorava al N 73 O y se distinguia bien toda ella a pesar de alguna calina que la cubría; es baja formada de 3 colinas, unidas por tierra mas baja, de modo que de alguna distancia forman 3 islas. La mas S. es una loma parejos(?) de mediana altura y mas alta q. las otras dos, y que ocupa el 3° de la isla. Entre esta, y la de Seypan ay un canal limpio de ancho [blank].

Terminamos la tarde costeano las tierras de Tinian a las 6 nos demorava Tinian al S 82 O, al mismo tiempo ya anocheció. y se distinguió la pequeña isleta de Aguijan, al S 68 O. El viento se havia mantenido fresco, y a la noche {se} tomó mas fuerza disipandose las nubes, solo quedava una cerrazón espeza, que no nos permitía ver la tierra. En la noche, a pesar de la claridad de la Luna, en toda esta Navegación al S. con las principales [velas] a fin de avistar a Rota al amanecer. En efecto a las 7 nos demorava al S 20 E distancia de 6 à 7 leguas, y



**A tropical hut, by Felipe Bauzá.** *On the back of the original is a note, in Chamorro and Spanish, which reads: "Pangas (native craft). Sagman [is the name for] large canoes." However, pangas is a word of Latin American origin. See Doc. 1719A and Cunningham's Ancient Chamorro Society, p. 142, for confirmation that Sagman, now spelled Sakman, is accurate. (MN carp. 1-42).*

*[Dia] 12. Aunque cargada de cerrazón se distinguía que formaba un monte de regular altura que descendía con suavidad hasta la mar.*

*Con un viento frescachón del NE al E no tardamos en avistar la punta N. de la isla de Guahan, que formaba un fronton de ñf(?) tendido de 1 [blank] regularmente alto, llano, y lleno de arboleda hasta la orilla, es pendiente, y bajo en la orilla. Nos aproximamos a distancia de una legua y fuimos costeano la parte O de la isla. El terreno iba bajando hacia el S. a formar lo mas agradables, y llenas de arboledas, y cocalas en la orilla y en la 2ª ensenada, qual forma la costa, vimos la población de Agaña, situada en la orilla al pie de un cerro de regular altura y ano(?) parte NO, A la 1. estavamos frente de la ciudad, quando advertimos se dirijia una embarcación [h]a[cia] nosotros. Nos atravemos mura estribor con el objeto de esperarla. A las 3. llegó abordo, y era una proa, ó [blank] según los naturales, un oficial de tierra, con el objeto de reconocernos, y avisar al Governador, atracó abordo, y nos dexó un soldado, que nos sirviese de práctico, creyendo nos dirijiamos a Umata, pero nuestro intento era de ir a Apra. Efec-*

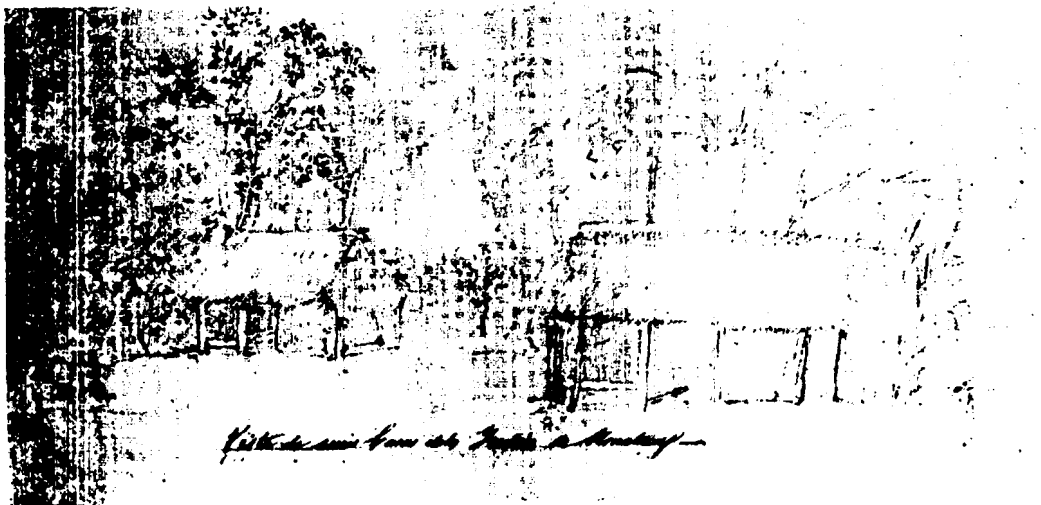
tivamente se largó la proa, y nosotros marchamonos dirijiendonos al dho puerto qual teníamos a la vista, sirviendonos de guía un plano de la colección de Dalrymple trabajado por un piloto nuestro Don Antonio Rodriguez, ponemonos por encima del placer, y 4 brazas de agua fondo piedra y despues de dos bordos dimos fondo a las 5. de la tarde, no lexos de la punta de Orote en 27 brazas cascajo en cuya situación demorava la punta de Orote al [blank] y el extremo de la reventazon(?) al [blank] y la isla Apapa al [blank].

La **Atrevida** havia dado fondo en el veril(?) de la piedra qual donde la punta Orote da buelta a todo el puerto por cuyo motivo le era preciso suspender el ancla, y dar una espía para tener mejor fondo.

Este puerto rodeado en gran parte de rompientes, y bajos, y su fondo quasi todo de piedra, y madreporas presentava una vista nada agradable, contribuyendo a ser lo mas triste la soledad de ninguna poblacion inmediata, la canal se halla en el medio de él, por fondo cascajo, qual va disminuyendo de 30 brazas hasta 15. y la entrada libre, esto es entre la punta de Orote, y el bajo fondo, apenas llega a dos cables, pero incluyendo el placer, qual tiene de 3. hasta 6. brazas de agua, será de 1/4 de milla, ó 2/3, pero nunca es acertado parar por [en]cima de dha restinga, pues con poca mar arria bastante y suele romper; aunque este puerto esta defendido de las mares del N., NO y NE, el viento tiene poco obstaculo, para no [h]averse sentir con fuerza; el unico que impide es la isla Apapa, que es baja, por lo qual era preciso, por qual nuestra situación fuese poco arriesgada era preciso internarnos con espías hasta la Caldera, cuyo fondo de lama ocupa un pequeño espacio entre unos bajos, y la isla de [blank] nos precisaba una facil comunicacion con tierra desde los buques y si podia ser una población, tanto por las circunstancias de los enfermos como para la brevedad del tiempo a que deviamos reducirse nuestras tareas; en todo el puerto no se hallava mas que unas chozas esparcidas, la distancia de Agaña era de [blank] y el pueblo mas inmediato Agat de [blank]. El desembarcadero nada comodo, por lo qual se prefirió desde luego el fondeadero de Umata, sin embargo de la proximidad de la ciudad, pero atendidas las circunstancias, dimos la vela en la mañana del 13 aviendonos espíados en la noche; igualmente que la **Atrevida** quien inutilizó un tercio de cable por el fondo piedra, levamonos dirigimos aprox. un cable de la punta de Orote, viendo a poca distancia el color del bajo fondo. Montada la dha punta horsamos con la mura babor, con toda vela; el dia era hermoso, la mar muy llana, y el viento por el ENE galerno, y despues de varios bordos alcanzamos el fondeadero de Umata, a las 3 de la tarde; el ancla del ajuste cayó en 12 brazas piedra pero como no nos cercioramos se fondeó un anclote por la popa quedando ambos en direccion de NE-SO.

Lo mas O. de la isla de Cocos al S. 4° O, el [h]asta de la bandera del castillo al S 83 E distancia de [blank].

...



Some houses of the Indians of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá. (*Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome II-33, Inv. n° 2.294*).



Indian couple of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá. (*Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome II-107, Inv. n° 2.293*).

## Translation.

Departure from Acapulco.

10 December 1791. Once the water had been taken on board, and some food supplies for 4 months taken from the [Santa] **Gertrudis** and the galleon **San Andrés**, as well as a few men, volunteers from one ship but pressed from the other, to store the flour and other supplies that were coming in from Mexico, and with the mail for the Marianas and the Philippines, we set sail. We had 30 men sick, and the **Atrevida** had 29, but some were convalescing.

By noon, we were between the headlands and within a short time we took in the boats. We were almost becalmed at that time.

...

20 [January 1792]. Due to slack winds, at noon today we were still only 54°53' W of Acapulco, as we were choosing the proper headings to remain on the 13° parallel. We already considered ourselves on the meridian of the Sandwich Islands, and we did indeed experience some squalls and fresher winds.

26th. During this passage, we met with a multitude of birds. In the past few days, we saw some white birds that looked like frigate birds, and two frigate birds. Today, while we were in 12°38'38" latitude and 70°20'50" longitude W of Acapulco, a tree trunk floated by us, with birds on top of it.

28th. We took advantage of the good weather conditions to take various lunar sightings which gave us the following result ... [followed by a blank line].<sup>1</sup>

2 February.—Until now, we have had a rolling sea from the N and NW, the breeze was fresh, and the sky clear and beautiful. We now have a rougher sea but almost smooth. We have all sails out. Various frigate birds have been seen, some black and others white.

5th. We changed the heading to N in order to reach the 16° parallel and end up at the north end of Tinian Island.

11th. Today we observed 113° longitude and 14°54'13" latitude, the position that Wallis and Anson ascribe to the anchorage of Tinian. At noon, the pilots said that we were at a distance of [blank] leagues from the islands. Indeed, at 2:30 p.m. we sighted the Island of Seypan, but could only see its highest point, at a distance of 12 leagues. A speed of 8 knots was favoring us so much that by 4 p.m. we were able to sketch it and take the sightings necessary to locate it properly, by determining the extremities of this island well, and taking some other confused sightings of the extremities of Tinian. Viewed from this position, Seypan bore N 76° W by the compass. Facing us there was a low-lying land; toward the north there was a hill of average height. Its northern end appears cut off, and one-third down there is a small hill with a flat top. Its southern end appeared as low-lying land. Upon getting closer, it was observed more clearly that the high mountain is in the center of the island, and that on both sides of it there is low-

---

1 Ed. note: The author did not complete his text.



lying land interrupted at places by various hills, of various heights, whose extremities are low foothills.

At 5:30 Tinian bore N 73° W and the whole of it could be seen very clearly, in spite of some mist that covered it. It is low, consisting of three hills linked by low-lying land, in such a way that from a distance it appears as 3 islands. The southernmost of these is a low hill of average height, but higher than the other two, and it occupies one-third of the island. Between it, and Seypan, there is a clear channel, [blank] wide.

We spent the rest of the afternoon coasting Tinian. At 6 p.m. Tinian bore S 82° W. Right then, the sun set, and we spotted the small island of Aguijan to S 68° W. The wind had remained fresh, but in the evening it became stronger, chasing away most clouds, except for gathering storm clouds that blocked our view of the land. During the night, in spite of a bright moon, during the whole passage southward we kept all main sails in order to sight Rota by morning. In fact, by 7 a.m., it bore S 20° E, about 6-7 leagues distant, and

On the 12th, in spite of a dark cloud cover, we could see a hill of regular height that came down smoothly to the sea.

With brisk winds from the NE and E, we soon could see the northern point of the Island of Guahan, which formed a cliff of (?) laid out in a [blank] of regular height, flat and full of trees down to the water's edge; it is sloping down and low at the edge. We approached it within one league, and followed the west side of the island. The terrain was sloping toward the S, forming the most pleasing forests, with coconut trees along the shore. In the second cove along the shore, we saw the town of Agaña, located on the seashore at the foot of a hill of regular height trending(?) NW. At 1 p.m., we were before the city, when we spotted a boat headed toward us. We hove to, to starboard, in order to wait for it. At 3 p.m., it came alongside, and it was a proa, or a [blank]<sup>1</sup> according to the natives. Aboard it was an officer from ashore who came to find out who we were, in order to inform the Governor. He tied alongside, and left us a soldier who might serve us a coastal pilot, in the belief that we were headed for Umatac, but we intended to go to Apra. In effect, the proa went away, and we got underway, heading for said port which we had in sight. To guide us, we had a chart from the Dalrymple collection copied from a chart by the Spanish pilot Antonio Rodriguez, but we got on top of a shoal, with only 4 fathoms of water on top of a rocky bottom. After two tacks, we anchored at 5 p.m. in 27 fathoms, rubble bottom, not far from Orote Point. From that position, Orote Point bore [blank], the end of the breakwater bore [blank], and Apapa Island bore [blank].

The **Atrevida** had anchored upon a rocky ledge(?) where Orote Point gives access to the whole port. That is why it was necessary for her to buoy this anchor, and to let go a kedge anchor to get a better hold.

This port is surrounded in a large part by breakwaters, and shoals, and its bottom is almost entirely rocky, with coral reefs, so that the view was nothing pleasant. The

---

1 Ed. note: Probably Sagman (see note on p. 563).



**Woman of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá. (Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome II-74, Inv. n° 2.291).**



**Man of Umatac, by Felipe Bauzá. (*Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome II-73, Inv. n° 2.292*).**

lack of any settlement nearby made this feeling even worse. The channel is in the middle of it, has a rubble bottom, whose depth decreases from 30 fathoms down to 15, but its entrance is clear; it is between Orote Point and the shoal, hardly two cable lengths in width. But if one includes the shoal, which had from 3 to 6 fathoms of water on top, the entrance is from 1/4 mile to 2/3 mile in width, but no-one should be bold enough to stop on top of this reef barrier, because, even without a rough sea, there are usually some breakers. This port is sheltered from seas from N, NW and NE. As for the wind, it is not impeded much, except by Apapa Island, which is low-lying. That is why it became necessary, in the position that we were in, to escape danger by warping ourselves in toward the basin, whose bottom of mud occupies a small space among some reefs. The Island of [blank] was close at hand, for the ships to have contacts with the people on shore, if only there were a settlement there, not so much on account of the circumstances such as the sick people we had on board, but also on account of the short time that we had to carry out our tasks. Around the whole port, one could only see a few huts here and there. Besides, the distance to Agaña was [blank] and the distance to the nearest town, that of Agat, was [blank]. The landing place was not at all convenient. That is why, of course, the anchorage of Umatac was preferred, in spite of the nearness of the city, the circumstances pushed us to set sail in the morning of the 13th. Both our ship and the **Atrevida** had added kedge anchors during the night, but she did not use one third of a cable on account of the rocky bottom. We had weighed our anchor and headed to a point about one cable length from Orote Point, where we could see the color of the reef a short distance from us. After sailing out, we tacked to port, with all sails. The weather was beautiful, the sea very smooth and the wind was a tradewind from the ENE. After a few tacks, we reached the anchorage of Umatac at 3 p.m. Our best bower fell in 12 fathoms, bottom rocky, but since we were unaware of this, a kedge anchor was let go at the poop, which caused us to settle in a NE—SW direction.

The westernmost extremity of Cocos Island bore S 4° W, the flagstaff of the fort bore S 83° E distant [blank].<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: Many pages were left blank but never completed. The text resumes with the departure for Manila.

---

**Note 1792K**

---

## **The Malaspina Expedition—The logbook attributed to Aliponzoni**

### **Bio-sketch of Cadet officer Aliponzoni.**

Cadet officer Fabio Aliponzoni y Catáneo was born in Cremona in northern Italy. He had just graduated from the naval officers' school in Cadiz when he joined the expedition. He reached the rank of Lieutenant in 1795, some months after it had returned to Spain. His later service took place in the West Indies and Mexico. His main contribution had been to assist the hydrographers of the Malaspina expedition. He did not return to Spain until 1815. Then he went home to Italy for a long-delayed vacation, receiving a last promotion to Captain during his absence at the end of 1816. However, before he could return to Spain and back to work, he died in Milan in October 1817.

### **The concise log attributed to Fabio Aliponzoni, from Acapulco to the Marianas**

*Source: BL Add. mss. 17,634, fol. 87v-90; cited in B&R 53: 366.*

### **Editor's comments.**

It is simply a table of daily positions, beginning on 21 December 1791 and ending with the ships' arrival at Umatac on 12 February 1792. Every day, he noted the winds, weather, variation of the compass, etc. The only "new" column of observations has to do with headings; one is for effective track course, the other for ship heading, or steered course, "proas" in Spanish.

In 1791-92, the magnetic variation was 7°30'NE; it first decreased to a minimum of about 4° at some 12° in longitude west of Acapulco, then rose to a maximum of 12° at longitude 87° W of Acapulco, decreasing again until it reached 5°25' at Umatac, located 113° W of Acapulco.

---

## Document 1792L

---

# The Malaspina Expedition—The artistic works of the Italian painters, Ravenet and Brambila

### Introductory note.

The incorporation of these two painters at Acapulco was due to the absence of the two painters who had joined the expedition at start-up; José del Pozo had quit intemperately in Peru, but José Guío became too sick to continue. From Acapulco, Malaspina wrote to his Italian friends at the Spanish court and they quickly arranged for two replacements to travel to Acapulco. They remained with the expedition until the end. Their works are presently located at the Naval Museum and the Museum of America, both in Madrid.

### Bio-sketch of Juan Ravenet (b. 1766-died after 1821).

Ravenet worked in Parma when he was hired to join the Malaspina Expedition. He was better at drawing human figures and faces than Brambila, although that may have been due to the assistance he received from Luis Clavet, an artist who belonged to the Academy of San Fernando. However, many sketches of natives can be attributed to him, although they appear anonymous. Ravenet remained in Madrid after the expedition. In 1809, he submitted a petition to join the Navy, as an engineer, and it was rejected. He did not achieve as much success as his colleague; none of his sketches were ever engraved or published in his lifetime.

### Bio-sketch of Fernando Brambila (1763-1834).

He was born in Guerra, Italy (near Milan?) in 1763. His contract was signed in March 1791. His work is considered the most artistic of all the painters employed by the expedition, at the end of which he spent years “finalizing” his sketches, until 1799 when he got an appointment as an official painter at the Spanish court. In 1814, a book of his sketches made in Zaragoza was published. A treatise on perspective was published in 1817 when he was teaching that subject at the Academy of San Fernando. Yet another illustrated book about Madrid appeared in 1833, a few months before his death.

## Notes taken from the doctoral thesis of Carmen Sotos Serrano

*Source: Carmen Sotos Serrano. Los pintores de la expedición de Alejandro Malaspina (2 vols., Madrid, RAH, 1982).*

Fuller biographies of Ravenet and Brambila are given by this author in her Vol. 1, Chapters V and VI respectively.

### The works of Ravenet.

Juan Francisco de Ravenet y Bunel was born in Parma in March 1766. His father was an engraver who taught this speciality in the local Academy of Fine Arts and also served as a Captain of Cavalry at the service of the Duke of Parma.

When the first two painters with the expedition became unsatisfactory to Malaspina, he wrote to Madrid from Lima asking for their replacement. After some rapid paperwork, Ravenet was contracted and left Parma on 22 March 1791, joining up with Brambila in Genoa, both travelling as fast as they could to reach La Coruña by way of Barcelona and Madrid, in time to catch the advice boat to Veracruz. This frigate, named **El Cortés** left on 4 June 1791 but did not arrive at Veracruz until 10 November.

Ravenet's first sketches, after he joined the expedition at Acapulco, were of two natives of Guam, and one of a Carolinian living there.<sup>1</sup>

This author has discovered that at least four works by Ravenet have disappeared since they were initially photographed in the 19th century. Two of those were about the Philippines. Therefore, I think that there is a small probability that Ravenet had originally made one or more drawings in Guam, perhaps more, that went astray later, but before the invention of photography, due to the little cataloguing or inventorying that were done originally, of the immense collection of documents from the Malaspina expedition, and the lack of care to preserve it during certain periods of turmoil in the history of Spain, notably the French invasion in 1808. One can ask the question: where and how did Carlos Sanz acquire the collection formerly owned by Felipe Bauzá, and now in the Museum of America in Madrid? More such works must remain in private hands somewhere. What could possibly have been the other subject(s) of Ravenet's pencil in Guam, if any? Dances, because this was always the subject of his work in the other parts of the Pacific that he visited later on.

When the French invaded Madrid in 1816, Ravenet fled to France. In 1821, he was back in Madrid. He left no other trace, but he probably died at Madrid, some time after 1821.

---

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in her Vol. 2, as Fig. 668, 672, and 670. Two of the original drafts are extant (Fig. 669 and 671); the other is missing.



**Man of the Island of Guam, draft sketch by Ravenet.** (*Museo de América, Tome II-66, Inv. n° 2.289*).





HOMBRE DE LA YSLA DE GUHAM

31

Man of the Island of Guam, by Ravenet. (*MN, carp. 1-21*).



**Man from the Caroline Islands, draft sketch by Ravenet.** (*Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tomo II-67, Inv. n° 2.290*).



**HOMBRE DE LAS ISLAS CAROLINAS.**

35

A. L. M.

Man from the Caroline Islands, by Ravenet. (*MN, carp. 1-35*).



**MVGER DE LA ISLA DE GVHAM.**

**Woman of the Island of Guam, by Ravenet. (*MN, carp. 1-32*).**

## The works of Brambila.

He lived in Milan where he was hired to join the Malaspina expedition. Thus, he joined with Ravenet in Genoa and the two of them travelled together to Acapulco.

It is no wonder that his best works, it appears, were done in the Philippines, because he spent six months there. In contrast, the 10 days spent in Guam led to the creation of 3 known drawings. They appear in the catalogue of this author as Figures 662, 663 and 664.

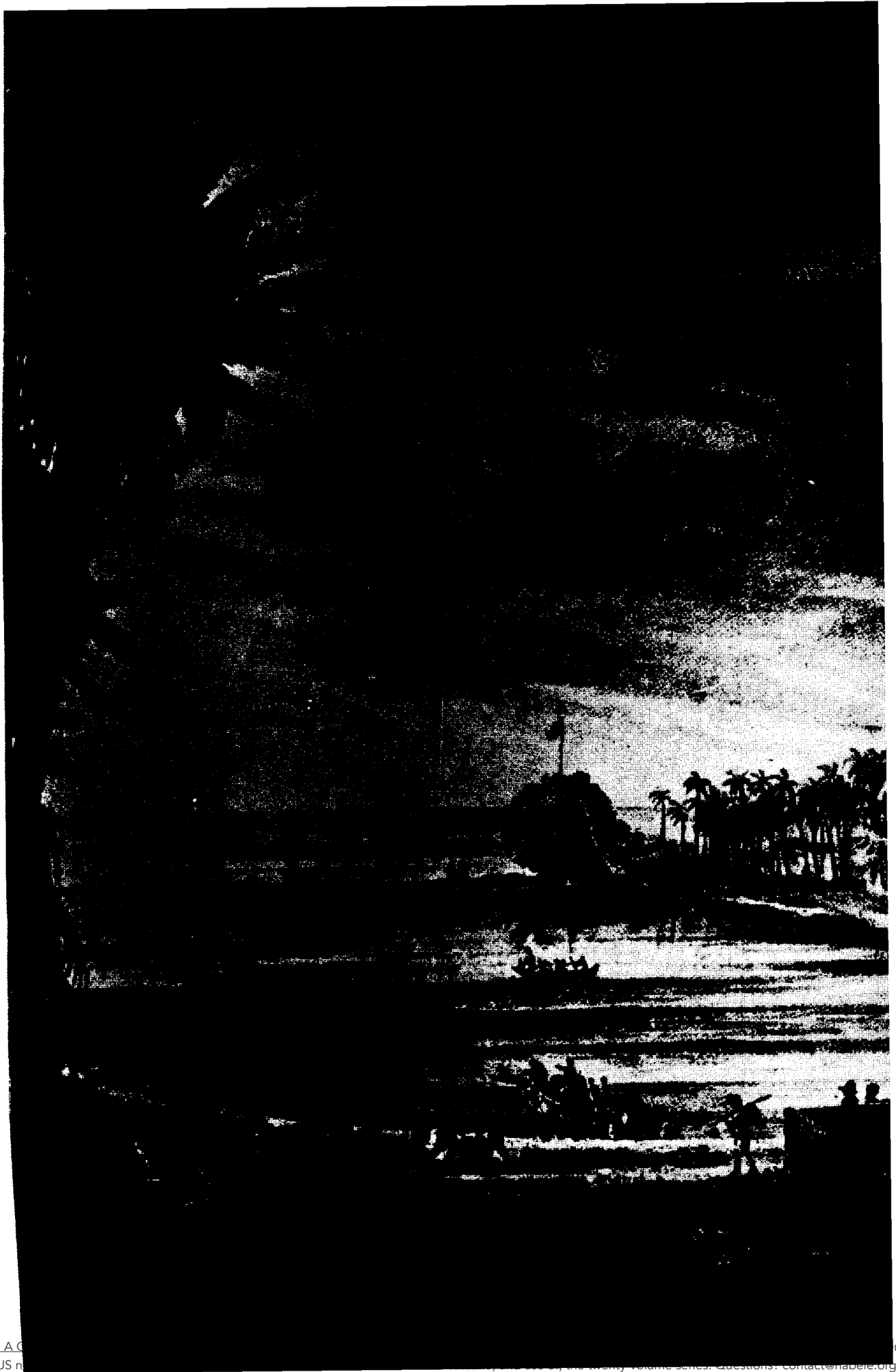
By 1806, Brambila was working in Madrid and had officially immigrated to Spain. During the French occupation, he moved around, but it is known that he spent three years in Cadiz, 1811-1814. He went back to Madrid in 1814 and continued teaching perspective in the Academy of San Fernando and earning extra money as a painter of official events, and royal places. Given that a good inventory of his paintings was kept in those days, one can say that many of his works have since disappeared, probably through theft. He was prolific and usually affixed his signature to his works. He died at Madrid on 23 January 1834 at his house at #2 Amanuel Street. He was 71 years old.

(Facing page:) **View of the port of Acapulco in 1791, by Brambila.** *As seen from a point opposite El Grifo. (Museo de América, Col. Bauzá, Tome I-23, Inv. n° 2.234.)*

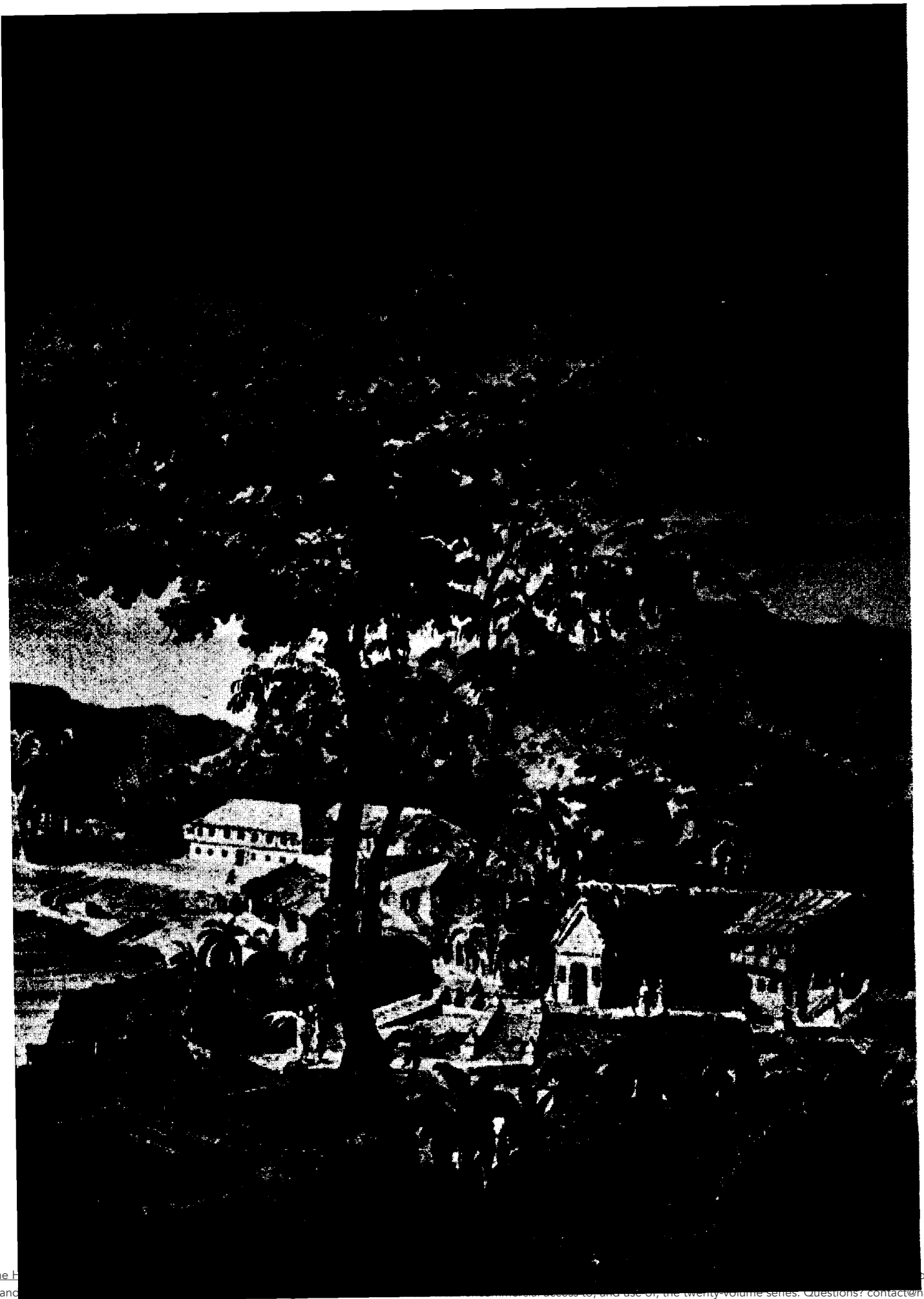
(Next two pages:) **View of the anchorage of Umatac, Guam, by Brambila.** *Panoramic view of the cove of Umatac, as seen from ashore near the Santa Bárbara Battery, In background the corvettes at anchor, and to the right of them, Fort Santo Angel. (MN, ms. 1724-17).*

N.B. See also Endpapers for two more views of Umatac by Brambila.









---

## Documents 1792M

---

# Letters of appointment of Governor Manuel Muro

*Source: AGI Fil. 345, libro 16, fol. 161v-165v, pp. 384-392.*

*Note: Two things are new: 1) the government of the Mariana Islands is for the first time (and for the rest of the Spanish regime) split into two functions, the military and the political; 2) furthermore, the Council of the Indies has become part of the new Ministry of Grace and Justice at Madrid. Grace means affairs affecting religion.*

## M1. Title of Governor of the Mariana Islands, dated San Lorenzo 1 October 1792

### Original text in Spanish.

*Titulo de Governador Politico de las Islas Marianas en las Filipinas para el Capitan retirado de Infanteria Don Manuel Muro residente en estos Reynos.—V.M. lo mandó. Fecho por principal. Refrendado del Sor. Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco, y firmado de los Señores su Excelencia Pizarro y Cutuc.*

*Don Carlos por la Gracia de Dios, &a.*

*Por quanto atendiendo al merito y servicios de vos el Capitan de Infanteria retirado Don Manuel Muro residente en estos Reynos he venido por mi Real Decreto de 24 de Julio de este año en conferiros el Gobierno Militar Presidial de las Islas Marianas y comunicarlo à mi Consejo de Camara de las Indias para que se os expidan los Despachos correspondientes à la parte Politica. Por tanto es mi voluntad que vos el nominado Don Manuel Muro entreis à servir y exercer el empleo de Governador Politico de las Islas Marianas y que lo continueis por el tiempo que fuere de mi agrado en la misma forma y con las propias facultades que vuestro antecesor, y mando al Governador [sic] y los de mi Consejo de las Indias tomen y reciban de vos el expresado Don Manuel Muro el Juramento acostumbrado que en tales casos se requiere, con la solemnidad que se acostumbra de que bien y fielmente servireis el expresado Gobierno; y que habiendole executado y puestose Testimonio de ello á espaldas de este Titulo, es mi voluntad os presenteis con el al Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas, y al Regente y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de Manila para que os pongan en posesion de él, y os entreguen los Despachos, é Instrucciones que se hubieren dado é vuestros antecesores. Y asimismo ordeno á los enunciados Presidente Regente y Oidores, y á los demas Jueces*

*y Ministros de los Tribunales de aquellas Islas y á los demas Jueces y Ministros de los Tribunales de aquellas Islas y á los vecinos y moradores de la Jurisdiccion del enunciado Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, que os hayan y tengan por tal Governador Politico de ellas, guardandoos, y haciendo se os guarden todas las honras, gracias, mercedes, inmunidades, prerrogativas, escepciones y preheminiencias que os tocan sin limitacion alguna, y por lo que toca á la forma con que os haveis de portar en el uso y exercicio de esto empleo, y facultades que con el habeis de tener, y poder usar, y lo que deben de observar mientras lo sirviereis, os arreglareis á las ordenes y Instrucciones que estuvieren dadas y se dieren en adelante; y declaro que no debeis cantidad alguna al derecho de la Media Annata por no disfrutar sueldo alguno con el expresado empleo de Governador Politico, respecto de estaros considerado en el Militar de que se os ha expedido mi Real Titulo separado; y mediante que por Real Orden de 15 de Noviembre de 1788 se sirvió el Rey mi Señor y Padre (que sea en Gloria) resolver que en el preciso termino de dos meses contados desde las fechas de sus respectivos Titulos se hayan de presentar todos los provistos para America en el Puerto de esta Peninsula por donde dispongan sus viages al Juez de arribadas, remitiendo certificacion á mi Secretaria de Estado del Despacho de Indias correspondiente á Gracia y Justicia y al expresado mi Consejo de Camara previniendoles que por el propio hecho de no cumplir con lo mandado en la expresada soberana Resolucion se le declararán por vacantes sus respectivos empleos y proveeran en otro lo qual se ha practicado con vos el enunciado Don Manuel Muro para vuestra inteligencia.*

*Y de este mi Real Titulo se tomará razon en las Contadurias generales de la Distribucion de mi Real Hacienda y de mi Consejo de las Indias dentro de dos meses de su data, y no executandolo asi quedará nula esta gracia, y tambien se tomará por los Oficiales Reales de la expresada Ciudad de Manila.*

*Dado en San Lorenzo à 1º de Octubre de 1792.*

### **Translation.**

Title of Governor of the Mariana Islands in the Philippines for retired Captain Manuel Muro, residing in these Kingdoms.—As ordered by Y.M. Made as original copy. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco, and signed for the Gentlemen [of the Council of the Indies] by His Excellency Pizarro y Cutuc.

Charles by the grace of God, etc.

Infantry Captain (ret'd), Don Manuel Muro, residing in these Kingdoms:

In view of thine merit and services rendered, I have decided by my Royal decree of 24 July last, to grant thee the post of officer-in-charge of the garrison as Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, and I have advised my Council of the Indies to issue to thee the Despatches corresponding to the Political governship. Consequently, it is my will that thou, the above-named Don Manuel Muro, assume and serve in the post of Political Governor of the Mariana Islands for as long as it be of my pleasure in the same manner and with the same authorities as thine predecessor, and I order the Governor [sic] and Members of my Council of the Indies, to take and receive from thee, the above-

named Manuel Muro, the customary oath, if they have not already done so, with the solemnity that is required in such cases, thou swearing to serve well and faithfully in the above-said governorship. Once this will have been done, and a testimony thereof placed on the reverse side of this letter of appointment, it is my will that thou present thyself before the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and the Regent and Members of my Royal Audiencia of Manila to deliver to thee the despatches and instructions that might have been given to thine predecessors.<sup>1</sup> In addition, I order the above-mentioned President and Members of it, and the other Judges and Ministers of the Tribunals of those Islands, and the residents of the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government of the Mariana Islands, to observe and make others observe all of the honors, favors, immunities, prerogatives, exemptions, and pre-eminences belonging to thee, without any restriction whatever. And as far as the manner with which thou will have to exercise this employment, and the authority that thou will have to use, and be able to use, and the rules that thou will have to follow while serving in it, thou art to abide by the orders and Instructions that will be given to thee, now and in future; and I declare that thou shall be exempt from paying the *media annata* tax, since thou will not enjoy any salary in the above-mentioned post of Political Governor, given that thou is considered a Military officer having received my Royal letter of appointment as Military Governor separately; and given that by Royal Order dated 15 November 1788, the King my Lord and Father (may he rest in peace) has decided that all appointees destined for America such as thyself must present themselves within two months of their respective appointment at the Port of this Peninsula, to arrange for their passage with the Judge of arrivals, by remitting a certificate from my Secretary of State in charge of despatch office for the Indies belonging to [the Ministry of] Grace and Justice and to the above-mentioned my Council of the Indies, and I must warn thee, Don Manuel Muro, that non-compliance with the above sovereign decision will result in said posts being declared vacant and another named in thy place. For thine information.

And the Accountants General in the pay sections of my Royal Finance Department and of my Council of the Indies are to take note of the present my Royal letter of appointment, within two months of its date, as otherwise that favor will become null and void, and so too the Royal officials in the above-mentioned City of Manila.

Made at San Lorenzo, 1 October 1792.

[I the King, etc.]

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The mention of a *residencia*, or management audit, has been removed from the usual format.

## M2. Letter from the King to the Audiencia of Manila, dated San Lorenzo 1 October 1792

### Original text in Spanish.

*A la Audiencia de Manila, ordenandola no embie Jueces de Comision al Gobierno de las Islas Marianas, y que las causas que se ofrecieren las remita á aquel Governador.—V.M. lo mandó. Fecho por principal. Refrendado del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*El Rey.*

*Presidente Regente y Oidores de mi Real Audiencia de las Islas Filipinas que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por mi Real Titulo de fecha de este dia he hecho merced al Capitan retirado de Infanteria Don Manuel Muro del Gobierno politico de las Islas Marianas; y porque se suelen embiar por esa Audiencia Jueces de Comision por causas leves y con salarios excesivos en que los vecinos de aquella Jurisdiccion reciben agravios os ordeno y mando que de aqui adelante no provean Jueces de Comision para la Jurisdiccion del expresado Gobierno sino que las causas que se ofrecieren las remitan á aquel Governador excepto en los casos inexcusables y precisos, y en estos será á costa de los que la pidieren, con apercibimiento de que de lo contrario se proveerá de remedio.*

*Fecha en San Lorenzo á primero de Octubre de mil setecientos noventa y dos.*

### Translation.

To the Audiencia of Manila, ordering them not to send Judge Commissioners to the Government of the Marianas and that legal cases that might occur be remitted to that Governor.—As Y.M. has ordered.—Made as original copy. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

The King.

President and Members of my Royal Audiencia of the Philippine Islands that resides in the City of Manila.

By my Royal letter of appointment of this date, I have favored retired Captain of Infantry Don Manuel Muro, with the political governorship of the Mariana Islands; and because the practice of that Audiencia has been to send Judge Commissioners to hear light cases and with excessive salaries by which the residents of that jurisdiction suffer damages, I order you, from now on, not to provide Judge Commissioners for the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned government; instead, the cases that might occur are to be remitted to that Governor, except in indispensable and necessary cases, and in such cases the [court] costs will be paid by the plaintiffs, with the proviso that otherwise the amount will be part of the sentence.

Made at San Lorenzo, 1 October 1792.

[I the King, etc.]

### M3. Letter from the King to the Governor of the Philippines, dated San Lorenzo 1 October 1792

#### Original text in Spanish.

*Al Gobernador de Filipinas ordenandole haga dar posesion del Gobierno Politico de las Islas Marianas al Capitan retirado de Infanteria Don Manuel Muro residente en estos Reynos.—V.M. lo mandó. Fecho por principal. Refrendadoone del Señor Secretario Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.*

*El Rey.*

*Governador y Capitan General de las Islas Filipinas y Presidente de mi Real Audiencia de ellas, que reside en la Ciudad de Manila.*

*Por mi Real Titulo de fecha de este dia, he hecho merced al Capitan retirado de Infanteria Don Manuel Muro del Gobierno Politico de las Islas Marianas, en la forma que por el atado Titulo lo entenderéis, y porque mi voluntad es que no se ponga embarazo al entero, y puntual cumplimiento de esta merced, ni se dilate la posesion con ningun pretexto, ni motivo segun y por las razones que se expresan en el mencionado Titulo; he querido participaroslo para que lo observeis precisamente como os lo mando, y me deis cuenta de haberse executado para hallarme enterado de ello.*

*Fecha en San Lorenzo á primero de Octubre de mil setecientos noventa y dos.*

#### Translation.

To the Governor of the Philippines, ordering him to arrange for the political governorship of the Mariana Islands to be given to retired Captain of Infantry, Don Manuel Muro, a resident of these Kingdoms.—As Y.M. has ordered. Made as original copy. Countersigned by the Secretary, Don Antonio Ventura de Taranco.

The King.

[To the] Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands, and President of my Royal Audiencia there, residing in the City of Manila.

By this my Royal letter of appointment of this date, I have favored retired Captain of Infantry, Don Manuel Muro, with the Political governorship of the Mariana Islands, in the form that you will understand from his letter of appointment (copy attached). And since it is my will that there be no hindrance to the complete and ready compliance with this favor, there shall be no delay or pretext, nor excuse, in so doing, for the reasons expressed in said document, I have decided to let you know of it, so that you may observe it precisely and you are to report to me on action taken, so that I may be kept fully informed.

Made at San Lorenzo, 1 October 1792.

[I the King, etc.]

---

## Documents 1792N

---

# The Halcyon, Captain Barkley, and the Venus, Captain Shepherd, via Yap

### Note by Horsburgh.

*Source: James Horsburgh. India Directory (London, 1836).*

...

The **Halcyon**, and **Venus**, American [sic] vessels, bound to Kamschatka, and to the N.W. coast of America, saw the Island Yap bearing North at 4 a.m., May 16th, 1792. At day-light, they steered along the S.W. side of the island within a 1/4 and 1/2 mile of the reef, then hove to, for many canoes that were coming off; some of which had 15 or 16 men in them, and were exactly similar to the Flying Proa of the Marian Islands. The chief articles brought off by these people, were cocoa-nuts, hooks, and fishing-lines, some flying fish, tarro, pieces of mat-cloth, and spears. They were in every respect like the natives of the Pellew Islands, stout and regularly formed, and seemed to understand the Pellew Vocabulary.

The island has a pleasing aspect, being interspersed with many houses, well constructed, in the same manner as those of the Pellew Islands; and there seems to be a large village to the S. Eastward of the reef.

...

### N1. The logbook of the Halcyon

*Source: Mss. #AA 20.5 L92 and AA20.5 H12B in Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.: Barkley, Charles Francis. January 7, 1786-1793, specifically Vol. 2, part 1: Brig Halcyon from Bengal to the Coast of Northwest America, January 7-July 19, 1792; and Vol. 1, part 2: Brig Halcyon from St. Peter & St. Paul...*

...

[In Nov-Dec 1793, the ship came back across the Pacific, crossing the Marianas, but that part of the log is no longer extant, except for the ending, as follows:]

Sunday, December 23 [1793].

At daylight saw many fishing boats and at 10 AM saw the coast of China.

...

## N2. The lost diary of Mrs. Barkley

*Sources: 1) Primary: An unpublished manuscript by Constance Parker, entitled: "Account of my Great Grandmother Miss Frances Trevor [sic] taken from her letters and her diary." Brownholme Hall, 1913; also ms. in Provincial Archives of B.C., under #AA20B24.1; 2) Secondary: Bett Hill. The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley: 1769-1845 (Sidney, B.C., Gray's, 1978).*

*Note: The Hill book is not a first-hand account, unfortunately, she could not find the actual diary.*

### Extract from the paraphrase of her diary by Constance Parker.

...  
On the [blank] day of May [1792] we fell in with one of the New Carolina Islands, which being laid down in the Spanish Maps very erroneously, we made it very unexpectedly, at daylight, running at the rate of ten knots an hour [sic]. We had a narrow escape, as we were Sailing directly for it, so that our fate depended upon perhaps half an hour longer dark, or had it been Foggy the Vessel would probably have been lost, for the Shore was encompassed with sunken Rocks.

Some few Fishermen came off with a few Flying Fish which they had no doubt for bait. They had not any fruit in the Canoe, which was accounted for by their having been out on a fishing expedition probably long before they discry'd our Vessel. However, these Natives appear'd to have seen ships before, as they did not show any sygns of fear or astonishment. They would not Venture on board for some time, but a few Spike Nails lowered down soon brought them alongside, and they made fast their Fish, and a few trifling ornaments which they wore in their Ears in exchange for Nails and some trifling presents. One Man only came on board out of forty or fifty who were along side in Nine Canoes. The Men were a large well proportioned People with fine regular features with very Bushy Hair hanging loose on their shoulders. They wore Caps made of a sort of neat matting in the shape of a sugar loaf, and they had Tortois shell Bracelets on their arms, and a kind of coarse Cornelian strung for necklaces, as well as Correll. Their Ears were perforated, to which were appended large Shells which had elongated the apertures. They were very much Tatooned, and stained in differant parts all over their Bodies. They looked clean and healthy, very differant from the Malays. They seemed to understand a few words that were spoken to them in the Language of the Sandwich Island, which people they resemble in their gestures, and Manner, but they are of a much lighter colour, and not quite so athletic.

Their Canoes were very large, made of planks sew'd together, rather high out of the Water but very narrow, and sharp at each end. In the Middle they have a platform of planks raised about two feet above the sides of the Canoes and it extends beyond the sides to which they have an out Rigger and a log of Wood to the Weather side, fastened to act as a balance. They sett on this platform, and take shelter under it probably by Night, but when under sail all the spare hands get on the weather outrigger to keep the Canoe from oversetting. They have a very tall Mast and a large sail made of Matting, and Sail very fast, and when they alter their course they Shift the Sails without turning the Canoe, which being both ends alike, no matter which end is foremost. They are very



clean and painted in stripes Red and end White. Upon standing inn for the Shore we saw an emense Number of Canoes, or Prows, for they were very large, but they brought us but little fruit, a few Cocoa Nuts and some trash for which they were anxious to get Iron.

The Island to wich they gave the name of Yapp, looked very beartifully wooded, and thei Houses, which we saw very distinctly with a telescope (being not more than a mile from the shore) were well built, the best we had seen in the South Sea, and looked like our Farm Houses, with slaunting Roofs, and altogether a large Village. In fact we were surprised at their poverty, for in other respects they answer the discription given by Capten Wilson of the Pelew Islands, and the Natives seemed to understand the words given in his vocabulary of the language of those Islands. In fact, if the pronounciation had been correct, we should have found the same here, and they talk very fast and loud.

We had a very smart breeze as we stood along the Island, and the Prows kept up wonderfully with our Vissel, which being coppered bottomed sailed very well. We stood out to sea in the afternoon, but the wind falling in the Evening it became calm, and to our suruprise we saw two canoes make their appearance, and soon after several others, algho we were from three to four leagues from the Shore. They came from the West end of the Island, where we saw a large well peopled Village situated in a grove of Cocoa nutts. It looked very green and pleasant to the Eye, altho there was no appearance of cultivation. We were very glad that the Night proved Calm, for the poor sailors, for when we stood off it had a very differant appearance.

(rest missing)<sup>1</sup>

---

1 There follow 6 empty pages, which represent a lost 5-6 week period, when the ships visited the Marianas. The excerpt of the diary resumes with the South Island of the Volcano [i.e. Iwo] group, where they arrived on 16 June 1792.

---

## Document 1792O

---

# The Royal Admiral, Captain Essex Henry Bond, visited the Ralik Chain in December 1792

*Source: Log 338F, India Office, London.*

### The logbook kept by Captain Bond

Ship Royal Towards Canton [after visiting Port Jackson]

...

Remarks Monday December 10 [1792]

... A.M. passed many drift trees &c &c &c.

Long. by Chronometer Indifferent Observation 166°33' E.

Lat. per Indifferent Observation 1°99' N.

Courses N by W etc. Winds W by N etc.

Remarks Saturday Dec. 15th

Increasing in hard squalls to a hard gale heavy rain gloomy weather.

At 2 p.m. saw two islands from N by W to NNE1/2E. Finding we could not weather, bore up and passed them to the Eastward at about 6 miles distance. At 4 p.m. the extremes from W to S 50 W distant 4 or 5 miles.

At 1/2 past 5 p.m. the extremes of the island from SW1/4W to SSW1/2W distant 5 leagues.

A.M. shifted topgallant masts with short ones.

As these islands are a new discovery, I have named them Barings Isles in honor of the present chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors.

Lat. 5°35' N. S.E end

Long. 168°13' E ditto

[Noon] Lat. Obs. 6°33' North.

Courses NW by N etc. Winds WSW etc.

Remarks Sunday Dec. 16, 1792

First and middle parts fresh gales & cloudy with squalls and rain.

At 10 p.m. bro' too under the topsails. At 11 saw a light on the lee bow. Beat NW by N. Wore ship immediately and made sail to the Southward. Saw the land from NW

by N to NE dist. about 4 or 5 miles. At 1/2 past 3 a.m. wore [ship] and at 6 saw the land bearing NW by W. Finding we could not weather it, bore up & ranged along the East side of several islands extending about 12 or 13 leagues from NNE to SSW.

At noon the body of the northernmost Island SW dist. about 6 leagues.

Lat. from 7°20' N to 7°47' N.

Long. 169°23' E side

[Noon] Lat. obs. 7°52' N.

[No more islands were seen during the following days. The ship went to the Marianas.]

Courses W1/2S etc. Winds E by N etc.

Remarks Friday Dec. 28 1792

A pleasant trade, fair throughout.

At 10 a.m. saw the Island Tinian bearing W about 5 leagues. At 1 p.m. the westernmost extreme of Tinian NNE, the westernmost extreme of Aguigan SSE distance off Aguigan 2 miles found a strong tide setting to wards(?) East bat(?) the island.

Extremes of Tinian W1/2S to WNW, Saypan NNW, Aguigan WSW. A.M. Round up the sheet cables out of the hold and coiled them in the tier. A.M. got the pinnace in off the skids into the longboat for the caulker. Armorer at the forge. Sailmaker making topgallant stay sails.

Long. Chronometer 144°53' E.

[Noon] Cloudy. Lat. per Ind. Obs. 15°03' N.

Course West. Winds East etc.

Remarks Saturday Dec. 29 1792

A pleasant trade, fair throughout.

Seamen employed by the Boatswain. Gunner painting the pinnace. Caulker caulking amidships before the fore hatchway, the other tradesmen as necessary.

West of Account 20 miles.

Long. Chron. 141°56' E

[Noon] Lat. Obs. 15°29' N.

...

[The ship arrived at Whampoa on 12 January 1793, left Whampoa on 19 March for England.]

---

**Documents 1792P**

---

**Subsidies for the Marianas, 1787-1792, aboard  
the galleon San Andrés****P1. Errors in previous subsidies for the College of Guam**

*Source: AGN Fil. 24, fol. 78-78v.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*N. 10*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Con fecha de 10 de Marzo de 1790 me dice V.E. que en la cantidad de 223,922 pesos 4 reales 1 grano, que havia regulado de Situado del año de 89, se comprendian 3,000 pesos de la dotacion del Colegio de San Juan de Letran de las Yslas Marianas, respectivos à los años de 87 y 88; cuya suma, no se hà recibido en estas Caxas, ni se hace referencia de ella en la regulacion que V.E. me remitiò, ni en la que me dirigen Oficiales Reales de Acapulco; y respecto à lo diminuto, que hizo V.E. el Situado, como le manifiesto en Oficio separado n° 7, se servirà V.E. dirigirme no solo esta cantidad, sino la correspondiente à los años de 89, 90, y 91, pues de ella depende la subsistencia de aquel Colegio, que se halla vajo la proteccion del Patronato Real, y por falta de este caudal, no se verifica que se dê à corresponder lo que S.M. tiene resuelto, para el incremento de sus fondos, y que puedan sufragarse los gastos anuales, que exceden en otra tanta cantidad de la que està situada sobre estas Cajas, à fin de que yò no me vea en el compromiso, ò de suspender los envios, de obligar, sin facultad para ello, à que lo sufran estas Reales Caxas.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 15 de Julio de 1791.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Felix Berenguer de Marquina*

*[A] Exmo. Sor. Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

**Translation.**

*N° 10.*

*Your Excellency.*

In a letter dated 10 March 1790, Y.E. says that the sum of 223,923 pesos 4 reals 1 grain, which composed the Subsidy for the year 1789, included 3,000 pesos of annuity payment for the College of San Juan de Letran in the Mariana Islands, corresponding to the years 1787 and 1788. The sum in question has not been received by the Treasury here, nor was it mentioned in the regulation that Y.E. sent me, nor in that sent by the Royal officials of Acapulco. With respect of the diminutive subsidy that Y.E. has sent me, as I represent in my letter n° 7 under separate cover, Y.E. will please remit not only this sum, but also those corresponding to the years 1789, 1790 and 1791; indeed, the very subsistence of that College depends upon this subsidy, which is guaranteed by royal patronage. For lack of these funds, the will of H.M. would therefore be frustrated. As a matter of fact, an increase of such funds would be required, since the yearly expenditures are double the amount granted, and must be paid out by this Treasury, which would be obliged, either to suspend the remittal of same, or be forced to send them without approval for doing so, and later have this Treasury bear the loss of said funds.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 15 July 1791.

Your Excellency.

Felix Berenguer de Marquina

[To] His Excellency Count of Revillagigedo.

## P2. Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1790

*Source: AGN Fil. 24, fol. 159-173.*

### Original texts in Spanish.

*Año de 1790*

*Filipinas N. 6*

*Don Francisco Bazo Ybañez Apoderado del Gobernador y Tropa de Yslas Marianas, pidiendo el Situado.*

*Año de 1790.*

*Constancia de haver recibido el Situado en las Yslas Marianas, pertenecientes a los años de 87, 89, y 90.*

*Principal.*

*Yo el Capitan Don Manuel Garrido Secretario de la Governacion, y Guerra de las Yslas Marianas. Doy feè, y verdadero Testimonio a los Señores que el presente vieren como D. Manuel Camus Herrera, Maestre de Plata de la Fragata del Rey S. Andres surto en la Bahía de Umata entregò al Señor Teniente Coronel D. José Arlegui, y Leòz, Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon, que guarnece la Plaza de Manila, Justicia mayor, Teniente de Gobernador, y Capitan general de estas Citadas Yslas la cantidad de treinta y quatro mil seiscientos quarenta y quatro pesos siete y medio reales, y veinte y ocho Caxones, y Fardos pertenecientes à los Situados de los años de ochenta y nueve, y del corriente de noventa, cobrados y remitidos de la Caxa Real de*

*Mexico por el Apoderado general D. Manuel Ramon de Goya. Asi mismo diez y nueve mil quarenta y tres pesos un real y quatro granos en una Libranza contra dicho Señor Governador, y a favor de este Presidio y de los Reales efectos que D. Pedro Galarraga Apoderado general del mismo Presidio en Manila, recaudo del Maestre de la misma Fragata en dicha Ciudad **por no aver tocado en estas Yslas el año de ochenta y siete** correspondiente al situado de él. Y para que conste à los efectos que convengan doy el presente por duplicado en este Papel comun por no usarse de ningun sello en este Puerto, y Villa de Umata catorce de Junio de mil setecientos y noventa.*

*Manuel Garrido*

*Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.*

[Certification by a Recollect Father]

*Yò Fray Andres de S. Josè de la Orden de Agustinos Recoletos Delcalzos, Vice Provincial de la Mision de estas Yslas Marianas, Juez Ecclesiastico, y Vicario foraneo en ellas, y Rector del Colegio de S. Juan de Letran.*

*Certifico, y doy feè que el Capitan Don Manuel Garrido de quien va autorizado el Ynstrumento à la buelta, ès Secretario de Governacion, y Guerra de estas Yslas, usa, y exerce dicho oficio, y como à tal à todos los Autos, Escrituras, y demas Instrumentos de esta igualdad, que por su Testimonio han pasado, y pasan seles ha dado, y dà entera feè, y credito judicial, y extrajudicialmente, como Secretario fiel, legal, y de toda confianza, y la firma, letra y nombre ès propia suya, y de la que acostumbra en todos sus Despachos, en cuyo Testimonio por inopia de otros Secretarios, y Escribanos Publicos, y Reales que comprueven ser asi, doy la presente firmada de mi mano, y nombre en este Puerto de la Villa de Umata, catorce de Junio de mil setecientos y noventa.*

*Fr. Andres de San Josef*

*Juez Ecclesiastico y Vicario foraneo.*

[Other certificates]

*El Sargento maior D. Joaquin de Lima, y los Capitanes D. Josè Fernandez de Cardenas, y D. Domingo Manuel Garrido de Primera, y segunda Compañia de Ynfanteria Española que guarneçen à este Real Presidio de las Yslas Marianas.*

*Certificamos que D. Manuel Garrido de que vâ autorizado el Documento que antecede ès Secretario Governacion, y guerra de estas citadas yslas--, legal y de toda confianza, y como tal a todos sus Despachos, y Autos que por su feè ha pasado, y pasan, se les ha dado, y dá entera fee, y credito en juicio, y fuera de el, y la firma y letra y nombre es propia y de la que acostumbra en todos sus despachos. Como así mismo la firma, y letra del M.R.P. Fr. Andres de S. José Rector del colegio seminario de la ciudad de S. Ignacio de Agaña vicario provincial de estas citadas islas, juez ecclesiastico y vicario foraneo en ellas en propia suia. En cuio Testimonio por inopia de otros secretarios y escribanos publicos y Reales que comprueben de ser asi damos la presente firmada a nuestras manos en este puerto de Umata catorce de junio de mil novecientos y noventa.*

*Joaquin de Lima Josef Fernandez de Cardenas Domingo Manuel Garrido*

[fol. 162]

*Principal.*

*Señores Don Manuel Ramon de Goya en 1er lugar*

*Don Francisco Bazo Ybañez en 2º*

*Don Manuel Garcia Herreros en 3º*

*Muy señor mio: Dirijo a vuestra merced la constancia adjunta de haber recibido del Maestre de plata para la Fragata **San Andres D. Manuel Camus Herrera** el situado correspondiente a este Real Presidio para el correspondiente año, en dinero, y generos segun por menor se expresa; a fin de que sirva á V.m. en los tribunales de esa Capital para acreditar su legitima percepcion en estas Yslas.*

*Nuestro Señor guarde a V.m.d. muchos años.*

*Puerto de Umata Jurisdicción de las Islas Marianas 14 de junio de 1790.*

*B.I.m. de V.m.*

*Su muy atento servidor*

*Josef Arleguí y Leoz*

**[List of the soldiers of the garrison of the Marianas in 1790]**

*Año de 1790.*

*Documento que certifica la existencia de la Guarnicion del Presidio de las Yslas Marianas para el cobro de su Situado en el de 1791.*

*Principal.*

*D. José Arleguí, y Leóz Teniente Coronel graduado Comandante del Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon que Guarnece la Plaza de Manila, y Gobernador por S.M. de estas Yslas Marianas.*

*Certifico que los Oficiales[,] Sargentos, Tambores, Cavos, Soldados, y Ynvalidos que a continuacion se expresarán son los mismos que han estado, y están de Guarnicion en este Presidio de las Yslas Marianas desde diez y ocho de Febrero del año proximo pasado de mil setecientos ochenta, y nueve hasta oy de la fecha en que quedan continuando: cuyos nombres son los siguientes.*

**Translation.**

Year of 1790.

Philippines Nº 6.

Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez, Agent for the Governor and Troop of the Mariana Islands, requests the Subsidy.

Year of 1790.

Acknowledgment of the receipt of the Subsidy of the Mariana Islands corresponding to the years 1787, 1789, and 1790.

Original copy.

I, Captain Manuel Garrido, Secretary for Administration and War of the Mariana Islands, hereby certify to the Gentlemen who may perchance see the present, that Don Manuel Camus Herrera, Master of the Silver of His Majesty's frigate **San Andrés** anchored in the Bay of Umatac, has delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel José Arlegu y Leóz, Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, who are garrisoning the stronghold of Manila, Chief Justice, Lieutenant of Governor and Captain General of these Islands, the sum of 34,644 pesos and 7-1/2 reals, plus 28 crates and bundles belonging to the Subsidies of the years 1789, and current year 1790, that have been paid out by the Royal treasury of Mexico and remitted by the Agent General, Don Manuel Ramón de Goya. In addition 19,043 pesos, 1 real and 4 grains of one warrant against said Governor and in favor of this Garrison and of the Royal funds that Don Pedro Galarraga, Agent General of the Garrison of Manila, received from the Master of the same frigate in said City, **because she did not touch at these Islands in the year 1787**, and which belonged to his subsidy. And, in faith whereof, I give the present in duplicate, on this common paper for lack of sealed paper, in this Port and Town of Umatac, on 14 June 1790.

Manuel Garrido.  
Secretary for Administration and War.

[Certification by a Recollect Father]

I, Fray Andrés de San José of the Order of Discalced Augustinian Recollects, Vice-Provincial of the Mission of these Mariana Islands, Ecclesiastical Judge, their Vicar Itinerant, and Rector of the College of San Juan de Letran, do certify that Captain Manuel Garrido, who penned the above instrument, is Secretary for Administration and War of these Islands, and as such, he exercises said office and has written, and does write, all documents, writs, and other instruments of this nature, to be certified for their use judicially, and extra-judicially, as the faithful, legal, and completely trustworthy, Secretary that he is, and his signature and name are his own, and the usual ones on all his despatches. In faith whereof, for lack of other Secretaries or Notaries, Royal or Public, who would verify to this truth, I give the present and affix my own name and signature, in this Port and Town of Umatac, on 14 June 1790.

Fr. Andrés de San José  
Ecclesiastical Judge and Vicar Itinerant.

[Other certificates]

Sergeant-Major Joaquin de Lima, and Captains José Fernandez de Cárdenas, and Domingo Manuel Garrido, of the First and Second Companies of Spanish Infantry garrisoning this Royal Garrison of the Mariana islands:

We certify that Manuel Garrido who has authorized the above document is indeed Secretary for Administration and War of these Islands, is [faithful], legal and completely trustworthy, and as such, is worthy of being given full credit in any court, or outside



of them, and the signature and name used are his own and the usual ones that he uses on all his despatches. We also certify that the signature and name of Reverend Father Fray Andrés de San José, Rector of the College Seminary of the city of San Ignacio de Agaña, Vicar-Provincial of these Islands, Ecclesiastical Judge and Vicar Itinerant of them, are his own. In faith whereof, for lack of other secretaries or notaries, public or Royal, to attest to same, we give the present signed by our own hands, in this Port of Umatac, on 14 June 1790.

Joaquin de Lima José Fernandez de Cárdenas Domingo Manuel Garrido

Original copy.

[To the] Gentlemen Don Manuel Ramón de Goya, in the first place.

Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez, in the second place.

Don Manuel García Herreros, in the third place.

My dear Sir:

I address the attached statement to Your Grace acknowledging the receipt from the Master of the Silver of the frigate **San Andrés**, Manuel Camus Herrera, the subsidy corresponding to this Royal garrison for the corresponding year, in money and goods, according to the details given therein, so that Your Grace may make use of same in the tribunals of that Capital to prove that it has been duly received at these Islands.

May our Lord save Your Grace for many years.

Port of Umatac, Jurisdiction of the Mariana Islands, 14 June 1790.

The most devoted servant of Your Grace who kisses your hand,

José Arleguí y Leóz

**[List of the soldiers of the garrison of the Marianas in 1790]**

Year of 1790.

Document to certify the existence of the members of the garrison of the Mariana Islands for the purpose of collecting their subsidy for the year 1791.

Original copy.

I, José Arleguí y Leóz, permanent Lieutenant-Colonel and Commander of the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, who are garrisoning the stronghold of Manila, and Governor on behalf of H.M. of these Mariana Islands, do certify that the officers, sergeants, drummers, corporals, soldiers, and invalids whose names are given below are indeed those who have been serving, and continue to serve, as members of this Garrison of the Mariana Islands, as of 18 February of last year 1789 until this date, as follows:

Headquarters Staff.

Sergeant-Major Joaquin de Lima .....	1
Adjutant-Major Ignacio Espinosa .....	1
Adjutant-Minor Juan Chrisostomo Flores .....	1
Another: José Romano Dueñas .....	1

---

## First Company of Spanish Infantry

Captain-in-charge José Fernandez de Cárdenas .....	1
Artillery Captain Domingo Sarmiento .....	1
Retired Captain Dionicio Iglesias .....	1
Captain José Antonio Aguirre, Surgeon of this Garrison .....	1
Captain José de Castro, Mayor of the Village of Apurguan and Santa Rosa .....	1
Captain Juan Francisco Raxis de Torres, Mayor of this City and i/c Militia .....	1
Captain Felipe de la Cruz, Mayor of the Island of Rota .....	1
Captain Juan de Dios Guerrero, Superintendent of Works of the Garrison .....	1
Captain Leopardo Arceo, Mayor of the Town of Umatac, and Merizo .....	1
Lieutenant of this Company Lorenzo Dueñas .....	1
Sergeant Pedro Soto .....	1
Sergeant José Rodriguez .....	1
Squad Corporal Ignacio Garrido .....	1
Squad Corporal José de la Cruz .....	1
Squad Corporal Gregorio de Castro .....	1
Soldiers.	
Eleuterio de Guzman, Schoolmaster of this City ....	1
Remigio Franquez .....	1
Juan de Espinosa .....	1
Diego de Rivera, Soldier and Trainer [sic] <sup>1</sup> .....	1
Agustín Diego .....	1
Antonio de León Guerrero .....	1
Fernando Salazar .....	1
Juan de Aguero .....	1
Francisco Aguon .....	1
Andrés Espinosa .....	1
Alberto de Torres .....	1
José Eduardo Pereda .....	1
Fermín Valenzuela .....	1
Santiago del Rosario .....	1
José Guerrero .....	1
Luis Marcelo .....	1
Mariano Lizama .....	1
Tomas Arceo .....	1
Juan Baptista Hernandez .....	1
Domingo Alig .....	1

---

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word used here is "Animero", but it may be an error for "Armero," which means Armourer, or Gunsmith.

Pedro Panguilinan .....	1
Manuel de Ojeda .....	1
Raymundo Cepeda .....	1
Rafael de Salas .....	1
José Andrés de Guevara, Soldier and Barber .....	1
Juan de Salas .....	1
Victorino Baza .....	1
---	---
Total active positions .....	42
---	---

Invalids in this Company.

Retired Lieutenant Rafael Dueñas .....	1
Juan de Benavente .....	1
Francisco Rodriguez de Toves .....	1
Retired Lieutenant Luis Taynatongo .....	1
Francisco Balajadia .....	1
Nicolas de la Cruz .....	1
---	---
Total invalids .....	6
---	---

Second Company of Spanish Infantry.

Captain-in-charge Domingo Manuel Garrido .....	1
Captain Manuel Garrido, Government Secretary .....	1
Captain Andrés Tello Ximenez, in charge of Royal Warehouses ...	1
Retired Captain Salvador de la Cruz .....	1
Captain Marcos de Rivera, Mayor of Inarajan and Dandan .....	1
Substantive Adjutant Juan Camacho, Mayor of Pago and Tachuña	1
Substantive Adjutant Felix Arceo, Mayor of Agat .....	1
Lieutenant of this Company, Agustin Roque Sablan.....	1
Sergeant Nicolas Quintanilla .....	1
Sergeant Francisco Arceo .....	1
Substantive Sergeant Ignacio Xavier de Castro, Master Blacksmith	1
Drummer: Ignacio Siguenza .....	1
Squad Corporal Ignacio Muña .....	1
Squad Corporal Antonio Palomo .....	1
Squad Corporal Mariano Delgado .....	1

Soldiers.

Manuel Pangalinan .....	1
José de Ibarra .....	1
José Flores .....	1
Juan de Ojeda .....	1
Mariano de la Cruz .....	1

Antonio de la Cruz .....	1
Patricio de Acosta .....	1
Andrés Cueto de Leyva .....	1
Narciso de los Reyes .....	1
Domingo de Castro .....	1
Juan de Aguilar .....	1
Gaspar Lizama .....	1
Miguel Lizama .....	1
Pedro Cutiño .....	1
José Bermejo, Soldier and Barber .....	1
Pedro Balajadia .....	1
Mariano de la Concepción .....	1
Francisco Crisostomo .....	1
Fernando Longinos Pablo .....	1
José Rodríguez .....	1
José Aguilar .....	1
Juan Manibusan .....	1
Antonio Quintanilla .....	1
Miguel Diego .....	1
Francisco Xavier de la Cruz .....	1
José Vega .....	1
Manuel Ortiz .....	1
Juan Cortez .....	1
Rafael Iglesias .....	1
	---
Total active positions	44
	---
Invalids of this Company.	
Antonio Cepeda .....	1
Domingo Romano Montujar .....	1
Retired Lieutenant Marcos Peredo .....	1
Retired Captain Domingo de Salas .....	1
Ignacio de León Guerrero .....	1
Mariano Calixto Inocencio .....	1
Jorge Taytigan .....	1
Mariano Gofzagua .....	1
José Baletto .....	1
Diego Chrisostomo .....	1
Tomás Taycipig .....	1
	---
Total invalids	11
	---

## Company of Pampango Infantry.

Captain-in-charge Manuel Panguilinan .....	1
Retired Captain Juan Arceo .....	1
Captain Pedro Nino, Master Carpenter for Royal Works .....	1
Lieutenant of this Company: Substantive Adjutant Justo de la Cruz	1
Sergeant Juan Raxis Pablo .....	1
Sergeant Gaspar Panguilinan .....	1
Drummer: José de Acosta .....	1
Squad Corporal Domingo de la Rosa .....	1
Squad Corporal Francisco Camacho .....	1

## Soldiers.

Antonio Mesa .....	1
José de la Cruz .....	1
Felix de la Cruz .....	1
Vicente Mendiola .....	1
Francisco de la Cruz .....	1
Ignacio Balajadia .....	1
Mariano de los Santos .....	1
Juan de los Reyes .....	1
José Nego .....	1
Ignacio Vargas .....	1
Antonio de los Santos .....	1
Vicente de la Cruz .....	1
Rafael de la Cruz .....	1
Juan Taytano .....	1
Desiderio Arceo .....	1
Angel de la Trinidad .....	1
Francisco Pascual .....	1
José Cepeda .....	1
Antonio Agüero .....	1
Juan de la Cruz .....	1
Antonio Ojeda .....	1
Juan de León Guerrero .....	1
Vicente Dueñas .....	1
Nicolas Cepeda .....	1
Juan José Tello .....	1
Augustín Iglesias .....	1
Andrés Sanchez .....	1
José Fejaran .....	1
Andrés de la Cruz .....	1
Rodrigo Ignacio Calixto .....	1
Juan José de la Cruz .....	1

Faustino Quintanilla .....	1
	---
Total active positions	41
	---
Invalids of this Company.	
Luis de la Cruz .....	1
Nicolas de la Cruz .....	1
Casimiro Cepeda .....	1
	---
Total Invalids .....	3
	---

### Summary.

Company	Active positions	Invalids
Headquarters Staff	4	0
1st Company of Spanish Infantry	42	6
2nd Company of Spanish Infantry	44	11
Pampango Company	41	3
	---	---
Totals:	131	20
	----	---

### P3. Subsidy for the Marianas, for 1791 and 1792

*Source: AGNAHH 600-207.*

#### Letter from the Finance Department to the Viceroy, dated Mexico 30 December 1791

##### Original text in Spanish.

***Los Ministros de Real Hazienda dicen a V.E. que quando ocurra D. Francisco Bazo Ibañez le entregaran los 40,275 p. que debe percivir como Apoderado del Governador y oficiales de la tropa de Yslas Marianas.***

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Quando ocurra à esta Tesoreria general D. Francisco Bazo Ibañez le entregaremos los quarenta mil doscientos setenta y cinco pesos que debe percivir, como Apoderado del Governador y oficiales de la Tropa de Yslas Marianas, por los situados de este año y el que pertenece al proximo venidero de 1792 como V.E. nos previene en su superior Decreto de 19 del que acaba.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Mexico 30 de Diziembre de 1791.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Conde de Revilla Gigedo.*

**Translation.**

**The Ministers of the Royal Treasury inform Y.E. that whenever Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez appears they will deliver to him the 40,275 pesos that he must collect as legal representative of the Governor and officers of the troop of the Mariana Islands.**

Your Excellency:

When General Francisco Bazo Ibañez appears at this Treasury, we will deliver to him the 42,275 pesos that he must collect, as legal representative of the Governor and officers of the Troop of the Mariana Islands, on account of the subsidy for the present year and the one belonging to next year 1792, as Y.E. has decreed on the 19th of this month.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 30 December 1791.

[To] His Excellency the Count of Revillagigedo.

#### **P4. Petition of Fray Joaquin de San Agustin for the transport of goods for the missionaries of the Marianas**

*Source: AGN Fil. 28, fol. 262-265.*

*Note: This monk has just come from Manila aboard the San Andrés.*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Año de 1791.—Filipinas.*

*Fray Joaquin de San Agustin pide Permiso para embarcar una Memoria de efectos para los Misioneros de Marianas y Filipinas.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Sr.*

*Fr. Joaquin de S. Agustin Procurador General y Presidente del Hospicio de S. Nicolas de PP. Agustinos Descalzos de la Provincia de Filipinas ante V.E. se presenta, y dice: Que de los estipendios, y sinodos que S.M. (Dios le guarde) da à los PP. Misioneros de las Yslas Filipinas, y Marianas, se han invertido en los efectos, que la lista adjunta manifiesta para la manutencion, celebracion, y demas de dichos PP. Missioneros.*

*Por tanto.*

*A V.E. suplico se sirva dar el permiso para su embarque en el Nabio S. Andres surto en Acapulco, sin que los Señores Oficiales Reales pongan embarazo en ello. Favor que espera recibir de la Piedad de V.E.*

*Mexico, y Enero à 21 de 1792.*

*Fr. Joachin de San Agustin.*

**Translation.**

Year of 1791—Philippines.

Fray Joaquin de San Agustín requests permission to load a number of goods destined to the Missionaries of the Marianas and Philippines.

Your Excellency.

Sir:

Fray Joaquin de San Agustín, Procurator General and President of the Hospice of San Nicolas of the Discalced Augustinians of the Province of the Philippines, introduces himself to Y.E. and declares: That the stipends and allowances that H.M. (may God save him) gives to the Missionary Fathers of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, have been spent in the purchase of the effects whose list is attached, for the material support, services, and other uses by said Missionary Fathers.

Consequently, I beg Y.E. to please give permission for their loading aboard the ship **San Andrés** presently anchored in Acapulco, without the Royal official there opposing this move. Favoe which he hopes to receive from the mercy of Y.E.

Mexico, 21 January 1792.

Fray Joaquin de San Agustín<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: This petition was approved by the Viceroy two days later.



---

**Document 1793A**

---

**The first U.S. ship to visit the Marianas—The Hope, Captain Benjamin Page****Extract from the log kept by Captain Page**

*Source: Ms. logbook in the Manuscript Collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.*

**As recorded by Dr. Carter in 1798 (see Doc. 1798G).**

...

1793. Feb 22.

Tinian is in the Lat. 15° N. Long. 145° E. about 5 Leagues long and 3 broad and of a moderate height. It is about NW. & SE. the SE part is rather the highest, the whole shore is bound by coral rock, except the SW part, where there are two fine sandy beaches at the head of a large bay commodious for ships to anchor at this season. From October to April in which time the NE monsoon blows clear and steady for the most part. The Island abounds with fruit trees of several sorts & in abundance, such as oranges, limes, guavas, paupau, the Bread fruit, cherry, plum & bean tree. It also abounds with Cotton & indigo, Cocoas & Cabbages. We found Pumpkins, melons[,] yams & cucumbers all growing spontaneously. Cattle are very numerous & large[,] also hogs in abundance and fowls. We found the grass very fine & high. Many of the fine meadows mentioned by Lord Anson are overrun with bushes and Brambles. However there are many very pleasant spots that are clear from underwood & well shaded. We found water plenty and good. We watered at the same well mentioned by Lord Anson. We found also a fine stream of water a little back in the Country surrounded by a beautiful grove of Cocoa nuts. The flies were troublesome but we saw no reptiles. I saw many of the pyramidical pillars but none that were standing. Tinian tho in its present uncultivated state appears to be one of the finest spots on earth. (Capt. Pages Journal) It was formerly inhabited by great numbers of inhabitants of a tawny complexion but a pestilence raging in a neighbouring Island where the Spaniards had made a settlement and reducing the number of people, the Spaniards seized on the natives of Tinian and transported them to their own colony to supply the ravages of the disease. Thus by the barbarity of the Spaniards has this little Island been unpeopled.—What is remarkable among the quadrupeds is that the Bullocks are all white and the hogs black.

[End of quote]

---

**Document 1793B**

---

## **The European discovery of the Mortlocks by Captain Raven in the ship Britannia**

### **The journal kept by Robert Murray**

*Source: Ms. journal in the Peabody Museum, Salem; PMB 215.*

### **Journal of a Voyage From England to Port Jackson, New South Wales, in the Years 1792, 1793, 1794 & 1795 in the Ship Britannia, Mr W. Raven Commander, by Rt. Murray.**

...

[Ngatik]

December 24th, 1793

Lat. 5°20 N.

6 P.M. Saw 6 Isles M b S 5 leagues. Shortened sail and kept plying off until 4 A.M.  
At 4 A.M. made sail.

8 A.M. the Isles W b N 5 leagues.

9 A.M. Long. pr 15 dist. 158°20'30" E.

At Noon the Isles bore from N 72.45 W to N 34.16 NW.

The largest is in Long 158.7 E Latitude 5.49.57 N. The West was just visible from  
Masthead its Lat. is 5.56 N Long. 157.41 E Not being marked on any chart. I suppose  
they are a new discovery. The[y] can be of service only to put navigators on their Guard  
as they are very low & are entirely surrounded by a reef of rocks at about a league dis-  
tance. Capt Nepean named them Ravens Islands.

Lat. 5.45.51 N [Long] 158.55 E Variation 9.14 E

...

Remarks on the 9th January 1794.

At 12 P.M. saw the Land bearing SW b W. Hauled to the Northward. At dawn saw  
two small Isles. At 6 AM bore up to pass to the N. East of the Northernmost Island off  
which a reef runs about a mile to the NW. After we had opened the channell we had  
several canoes alongside, containing on a medium 5 or 6 Natives each. They wore no  
other cloaths than a Girdle of a cloth made of the fibers of some kind of Bark. I am of  
opinion that these Islands are those mentioned in Mr. Robertsons Chart of the China

Sea and Philippine Islands, by the name of San Andres Is.<sup>1</sup> In his memoir they are laid down from the runs of the Pr. [Princess] **Augusta & Ponsborne** the one in 1761 & the other in 1769 as these were periods when the most accurate methods of determining the Long: were but seldom used, and little known. an error of a degree or two of long. happened oftner than it does now. I made the Long. of the passage to be (by a mean of Chronometer & Lunar) 152.57 E. and latt. 5°17'56" N. Variation 5° East.

...

13th January 1794.

At 1 PM saw 5 Islands or Rocks bearing from SSW to N1/2S. Steady Gales. Variable from N. to N.E.

At dawn the Peak of Sarangani N85°E 12-1/3 Leagues...

### **Editor's note.**

There are two secondary accounts of this voyage. One is by Governor Philip Gidley King, and the other by David Collins. Only a general mention is made in pp. 371-373 of David Collins' *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1798 & 1802).

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Wrong supposition. The San Andrés Islands correspond to Sonsorol.

---

## Documents 1793C

---

# Another convoy of English ships return, via Yap

### Introductory note by Horsburgh.

*Source: James Horsburgh. India Directory (London, 1836).*

The **Exeter**, with the **Hawke**, and **Henry Dundas** in company, December 15th, 1793, saw a fire a-head at 5 a.m. and instantly tacked to the southward. Shortly after, at day-light, the Island Yap bore from North to N.E. distant 4 or 5 miles, and breakers on the reef N.W. by N. about 3 or 4 miles. The wind being westerly, with squalls and rain, they were employed during this and the following day, working round to the westward of the island, which they cleared on the 16th at noon.

The **Swallow** (Packet), passed near this island, March 18th, 1801, and the people which came off in canoes, frequently pronounced the word yap.

The **Halcyon**, and **Venus**, American vessels, bound to Kamchatka, and to the N.W. coast of America, saw the Island Yap bearing North at 4 a.m., May 16th, 1792...<sup>1</sup>

By mean of the observations of six ships... the South end of the island is in lat. 9°30'30" N., lon. 138°8' E., their longitude corresponding within 2 miles of each other, and its northern extremity is in lat. 9°40' N.

Some lunar observations taken by the **Hawke**, made it [i.e. Yap] 6-1/2 leagues to the westward; but those of that correct navigator, Capt. Lestock Wilson of the **Exeter**, exactly corresponding with others taken in the **Swallow**, are probably nearest the truth.

...

### C1. The logbook of the Exeter, Captain Lester Wilson

*Source: Log 138E, India Office, London.*

...

#### **Exeter from Bombay towards China**

...

Courses NE etc. Winds WSW etc.

Sunday December 15th 1793

---

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1792N.

Fresh gales and very heavy northerly swell. At 5 p.m. made the signal and altered the course, also made signal to go under an easy sail all night. Handed main sail and got down Royal masts.—

Till 10 p.m. kept a good lookout for the Island of Matelotes and afterwards for the Island of Yap. At 5 a.m. saw the Island Yap bearing NNE a reef of rocks from the mizen top extending from the land to NNW dist. about 10 or 11 miles.

At 1/2 past 11 a.m. made the signal and wore ship the Island of Yap bearing from N35°E to N56°E. At noon extremes of Yap from N38°E to N45°E.

Lat. 9°25' N., Long. by Chron. 138°17' E.

Courses SSW etc. Winds W. Squally, etc.

Monday December 16th 1793

Strong gales, cloudy, a very heavy westerly sea. The ship plunges very heavy and is much impeded. Found the jibboom sprung, reefed it.

At 9 a.m. saw the Island Yap bearing ENE.

At noon extremes of Yap from the deck from E to E11°N from masthead from NE to ESE dist. 6 or 7 leagues. Our consorts near us.

Lat. obs. 9°34' N., Long. by Chron. 137°57' E.

Courses N1/2E, etc. Winds WNW. Cloudy, etc.

Tuesday December 17th 1793

Light breezes very hefty swell from the northwest and fine weather.

At 4 p.m. the southern extreme of Yap [bore] S63°E. Breakers from the masthead S75°E.

At 6 p.m. extremes of Yap from E3°N to E22°S.

At 8 a.m. Yap just in sight from the Waist E15°N. Light breezes and fine weather.

Caulker as before. Love(?) a new main topsail tye.

At noon part of Yap E4°S very hazy over the land.

Lat. obs. 9°37' N., Long. by Chron. 137°57' E.

Courses N by W, etc. Winds W by N, cloudy, etc.

Wednesday December 18th 1793

Light airs, calms and fine weather.

At daylight the extremes of Yap from S66°E to S73°E dist. about 7 or 8 leagues.

Caulker as before. Watch by the Boatswain.

I shall keep my Long. by Acct. from Yap allowing us to be 24' W. of it to-day at Noon.

Lat. obs. 9°55' N., Long. by Chron. 137°54'45" E.

...

## C2. The logbook of the Hawke, Captain Richard Pennell

*Source: Log 390L, India Office, London.*

### Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Pennell.

Ship Hawke from England towards China

...

[After coming through the Molucca Passage, the ships headed toward Palau, as per the following track:

3°15' N & 127°34' E (near Morotay);

3°32' N & 128°47' E

3°15' N & 129°54' E

3°41' N & 131°19' E

5°14' N & 133°8' E

7°37' N & 134°43' E]

Courses N by E etc. Wind West squally.

Sunday 15 Dec. 1793

The first part a fresh gale and squally, middle blowing very fresh in squalls, latter a fresh breeze and hazy with a very heavy North swell. At sunset the Commodore made the signal to carry a Commanding sail for the night.

At 1/2 past 4 in the morning, fired two guns. We immediately wore and brought to with her head to the Southward. Saw lights on the shore and at daylight a small woody island in sight bearing from N1/2W to NE1/2N distance about 4 or 5 miles and breakers detached 2 or 3 miles from the N part of the island breaking very high. Made sail and at 8 a.m. wore ship and stood to the North. At 11 a.m. the Commodore, finding he could not weather the island, wore and stood to the Southward again.

[Noon] Lat. obs. 9°26' North.

Long. 134°43' [E]

Courses SSW etc. Winds West fair, etc.

Monday Dec. 16 1793

Mostly fine weather till towards noon a few light squalls and rain with a very heavy Northerly swell throughout and at times blowing fresh. Standing off and on during the night to weather this island which at Noon we effected having the following bearings.

At 10 a.m. the island bore from NE by E to E by N distance about 4 or 5 leagues & at Noon it bore from E by N to E by S1/2S about the same distance.

[Noon] Lat. Obs. 9°36' North

Long. [blank]

Courses NNW etc. Winds West squally & rain, etc.

Tuesday 17th

The first part decreasing to a calm and unsettled weather, the middle calm, latter a pleasant breeze with a continuance of the Northerly swell.

Employed washing gun deck. At Noon the island from East to ESE dist. 7 or 8 leagues.

[Noon] Lat. Obs. 9°41' North

Long. [blank]

Courses North etc. Winds WNW fair, etc.

Wednesday Dec. 18 1793

Faint winds intermixed with calms and a light Northern swell throughout.

At sunset the Island Yap [bore] West 7 leagues.

At sunrise the above island extremes bore E by S1/2S to ESE1/2S about 8 leagues.

At 10 a.m. the Island Yap from the poop [bore] ESE 10 leagues. Employed shifting our topgallant masts with the short headed ones.

[Noon] Lat. obs. 9°59' North

Long. 135°46' [E]

...

Monday 23 Dec. 1793

... In company with the **Exeter** and **Henry Dundas**.

Lat. 19°36' N & Long. 139°12' [E]

...

[The ships reached the Boca Tigris (entrance to the Canton River) on 31 December. The **Hawke** left this river on 17 March 1794, and reached England in September.]

...

### C3. The logbook of the Henry Dundas, Captain Walter Carruthers

*Source: Log 331C, India Office, London.*

#### Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Carruthers.

Ship H. Dundas from England towards China 1793

...

[This ship had to divert to Batavia as many of her crew suffered with scurvy. Then she went through the Molucca Passage in company with the **Exeter** and **Hawke**.]

...

Courses N by E, etc. Winds WNW cloudy, etc.

Sunday 15 December

Blowing fresh with a large swell at the Northward.

At 4 a.m. saw land & a great extent of breakers on the lee bow when immediately put the helm alee to go about, the ship refusing, wore her. The land we take to be the Island of Yap, the westernmost of the Carolines & seems to be surrounded with breakers. At noon it bore from NNE1/2E to NE distant about 6 or 8 leagues.

Lat. 9°35' N, Long. [blank]

Courses NW1/2W, etc. Winds W by N strong breezes, cloudy, etc.

Monday 16th

Unsettled weather. At noon Yap [bore] from E by N to E1/4S 6 or 7 leagues.

Lat. 9°35' N, Long. [blank]

Courses N1/2E, etc. Winds WNW hazy, squally and rainy, etc.

Tuesday 17th

Light winds variable. People variously employed. At noon, the extremes of Yap from East to E1/2S distance 8 or 9 leagues.

Lat. 9°36' N, Long. [blank]

...



---

## Palau Part 11—Documents 1793D

---

# McCluer left Palau in a small boat and returned with the snow *Venus* in 1794

## A) The correspondence of Captain McCluer, 1793-94

*General sources: India Office files; cited in Daniel Peacock's book "Lee Boo of Belau" (Honolulu, UHP, 1987), among others.*

### 1. Letter to Lieutenant Wedgeborough, dated 2 February 1793.

*Source: From Rev. Hockin's Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands, pp. 50-51.*

To Mr. John Wedgeborough.

Sir,

Having made known to the Honourable Court of Directors my intention of remaining at this place, you will take charge of the **Panther**, with all her stores and provisions; also the journals, charts, surveying instruments, and every thing belonging thereto; you will make out exact inventories of all the stores belonging to the vessel, also duplicates of the same to be lodged with me or my attornies: the originals you will deliver to the Bombay Presidency, with the other accounts which you will be charged with.

I will write to the Bombay Presidency the cause I have for remaining at this place. It will be a sufficient vindication for you, and the rest of the gentlemen belonging to the vessel, for me here to acknowledge, that you have used every argument in your power to persuade me from this uncommon and unprecedented step: and I say, moreover, you have not only done your duty in this point, but in every other, as officers and gentlemen could do, since I had the honour of commanding the **Panther**.

Considering my circumstances and rank in the service, this step will be taken for an act of insanity or the effect of some disorder; however this is not the case; for I have been determined upon it ever since I left Bencoolen, and have provided accordingly at the different ports we touched at; and it is nothing but my zeal for my country that prompts me to follow this resolution; and I hope to succeed in the plan I have formed, which may benefit my country and the world in general, by enlightening the minds of these noble islanders: should I fail in the attempt, it is only the loss of an individual, who wished to do good to his fellow-creatures.

To make my situation comfortable, and the natives attentive to me, inclosed is a list of articles, which you can spare from the vessel, without distressing her in her new situation.

2d February, 1793. (Signed) John McCluer.  
To Mr. John Wedgeborough.

[Indent:]

Muskets with bayonets 20 Fuzee ammunitions 240 boxes

Pistols 12 Pistol ditto 240 ditto

Wall-pieces 2 Common powder 8 chests

Pole-axes 12 Flints 500

Musket ammunition, 2 boxes, Pouches with leathern belts, 20, the forge, &c. with the anvil and bellows, a large frame-saw, and a standing vice.

Sir,

Please to consult with the other two gentlemen belonging to the service concerning the propriety of granting me the above articles.

2d February, 1793. (Signed) John McCluer.  
To Mr. John Wedgeborough.

## 2. Answer from Lieutenant Wedgeborough

*Source: Ditto, Rev. Hockin's Supplement.*

On consultation it was agreed to let Captain McCluer have the above enumerated articles, with a proviso, that in case the Honourable Company should not be pleased therewith, that they should be accounted for by the attornies. This proviso being agreed to by Captain McCluer, the articles mentioned in the indent, together with a grindstone, were delivered on shore.

The determination of Captain McCluer to remain on the islands being now fixed, and the stores and ammunition which he requested to have, being delivered to him, as also a boat, in the forenoon of February 3d he came on board, and all hands being ordered to attend, he, in the presence of the ship's company, formally and deliberately resigned his command to Lieutenant Wedgeborough, as their future commander.

## 3. Letter to the EIC agents in Bombay

*Source: India Office Library, Bombay Public Proceedings, Range 342, Vol. 16, 10 February 1793, p. 808.*

...

From the many contentions, which we in a manner have occasioned by introducing things of value among them, they are now constantly at variance with each other, and are absolutely in need of some person to advise them and regulate their conduct to prevent them murdering each other, this task no one could be better provided for than my-

self, and I have the vanity to think I have sagacity enough to conduct and instruct the natives in the most useful branch of agriculture, and... being well disposed towards me I make no doubt in the Plan I have formed to succeed.

A few years of my life for the benefit of my Country and the World in General by enlightening the minds of these People, could not be better employed, and should I fall sacrifice to the attempt 'tis only the loss of an Individual, who enters a Volunteer in the Service without any lucrative view, but on the contrary gives up his all to gain the object in question.

...

#### 4. Letter dated Macao 23 July 1794

...

The **Panther** sailed away and I remained, with every appearance of domestic pleasure, but, alas, this was not for long duration. I soon became displeased with my situation, in six months I lost five cows and two bulls, also all my Deer & Turkeys, the heavy rains destroyed all my young plants; and many of my garden seeds did not come up, and to add to my misfortunes I lost a fine Slave & most of my other boys were affected with Sores owing to their change in food. I also found the supplies from the natives were not so constant when I omitted the ceremony of paying for them, this was remonstrated to the King and Chiefs, but with very little success, we were often but badly provided and frequently felt the bottom of our stomachs, to add to all this, I daily had the mortifications to hear the report of chickens stolen, my pigs speared, kids and lambs dying, my fences broke thro' and my plants taken away for nothing else than an idle curiosity, and when I complained to the King of these outrages, he said why don't you put the offenders to death, seeing this being the case I became indifferent and careless, leaving the work entirely to the care of the boys, who were about the 8th month not very able or willing to work, owing to their spare diet, and the natives would sooner starve than till the ground, saying God ordained women for that purpose, and my boys soon imbibed those principles when I withdrew my proper authority from them.

To support my drooping spirits the Supreme Director of Nature ordained I should be father to a fine boy on the 18 Dec., on Christmas Day I named him George being the first of his colour born at Corror.

I soon changed my amusements from the land to the water, and went on frequent parties with, and without the natives, by this means I became perfectly acquainted with the different channels and made a complete examination of the northern extremes of the group hitherto unknown.

When I formed a Resolution to reside at Palou I did not conceive I was ordained by Fate to an unsettled rambling life; Ternate being only the run of a few days from me, I purposed taking a trip there to hear the news from Europe, and return in the space of one month or two, with this resolution I prepared my boat and took my departure to the sad grief of the natives and the pledges I left behind me.

...

[However, the winds did not favor his sailing southward and “following the dictates of providence,” he went to Macao instead.]

...

I left those Islands in a six oar'd boat, with only four Malays, who were wrecked formerly on the Islands at different periods, we spoke only the Palou language, which may be supposed was not very perfect on my side being but fifteen months in the practice of it, nor could they steer the boat by the compass, with all these apparent difficulties we reached Macao the 4th of May after a voyage of 19 days and sailed in that time near 2,000 miles[.] the success of this voyage will speak for itself, nor will I intrude on your patience to peruse a description of our sufferings during the trip, suffice to say, there were none of us bilious when we arrived.

...

[In Macao, McCluer bought a small ship, the 100-ton snow named **Venus**, intending to return to Palau with it. He also bought “every useful tree and seed I could procure at Macao.”]

...

After doing all I could for the benefit of futurity I proposed a trip to Bombay to hear how my conduct was considered by my superiors there.

...

Being now entirely ready for sea I only waited for a favourable spurt of wind to set off with, but how strangely was I surprised with the arrival of my brother Hydrographer Captain Hayes, in the **Duke of Clarence**, who agreeably acquainted me with his having made a new Settlement only a few days sail from mine,<sup>1</sup> and I having it in my power to furnish this place from mine with stock of various kinds. This meeting seemed to both of us the most fortunate circumstance of ours.—

...

Thus far has insanity got possession of me, and I hope the same kind of geni who has hitherto protected me may still attend me while I still continue to deserve the favour. Mr. Hayes is also of the opinion that I am still a rational being...

...

[McCluer then returned to Palau by way of Manila.]

## 5. Letter dated ... 1794

...

[When I arrived at Palou,] I found everything in a very thriving state, the stock considerably increased...

[From Manila I brought] above fifty fruit trees [and] a pair of horses...

[To care for my plantation, I brought] 4 Chinese, 2 natives of Bombay, and 4 slaves.

[With them I left] 100 bags of rice, 4 guns and carriages...

...

---

1 Ed. note: At Dorey Harbour on the NW coast of New Guinea.

[McCluer then went to New Guinea to visit Captain John Hayes' settlement, which he found to be in a miserable state. Then he sailed to Amboyna, Timor, and Bencoolen (Sumatra) where he met Captain Pickett of the frigate **Bombay**. McCluer decided to send his Palauans direct to Bombay with Pickett, to be placed under the care of Lieutenant Wedgeborough there, while he went to Calcutta on a trading voyage to benefit both captains. McCluer sailed from Calcutta in August 1795 with the **Venus** (alias Margaret) but never reached Bombay. It is thought that his ship sank during a storm in the Bay of Bengal.]

## 6. Will of Captain McCluer, dated Bombay 2 February 1793

*Sources: India Office records; cited in Andrew Dunlop's *Memoirs of a Bombay Mariner* (Salisbury, 1975) [See Biblio 1791-1794].*

### **Will of John McCluer, registered in Bombay in 1796**

In the name of God Amen, I John McCluer of the Bombay Marine being at present in sound mind and memory but being in a strange country and liable to accidents do make this my last Will and Testament in plain and simple terms forbidding all quibbles of the law.

In primis I restore my soul with pleasure to God who gave it to me and gratefully thank the Almighty for the blessing I have enjoyed in this world, my body I shall say nothing about as I leave it to the disposition of the people I reside among.

I appoint my well-wishers Messrs. Wedgeborough, White, Speak, Richardson and the Grand Master of the Lodge No. 1 in Bombay to be my true and lawful executors—and I direct my effects may be disposed of in the following manner:—

1. To an Orphan named William Ross;
2. To one ditto named James Mellick;
3. To a female named Elizabeth Tannel whom should I have children by her these will share equally with the other legatees and herself;
4. To a child named Margaret by a Malabar mother this child is to be allowed the interest of half my fortune for her Education 4 years from this date the other half to accumulate for the benefit of the legatees, should any of the above legatees die that share shall descend to the others, so as the longest life take the whole and at the death of all the above legatees the whole shall descend to the Bombay Lodge No. 1 for the benefit of Master Masons' illegitimate children and upon the accounts of my death one tenth of my fortune shall be allotted for that purpose.

I have remitted home 500 pounds sterling for the benefit of my mother for her natural life.

Three of the foregoing legatees are with me and the other in trust the Education of the other to my Executors and Mr. Samuel Speak who has the care of him for the present.

Given under my hand the 12th day of February and sealed in the presence of the Witnesses as per margin in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.

John McCluer Witnesses: John Wedgeborough  
Robert White  
Samuel Snook  
George Kerr

Bombay Town Hall 26th July 1796.—Proved before this Court by the Oaths of Samuel Snook one of the subscribing witnesses.

G. Simson, Registrar.

## B) The surveys of Captain McCluer

*Sources: W. A. Spray, "The Surveys of John McCluer," in Mariner's Mirror 60:3 (Aug. 1974): 233-250; India Office Library records; Dalrymple's Chart of the Pacific Ocean in 9 sheets, 1798.*

### Synthesis of Spray's article.

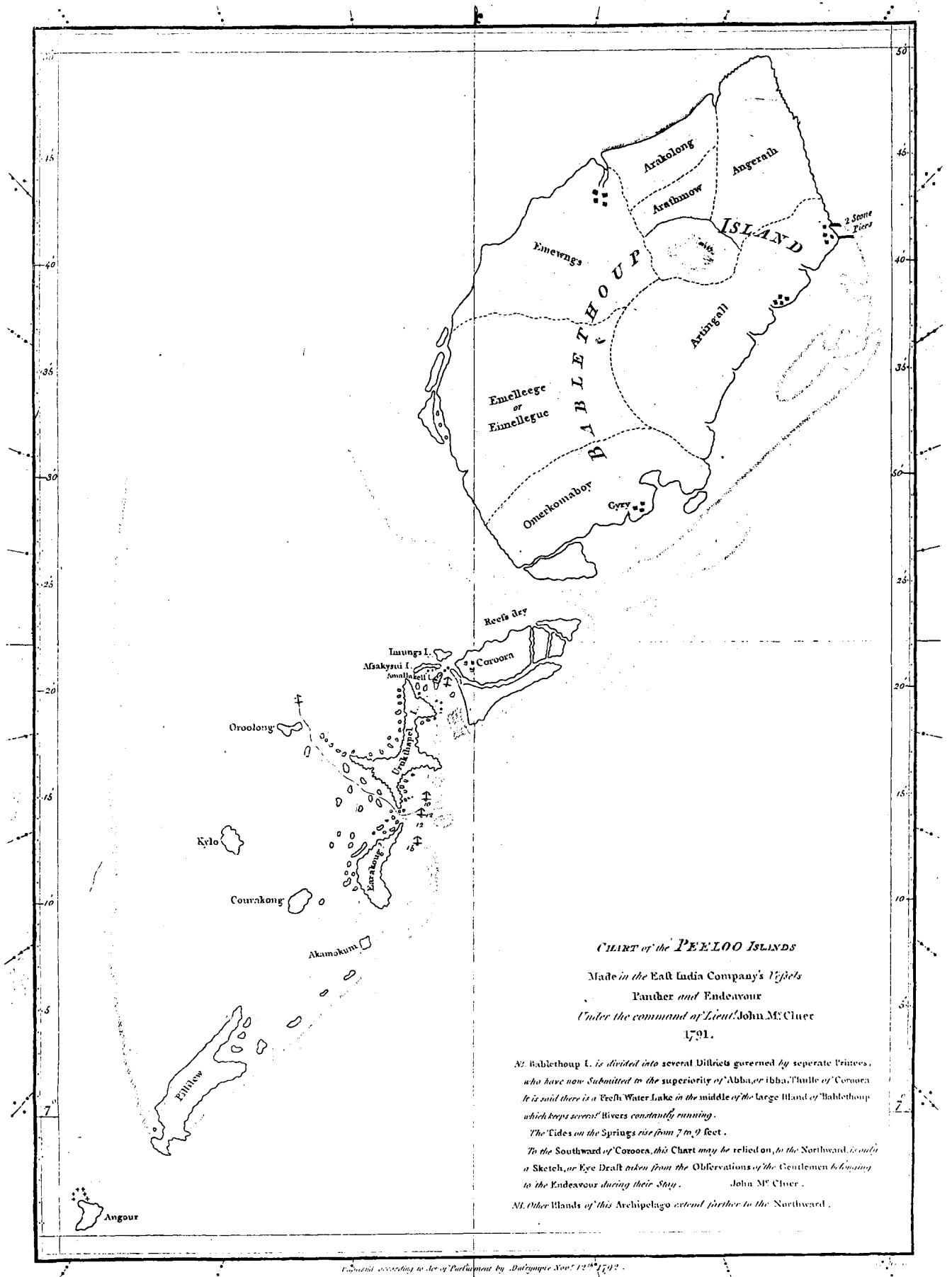
The initial survey of Palau by Captain McCluer was considered complete by the authorities at Bombay, but their scale was judged to be too small to be of use to navigators, although some of the passages on the east coast had been surveyed and plans of some harbors made.

McCluer had not completed the actual drawings. This task had been assigned to Lieutenant Wedgeborough who was a superior draftsman. However, upon his arrival at Bombay, he was given other assignments and the actual completion of the charts was delayed. The marine superintendent, who was then Commodore John Thistleton, stated that "no man could in its present state comprehend any part" of McCluer's charts.

Incidentally, Lieutenant Samuel Snook, one of the officers of the **Panther**, had prepared many views, most of which he had been unable to finish, as he had been given other tasks as soon as the ship arrived at Bombay.

The government allowed Wedgeborough to complete the charts under the supervision of a new marine superintendent, Philip Dundas. The charts, as finished by Wedgeborough, reached England in 1798, and they were all published by Dalrymple. However, by the time the results of the expedition had been received in London, the EIC had lost interest in Palau and the possibilities of the "eastern passage" between India and China.

McCluer's charts of the eastern seas were still in use in the 1830s. McCluer's work, as far as it went, was very accurate considering the conditions he worked under. His surveys were pioneer works which did much to make navigation in the Indian Ocean safer for English vessels. He was self-taught and a pioneer in an unrecognized profession. For these reasons McCluer deserves a place in any history of marine surveying.



*CHART of the PEELOO ISLANDS*  
 Made in the East India Company's *Vessels*  
*Fanther and Endeavour*  
 Under the command of *Lieut. John M<sup>c</sup>Cluer*  
 1791.

*All Babelthoup I. is divided into several Districts governed by separate Princes, who have now Submitted to the superiority of Abba, or Ibbah, Prince of Comora. It is said there is a Fresh Water Lake in the middle of the large Island of Babelthoup which keeps several Rivers constantly running.*

*The Tides on the Springs rise from 7 to 9 feet.*

*To the Southward of Comora, this Chart may be relied on, to the Northward, as only a Sketch, or Eye Draft taken from the Observations of the Gentlemen belonging to the Endeavour during their Stay.*

John M<sup>c</sup>Cluer.

*All Other Islands of this Archipelago extend further to the Northward.*

(Overleaf:) **Dalrymple Chart #78.** Chart of the Peeloo Islands Made in the East India Company's Vessels **Panther** and **Endeavour**, under the command of Lieut. John McCluer 1791.

Note: Bablethoup I. is divided into several districts governed by separate Princes, who have now submitted to the superiority of Abba, or Ibba, Thulle of Coroora. It is said there is a Fresh Water Lake in the middle of the large Island of Bablethoup which keeps several Rivers constantly running.

The tides on the Springs rise from 7 to 9 feet.

To the Southward of Coroora, this Chart may be relied on, to the Northward is only a Sketch, or Eye Draft taken from the Observations of the Gentlemen belonging to the Endeavour during their Stay. John McCluer.

Note: Other Islands of this Archipelago extend further to the Northward.

(Facing page:) **Dalrymple Chart #79.** A Sketch of the Southern Range of the Pelew Islands. To convey an Idea of their situation, 'till a regular Survey is made, by John McCluer.

The top caption reads: View of the Pelew Islands by Mr. J. Linley. \*\* & †† join.

The notes in the bottom part read: Here we worked from the Islands to the Outer Reef, had clear bottom, except some Few Spots with 4 fathoms on them.

Arrakapesang. Fort Abercrombie.

Should the middle Channel prove navigable it will be an Excellent Harbour in both monsoons.

Here we touched the rocks coming out.

This side appears [to be] the best Channel.

A good Channel.

The **Endeavour** worked between these two Reefs.

Track in the 1st time. Track in the 2nd time.

Track from the Islands, no soundings.

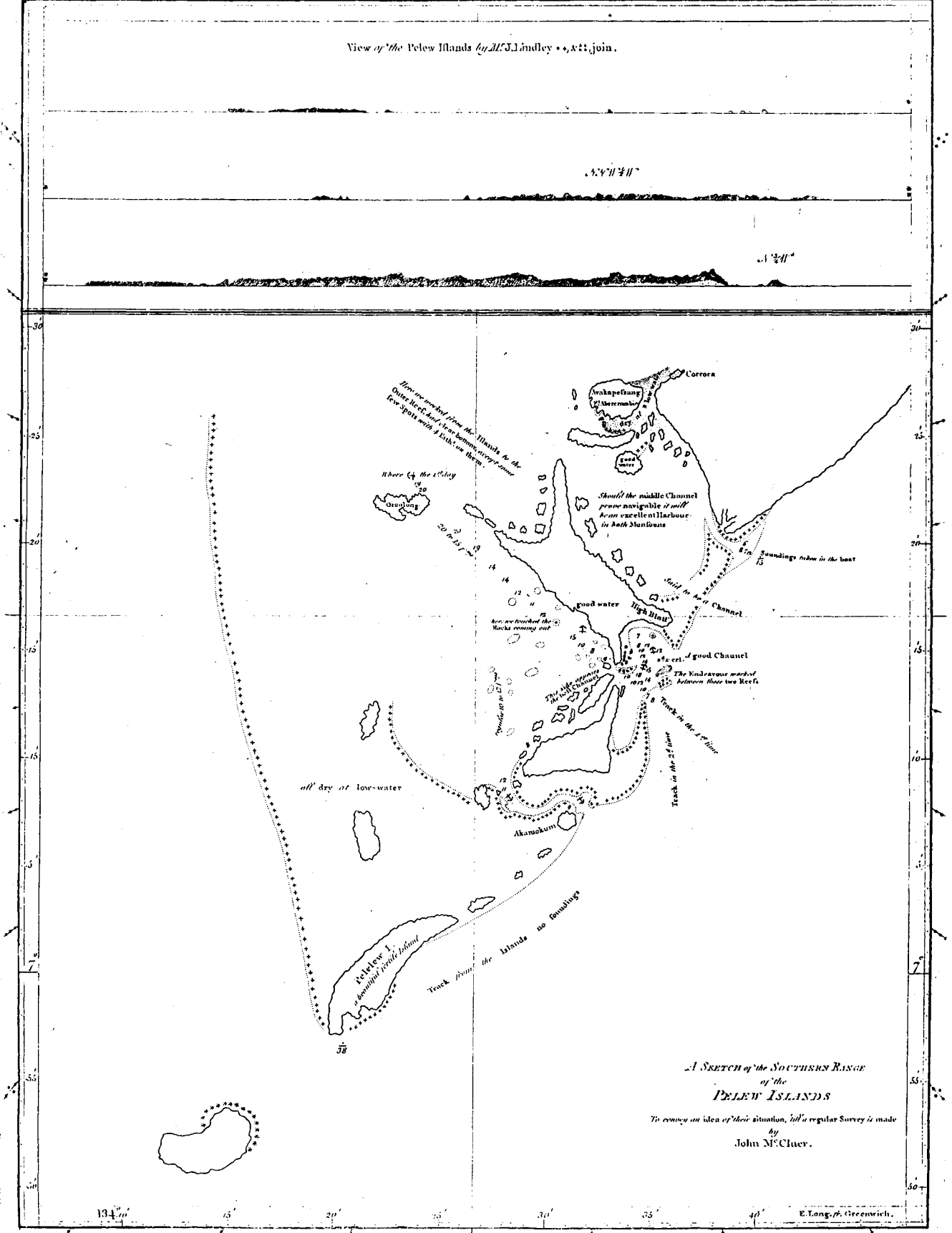
Pelelew I. a beautiful fertile island.



View of the Pelew Islands by J. S. Landley Esq. 1791.

1791

1791



A SKETCH of the SOUTHERN RANGE of the PELEW ISLANDS

To convey an idea of their situation, till a regular Survey is made by John M. Clier.

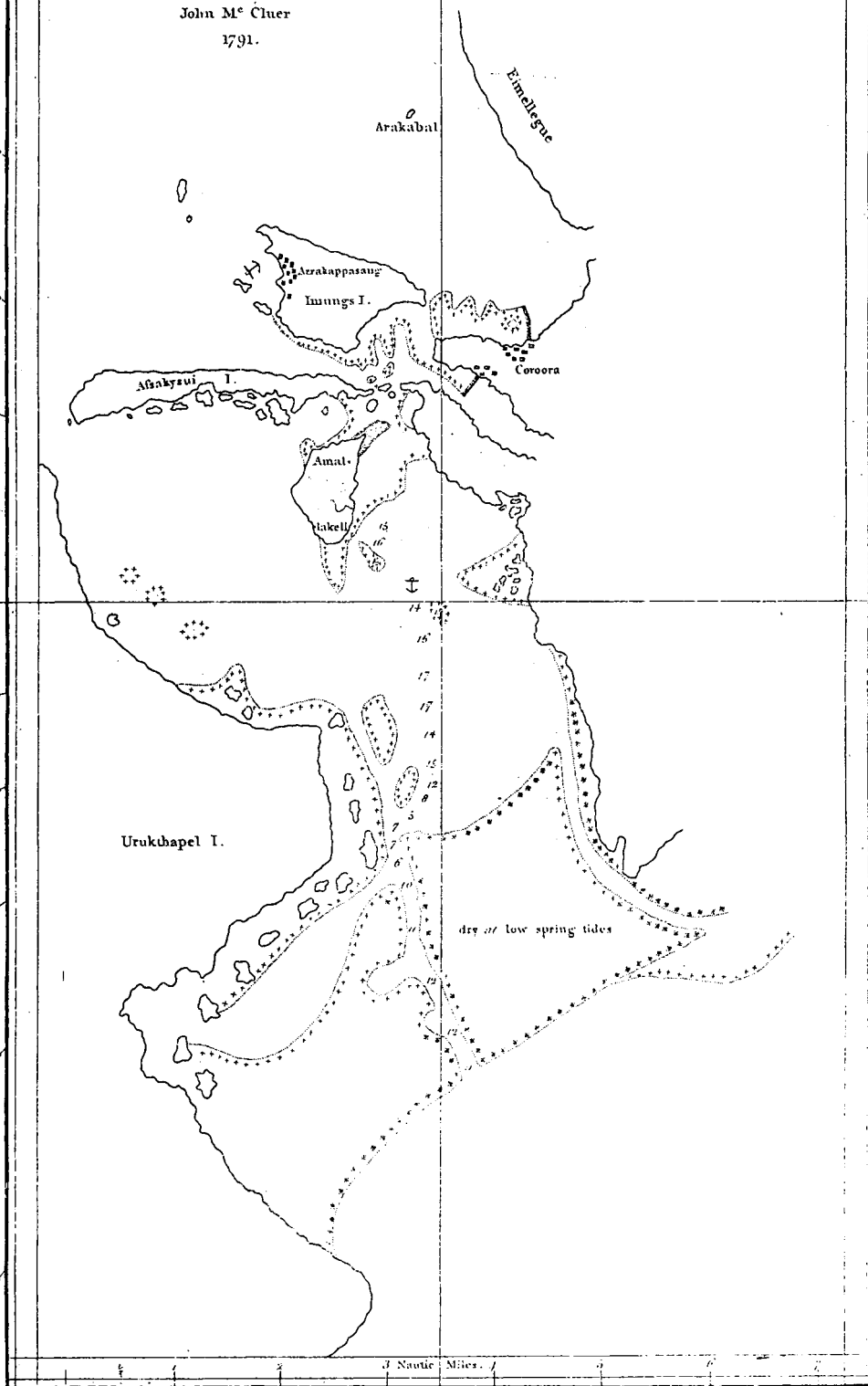
E. Long, of Greenwich.

Published according to Act of Parliament by D. Colclough in 1791.

(Facing page:) **Dalrymple Chart #80.** Plan of Amallakell [=Malakal] Harbour at the Peeloo Islands, by John McCluer 1791.

Comments: The top anchor symbol is facing the town of Arrakappasang and is still called the Arakabesan Anchorage. Fort Abercrombie was located nearby. The island itself is named Imungs Island, but is now called Arakabesan Island. The village of Imungs [Meings] may then have been more important than Arakabesan. The so-called Assakysui Island is now called Ngargol I., Amalakell is now spelled Malakal, Urukthapel is Auluptagel. As the previous charts, this one was printed by order of the British Parliament in 1792, and engraved by W. Harrison.

PLAN of AMALLAKELL HARBOUR  
at the  
PEELŌO ISLANDS  
by  
John M<sup>c</sup> Cluer  
1791.



Published according to Act of Parliament for Balaam's Voy. 1791

W. Harrison del.

(Facing page:) **Dalrymple Chart #81.** (Top part:) Sketch of the North Part of the Peeloo Islands by John McCluer 1794.

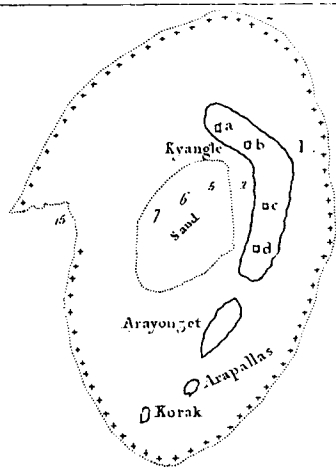
Comments: The Kyangle Islands are shown as consisting of four islets: Kyangle [i.e. Ngajangel] proper; Arrayonzet [misprint for Ngariungs]; Arrapallas [Ngarapallas]; and Korak [now spelled Gorak]. Between them and the Kossol Reef, there is a “clear passage for Shipping over a rocky bottom 20 to 10 fathoms.” The four villages on Ngajangel Island are identified as: a) Madoolby; b) Arpasang; c) Houwo; and d) Debool, and are said to be allied with Artingal; they no longer exist.

(Botom part:) Sketch of the Harbour of the East & South East Side of Corror [i.e. Koror], one of the Peeloo Islands, by John McCluer 1794.

This chart was published in 1796 by Alexander Dalrymple, according to an Act of the British Parliament.

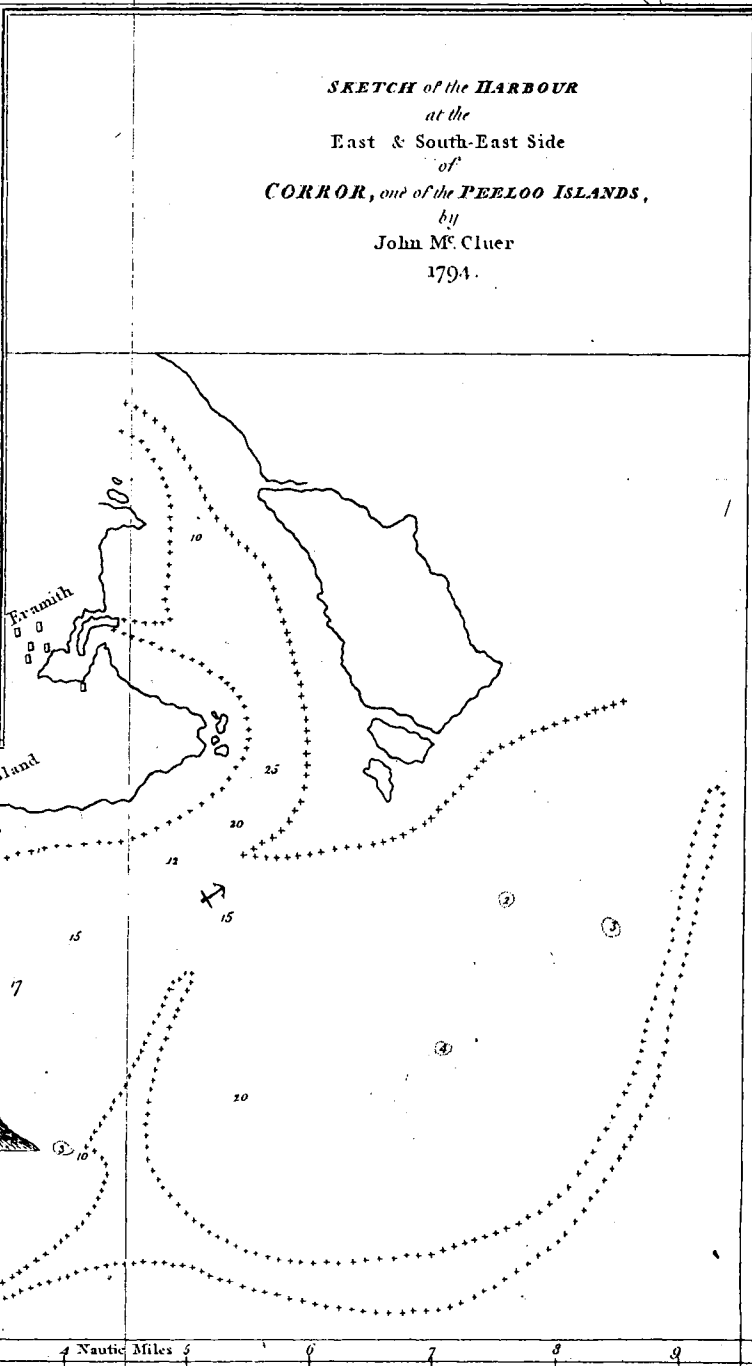
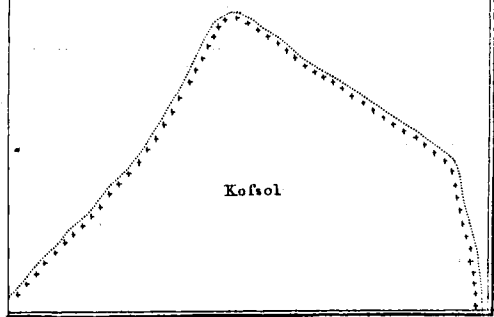
SKETCH of the NORTH PART  
of the  
**PEELOO ISLANDS**  
by  
John M<sup>c</sup>Cluer  
1794.

a. Village Madoolly or Madoobhoy    b. Arpatang  
c. Houwo    d. Debool, Ally to Artingal



Clear passage for Shipping over  
a rocky bottom 20 to 40 fathoms

SKETCH of the HARBOUR  
at the  
East & South-East Side  
of  
**CORROR, one of the PEELOO ISLANDS,**  
by  
John M<sup>c</sup>Cluer  
1794.



Published according to Act of Parliament by Dalrymple, May 20<sup>th</sup> 1796.

(Facing page:) **Chart of the Peeloo Archipelago, by John McCluer.** From Observations in 1793 & 1794.

The Tides from East & West, regular, unless afflicted by the Winds, rise 6 or 7 feet,

“Being constantly at variance with Artingal. I have not had any opportunity to examine that District. It remains, therefore, as in the former Chart. Baublethoup, in the Peeloo language, signifies the Upper Sea, and the People of that division as well as the Country, go by that appellation. Corror and its dependencies, are Arrekeltheo [=Ngarkldeu].

The Names within [ ] are taken from the former Chart, having been omitted in this; but the divisions of the Great Island are not the same, in number or position: so that the Names of districts with ? are doubtful if rightly applied. D[alrymple].

\* “The highest hill on the whole groupe. From the Top, I saw both Extrems.”

On Corror.

a. The English Plantation. b. Corror, the King’s residence.

c. Eye-bookle. d. Arrakamai. e. Arrabodle. f. Arrapakethesaw.

g. Erameeth. h. Arrielup. i. Arrakassawawell. k. Arrapaketh.

l. Island of Arrakappaisadlle, commonly called Emungs.

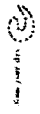
N.B. Lieut. McCluer’s last corrections, till His final departure are added. D.

**CHART OF THE PHILIPPAN ARCHIPELAGO**  
From Observations in 1761 & 1762.

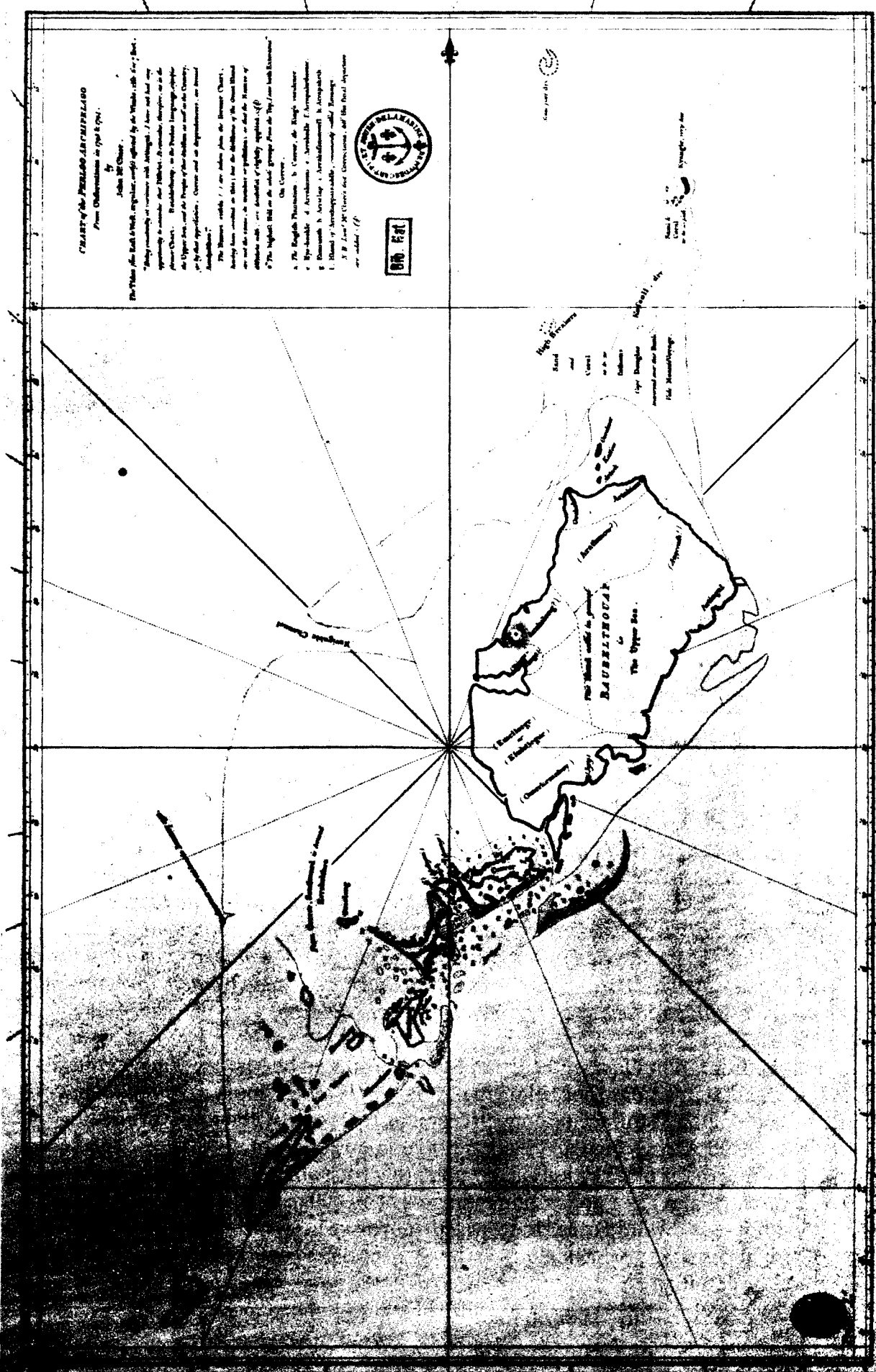
John De La Cruz

The Plans of the Islands, together with the whole of the Archipelago, were surveyed by the late Captain John De La Cruz, who was killed in the late War, and the same were published in 1761 & 1762, and were the first of the kind that were ever published in the Kingdom of Great Britain. The Plans of the Islands, together with the whole of the Archipelago, were surveyed by the late Captain John De La Cruz, who was killed in the late War, and the same were published in 1761 & 1762, and were the first of the kind that were ever published in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

**On Coasts.**  
The Plans of the Islands, together with the whole of the Archipelago, were surveyed by the late Captain John De La Cruz, who was killed in the late War, and the same were published in 1761 & 1762, and were the first of the kind that were ever published in the Kingdom of Great Britain.



Scale of the Chart  
1 inch = 100 Miles



(Overleaf:) **Faint ms. chart of Palau in the Naval Museum in Madrid.** It bears Map n° LVII-1. The inset, in Spanish, reads as follows:

*CARTA PLANA Hidro-corografica de las Islas Palaus formada por Mr. McCluor [sic] Capn. del Paquebot de la Real Compania Inglesa nombrado Panther que habiendo sido despachado de Canton con comision secreta por los Factores de ella el año de 1793: entró en este Archipiélago y lo reconoció bastante bien.*

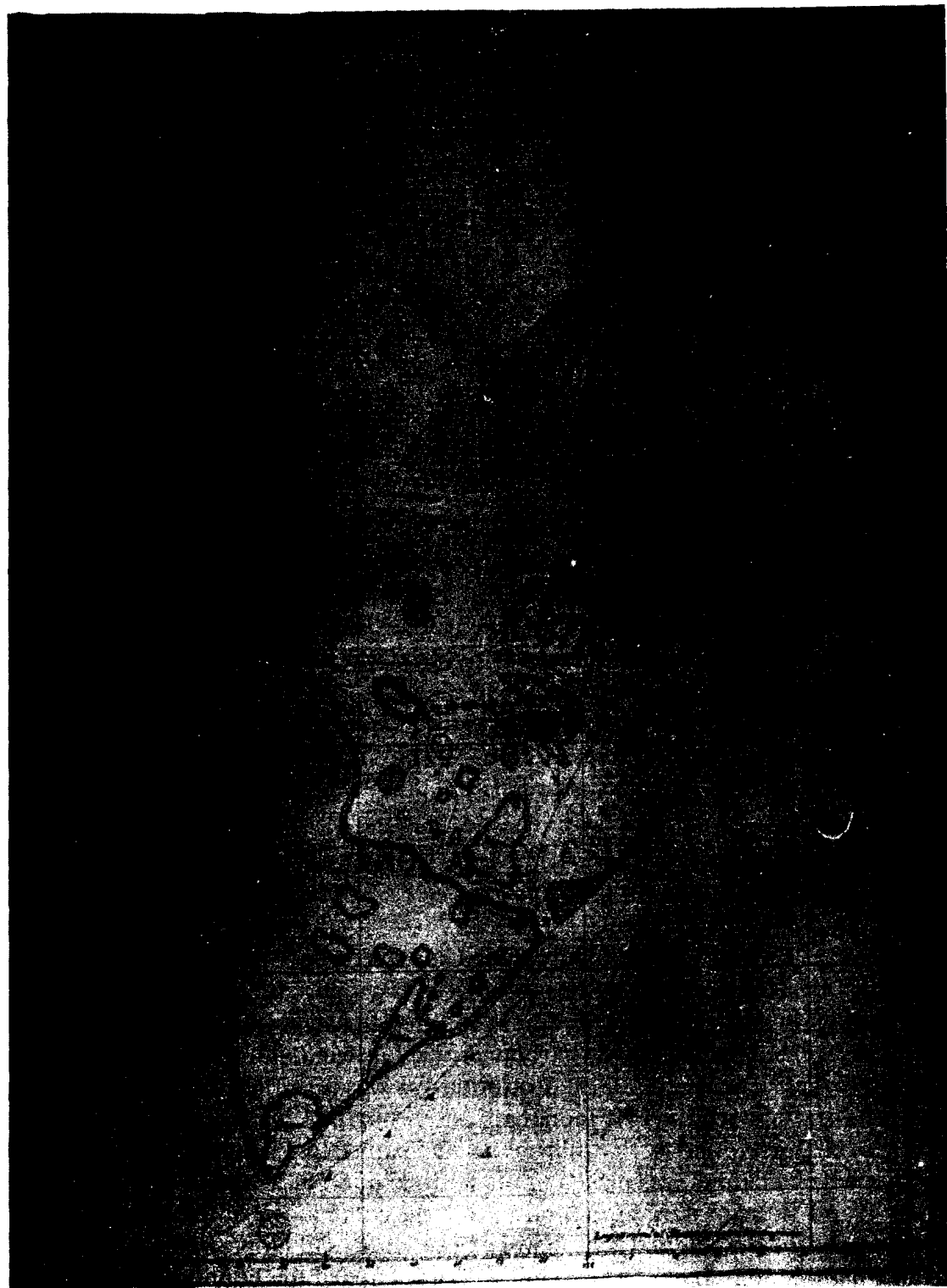
*Segun sus noticias, y otras fidedignas posteriores, habrá en él como 40,000 habitantes Indios; y abunda de buenos cavallos, vacas, y otros animales cuadrúpedos. Tambien hay muchos pezes, y mariscos especialmente conchas y balate que con las varias frutas que produce son el principal alimento del pais.*

Translation:

Flat hydrographic chart of the Palau Islands produced by Mr. McCluer, Captain of the packet named **Panther** belonging to the English East India Co., which, having been despatched from Canton with secret instructions by their Factors in 1793, made it to said Archipelago and made a rather good survey of it.

According to the observations made, and other trustworthy reports received later on, the archipelago has a population estimated at 40,000 natives, and has a quantity of good horses, cows and other four-legged animals. Fish is also plentiful, specially shell-fish and *trepang*, which, along with other local products constitute the staple food of the country.





---

## Document 1793E

---

# The Sugar Cane, Captain Musgrave, and the Boddingtons, Captain Chalmers

*Source: Vol. 1 of David Collins' An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (London, 1798 & 1802).*

*Note: No logbook was found in the India Office; not surprising, as these ships were not EIC ships..*

### Excerpts from this source

...

On the 7th [August 1793] the **Boddingtons** transport anchored in the cove from Ireland, having sailed from Cork on the 15th of February last...

The **Boddingtons** being first ready, sailed alone; the **Sugar Cane** (the second ship) was at Deptford ready to drop down to Gravesend when her intended companion was about leaving Ireland...

On Tuesday the 17th [September] the signal was made at the South Head, and about six o'clock in the evening the **Sugar Cane** transport anchored in the cove from Cork, whence she sailed the 13th of last April...

...

## CHAPTER XXIII.

*The Boddingtons and Sugar Cane sail.—A mill erected, etc....*

...

[October.] The **Boddingtons** and **Sugar Cane** being both bound for the same port in India (Bengal) the masters agreed to proceed together; and on the 13th the **Sugar Cane** having set up her rigging, and hurried through such refitting as was indispensably necessary, both ships left the harbour with a fair wind, purposing to follow in the **Atlantic's** track. The master of the **Boddingtons** was furnished by us with a copy of a chart made on board the **Pitt** Indiaman, and brought hither by the **Britannia**, of a passage or channel found by that ship in the land named by Lieutenant Shortland New Georgia; which channel was placed in the latitude of 8°30' S. and in the longitude of 158°30' E and named 'Manning's Strait,' from the commander of the **Pitt**.

The master of the **Sugar Cane**, had he been left to sail alone, determined to have tried the passage to India by the way of the South Cape of this country, instead of proceeding to the northward, and seemed not to have any doubt of meeting with favorable

winds after rounding the cape. By their proceeding together, however, it remained yet to be determined, whether a passage to India round the South Cape of this country was practicable, and whether it would be a safer and a shorter route than one through Endeavour or Torres Strait, the practicability of which was likewise undetermined as to any knowledge which was had of it in this colony.

Seven persons whose terms of transportation had expired, were permitted to quit the colony in these ships, and the master of the **Sugar Cane** had shipped Benjamin Williams, the last of the **Kitty's** people who remained undisposed of. One free woman, the wife of a convict, took her passage in the **Sugar Cane**.

Notwithstanding the facility with which passages from this place were procured (very little more being required by the masters than permission to receive them, and that the parties should find their own provisions) it was found after the departure of these ships that some convicts had, by being secreted on board, made their escape from the colony; and two men, whose terms as convicts had expired, were brought up from the **Sugar Cane** the day she sailed, having got on board without permission; for which the lieutenant-governor directed them to be punished with fifty lashes each...

...  
[There is no mention here of the **Sugar Cane** having discovered any island in the Carolines.]

---

**Document 1793F**

---

**Manuscript map of the Mariana and Bonin Islands, from the Cadiz archives in 1793**

*Source: NAL Phil. mss. II.*

*Notes: Many Spanish pilots carried a copy of this obsolete charts that led them to make strange remarks in their logbooks. One example was the confusion caused by Maug being labelled Urracas. The Marianas portion of this map was engraved and published the following year at Madrid by Tomás Lopez, who was Royal Geographer (see Doc. 1787E1).*

**Letter from Sebastián Fernández Canél to Tomás Lopez, dated Cadiz 7 May 1793****Original text in Spanish.**

*Marianas, &c.*

*Muy Señor mío:*

*No tan solo por la recomendacion de mi intimo amigo D. Geronimo Franco, sino tambien porque deseo complacer à V[uestra] M[erced] en la suplica que me hace en su carta de 16 del pasado; he procurado reconocer todo el Archivo de esta Comandancia, y solo se han encontrado las noticias, y copia del Planito adjuntos, y dirijo a sus manos, celebrando sea de su aprobacion, y conforme à la idea de la obra que V.M. está trabaxando; no sienco necesario de que me cite en el Prologo, ni me devuelva dhos papeles. Solo pido por remuneracion, se digna V.M., luego que la obra se concluya, remitirme los exemplares que me promete, pues la considero muy util, y de mucha instruccion.*

*No hay en esta Comandancia documento alguno que acredite la noticia que V.M. me cita, de que en los mapas Franceses, é Ingleses hay unas Yslas, que dicen ser vistas por los Españoles en el año de 1773 por la Latitud Meridional de 38 grados, y en la Longitud de 250° contados de las Yslas del Hierro.*

*Mucho hé celebrado esta ocasion para ofrecerme à V.M. en todo afecto, deseando me impono à sus preceptos para servirlo gustoso: y que Nuestro Señor guarde su vida los muchos años que puede.*

*Ysla de Leon 7 de Mayo de 1793.*

*B.L.M. de V.M.*

*Su mas attento seguro servidor,*

*Sebastian Frnz. Canél.*

[A] *Señor Don Tomás Lopez.*

[Enclosure A: Map in 2 parts: Marianas, and Bonins and islands north of them]

[Enclosure B: Following notes by Canél]

*Entre la Cordillera de las Marianas, la de Luzón, é Ysla Hermosa se encuentran los escollos siguientes.*

*Uno nombrado Dolores visto el año de 1773 por la Latitud de 24°24' N, 134°15' oriental de Paris.*

*Una Ysla pequeña nombrada Rasa de 6 à 7 leguas de largo tendida de E.O. por la Latitud N. en su centro de 23°52', y 126°00' oriental de Paris: la qual fué vista, sin saber por quien, el año de 88.*

*Por Don Candido Dominguez, Piloto en Filipinas vio, sin decir en que tiempo, un baxo nuevo de piedras, que velan por la latitud N. de 17°45', y 125°15' oriental de Paris: el qual está tendido ENE. OSO. distancia de 23 millas.*

*Ysla de Leon 7 de Mayo de 1793.*

*Canél*

[Enclosure C: Notes, in 2 versions, unsigned, but in another hand, probably by the addressee.]

[Version 1:]

*Islas Marianas, de los Ladrones, de las Velas, Archipiélago de San Lazaro.*

*Carta Corographica del Archipiélago de las Islas Filipinas, delineada por el Almirante Don Francisco Diaz Romero, y Sargento Mayor Don Antonio de Ghandia, diputados de la ciudad y comercio de Manila, in cuyo nombre lo dedican al Rey Felipe V, año de 1727: grabado en el mismo año en Madrid por Don Juan Palomino. Trahe á mas de las referidas Islas, las Marianas, las Molucas y otras.*

*Carreri numera y nombre estas Islas tom. 5 pag. 295 y 296.*

*Las mejoras cartas de estas islas formadas en ellas mismas, son las de los PP. Jesuitas Españoles Alonso Lopez, Luis Morales. este ultimo comunico una memoria à la Academia de Ciencias de Paris, 1693.*

*Historia de las Islas Marianas, por el P. Gobien, edición de Paris, año de 1701 in 12.*

*P. Gouye, Observaciones Físicas y matematicas, publicadas en las memorias de la Academia de las Ciencias de Paris año de 1693 habla de estas islas, con ref. àl P. Morales.*

*El capitan Dampier recorrio estas islas, tom. 1. cap 10. pag 307 de su viage alrededor del mundo.*

*Dió vastantes noticias de estas Islas el V.P. Diego Luis de San Vitores de la Compañia el año de 1608 [sic], que estuvo de Misionero.*

[Version 2:]

*Llamáronse estas islas de los Ladrones, de las Velas, Archipiélago de San Lazaro y últimamente Marianas.*

*El Exmo. Sr. Don Antonio Valdés y Bazán con su natural patrocinio facilitó de la escuela de pilotos de Cadiz, una carta de estas islas y el plano del surgidero de Humata.*

*Don Sebastian Fernandez Canel suministró una carta y advertencias sobre este archipiélago.*

*Registróse la carta corográfica del archipiélago de Filipinas, que tambien comprehende estas islas, delineada por Don Francisco Diaz Romero y Don Antonio de Ghandia, año de 1727, gravada por Don Juan Palomino.*

*Habló bastante de estas islas y estuvo en ellas á predicar el año de 1608 [sic] el V. P. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, como lo trata P. Murillo en su historia de Filip.*

*Formaron mapas de estas islas en 1693 los PP. de la compañía Alonso Lopez y Luis Morales: este último comunicó à la Academia real de las ciencias de Paris una memoria sobre este asunto.*

*El mismo año el P. Gouye refiriéndose à los antecedentes religiosos en sus observaciones Físicas, habla de estas islas.*

*El P. Gobien añ.o de 1701 publico la historia de las islas Marianas in 12 edicion de Paris.*

*El capitan Dampier recorrio estas islas. t. 1 c. 10 p. 307 en su viage alrededor del mundo.*

*Carrerri menciona esas islas, t. 5 pag. 295 y 296 y otros.*

## **Translation.**

Marianas, etc.

My dear Sir:

Not only upon the recommendation of my intimate friend, Gerónimo Franco, but also to please your Grace about the request he made to me in his letter of the 16th extant [April 1793], I have tried to search through the archives of this Command and have only found the notes and a copy of the small map enclosed, which I now address to him, hoping to receive his approval, and that it be in accordance with the idea of the work that your Grace is working on. It is not necessary that you quote me in the prologue nor send back said papers. The only remuneration I ask Y.G. is that, once the work be completed, I may receive the promised copies, as I consider the work very useful and informative.

There is no document to be found in this Command that would back up the information that Y.G. gives me, to the effect that on French and English charts there are some islands that, they say, were seen by the Spanish in the year 1773 at 38° lat. S. and 250° long. from Hierro [in the Canary Islands].

I have much welcomed this opportunity to offer myself to Y.G. with complete affection, wishing that you may impose your orders for me to obey willingly. May Our Lord keep you alive for as many years as He can.

[From the] Island of León, 7 May 1793.<sup>1</sup>

Your most sincere and faithful servant, who kisses the hand of Y.G.,  
Sebastián Fernández Canél<sup>2</sup>

[To] Mr. Tomás Lopez.

[Enclosure A: Manuscript map: see below]

[Enclosure B: Notes made by Canél]

Between the Mariana Island chain, that of Luzon and Formosa, are found the following reefs:

—one named **Dolores**, seen in 1773 at 24°24' lat. [N] and 134°15' long. E. of Paris.<sup>3</sup>

—one small island named **Rasa** [i.e. Flat I.], 6 to 7 leagues in length trending E—W, its center lying at 23°52' and 126°20' East of Paris; it was seen, it is not known by whom, in '8 [i.e. 1688].

—seen by Candido Dominguez, Pilot in the Philippines, date not mentioned, a new shoal of rocks that stick out at 17°45' lat. N and 125°15' E of Paris; it trends ENE—WSW over a distance of 23 miles.

Island of León, 7 May 1793.

Canél.

[Enclosure C: Notes, in 2 versions, unsigned, but in another hand, probably by the addressee.]

[Version 1:]

Mariana Islands, Islands of Thieves, Islands of Sails, Archipelago of San Lázaro.

—Chorographic chart of the Philippine Archipelago, drawn by Admiral Francisco Díaz Romero and Major Antonio de Ghandia, deputies of the City and trade of Manila, in whose name they dedicate it to King Philip V, year of 1727, and engraved that same year in Madrid by Juan Palomino. It deals with the above-named islands, the Marianas, the Moluccas, and other islands.

—Carreri gives the list of these islands, vol. 5, pages 295-296.

—The best charts of these islands were made at the islands themselves, by the Spanish Jesuit Fathers Alonso Lopez and Luis Morales; the latter has communicated a brief to the Academy of Sciences of Paris.

—History of the Mariana Islands, by Fr. LeGobien, Paris edition, in 1701 in 12°.

- 
- 1 Ed. note: The Island of León is, or rather was, in the harbor of Cadiz, but has since been linked by a causeway to the nearby peninsula.
  - 2 Ed. note: The author must have been a navy officer. About 10 years later, Espinosa y Tello was to make a proper study of these chains of islands running from Guam north to Japan.
  - 3 Ed. note: Probably the Daito Islands.

—Father Gouye's Physical and Mathematical Observations, published in the proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of Paris in 1693, talk about these islands, with ref. to Fr. Morales.

—Captain Dampier ran through these islands: vol. 1, chapter 102, page 307 of his Voyage Round the World.

—The Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores of the Society, who was a missionary in these islands in 1608 [rather 1668], gave a fair amount of information about them.

[Version 2:]

These islands are called Thieves' Islands, Islands of Sails, Archipelago of San Lázaro, and of late, Marianas.

His Excellency Antonio Valdés y Bazán,<sup>1</sup> who naturally favors the School for pilots at Cadiz, has supplied a chart of these islands and the plan of the anchorage of Huma-ta.

Sebastián Fernández Canél has supplied a chart and notes concerning this archipelago.

On record is the chorographic chart of the archipelago of the Philippines, which also includes these islands, drawn by Francisco Díaz Romero and Antonio de Ghandia, dated 1727, engraved by Juan Palomino.

The Ven. Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores spoke enough above these islands where he went to preach in 1608 [rather 1668], as Fr. Murillo mentions in his History of the Philippines.

In 1693, the Jesuits Fathers Alonso Lopez and Luis Morales drew up maps of these islands; the latter communicated to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris a brief about this matter.

That same year, Fr. Gouye, while referring to the religious background of his Physical Observations, spoke of these islands.

Fr. LeGobien, in 1701, published the History of the Mariana Islands, in size 12, Paris edition.

Captain Dampier passed through these islands; [see his] vol. 1, chap, 10, p. 307 of his Voyage Round the World.

Carreri mentions these islands, vol. 5, pages 295-296, and others.

---

1 Ed. note: Navy General who was Secretary of the Council of the Indies from 1787 to 1790.



### Editor's comments about the above charts, downwards, from north to south.

Note: The land of Japan, labelled Canfalío, corresponds to the Kanto region of the Island of Honshu. It must be one of many errors in transcription, from some earlier name, since contact with Japan had been lost for over 150 years (see HM3).

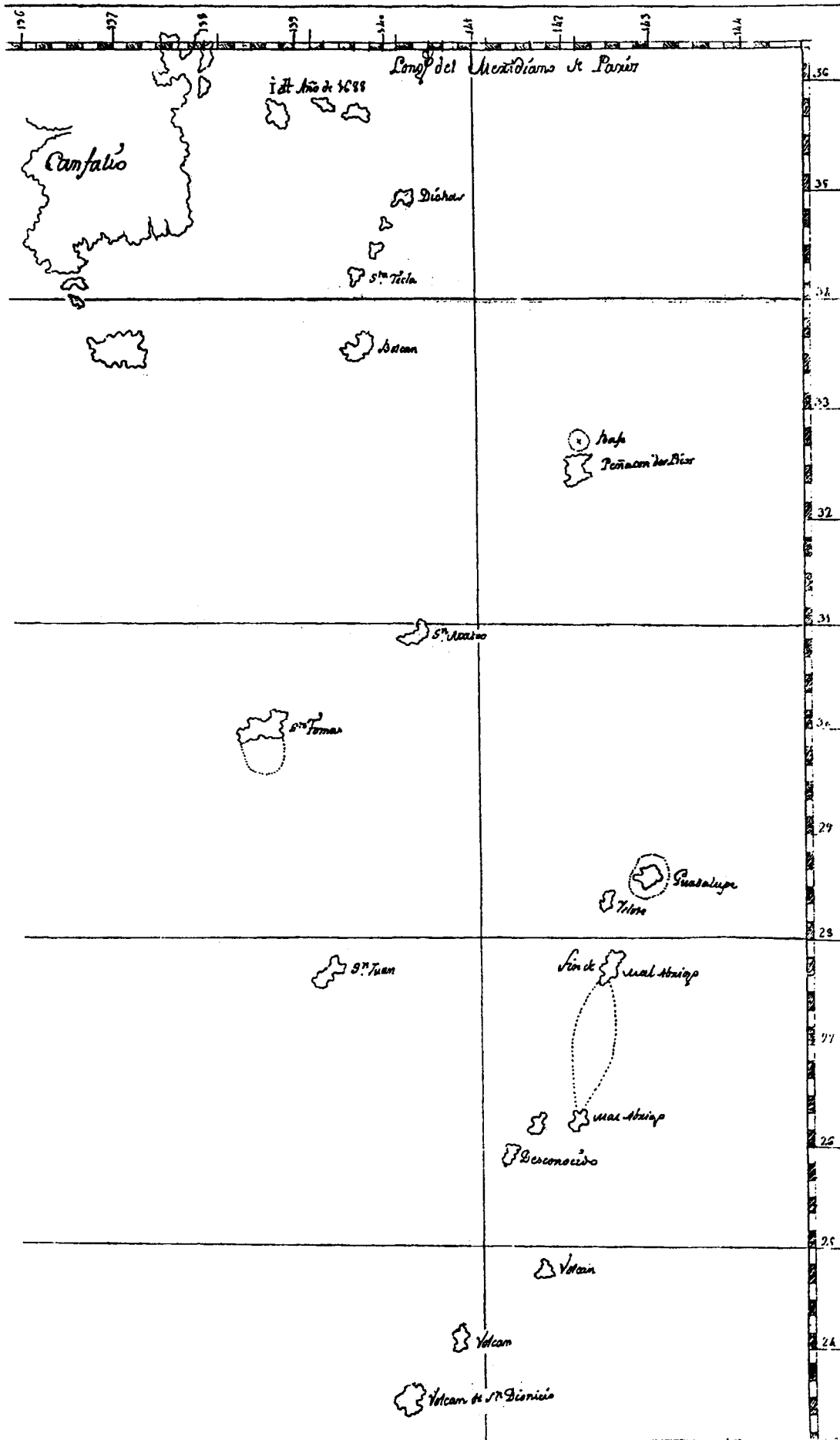
The 3 islets in the Izu group are: Kozu, Nii, and Miyake. They are duplicated below, and shown erroneously as a group labelled "So-called Santa Tecla Islands."

Position	Name	Comments
36°	I. del Año de 1688	Izu Is.
35°	Dichas Santa Tecla	" "
34° +- 33°40'	" " " "	Mikura I.
32°40'	Bolcan [=Volcano]	Hachijo I.
32° 30'	Bajo [=Shoal]	Tori Is.?
31°	Peña con dos Picos <sup>1</sup>	"
30°	San Mateo	"
From 26° to 29°	Santo Tomás	Lot's Wife, Sofu Gan.
24°50'	Desconocido [=unknown]	Bonin Is. or
24°	to Mal abrigo, etc.	Agasawara Shoto. <sup>2</sup>
23°30'	Volcan	North Iwo I.
20°30'	Volcan	Iwo Island.
20°	Volcan de San Dionisio	South Iwo I. <sup>3</sup>
17°30'	Farallon de Pájaros	Alias Urracas.
14°	Urracas	Actually Maug Is.
13°30'	Bajo de San Carlos	Zealandia Bank.
12°30'	Mira por vos [=Look out]	Misplaced W from Marshalls.
12°	A shoal between Guam and Rota	Non-existent.
10°30'	Garbanzos	Ulithi, misplaced NW.
	Bajo de Santa Rosa	Santa Rosa Bank, disc. 1686.
	San Barnabé	Yap, discovered 1686.

1 Ed. note: Duplicated. The remark means: Crag with two peaks.

2 Ed. note: Mal abrigo means Bad shelter, or harbor, which might explain why the Manila galleons never made a stopover at the Bonin Islands.

3 Ed. note: This and the next two islands, as a group, are called the Volcano Islands (Kazan Retto, in Japanese), or simply the Iwo Islands; the middle one is the famous Iwo Jima of World War II.





---

## Document 1793G

---

# The U.S. ship America, Captain Baker, tried unsuccessfully to visit Guam

*Source: AGI Estado 45, n° 18.*

## Letter from Governor Aguilar to the Duke of Alcudia, dated Manila 22 July 1794

### Original text in Spanish.

*El Governador de Filipinas*

*N. 10.*

*Dà cuenta con testimonio de las diligencias practicadas, en virtud de la salida clandestina que hicieron del Puerto de Manila, dos Fragatas Anglo Americanas, por cuyo atentado, y demás que refiere solicita que V.E. procure se dé la correspondiente satisfacción por los Estados Unidos de America.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El quince de Abril del año proximo, arrivò à este Puerto la Fragata **Ynterpris**, y en catorce de Junio del mismo año, la nombrada **America** mandada aquella por Enrico Hubbard, y esta por Adam Bakooc [sic], ambos Anglo Americanos, que con noticia de que serian admitidos al Comercio, vinieron à èl.*

*Estos Yndividuos obtuvieron el mismo buen trato, que los demás Extrangeros, que vienen à este Puerto, y desempeñaron sus negociaciones, como les pareció, hasta llegar el caso de solicitar que se les concediera el Pasaporte para su salida, el qual les fuè expedido, pero no acudieron à sacarlo à Secretaria, por haverse hecho à la vela furtivamente ambas Fragatas, segun consta de las diligencias, cuyo testimonio acompaño à V.E., à quien debo informàr, que antes de la citada fuga, se sospechò intentaban ejecutarla, por noticias que dieron unos Marineros Franceses de su tripulacion, y me obligò à tomàr con la maior presteza, la correspondiente precaucion, para evitarla, mandando al Comandante del Resguardo en la Bahía, procediera al siguiente dia del aviso, à hacer una averiguacion, para indagar el fundamento que tuvo la especie, quien habiendolo executado, me asegurò no haverse observado nada en dichas Fragatas, que*

*diese credito al acusado intento, por cuyo motivo, se retirò la Tropa que mandè les pusieran à bordo.*

*Por las declaraciones que se tomaron despues de la fuga de ambas Fragatas, à los dependientes del Resguardo que se hallaban en ellas, se supo, que el Capitan Bakooc [sic] diò fondo à una Ancla pequeña, levantando la grande que tenían echada, luego que se desembarcò la Tropa: que pusieron los Cañones en bateria aquella noche, y el Lunes siguiente los aseguraron por la mañana: que por la tarde llegò à bordo el Capitan Bakooc; y à las ocho fuè el de la **Ynterpris** à bordo de la **America**, en cuya Camara conferenciaron los Capitanes y Pilotos entre sí, y que despues de haver cenado, trataron à las diez secretamente con la Marineria, regresando à su bordo el Capitan de la **Ynterpris**, y haciendo ambos Comandantes, que precipitadamente se desembarcara el Resguardo de cada Fragata en la Panga propia, que tenían al costado, abandonando su ropa, y armas.*

*Para executàr este atentado en un Puerto donde se les recibì, y tratò con la maior atencion y urbanidad, no pudo à la verdad ser otro, que el de huir el Capitan Bakooc, de las resultas de un pleyto que tenía pendiente con el Teniente Coronel Don Josef Aviles, sobre el fletamento que este le hizo de su Fragata, para que le condujera à las Yslas Marianas, donde iva de Governador, y no se verificò, por que al cavo de tiempo, volviò de llegada à esta Bahìa, sin haver hallado dichas Yslas.*

*Este irregular procedimiento, ès no solo ofensivo al decoro y respeto, que estos extrangeros devian tener à este Puerto, sino lleno de mala feè, y en agravio de la administracion de Justicia del Pays, donde residian, de la que se hà burlado con semejante clandestina ausencia, y tal vez con perjuicio del Vasallo, que con èl controversia, si le fuese en algo favorable la determinacion, cuyo exito, no quiso esperar el Americano, por hallarse al parecer en posesion de la maior parte de los fletes que Aviles reclamaba.*

*Para que V.E., en devida indemnizacion del agravio è injuria recibida, disponga se dè la satisfaccion conveniente, por los Estados Unidos de America, le dòy cuenta de todo, deviendo añadir, que segun las noticias Ultra-marinas que acavo de recibir, se sabe que las negociaciones de ambos Barcos, eran hechas de union con los Franceses, procedidas de la Ysla de Mauricio, y que en su fuga hân sido apresadas por los Yngleses que descubrieron al aportarse dicha confabulacion.*

*Ygualmente noticio à V.E., que una cantidad de mil y seiscientos pesos que resultaban de un credito, en favor del Capitan Bakooc, hè mandado se tenga à mi disposicion, para quando se decida el pleyto, que con el citado Aviles dexò pendiente el expresado Americano y de que sucesivamente darè cuenta.*

*Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 22 de Julio de 1794.*

*Exmo. Señor*

*Rafael Maria de Aguilar.*

*[Al] Exmo. Sor. Duque de la Alcudia.*

## Translation.

The Governor of the Philippines.

[Letter] N° 10.

Reports, enclosing a record of proceedings, carried out regarding the furtive departure from the Port of Manila of two U.S. frigates, for which attempt, and other reasons mentioned therein, he begs Y.E. to try and obtain corresponding satisfaction from the United States of America.

Your Excellency:

On the 15th of April of last year, there arrived at this Port the frigate named **Enterprise**, and on the 14th of June of the same year, that of another named **America**, the former commanded by Henry Hubbard, and the latter by Adam Bakooc [rather Baker], both U.S. ships, which came here after they had heard that they would be admitted to trade.<sup>1</sup>

These individuals received the same good treatment that the other foreigners who come to this port, and they carried out their business as they pleased, until they finally asked for their passport to leave. Said passport was issued, but they did not come to collect it at the Secretariat, because both frigates having in the meantime left furtively, as shown in the proceedings, whose record I enclose for Y.E., to whom I must report that, before the above-mentioned flight, it was suspected that they would carry it out, from information given by some French sailors among their crews; this forced me to act quickly and take the corresponding precaution to prevent it. Thus, I ordered the Commander of the Coast Guard, on the day after the receipt of the information, to find out whether or not it was true. After he had checked said frigates, he assured me that he had not found anything that indicated that such an attempt was being planned, and that is why, the soldiers whom I had ordered to be placed on board were removed.

From the declarations that were made by the Coast Guard members who had been on board, after the frigates had fled, it was learned that Captain Bakooc [sic] had let go a small anchor, then raised the big one, after the soldiers had left, then they brought up the guns that night, and the following Monday morning they secured them in place; that on the same afternoon, Captain Bakooc came on board, and at 8 p.m. the captain of the **Enterprise** came on board of the **America**, and both captains consulted with their mates inside the cabin; and that, after they had eaten dinner, they advised the rest of the crew, and the captain of the **Enterprise** went back on board her. Both captains then immediately expelled the guards who were on board their ships, forcing them into their own boat, which they kept alongside, leaving their clothes and weapons behind.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Neither of them is mentioned by Latourette, Howay, or Dunbabin, authors who have studied the early voyages of U.S. ships to the northwest coast and China.

To carry out this attempt in a friendly port, where they were given the best attention and treated fairly, cannot be explained otherwise than by Captain Bakooc fleeing from a court case he had with Lieutenant-Colonel José Avilés, regarding the fees paid by the latter for the charter of his frigate, to take him to the Mariana Islands, where he was going as [interim] Governor, but which did not take place, because after a while, they returned to this Bay without having found said Islands.<sup>1</sup>

This irregular proceeding is not only offensive to the respect that strangers should have for this port, but also is full of bad faith, and damaging to the administration of justice in this country, where they resided. They have made a mockery of it by their escape, and perhaps even caused some damage to the Spanish claimant, should the case be decided in his favor; the American captain did not wish to wait for the court decision, since he already had in his possession the major part of the charter fees that Avilés wanted back.

In order for Y.E. to seek indemnization from the United States of America, for the wrong and damages received, I therefore report on the whole affair, although I should add that by news just received from overseas, it was learned that the business carried out by both frigates was in union with Frenchmen, out of Mauritius Island, and that while fleeing they were captured by the English who had found out about their business arrangements.

I further let Y.E. know that a sum of 1,600 pesos that was owed to Captain Bakooc, remains at my disposal, so that I may apply it, if needed, when the court case that said Avilés has against said American has been decided, and about which I will inform later on.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 22 July 1794.

Your Excellency,

Rafael Maria de Aguilar.

[To] His Excellency the Duke of Alcudia.

---

1 Ed. note: In the meantime, a new governor appointed by the King, Governor Muro, received his letter of appointment (see Doc. 1792M).

---

## Note 1793H

---

# D'Entrecasteaux returns to search for La Pérouse, skirting Micronesia

*General source: Baron Hulot's biography of D'Entrecasteaux, entitled: D'Entrecasteaux, 1737-1793 (Paris, Société de Géographie, 1894).*

### Historical note.

Admiral D'Entrecasteaux died on 21 July 1793, when the ships were coasting westward along the north side of New Guinea. He was replaced in command of the expedition by D'Auribeau, who had served as his first officer; Huon de Kermadec remained captain of the **Espérance**. As Labillardière says, this scientific voyage had been ordered by the Constituent Assembly. General D'Entrecasteaux was given two small ships of from 400 to 500 tons burden, each carrying 8 guns: 1) the **Recherche**, formerly *Truite*, was the flagship with 113 men; and 2) the **Espérance**, formerly *Durance*, had 106 men at departure.

This Labillardière served as a naturalist aboard the *Recherche*. One of his fellow officer was Lieutenant Rossel, who also wrote a book about the expedition (see below). Aboard the **Espérance** was Jurien de la Gravière, then a 21-year-old volunteer who later became Vice-Admiral; his son became a naval officer, who also visited Micronesia, in 1848 and 1850, and later wrote the *History of the French Navy*. He, quoting Baron Hulot, mentions that **the steward aboard the Recherche was a woman, disguised as a man**; she revealed herself only the day before she died, in one of the epidemics that followed the arrival of the ships at Java in October 1793.

Further information on a possible second visit to Micronesia by D'Entrecasteaux may be found in the books written by the above-mentioned participants:

—Lieutenant E. P. E. Rossel's book entitled: *Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux* (Paris, 1808); and

—Labillardière's *An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse* (2 vols., London, 1802).

However, the perusal of the second reference has revealed no mention of any part of Micronesia, so that Hulot's biography (pp. 94-123) may have to be studied once again.



---

## Documents 1794A

---

### Proclamations of Governor Muro issued in 1794-97

*Sources: Items 9 & 10, Mariana Is., LC Mss. Div.; cited in Safford's notes, p. 109; cited in B&R 53: 368; 191 leaves; mutilated condition.*

#### Contents of these files

##### **Proclamation dated 5 September 1794.**

Addressed to all the Heads of Districts on the Island of Guam. Until further notice, they are to obey all orders issued by the previous Governors.

##### **Proclamation dated 11 September 1794.**

The citizens are told of Spain being at war with France and they should have no contacts with Frenchmen.

##### **Proclamation dated 3 November 1794.**

The citizens are to celebrate the birthday of the Spanish king.

##### **Proclamation dated 7 November 1794.**

Repeating a Royal decree giving amnesty to desertors from the Royal Army and Navy.

##### **Proclamation dated 6 December 1794.**

The citizens of Agaña are to celebrate the feast of the patron saint of the Garrison, Our Lady of Conception.

##### **A1. Order dated 28 December 1794 prohibiting the custom of "chinchuli."**

*Note: The practice of chenchuli, now written chenchule, has endured until modern times (see Cunningham's Ancient Chamorro Society).*

**Original text in Spanish.**

*[Señres Intend]ente, Comandante de la Tropa, Capitan del Campo, Alcaldes Administradores de los Pueblos, y Estancias, de Agat, Umata y Merizo, Ynarajàn, y Pago.*

*La triste y lamentable situacion à que se bè la Ysla rerducida, de resulta del Yncendio, Ynundacion, Peste, y Uracanes que hà sufrido, no permite mirar sin dolor el lastimoso quadro de sus Naturales que todo nos lo representa: Ellos han sido el Blanco contra quienes el justo enojo del Altisimo hà disparado sus saetas en el fatal Catastrofe de aquellos desdichas, que aviendolas sufrido con constancia, nos han dado un bibo exemplo de la mejor resignacion: No puedo menos de confesar que han sabido suabizar con su paciencia lo hacerbo del dolor; y que si continuan obstentandola conseguiran siempre el premio que ès relatibo à su sufrimiento: Entretanto combiene poner por nuestra parte todos aquellos medios que exige una prudente moderacion, para que sino remediamos la necesidad, consigamos al menos no estenderla à lo insufrible. Bajo cuyo supuesto Ordeno à Vmds. se abstengan de embiar los dias de mi Santo, y de mi esposa aquellos regalos que con nombre de **Chinchuli** acostumbravan en los de mis antecesores; pues aunque la hidea era laudable, no lo permite la actual constitucion, en que solo devemos tratar del fomento de la Ysla, para no experimentar su total ruina, cuyo punto devemos reunir todos nuestros ... -ranza-do que aora mas que nunca ... -ran Vmds. aplicar sus esfuerzos à fin de conseguirlo; con la seguridad de que este Gobierno dejarà por su parte de contribuir con el desvelo, y que estarà siempre de Atalaya para observar las buenas operaciones de cada uno; porque del celo y amor de Vmds. al mejor servicio del Rey no espera otra cosa.*

*Desde mi Posesion tengo mandado al Yntendente de Reales Obras, y Sementeras no acuda para mi y mi familia tanto de Tuto [sic], como de Almacenes con mas Racion que la que sele daba al Señor Coronel Don Josèf de Arlegui y Leòz à mi ingreso à la Ysla, que parece era la menor de su tiempo, y del de todos los Señores Governadores; lo mismo encargo aora execute en adelante; y con especialidad en los dos dias señalados; pues aunque mi familia es numerosa procurarè suplir de mi bolsillo lo que pudiere faltar sin que obste à lo contrario representacion, ò recado mio que le dieren, à menos que à boca, ò por escrito lo confirme yò.*

*Tambien espero que si el Comandante de la Tropa, y Capitan del Campo tienen noticia de que alguna Persona del Cuerpo, y Ciudad trata de cumplir con la Ceremonia dele **Chinchuli**, procuraran disuadirle de la hidea con las razones insinuadas arriba, hasta que bendiciendo Dios la Ysla logremos la prosperidad que antes; con cuya disposicion espero se conformaran todos Vmds., creyendo tiene el principio en su mismo bien, y despreciando quanto compire à dudar de mi agradecimiento à tan honrrada constumbre, que seguramente ès un sobre-escrito, por quien se publica el afecto à sus Superiores, que espero lo continuaràn en mí, devolbiendome este obedecido.*

*Agaña, y Diciembre 28 de 1794.*

**Translation.**

[To the] Intendant,<sup>1</sup> the Troop Commander, the Town Mayor, the Village Mayors and the Administrators of the Estates in Agat, Umatac and Merizo, Inarajan, and Pago.

The sad and lamentable situation into which the island has been reduced, as a result of the fire, flood, pestilence and hurricanes that it has suffered from, does not allow us to look indifferently at the distressing condition of its natives, as we are reminded of it at every turn. They have been the target at which the just anger of the Almighty has directed His arrows in the form of the above-mentioned catastrophes; nevertheless, they suffered through them very patiently and have thus given us all a lively example of the best of resignations. I cannot but mention that this patience has somewhat lessened the acuteness of their grief, and that if they keep on hoping, they will surely obtain a commensurate reward for their suffering. We must do our part by putting into effect all the means that a prudent moderation dictates, in order to try and remedy their needs, at least by not adding unbearable burdens upon them. With this in mind, I order Your Graces to refrain from sending me, on the feast-days of my patron saints or those of my wife, those customary presents that my predecessors used to receive, under the guise of what is called **chinchuli**. Well, although the idea had merit, the present state of affairs does not permit it; we must always try to develop the island, in order to prevent its total ruin. Hence, we must join our efforts, and now more than ever, Your Graces are to apply them to achieve it. Rest assured that this government will do its part by constantly keeping a close watch on the proceedings of every one of you, because one cannot expect any less from the zeal and love of Your Graces for the better service of the King.

Since I have taken over this government, I have ordered the Intendent of the Royal Works and Plantations not to provide me or my family, from Tuto or from the warehouses, with more rations than what he was providing to Colonel José de Arleguí y Leóz when I arrived at the Island—the amount of these rations being then the least he had received during his term of office and the least of those that all the other governors had received as well. I order you to continue doing the same from now on, specially during the above-mentioned feast-days. Indeed, although my family is a large one, I intend to provide for it from my our purse as much as possible, unless I personally ask otherwise, either by verbal or written order.

In addition, I expect that if the Troop Commander or the Town Mayor ever hears of any person belonging to the troop or the town trying to comply with the ceremony of **chinchuli**, he will try to dissuade him from doing so, by using the above-mentioned reasons. Until God should eventually bless the Island with the same prosperity as before. I expect that all of Your Graces will comply with this decision, and will believe that it is for your own good, and will not believe that it is inspired by my own lack of gratitude towards such an honorable custom—surely I do not need to specify this—by

---

1 Ed. note: The Intendant was then Captain Felipe de la Cruz.

by which one shows his love for one's superiors, and I do hope that you will continue to give me your affection, by sending me back this order [marked] obeyed.

Agaña, 28 December 1794.

### **Proclamations dated 21 January 1795.**

Publishing 17 articles of policies, and 17 regulations, for good government.

### **Proclamation dated 10 March 1795.**

Announcing a visit and census taking of the Island of Guam.

### **Proclamation dated 11 March 1795.**

Extending the deadline for building fences around the houses.

## **A2. Order dated 26 February 1795, for the collection of Holothuria and shells.**

### **Original text in Spanish.**

*[Al los] Alcaldes Administradores de los Partidos de Agat, Umata, Ynarajan y Pago.*

*El Señor Governador me ha pedido suplique à VMds. de que sin perjuicio del servicio del Rey, y utilidad de estos Naturales, le procuren recojer entre estos, y su industria quanto Balate y Caracoles curiosos puedan, pero ha de ser baxo estas condiciones.*

- 1. Que seles pagará todo puntualmente con Arroz, ò Ropa la que escojan.*
- 2. Que a los que fueren hombres de bien les adelantará lo que con moderacion pidan à pagar en aquellas expecies.*
- 3. Que el Balate deve ser grande de primera à los precios que lo entregan en esta Capital; y que no deve abrirse a lo largo, sino por la una ò dos puntas, que será suficiente para extraerle quanto porqueria tengan con las entrañas dentro.*
- 4. Que los Caracoles deven ser curiosos, extraños, y cogidos bivos en la Mar, pues tomados de la Playa se encuentran calcinados por el Sol, y a poco tiempo se conbierten en polvo.*
- 5. Conforme se bayan recogiendo deven cubrirse de ceniza, ò tierra, para que la carne se pudra; y quando contemplan lo està, los labaran curiosamente, y remitiràn cubiertos de Ypa [por] que si se rozan unos con otros, ....-llan los labios, y pierden el valor.*
- 6. Que si sele intenta regalar alguna de estas cosas no lo recibirá, y mirará al dueño como con un pretexto de no querer hacerle este obsequio, deviendo advertir que los caracoles son encargo de la Superioridad.*

*Dios guarde a Vmds. muchos años.*

*Agaña, y Febrero 26 de 1795.*

*B.L.M. de Vms. su seguro servidor,*

*Justo de la Cruz, Secretario de esta Governacion y Guerra.*

**Translation.**

[To the] Mayors and Administrators of the Districts of Agat, Umatac, Inarajan and Pago.

His Lordship the Governor has begged me to ask Your Graces, without prejudice to the royal service or to the detriment of the natives, to collect among them, and through your own efforts, as much *trepang* and shells as possible; however, this must take place under the following conditions:

1. Everything shall be paid them punctually, with rice or clothing, as they choose.
2. You may pay in advance those who are reliable, if they ask for it, with said supplies.
3. The *trepang* must be the large type and top category, at prices that are paid in this capital, and that it must not be opened lengthwise, but at both ends, just enough to extract whatever filth they have inside along with their entrails.
4. The shells must be curious, rare ones, and picked up in the sea when they are still alive; indeed, those picked up on the beaches have been burned by the sun and will eventually crumble into dust.
5. While the shells are being collected, they must quickly be covered with ashes, or dirt, so that the flesh will rot; and when they are judged to be so, they will then be made ready by polishing them, and then they ought to be shipped covered with *Ypa*,<sup>1</sup> so that they will not rub one against the other or have their lips broken off, in which case they lose their value.
6. Should you be offered such things as gifts, you are to refuse, and you are to convince their owner that gifts are not being sought here; in this respect, I must tell you that the shells have been requested by higher authorities.<sup>2</sup>

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Agaña, 26 February 1795.

Your devoted servant who kisses the hand of Your Graces,

Justo de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

**Proclamation dated 23 July 1795.**

A list of 15 instructions on how to take care of the cattle in the King's Ranches.

**Proclamation dated 30 July 1795.**

The citizens are to celebrate the feast-day of St. Ignatius de Loyola.

---

1 Ed. note: I should perhaps have transcribed this word as *Nipa* instead.

2 Ed. note: The request had possibly come from the Governor General of the Philippines, possibly a verbal request to Governor Muro.

### A3. Proclamation dated 13 October 1795, regarding supplies for the Manila galleon.

#### Original text in Spanish.

*[Al Señor Intend]-ente, y Alcaldes de los Partidos de esta Ysla.*

*Deseoso de que al arribo de la Nao se tenga preparado para ella, todo el refresco que por constumbre se halla establecido, y que no haya confusion, prebengo à Vmds.; de que à la primera noticia que tubieren de averse abistado la Nao, remitiran à la Villa de Umata todo el socorro siguiente.*

**Agaña:** *El Yntendente que deve con anticipacion tener preparados buena cantidad de Limones, los embarcarà en la Lancha con quanta fruta encuentre, luego que tenga noticia del recalco de la Nao.*

**Tachuña:** *A igual tiempo y en la misma Lancha embarcarà ciento y cincuenta Aves; Doce Gallos Capenos; Diez Puercos, y toda la fruta que pueda.*

**Ynarajan:** *Dirigirà beinte Puercos; Doscientos y cincuenta Aves; Doce Gallos Capones; Doce Lechoncillos, y la fruta que pudiere.*

**Umata:** *Diez Toretes; Diez Lechoncitos; Treinta Gallos Capados; Ochocientos cocos; Quatrocientas Zandias; Doscientos Melones: Y ademas de esta cantidad que ha de procurar el Alcalde antes sobre que falte en el momento que se f--- ... -drà preparado bastante Zacate ... cortada en la Playa.*

**Agat:** *Doscientos y cincuenta Aves; Diez Gallos Capados; Doce Lechoncillos; Quatrocientos piñas; Cien Zandias; Cincuenta Melones, y la fruta que pudiere.*

*Para que por olvido no falten Vms. à dirigir los mas mínimo de quanto aqui les encargo; cada uno procurará sacar una copia de este Mandamiento que reservará en sy; y puesto el Ovedecimiento los despachará al inmediato [sic] Pueblo, para que por con-dillera llegue à mi mano.*

*Agaña y Octubre 13 de 1795.*

*Manuel Muro*

#### Translation.

[To the] Intendent, and the Mayors of the Districts of this Island.

Wishing to have all of the usual refreshments ready for the galleon when she gets here, and to prevent any confusion, I forewarn Your Graces that, as soon as you receive notice that she has been spotted, you are to ship to the town of Umatac all of the following supplies:

**Agaña:** The Intendent is to make ready ahead of time a good quantity of lemons; he is to load them on board the launch with as many fruits that he may find, as soon as he hears that the galleon has made a stopover.

**Tachuña:** At the same time and in the same launch, 150 chickens are to be loaded, plus 12 capons, 10 pigs, and as many fruits as possible.

**Inarajan:** Will send 20 pigs, 250 chickens, 12 capons, 12 piglets, and as many fruits as possible.

**Umatac:** 10 small bulls, 10 piglets, 30 capons, 800 coconuts, 400 watermelons, 200 melons, and in addition, the Mayor is to take adequate measures to cut enough fodder and have it delivered to the beach ahead of time.

**Agat:** 250 chickens, 10 capons, 12 piglets, 400 pineapples, 100 watermelons, 50 melons, and as many fruits as possible.

To prevent Your Graces from forgetting what quantities of what supplies that I have entrusted you with, every one of you is to try and make a copy of this order, which you are to keep for yourself; the original you are to despatch immediately to the next town, so that it will get back to me by way of the mountain trail.

Agaña, 13 October 1795.

Manuel Muro

### **Proclamation dated 3 November 1795.**

The citizens are to celebrate the king's birthday.

### **Proclamation dated 7 December 1795.**

In celebration of the feast of the Immaculate Conception.

### **Proclamation dated 19 January 1796.**

Warning the town mayors to prevent individuals butchering more animals than the missionary Fathers ordered killed for themselves.

### **Proclamation dated 16 February 1796.**

Ordering the town mayors to attend mass at the "Catedral del Espiritu Santo" on 21 February, so as to receive his instructions for the defence of the island.

### **A4. Letter to the Mayor of Umatac, dated 23 February 1796.**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Dirijo à Vmd. el adjunto Paquete de Cartas Cerrado, para que con el otro que tiene en su Poder lo entregue indispensablemente al Capitan de la primera Embarcacion que pase para Manila y berifique los encargos que estrechamente le tengo echos sobre saber el estado de nuestra España; adbirtiendo que debe tener las dos Pangas promptas y comuestas, para hir a la Ysla de Cocos à esperar la Embarcacion que pase, bajo las reglas de seguridad que le tengo à Vmd. mandado; y si acaso la una por maltratada no puidere salir à la Comision, lo berificarà en la otra debilbiendome este obedecido.*

*Agaña y Febrero 23 de 1796.*

*Muro*

**Translation.**

I am sending Your Grace the enclosed packet of sealed letters. Along with the other packet already in your power, you are to deliver same without fail to the Captain of the first ship that pass by and is bound to Manila. As I told you before, you are to try and ascertain the state of our country, Spain. To carry out this order, you are to keep the two *pangas* in good repair and ready to sail to Cocos Island to wait for any passing ship, under the security measures that I have already ordered you to abide by. If one of the boats be so unserviceable as to be unable to fulfil this commission, you are to send the other one. Finally, you are to return this order [marked] obeyed.

Agaña, 23 February 1795.

Muro

**Proclamation dated 7 March 1796.**

Announcing a visitation and census taking of the Island of Guam.

**A5. Letter dated Umatac 27 April 1796.****Original text in Spanish.**

*Los Papeles de confesion del Sargento maior Don Vicente Duran que Vmd. me dice tiene marcados, son sagrados: que nadie debe llegar, por lo que inmediatamente le arà entrega de ellos; obligarà a que los reconosca por si solo; y en estando satisfecho de que no le falta ninguno, le harà que apresencia de Vmd. los entregue al fuego; y de todo me remitirà constancia à continuacion de esta.*

*Umata y Abril 19 de 1796.*

*Muro*

*[Al] Señor Capitan Don Marcos de Rivera.*

**Translation.**

The papers recording the confession of Sergeant Major Vicente Durán that Your Grace has told me you have marked are sacred: let no-one touch them. You shall immediately deliver same to him, by obliging him to review them on his own and, when he be satisfied that not one paper is missing, he is to burn them all in the presence of Your Grace. You are to confirm to me that this order has been obeyed by adding a minute to the present.

Umatac, 19 April 1795.

Muro

[To] Captain Marcos de Rivera.<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: Rivera confirmed the destruction of such papers on 23 April.



**A6. Circular dated Umatac 25 April 1796.****Original text in Spanish.**

*[Alcaldes y] Administradores de Dandan, Tachuña, Santa Rosa, y Agat.*

*Para el arribo del Navio se necesita ademas de lo pedido, el que cada Administracion embie à esta Villa doscientos Huebos frescos lo menos; y la de Agat dobles Piñas que las que sele pidieron anteriormente; y para mi satisfacion no se detendrá este en ninguna parte, y me lo debolveran Vms. Ovedecido.*

*Umata y Abril 25 de 1796.*

*Muro*

**Translation.**

Gentlemen Mayors and Administrators of Dandan, Tachuña, Santa Rosa and Agat.

For the arrival of the Galleon, in addition to what has already been requested, each Administration must send to this Town 200 fresh eggs at least; and that of Agat twice as many pineapples as was requested earlier; and I will be satisfied only if the present document is not detained anywhere, and returned to me by Your Graces, marked Obeded.

Umatac, 25 April 1796.

Muro

**A7. Letter dated Umatac 14 May 1796.****Original text in Spanish.**

*[Señores Alcaldes y] Administradores de Umata, Dandan, Tachuña, Santa Rosa, y Agat.*

*El Paquebot del Rey que con la ayuda de Dios deve viajar à principios de Junio, necesita antes carenarse; por lo que se hace preciso el que cada uno de Vms. embie à los Almacenes todo el Azeyte que pueda beneficiar con los sirvientes de sus Administraciones y sin perjuicio de estas: Y deseando ver el desempeño que à cada uno inspira un celo y amor por el real Servicio, me debolveràn este Obedecido.*

*Umata y Mayo 14 de 1796.*

*Muro*

**Translation.**

[To the] Gentlemen Mayors and Administrators of Umatac, Dandan, Tachuña, Santa Rosa, and Agat.

The King's Packet that, God helping, must make her voyage at the beginning of June,<sup>1</sup> but firstly she must be careened; that is why it is necessary for every one of Your Graces to send to the Warehouses all the [coconut] oil that may be produced by the ser-

1 Ed. note: Refers to the Packet San José making a voyage to Tinian (see A10 below).

vants of your administrations, without prejudice to them, of course. And, since it is desirable to see the seriousness with which every one treats this request for the royal service, the present document is to be sent back, marked Obeyed.

Unatac, 14 May 1796.

Muro

### **A8. Letter dated 27 July 1796.**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*[Al Alcalde] de Agat.*

*Luego que Vmd. reciba esta dará al R.P. Fr. Tomas de Santa Rita una Lista de todos los muchachos de ese Pueblo sin incluir los exceptuados, para que su R<sup>a</sup> escoja los que necesite, que hará Vmd. pasen à su servicio.*

*Dios guarde à Vmd. muchos años.*

*Agaña y Julio 17 de 1796*

*Muro*

#### **Translation.**

To the Mayor of Agat.

As soon as Your Grace receives this message, you shall give to Rev. Fr. Fray Tomás de Santa Rita a list of all the boys of that Town, excluding those who have been excused, so that His Reverence may choose those he needs, and Your Grace shall arrange for them to join his service.

May God save Your Grace for many years.

Agaña, 17 July 1796.

Muro

### **A9. Order against too many slingshot contests, dated Agat 2 September 1796.**

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*[A los Señores] Capitan del Campo, y Alcaldes de los Pueblos de Pago, Ynarajan, Merizo, Umata, y Agat.*

*Aunque verbalmente tengo mandado à Vmds. no agan los Naturales de sus respectivas Jurisdicciones mas Egercicio de Honda que en los primeros Domingos de cada mes, combiene tener noticia en este Juzgado de la Guerra; por lo que selo noticio à Vmds. para que se inteligencien de ello, y me debuelban este Obedecido.*

*Agat y Septiembre dos de mil setecientos noventa y seis.*

*Muro*

**Translation.**

Gentlemen Town Mayor [of Agaña], and Mayors of the Villages of Pago, Inarajan, Merizo, Umatac, and Agat.

Although I have already given Your Graces a verbal order not to let the natives of your respective jurisdictions hold slingshot contests, except on the first Sundays of every month, it is convenient for said order to be recorded in the War Section of this Court; consequently, the present is being sent to Your Graces, for your information, and it shall be sent back, marked Obeyed.

Agat, 2 September 1796.

Muro

### **A10. Order to the Captain of the packet San José, dated Agat 4 September 1796.**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Tengo dispuesto que el Cavo Rufino Lujan se embarque de 2º Gefe en el Paquebot San José de su mando de Vmd., que pasa à la Matanza de Reses en la Ysla de Tinian: Lo que le participo para su inteligencia, y para que le dê à reconocer como tal 2º Gefe à todos los Yndividuos del Paquebot, que berificado seme acomularà constancia a continuacion de este.*

*Agat y Septiembre 4 de 1796.*

*Muro*

*[Al] Sor. Capitan Don Domingo Manuel Garrido, Comandante del Paquebot del Presidio San José.*

**Translation.**

I have ordered Corporal Rufino Luxán to go on board the Packet **San José** that is about to leave to go to Tinian for the slaughter of the cattle. He will serve under your command as your first officer. I so inform Your Grace, who is to ensure that he be recognized by all the individuals aboard the packet as such first officer. Upon delivery of this order, this fact is to recorded hereunder.

Agat, 4 September 1796.

Muro

[To] Captain Domingo Manuel Garrido, Commander of the Packet **San José** belonging to the garrison.

### **A11. Order dated 8 November 1796—List of the ranch hands.**

**Original text in Spanish.**

*Señores Alcaldes Administradores de Tachuña, y Dandan.*

*En el instante que Vms. recivan este Mandamiento me informarán acontinuacion que Soldados tienen en sus Administraciones, los nombres y Compañias, como tam-*

*bien que Mozos asalariados y desterrados, con expresion de aquellos trabajos en que se ocupan todos.*

*Agaña y Noviembre de 1796.*

*Muro*

*Yo Luis de Torres Alcalde Administrador del partido de Pago y Estancia de Tachuña, en Obedicimiento de la Orden que antecede declaro tener 16 hombres de trabajo entre Soldados, asalariados y desterrados empleados en esta forma.*

***Soldados***

*1ª Compª Ygnacio Bargas empleado en el fusiño.*

*2ª Compª Andres Leiba para dicho trabajo, de fusiñar.*

*3ª Compª Joseph Soroa para lo mismo.*

*" Gregorio Manibusan para cuidar la Sementera.*

*" Antonio Agüero " " "*

*" Joseph Lizama, Salinero.*

*" Mariano Agon, Lechero y cuidar los Puercos en Tachuña.*

***Chiqueristas.***

*Manuel Taisagui.*

*Manuel Taisipig.*

*Domingo Atoigui.*

*Salvador Magnas.*

***Gallinerista***

*Lorenzo Mafnas.*

*Roque Pacheco.*

***Desterrados***

*Joseph Barquilla, para el fusiño.*

*Francisco Chargualaf para el fusiño y Cachar Coco.*

*Nicolas Anajo para la Cosina y demas menesteres caseres.*

*Los que señalo para el fusiño son los redojedores, Baqueros y demas menesteres que se ofrescan.*

*Tachuña y Noviembre 8 de 1796.*

*Luis de Torres.*

*Yo Gaspar Pangilinan Alcalde Administrador del Partido de Ynarajan y Real Estancia de San Jose de Dandan, en Obedecimiento de la Orden que antecede declaro tener 10 hombres de trabajo entre Soldados, asalariados y desterrados en esta forma.*

***Soldados.***

*1ª Compª Alberto de Torres en la Baquería*

*" Felis de la Cruz, empleado en el fuziño.*

*2º Compª Juan de Aguilar, Arrozero.*

*" Josef Nego en dicho Baquería.*

*3ª Compª Antonio Vega empleado para dicho trabajo de fuziñar.*

***Desterrados.****Josef Ramirez, para cuidar las sementeras de Maíz.****Rancho de Puercos.****Rafael Nalujo.**Ysidoro Acfayi.****Rancho de Aves.****Ygnacio Cheguiña.****Salinero.****Domingo Atao.**(Signed) Gaspar Pangilinan.***Translation.**

Gentlemen Mayors administering Tachuña, and Dandan.

As soon as Your Graces receive this Order, you shall inform me hereunder as to the soldiers employed by your Administrations, their names and the Companies to which they belong, as well as the young men, salaried or exiled, stating the type of work done by every one of them.

Agaña, November 1796.

Muro

I, Luis de Torres, Mayor of the District of Pago and Manager of the Ranch of Tachuña, in compliance with the preceding Order, do declare that I have 16 workmen, some Soldiers, and the rest either paid employees or exiles, as follows:

**Soldiers**

1st Company	Ignacio Bargas, employed in weeding.
2nd Company	Andrés de Leiba, idem, weeding.
3rd Company	José Soroa, idem.
" "	Gregorio Manibusan, taking care of the garden.
" "	Antonio Aguero, " " " " "
" "	José Lizama, making salt.
" "	Mariano Aguon, milking cows and taking care of pigs at Tachuña.

**Pigsty boys**

Manuel Taisagui.  
 Manuel Taisipig.  
 Domingo Atoigui.  
 Salvador Magnas.

**Barn-yard boys**

Lorenzo Magnas.  
 Roque Pacheco.

**Exiles**

José Barquilla, assigned to weeding.  
 Francisco Chargualaf, to weeding and shelling coconuts.

Nicolás Anajo, to the kitchen and other household duties.

Those marked for weeding are also employed for roundups(?), as cowboys and other duties, as required.

Tachuña, 8 November 1796.

Luis de Torres

I, Gaspar Pangilinan, Mayor and Administrator of the District of Inarajan and the King's Ranch of San José of Dandan, in compliance with the preceding Order, do declare that I have 10 workmen, some Soldiers and the rest either paid employees or exiles, as follows:

#### Soldiers

1st Company	Alberto de Torres, as cowboy.
" "	Felix de la Cruz, in weeding.
2nd Company	Juan de Aguilar, rice boy.
" "	José Nego, as cowboy.
3rd Company	Antonio Vega, employed in weeding.

#### Exiles

José Ramirez, taking care of the corn fields.

#### Pig farm

Rafael Nalujo.

Isidoro Agfayi.

#### Chicken farm

Ignacio Cheguiña

#### Salt works

Domingo Atao.

(Signed) Gaspar Pangilinan.

### Proclamation dated 13 December 1796.

It reproduces a letter received from Squadron Leader Alava, commander of a passing fleet, announcing peace with France (see also Doc. 1796 C & D).

### A12. Proclamation dated 22 February 1797, about deer hunting

#### Original text in Spanish.

*[Bando del 22 de Febrero de 1797]*

*Sobre Permitir à todos los Naturales de la Ciudad, y Pueblos de la Ysla que puedan armar Lazos en las inmediaciones de sus sembrados, y matar los Benados que hacen perjuicio, entregando la Piel al Presidio.*

*Manuel Muro, etc.*

*Habiendoseme dado noticia de que acen daño en las Sementeras de algunos Yndividuos de la Ysla los Benados que a sus espensas trajo de Manila el Señor Coronel del Regimiento de Balencia Don mariano Tovias, y mandò soltar en el Sitio de Santa Rosa*

*para beneficio del Presidio: Y no pudiendo oir con indiferencia este perjuicio de mis Subditos; doy facultad à todos para que puedan armar Lzos y matar dichos Benados aprovechandose de la Carne de cualquiera modo, con tal de que no sea perjudicial al Comun, entreguese la Piel al Presidio, ni se excedan para ello de las inmediaciones de sus Sembrados internandose en los montes. Y para que llege a noticia de todos este permiso se publicará por Bando en esta Capital y Pueblos de mi Juriscicion.*

*Dado en la Casa Real de mi morada à veinte y dos de Febrero de mil setecientos noventa y siete años.*

*Manuel Muro*

**Translation.**

Proclamation dated 22 February 1797—Permission given to all the natives of this City, and Towns of the Island who wish to place snares in the vicinity of their plantations, to kill the deer that create damages therein, and to deliver the skins to the garrison.

Manuel Muro, etc.

As I have been advised of the damages done to the plantations of some individuals residing in the Island by the deer that have been brought from Manila by Don Mariano Tobias, Colonel of the Regiment of Valencia, at his own expense, and ordered released at the site called Santa Rosa, for the benefit of the garrison: And, since I cannot remain indifferent to this prejudice done to my Subjects, I give permission to all those who wish to set up snares and kill said deer, to take advantage of their meat by whatever means, provided it not be prejudicial to the common welfare, and to deliver their skins to the garrison, and they are not to go beyond the neighborhoods of their plantations or go into the deep bush after them. And in order for this permission to be made known to all, it shall be published by Proclamation in this Capital and Towns under my jurisdiction.

Given at this Royal House where I reside, on the 22nd day of February 1797.

Manuel Muro

---

**Document 1794B**

---

**Permission given to Guam natives to harvest coconuts at Tanocatan, the north end of Guam**

*Source: Item 11, Mariana Is., LC Mss. Div.*

**Letter of Governor Muro, dated 21 January 1797****Original text in Spanish.**

*[Bando de 21 de Enero] de 1707.*

*Sobre Permitir à todos los Naturales de la Ciudad y seis Pueblos inmediatos bayan una semana al sitio de Tanocatan para cachar cocos, y Pescar.*

*Don Manuel Muro, etc.*

*Deseoso el Governador de proporcionar el alivio posible, à todos los Yndividuos de esta Ciudad, y seis Pueblos inmediatos, los concede licencia para Pescar, Cachar Cocos, y hacer Tica desde el lunes beinte ey tres del que contamos, hasta el beinte y ocho del mismo, desde el sitio de Fasónan, hasta la Barra de Tarragui sin internarse demasiado en los Montes por corresponder los frutos à la Real Administracion de Santa Rosa; y no abusando de este permiso que se continuará siempre que haya fruta; pues me han asegurado; de que algunos por su desidia, ò mala intencion se entretienen en destrozlar los Arboles de Coco quitandoles los Palmitos, y arruinando el racimo por solo disfrutar un Coco; cuyo exceso berificado y el autor ... castigarè con todo el rigor que merece quien obra con tal desorden: Y para que llegue à noticia de todos, y puedan lograr el alivio que se les proporciona; mando se Publique por Bando en esta Capital.*

*Dado en la Ciudad de S. Ygnacio de Agaña à beinte y uno de Enero de mil setecientos noventa y siete.*

*Manuel Muro*

**Translation.**

Proclamation of 21 January 1707.



About permitting all the natives of the City and six Towns in its vicinity to go out for one week to the site called Tanocatan to shell coconuts, and fish.<sup>1</sup>

Don Manuel Muro, etc.

The Governor being desirous to provide as much relief as possible to all the individuals of this City and its neighboring towns, grants them permission to fish, shell coconuts, and make *tica* [i.e. coconut oil], as of Monday 23rd of this month until the 28th of said month, beginning at the site called Fasonan as far as the bar of Tarrague, without going too much inland, as the fruits of that area belong to the Royal Administration of Santa Rosa; and this permission is to last as long as there is produce to be had; indeed, I have been assured that some people, on account of their laziness, or bad intention, have gone around destroying the coconut trees, by removing the hearts-of-palm from them, or ruining whole bunches of coconuts, just to get one; if such vandalism is proven, and the author apprehended, I shall punish him with the full rigor that such a disorder deserves. And, in order for everyone to know about this opportunity to get the relief being granted him, I order the publication of it by Proclamation in this Capital.

Given in the City of San Ignacio of Agaña, on the 21st of January 1797.

Manuel Muro<sup>2</sup>

- 
- 1 Ed. note: Tanocatan, meaning North (or East) Land, literally means the Land Upwind. This "North End" was defined (see below) as the area from Fasonan to Tarrague.
  - 2 Ed. note: The same permission was granted, in equal terms, on 17 November 1797.

---

## Documents 1794C

---

# The Walpole, Captain Butler, visited Eniwetok

*Note: The Walpole was in company with the Genoese.*

## C1. Notice in the Nautical Magazine

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1858, p. 200.*

### Great Eastern Route from Cape of Good Hope to China during the N.E. Monsoon.

The following route may also be adopted during this season by a ship from Europe, and when the Cape is left in September; this, which is called the Great Eastern Route to China, is the most certain.

From South of the Cape a vessel should steer East, keeping between the parallels of 38° and 40°, or thereabouts, as far as the meridian of Cape Leuwin. From thence one of two routes may be taken: that South of Tasmania, or that by Bass Straits.

The first route was adopted by Capt. Butler, of the ship **Walpole**. He left the Cape of Good Hope in the end of September; on the 31st of October he sighted the S.W. point of Tasmania; on the 18th of November he sighted the island of Anno-Bom, one of the New Hebrides; he left these islands a little to the West, crossed the equator West of the Island of Paanopa, in about 161°40' E. of long., and crossed the archipelago of the Carolines. On the 21st of December he passed the Marianne Islands; on the 30th he entered the strait South of Formosa, and on the 1st of January anchored in the harbour of Macao.

Thus the voyage lasted three months; that is, it occupied only a little more than the time that is generally occupied by the direct route to China during the favourable season.

## C2. The logbook kept by Captain Thomas Butler

*Source: Log 293R, India Office.*

...

[On Saturday 13 December 1794, one island was seen from the masthead, whose position was about 11°41' N and 163°01' E of Greenwich, which were described as "four very low islands with a white sandy beach."]

...

At 10 a.m., saw land. Hauled up North & made the signal to the **Genoese**.

Sunday Dec. 14th, 1794

From the latitude at noon, I am convinced the Islands seen this morning have not before been discovered. I have laid them down (in a chart I have made) in Lat.  $11^{\circ}19'$  to  $11^{\circ}43'$  N & from the Long. of  $162^{\circ}43'$  to  $162^{\circ}52'$  E. I name the same Brown range, the northernmost one Arthur's, & the southernmost one Parry's Islands.

...

Sunday Dec. 24th 1794

... At 12 a.m. the body of the Islad of Sapan [sic] South about 5 miles... At daylight the extreme of the Isle from ESE to SEbS, dist. about 7 leagues. Tinian SSE supposed 12 leagues dist...

Latitude Obs.  $15^{\circ}38'$  N, Long. in.  $151^{\circ}02'$  E.

Monday Dec. 22nd 1794

... The **Genoese** in company...<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The two ships had been in company at least since passing Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania. I have found no more information about the Genoese.

---

## Documents 1794D

---

# The Carnatic, Captain Jackson, in company with the Dublin, Captain Smith

## D1. The account of Captain James Jackson

*Source: Log 165D, India Office, London.*

### Carnatic towards China.

...

Thursday 25 December 94

First part squally, middle and latter light variable winds, a swell from the N.

At daylight the **Dublin** SSE dist. 1 mile. At 7 a.m. saw a small island from the mast-head bearing NE.

At Noon the island N by E. Sailmaker repairing the 2 best Fore sail. People under the Boatswain.

Lat. Obs. 4°00' N., Long. lunar 132°56' E.

Friday 26th

Light airs and cloudy weather throughout with a swell from the NE. AT 6 p.m. the **Dublin** SE by S dist. 1/2 mile. At 6 departed this life James Langworthy, Seaman... A.M. committed the body of the deceased to the deep...

Lat. Obs. 3°42' N., Long. lunar 133°50' E.

Saturday 27th December 94

Light airs and calm throughout. P.M. confined Thomas Funck in irons on suspicion of his having broke open the Stewards Cabin & Lazaretto [i.e. pantry] ...

A.M. Held a Court of Inquiry on Thomas Funck when he confessed breaking open the Stewards Cabin. Confined him in irons again....

Lat. obs. 3°32' N., Long. lunar 134°18' E.

Sunday 28th

At 1/2 past Noon punished Thomas Funck with 17 lashes and released him.

Light airs and calms with pleasant weather throughout. At daylight the **Dublin** NWward.

Lat. obs. 3°30' N., Long. lunar 134°46' E.

...

Wednesday 31st Dec. 94

... At daylight the **Dublin** NNW 1/2 mile.

At 1/2 past 10 a.m. Thomas Matterfan fell overboard. Hove aback, lowered down the Jolly Boat and saved him...

Lat. obs. 8°00' N., Long. lunar 132°24' E.

...

## D2. The account of Captain William Smith

*Source: Log 399D, India Office, London.*

...

[After passing Sarangani on 20-21 December, the ships went by Karakalong Is. (5° N & 127° E), then the neighborhood of the Miangas Is (4°46' N & 128°44' E.) without seeing them.]

...

Wednesday the 24th Dec. 1794

Light breezes variable, pleasant weather. By Chronometer & Observation at Noon [we] are very near Pulo Anna as laid down in the Chart, but had no sight of it.

Lat. obs. 4°36' N., Chronometer 130°14' E. 49 miles to the Eastward. Long. in. 129°07' E.

...

Saturday the 27th day of December 1794

... In company the **Carnatic**.

Latitude Obs. 3°34' N., Chronometer 133°08' E.

...

[The ships passed to the west of Palau.]

...

---

**Documents 1794E**

---

**Another fleet of 3 English ships to China by way of Micronesia****E1. The Duke of Buccleugh, Captain Thomas Wall**

*Source: Lob 132C, India Office, London.*

**Extract from the logbook kept by Captain Wall.**

...

**Ship Duke of Buccleugh from Pulo Pinang towards China.**

...

Sunday December the 14th 1794

At daylight an island in sight<sup>1</sup> bearing N24°W distance about 9 leagues.

Lat. Obs. 3°23' North.

...

Wednesday December the 17th

At Noon the island of Pulo Anna bore N1/2E distance about 10 miles.

Lat. Obs. 4°20' N.

Thursday December the 18th 1794

At 3/4 past 3 p.m., the Island of Pulo Mariere S by E1/2E, and at 4 the extremes from S by E1/4E to S by E distance 5 or 6 miles.

At 6 p.m. the Island of Pulo Meriere S1/2E distance 5 or 6 miles.

Lat. Obs. 4°25' N.

...

Saturday December the 27th

A.M. Washed the gun deck.

Lat. Obs. 16°00' N.

A.M. Punished George Ally (by consultation of the Captain and officers) with 2 dozen of lashes, for breaking open the Captain's Cooks chest.

...

---

1 Ed. note: It was Siao, south of Mindanao (see E2 below).

## E2. The Boddam, Captain John Jones

*Source: Log 351C, India Office.*

*Note: This is a neat logbook, with clear handwriting for a change.*

### Extract from the logbook of Captain Jones.

#### Ship Boddam towards China.

Friday December 12th [1794]

Light breezes, fair weather. Strong riplings at times. In company with the [Lord] **Ma-cartney & Buccleugh**. Caulkers on the Orlop Deck.

Lat. obs. 2°05' N., Lat. by acct. 2°36' N., Long. in. 123°41' E, Lunar 123°44' East, by Chron. 123°41' E. Var. p.m. 5°38' E.

...

Courses NE1/2E, etc., Winds West, fair, etc.

Saturday December 13 1794

Pleasant breezes throughout, mostly cloudy weather.

At 5 p.m. Commodore made the signal for the convoy to keep near him & carefully observe his motions during the night.

At daylight saw the Land (appearing like islands) from E by S to E1/2S, an island NE by E, a small island SE1/2E. In company as before.

At Noon extremes of Siao...

Lat. obs. 2°33' N., Long. 125°48' E.

...

Courses E by N, etc., Winds North, fair, etc.

Wednesday December the 17th 1794

Moderate breezes and fair weather. At 6 p.m. Commodore made the signal to observe his motions during the night.

At 1/4 before 10 p.m., Commodore made the signal to bring to on the Larboard tack. Lay to as per Log. In company as before.

At 10 a.m. the Commodore made the signal for seeing Land. Saw a low island bearing NE3/4E distance about 5 leagues.

At Noon the body of the Island Cadocapué bore N5°E distance 8 or 9 miles. A heavy NE swell.

Lat. obs. 4°31' N., Lat. by acct. 4°41' N., Long. in. 130°15' E.

Courses E1/2N, etc., Winds N by E, etc.

Thursday December 18th

Squally unsettled weather throughout with much rain in the first part. A NE swell.

At 4 p.m. saw a low island bearing SSE distance 7 or 8 miles, sounded no ground 85 fathoms.

At 6 p.m. made land bore S1/4E 3 or 4 miles. In company as before.

A.M. shifted the fore stay sail, main topmast stay sail & mizzen topsail.

Lat. obs. 4°25' N., Lat. by acct. 4°46' N., Long. in. 131°40' E.

### E3. The Lord Macartney, Captain James Hay

*Source: Log 415E, India Office.*

#### Ship Lord Macartney from Pulo Pinang towards China.

...

Monday 3. of Nov. 1794

... At 6 p.m., made ye signal for the ships of the convoy to carry a light during ye night and the signal for close order.

Lat. obs. 3°50' S.

...

Wednesday 10. of Dec. 1794

... In company with the **Boddam & Duke of Buccleugh**.

...

Tuesday 16 of Dec. 1794

Pleasant breezes and fair weather. At 7 p.m., Willis Beswick, Purser's Servant, fell overboard from one of the gun deck ports, hove to and endeavoured to save him, but could not make sail...

Long. 128°50' East of Greenwich. Lat. 3°00' N.

Wednesday 17. of Dec. 1794

At 10 p.m., saw a small island from the mast-head bearing NE. At 11 the island in sight from ye deck bearing N38°45' W dist. 9 or 10 leagues. At Noon Pulo Anna N4°40'W. Lat. Obs. 4°33' N., Long. in. 130°47' [E].

Monday 18. of Dec. 1794

At 4 p.m., Pulo Meriere S17°50'E. At 5 p.m., Pulo Meriere S9°E. At sunset Pulo Meriere the East end S 00°30' West[.] off the East end remarkable high breakers.

Lat. Obs. 4°25' North.

[No mention of other islands. Passed Palau being in 132° Longitude]



---

## Documents 1795A

---

# The voyage of the ships *Magallanes* and *Concepción*, via Hawaii in 1795

*Note: The *Concepción* returned to Mexico in 1796, but the *Magallanes* only in 1797.*

## A1. Report of Lieutenant-Commander Concha to the Minister of the Navy

*Source: MN 577, fol. 65-67v.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Excelentísimo Señor.*

*1795. El Comandante de la Nao de Acapulco da cuenta de su regreso a Manila con Extracto de Diario.*

*El 25 de Noviembre de 94 dí cuenta á V.E. de mi arrivo á Acapulco con la Fragata **San Fernando** [alias] **Magallanes**, y Extracto de su Diario.*

*Este Buque despues de verificada su feria trayendo en conserva, por providencia del Virrey de N.E., la Fragata **Concepcion** del Departamento de San Blas al mando del Theniente de igual clase D. Andres Salazar, dos milones doscientos ochenta y siete mil ochocientos seis pesos, con varios efectos del Comercio, quatro Oficiales de Artilleria, y noventa y dos Misioneros, que trasportaban ambos: dio la vela, superadas muchas dificultades, para el apresto de la **Concepcion**, el dia 9 de Marzo de 95 quedando fuera de Puntas á las 12-1/2 y dirigiendonos á todo ciñir [sic] en buelta del O para montar la Tormentosa Ysla de la Pasion, lo mas al N de ella que fuese posible. Los vientos floxos, y escasos del 3º y 4º quadrante no nos lo permitieron hasta el 16 en que lo verificamos por la Latitud de 14º27, pero viendo nos continuaban las calmas sin apariencias de Brizas, y que nuestra aguada solo estaba calculada para 78 dias se resolvió en Junta la mañana del 16 tocar á rellenarla en Sandwich, para donde desde aquel punto nos pusimos en derrota; efectivamente las calmas continuaron hasta el 30; sin que apenas huviesemos podido grangear en 20 dias mas que 14º17' de Longitud, desde cuyo punto entablandosenos las Brizas generales, navegamos por un Rumbo oblic[u]o hasta el 19 de Abril, en que avistamos la Ysla de Owhihee, y despues de recorrida toda su Costa del S con un tiempo duro, y rebuelto, nos dio el viento de Proa con fuertes y contrarias cor-*

*rientes mucho antes de verse la Bahía de Karakakoa donde debíamos anclar, y no nos era posible tomar por esta razón sin mucha pérdida de tiempo, y riesgo de los Buques quando el reynante nos favorecia demasiado, en cuyas circunstancias se resolvió en nueva Junta seguir à Marianas, disminuyendo de medio quarto la ración de agua.*

*El efecto correspondió á los conceptos, pues desde aquel instante nos siguieron los vientos tan frescos y favorables, que el 20 de Mayo á las 12-1/2 del día fondeamos en la Rada de Humata donde trabajando día y noche, se echaron en tierra los efectos que se conducian para aquellas Yslas, é hicimos la aguada mas precisa, y el 22 á las 7 de la noche despues de otra Junta, en que se resolvió respecto á lo adelantado de la Estacion, lo resuelto del tiempo y otras solidas razones, la entrada por el Embocadero de San Bernardino, dimos la vela declarandosenos los vientos del E en terminos tales que el 1º de Junio á las 3 de la tarde avistamos el Cavo del Espiritu Santo, y el 2 dirigiendonos á embocar el Estrecho con viento y marea á favor, ya muy cerca de la Punta N de Capul se nos quedó totalmente calma, y por consiguiente los Buques al arbitrio de sus rapidas corrientes que nos condician sin recurso, virileando sus Playas á muy cerca distancia sobre la Punta S por fondos de 40, 35, 30, y 28 brazas de piedra y cascajo, cuya disminucion nos obligo á dexar caer un Ancla para evadirnos de varar, manteniendonos en calma hasta el 3 á las 7 de la noche, que rotas las uñas del Ancla, no pudiendo tomar fondo con otra, faltando tambien la suya á la **Concepcion**, á zón de marea nos llevaron las aguas por entre los Naranjos, donde paramos á favor de los remolques, y tal qual ventolina.*

*Con las mismas, y á fuerza de trabaxo, llegamos á avistar Punta de Escarceo el 10 donde encontrando vientos entablados del NO al O estuvimos todo el, y el 11 sobre Bordos, en cuya noche una turbonada del NO nos rifó el Trinquete; obligandonos á correr costeando Ysla Verde; haviendo desfogado volvimos á nuestro empeño de montar dicha Punta, pero el 12 á las 3 de la tarde viendo el viento mas afirmado, rebuelto el tiempo, desengañados de no ser posible verificar este estrecho paso sobre bordos, pues lo que á favor de una marea adelantavamos se perdía en la contraria, que la gente rendida del trabajo, y desvelos de las noches anteriores, necesitava descanso, no pudiendo haverlo en un parage que á cada paso era indispensable maniobrar, resolvimos tomar el Fondeadero de Calapan: el 13 á las 6-1/2 de la mañana volvimos á Zarpar con ventolinas calmosas, y variables, deseosos de no perder un momento de tiempo sin poder hasta el 17 por la tarde montar la deseada punta de Escarceo que lo conseguimos á favor de una fuerte turbonada del SE, logrando montar á Fortun el 18 al medio día, y el 19 á las 4 de la tarde fondear felizmente en Cavite.*

*En todo el viage de hida y buelta no hemos experimentado enfermedades, averias, ni otro algun accidente desgraciado. Que es quanto tengo que participar á V.E.*

*Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.*

*Manila 18 de Julio de 1796.*

*Excentisimo Señor.*

*Luis de la Concha.*

*[A1] Excelentisimo Señor Bº Fr. D. Antonio Valdéz y Bazan.*

## Translation.

Your Excellency.

1795. The Commander of the Acapulco galleon reports on her return to Manila, and encloses a copy of the Logbook.

On 25 November 1794, I reported to Y.E. my arrival at Acapulco with the frigate **San Fernando** [alias] **Magallanes**, enclosing a copy of the Logbook.

Once the trade fair was over, this ship was ordered by the Viceroy of New Spain to accept the frigate **Concepción** from the Department of San Blas in her company. She was under the command of Lieutenant Andrés Salazar. Between them, the frigates carried two million 287 thousand 6 pesos, along with various goods belonging to the Trade, 4 artillery officers, and 92 missionaries. After many difficulties affecting the preparations of the **Concepción**, we set sail on the 9th of March 1795 and were abreast of the points at 12:30 p.m., heading due W in order to get beyond the stormy neighborhood of the Passion Island<sup>1</sup> and as much North of it as possible. The light winds from the 3rd and 4th quadrants did not allow us to do so until the 16th, in Latitude of 14°27', but seeing that the calms persisted, without any sign of tradewinds, and that our water supplies had been calculated for only 78 days, it was decided in Council in the morning of the 16th to touch at the Sandwich Islands. From then on, we headed towards them. In effect, the calms lasted until the 30th, to such an extent that we did not progress by more than 14°17' in longitude during 20 days. Finally, the prevailing trades began to blow after that and we sailed by an oblique route until the 19th of April when we sighted the Island of Hawaii. Afterwards, we coasted the whole south coast of it while the weather was rough, and unsettled; the wind was dead ahead and strong, the currents were contrary, much before we came in sight of Karakakoa Bay where we had to anchor. However, for this reason, we could not stop there, without a great loss of time, and risk to the ships, when the prevailing wind favored us rather well. Under such circumstances it was decided in a new Council to head for the Marianas. The water ration was reduced to half a quart.

We were not mistaken, because, from then on, the winds were so fresh and favorable that on 20 May, at 12:30 p.m., we anchored in the Roads of Umatac. By working day and night, the goods addressed to these Islands were put ashore so speedily, and we had taken on board as much water as we needed by the 22nd when, at 7 p.m., after another Council in which it was decided to get in through the Strait of San Bernardino, in view of the late season, the constancy of the weather, and other solid reasons, we set sail. The easterlies were so favorable that on 1 June at 3 p.m. we sighted Cape Espiritu Santo, and on the 2nd we were entering the strait with the wind and sea in our favor. However, as we came close to the North point of Capul Island, we were totally becalmed and consequently the ships were left to the mercy of the rapid currents that were taking us where they pleased. We were almost scraping its beaches, headed for its

---

1 Ed. note: The name the French had given to Clipperton Island in 1711 (see HM11:417).

south point through bottoms at 40, 35, 30, and 28 fathoms, stone and rubble. This decrease forced us to drop an anchor in order not to run ashore, but a second anchor did not grab. That of the **Concepción** did not hold either. Luckily, the tide carried us in the middle of the Naranjos, where we stopped, thanks to the whirlpools, and some light airs.

With the same conditions, and as a result of many efforts, we finally got sight of Escarceo Point on the 10th, where we met with winds that blew constantly from NW to W. All of that day and the 11th we kept on tacking. During the night of the 11th a squall from the NW ripped our foresail, forcing us to run along Verde Island. When the wind and rain ceased, we once again tried to get past said point, but on the 12th at 3 p.m., seeing that the wind was more resolute, and the weather unsettled, we had to admit that we could not make progress in this strait by tacking. Indeed, what we gained with one tide, we lost with the next. Besides, the men were very tired, had worked without sleep during the previous nights, and needed rest. Since we could not have rest in such a neighborhood as this one, because it was necessary to do some kind of maneuver often, we decided to touch at the anchorage of Calapan. On the 13th at 6:30 a.m. we sailed off again, with light, and variable, airs. so desirous were we not to lose one moment. Try as we may, we did not get past Escarceo Point until the afternoon of the 17th, when a strong squall hit us from the SE. We managed to get past Fortun on the 18th at noon, and on the 19th at 4 in the afternoon we happily anchored at Cavite.

During the whole voyage, in both directions, we never had any sickness on board, no damages, and no other unlucky accident. That is all I have to report to Y.E.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 18 July 1796.

Your Excellency.

Luis de la Concha.

[To] His Excellency Bailiff Fray Antonio Valdés y Bazán.

## A2. Letter from Governor General Aguilar, dated 16 January 1796

*Sources: AGI Fil 957, formerly 108-4-7/10; also in NLA #1401.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*Haviendosenos pasado por el Exmo. Señor Conde de la Cañada copia del Real Decreto fha en S. Yldefonso a 17 de Agosto de 1794, en oficio de 29 del mismo que recivio este Acuerdo entre los despachos que condujo la Fragata **Fernando Magallanes** que regresó de Acapulco Reyno de la N.E. à cargo de su comandante el theniente de Navio de la Real Armada Don Luis de la Concha, que V.M. se ha servido expedir para el descuento de quatro por ciento de los sueldos de los empleados en su Real servicio; el que se mandó guardar, cumplir, y executar, de que da cuenta à V.M.*

*Dios guarde la C.R.P. & V.M. muchos años.*

*Sala del Acuerdo de la Audiencia de Manila y Henero 16 de 1796.*

*Señor  
Rafael María de Aguilar*

### Translation.

Having been sent a copy of the Royal decree dated San Ildefonso 17 August 1794 by His Excellency the Count of La Cañada, under cover of a letter dated 29th of the same month, which was received by this Audiencia among the despatches brought in by the frigate **Fernando Magallanes** [sic] that returned from Acapulco, Kingdom of New Spain, under the command of Lieutenant-Commander Luis de la Concha, R.N., in which H.M. has been pleased to order the reduction of 4% in the salaries of the employees in his Royal service: said decree has been ordered carried out, complied with, and executed, and so I report same to Y.M.

May God save the Catholic and Royal person of Y.M. for many years.

From the Courtroom of the Audiencia of Manila, 16 January 1796.

Sire:

Rafael María de Aguilar.

### A3. Royal order dated Mexico 9 March 1796

*Source: AGN AHH 1225, fol. 151 et seq. Note: Load taken to New Spain on the return voyage of 1796.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

***Real Orden de 9 de Marzo que acompaña Instancia de los Apoderados de la Compañía de Filipinas sobre que se les compren los repuestos de Buques que tienen en Cambite [sic], para el Departamento de San Blas.—***

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Fiscal de Real Hacienda dice que segun los Oficios del Sr. Gobernador de las Yslas Filipinas de 5 de Agosto y 16 de Enero ultimo y las relaciones que acompaña ha remitido en la Fragata **Concepcion** los efectos navales que expresa de los que existen en los Almacenes de la Real Compañía de Filipinas comprados por la Real Hacienda con destino al Departamento de San Blas importan 23,620p 5.7 deducidos en 5p% de su valor conforme a lo contratado con aprobacion de S.M. quedando en aquellas Caxas la cantidad restante hasta 91,101p 6.7 que se embarcaran en la Fragata **Magallanes**.*

*Asi mismo ha remitido dicho Sr. Gobernador mil piezas de Manta de Ylocos y 25 de Jarcia de Abaca con el fin de que se experimente en dicho Departamento y se le noticiè si tendra lugar mayor remesa.*

*V.E. se servira mandar que respecto à haver arribado dicha Fragata à San Blas se libre orden al Comisario Don Francisco Hijosa para que informe como ya parece debia haverlo hecho el estado en que se hayan recibido los efectos enunciados si hay alguna diferencia en lo que expresan la liquidacion y relacion que acompañan de que se remittiran copias certificadas respecto à que en Decreto de 3 de Julio del año proximo anterior mando el Sr. Gobernador y Capitan general que por la estrechez del tiempo se*

*hiciese la entrega al Comandante de la referida Fragata pesandose todo el fierro en Planchuelas redondo o quadrillado pero solamente uno u otro Caxon o barril de Clavazon que se contasen las piezas de Lona sin medirse, sino algunas y tambien en quanto a la Jarcia se pesase una u otra partida.*

*Al mismo tiempo si V.E. lo tubiere à bien se prevendra à dicho Comisario y al Sr. Comandante de Marina que se haga experiencia de si son de utilidad para el Servicio las mantas de Yloco y Jarcia de Abaca y expongan a V.E. lo que resulte para avisarle al referido Sr. Gobernador y Capitan general como pide en su Oficio. Y propongan las porciones que podran traherse en lo subcesivo para servicio del Departamento en atencion à que estos efectos son de comodo precio y su expendio servira de Mayor fomento de este genero de Yndustria en aquellas Yslas contestandose al Oficio citado con expresion del recivo de lo remitido y de las resultas de la citada providencia y añadiendo que V.E. espera se embien en primera ocasion los demas efectos comprados por la Real Hacienda y finalmente dispondra V.E. siendo de su superior agrado se tome razon en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas para constancia del cargo que resulta al Departamento por el valor de dichos efectos y de la cantidad que queda à favor de la Real Hacienda en las Caxas de Manila.*

*Mexico 6 de Octubre de 1796.*

*Alva.*

*Como pide el Señor Fiscal de Real Hacienda.*

*Señalado con una rubrica.*

### **Translation.**

**Royal order dated 9 March which accompanies a Request from the Representatives of the [Royal] Philippine Company regarding their offer to sell the ship stores that they own in Cavite, to the Department of San Blas.**

Your Excellency:

The Fiscal of the Royal treasury says that, according to the letters from the Governor of the Philippine Islands, dated 5 August [1695] and 16 January last, and the reports that he enclosed, he has sent on board the frigate **Concepción** the naval stores that he mentions, from those in the warehouses of the Royal Philippine Company bought by the Royal treasury, and shipped to the Department of San Blas, were worth 23,620 pesos 5 [tomins] and 7 [grains], after 5% of their value was deducted, in accordance with the contracts approved by H.M. The balance remaining in the accounts overthere, up to 91,101 p 6.7, were loaded aboard the frigate **Magallanes**.

In addition, said Governor has sent 1,000 pieces of Ilocos canvas and 25 of hemp rigging, for the purpose of their being tried out in said Department and whether or not a greater supply could find a market there.

May Y.E. issue an order to the effect that, since said frigate has arrived at San Blas, the Commissioner Francisco Hijosa should report, in case he has not done so as yet, whether or not he has received the above-mentioned goods, if there are any difference in quantities and values, and he should send certified copies of the lists that were at-

tached, given that the decree dated 3 July of last year ordered the Governor and Captain General, to save time when making deliveries to the commander of the above-said frigate, to weigh all the iron articles in rods or bars but only one or more [sample] crate or barrel containing the nails and spikes, and to count the number of pieces of canvas without measuring their respective length, except for some samples, and also to weigh some of the rigging similarly.

At the same time, if Y.E. should consider it desirable, said Commissioner and the Navy Commander could be told to try the Ilocos canvas and the hemp rigging, to determine if they are useful for the service, and to report the results to Y.E., for you to inform the above-mentioned Governor and Captain General, as he requests in his letter. They could also mention the quantities that could be brought back in future for the service in the Department [of San Blas], given that such goods are moderately priced and their use would foster the development of this type of industry in those [Philippine] Islands. In answer to the said letter, it should be acknowledged and the results of said operation given, and Y.E. could add that he hopes that he will send, at the first opportunity, the rest of the goods bought by the Royal treasury, and finally, Y.E. may choose to have the Royal tribunal of accounts charge the Department for the value of said goods and the sum that remains to the credit of the Royal treasury in the treasury of Manila.

Mexico, 6 October 1796.

Alva.

[Note by the Viceroy:] Do as the Fiscal of the Royal treasury says.

[Note: There follows two lists of items shipped at Cavite in 1795 aboard the frigate **Concepción**. The first list, dated Manila 18 January 1796, gives the details of items made of iron, including anchors and cannon, with a total value of 23,620p 5.7; the second list, dated 13 January, gives the value of the Ilocos canvas at 733 p 4.9. The discrepancy report says that some 30 axes were received that were not on the original bill of lading, but there was some shortage of nails and spikes. By the way, the same source (fol. 175) states that some quicksilver was shipped **from** Manila in 1796, and folio 276 says that some copper, to make cannon, was shipped **to** Manila in 1798.]

---

## Documents 1795B

---

# Subsidies for the Marianas, for 1793, 1794, and 1795

### B1. File concerning said subsidies

*Source: AGN Fil. 44, fol. 7-23.*

#### Original text in Spanish.

[fol. 7]

*Año de 1796*

*Filipinas*

*Sobre pago del situado de Yslas Marianas de los años de 93, 94, y 95.*

[fol. 8]

*Excelentísimo Sor.*

*Suplico rendidamente se lea por ser corto y todo conducente*

*Mexico 12 de enero de 1795*

*Don Francisco Bazo Ybañez de el comercio de esta corte en la mejor forma que haya lugar ante V.E.*

*Digo: que el Governador de Yslas Marianas, y los oficiales, y tropa de aquel precidio me tienen conferido en segundo lugar, por fallecimiento de el primero, el poder que con el juramento y solemnidad necesaria presento en 5 hojas utiles (suplicando que tomada razon de el se me debuelva original para su uso en lo sucesibo) à efecto del cobro del situado anual que les corresponde, y su remision. En cuya atencion suplico à la superioridad de V.E. se sirva mandar que los Oficiales Reales de estas Caxas me entreguen en la forma acostumbrada la cantidad que toque à los años inmediatos pasados de setecientos noventa, y tres, setecientos noventa, y quatro, y el que se acostumbra adelantar que es el presente de noventa y cinco; pues aunque no me han venido los Documentos de feè de vida del Governador, y existencia de los oficiales, y demas Ynterezados, à caso por haberlos remitidos en el Navio el **Principe Carlos** de la Compañia que llegó à España, y Espero en el primer Abiso; es conbeniente diligenciales dicho cobro, y su remision, en la presente Nao, para evitar las necesidades que de lo contrario se les originarian, por carecia de los referidos cituados para su subsistencia sobre*



*que no tienen otro auxilio. Y para caucionar la presentacion de los referidos Documentos luego que me bengan me obligarè à ello, y a presentar Certificacion de haver registrado los referidos cituados, con rebaja de el importe de los efectos que anualmente se remiten para dichas Yslas.*

*A V.E. suplico se sirva mandar como pido. Juro no ser de malicia &a.  
Francisco Bazo Ybañez*

*Informe del Real Tribunal de Cuentas de preferencia y con lo que diga pase al Señor Fiscal de lo civil y de Real Hacienda.*

[A los] *Señores Contadores Mayores*

*El ministro encargado del despacho de la Mesa de liquidaciones generales Dice: que no encuentra [fol. 9] inconveniente para que se entreguen a Don Francisco Bazo Ybañez, los situados de las Yslas Marianas pertenecientes à los años de 93, 94, y el corriente, segun costumbre; bajo la obligacion de presentar Documentos de fee de vida del Governador, y existencia de los Oficiales y demas interesados; haciendola tambien de justificar à su debido tiempo con la respectiva Certificación haber registrado la cantidad que perciba con dicho obgeto, en reales, y los efectos que regularmente se remiten.*

*La crecida distancia en que se se hallan las citadas Yslas, y la retardada unica ocasion que ahora se presenta para auxiliarlas, con las demás justas consideraciones que manifiesta el mismo Bazo, precisan à la providencia que se consulta: En cuiã virtud si V.S. tiene por conveniente adoptarla, pedirá al Exmo. Sor. Virrey se pase la precedente Ynstantia à los Ministros de Ejercito y Real Hacienda de esta Tesoreria general para que verifiquen el pago, previa la audiencia del Señor fiscal, confome està resuelto.*

*Contaduria mayor de cuentas de Mexico 15 de enero de 1795.*

*Casahonda*

[fol. 10]

*Exmo. Señor*

*Reproduce à V.E. este Tribunal lo que consulta en su inmediato informe el Ministro que despacha la Mesa de Liquidaciones generales por contemplar indispensable la remision de los situados de las Yslas Marianas correspondientes à los años de 1793 y 794: bien que V.E. resolverá lo que fuere mas de su Superior agrado.*

*Real Tribunal y Audiencia de la Contaduria Mayor de Cuentas 15 de Enero de 1795.  
Herrera Fuente Monterde.*

[fol. 11]

*Exmo. Sor.*

*El Fiscal de lo Civil y de Real Hacienda, Dice: que hace fuerza que los situados de Yslas Marianas no se remitan por el ministerio de Real Hacienda de esta Capital y el de Acapulco como los de Philipinas, à entregar alli por cuenta de la misma Real Hacienda à quien sea parte legitima.*

*Ya que por determinacion superior, ó por S.M., ó por costumbre, se hayan de entregar aqui á un particular Apoderado del Gobernador y Oficiales de la Guarnicion de dichas Yslas, (que podrian tenerlo constituido por la autoridad publica, como lo de los Presidios de Californias) deberia constar los terminos en que se pagaron á D. Manuel Ramon de Goya los de los años de 91 y 92, y si en virtud del poder que aora se presenta sin la expresion de estilo de no estar revocado, como pudiera ser en mas de ocho años que lleva de otorgado.*

*Para conocimiento de estos puntos, seria bueno tener á la vista los antecedentes que se hayan instruido acerca de ellos, si dieran lugar á su examen las estrechas circunstancias de haber de salir en Febrero proximo (segun la superior resolucion de V.E. publicada por bando en 3 de Diciembre ultimo) la fragata **Magallanes**, en consideracion a lo qual, supuesto que el Real Tribunal de Cuentas, que tiene conocimiento practico de estas materias, no haya reparo en que se entreguen á D. Francisco Bazo Ybañez los que demanda de los años de 93, 94, y 95, podra executarle baxo las calidades y obligacion que expresa el mismo Real Tribunal, y a que el Apoderado se ofrece.*

*V.E., siendo servido, puede mandarlo asi, que en consecuencia se pase el expediente a los Ministros de Exercicio y Hazienda para la regulacion y pago de los Situados de los tres años referidos, previa la obligacion indicada, tomandose razon en el mismo Real Tribunal.*

*Mexico 18 de Enero de 1795.*

*Alva.*

[fol. 12]

[Decreto]

*Mexico 21 de Enero de 1795.*

*Como pide el Sr. Fiscal de lo Civil y de Real Hacienda.*

*Branciforte.*

### **Translation.**

Year of 1796—Philippines.

Regarding the payment of the subsidy of the Mariana Islands for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795.

Your Excellency.

I most humbly beg that you read the whole thing, as it is short and entirely relevant.

Mexico, 12 January 1795.

Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez, trader in this city, approaches Y.E. in the best manner possible, and declares:

That the Governor of the Mariana Islands and the officers and troop of that garrison have conferred upon me a power-of-attorney as their new agent, on account of the death of the former agent. I present same with the oath and all due solemnity on five

sheets, attached (begging to have the original back, after it has been noted, for use in future) for the purpose of collecting the yearly subsidy that corresponds to them, and its remittal. In this respect, I beg the superior attention of Y.E. to please order the Royal officials of this Treasury to deliver to me in the usual manner the sums that pertain to the two years just ending, 1793 and 1794, plus that which is usually prepaid for the present year of 1795. Indeed, although the documents proving the existence of the Governor, and the existence of the officers and other interested parties, perhaps because they were remitted aboard the RPC ship **Príncipe Carlos** which has reached Spain, and I hope to receive by the first advice boat, it is appropriate to take measures for said collection, and remittal, aboard the present galleon, to avoid the needs that they would otherwise suffer from, for the lack of the above-mentioned subsidies for their subsistence, as they have no other recourse. And, as a precautionary measure, I pledge the presentation of the above-mentioned documents as soon as I receive them, and in addition to present the certification of having registered said subsidies, minus the value of the goods that are yearly sent to said Islands.

I beg Y.E. to please order as I request. I swear that I am not acting out of malice, etc.

Francisco Bazo Ibañez

[Get me a] report, preferably from the Royal Tribunal of Accounts, then send their opinion with the file to the Fiscal in charge of civil matters and the Royal treasury.

[To the] Gentlemen Senior Accountants.

The Minister in charge of the office of General Liquidations declares:

That he finds no inconvenience in delivering to Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez the subsidies of the Mariana Islands for the years 1793, 1794, and the current year, as customary; under the obligation to present the documents proving the existence of the Governor, and the existence of the officers and other interested parties; and the obligation of justifying with a proper certification in due course the sum that he received for said purpose, in cash and in goods that are regularly remitted.

The long distance that separates us from the above-mentioned Islands, and the last opportunity that now presents itself of assisting them, as well as the other just considerations mentioned by the same Bazo, militate for the approval of the matter under consultation. Therefore, if Your Lordship should decide to approve it, he should request His Excellency to pass the preceeding petition to the Ministers in charge of the Army and Royal Treasury of this General Treasury, for them to verify the payments, after the Fiscal has been heard, according to what has been ordered.

Chief Accounting Office of Accounts of Mexico, 15 January 1795.

Casahonda.

Your Excellency.

This Tribunal simply repeats the opinion expressed above by the Minister in charge of the office of General Liquidations, since it considers indispensable the remittal of the subsidies of the Mariana Islands corresponding to the year 1793 and 1794, although Y.E. will decide what may be of your superior pleasure.

Royal Tribunal and Audiencia of the Chief Accounting Office of Accounts, 15 January 1795.

Herrera Fuente Monterde

Your Excellency.

The Fiscal for Civil matters and the Royal Treasury declares: That it is legally necessary, for the Ministers of the Royal treasury of this capital and of Acapulco, as well as those of the Philippines, to remit the subsidies of the Mariana Islands on behalf of the Royal treasury to whomever may be their legal representative.

Given that such subsidies have to be turned over to an individual acting as agent for the Governor and the officers of the garrison of said Islands, by superior decision, either by H.M. or by custom (though they could get such right from the public authorities, as for the garrisons of Californias) under the same terms that they were paid out to Don Manuel Ramón de Goya for the years 1791 and 1792, and by virtue of the power-of-attorney that is now presented, if, however, it has not been revoked (it was issued eight years ago).

To make a ruling on said points, it would be good to have on hand the background information that was used in the previous cases, if only there was time to examine them, but there is a shortage of time imposed by the near departure of the frigate **Magallanes** next February (in accordance with the superior decision of Y.E. published by a proclamation dated 3 December last). As a result of which, given that the Royal Tribunal of Accounts which has practical knowledge of such matters has no objection to the subsidies for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795 being paid out to Don Francisco Bazo Ibañez, it could be done, under the conditions and obligation stated by the Royal tribunal itself, to which the agent obliges himself.

Should Y.E. agrees, you could order it thus, and pass the file to the Ministers of the Army and Treasury for them to calculate and pay out the subsidies for the three years in question, under the stated conditions, and have the same Royal tribunal take it into account.

Mexico, 18 February 1795.

Alva.

[Decree]

Mexico, 21 January 1795.

Do as the Fiscal for Civil matters and the Royal treasury requests.

[Viceroy] Branciforte.

## B2. Letter from the Accounting Department, dated Manila 10 July 1795

*Source: AGN AHH 503-21.*

### Original text in Spanish.

*En la Carta Cuenta que en nueve de Febrero del presente año formaron V[uestras] M[ercedes] de los Situados conduzidos por el Navio **Magallanes**, se hizo vaja de tres mil quatrocientos noventa y quatro pesos dos reales y ocho granos de Extipendios de los Religiosos de las Yslas Marianas, importe de Vino para celebrar, y Azeyte para alumbrado de los Sagrarios: Cuya carga ha sido en todos tiempos de esas Caxas, lo mismo que los demas gastos de dichas Islas, sin desfalco de los Situados de esta Tesoreria General; por que en las Cartas Cuentas dirigidas á ella en lo pasado, se pusieron aquellas sumas solo por noticia, sin hacer baja alguna, ni tampoco esta comprendida en la ultima regulacion del Situado de estas Yslas verificada en Febrero de noventa y dos, por disposicion de la Junta Superior de ese Reyno, como será constante á V.Ms., vistas las copias que deben existir en esos Oficios.*

*Dios guarde á V.Ms. muchos años.*

*Contaduria de Real Hazienda en Manila 10 de Julio de 1795.*

*Juan Baptista de Revilla.*

*Bonifacio Saenz de Vizmanos.*

*Joaquin Cirilo de las Congnas.*

*[A los] Señores Ofiziales Reales de las Caxas de Mexico.*

*[Nota:] Se confirió el punto al Excelentissimo Sr. V[irrey] en 23 de Noviembre de 96. Contenido a Manila en 18 de Enero de 97.]*

### Translation.

In the Letter of accounts drafted by Your Graces on 9 February of this year regarding the subsidies carried by the galleon **Magallanes**, a reduction of 3,494 pesos 2 reals and 8 grains was made to the Stipends of the Religious of the Mariana Islands, the amount for the wine to celebrate [mass] and the oil for the lamps of the sanctuaries: Said expenses have forever been charged to that treasury [in Mexico], the same as for all other expenses of said Islands, without defalcating the Subsidies from that General Treasury; in fact, in the Letters of accounts addressed to it in the past those sums were only for information, without any reduction whatever, nor is it included in the latest budget for the Subsidy of these Islands authorized in February 1792 by the Superior Council of that Kingdom, as Your Graces can verify from copies that surely can be found in those offices.

May God save Your Graces for many years.

Accounting Office of the Royal Treasury of Manila, 10 July 1795.

Juan Bautista de Revilla.

Bonifacio Saenz de Vizmanos.

Joaquin Cirilo de las Congnas.

[To their] Lordships the Royal Officials of the Treasury in Mexico.

[Note:] This point was discussed with His Excellency the Viceroy on 23 November '96. Contents sent to Manila on 18 January '97.

### **B3. Answer dated 18 January 1797**

*Source: AGN AHH 503-21.*

#### **Original text in Spanish.**

*Con insercion del oficio de V.Ms. de 10 de Julio de 1795 en que nos reclaman sobre la revaja que se hizo del situado que condujo la Fragata **Magallanes** de 3494 p 2rs. 8 grs. satisfhos de estipendios de los Religiosos Misioneros de las Yslas Marianas, representamos al Exmo. Sor. Virrey lo que nos parecia conveniente; y de resultas se sirvio determinar su superioridad se aumenten al situado remisible á esta Tesoreria General como descontados individamente lo que se executará en la ocasion oportuna que se remita el respectivo al presente año de 97 que queda sugeto á todos los aumentos y revaxas que debian sufrir los de los 3 años desde 95 y lo participamos a V.Ms. en contencion para su inteligencia.*

*Ds. Enero 18/97*

*[A los] Sres. Ministros de la Tesoreria General de Manila.*

#### **Translation.**

Enclosed with the letter from Your Graces, dated 10 July 1795, there was a note claiming from us the reduction of 3,494 p 2r 8g that was made to the subsidy carried by the frigate **Magallanes** earmarked for the stipends of the Religious Missionaries of the Mariana Islands. We referred the matter to His Excellency the Viceroy with our recommendation, and the result was that His Excellency decided to add it to the subsidy due to that General Treasury as unduly discounted, which will be done on the occasion of remitting the subsidy corresponding to the year '97 which remains subject to all of the increases and decreases that must affect it for the 3 years since '95 and we therefore let Your Graces know about this, for your information.

Dated 18 January '97.

[To the] Ministers of the General Treasury of Manila.

### **B4. However, the budget had already been cut by one third in 1795**

*Source: AGN Reales Cédulas, vol. 161, exp. 133, folio 184.*

#### **Royal approval, dated Madrid 9 July 1795**

*Original text in Spanish.*

*Sr. Virrey de Nueva España,*

*Exmo. Sr.*

*He hecho presente al Rey la carta fha 30 de Marzo último, y testimonio con que V.E. da cuenta de haber mandado, teniendo en consideración el riesgo de las presentes circunstancias, las urgencias de ese ejercicio, las del comercio y los gastos de las Islas Filipinas, y Marianas, se rebajase una tercera parte de los caudales de Real Hacienda y comercio que debía conducir la nao, en que no se comprendió la Compañía de Filipinas; y que todo el registro fuere en dicha nao sin embargo de navegar en conserva de la fragata **Concepción** por ser de mayor porte y fuerza.*

*Enterado Su Magestad se ha servido aprobar esta providencia en todas sus partes.*

*Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.*

*Madrid, 9 de Julio de 1795.*

*Gardoqui.*

[Minute:]

*México 13 de Noviembre de 1795*

*Saquesse copia de esta Real orden y pase al Sr. Fiscal con el expediente o razón donde se halle.*

*Branciforte.*

### **Translation.**

To the Viceroy of New Spain.

Your Excellency:

I have presented to the King the letter dated 30 March last, and the certification that Y.E. had ordered, in view of the risk of the present circumstances, the contingencies of that exercise, those of the commerce and the expenses of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, a decrease of one third of the funds from the Royal treasury and commerce that the galleon could carry, but excluding the [Royal] Philippine Company, and that all of the subsidy [money] be aboard said galleon [i.e. Magallanes], although she sailed in company with the frigate **Concepción**, since she was of greater capacity and strength.

Once His Majesty was informed he was pleased to approve this proceeding in all of its parts.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 9 July 1795.

Gardoqui.

[Minute:]

Mexico, 13 November 1795.

Have a copy made of this Royal order and pass it to the Fiscal with the file or list wherever it can be found.

[Viceroy] Branciforte.

---

 Note 1795C
 

---

## Shipping arrivals at Manila, June 1795-May 1796

*Source: BL Add. 17,580, fol. 61.*

### Foreign ships only

Date of arrival	Ship name	Nationality	Coming from
...			
12 June	Packet <b>Nagore</b>	Danish	Bengal
id.	Packet <b>Maria</b>	Portuguese	Macao
15 July	Schooner <b>Espey</b> [sic] <sup>1</sup>	English	Bombay
7 Sept.	Frigate <b>Chinsurat</b>	Irish [sic]	Malacca
8 Oct.	Frigate <b>Phenix</b>	English	Madras
9 Oct.	Packet <b>Carlota</b>	Portuguese	Batavia
id.	Packet <b>Maria</b>	Portuguese	Macao
16 Oct.	Frigate [blank] <sup>2</sup>	U.S.A.	Madras
21 Oct.	Frigate <b>Surrate Castel</b> [sic]	Bombay	[Bombay?] <sup>3</sup>
22 Oct.	Brig <b>San José</b>	Portuguese	China
30 Oct.	Schooner <b>Nagore</b>	Danish	Canton
10 Nov.	Schooner <b>Espey</b>	English	Macao
13 Nov.	Frigate <b>Amburgesa</b> [sic] <sup>4</sup>	English [sic]	Macao
14 Apr. 96	Schooner <b>Hemmel</b> [sic]	English [sic]	Macao
16 Apr.	Packet <b>Maria</b>	Portuguese	Macao

---

1 Ed. note: Perhaps her name was Spy, or Spray.

2 Ed. note: **Theodocia** was her name, as recorded upon departure.

3 Ed. note: Was her name Surat Castle?

4 Ed. note: **UbelHermina** was her name, as recorded upon departure. Was she German, from Hamburg?



## APPENDIX 1 -- BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICRONESIA. Part 16.

- 1770-1908 **Sábada del Carmen, Fr. Francisco, O.R.S.A. Catálogo de los religiosos agustinos recoletos de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Filipinas (1606-1906).** Madrid, Impr. del Asilo de Huérfanos, 1906 (887 pages).  
*Biographies of missionaries in Marianas: pp. 305-702.*
- 1776-1798 **Gomez, José (ed. by Manuel Orozco y Berra). Diario curioso de México, de 14 de agosto de 1776, a 26 de junio de 1798. [also tomo VII+ Doc. para la hist. de Méx.]** Mexico, Tomás S. Gardida, 1854.  
*Missing from BNM (335 & 336 LAF). See orig. mss. at UNAM #1687 & 1688. (see also Doc. 1789C).*
- 1778-1786 **Díaz-Trechuelo, Maria Lourdes. El gobierno de José Basco y Vargas, 1778-1786.** Unpublished ms.
- 1779 **Cook, James, et al. A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean; for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere in...the "Resolution" and "Discovery"...** 3 v. + atlas, London, Nicol & Cadell, 1784; NY, 1796.  
*LC# G420.C69 1784a. The track of Cook's third voyage went by the Volcano Is. north of the Marianas, after Cook's death.*
- 1779 **Ellis, William (ed.) An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, In H.M. Ships Resolution & Discovery...** 2 vol., London, 1782; reprinted Amsterdam, 1970.
- 1779 **Ledyard, John. A Journal of Captain James Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ... in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779.** Hartford, N. Patten, 1783; reprinted Chicago 1963.  
*LC# G420.C72L3. See also Low, Rickman. Ledyard was a Yankee who had enlisted as a Corporal of Marines under Capt. Cook.*
- 1779 **Rickman, John. An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific Ocean ... (1776-1780).** 2 vol., Philadelphia, 1783; reprinted Amsterdam, 1967.  
*LC# G420.C69 1783 & 1967.*
- 1779 **Zimmerman, Heinrich. The Third Voyage of Captain Cook.** Reprint edition: Fairfield, Ye Galleon Press, 1988.  
*Translation of "Heinrich Zimmermans Reise um die Welt mit Captain Cook," pub. Mannheim, 1781 & reprinted Amsterdam 1973.*
- 1781 **Barras de Aragon, Francisco de las. "Un gran marino español del siglo XVIII; Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle."** Las Ciencias (Madrid) 16:1 (1951).

- 1781 Landín Carrasco, Amancio. **Mourelle de la Rúa--Explorador del Pacífico**. Madrid, Ed. Cultura Hispánica, 1978.  
*MN Madrid 9167.*
- 1781 Larriategui Ximenez, Teniente Coronel Felix (ed.). **Formulario de procesos militares... sacado de diferentes practicas**. Valencia, Mompié, [1781].  
*Rare book in my collection, regarding military trials.*
- 1781 Maurelle, Francisco Antonio. **Abstract of a Narrative of an Interesting Voyage from Manilla...to San Blaz...in the Years 1781 & 1782...La Princesa...** In *La Pérouse's Voyage* (Boston, 1801).  
*See La Pérouse, 1786 (2).*
- 1783-1850 Tamarin, Alfred & Shirley Glubok. **Voyaging to Cathay. Americans in the China Trade**. New York, Viking Press, 1976.
- 1784-1789 Quincy, Josiah (ed.) **The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul of Canton, with a Life of the Author**. Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 1847.  
*LC# DS708.S53. Shaw was supercargo aboard the first U.S. ship at Canton, the Empress of China, in 1784.*
- 1784-1844 Latourette, Kenneth Scott. "Voyages of American Ships to China, 1784-1844." *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28 (1927): 237-269.
- 1785 The King. **Real Cédula de erección de la Compañía de Filipinas de 10 de Marzo de 1785**. Madrid, Joachin Ibarra, 1785, 57 pages.
- 1786 Great Britain. Laws, Statutes, etc. **An Act for the Encouragement of the Southern Whale Fishery**. 26 Geo. III. cap. 50, pp. 955-975 [London, 1786].  
*After intensive lobbying by Enderby, the bill was passed on 7 June 1786. The Nantucket whalers went to Dunkirk, France.*
- 1786 (1) La Pérouse, Jean-François Galaup, comte de. **Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, publié conformément au décret du 22 avril 1791**. 4 vol., + atlas, Paris, 1792; 1797, 1798; also 1930, 1970.  
*Edited by Gen. M.L.A. Destouf, baron de Milet-Mureau.*
- 1786 (2) La Pérouse, Jean-François Galaup, comte de. **A Voyage Round the World, Performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe**. 2 vol., London, 1798; 3 vol., London, 1799; Boston, 1801.  
*Edited by Gen. M. L. A. Milet-Mureau. The Boston edition includes an abstract of Maurelle's voyage (see 1781).*

- 1786 (3) **La Pérouse, Jean-François Galaup, comte de. Voyage de la Pérouse, rédigé d'après ses manuscrits originaux ... enrichi de notes par de Lesseps.** Paris, A. Bertrand, 1831.  
*Edited by Jean-Baptiste Barthélemy, baron de Lesseps.*
- 1787 **Dixon, George [& Nathaniel Portlock]. A Voyage Round the World, but More Particularly to the North-west Coast of America ... 1785-1788...** London, Stockdale/Goulding, 1789; reprinted 1969, 1984.  
*See Howay, Meares. Dixon preceded Portlock by a few days. Some letters are from William Beresford, the supercargo.*
- 1787 **Lauder, William Colin. A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1785-1788.** London, 1789; reprinted 1984 by Ye Galleon Press.  
*Author was the surgeon aboard the Queen Charlotte, Capt. Dixon. LC F851.5 C2 1984.*
- 1787 **Malaspina, Alejandro. Viaje científico y político a la América Meridional, a las Costas del Mar Pacífico y a las Islas Marianas...** 3 vol., Madrid, Museo Universal, 1984.  
*Edited by M. Palau.*
- 1787 **Manfredi, Dario. Il viaggio attorno al Mondo di Malaspina con la Fregata di S.M.C. Astrea, 1786-1788.** La Spezia, 1988.
- 1787 + **Nicol, John [1755-1825]. The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner: His Service in King's Ships in War & Peace, his Travels & Explorations.** Edinburgh, 1822; NY, Farrar & Rinehart, 1936; 1937.  
*LC# G530.N6. Nicol was aboard King George, Capt. Portlock.*
- 1787-1793 **Hulot, Étienne Gabriel Joseph, Baron. D'Entrecasteaux 1737-1793.** Paris, Société de Géographie, 1894.  
*Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 1894. UH# Pacc DC52.E5.H9.*
- 1787-1798 **Calderón Quijano, José Antonio. Virreyes de Nueva España, 1787-1798.** 2 vol., Seville, Escuela de Estudios Americanos, 1972.
- 1787-1812 **Dunbabin, Thomas. "New Light on the Earliest American Voyages to Australia." American Neptune 10:1 (1950): 52-64.**  
*Period from the 1780s up to 1812 only.*
- 1787-1868 **Bateson, Charles. The Convict Ships, 1787-1868.** Glasgow, Brown Son & Ferguson, 1959; 1969; Sydney, 1985.  
*LC# HV8949.B34.*

- 1788 Bowes Smyth, Arthur. **The Journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn, 1787-1789.** London, 1964; Sydney, Australian Documents Library, 1979.  
*Edited by Paul G. Fidlou.*
- 1788 Gilbert, Captain Thomas [& Captain John Marshall]. **Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the Year 1788, With Views of the Islands Discovered.** London, J. Debrett, 1789; reprinted Amsterdam, 1968.  
*LC# DU20.G46. Includes Capt. Marshall's narrative.*
- 1788 Meares, Captain John (1). **Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-West Coast of America...** 2 v., London, 1790; reprinted Nico Israel, Amsterdam, 1967.  
*See Dixon, Howay.*
- 1788 Meares, Captain John (2). **Voyages de la Chine à la Côte Nord-Ouest d'Amérique, faits dans les années 1788 et 1789.** 3 vol., atlas, Paris, Buisson, 1795.  
*First authorized French edition.*
- 1788 Phillip, Arthur. **The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay;...the Journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball, ... Marshall...** London, Stockdale, 1789 & 1790; reprinted 1968, 1970, 1982.  
*Capt. Watts in Lady Penrhyn. See Bowes Smyth & Gilbert.*
- 1788 ca. Howay, Frederick W. (ed.) **The Dixon-Meares Controversy.** Toronto, 1929; reprinted Amsterdam, 1969.
- 1788-1800 Collins, Lieut-Col. David. **An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales.** 2 vol., London, 1798 & 1802; reprinted 1971, 1975.  
*Contains references to Captains Musgrave (1793) and Bishop (1799).*
- 1789 Dalrymple, Alexander. **Plan for Promoting the Fur-Trade.** London, George Bigg, 1789.  
*Not relevant to Micronesia. Northwest coast of America only.*
- 1789 Mortimer, Lieutenant George. **Observations and Remarks Made During a Voyage to the Islands ...the North-West Coast, Tinian ... in the Brig Mercury.** London/Dublin, 1791; Amsterdam, 1975; Fairfield, WA, 1988.  
*LC# G460.M88. Aboard the brig Mercury, Captain Cox.*
- 1789 ca. Pagès, Pierre-Marie-François, Vicomte de. **Nouveau voyage autour du monde.** 3 vol., Paris, Jansen, Year V [1797].  
*LC# Rare G420.P3. See also 1768 [same voyage?]*
- 1789-1794 Gómez, José. **Diario curioso y cuaderno de la cosas memorables en México durante el gobierno de Revillagigedo (1789-1794).** Mexico, UNAM, 1986 (ed. by Ignacio González-Polo).

- 1790 Arrowsmith, Aaron. **Chart of the Pacific Ocean: Drawn from a Great Number of Printed and Ms. Journals.** London, A. Arrowsmith, 1798.  
*9 sheets, engraved by George Allen, each 24" x 31". UH# Maps G9231.S12 1798 A77.*
- 1790 Forster, Georg. **Geschichte der Reisen nach der Nordwest- und Nordostküste von Amerika.** 3 vol., Berlin, Voss, 1791-1792.  
*LC# F851.5.F73. Secondary source.*
- 1790 Forster, Georg. **Erinnerungen aus dem jahr 1790.** Berlin, Voss, 1793.  
*LC# D309.F73.*
- 1790 ca. Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola, María Lourdes. **La expedición de Juan de Cuéllar a Filipinas.** Madrid, Hispánica de Bibliofilia, 199x.  
*Cuéllar was botanist of the Royal Philippine Company.*
- 1791 Bradley, Lieutenant William, R.N. **A Voyage to New South Wales. The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley, R.N., of H.M.S. Sirius, 1786-92.** Facsimile edition, Sydney, Public Library of NSW, 1969.  
*LC# DU179.B7. Transport Waakzamheydt, via Sorol and Yap.*
- 1791 Colnett, Captain James. **The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791.** Toronto, Champlain Society Pub. N<sup>o</sup> 26, 1940; reprinted 1968.  
*Edited by F.W. Howay. Via Maug Is. See also Colnett, 1792-93.*
- 1791 Dann, John C. (ed.). **The Nagle Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagle, sailor, 1775-1841.** New York, 1988.  
*From the original ms. in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan. [Does it mention the Waakzaamheydt?]*
- 1791 González C., Virginia. "Matutaray: un hawaiano en Nueva España." In *Mundialización de la ciencia y cultura nacional.* 9 pages, Mexico, ca. 1990.
- 1791 Hunter, Captain John, R.N. [1738-1821]. **An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and ... with the Discoveries...in the Southern Ocean.** London, 1793.  
*LC# DU172.H94.*
- 1791 Quimper Benitez del Pino, Manuel. **Islas de Sandwich: descripción sucinta de este archipiélago, nombre que les dió su celebre descubridor, el Capitan Cook.** Madrid, E. Aguado, 1822.  
*Was Captain of the captured Princess Royal. Check UH# MCF: S00859 item 1. Item 2 is Eng. translation: Hawaii only?*

- 1791 Quimper Benitez del Pino, Manuel. "Diario, 14 Feb.-18 Apr. 1791."  
*Original ms. in AGN. MCF copy UH# S00858: Diary of his visit to Hawaii.*
- 1791 (1) Marchand, Captain Étienne. **Voyage autour du monde, pendant les années 1790, 1791, et 1792, par Étienne Marchand, précédé d'une introduction...** 4 v., + atlas, Paris, 1798-1800; also 1809.  
*Edited by Charles Pierre Claret, comte de Fleurieu.*
- 1791 (2) Marchand, Captain Étienne. **A Voyage Round the World, Peformed During the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792, by Étienne Marchand, preceded by ...** 2 v., + atlas, London, 1801; reprinted Amsterdam, 1969.  
*LC# G420.M32. Edited by Charles P. Fleurieu.*
- 1791 (3) Marchand, Captain Étienne. "Journal de bord du capitaine Marchand, commandant Le Solide." *Bulletin de la Soc. des Études Océaniques*, 1961: 247-260.  
*Edited by R. Juteau. See also Saint-Yves.*
- 1791 (4) Saint-Yves, Georges. **Le voyage autour du monde du capitaine Étienne Marchand.** Paris, 1897.
- 1791-1793 Delano, Amasa. **A Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres Comprising Three Voyages Round the World...** Boston, priv. printed, 1817; 2nd ed. 1818; reprinted 1970.  
*LC# G440.D32 & .D33.*
- 1791-1793 Delano, Amasa. **Delano's Voyages of Commerce and Discovery: ... 1789-1807.** Stockbridge, Mass., Berkshire House, 1994.  
*Edited by Eleanor Roosevelt Seagraves.*
- 1791-1794 Dunlop, Andrew. **The Memoirs of a Bombay Mariner. Being the Story of Captain John McClure [sic] of the Bombay Marine--Hydrographer.** Salisbury, Rhodesia, Collins, 1975.  
*An 80-page paper on McCluer's life and surveys in SE Asia and Micronesia.*
- 1791-1794 Spray, W. A. "The Surveys of John McCluer." In *Mariner's Mirror* 60:3 (Aug. 1974), pp. 233-250.
- 1792 Barkley, Frances. **The Remarkable World of Frances Barkley, 1764-1845.** Sydney, B.C., Grays Publishing, 1978.  
*Wife of Capt. C.W. Barkley aboard Halcyon in 1792.*
- 1792 Bona, Emma. "Sulla vita ed viaggi di Alessandro Malaspina di Mulazzo, 1754-1810." *Bolletino della R. Società Geog. Italiana* (Rome) 6:8 (1931).

- 1792 Bona, Emma. **Alessandro Malaspina, sue navigazioni ed esplorazioni.** Rome, 1935.
- 1792 Bustamante y Guerra, José. "Relación de las navegaciones que ejecutó separadamente la Corbeta de S.M. la 'Atrevida'... en los años de 1789 a 1794." Anuario de la Dirección de Hidrografía (Madrid) 6 (1868).
- 1792 Cerezo Martínez, Ricardo, et al. **La expedición Malaspina 1789-1794.** 9 vols., Madrid, Museo Naval, et al., 1987-199x.  
*First complete edition in this Spanish scientific expedition, e.g. Vol. 1: Circunstancia histórica del viaje.*
- 1792 Destefani, Laurio & D. Cutter. "Sobre Alejandro Malaspina y su expedición." Boletín del Centro Naval de Buenos Aires, 1966.
- 1792 France. Laws, statutes, etc. **Loi relative à la pêche de la baleine & du cachalot dans les mers du Nord et du Sud... 27 mai 1792...** Paris & Lyon, Imprimerie Royale, 1792.  
*This law extended to Frenchmen the bounty enjoyed by William Rotch and other Nantucket whalers operating out of Dunkirk.*
- 1792 Galera, A. **La Ilustración española y ... las ciencias naturales en la Expedición Malaspina: Labor científica de Antonio de Pineda.** Madrid, 1988.
- 1792 González C., Virginia. **La expedición científica de Malaspina en Nueva España (1789-1794).** Mexico, Colegio de México, 1988.
- 1792 Haenke, Thaddeus. **Reliquiæ Haenkeanæ. Seu descriptiones et icones plantarum quas in ... insulis Philippinis et Marianis collegit...** 2 vol., Prague, Calve, 1830-31.  
*Edited by Carl Bor. Presl, M.D. Available at National Library (Národní knihovna) in Prague, under #16BB51.*
- 1792 Henckel, Carlos. "Las actividades del naturalista Tadeo Haenke en la Expedición Malaspina." (con tres documentos inéditos). Revista Universitaria (U. Católica de Chile) 42 (1957): ...
- 1792 Higuera Rodríguez, María Dolores. **Catálogo crítico de los documentos de la expedición Malaspina (1789-1794) del Museo Naval.** 3 vol., Madrid, Museo Naval, 1985-90.
- 1792 Malaspina, Alejandro. **Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida ... Malaspina y ... Bustamante...** Madrid, Abienza, 1885.  
*LC# G420.M23. Eited by Lieut. Pedro Novo y Colsón.*

- 1792 Palau de Iglesias, Mercedes. **Catálogo de los dibujos, aguadas y acuarelas de la expedición Malaspina 1789-1794 (Donación Carlos Sanz)**. Madrid, Museo de América, 1980.
- 1792 Palau, Mercedes, A. Zabala & B. Sáez (eds.). **Diario de viaje de Alejandro Malaspina**. Madrid, 1984.
- 1792 Pimentel, Juan. **En el panóptico del Mar del Sur. Orígenes y desarrollo de la visita australiana de la Expedición Malaspina (1793)**. Madrid, 1992.
- 1792 Pimentel, Juan. **En el panóptico del Mar del Sur. Orígenes y desarrollo de la visita australiana de la Expedición Malaspina (1793)**. Madrid, Consejo Sup. de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992.
- 1792 Pineda y Ramirez, Antonio. **The Guam Diary of Naturalist Antonio de Pineda y Ramirez, February 1792**. MARC, U. of Guam, 1990 (85 pages).  
*UH# Pacc QH198.G8.P56 1990. Edited by Marjorie G. Driver and translated by Victor F. Mallada.*
- 1792 Pino Díaz, Fermín del. "Los estudios etnográficos y etnológicos de la expedición Malaspina." *Revista de Indias* 42:169-170 (1982): 393-468.
- 1792 Ratto, Héctor R. **La Expedición Malaspina**. Colección Buen Aire, Buenos Aires, Emecé Ed., 1945.
- 1792 Sanfeliú Ortiz, Lorenzo (ed.) **62 meses a bordo. La Expedición Malaspina, según el diario del Ten. de Navio D. Antonio de Tova Arredondo...Atrevida...** Madrid, Biblioteca de Camarote, *Revista de Marina*, 1944.  
*BN Madrid 1/101414. Lieut. Tova was first officer aboard the Atrevida.*
- 1792 Schadewaldt, M. "Thadeus Haenke (1761-1817), médecin et naturaliste autrichien, et ses observations ... Malaspina (1789-1793)." *Vie et Milieu* 19 (1963?) 99-121. Wrong ref. not even 1968...  
*Colloque international sur l'histoire de la biologie marine, Banyuls-sur-Mer, 2-6 septembre, 1963.*
- 1792 Soler, E. **Antagonismo político en la España de Godoy: La conspiración de Malaspina (1795-1796)**. Alicante, 1990.
- 1792 Sotos Serrano, Carmen. **Los pintores de la expedición de Alejandro Malaspina**. 2 vol., Madrid, RAH, 1982.
- 1792 Torre Revelló, José. **Los artistas pintores de la Expedición Malaspina**. Buenos Aires, 1944.



- 1792 Viana, Francisco Xavier de. **Diario del Teniente de Navio D. Francisco Xavier de Viana ... Descubierta y Atrevida en los años 1789, 90 a 1793.** Madrid, Impr. del Ejercito, 1849; reprinted Montevideo 1958.
- 1792-1793 Colnett, Captain James. **A Voyage to the South Atlantic and Round Cape Horn Into the Pacific Ocean, for ... Extending the Sperm Whale Fisheries.** London, 1798; reprinted Amsterdam & NY, 1968.  
*Aboard the Rattler. Not Micronesia. Sent by Enderby, 1793-94 voyage. Colnett formerly midshipman with Capt. Cook.*
- 1792-1808 Espinosa y Tello, José [later Admiral]. **Memorias sobre las observaciones astronómicas hechas por los navegantes españoles en distintos lugares del globo...** 2 v. + 1 atlas, Madrid, 1809; there is no Eng. ed. 1812.  
*LC# F851.5.E77 (atlas). BN V8520-1. BN Madrid 1/4033-4. Espinosa was with the Malaspina Expedition.*
- 1793 Dupont, Maurice, Amiral. **D'Entrecasteaux: Rien que la mer, un peu de gloire.** Paris, Éditions Maritimes, 1983.
- 1793 Labillardière, Jacques Julien Houton de. **Relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse [par D'Entrecasteaux] ... pendant les années 1791, 1792, etc.** 2 vol. + 1 atlas, Paris, H. J. Jansen, 1800.
- 1793 Labillardière, Jacques Julien Houton de. **An Account of a Voyage in Search of La Pérouse ... Performed in the Years 1791, 1792, and 1793 ...** 2 vols., London, J. Debrett, 1800; reprint Amsterdam, 1971.  
*UH DU600.L562.*
- 1793 Rossel, M. de (ed.). **Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux, envoyé à la recherche de la Pérouse.** 2 vol., Paris, Impr. Impériale, 1808.
- 1793-1795 Marín y Morales, ... **Ensayo II.** Manila, 1901.  
*See pp. 183-5: Report of Gov. Arleguí y Leóz on the Mariana Mission, dated Manila 9 July 1795 (ref. Streit XXI, p. 80).*
- 1793-1823 Joyce, James. **The Log of a Jack Tar.** England, 1891; 1971.  
*Served aboard the London, Lydia, Diana, Perseverance, Inspector, Asp, Eliza Frances, and Sarah Ann.*
- 1794 Butler, Thomas. **Observations by Captain Thomas Butler...** ..., 1797.  
*Visited Eniwetok.*
- 1794-1796 Boit, John, Jr. **Log of the Union: John Boit's Remarkable Voyage to the Northwest Coast and Around the World, 1794-1796.** [Portland], Oregon Historical Society, 1981.  
*UH# G420.U54.B64 1981. In the sloop Union of Boston. Via Micronesia?*

- General Chatterton, Lieut. E. Keble. **The Old Indiamen.** London, Laurie, 1914; also London, 1971.  
*LC# HF486.E6C4.*
- General Cunningham, Lawrence J. **Ancient Chamorro Society.** Honolulu, Bess Press, 1992.
- General East India Company. **Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East.** 3 vol., London, 1896-1902; reprinted Amsterdam, 1968.  
*Transcribed from the India Office Records.*
- General Maude, Harry E. "Post-Spanish Discoveries in the Central Pacific." *JPS* 70:1 (1961): 67-111.
- Ref. Amesbury, S. S. & R. F. Myers. **Guide to the Coastal Resources of Guam. Vol. 1: The Fishes.** Guam, University of Guam, 1982.
- Ref. Arrowsmith, Aaron. 1) **Chart of the Pacific Ocean (London, 1798)**; 2) **A pilot from England to Canton (London, 1806).**
- Ref. Cotton, Sir Evan. **East Indiamen: The East India Company's Maritime Service.** London, Batchworth, 1949.
- Ref. Cumpston, Dr. J. S. **Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Sydney. Vol. 1, 1788-1825.** Canberra, priv. printed, 1963; reprinted 1964, 1977.  
*See Ian Nicholson for Vols. 2 & 3.*
- Ref. Danvers, F. C. (comp.). **List of Marine Records of the late East India Company... Preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London.** n.p., 1898(?)
- Ref. Horsburgh, James. **The India Directory, or, Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland.** 2nd ed., 2 vols. in 1, London, 1817; 7th ed., 1855, etc.
- Ref. Howay, F. W. "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade, 1785-1794." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1930.  
*Reprinted as a book in 1973 by Limestone Press of Kingston, Ontario, Richard A. Pierce (ed.). See also Malloy.*
- Ref. Jones, A. G. E. **Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade, 1775-1861.** Canberra, Roebuck Soc. Pub. No. 36, 1986; rev. ed., 1992.  
*Deals mostly with whaling ships, and was extracted for Lloyd's List. Part 3 is a shipping register for 1787-1862.*

---

## Index

---

**A**

Abemama Atoll 16:168  
 Abba Thulle 16:222-225  
 Abigail, ship 16:379  
 Acapulco, port of 16:64-66, 89, 128-129, 136, 153,  
 295, 299, 407, 410, 487, 493, 533, 551, 566, 571-572  
 Agnew, W. 16:205  
 Agote, Manuel 16:310  
 Agrigan Island 16:135  
 Aguijan Island 16:372, 382, 552, 567, 593  
 Aguilar, Governor 16:642, 645, 674-675  
 Alexander, ship 16:333  
 Aliponzoni y Catáneo, Fabio 16:450  
 Alias, Captain Juan 16:232  
 Alliance, frigate 16:229  
 America, ship 16:642  
 Anatahan Island 16:167  
 Anda Island 16:50  
 Anda y Salazar, Governor Simon de 16:49, 59  
 Anda y Salazar, Simon de 16:71, 78-80, 95, 106  
 Anda, Juan Francisco de 16:83-84  
 Aníño, Fr. Francisco de Paula 16:452  
 Ann & Hope, ship 16:380  
 Ansoátegui, Captain Ramón de 16:231, 291  
 Anson, Commodore 16:607  
 Anson's Voyage 16:372-373, 383  
 Antelope, packet 16:222, 224  
 Apra Harbor 16:464, 468, 474, 477, 493, 533, 553,  
 558  
 Arceo, Leopardo 16:271-272, 278-279  
 Argonaut, snow 16:422-423, 425  
 Arlequí y Leóz, Governor José 16:171, 173, 176-  
 177, 259, 261, 270-272, 274, 277-279, 283-288,  
 327, 330, 402, 405-406, 468, 472, 523, 556, 598-  
 599, 649  
 Armenteros, José 16:478  
 Arriega Island 16:50  
 Arrowsmith's Islands  
   same as Majuro Atoll  
 Asteguieta, Pedro de 16:71  
 Astrea, frigate 16:293, 297, 302-303, 311, 453, 470  
 Astrolabe, ship 16:239, 247  
 Asunción Island 16:245, 248  
 Atlantic, ship 16:632  
 Atole, rice gruel 16:511, 517  
 Atrevida, corvette 16:447, 465-467, 470, 472, 474,  
 481, 483, 486-489, 493-494, 525, 551, 558-559, 566-  
 567, 570  
 Augustinian Recollects 16:69, 80, 82-83, 98-99, 105-  
 106, 114, 116, 251, 411, 472, 557, 598, 606, 683-684  
   See Blasquez, Sanchez, Caxaraville, Ibañez, etc.  
 Avilés, Lieut.-Col. José 16:645  
 Ayala, Juan Manuel de 16:137-140, 165

**B**

Baker, Captain Adam 16:642, 644  
 Balanbangan Islands 16:95  
 Ball, Lieut. Henry 16:337, 375  
 Barkley, Captain Charles 16:230, 589  
 Barkley, Mrs. Frances 16:590  
 Baron Hulot 16:646  
 Basco, Sub-Lieut. Francisco 16:297, 299  
 Basco y Vargas, Governor José 16:106, 118, 139,  
 141, 165, 172, 174-175, 177, 283  
 Basco, Lt-Comdr. Pedro 16:294-297  
 Basco, Rafael 16:220, 296  
 Bauzá y Cañas, Second-Lieut. Felipe 16:450, 468  
 Bazo Ibañez, Francisco 16:597, 599, 605, 680-682  
 Berenguer de Marquina, Governor Felix 16:427-  
 428, 595  
 Berenguer de Marquina, Lieut. Joaquin 16:407, 437-  
 441  
 Bermudez de Castro, José 16:407  
 Bertodano, Second-Lieut. Cosme 16:427  
 Bishop, Captain 16:380  
 Blair, Emma Helen 16:17  
 Blanchard, Madan 16:221  
 Blazquez, Fr. Andrés de San José 16:75, 100, 116,  
 598-599  
 Boddam, ship 16:669-670  
 Boddingtons, ship 16:632  
 Bombay 16:616, 620, 686  
 Bombay, frigate 16:619  
 Bond, Captain Essex Henry 16:376, 592  
 Bonilla, Antonio 16:412  
 Boussole, ship 16:239, 249  
 Boutin, Mr. 16:247-248  
 Brambila, Fernando 16:452, 558  
 Branciforte, Viceroy 16:682, 685  
 Breadfruit  
   See also Dugdug  
 Britannia, ship 16:30, 377-378, 608, 632  
 Brown's Range  
   same as Eniwetok  
 Bucareli y Ursúa, Viceroy Antonio de 16:54, 56, 59,  
 63, 80, 83, 87, 93-94, 96, 101-102, 120, 129, 142-  
 143, 146-147, 150, 153-156  
 Buchan, William 16:367  
 Buen Fin, ship 16:47, 59, 63, 65  
 Bustamante y Guerra Cmdr. José y Joaquin 16:447,  
 451, 468, 494, 521, 558  
 Butaritari Island 16:345  
 Butler, Captain Thomas 16:664  
 Byron, Captain 16:249, 335, 372, 383, 385, 434

## C

Cabrera Bueno 16:161  
 California 16:111, 187

Calvert's Islands  
 same as Maloelap

Campo, José del 16:63-65  
 Camus Herrera, Manuel 16:598-599  
 Cañaveral y Ponce, Francisco Antonio 16:154  
 Cañizares, Sub-Lieutenant José 16:256, 258  
 Canoes, native 16:343  
 Canton 16:613, 686  
 Cantova, Fr. Juan Antonio 16:283  
 Cape Bojeador 16:299  
 Cape Engaño 16:135  
 Cape Espiritu Santo 16:162, 167, 303, 471, 489, 673  
 Cardinal Alberoni 16:476  
 Carnatic, ship 16:666-667  
 Caroline Islands 16:259, 273, 590-591, 639  
 natives 16:282, 402, 405  
 canoes 16:278  
 vocabulary, 1787 16:274  
 Carrera, Esteban de la 16:101-102, 104, 153-154, 210, 220  
 Carruthers, Captain 16:613  
 Carteret, Captain 16:415  
 Castro, Lucas de 16:236  
 Cavite, port of 16:674, 676  
 Caxaraville, Fr. Tomás de Santa Rita 16:100, 116, 656  
*Cenia*, a type of rice gruel  
 See also Rice  
 Ceraín, Governor Felipe de 16:90-94, 96-97, 127, 172, 175, 187, 199, 202, 204, 235, 510, 515  
 Cevallos, Lt.-Cmdr Ciriaco 16:452, 571  
 Chalmers, Captain 16:632  
 Chamorros 16:330  
 See also Guam, Marianas  
 Chanal, Prosper 16:430, 433  
 Charlotte, ship 16:333, 335-338, 346, 348-349, 352-353, 367, 372, 374  
 Chatham's Islands  
 same as Wotje  
 Choquet de Isla, Lieut. Diego 16:157-158, 163  
 College of Guam 16:594-595, 598  
 Collins, Colonel David 16:375, 609, 632  
 Colnett, Captain James 16:422, 425  
 Concha, Lt.-Comdr Luís de la 16:671  
 Concepción, Fray de la 16:47, 116  
 Concepción, frigate 16:673, 677  
 See also Rey Carlos  
 Concha, Lieut. & Lt.-Cmdr Luís de la 16:293, 674-675  
 Congnas, Joaquin Cirilo de las 16:684  
 Cook, Captain James 16:121, 125-126, 128, 131, 318  
 Corral, Juan Antonio del 16:296  
 Correa, Pilot Manuel 16:135  
 Cosio, Pedro Antonio de 16:193, 200, 202  
 Cossio, Francisco de 16:210  
 Council of Lyons 16:41, 43  
 Council of Trent 16:41-42  
 Count of Águila 16:531  
 Count of Floridablanca

See Moniño y Redondo  
 Count of La Cañada 16:675  
 Count of Revillagigedo 16:397-399, 401, 408, 427-428, 437, 439, 441, 595, 605  
 Count Melzi 16:453  
 Cox, Captain John Henry 16:382, 384  
 Cruz, Justo de la 16:651  
 Customs, native 16:647, 657  
*Chinchuli* 16:649

## D

Dalrymple, Alex. 16:313, 420, 488, 509, 553, 567  
 Dalrymple charts 16:620-631  
 Dampier, Captain 16:638  
 Daniel's Islands  
 same as Arno  
 D'Auribeau, Captain 16:646  
 David, General Francisco 16:142-148, 152-156  
 De Langle, Mr. 16:247-248  
 Deer  
 See Guam Island, Gov. Tobias  
 Dentreasteaux, Captain Bruni 16:239, 313, 646  
 Dublin, ship 16:666  
 Descubierta, corvette 16:376, 447, 465-467, 470, 472, 474, 481, 483, 486, 494, 551, 555-559  
 Desengaño, patache  
 See N.S. de la Concepción, patache  
 Devis, Arthur William 16:224  
 Díaz Conde, Antonio 16:119-120  
 Díaz Conde, Manuel 16:120  
 Díaz, Major Vicente 16:144  
 Díaz Romero, Francisco 16:307, 637  
 Dixon, Captain George 16:316  
 Dolores Reef 16:637  
 Dominguez, Pilot Candido 16:637  
 Dorn, Captain, USN 16:236  
 Dorr, Captain Ebenezer 16:378  
 Dorsetshire, ship 16:208  
 Drummond, Captain Charles 16:324  
 Duárez, Fr. Juan 16:412  
 Dueñas, Adjutant José Román 16:272, 277  
*Dugdug*, a type of breadfruit 16:517  
 Duke of Alcudia 16:642, 645  
 Duke of Buccleugh, ship 16:668-670  
 Duke of Clarence, ship 16:618  
 Dundas, Philip 16:620  
 Dunlop, Andrew 16:619  
 Durán, Major Vicente 16:654

## E

Earl of Mansfield, ship 16:206-207  
 East India Company 16:442  
 Eauripik Island 16:379  
 Echandía, Antonio de 16:307  
 Echaux Beaumont, Nicolás de 16:71  
 Echeverría, Juan Agustín de 16:163  
 Elizondo, Domingo 16:101, 104, 128-129  
 Emparán, Lieut. José de 16:112, 135-136, 167  
 Empress of China, ship 16:229  
 Endeavour, ship 16:622  
 Eniwetok Island 16:664-665

**Enterprise**, ship 16:644  
**Espérance**, ship 16:646  
**Espinosa y Tello**, José 16:449  
**Exeter**, ship 16:610, 613  
**Experiment**, packet 16:378  
**Ezquerria**, Manuel 16:452

## F

**Farrer**, Captain Henry 16:233  
**Fearn**, Captain 16:380  
**Fernandez Canél**, Sebastián 16:307, 634, 637  
**Fernandez de Cárdenas**, Major José 16:272, 599  
**Fidelidad**, schooner 16:256, 258  
**Flores**, Viceroy Manuel Antonio 16:397  
**Flores Moreno**, Dr. Francisco Manuel 16:450  
**Forster**, E. M. 16:221  
**Franco de Soarezti**, Manuel 16:293  
**Franco**, Gerónimo 16:636  
**Fraser**, Captain William 16:206-207  
**Friendship**, ship 16:333

## G

**Gabgab**, same as arrowroot 16:510, 516  
**Galarraga**, Captain Pedro de 16:144, 150, 152, 598  
**Galleons in general** 16:110, 113, 652, 655  
**Galvez**, José de 16:112, 118, 141, 165, 171, 172, 174-175, 177, 204, 477  
**García Herreros**, Manuel 16:599  
**García Mayoral**, Pedro 16:67, 72, 91, 93  
**Garrido**, Captain Domingo Manuel 16:598, 599, 657  
**Garrido**, Manuel 16:272-274, 277-279  
**Garzaval**, José Antonio de 16:77, 87, 89  
**Gayarre**, Juan 16:220  
**Genoese**, ship 16:665  
**Ghandía**, Major Antonio de 16:637  
**Gil**, Tomás 16:129  
**Gilbert Islands** 16:168, 337, 339, 343, 352-355  
**Gilbert**, Captain 16:333, 346, 349, 352  
**Gilbert's Island**  
 same as Tarawa  
**Glatton**, ship 16:324  
**Gobien**, Fr. Le 16:308, 637  
**Gomez Enriquez**, Francisco 16:77, 87, 89  
**Gomez Moreno**, Corporal José 16:393  
**Gonzalez Carvajal**, Ciriaco 16:327  
**Gonzalez de Rivero**, Manuel 16:294-295  
**Gough**, Barry 16:230  
**Gouye**, Fr. 16:638  
**Governadora Island** 16:50  
**Goya**, Manuel Ramón de 16:598-599, 682  
**Gran Cocal Island** 16:186  
**Green**, Captain John 16:229  
**Guam Island** 16:159, 161-162, 166, 187, 192, 199, 235, 261, 294, 307, 311, 402, 437, 447, 464, 472, 478, 489, 522, 526, 527-528, 533, 552-553, 556, 651, 652-653, 655, 659, 661-662  
**Agaña**, town of 16:516, 521  
**Agat**, town of 16:512  
**coconut trees** 16:512  
**donkeys** 16:522-523  
**Pago**, town of 16:521

**Tanocatan** 16:662  
**Guayarre**, Juan 16:296  
**Guerrero**, Antonio 16:236  
**Gustavus III**  
 See Mercury, brig  
**Gutierrez de la Concha**, Lieut. Juan 16:451  
**Guzman Mendoza**, Juan de 16:123

## H

**Haenke**, Thaddaeus 16:447, 450, 465, 511, 557  
**Halcyon**, brig 16:230, 589  
**Hambly**, Captain William 16:208  
**Hawaiian Islands** 16:425, 429, 671, 673  
**Hawke**, ship 16:610  
**Hayes**, Captain 16:618-619, 670  
**Heceta**, Lieut. Bruno 16:167, 210, 214, 218-219  
**Helen**, ship 16:208  
**Henry Dundas**, ship 16:610, 613  
**Hernandez**, Captain Antonio 16:426  
**Hijosa**, Francisco 16:676  
**HMS Centurion** 16:373  
**HMS Discovery** 16:123, 125-126, 128, 131  
**HMS Dolphin** 16:370-371  
**HMS Phaeton** 16:232  
**HMS Resolution** 16:123, 125-126, 128, 131  
**HMS Sirius** 16:375, 415  
**HMS Supply** 16:375  
**HMS Tamar** 16:434  
**Hope**, ship 16:229, 378, 607  
**Hopper's Island**  
 same as Aranuka  
**Horsburgh**, James 16:442, 610  
**Howay**, Frederick William 16:422  
**Hubbard**, Captain Henry 16:644  
**Hudson**, Captain Thomas 16:422  
**Hunter**, Captain John 16:375, 413  
**Hunter Bank** 16:418  
**Hunter**, snow 16:380  
**Huon de Kermadec** 16:646

## I

**Ibañez**, Fr. Cristobal de San Onofre 16:100, 116  
**Ibarra**, Pilot Agustín de 16:144  
**Ibbetson's Islands**  
 same as Aur  
**Ilitis Affair** 16:262  
**Inciarte**, Pilot Juan 16:468  
**India directory** 16:442  
**Infante Don Carlos**, frigate 16:232  
**Iwo Islands** 16:131-132

## J

**Jackson**, Captain James 16:666  
**Japan** 16:639  
**Jesuits** 16:21  
 suppressed in 1769 16:17  
 returned to Spain in 1808 16:17  
 reinstated in 1814 16:18  
 massacred in 1833 civil war 16:18  
**Jones**, Captain John 16:669

Jurien de la Gravière 16:646  
 Juteau, Robert 16:435

## K

Kely Islands 16:50  
 Kermadec, Jean-Michel Huon de 16:313  
 King Charles III 16:17, 271, 331  
 King Charles IV 16:447  
 King Ferdinand VII  
   allowed Jesuits to return to Spain in 1808 16:17  
**King George**, ship 16:316, 320, 322  
 King Louis XVI 16:239, 400  
 King Louis XVIII 16:435  
 King Philip V 16:637  
 King, Governor Philip Gidley 16:609  
**Kitty**, ship 16:633

## L

Labillardière, J.-J. Huton de 16:646  
 Ladrones Islands  
   See Mariana Islands  
**Lady Juliana**, ship 16:37  
**Lady Penrhyn**, ship 16:333-334, 337  
 Lamotrek Island 16:261, 270, 273, 278, 282, 404-405  
 Lamursec Island  
   See Lamotrek Island  
 Larkins, Captain John P. 16:289  
 Leal, Gaspar 16:293  
 Lee Boo, Palauan native 16:222-223, 225-226  
 Lima, Major Joaquin de 16:598-599  
 Lopez, Fr. Alonso 16:308, 637  
 Lopez, Tomás 16:306, 634, 637  
**Lord Macartney**, ship 16:669-670  
 Lord North Island  
   See Tobi Island  
**Lord North**, ship 16:208  
**Louisa**, ship 16:324-326  
 Lowis, Captain Ninian 16:325  
 Luconia Island  
   same as Luzon  
**Luconia**, schooner 16:231  
 Luito, Tamol Umal 16:259, 261, 273, 278, 282, 404-405  
 Luxán, Corporal Rufino 16:657

## M

Macao 16:617-618, 686  
 Madras 16:686  
**Magallanes**, galleon 16:478, 671, 673, 675-676, 682-684  
 Magee, Captain James 16:229  
 Marcus Island 16:367, 424  
 Malaspina, Commander Alexandro 16:231, 292-293, 301, 303, 447, 449, 474-475, 481, 494, 509, 521, 533  
 Marchand, Captain Étienne 16:432, 435  
 Margaret, snow

See Venus, snow  
 Mariana Island 16:594  
 Mariana Islands 16:125-127, 131, 166, 245, 247, 322, 369, 423, 431, 433, 487-488, 493, 521, 523, 529, 571, 599, 604, 607, 634, 637-639, 647, 678, 684  
   See also Population statistics  
 Marín, Mariano, alias "Manini" 16:425  
 Marion Dufresne, Captain 16:553  
 Marlar's Islands 16:354  
 Marquis of Bajamar 16:476  
 Marquis of Branciforte 16:401  
 Marquis of Grimaldi 16:123-124  
 Marquis of Mulazzo 16:453  
 Marquis of Sonora 16:476  
 Marshall Island 16:349  
 Marshall, Captain 16:333, 337  
 Marshall Islands 16:338, 343, 345-347, 350, 352, 355, 358-359, 361, 364-366, 369-370, 374  
   Barbadoes Islands 16:348  
   Ralik Chain 16:592  
 Martinez, Captain Ventura 16:231  
 Martinière, Mr. de la 16:247-248  
**Massachusetts**, ship 16:229  
 Masse, Pierre 16:430  
 Matlas, Carolinian native 16:271-273  
 Matanchel, port of 16:65  
 Matthew's Island  
   same as Abaiang 16:338  
 Maug Islands 16:422, 424  
 Maurelle  
   See Mourelle, Second-Lieut. Francisco Antonio  
 Mayorga, Viceroy Martin de 16:166, 197, 200, 202, 204, 210, 220  
 McClellan, Captain Edward 16:378  
 McCluer, Captain John 16:615-616, 619-620  
 McCluer, George  
   Palauan son of Capt. McCluer 16:367  
 McCluer, Margaret  
   Malabar daughter of Capt. McCluer 16:619  
 McGee, Mr. 16:379, 381  
 Medicines carried aboard galleons 16:151, 211, 214, 450  
 Medina, Fr. Domingo de Santo Tomás de Aquino 16:411  
 Menendez de Miranda, Captain Fernando 16:231  
**Mercury**, brig 16:382, 384  
 Meriere Island 16:289, 325, 668, 670  
 Mexico City 16:398-400  
 Miedes, Fr. 16:261  
 Mili Atoll 16:346-347  
 Milwaukee Bank 16:423  
 Mindanao Island 16:415, 418  
 Minks, Godfrey 16:222  
 Mir, Captain Juan 16:171, 176-177  
 Moniño y Redondo, José 16:21  
 Montañez, Fr. José 16:56  
 Monterrey, California 16:136  
 Morales, Fr. Luis 16:308, 637-638  
 Moreno, Manuel  
   See also Gomez Moreno, Corporal José  
 Mortimer, Lieut. George 16:382, 384  
 Mortlock, Captain 16:378  
 Mortlock Islands 16:377-378, 608  
 Mourelle, Second-Lieut. Francisco Antonio 16:167, 179, 185, 203-204, 256, 258, 296-297

Mulgrave's Range  
 same as Mili  
 Murillo Velarde, Fr. 16:283, 308  
 Muro, Governor Manuel 16:584, 587-588, 647, 663  
 Murfi, or Murphy, Jacobo 16:452  
 Musgrave, Captain T. 16:377, 632

## N

**N.S. de Aranzazu**, packet 16:164, 172  
**N.S. de la Concepción**, RPC frigate  
 See *Rey Carlos*, ship  
**N.S. de la Concepción**, patache 16:76, 78, 85, 232  
**N.S. de la Paz**, frigate 16:231  
**N.S. de los Dolores**, frigate 16:231  
**N.S. de los Placeres**, frigate 16:230  
**N.S. del Rosario**, alias *Princesa* 16:87-88, 111,  
 167, 179, 198, 200-201, 203-204, 255  
 Nagle, Jacob 16:420  
 Nauru Island 16:380  
**Nautilus**, brig 16:380  
 Navidad, port of 16:150, 152  
 Necker Island 16:239  
 Née, Louis 16:447, 465, 557  
 Nepean, Captain 16:608  
 New Guinea 16:50, 79, 646  
 Ngatik Atoll 16:47, 50-52, 56, 608  
*Nica*, type of root crop 16:517-518  
 Nicol, John 16:321  
 Nootka Sound 16:422

## O

Oroluk Atoll 16:51-54  
 Orote Point, Guam 16:555-556, 558, 567, 570  
 Ortíz de Landazuri, Tomás 16:69

## P

Pacheco, General Antonio 16:104  
 Padilla, Manuel 16:296  
 Page, Captain Benjamin 16:377-378, 607  
 Pagès, Viscount P.-M.-F. 16:386  
 Paintapu, Carolinian native 16:168-169  
 Palapag, port of 16:162, 167, 474, 489, 534, 558  
 Palau Islands 16:615, 617-618  
 charts 16: 621-631 16:622  
**Paloma**, ship 16:381  
 See also *N.S. del Rosario*, alias *Paloma*  
 Palomino, Juan 16:307, 637  
 Pandanus 16:520  
 Pangilinan, Gaspar 16:660  
**Panther**, packet 16:615, 617, 620, 622, 630  
 Passion Island  
 same as Clipperton Island, or  
 same as Ngatik Atoll  
 Pennell, Captain Richard 16:612  
 Pereira, Fr. José 16:144  
 Pérouse, Jean-François Galaup, Count of La 16:239  
 Philip, Captain 16:375  
 Philip Islands

same as Sorol  
 Philippine Islands 16:475  
 Pico Palacios, Bartolomé 16:101-102, 104, 154  
 Pickett, Captain 16:619  
 Pineda, Antonio 16:450, 465, 470, 495, 557  
 Pineda, Arcadio 16:452  
 Pineda, Captain Pedro 16:231  
 Pingelap Island 16:377  
**Pitt**, ship 16:632  
 Pohnpei Island 16:229  
**Ponsborne**, ship 16:609  
 Pope Clement XIII 16:41  
 Pope Clement XIV 16:21  
 suppressed Jesuit order in 1773 16:19  
 Pope Gregory X 16:41  
 Pope Gregory XIII 16:44  
 Pope Leo XIII  
 reinstated Jesuits worldwide in 1886 16:19  
 Pope Paul III 16:37  
 Pope Pius VII 16:21  
 reinstated Jesuits in 1814 16:18  
 Popes in general 16:38, 40  
 Population statistics 16:73, 98, 114, 250, 327  
 Porlier, Antonio 16:411  
 Portlock, Captain Nathaniel 16:16, 316, 318, 323  
 Pozo, José del 16:572  
 Prince Maseranolo 16:124  
 Prince, Captain Job 16:229  
**Princess Augusta**, ship 16:609  
**Princess Royal**, sloop 16:230, 422, 425-428  
**Princesa**, packet  
 See *N.S. del Rosario*, alias *Princesa*  
**Principe Carlos**, ship 16:681  
 Presl, Carl B. 16:535  
 Pulo Ana Island 16:233, 289, 668, 670  
*Pupung*, meaning roof ridge (mats) 16:516

## Q

**Queen Charlotte**, ship 16:316, 322  
**Queen Maria Theresa** 16:21  
 Qui Bill, Palauan native 16:223  
 Quimper, Second-Lieut. Manuel 16:422, 425, 427-  
 428, 463  
 Quintano, Commander Fernando 16:533

## R

Rasa, i.e. Flat, Island 16:637  
 Raven, Captain William 16:376-380, 608  
 Ravenet, Juan 16:450, 470, 558, 573, 579  
**Recherche**, ship 16:646  
 Recollect Fathers  
 See *Augustinian Recollects*  
 Reid, Captain Thomas 16:229  
**Reina María Luisa**, frigate 16:231  
**Résolution**, ship 16:313  
**Resource**, ship 16:381  
 Revilla, Juan Bautista de 16:683  
 Revillagigedo  
 See *Count of Revillagigedo*  
 Raxis de Torres, Captain 16:514, 522  
**Rey Carlos**, frigate 16:231, 293, 297, 677

Reyes, Roque Agustino de los 16:217  
 Rice 16:519  
   morisqueta 16:519  
   See also Cenia  
 Rivera, Captain Marcos de 16:654  
 Rivera, Juan de 16:236  
 Robertson, William 16:117  
 Robertson's chart 16:608  
 Rodriguez de Arias, Rafael 16:450  
 Rodriguez de Rivas, Vicente 16:293  
 Rodriguez Montenegro, Pilot José 16:111-112  
 Rodriguez, Pilot Antonio 16:488, 553, 567  
 Rodrigo, Carolinian native 16:271-273  
 Ross, Captain 16:324  
 Rossel, Lieut. E.P.E. 16:646  
 Rota Island 16:192, 493, 552-553, 567  
 Royal Admiral, ship 16:376, 592  
 Royal Charlotte, ship 16:289  
 Royal Philippine Company 16:477, 676

## S

Sacramento, frigate 16:481  
 Saenz de Vizmanos, Bonifacio 16:683  
 Saipan Island 16:317-318, 320, 335, 348, 370, 372,  
   382, 385, 405, 433-434, 487, 493, 551, 566-567,  
   593, 665  
 Salazar, Lieut. Andrés 16:673  
 San Agustín Island 16:186  
 Sandwich Islands 16:428, 463, 478  
   See also Hawaiian Islands  
 San Agustín, Fr. Joaquin de 16:605-606  
 San Agustín, Fr. Juan de 16:100  
 San Andrés, galleon 16:277-278, 282, 294-295,  
   299, 407, 410, 427, 437, 441, 450, 551, 566, 594,  
   598-599  
 San Antonio, alias Príncipe, packet 16:157-158,  
   160, 163  
 San Blas, port/Dept. of 16:63-64, 66, 79, 138, 140,  
   158-160, 165, 179, 189, 193, 200-201, 203, 256,  
   258, 295-296, 398, 422, 426-427, 673, 676-677  
 San Buenaventura, Fr. Francisco de 16:82  
 San Carlos Island 16:50  
 San Carlos, galleon 16:49, 63, 86-88  
 San Carlos, packet 16:137-138, 140, 165  
 San Felipe, frigate 16:296-297  
 San Fernando, alias Magallanes  
   See Magallanes, galleon  
 San Fernando, frigate 16:232  
 San Francisco, California 16:111  
 San Francisco Xavier, alias Filipino 16:231  
 San José (de Gracia), galleon 16:82, 84-85, 94,  
   101, 104, 111, 119-120, 134-125, 166, 172, 210,  
   214, 218-220, 297-299, 452  
 San José y las Ánimas, galleon 16:422, 427  
 San José, alias Princesa, frigate 16:231  
 San José, packet 16:655, 657  
 San Luís de Apra, port of  
   See Apra Harbor  
 San Pedro, alias Caviteño, galleon 16:142-147,  
   150, 153, 159, 167, 299, 477  
 San Rafael, alias Pala, schooner 16:232  
 Sanchez, Fr. Antonio de la Concepción 16:75, 100,  
   116

Santa Gertrudis, ship 16:566  
 Santa Rufina, frigate 16:231  
 Santísima Trinidad, galleon 16:71  
 Santiago, frigate 16:255  
 Santo Tomás de Aquino, Fr. Ramón 16:251  
 Sanvitores, Fr. Diego Luís de 16:308, 638  
 Sarangani Islands 16:50  
 Saravia y Villar, Antonio de 16:65  
 Sarrío, Pedro 16:127  
 Savage Island  
   See Pulo Ana Island  
 Scarborough Island 16:345  
 Scarborough, ship 16:337-338, 342, 346, 348-350,  
   353-355, 358-361, 364-366, 368-369, 370, 372-373  
 Sever, Captain 16:333-334  
 Shaw, Major Samuel 16:229  
 Shields, Captain 16:323  
 Ships, general 16:375, 442  
 Sinclair, Captain 16:333  
 Smith, Captain Detmer 16:413  
 Smith, Captain William 16:666-667  
 Snook, Lieut. Samuel 16:620  
 Solano, Juan Francisco 16:49, 56, 59, 64, 66-67  
 Solide, French ship 16:429, 431-433, 435  
 Soroa, Governor José 16:70-71  
 Sorol Island 16:313, 413, 416, 420  
 Sorondo, Captain Gabriel de 16:231  
 Sotos Serrano, Carmen 16:573  
 Southwell, Daniel 16:419  
 Spray, W. A. 16:620  
 Strait of San Bernardino 16:110-111, 147-148, 159,  
   299, 303, 311, 427, 673  
 Subtile, ship 16:313  
 Sugar Cane, ship 16:377, 632-633  
 Sulphur Island  
   See Iwo Island  
 Suni, a type of root crop 16:519  
 Supply, ship 16:337  
 Swallow, packet 16:381, 610

## T

Tarawa Atoll 16:168  
 Tello Montilla, Captain 16:231  
 Ternate 16:617  
 Thistleton, Commodore John 16:620  
 Thornton, Captain Christopher 16:379  
 Tica, same as coconut oil 16:663  
 Tinian Island 16:317-318, 320, 335-336, 348, 369-  
   370, 372, 382, 384-385, 433, 487, 493, 551-552,  
   566, 593, 665  
 Tirado, Captain José 16:232  
 Tobi Island 16:208  
 Tobias, Governor Mariano 16:661  
 Tompson, Felipe  
   Pilot of the Buen Fín 16:47, 49, 56, 112, 477  
 Torres, Fr. Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar 16:100, 116  
 Torres, Juan José de 16:296  
 Torres, Luís de 16:659  
 Tova, Lt-Comdr. Antonio 16:451  
 Trillo y Bermudez, Francisco 16:258  
 True Briton, ship 16:233  
 Turnbull, Captain 16:380



**U**

Ulithi Island 16:313  
 Umatac, port of 16:162, 187, 307, 311, 404, 465,  
 474, 488-489, 493-494, 509, 525, 556, 570-571, 598-  
 599, 673  
 Urraluar, Tamol 16:405-406  
 U.S.A. 16:644

**V**

Valdés y Bazán, Antonio 16:297, 307, 331, 411,  
 429, 449-453, 473-474, 476, 479, 483, 531, 535,  
 544, 561, 572, 638, 674  
 Valdés, Cayetano 16:551  
 Valdés, schooner 16:427  
 Vansittart, ship 16:205  
 Vazquez, Pilot José Antonio 16:52, 54, 189, 193  
 Velarde, José 16:296  
 Ventura de Taranco, Antonio 16:106, 285-288, 299,  
 585, 587-588  
 Venus, snow 16:589, 615, 618-619  
 alias Margaret 16:619  
 Viana, Francisco Xavier 16:465, 486, 493  
 Viera, Captain Felipe 16:87  
 Viera, Eugenio de 16:296  
 Villalobos, Governor Francisco 16:236  
 Villavicencio, Captain Agustín de 16:231  
 Volcano Islands  
 See Iwo Islands  
 Volkhardt, Mrs. 16:436

**W**

Waaksamheydt, Dutch snow 16:376, 413, 415  
 Wall, Captain Thomas 16:668  
 Wallis, Captain 16:249, 369-371, 373, 470, 551-552  
 Walpole, ship 16:664  
 Walter, Captain 16:613  
 Walton, Captain 16:333  
 Ward, Richard 16:476  
 Warren Hastings, ship 16:289  
 Warwick, ship 16:207  
 Watts, Lieut. John 16:334, 415, 423, 491  
 Wedgeborough, Lieut. John 16:615-616, 619-620  
 White, Robert 16:620  
 Wilson, Captain Henry 16:221-222, 225  
 Wilson, Captain Lestock 16:610  
 Woodcot, ship 16:324-325  
 Woodle's Island  
 same as Kuria

**X**

Xícama, or jícamera 16:518  
 Ximenez, Infantry Captain Francisco 16:144

**Y**

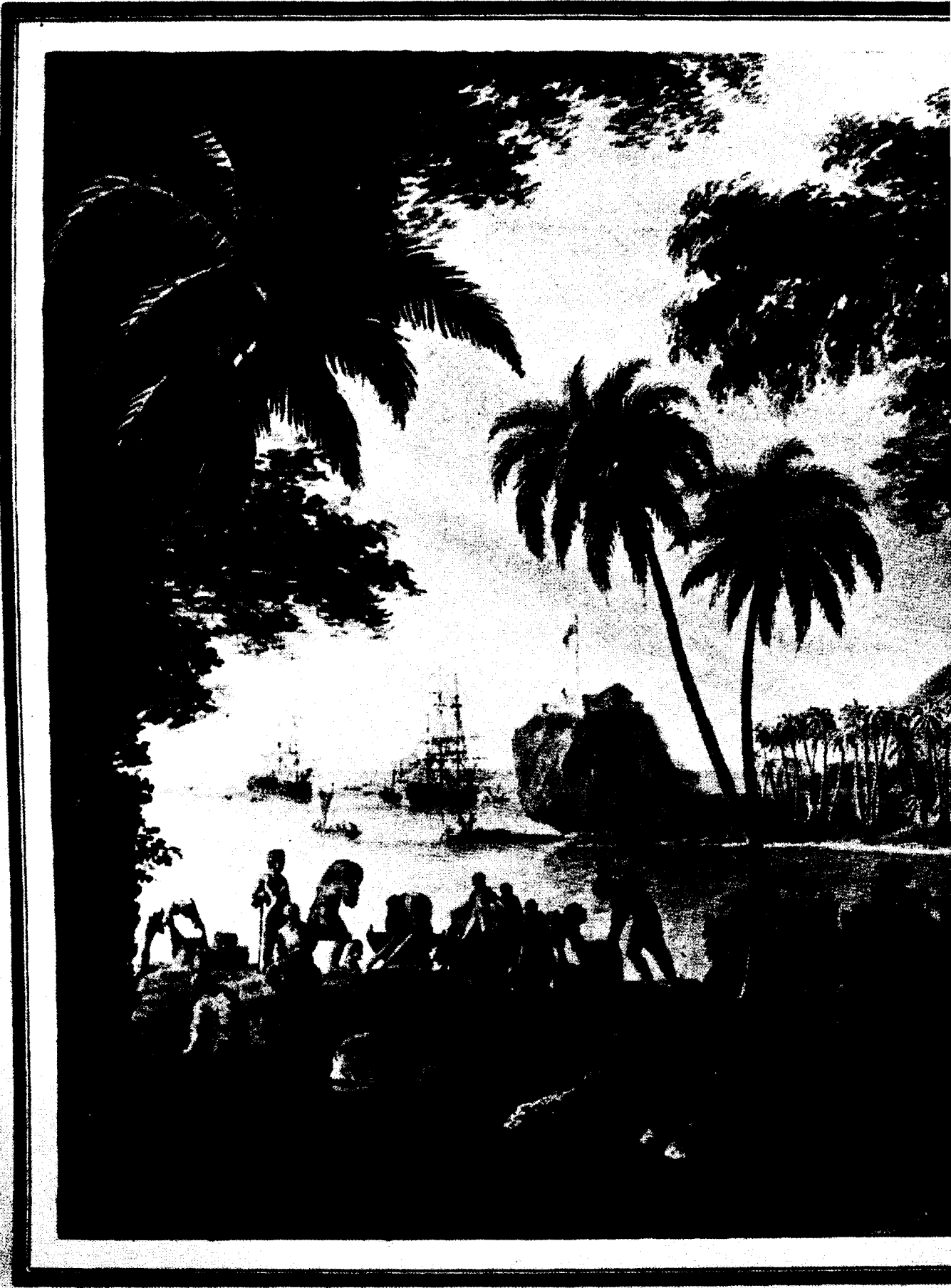
Yap Island 16:413, 420, 610-611, 613-614  
 Young, Captain Robert 16:205

**Z**

Zamboanga 16:50  
 Zavaleta, Captain Antonio 16:230  
 Zelada, Fr. Francisco de 16:21  
 Zoology 16:526  
 Zuñiga, Fr. Juan de 16:56

**ISBN 0-920201-16-4**





*VISTA del Fondadero de HU*